

# One Hundred New Dates from Tutuila and Manu'a: Additional Data Addressing Chronological Issues in Samoan Prehistory

David J. Addison<sup>1</sup> and Tautala S. Asaua<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Samoa Studies Institute, American Samoa Community College <sup>2</sup>Centre for Samoan Studies, The National University of Samoa

## Abstract

This paper presents more than 100 <sup>14</sup>C dating results for Tutuila and Manu'a. The results address a number of current topics in Samoan archaeology. Deposition of volcanic ash on the Holocene Leone Volcanics (Tafuna Plain) continued to at least 13 or 14 centuries BP; ceramics under these ash strata suggest occupation of a lava landscape for up to 700 years prior to the ash falls. Models of ceramic cessation in Samoa are discussed in light of new dating results. Coastal flats on Tutuila aggraded and/or prograded significantly in the post 1600 BP period, creating many newly habitable areas. Two securely dated lithic manufacture sites dating to 600-700 BP are discussed. Inland settlement on Tutuila is discussed and began by at least 2000 BP. Shell bracelets and decorated pottery are found in relatively late contexts (1300-1600 BP).

**KEYWORDS:** Samoa, Tutuila, Manu'a, archaeology, ceramics, coastal geomorphology, Ancestral Polynesian Society, Holocene volcanics

It was decided early on in Samoan archaeology to resist "the temptation to divide the sequence into culturally defined periods, aspects, phases or stages" (Green and Davidson 1974:212). This conscious eschewing of a cultural historical framework has shaped subsequent research in the archipelago. Green (2002) recently noted that most archaeological research in Samoa has continued to be done in a settlement pattern framework. As Green states, this narrative approach has "stressed continuity and change within Samoa" (2002:127). This explicit "landscape" approach has avoided a saltational view of Samoan prehistory where important change is seen as occurring at the boundaries of internally homogenous phases or stages. Rather, trends and processes have been emphasised. We feel this has been beneficial to the development of archaeology in Samoa, and it is not our goal here to periodise Samoan prehistory - a process that we think could be premature and probably unhelpful.

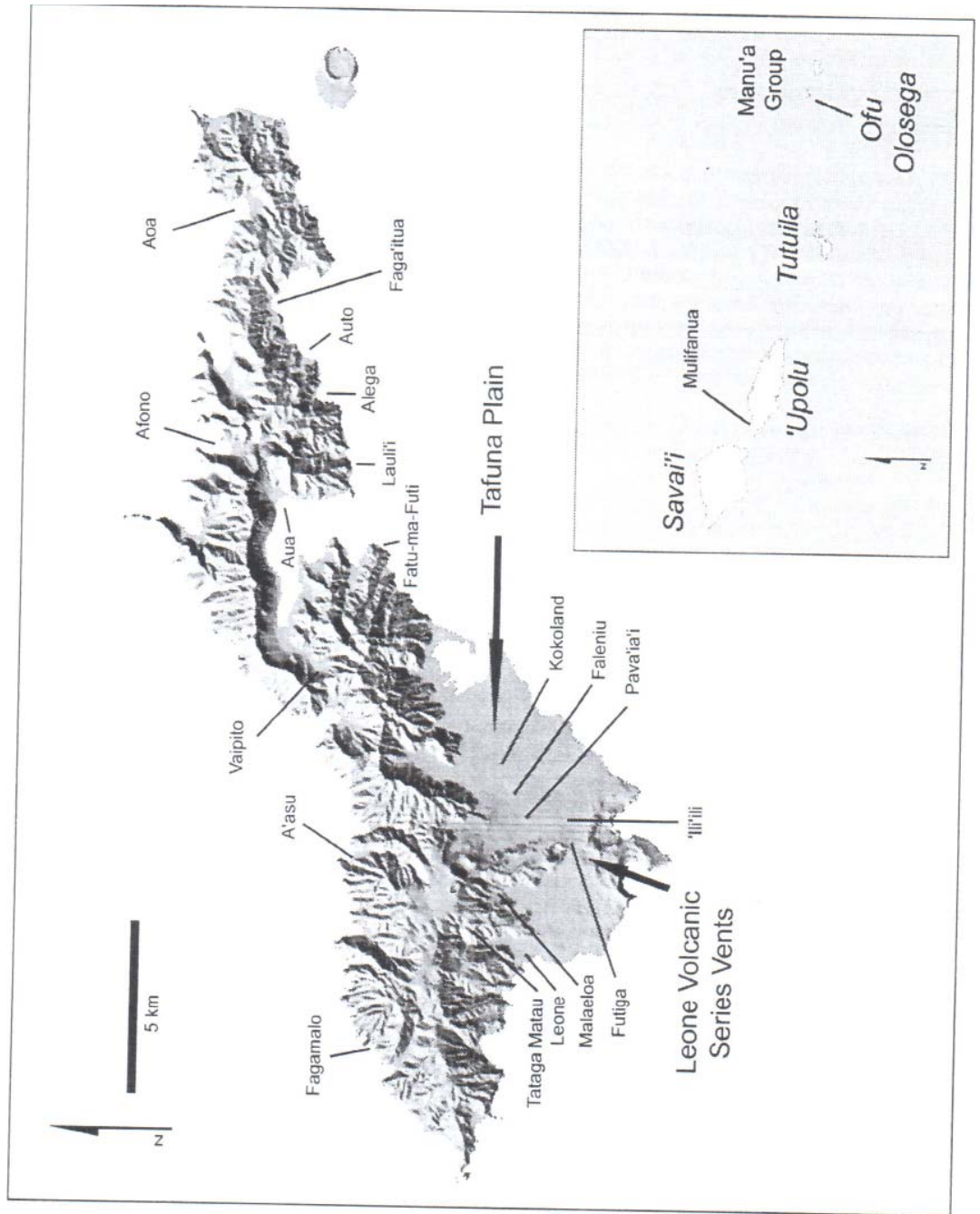
In this paper, we present a corpus of radiocarbon determinations generated over the past few years by the archaeology programme of the American Samoa Power Authority (ASPA).<sup>1</sup> These dates are gleaned from projects around Tutuila and Manu'a (see Figure 1 and Appendix 1 and 2). Details of their context will appear in forthcoming reports. Our primary purpose here is to make these dating results available to other researchers. We also highlight several trends we see in the data. Readers interested in broader reviews of Samoan chronology may consult Green (2002) and Burley and Clark (2003).

## Ceramic Bearing Sites Capped by Red Ash

The red-ash layer overlaying ceramic-bearing deposits first identified at Site AS-31-171 in Pava'ia'i (Addison et al. 2006) has now been found at other sites in the vicinity. WK18327 (1979±31 BP)<sup>2</sup> comes

<sup>1</sup>We acknowledge the foresight of former ASPA CEO Utu Abe Malae and former ASPA CEO Fonoti P. Perelini in creating and fostering an in-house archaeology programme at ASPA. We thank them and recognize that the results reported here would not have been possible without their continual support and encouragement. This paper is dedicated to these two fine leaders.

<sup>2</sup>All results reported here were processed by the University of Waikato Radiocarbon Laboratory. Dates in this paper are expressed as "conventional age" as per Stuiver and Polach (1977; that is, corrected for isotopic fractionation and expressed in years before AD 1950). Dates were calculated using the Libby half life of 5568 years. Quoted standard errors are 1 standard deviation due to counting statistics multiplied by an experimentally determined Laboratory Error Multiplier of 1. The isotopic fractionation (δ<sup>13</sup>C) is expressed as ‰ wrt PDB. Graphs of dating results were prepared using OxCal v3.10 (Brook Ramsey 2005). Because Samoa lies under or near the South Pacific Convergence Zone (SPCZ) for much of each year (and past states of the SPCZ location are unknown) we follow McCormac et al. (2004:1088) and use the current Northern Hemisphere calibration curve (Reimer et al. 2004)



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rom a ceramic-bearing cultural deposit (including decorated pieces) capped by red ash and found -2 m under the *malae* of Pava'ia'i Village. WK18320 (1871±31 BP) from AS-31-131 in Faleniu is from a red-ash capped ceramic-bearing cultural deposit -60 cm below the surface. From a different part of Faleniu, WK18314 (1416±31 BP) and WK18315 (1482±31 BP) are from fire features associated with a ceramic-bearing deposit all capped by red ash. WK18321 (1639±31 BP) is from a ceramic-bearing deposit (with decorated pieces) capped by red ash near the border of Faleniu and Pava'ia'i.<sup>3</sup>

The latter three dates accord well with the initial dates for the red ash from Site AS-31-171. The other two extend the period of the pre-ash occupation in this area by up to 200 years, and pushes it back as early as any archaeological dates on the Holocene volcanic deposits of the Leone Volcanic Series.<sup>4</sup> So far, no pre-2000 BP dates have been found on the area of the Leone Volcanics (including the Tafuna Plain). We wonder if this area was uninhabitable before -2000 BP due to continuing lava flow activity.

An upper date on the red ash is suggested by WK16986 (1304±34 BP) from a small charcoal concentration at the interface of the red ash layer in Faleniu, and WK16987 (1179±32 BP) from a charcoal concentration -10 cm above a red ash layer in Faleniu. WK15849 (1125±31 BP) and WK15843 (1005±33 BP) are from fire features at two locations in Pava'ia'i that were dug through the red ash from higher strata. Two dates (WK18316, 827±31 BP; and WK18317, 896±34 BP) from the bottom of fire features in two different Faleniu locations from -5-10 cm above the red ash layer (but probably dug from higher up the stratigraphy) postdate the red ash deposition. WK16984 (847±34 BP) is from dispersed charcoal in a stratum above the red ash in Faleniu.

Based on the limited dates available at the time, Addison et al. (2006) could suggest only that the red ash depositional event happened sometime after the period AD 240-640. Now, with 17 dates from both below and above the red ash, and from a -1 km diameter area, we are comfortable being more specific. The current evidence suggests that the red-ash depositional event(s) occurred roughly 13 or 14 centuries ago. It should be noted that the red ash is covered by up to 60 cm of ash-derived soils (mainly Pava'ia'i Series) and that deposition of fine pyroclastic material through volcanic eruptions may have continued for some considerable period after the red ash deposition. Also noteworthy is the indication of up to -700 years of use of what must have been a rugged lava landscape prior to the red ash (and subsequent ash) deposition.

### Tutuila Coastal Geomorphology: Post-1600 BP Coastal Flats

Archaeologists in Samoa have long recognized the importance of understanding geomorphological (including human-induced) changes in reconstructing prehistoric landscapes and interpreting the spatial patterning of archaeological remains (eg, Green and Davidson 1974; Kirch and Hunt 1993; Clark 1996; Clark and Michlovic 1996; Hunt and Kirch 1997; Dickinson and Green 1998).<sup>5</sup> The accidental discovery of the submerged Lapita site at Mulifanua, Upolu was the first evidence in Samoa of the implications of changes in relative sea level for archaeological sites in Samoa.

At 'Aoa on Tutuila, Clark and Michlovic (1996) documented a 3,000 year sequence of changes in coastal geomorphology resulting in an open embayment being converted to a back-beach swamp/marsh that later filled with terrigenous sediments. Ceramic-bearing deposits were found at what would have been the edges of the palaeo-embayment.

Kirch and Hunt (1993) found profound changes in coastal geomorphology in their reconstruction of the historical ecology over the past 3,000 years at To'aga, 'Ofu. These changes included evidence supporting a higher relative sea level that stabilized to the modern position "some time between 1000 and 2000 BP" (Hunt and Kirch 1997:114) with subsequent coastal progradation. Archaeological deposits containing pottery were restricted to a zone along the interior of the coastal terrace with later non-ceramic deposits farther seaward (Hunt and Kirch 1997:112).

<sup>3</sup> Decoration at these two sites consists of minor and crude incising and impressing on or near rims.

<sup>4</sup> An additional date, WK16985 (1821±32 BP) from dispersed charcoal in a dark layer below the red ash was not associated with portable artefacts, however, we think the dispersed charcoal suggests human activity in the immediate area and offer it in support for the idea that there was an extended period of human use in Faleniu/Pava'ia'i prior to the red ash depositional events. Although not associated with red ash, WK15324 (1907±38 BP) from a feature interpreted as an earth over in Faleniu reinforces the idea of a long period of pre-ash use in this area.

<sup>5</sup> Pearl's recent paper (Pearl 2006) on geomorphological change at A'asu, Tutuila deals with the last -700 years and is temporally unrelated to the phenomena we discuss in this section.

Table 1: Dates below and above red ash in Pava'ia'i and Faleniu

Below red ash	
WK18327	1979±31 BP
WK18220	1871±21 BP
WK16985	1821±32 BP
WK14532	1657±58 BP
WK18321	1639±31 BP
WK15844	1561±32 BP
WK15842	1512±31 BP
WK18315	1482±31 BP
WK18314	1416±31 BP
Above red ash	
WK16986	1304±34 BP
WK16987	j 1179±32 BP
WK15849	1125±31 BP
WK16246	1066±35 BP
j WK15843	1005±33 BP
WK18317	896±34 BP
WK16984	847±34 BP
WK18316	827±31 BP

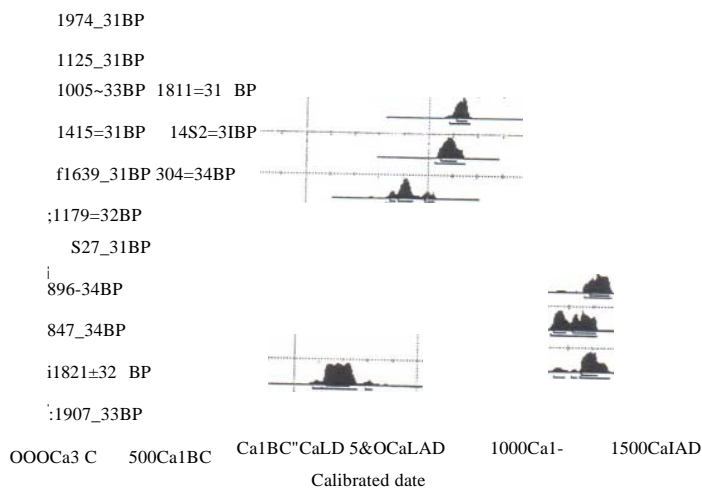


Figure 1: OxCal graph of dates below and above red ash in Pava'ia'i and Faleniu

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ew evidence from Tutuila suggests that coastal flats, in at least some parts of the island, may be only 12-14 centuries old. This suggests that stabilization of relative sea level happened on Tutuila toward the middle or end of the period proposed by Hunt and Kirch (1000-2000 BP). Our dates come from the lowest cultural deposits at near-beach sites at five villages widely distributed on the island.

The dates largely fall within the period 1200-1400 BP. At Fatu-ma-Futi, two dates are from the preceding two centuries (Table 2). This may be due to the "old wood" phenomenon (taxa of samples were not identified) or it may be that these dates accurately reflect the first human use of a newly formed coastal flat. In this second scenario, increasing use in the following centuries would have left relatively more charcoal (hence the bulk of the dates being slightly later). If true, this would mean that smaller sample size at the other villages has missed the earlier (and rarer) charcoal.

Regardless of which scenario is accurate, we suggest that there are indications of significant changes in coastal geomorphology over much of Tutuila in the post-1600 BP period. For Fatu-ma-Futi, with 75 m<sup>2</sup> of stratigraphic excavation, we are confident that the earliest cultural deposits related to the current beach ridge have been found. Currently this is the only coastal site on Tutuila with substantial excavation and a robust set of dates. Although the possibility exists for deeply buried sites at the back of Fatu-ma-Futi (similar to To'aga), we think that the very limited size of the Fatu-ma-Futi coastal terrace argues against this.

Four dates for 'Auto, Lauli'i, and Fagamalo also come from basal cultural deposits on or near the modern beach ridge. We find it intriguing that the dates for these deposits so closely match the basal deposits at Fatu-ma-Futi. Further dating of deposits at these villages can clarify whether this is a coincidence based on small sample size, or whether the Fatu-ma-Futi pattern is more generally applicable across Tutuila.

The 'Afono dates come from the interface of a deep colluvial deposit and a former marsh/swamp. We interpret them as predating the infilling of a former back-beach marsh/swamp in a scenario similar to that proposed for 'Aoa (Clark and Michlovic 1996).

The appearance of cultural deposits on what appear to have been newly formed beach ridges at around 1200-1400 BP at four widely dispersed locations on Tutuila suggests a change in relative sea level. Goodwin and Grossman (2003) found evidence for significant progradation and aggradation on the south coast of Upolu beginning at -1000 BP and suggest a possible lowering in relative sea level in this period. <sup>6</sup>Their dating results had higher standard errors than ours and used older calibration methods. Recalibration of their dates and interpretation at two standard deviations suggests a similar period for our Tutuila evidence and together could be the signature of a regional pattern.

Alternatively, that the timing coincides with the red ash depositional event in Pava'ia'i and Faleniu leads us to wonder whether there was some localized uplift associated with the volcanic activity that produced the red ash. Such geologic disturbances could also have been responsible for destabilizing the slopes at 'Afono resulting in the colluvial deposition that filled its former marsh/swamp.

<sup>6</sup>Also note that the geologists Kear and Wood obtained a date of 1180±55 (before 1950 uncorrected) in a similar context (published in Grant-Taylor and Rafter 1963).

Table 2: Basal dates from coastal sites on Tutuila

<b>Fatu-ma-Futi</b>	
WK18525	(1229±30 BP)
WK18529	(1279±28 BP)
WK18528	(1303±29 BP)
WK18526	(1339±28 BP)
WK18522	(1341±28 BP)
WK13002	(1397±50 BP)
WK16932	(1524±31 BP)
WK13001	(1630±42 BP)
WK18325	<b>Auto</b> (1329±30 BP)
Lauli'i	
WK18323	(1280±37 BP)
<b>Fagamalo</b>	
WK11507	(1218±40 BP)
WK11506	<b>Afono</b> (1396±44 BP)
WK11501	(1195±41 BP)
WK11500	(1289±39 BP)

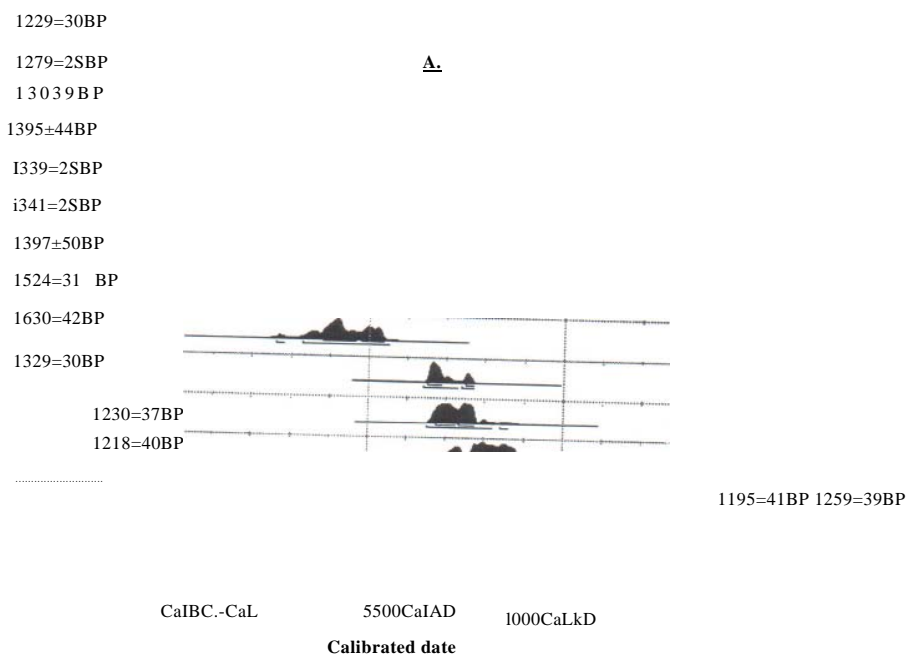


Figure 2: OxCal graph of basal dates from coastal sites on Tutuila

**Lithics**

Tutuila has been recognized as an important lithic manufacture location in the region, and numerous quarries and lithic manufacture areas are scattered around the island (Clark 1996). Securely dated lithic manufacture sites on the island are few (see Clark (1993) for Alega, Leach et al. (1998) for Tataga Matau, and Winterhoff et al. (2006) for Malaeloa). Here we report dates from two more sites with lithic manufacture debris in clear stratigraphic context and securely dated.

Fatu-ma-Futi and Vaipito, have stratigraphically discrete lithic manufacture areas that date to the period 600-700 BP. Lithics at both locations are the fine-grained high-quality basalt for which Tutuila is known. These two lithic manufacture areas may well relate to the Tutuila basalt export industry and thus date a period of wide-ranging Samoan interaction in the region (for example, see Sand this volume, Best et al. 1992; Clark et al. 1997; Weisler 1993).

Table 3: Dates from lithic manufacture strata on Tutuila

<b>Vaipito</b>	
WK12992	(680±35 BP)
WK12994	(697±53 BP)
WK12995	(630±45 BP)
WK12997	(647±36 BP)
<b>Fatu-ma-Futi</b>	
WK18523	(615±31 BP)
WK18524	(591±28 BP)
WK18527	(601±28 BP)
WK18530	(613±33 BP)

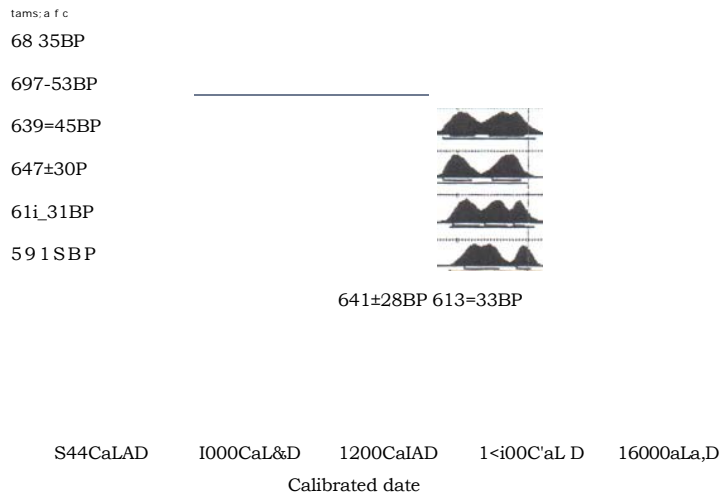


Figure 3: OxCal graph of dates from lithic manufacture strata on Tutuila

Strata with abundant lithic-manufacture debris occur at Fagamalo. These strata were not directly dated, but are stratigraphically above dates of 1218±40 BP (WK11507) and 1396±44 BP (WK11506).

### Inland Settlement

Limited excavation at three ridge-top sites has produced dates ranging from 310±28 BP (Beta 194323) to 720±40 BP (Beta 193195). Pearl argues that stone foundations were first built on these ridgetops in the period AD 1270-1310 (Pearl 2004:339).

We note that inland (although not ridgetop) occupation occurs beginning -2000 BP at Vaipito and the Pavaia'i-Faleniu area. These dates are roughly 1,000 years after the initial settlement of Tutuila, and it is not inconceivable that populations would have grown to a size requiring utilization of inland areas during this 1,000 year period. That the Pavaia'i-Faleniu area was probably a relatively fresh and inhospitable lava landscape suggests that there was some pressure by -2000 BP to inhabit less-than-optimal parts of the island.

From our body of dates, if we consider only those with conventional ages of 600-699 BP, we see evidence of use of both inland and coastal areas in the period that Pearl suggests saw the initial construction of stone foundations on ridgetops. We interpret our corpus of dates as indicating more-or-less continual use of much of the island. More chronological data are needed from ridgetop sites to clarify whether ridgetop settlements were initially "contagiously established" (Pearl 2004:343) during this period, or whether the features sampled by Pearl were the later manifestations of a long-term process of ridgetop use that began much earlier.

We note that at Vaipito (inland) and Fatu-ma-Futi (coastal) the same kind of activity was happening (lithic manufacture) at this period. The argument that the Tongans had driven the Samoan population into refuge in the mountains seems stretched. Or perhaps Tongans were producing adzes at both places. We question whether appropriation of the Tutuila basalt export industry was not the impetus for the Tongan invasion. Could it have been Tongans and not Samoans that were responsible for the wide distribution of Tutuila basalt in the post-600 BP period? Much work remains to be done on this important period in Tutuila prehistory.

Table 4: Dates from inland and coastal sites on Tutuila 600-699 BP.

WK 18313	601±31 BP	Faleniu	Inland
WK 16244	690±36 BP	Faleniu	Inland
WK 12998	604±36 BP	Kok	
WK 15034	629±36 BP	Kokoland	Inland
WK 15321	638±45 BP	Futiga	Inland
WK 12995	630±45 BP	Vaipito	Inland
WK 12997	647±36 BP	Vaipito	Inland
WK 12992	680±35 BP	Vaipito	Inland
WK 12994	697±53 BP	Vaipito	Inland
WK 18527	601±28 BP	Fatu-ma-Futi	Coastal
WK 18530	613±33 BP	Fatu-ma-Futi	Coastal
WK 18523	615±31 BP	Fatu-ma-Futi	Coastal
WK 16936	619±31 BP	Fatu-ma-Futi	Coastal
WK 16933	619±33 BP	Fatu-ma-Futi	Coastal
WK 16929	637±35 BP	Aua Potholing	Coastal
WK 15683	680±34 BP	Afono	Coastal



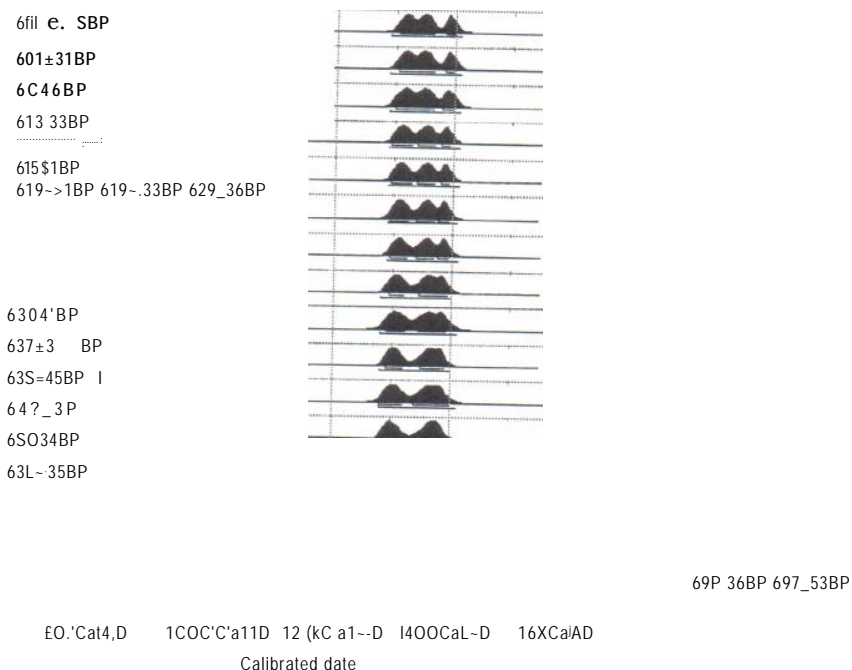


Figure 4: OxCal graph of dates from inland and coastal sites on Tutuila 600-699 BP.

### Shell Bracelets and Decorated Pottery

Shell bracelets and decorated pottery have been used as typical markers of early deposits in Samoa (that is, before -2000 BP) or as indicative of sites dating to the period of Ancestral Polynesian Society (APS). We report here that both kinds of artefacts have been found on Tutuila in relatively late contexts.

Incised pottery at the Faleniu/Pava'ia'i border dates to  $1639 \pm 31$  BP (WK18321). Shell bracelet fragments have been found at Auto in a stratum dating to  $1329 \pm 30$  BP (WK18325), as well as at Fatu-ma-Futi. Although the ones from Fatu-ma-Futi are from undated contexts, they are from contexts above strata dated to -1300-1400 BP (as noted earlier, the oldest basal dates at Fatu-ma-Futi are only a couple of centuries earlier, and hence provide a maximum possible age for the bracelet fragments).

Kirch and Green (2001) used the triangulation method to characterize Ancestral Polynesian Society (APS). Clearly defined archaeological correlates remain elusive (Smith 2002), but APS remains an interesting heuristic tool for thinking about West Polynesian prehistory. A full treatment of APS is beyond the scope of this paper, but we suggest that, although decorated pottery and shell bracelets may be associated with APS, they continued in use on Tutuila for several centuries (and perhaps a millennium for the bracelets) and may not be good markers of APS sites on Tutuila.<sup>8</sup>

### Late Ceramics

Using evidence from Upolu, Green and Davidson (1974:224) originally suggested that pottery stopped being used in Samoa AD -300. Kirch and Hunt (1993:230-213) found evidence from To'aga on 'Ofu to extend pottery use to AD 400-500 (these two we refer to as the "traditional model"). Clark and Michlovic (1996) have argued that at 'Aoa (Tutuila) pottery use continued to AD 1600 (we refer to this as the "late model"). Clark (1996:451) suggests the following possibility for Samoa:

<sup>8</sup> Eckert and Pearl's current project at Aganoa, Tutuila, was explicitly designed to excavate an APS village and may help clarify the issues we raise in this section.

1. Pottery was widely used in Samoa through the first half of the first millennium AD;
2. Pottery use declined over the next few centuries, disappearing in some locations;
3. After AD 1000 pottery was uncommon in Samoa and absent from many areas;
4. Between AD 1300 and 1600, pottery became rare and was retained in very small amounts in very few locations;
5. By about AD 1600, pottery had been abandoned throughout the islands.

Work over the last seven years at ASPA has found many new ceramic sites that may address the conflicting ideas about cessation of ceramic use in Samoa. Our evidence of pottery in well-dated, undisputedly primary, contexts at Pava'ia'i and Faleniu (as well as Vaipito) on Tutuila supports points 1 through 3 above. Pottery in questionable stratigraphic and chronological context continues to be found on Tutuila and may, or may not, pertain to points 4 and 5.

Several ceramic sites have been found on the Tafuna Plain where, as noted earlier, sediments are generally shallow and disturbed through perhaps two millennia of gardening and domestic activities. Here, the only unequivocally undisturbed ceramic deposits occur under the red ash layer and date to the early first millennium AD. Other ceramic sites are either obviously <sup>disturbed</sup> or undated (Cochrane et al. 2004; see also Ishimura and Inoue (this volume) for a Savai'i Island <sup>site</sup>). We recognize that there is circularity in arguing that only deposits below an obviously undisturbed chronological marker (the red ash) can be considered as in primary context and used to date ceramic use, which is then in turn argued as dating the end of ceramic use on the island. Given the shallow deposits and long use-history of the area of the Leone Volcanics, we suggest that this area may not be helpful in addressing the cessation of ceramic use on Tutuila; late ceramics in this area can <sup>always</sup> be plausibly argued to be in secondary context.

We suggest that two other stratified and well dated sites support the traditional <sup>model</sup> of ceramic cessation in Samoa (that is, as argued by Green and Davidson 1974, and Kirch and Hunt 1993). The Vaipito site (AS-25-065) has two millennia of successive terrace building phases superimposed on each other. There are abundant ceramics in clear primary depositional <sup>context</sup> at the bottom of this sequence (dated to -2000 BP), and none in subsequent strata. This supports Clark's points 1, 2, and 3 and is not inconsistent with the traditional model.

The Fatu-ma-Futi site (AS-25-062) has a 1,300 year (or perhaps a couple of centuries earlier) sequence of superimposed strata. In some 75 m<sup>2</sup> of excavation much evidence of <sup>domestic</sup> use was documented (e.g., pavements, postholes, midden, burials) yet no ceramics were found. We infer this to mean that ceramics were no longer in common use (or were absent) on Tutuila at the time of the earliest cultural deposits at Fatu-ma-Futi. Again, this is consistent with Clark's points 1, 2, and 3, but not inconsistent with the traditional model. We suggest that falsifying points 3 and 4 will be <sup>difficult</sup>.

As little as four years ago, Green noted a "mid-sequence gap in the archaeological record" for Samoa and bemoaned "just how poor our evidence is for the time between circa AD 400-500 and AD 1000-1100" (Green 2002:140). These Samoan "Dark Ages" have been noted by others as well (e.g., Davidson 1979; Kirch 2000:222; Burley and Clark 2003:240). We hope that the results reported here provide at least a glimmer of light on this period; although this paper has raised far more <sup>questions</sup> than it has answered. Again, our main aim in this paper was to make dating results available to <sup>others</sup> and to only briefly comment on some of the trends. Reports in preparation at ASPA will add details of context and interpretation. It is indeed an exciting time to be involved in archaeological research in Samoa. Many basic questions of chronology, material culture, and distribution of sites both <sup>spatially</sup> and temporally remain to be addressed in the archipelago. However, we see a bright future and feel confident that in the next decades of research by the emerging generation of workers (as well as those already established) many of the outstanding questions will begin to be answered.

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$\delta^{13}\text{C}$	Counting Time (minutes)	Sample Material	>1 km Inland
-28.4 ± 0.2‰	AMS	charcoal (unid.)	X
-27.3 ± 0.2‰	AMS	charcoal (unid.)	X
-24.6 ± 0.2‰	AMS	charcoal (unid.)	X
-27.5 ± 0.2‰	AMS	charcoal (unid.)	X
-27.1 ± 0.2‰	AMS	charcoal (unid.)	X
-29.2 ± 0.2‰	AMS	charcoal (unid.)	X
-25.9 ± 0.2‰	AMS	charcoal (unid.)	X
-25.4 ± 0.2‰	AMS	charcoal (unid.)	X
-24.2 ± 0.2‰	AMS	charcoal (unid.)	
-24.4 ± 0.2‰	AMS	Cocos nucifera endocarp	
-26.8 ± 0.2‰	AMS	charcoal (unid.)	
-27.3 ± 0.2‰	AMS	charcoal (unid.)	
-26.4 ± 0.2‰	AMS	charcoal (unid.)	

Studies

Journal	Author	Year	Location	Material	Value	Notes
Journal of Archaeological Science	W. J. R. Rindley	1977	Apia	Charcoal	-28.4 ± 0.2‰	
Journal of Archaeological Science	W. J. R. Rindley	1977	Apia	Charcoal	-27.3 ± 0.2‰	
Journal of Archaeological Science	W. J. R. Rindley	1977	Apia	Charcoal	-24.6 ± 0.2‰	
Journal of Archaeological Science	W. J. R. Rindley	1977	Apia	Charcoal	-27.5 ± 0.2‰	
Journal of Archaeological Science	W. J. R. Rindley	1977	Apia	Charcoal	-27.1 ± 0.2‰	
Journal of Archaeological Science	W. J. R. Rindley	1977	Apia	Charcoal	-29.2 ± 0.2‰	
Journal of Archaeological Science	W. J. R. Rindley	1977	Apia	Charcoal	-25.9 ± 0.2‰	
Journal of Archaeological Science	W. J. R. Rindley	1977	Apia	Charcoal	-25.4 ± 0.2‰	
Journal of Archaeological Science	W. J. R. Rindley	1977	Apia	Charcoal	-24.2 ± 0.2‰	
Journal of Archaeological Science	W. J. R. Rindley	1977	Apia	Cocos nucifera endocarp	-24.4 ± 0.2‰	
Journal of Archaeological Science	W. J. R. Rindley	1977	Apia	Charcoal	-26.8 ± 0.2‰	
Journal of Archaeological Science	W. J. R. Rindley	1977	Apia	Charcoal	-27.3 ± 0.2‰	
Journal of Archaeological Science	W. J. R. Rindley	1977	Apia	Charcoal	-26.4 ± 0.2‰	

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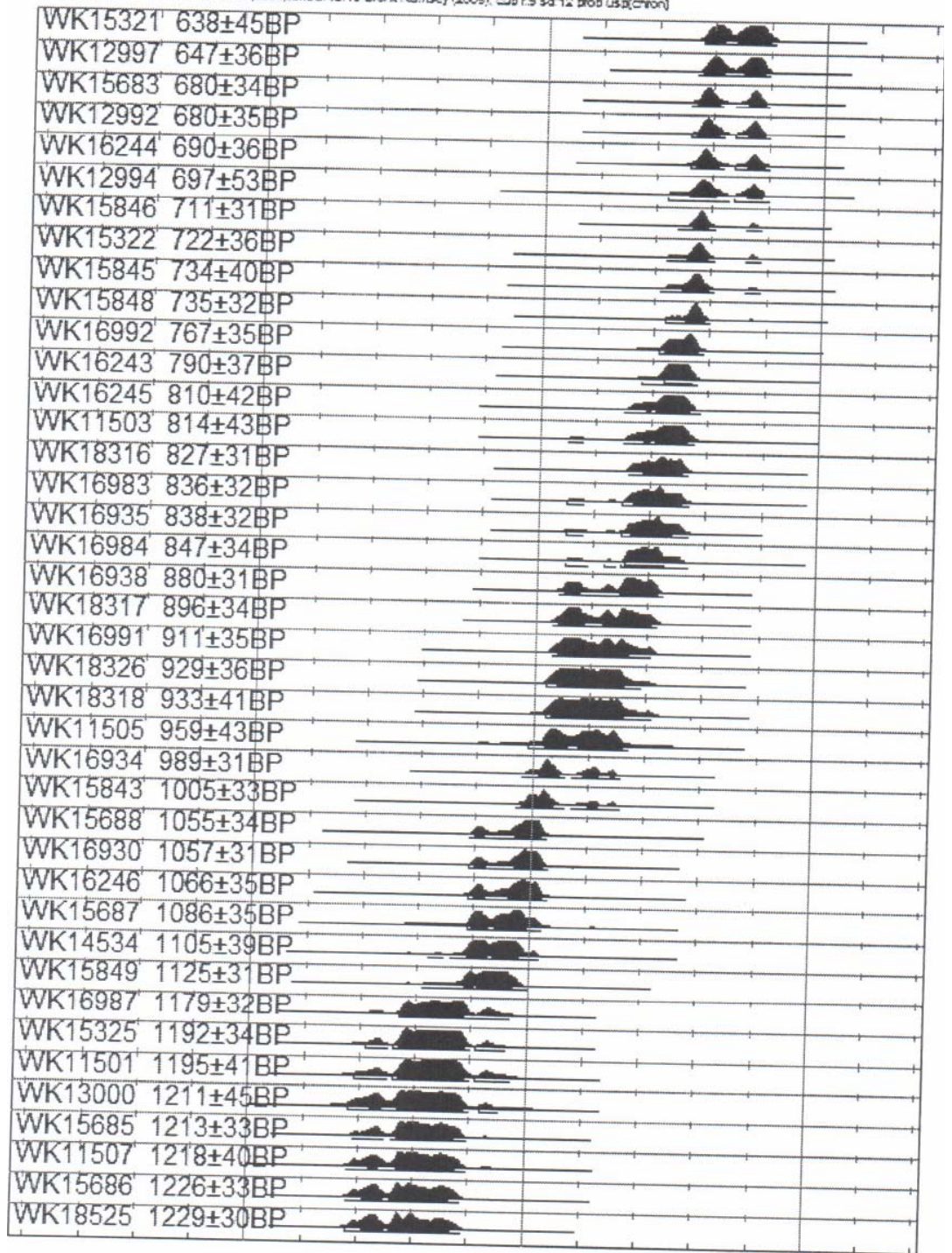
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