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Island Archaeology: An Integrative Review from a Maritime Perspective

Walker Vadillo, Veronica; Ilves, Kristin

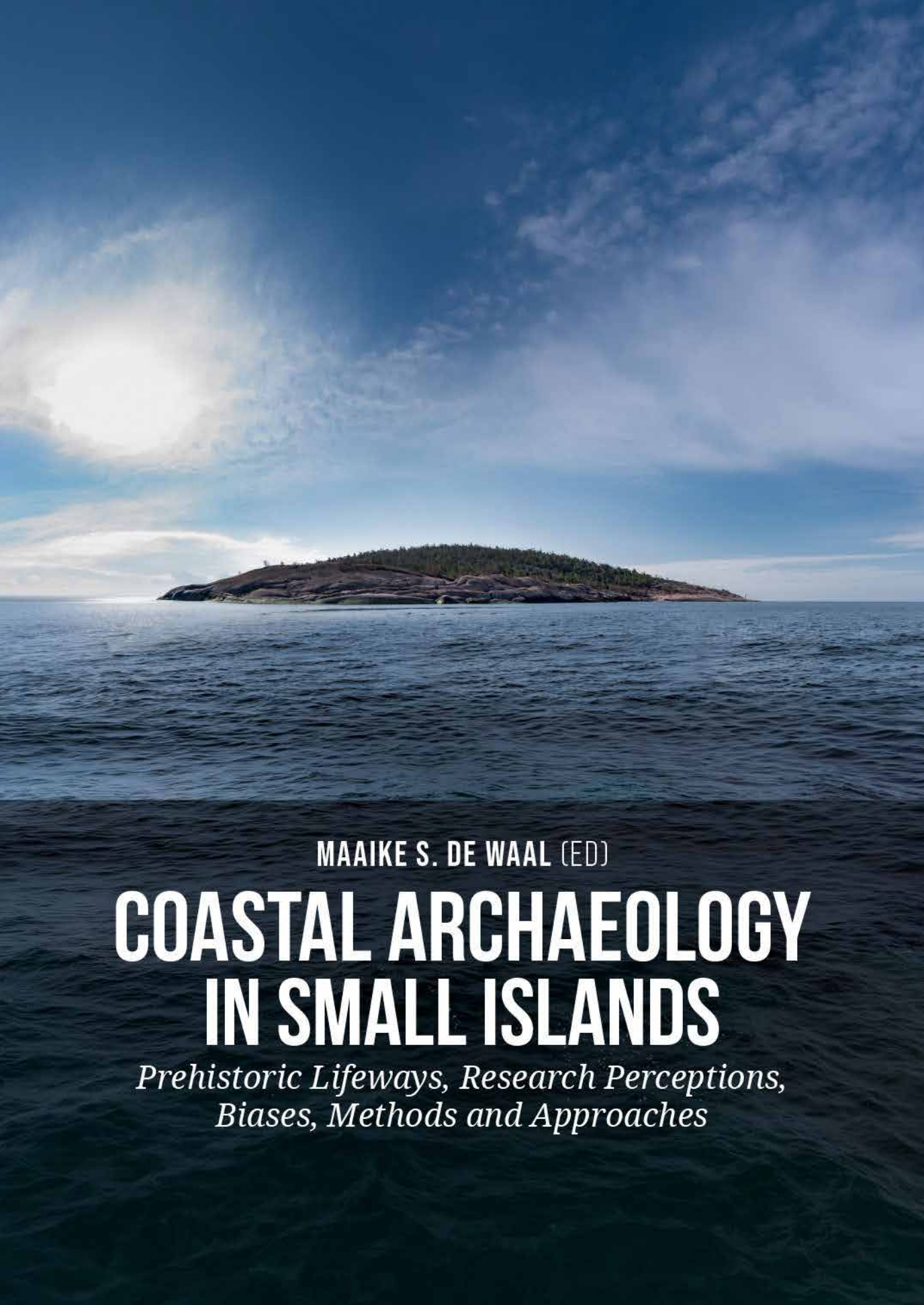
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MAAIKE S. DE WAAL (ED)

COASTAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN SMALL ISLANDS

Prehistoric Lifeways, Research Perceptions, Biases, Methods and Approaches

sidestonepress

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MAAIKE S. DE WAAL (ED)

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Photo by Daniel Lindskog. Reproduced with permission.

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2

Island Archaeology: An Integrative Review from a Maritime Perspective

Veronica Walker Vadillo, & Kristin Ilves

Abstract

This chapter presents an integrative review of the Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology aimed at examining the way island archaeology has been implemented since its foundation in 2006 to the present. This is done from a maritime perspective that investigates how the study of human-aquatic interactions in islands has been conducted so far in island archaeology, paying special attention to intersections with maritime archaeology. Using a quantitative approach, this study compares the aims and scope of the journal with its publications, focusing on period, research themes, approach, and geographic and climatic areas. The chapter then examines how studies with similar geographic scope (i.e., islands) have been approached in the Journal of Maritime Archaeology and discusses how frameworks developed in maritime archaeology can help advance island archaeology before calling for a need to constructively move toward a research framework that bridges the identified gap between these two parallel, yet related fields.

Keywords: island archaeology, maritime archaeology, maritime cultural landscape, maritime theory, human-environment interactions

Introduction

People's understanding of the world comes from the environment and from their practical engagement with it. The features that we title 'natural' are often crucial to the way in which landscape is conceived and inhabited. Islands are perhaps the most alluring subject matter in this regard. Ever since Darwin's work in the Galapagos, and Wallace's work on Southeast Asia (see Darwin & Wallace, 1858), islands have been seen as model systems for studying cultural and ecological processes (Rainbird, 2007). This was later applied to cultural anthropology by Mead in her studies in Polynesia (1957), where she first proposed the idea of 'islands as laboratories' (see Spriggs, 2008). In archaeological studies, this

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approach was most notably supported by Evans (1973), who applied the concept to the study of Malta in the Mediterranean. Parallel to developments in the social sciences and humanities, the study of islands was also advancing in biology. The book 'The Theory of Island Biogeography' (1967) by MacArthur and Wilson was instrumental in framing the study of islands within an ecological perspective, later incorporated into archaeology (Cherry, 1981). The application of concepts of biogeography into island archaeology meant an increasing scrutiny of cultural factors when examining how communities overcome limitations imposed by distance in island environments (see Dawson, 2019).

While interest in studying islands within archaeology is therefore not new, in the late 1990s and ensuing noughties, significant publications challenged earlier perceptions of islands and island archaeology. Rainbird's 'Islands Out of Time' (1999) called into question previous notions of insularity and islands, challenging what he called the Anglo-American tradition that emphasized "the bounded landscape at the expense of the broader seascape" (Rainbird, 1999, p. 232). Broodbank's comment on Rainbird's article, while supporting some of its arguments, disagreed with the way criticism was levelled against Mediterranean scholars, concluding with a call for meaningful discussions between island archaeologists to find innovative ideas to develop "the ideal of a comparative, yet contextually sensitive, approach to island societies" (Broodbank, 1999, p. 239). Broodbank's 'An Archaeology of the Early Cyclades' (2000) provided a more nuanced argument to his criticism of Rainbird's article and set forth a fresh approach to studying island archaeology. This was followed by Fitzpatrick's edited volume 'Voyages of Discovery: The Archaeology of Islands' (2004), and shortly thereafter, Fitzpatrick and Erlandson presented the first volume of the Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology (2006; henceforth JICA) where they aimed to publish papers that examined human-aquatic interactions in the context of island and coastal landscapes. Soon thereafter, Boomert and Bright published a critical article calling into question the need for a subdiscipline of island archaeology, and instead asked researchers to "strive towards establishing an archaeology of maritime identity" (2007, p. 18). Rainbird's 'The Archaeology of Islands' was published that same year, and a critical response to Boomert and Bright by Fitzpatrick, Erlandson, Anderson, and Kirch (2007) followed, arguing for the relevance of establishing a sub-discipline of island archaeology. From this moment onward, influential debates and discussions have been hosted by JICA, undoubtedly becoming a pivotal forum to advance crucial topics in the field.

Parallel to these events, the field of maritime archaeology welcomed the Journal of Maritime Archaeology (henceforth JMA) in 2006, with maritime archaeologist Adams as its editor. The journal reflected current trends in maritime archaeology, with emerging theories emphasizing the indivisibility of land and sea as material and cultural space (Adams, 2006). Much of the motivation behind the establishment of JMA was to strive towards the integrated approach in maritime archaeology, the return to humanism within the discipline as successfully initiated by Westerdahl, who first advanced the concept of the maritime cultural landscape (MCL). This framework was first introduced in the late 1970s but reached wider audiences only after the early 1990s (Westerdahl, 1992, 2005, 2011; see also Bannerman & Jones, 1999; Cederlund, 1995; Ford, 2011; Hunter, 1994; Ilves, 2004; Parker, 1995; 1999). The framework was suggested as an analytical tool in reaction to the overwhelming emphasis on the underwater element of maritime archaeology and has been the most influential of all the integrated approaches suggested (e.g. Ballard et al.,

2003; Crumlin-Pedersen & Thye, 1995; Gawronski et al., 1992; Gould, 1983; Muckelroy, 1978). Westerdahl (1992) treated MCL as an umbrella term and conceptual context for the full consideration of the social extent of questions related to maritime archaeology. MCL was an integrated approach that aimed to combine the immaterial or cognitive aspects of what it means to be maritime with the material archaeological remains of maritime communities (Westerdahl, 1992, p. 5; 2011). This made maritime archaeology widely interesting to other archaeologists, which in turn made it possible to establish a journal, JMA, dedicated to more theoretically oriented expositions of maritime archaeology (see also Marila & Ilves, 2020, pp. 18-23). JMA differed from the International Journal of Nautical Archaeology, founded by Joan du Plat Taylor in 1972 and serving as one of the main platforms for publishing maritime archaeological research, in that it sought to explore maritime worlds beyond the 'nautical' and in doing so, find a wider readership (Adams, 2006, p. 3). Island and coastal environments are undoubtedly part of the maritime world, yet unlike JICA, the name of this new journal placed it firmly on water.

With the wheels set in motion almost two decades ago, it is worth conducting an integrative review (see Snyder, 2019) of JICA since its foundation to examine and synthesize current trends in island archaeology and explore its intersection with maritime archaeology.

Methodology

The initial design of the integrative review aimed to be exhaustive; hence we decided to incorporate all articles and reports published in JICA since its foundation (2006-2023). Of the 392 papers recorded, we removed those focused on coastal topics but retained papers that examined both coastal regions and islands, leaving us with 280 papers to analyze. We used titles, abstracts, keywords, and conclusions to respond to queries in our data sheet and did vertical readings of the articles when further information was needed. The data obtained was used to create a relational database in SQLite, which allowed us to make complex queries. The database contains a first block related to the subject and approach of the article, a second on geographic focus, and a third block on referenced authors.

In the first block, theme refers to the research interest of the article, codified as the following broader themes: 1) colonization, migration, and movement – when the article discusses first human occupation of islands or re-colonization after abandonment, as well as abandonment processes and waterborne movement, 2) paleoenvironment and exploitation of marine resources – when the article deals with human consumption patterns of aquatic animals or aims to reconstruct past environments, including subjects related to adaptation to islands, 3) trade – when the article deals specifically with trade, 4) socio-political behavior – when the main focus of the article is to exact signs of social organization, social complexity, and/or state formation, 5) theory and method, and 6) other. This was complemented with an added column for secondary themes using the same six themes above to provide more nuance to the analysis (see table 2.1). To understand how research was implemented, we also documented the main source of data. The time frame section was extracted from the authors using the same formats that they provided, but this was later adjusted to offer a unified format that defined periods between prehistory, protohistory, history, diachronic, and not applicable (N/A) when the paper's focus was elsewhere (e.g. vulnerability assessments). We documented whether papers were interdisciplinary, or not, while those who did not meet the criteria were labelled as N/A.

Primary Research Theme		Secondary Research Theme	
Paleoenvironment & Resource exploitation	97	Paleoenvironment & Resource exploitation	67
		Socio-political behavior	17
		Colonization, migration, and movement	5
		Theory and Method	4
		Other	3
		Trade	1
Colonization, migration, and movement	64	Colonization, migration, and movement	25
		Paleoenvironment & Resource exploitation	22
		Trade	7
		Socio-political behavior	7
		Theory and Method	2
		Other	1
Socio-political behavior	51	Socio-political behavior	21
		Paleoenvironment & Resource exploitation	20
		Colonization, migration, and movement	6
		Other	3
		Theory and Method	1
		Trade	0
Theory and Method	37	Theory and Method	28
		Paleoenvironment & Resource exploitation	4
		Colonization, migration, and movement	2
		Other	2
		Socio-political behavior	1
		Trade	0
Other	25	Other	21
		Colonization, migration, and movement	2
		Socio-political behavior	1
		Paleoenvironment & Resource exploitation	1
		Theory and Method	0
		Trade	0
Trade	6	Colonization, migration, and movement	4
		Paleoenvironment & Resource exploitation	2
		Trade	0
		Socio-political behavior	0
		Theory and Method	0
		Other	0

Table 2.1. Primary research theme, followed by secondary research theme within each primary theme.

A second block responds to questions connected to geography and climate, with an ocean category and a column on climate zones hoping this would provide more regional nuance. The latter identifies four major climate zones: the tropical zone (0°-23.5°), the subtropical zone (23.5°-40°), the temperate zone (40°-60°), and polar and sub-polar zone (60°-90°).[1] A 'multiple' category was used when the paper's region spread through various climate zones or used comparative frameworks with various zones.

A last block was included to examine influential authors in island archaeology as reflected in JICA and determine whether authors who viewed their work as island archaeology engaged with authors widely cited in maritime archaeology. For island archaeology, we chose Anderson, Boomert, Erlandson, Evans, Fitzpatrick, and Rainbird, all of whom -except for Evans- have made important contributions to the field from the noughties onward. For maritime archaeology we chose Bass, McGrail, Muckelroy, and Westerdahl, then completed the list with crucial authors and works from the Mediterranean world such as Braudel (1949), Broodbank (2000, 2013), and Horden and Purcell (2000). We anticipated that the list of maritime archaeologists would expand as we combed through the references, but this was not the case. Isolated instances of authors like Van de Noort or Farr appear a handful of times, but it is the exception, not the rule, so no other names were added.

Data analysis – themes

In analyzing this data, a distinction needs to be made between the aim of the journal as envisioned by the editors and stated in the scope of the journal, and the submissions they receive and ultimately publish (i.e., how researchers view their contributions within the field). As described in the journal's webpage[2], JICA is "aimed at archaeologists and other scientists with interests in the archaeology and historical ecology of islands and other coastal settings" and views itself as "an international forum for scholars from a variety of disciplines who share a common interest in studying islands, archipelagoes, and coastal regions". In curating such a journal, the editors hope to better understand "the role islands and coastal regions played in the development of human societies over space and time."

A priori, the brief description of the journal suggested an interest in papers from all over the world and from any time period, so long as the focus is placed on coastal or island spaces. However, the editors (Fitzpatrick, personal communication) indicated that since the journal was founded, there has been an interest in bringing to the fore papers that discussed precolonial communities, especially those dealing with prehistoric periods. The reasoning behind this decision stems from a conscious attempt to give more weight to pre-contact communities, which the editors felt were overshadowed by later historical periods that involved European expansion like, for example, in the context of indigenous precolonial cultures in the Americas (Fitzpatrick, personal communication). This focus on early periods is clearly reflected in the statistics, where 55% of the papers dealing with island archaeology are from prehistoric contexts, followed by 12% dealing with protohistory (figure 2.1). The latter is defined here as a time period where written accounts from external cultures have informed our knowledge of otherwise prehistoric communities, so both are closely related and still reflect the interest the journal places on precolonial cultures. Fourteen papers

1 https://content.meteoblue.com/en/research-education/educational-resources/meteoscool/general-climate-zones.

2 https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/uica20/about-this-journal#aims-and-scope.

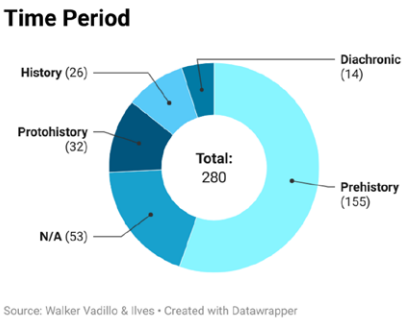


Figure 2.1. Distribution of time periods of island-related papers (N) in JICA.

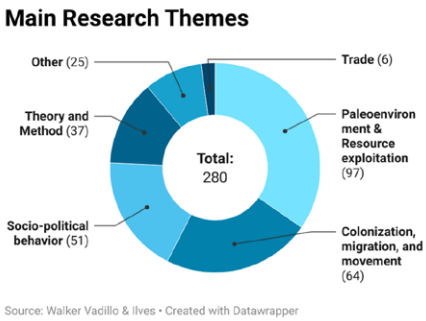


Figure 2.2. Main research themes of island-related articles (N) published in JICA.

bridge the gap between past and present to offer diachronic studies (5%), while papers from the historic period amount to 9%. The former could also be construed as focusing on prehistoric communities, as they often establish ethnographic parallels between prehistoric communities and present-day traditional practices. The categorization was not applicable to 19% of island papers, which include, for example, papers where the main topic relates to theory or methods without a specific case study.

This editorial decision has impacted the papers published in the journal. Papers on paleoenvironment and resource exploitation, a theme that deals mostly with the exploitation of aquatic resources and adaptation to islands (figure 2.2), are the most common in JICA island papers (35%), followed closely by colonization, migration, and movement, which account for 23% of island-related publications. Socio-political behavior papers, where studies on ritual processes and social organization are bundled, appear in 18% of the papers. One of the most important aspects of the journal is the space it dedicates to papers that aim to explore theoretical and methodological issues, which accounts for 13% of the papers. Less common is to find papers dealing primarily with trade, which account for less than 2%. A total of 9% could not be clustered into these groups, which highlights the diversity of content found in JICA. To strengthen the analysis, a second column codified secondary research themes, which was important to reflect papers that tapped into two subjects at the same time (for example, when the main topic was colonization, but the analysis was made by exploring resource exploitation). What transpired from this analysis is that for papers dealing with colonization, migration, and movement, as well as with socio-political behavior, the topic of paleoenvironment and resource exploitation remained particularly important (figure 2.3).

Concurrently, while most papers use conventional archaeology as their main data source (41%), this number is followed closely by zooarchaeological data (27%) and environmental data (11%) (see figure 2.4A). This agrees with the premise of the journal, which highlights the ecological character of island archaeology, and with its undisclosed interest in prehistoric communities and their ways of life in the American continent prior to 1492. Other data sources are also used, but apart from material analysis (9%), the rest account for less than 5% each.

In terms of oceans (see figure 2.4B), most of the papers refer to the Pacific Ocean (51%) with 70 out of 144 papers devoted to Oceania followed by the Atlantic Ocean (28%)

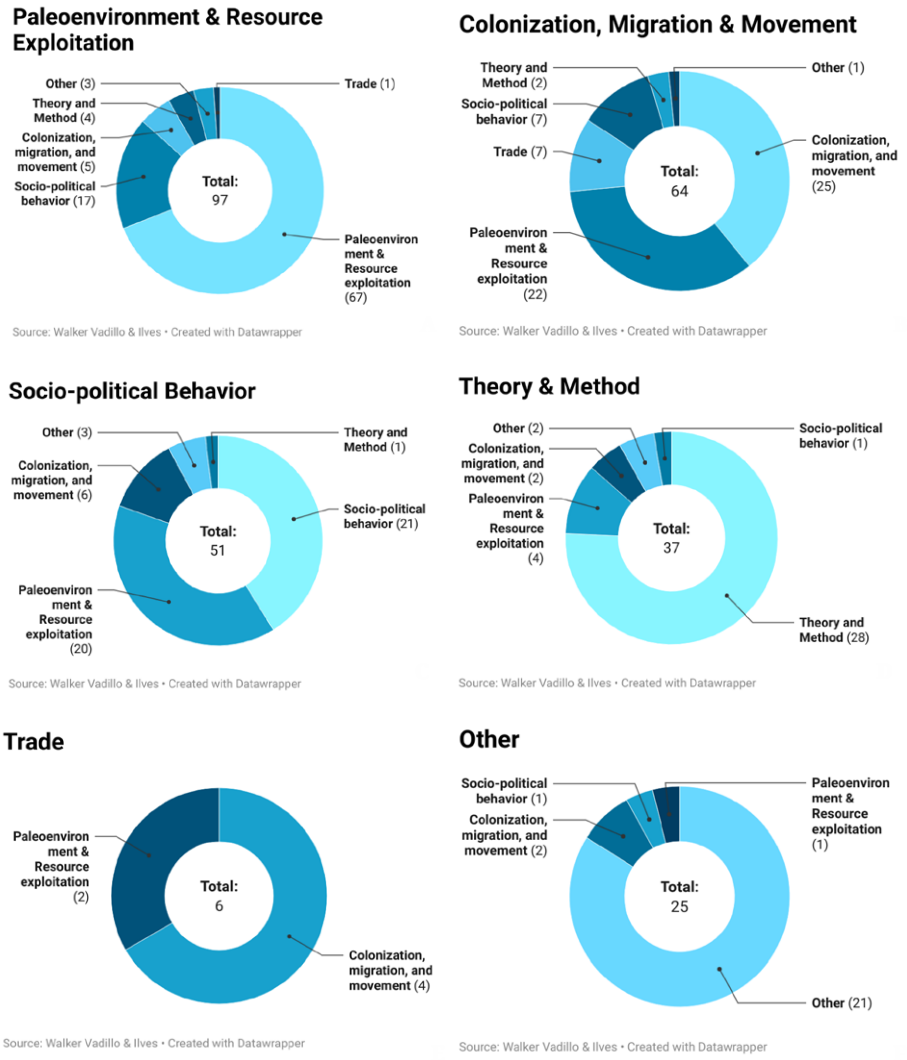


Figure 2.3. Secondary research themes of island-related articles published in JICA. 2.3A: Paleoenvironment and resource exploitation as main research theme (N). 2.3B: Colonization, migration, and movement as main research theme (N). 2.3C: Socio-political behavior as main research theme (N). 2.3D: Theory and method as main research theme (N). 2.3E: Trade as main research theme (N). 2.3F: Other categories as main research theme (N).

with 31 papers out of 79 focused on the Caribbean and 14 on the Mediterranean. Around 13% have multiple regions, (i.e., World), most of which relate to theory or comparative studies. This is followed by the Indian Ocean with 8% and one single paper on the Arctic Ocean.

Interest in tropical regions such as Oceania and the Caribbean is also shown in the statistics (figure 2.4C), with 46% of papers. The subtropical zone, where the Mediterranean is found, receives some attention (16%) followed by temperate climate zones (14%), while the sub-polar and polar zones make up 5% of the papers. A total of 13% are theoretical papers with no specific region (categorized as World), but a handful of publications do present comparative studies between different regions (3%). Hence, overall, it can be said

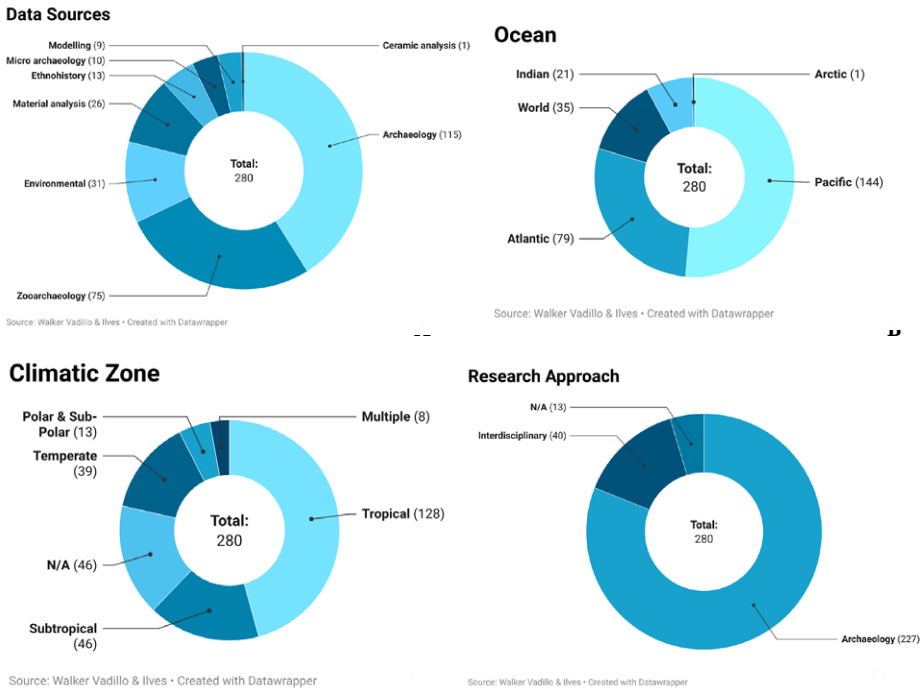


Figure 2.4. Distribution and Classification of Island-Focused Articles in JICA. 2.4A: Distribution of data sources in island-related articles (N) in JICA. 2.4B: Island-related papers (N) per ocean in JICA. 2.4C: Island-related papers per climate zone (N) in JICA. 2.4D: Island-related articles (N) per research approach.

that most of the publications on island archaeology published in JICA deal with the tropical regions of Oceania and the Caribbean, but there is a wide range of papers that include all regions and climates of the world.

Lastly, we explored the interdisciplinary nature of papers published by JICA, considering interdisciplinary projects that specifically identified themselves as such, or allocating this label to projects that involved research from outside the field of archaeology (figure 2.4D). The overwhelming majority of papers could be labelled as applying an explicitly archaeological approach to their research (81%), while 14% were accounted for interdisciplinary initiatives, and only 5% were categorized as N/A. Thus, while JICA encourages interdisciplinary approaches, this has not translated into their authors, and by extension, their audiences.

Themes – discussion

The data ratify the journal's interest in prehistory, with Oceania and the Caribbean seas (and by extension tropical climate zones) overrepresented in the statistics. Within the Pacific but outside the tropical zone, the American Pacific Northwest, the Channel Islands in California, and – straddling two Oceans – the Tierra del Fuego Archipelago in South America have found an outlet in JICA for presenting their research results, which focus on prehistoric indigenous communities and their exploitation of aquatic resources. The JICA's interest in the historical ecology of island environments is mimicked in the data, with a substantial representation of papers dealing with paleoenvironmental issues, the exploitation of aquatic resources, and adaptation to island environments.

When considering the theme of colonization, migration, and movement, which sits second at the top of the research themes chart, we need to consider that a substantial portion of these papers (see table 2.1) tap on environmental data to explore the topic (39%), furthering the entanglement between environment and island archaeology (see Dawson, 2019). Therefore, by examining the contents of the journal in this exhaustive way it is possible to put forth that island archaeology research as disseminated in JICA gives great relevance to island ecology and the way in which prehistoric communities have adapted to resources available in archipelagic environments. However, it misses important archipelagic regions. The Mediterranean and the Baltic are not equally represented, and while some publications deal with insular Southeast Asia, the area is still underrepresented. The reasons for these absences cannot be ascertained, but like other journals, the JICA depends on submissions from authors. As pointed out by the editor, a key factor for the underrepresentation of these regions in JICA is that papers related to these areas do not make their way to the journal, the assumption being that they choose to publish in other venues instead (Fitzpatrick, personal communication). How authors see their research undoubtedly plays a part in determining where results are submitted, so perhaps this may be an indication that fields like Mediterranean, Southeast Asian and Baltic archaeology have yet to embrace the field as part of their academic identity. Institutional publishing requirements is another factor that may also explain this absence; institutions in regions like Europe, Australia and New Zealand have established stricter requirements for academics in where to publish, and rank journals into distinct categories based on prestige. In this context, authors from these regions may choose JICA over regional publications whereas authors without these restrictions may opt to publish in local or regional journals, where they may choose to publish in their own language. In any case, we should consider whether the absence of publications related to major archipelagic regions in JICA may be an indication that important debates on island archaeology are not being taken into consideration in these fields, or that parallel conversations are being held without the proverbial cross-pollination of ideas.

The content of JICA is inevitably shaped by the submissions it receives, but it is worth considering whether the journal's emphasis on prehistoric communities has contributed to the overrepresentation of this research focus. While theoretical discussions in JICA, including editorial pieces, engage with a broad range of regions and time periods, aiming to establish island archaeology as a universal sub-discipline (see Erlandson & Fitzpatrick, 2006; Fitzpatrick & Erlandson, 2006), the actual published research leans heavily toward the intersection of prehistory and ecology. This suggests that despite the journal's broader aspirations, the field's current publishing trends may still prioritize certain themes over others.

Island Archaeology versus Maritime Archaeology: boating the gap

Given that, in general, boats are needed to reach islands and exploit aquatic resources, the expectation in this research was that island and maritime archaeology would naturally converge. The main interest of this study was thus to examine cross-pollination of ideas between the disciplines to identify points of convergence -for example, the use of the same theoretical frameworks or referencing key authors who straddle both worlds. This is not the case (figure 2.5). George Bass, who is often considered one of the initiators of underwater

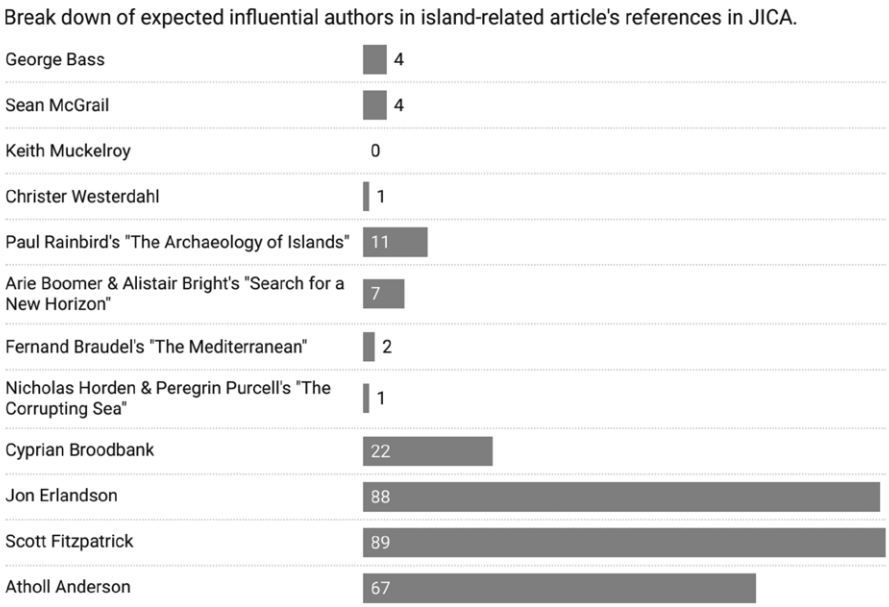


Figure 2.5. Expected influential authors in island-related articles' references (N) in JICA.

archaeology is referenced in four papers, all of which refer to theory, while Sean McGrail, whose compendium 'Boats of the World' (2001) is widely referenced among maritime archaeologists, only appears in four papers, three of which discuss colonization, migration and movement[3], and one focuses on paleoenvironment and resource exploitation. This could be explained by the fact that only five papers of the 280 papers that deal with islands have focused on boats. Muckelroy's seminal book 'Maritime Archaeology' (1978) appears exclusively in a special issue dedicated to the archaeology of submerged landscapes in the Americas (O'Shea, 2021), but not in connection to island archaeology. Lastly, Christer Westerdahl, whose article 'The Maritime Cultural Landscape' (1992) has influenced the field of maritime archaeology for decades (see for example Cooney, 2004; Flatman 2011a, 2011b; Ford 2011; Van de Noort, 2011), only appears one time in a paper where boats are discussed.

The field, however, is not impervious to maritime archaeological theory. Boomert and Bright's 2007 paper 'Island Archaeology: In Search of a New Horizon' published in the Journal of Island Studies widely engaged with the concept of the Maritime Cultural Landscape, calling for scholars to explore the archaeology of maritime identities as an alternative to the discipline of island archaeology. The criticism raised by Fitzpatrick, Erlandson, Anderson and Kirch (2007) against Boomert and Bright's proposition to, in a way, do away with island archaeology as a sub-discipline, may explain why the article is cited only seven times, five of which focus on theory, and a sixth that contextualizes the article within a theoretical framework (Wickler, 2016). The other key work in island archaeology that fully engages with concepts like the MCL is Rainbird's 2007 'The Archaeology of Islands', but his book is referenced only in eleven papers, so its impact is limited.

3 Note that boats are bundled into this category as the means that enable movement to and from islands, hence the relevance of McGrail in this theme.

Influential authors from the Mediterranean world are rarely cited in JICA. Braudel's 'La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen a l'époque de Philippe II' (1949), is only cited twice, once as a comparative framework for the study of the South China Sea (Hung et al., 2013) and once in the context of Mediterranean archaeology (Mauro & Durastante, 2022). The latter is also the only paper on islands that references Horden and Purcell's 'The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History' (2000), which suggests a small impact of these studies outside of their regional framework. Cyprian Broodbank seems to have a better standing in island archaeology and is cited 22 times in island papers within JICA. His most referenced work is 'An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades' (2000), although other works are also cited (Broodbank 1999, 2007, 2013). In 2007, Broodbank took part as a discussant in the session 'Island Worlds Apart' organized by Fitzpatrick and Anderson during the Society for American Archaeology Conference celebrated in Austin, Texas (Fitzpatrick & Anderson, 2008) and later contributed to a special JICA issue (Broodbank, 2008) and became a member of the Editorial Board, solidifying his presence in the journal. It is worth noting the importance of this type of event that breaks research bubbles and nurtures cross-pollination of ideas, as shown in this case. Broodbank's presence in JICA should come as no surprise, as he has been vocal about the need to break the 'insularity' of island archaeologists (1999).

In contrast, Erlandson is referenced in 88 papers dealing with island archaeology, while Fitzpatrick is referenced in 89. Anderson is another highly influential author firmly placed within island archaeology, with 67 island papers referencing his work. However, despite their popularity in JICA, their presence in the JMA is marginal.

The data strongly suggests that there is little input from maritime archaeology in mainstream island archaeology as presented in JICA. If themes and references are considered jointly, *a priori* island archaeology is mostly concerned with human action on land, even when the land is surrounded by aquatic perimeters. This is seen in the way the exploitation of aquatic resources is not explicitly linked to the framework of maritime culture. The term only appears 10 times in the journal, and none referring to Westerdahl's MCL (1992). The reverse can be said of the JMA, where Erlandson appears in 9 papers, Fitzpatrick in 7, and Anderson in 1. Erlandson's absence is particularly surprising given the relevance of his theoretical framework for the exploitation of aquatic resources (Erlandson, 2001), especially if we consider that there are 176 papers on fishing in the journal. There are, nevertheless, some authors who straddle between the two disciplines; for example, Elena Saccone seamlessly integrates Erlandson's work in her analysis of seafaring and its role in the peopling of the Americas (Saccone, 2020, p. 47), demonstrating his relevance to maritime studies. Thus, while the expected points of convergence have yet to emerge, both fields should be seen as complementary.

Island and Maritime archaeology as complementary disciplines

Now that it has been established that maritime archaeology and island archaeology operate in separate spheres in JICA, we should consider how a land perspective differs from a maritime perspective when designing a research plan or engaging in the interpretation of archaeological material, and whether looking at things 'from the water' can contribute to advance the field of island archaeology. To do this, we compare island archaeology and maritime archaeology by examining how they address related topics. In this case we chose obsidian, which is a common diagnostic material used to infer maritime networks. There

are 91 papers in JICA where obsidian is mentioned within the text. We chose the papers whose title referenced obsidian directly (10) to get a sample of how this material is used in island archaeology. As a comparison from the JMA, we chose Farr's article 'Seafaring as Social Action' (2006) because of the strong theoretical component of the paper and the way in which maritime archaeological theory is applied to earlier obsidian provenance studies.

In their paper, White et al. (2006) describe provenance of obsidian resources in relation to movement patterns between the Trobriand islands. Reepmeyer et al. (2012) similarly use obsidian source location to discuss inter-island mobility, as well as Kuzmin (2016), who look at obsidian provenance in the Kuril Islands to discuss colonization and early migration in this northern archipelago. McCoy and Robles (2016) examine the range of interaction spheres in Aotearoa (New Zealand) based on the circulation of obsidian between the islands, while Gill et al. (2021) tap into geochemical analysis to ponder on pathways of interaction between islanders from the Channel Islands in Alta California, and continental communities. In these cases, obsidian is used to tie sites on land; however, conclusions do not engage with what could be construed as the maritime dimension, that is, the multiple elements that make up maritime cultural landscapes like nautical technology, knowledge production on seafaring, the entanglement between seafaring and environmental conditions, and so on.

The work presented by Bar-Yosef Mayer et al. (2015), which also uses obsidian as diagnostic material to trace a maritime network of interaction in the Eastern Mediterranean, diverts from this trend as it taps into environmental data to examine how winds, surface currents, visibility and watercraft characteristics supported the development of seafaring in the region during the Neolithic. Freund and Batist (2014), on the other hand, use social network analysis on obsidian finds to discuss navigation in Sardinia during the Neolithic, concluding that the West Mediterranean benefitted from a dynamic landscape of maritime interactions. Earlier routes connected Sardinia with Corsica and mainland Italy via the Tuscan archipelago and from thereon to southern France, but these subsequently changed by the fifth millennium BC, when they hypothesize direct routes between Corsica and southern France. Greater engagement with the maritime dimension is present in Vella (2016), who explicitly discusses the social place of voyaging when arguing for the manipulated connectivity of Malta's prehistoric isolation. Vella argues that voyaging was part of a restricted knowledge, and that journeying into the outside world was a considerable occurrence and an event of great worth (Ibid., p. 356). Examining data beyond trade goods, Shipton et al. (2020) use the presence of ground shell adzes from Early and Middle Holocene deposits in combination with increased pelagic fishing gear, the occupation of small depauperate islands, inter-island shell bead traditions and inter-island obsidian exchange to theorize that these populations of Wallacea had developed dugout technology at this time.

While the latter papers provide more nuanced theories on maritime connectivity based on materials found on land (i.e., obsidian), it can be said that island archaeology has yet to fully engage with the maritime dimension and join maritime archaeology in the creation of new theories that help define the maritime cultural landscapes of island communities. As Farr, among many others, has pointed out, maritime archaeology has been viewed as peripheral by the broader discipline of archaeology (2006, p. 85), partly due to problems within the field of archaeology, which remains firmly rooted in terrestrial approaches (Farr, 2006, p. 88; Walker Vadillo et al., 2022, pp. 2-3), and partly due to the excessive focus that

maritime archaeology has placed on techno-functional studies and typologies that do not consider the role of "socio-technical questions, social agency and maritime technologies and activities in the creation of identity and social organization" (Farr, 2006, p. 88). At the same time, as has been pointed out by Thijs J. Maarleveld (2007), maritime archaeology did not develop because terrestrial archaeologists wanted to include underwater sites in their research; maritime archaeology developed as a direct reaction to the activities by non-professionals around underwater remains. The move towards maritime archaeology as archaeology that aims to understand humankind and its history with the help of material and non-material remains connected to water has been neither agile nor apparent.

Westerdahl's MCL should have been a watershed moment for maritime archaeology, in as much as it offered researchers a middle-range theory that links archaeological remains and social behavior in a holistic way. Unlike previous techno-functional approaches, Westerdahl's MCL encourages the researcher to explore the relation between multiple data sources that could contribute to creating a meaningful understanding of how communities interacted with their maritime environment in the past, including things like boat and ship remains, lighthouses, port infrastructures, gear for aquatic exploitation of the environment, and so on. This data was to be complemented with other remnants of maritime cultures found in oral histories or other forms of intangible heritage, things that would allow us to recreate not just the technology that allowed people to conquer the water, but also to understand in a meaningful way how human societies constructed social structures that reflected the ideologies at play in maritime contexts. The combination of these elements is expected to support the definition of a society's maritime cultural landscape. Water, not land, sits at the core of maritime archaeology.

With its focus on the geographic characteristics of islands as pieces of land surrounded by aquatic perimeters, island archaeology is an obvious field where to apply this maritime perspective. Some populations on big islands where inland resources abound may be able to limit their connection to the water, but coastal populations on these larger islands were dependent on it. Smaller islands, on the other hand, have no choice but to look to the water for resources. Furthermore, it has been noted that past populations preferred smaller islands to larger islands (e.g., Fitzpatrick et al., 2016; Keegan et al., 2008) which suggests that the maritime dimension was necessarily a substantial aspect of their existence. Maritime mobility, connectivity, and adaptability were required of small island communities. Regardless of the size of the island, nautical technology and seafaring are the *conditio sine qua non* islands cannot be colonized or explored, except for islands in polar and subpolar regions where the frozen sea makes islands accessible on foot during the cold months. Understanding the social implications of these two elements is not just relevant to island archaeology, but crucial to topics such as island identities and the emergence of maritime cultures.

In the examples presented above we have seen how provenance studies can trace maritime connectivity based on material distribution of items on land, but equally important is to reflect on the social relationships that enabled the movement of materials (Farr, 2006, p. 89). In the context of prehistory, so abundant in JICA papers, it seems complicated to engage with the maritime dimension and its social implications when considering that there is little evidence for boats and ships from this period (Farr, 2006, p. 89). This has been raised as a probable reason only five papers discuss boats in JICA (Fitzpatrick, personal communication). As more remains of boats and ships are found worldwide, this issue is

likely to be resolved in the future; however, even in the absence of this evidence, it is still possible to meaningfully incorporate maritime perspectives in interpretive processes.

In 'Seafaring as social action' (2006), Farr taps into obsidian provenance studies to reflect on the logistics of sea travel in the Adriatic, and the social process that is needed to successfully establish maritime networks. The onset of provenance studies, as she points out, is problematic because it equates travel with trade when this type of remains could, in fact, be a by-product of travel undertaken for other reasons (Ibid., p. 90; see also Robb & Farr, 2005; on ideologically driven voyaging, see Finney et al., 2007; Gladwin, 2009; Lewis, 1994; on obsidian distribution and the Kula system see White et al., 2006). These studies nevertheless provide the maritime archaeologist with a space that can be measured and analyzed in the context of seafaring. The absence of boat remains is overcome by focusing on seafaring technologies, "a complex practice involving specific skills and knowledge" (Farr, 2006, p. 91). To get from point A to point B and back requires seafarers to be aware of their spatial and temporal environment, both of land and the sea. It requires them to know navigation or wayfinding lore, weather, and current conditions, as well as the location of resources and the people that inhabit the region (Ibid.). This knowledge is subjective, and requires practical mastery, with knowledge passed on through oral traditions and collective memories. This practical knowledge is crucial for the seafarer, who must make quick decisions as conditions change (Ibid.). Farr posits that, in the case of navigation, seafarers must have mastered knowledge of landscape and seascape (including currents, prevailing winds and wave formations), lunar cycles, star courses and navigational lore to enable speed, drift and heading to be reckoned (Farr, 2006, p. 93). But beyond the technical skills required to move on water, Farr pushes the envelope to define the need to form social alliances to help provide other needs required by the seafarers during the journey, including the need for drinking water, food, or shelter (Ibid.). What is more, throughout her work she emphasizes the fact that seafaring is an embodied practice, a type of knowledge that requires seafarers to practice in order to avoid forgetting, opening the possibility that maritime networks were sustained by a desire to practice seafaring (*lest we forget*). This gains particular importance when considering that conditions at sea change, and therefore seafarers are required to constantly reappraise their situation and make quick decisions based on their knowledge. Renewing the social networks that were required to support waterborne movement would also have been an important driving force behind seafaring for reasons other than trade.

In examining obsidian distribution as a marker of maritime networks, maritime networks as spaces where seafaring is undertaken, and seafaring as social action, Farr compels us to examine, on the one hand, the technical skills and knowledge required to undertake journeys within a given maritime network, and on the other, to consider the social alliances that would have supported the sustainable operation of a given maritime network for a long period of time. Where to travel, when to go, and how to go, what to carry and who to take (Farr, 2006, pp. 93-94) are also questions worth considering as part of the preparation of any given journey when studying past maritime networks (see also Broodbank, 2007). More importantly, Farr raises the question of practice, and the importance of repeating actions to ensure knowledge is not lost, suggesting that in the case of the trans-Adriatic, waterborne networks were kept alive not to trade, but to ensure that communication and contact (i.e., social alliances) were retained, and that knowledge survived (Farr, 2006, p. 96). There are reasons why these connections could have been lost in

the past, either by choice or by chance; as Fitzpatrick and Anderson point out, connectivity between islands may not have been "necessarily omnipresent, desired, or possible with all peoples at all times due to changing climates, environments, oceanographic conditions, seafaring technologies, and sociopolitical desires" (2008, p. 11). What is important to note is that for a maritime network to be functional, the knowledge to navigate the route must be kept alive through continuous re-enactment of the journey; it is a conscious act of volition.

Questions like the one presented here show how island archaeology can move in new directions when applying a maritime perspective. It is very much in line with what Dawson sees as a shift toward relational thinking that is gradually taking place in island archaeology, which places the focus on "understanding the links as well as the nodes, framing insularity and all that it entails (isolation, connectivity, centrality, marginality, etc.) in relative rather than absolute terms" (Dawson, 2021). In fact, from a maritime perspective, it could be argued that discussions on isolation must engage with seafaring and nautical technology as factors that determine isolation: so long as boats can be built and navigated safely, islands need not be isolated. Provenance studies like the ones published in JICA can be expanded further through maritime archaeological theory to contextualize results and advance our knowledge on how inter-island contacts were implemented, and the social dimension that these exchanges carried. Seafaring is but one example of how a maritime turn can provide island archaeologists with an extra toolkit for their research. Other maritime cultural landscapes may be equally fruitful, such as those connected to ritual practice or worldview, adding a much-needed layer of human-environment interactions to debates on the construction of island identities.

Conclusions

We started this chapter exploring the parallel developments of the fields of island archaeology and maritime archaeology -albeit with a focus on JICA-, and while the expectation was to find a clear overlap of both fields and a substantial two-way influence between the two, the results have shown that these exchanges are limited. As represented in JICA, the field of island archaeology retains a strong environmental focus, and an interest in prehistory, even if there is an increasing trend to explore cultural elements such as ritual practices and social structures (see Dawson, 2019, p. 2) and a case could be made for widening the scope of the time frame if the discipline aims to be universal. Maritime archaeology, on the other hand, has yet to overcome techno-functional approaches to research, but its theoretical frameworks have also moved toward a cultural focus as shown in Farr (2006) and many others (e.g. Campbell, 2020; Dolwick, 2008; Fleisher et al., 2015; Ford, 2011; Gusick et al., 2019; Ilves, 2011; Leidwanger, 2020; McKinnon, 2014; Ransley, 2005; Rich & Campbell, 2023; Tuddenham, 2010; Van de Noort, 2011; Van Popta, 2016; Walker Vadillo et al., 2022). In the case study presented above, it is possible to see the ways in which a maritime turn can support the advancement of island archaeology studies and reinforce its toolkit as it seeks to extend and enhance its cultural focus.

We do not contend that this is a one-way exchange, quite the opposite. Island archaeology has much to contribute to the field of maritime archaeology, and bridges should be constructed to ensure greater cross-pollination of ideas between the fields. A combination of island and maritime archaeology could produce groundbreaking results, for example, in the study of subjects like maritime networks. Even within maritime archaeology, maritime networks are often studied in connection to trade, but given that movement

on water can be associated with reasons other than trade, greater attention should be given to livelihood activities and aquatic resources. This is where studies such as the one presented by Erlandson et al. (2007), where the ecology of maritime spaces is highlighted to discuss human mobility, can open new paths of research in maritime archaeology as well. Erlandson's work on the archaeology of aquatic adaptations (2001) and the extensive work it spawned in island archaeology can help discuss livelihood activities – such as fishing – in the context of maritime mobility. Saccone (2020) is a good example of the kind of blended approach that could be implemented to the benefit of both fields.

To achieve a higher integration of maritime and island archaeology theory, there should be pro-active attempts to recognize the complementary nature of both fields, and conscious efforts to establish sustainable channels of interaction. The example presented by Anderson and Fitzpatrick in inviting Broodbank to take part in a conference session as a discussant shows that these types of initiatives have an impact in breaking the "insularity" (to use Broodbank's words) of both island and maritime archaeologists. As 'peripheral disciplines', we have much to gain from each other.

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