

**He Tānga Ngutu, He Tūhoetanga
Te Mana Motuhake o te Tā Moko Wāhine:
The Identity Politics of *Moko Kauae***

By

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He Whakarapopotanga
Abstract

Tā moko (Māori tattooing), especially facial *moko* (tattoo), has become a popular mechanism for the expression of self-determination. Many Māori people are adopting this art form as part of a renaissance of Māori culture in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This declaration of Māori self-determination is also an assertion of the pride felt by the *tangata whenua* (people of the land) for their culture, their language and, more importantly, their identity. This thesis will illustrate how *moko kauae* (female chin tattooing) is a means of expressing Māori identity with specific reference to Tūhoe identity. Using an Indigenous theoretical framework this Māori Studies thesis examines the historical and contemporary political dimensions of *moko kauae*, the interface with the Māori worldview (inclusive of its cultural concepts), and its relationship to identity politics. This will be complimented by the personal stories of Tūhoe women who have undertaken *moko kauae* as well as commentaries from other Tūhoe people who express what their Tūhoetanga means to them and their lives.

Ngā Mihi

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There are people who enter a person's life at different stages. Some people have always been there, some have passed through while others come in at different periods. Yet it is all of these people who help to shape the person that we eventually become. I believe this to be true for myself. I have had the privilege of being associated with a myriad of different people who have all contributed in not only shaping me as a person but also this PhD thesis.

*Tirohia ake ngā whetu,
Me ko Matariki e ārau ana
He tiki mai tāhau i ngā mahara e kohi nei
Whakarērea ake e
Nā te roimata koua riringi
He puna wai kai aku kamo...*

As I look up at the stars
to the cluster of Matariki
I recall those who have past on
and left me behind
Tears well up
like tiny springs in my eyes...

Nā Mihikitekapua, Tūhoe¹

Firstly I wish to acknowledge the *kuia moko* from Tūhoe who provided the inspiration behind this thesis. The beauty of these women continues to radiate through the numerous portraits and photographs that hang from the walls in the *wharenui* within Te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe. Though I personally did not have the privilege of knowing you all the connection was felt through the numerous stories that were retold to me of your lives. Furthermore, I wish to acknowledge the many Tūhoe ancestors who lived to ensure the *mana* of the tribe was maintained. Like the *kuia moko* there are too many names to list here in this acknowledgement, however, many of their names are woven through this thesis to honour their

¹ Taken from the first verse of her composition *Tirohia ake ngā whetu*, from the author's personal collection. Translation provided by the author.

commitment to the people and to the land. To be able to stand on the time continuum here in the present, knowing that these ancestors stand behind me in the past, has always provided me with the strength to overcome all obstacles that I may encounter.

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my own learning. You will never be forgotten in the hearts and minds of your people.

*Kai kinikini tonu te Manawa mō koutou kua wehe atu ki tua o te pae o maumahara.
Ko te matemateāone he mutunga kore – Tauārai koutou, te tira haere ki te
pō...titoko ki te ao mārama!*

I would firstly like to acknowledge my Aunty Huka Williams who assisted me with my primary research. You provided me with the keys to gain access to Hinepau, Mihi, Tangimoe and Ngapera. Like the *kuia moko* all of you have made a mark that reflects your personal philosophy. Thank you to you all for sharing your stories and your journeys. This thesis was built around you all and I will always be grateful for your time, your kindness and your lives. *Ngā mihi aroha ki a koutou.*

*Engari te titi e tangi haere ana
Whai tokorua rawa raua
Tena ko au nei he manu
Kai te hua kiwi i mahue i te tawai

Ka toro te rakau kai runga
Ka hoki mai ki te pao
Ka whai uri ki ahau*

Fortunate the *titi* as it cries in its flight
It has the company of its mate
As for me, my bird, I am like
The egg, abandoned by the *kiwi* at the *tawai* roots
They spread and embrace it;
When the mother returns for the hatching
The progeny is such as I

*Nā Mihikitekapua, Tūhoe*²

Like the first verse of the above soliloquy by Mihikitekapua the PhD has often been an isolated journey. There have been many times where I too have felt like the abandoned *kiwi* egg as described by Mihikitekapua. However, I have been fortunate and blessed to have had people who not only shared my dreams but

² Ngata & Hurinui Jones 1988: 64-65

ensured that I could make them a reality and for this I would like to thank the following people:

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xxx.

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Kupu Whakataki

Introduction

This thesis will show how *moko kauae* is a representation of a woman's identity and, in particular, Tūhoe identity. Furthermore, this thesis will provide models for understanding an Indigenous perspective of identity. *Moko kauae* is only one element of the Māori worldview practised by the Indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand that is symbolic of Māori culture. This thesis proposes that other elements of the Māori worldview can be linked to the same theory of Māori identity. Furthermore, this thesis will illustrate how elements of the Māori world cannot be researched in isolation, since the cultural concepts that form the basis of these elements are multi-layered.

This is a Māori Studies thesis. This means that the work is framed within a *Kaupapa Māori* paradigm and develops values, actions, customs and reflections of realities that are intrinsic to Māori identity. Unlike Western conventions and research methodologies, this work locates Māori in the ‘centre’ and not out on the ‘margin’ as the ‘other’.¹ The very core of this work gives voice to *tikanga Māori* (Māori customary practices) thus recognising the “validity of Māori cultural imperatives alongside usual western educational research ethics and procedures” (Ka’ai 1995: 112). This introductory chapter will commence with a personal introduction about the author’s motivation behind the selection of the thesis topic. This will be followed by an analysis of the theories that frame this work including

¹ Post Colonial theory uses the term ‘other’ to describe the ‘colonised’ as being removed from the central ideology of the ‘coloniser’. “The colonized subject is characterized as ‘other’ through discourses such as primitivism ...as a means of establishing the binary separation of the colonizer and colonized and asserting the naturalness and primacy of the colonizing culture and world view” (Ashcroft et al. 1998: 169).

the research methodologies that were used in the development of the thesis. Finally, an overview of the content of the thesis will be discussed to provide a context for the study.

A personal introduction

From the age of 10, the author became fascinated with the numerous photographs and portraits of *kuia moko* (elderly women who have *moko kauae*) that hung from the walls of the numerous *wharenui* (meeting house) within *Te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe* (The Tūhoe district). She remembers looking at these pictures and being in awe of these *kuia*, many of whom would have received their *moko* at a similar age to herself at the time. She also recalls pondering about what it would be like to have a *moko*. But, more importantly, she wondered what *moko kauae* actually represented. Alongside the portraits of these *kuia moko* were *tipuna koroua* (male ancestors) some of whom had full facial *moko* yet these did not hold the same appeal to her as did the *kuia*. Part of the appeal, was knowing that her mother's generation had had the privilege of growing up amongst these majestic looking women. The author's *pakeke* (parent's generation) brought these *kuia* alive by recalling the different accounts of their childhood and the integral role these *kuia* played in shaping their lives as Tūhoe people. These *kuia moko* could be described as cultural artefacts of an older Tūhoe society, symbolic of the *mana* of the people. Sadly, the last of the *kuia moko* disappeared along with the art form of *tā moko kauae* in the early years of my life.

As a descendent of Tūhoe Pōtiki, the author had the privilege of being part of an *iwi* who take strength from their unity. During her lifetime this has been displayed in many forms, such as *Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe* (Tūhoe Festival), *hīkoi* (cultural

pilgrimages), *wānanga* (educational forums), *tangihanga* (funeral rituals), *hui ā-marae* (*marae* gatherings), and other gatherings such as the Tūhoe exhibition held at Te Papa Tongarewa – The National Museum (2001-2003). The *tatai whakapapa* (genealogical ties) bind the people so they are able to function as members of a collective group. There are examples throughout Tūhoe history where the unity of the tribe was manifested as a result of various challenges from either *tauiwi* (strangers, particularly, Pākehā) or other *iwi*. One such challenge that has been embraced by generations of Tūhoe descendants is the *whenua raupatu* (confiscated lands). The author is no exception to this. She was raised in the knowledge and understanding of the injustices that her ancestors incurred from the *raupatu* and this has become imprinted in her mind. She recalls that it is difficult this is to ignore especially when one has to drive past the confiscated lands before entering the Rūātoki valley. Until recently, every Tūhoe member was reminded of the actual confiscation line, as there was a distinctive bump in the road, as it led into the valley. It served as a constant reminder of their past. It is soul destroying for the author to drive past the *whenua raupatu* and to see the economic wealth of the non-Tūhoe people who actually reside on the *whenua raupatu*, when most of the *ahi kā* (people who maintain the home fires) live in humble dwellings and are reliant, in the main, on the support of the State to survive. The stolen lands of Tūhoe ancestors have thus benefited non-Tūhoe people while leaving its descendants economically poor.

The entrenched confiscation line cuts deeply into the landscape of the *Rohe Pōtae* (tribal boundary) and equally so into the hearts of all Tūhoe descendants. The *raupatu* line can be used as an analogy of the *moko kauae* lines that were chiselled onto the faces of the *kuia moko* of the past since blood was shed in the creation of

both of these ‘lines’. The *kuia moko* were the daughters and granddaughters of the *tīpuna* (ancestors) who fought against the Crown to reclaim their *mana motuhake* (separate *mana*) over the *whenua raupatu*. Their *moko kauae* may have been sanctioned by these same ancestors as a symbol of their struggle to maintain the *mana* of Tūhoe. Unfortunately, what exactly motivated these women to receive their *moko kauae* has not been recorded or remembered.

In completing this thesis, a new chapter in Tūhoe's history is being embarked upon. *Moko kauae* has been revived as part of contemporary culture within Tūhoe alongside the opening of the Waitangi Tribunal hearings of the WAI 36 - Tūhoe *Raupatu* Claim. The analogy between the *whenua raupatu* and the *moko kauae* has been reborn. It has been over 100 years since the confiscation of Tūhoe lands in 1866, yet the faces of the Tūhoe people have not changed. *Moko* adorns many Tūhoe faces today, a number of whom actively participated in the recent Waitangi Tribunal hearings, thus mirroring the *moko* that would have been worn by the ancestors who also fought for the return of the stolen lands.

In conceptualising the thesis, the author came to realise that there are many questions that need to be asked about the revitalisation of this art form. Firstly, is the reclamation of the art of *tā moko* deliberately designed to coincide with the WAI 36 claim, or is there more to the revitalisation of this old art form? Is this revitalisation of *moko kauae* a result of the Māori Renaissance which began in the 1970s as part of the political conscientisation of Māori people? In a technologically advanced global-focussed Aotearoa/New Zealand society, why are women of today acquiring the art of *tā moko*? What cultural processes can be observed in the acquisition of the *moko kauae*? What are the meanings behind the designs? What

does the *moko kauae* represent? These questions and more have always been part of the author's personal journey in understanding *tikanga Māori* in its many forms. She has seen how Māori culture has changed both subtly and, in some instances, dramatically during the last 20 years with the introduction of modern technology. As a result of this research she began to understand that the *tikanga* that she thought she understood was beginning to take another form. In this instance, *tā moko* has become a catalyst for cultural change. Thus *tikanga* associated with *tā moko* is adapting to the changing political, economic and social climate of Tūhoe society in the modern world.

The author's personal development and curiosity since she was a small child, is the focus and motivation of this doctoral thesis. From this she is able to channel her interest in both *moko kauae* and Tūhoetanga (uniqueness as a Tūhoe person).

Māori Studies theory

As previously stated, this Māori Studies thesis is based on *Kaupapa Māori* paradigms which develop values, actions, customs and reflections of realities that are intrinsic to Māori identity. In establishing this theoretical paradigm it is important to ask what is a Māori Studies discipline theory. Ka`ai (2000: 7) argues that:

The New Zealand University system was established as part of the colonising process... Judith Simon (1992) suggests that schooling at this time including university education, was a primary instrument for taming and civilising the natives and forging a nation which was connected at a concrete level with the historical and moral processes of Britain.

The establishment of the colonial University system in Aotearoa/New Zealand did not recognise the value of Indigenous knowledge systems, language and customs as it fell outside the ‘traditional’ Western disciplines which ‘civilisation’ and ‘colonisation’ was based upon. Faced with these attitudes, Māori people have fought for nearly two centuries to have their knowledge systems, *reо* (language), and *tikanga* ratified by the Crown and reflected in the mainstream education system (Ka`ai 2000:7). The first Māori Studies Department established in Auckland in 1952 was an offspring of Anthropology. The University of Otago, founded in 1869, was the first New Zealand University but the last to create a Māori Studies Department. The discipline of Māori Studies at each of New Zealand’s Universities has developed over time to concentrate on various elements deemed appropriate to the discipline resulting in each having a distinctly individual profile. Webster (1998 cited in Ka`ai 2000: 11) describes the profile of Māori Studies at Auckland as "academic and linguistic." It is assumed that this resulted from the fact that the department emerged out of Anthropology which historically has employed Social Science theories. Ka`ai (2000: 11-12) describes Māori Studies at the University of Otago, however, as a space for undertaking teaching and research which recovers our histories, reclaims our lands and resources, restores justice and preserves our language and traditions within a culturally specific framework called *Kaupapa Māori*. She argues that herein lies the theories generated by Indigenous scholars and *tohunga* who have constructed models to explain a Māori way of thinking (epistemology) and a Māori way of doing things within the western academy. Ka`ai (2000: 26) adds that:

Patterson (1997) advances the notion of a university as a community of scholars (student and teachers), pursuing at a particular place, the higher branches of education through the learning, dissemination and enhancement

of knowledge. Patterson does not advance knowledge derived from any one particular place in the world or from one particular ethnic group over another. Therefore, the advancement of Māori knowledge in all its forms in New Zealand universities alongside western ways of knowing is legitimate.

The late John Rangihau's model of Māoritanga (Māori culture) (Ka`ai & Higgins 2003: 16) and Tānia Ka`ai's (1995) Māori worldview model have been adopted as the theoretical framework upon which this thesis is based. Both of these scholars propose models that clearly argue a Māori Studies paradigm called *Kaupapa Māori* which sits apart from Social Science theories including Post-colonial theories.

Leonie Pihama (1993: 57 cited in Ka`ai 2000: 9-10) states that:

Kaupapa Māori theory is a politicising agent that acts as a counter hegemonic force to promote the conscientisation of Māori people, through a process of critiqueing [sic] Pākehā definitions and constructions of Māori people and asserting succinctly and explicitly, the validation and legitimization of *te reo me ngā tikanga Māori*.

Unlike Rangihau and Ka`ai, Pihama's definition of *Kaupapa Māori* theory contains elements of post-colonial theory in that it focuses solely on a "critique of Pākehā definitions and constructions of Māori people."² There is a danger in this as it could be thought that *Kaupapa Māori* theory simply equates with post-colonial theory since the "critiquing of Pākehā definitions and constructions" of Indigenous people necessarily locates Māori as the 'other'³ in comparison to Western theory.

² The author acknowledges that it is critical for all scholars undertaking research about Indigenous knowledge and people to examine all the information relevant to their topic, including those observations made by non-Indigenous peoples.

³ 'Other' in this instance is based on the *Oxford Dictionary* definition that states "not the same as one or some already mentioned or implied" (Hawkins & Allen 1991: 1030). Thus *kaupapa Māori* theory differs from Post colonial theory in that the focus remains on Indigenous knowledge paradigms further supporting Ka`ai's (1995: 112) belief that

How then can Post-colonial theory or critiques derived from it be appropriate for a Māori Studies thesis when they place the Indigenous or the colonised person on the periphery? Rangihau and Ka`ai both suggest that postcolonial theory can be used once it has been filtered through an Indigenous perspective. In both cases, these scholars have empowered Māori knowledge systems by locating Māori in the centre and Western knowledge to the margin. From a pure Māori Studies perspective, the term *Kaupapa Māori* means the “groundwork” or the “medium” (Williams 1992: 107) from which Māori knowledge, including *te reo me ngā tikanga Māori*, can be validated. Therefore, *Kaupapa Māori* research should be located ‘organically’⁴ from within the Indigenous worldview and not on the periphery as the ‘other’.

Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1998: 36-37) elaborate on the idea of the ‘other’, describing how the ‘Imperial Powers’ are located in the centre and the ‘colonised’ in the margins. More specifically they state:

Imperial Europe became defined as the 'centre' in a geography at least as metaphysical as physical. Everything that lay outside that centre was by definition at the margin or the periphery of culture, power and civilization. The colonial mission, to bring the margin into the sphere of influence of the enlightened centre, became the principal justification for the economic and political exploitation of colonialism, especially [sic] after the middle of the nineteenth century.

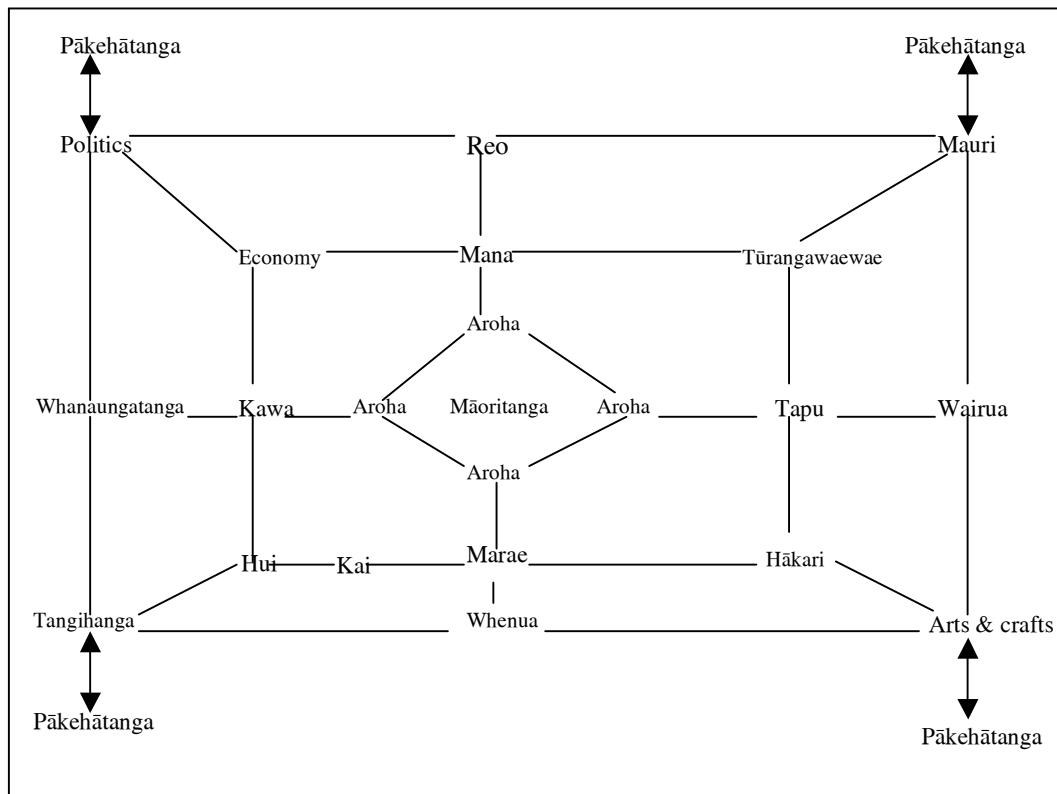
This definition describes how the relationship between the ‘centre’ and the ‘margin’ is based on power. The location of imperial powers at the centre of this theory with

³ *Kaupapa Māori* theory recognises the “validity of Māori cultural imperatives...”

⁴ ‘Organically’ in this context is derived from Antonio Gramsci’s notion of the ‘organic intellectual who originates from within the community in which the research is based. The ‘organic’ intellectual validates those Indigenous peoples who base their knowledge systems on their own unique worldviews, rather than those who observe from the outside following the ‘traditional’ intellectuals in Western knowledge (Gramsci 1997: 5-23).

the ‘unenlightened’ on the margin waiting to be ‘emancipated’ from their ‘savage’ lives confirms how colonialism spread at a global level inclusive of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Furthermore, the arrogant belief that those who lay on the margins were ‘unenlightened’ further supports Ka`ai’s (2003a:) analysis that in the Pākehā world view “Western knowledge is advanced as being superior to Indigenous forms of knowledge.” How does locating the Indigenous person on the margin empower their knowledge systems when it only strengthens the centrality of ‘imperial’ powers? This advancing of western knowledge by Post-colonial theorists only perpetuates the belief that Indigenous knowledge, including Māori knowledge, stands secondary to western knowledge systems.

It is appropriate, therefore, for the author to explore ‘organically’ Tūhoe models that describe how *moko kauae* is a representation of a woman’s Tūhoetanga. As stated earlier, one model that will provide a theoretical framework for this thesis was conceived by the late Tūhoe *kaumātua*, repository of knowledge and scholar, John Rangihau. The following is his conceptual model of Māoritanga:

Figure 1: Rangihau's Conceptual Model

(Ka`ai & Higgins 2003: 16)

This diagrammatic presentation of the Māori worldview locates Māoritanga at the centre of the model. Pākehātanga (Pākehā culture) is placed on the periphery of his model indicating that Rangihau recognises this culture as the ‘other’. The Rangihau theoretical model illustrates the interlocking relationships between some of the numerous cultural concepts of the Māori. Rangihau encases his notion of Māoritanga within the concept of *aroha* (profound love). From this concept he depicts how other important cultural concepts are related to each other. Some of these cultural concepts used by Rangihau have been categorised for explanatory purposes into the following groups:

Table 1: Cultural Concepts as related to Rangihau's Model**Social Institutions**

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| <i>Hākari</i> | A special feast or banquet, usually at the end of a <i>hui</i> where people have gathered from a particular purpose or function, for example, at the end of a <i>tangihanga</i> . The <i>hākari</i> is one of the instruments used to remove <i>tapu</i> . |
| <i>Hui</i> | A term used to describe any form of gathering or meeting that follows Māori protocol. |
| <i>Marae</i> | A term known throughout the Pacific, where it refers to a ritual site; in contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand this refers to a complex of buildings and the surrounding land. |
| <i>Tangihanga</i> | A death ritual where the deceased person lies in state for a period of three days to a week depending on circumstances. This usually takes place on the <i>marae</i> and takes precedence over other <i>hui</i> . The mourning process allows for the open expression of grief, wailing and shedding of tears as a means of healing people after their loss. |

Social Relationships

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i>Mana</i> | A term closely linked to the concept of <i>tapu</i> used to refer to authority, power, control, influence and prestige in relation to <i>atua</i> , people, land and the environment. <i>Mana</i> is linked to other cultural concepts such as <i>tuakana/teina</i> , <i>whakapapa</i> , and <i>rangatiratanga</i> . |
| <i>Tapu</i> | A term describing the influence of <i>atua</i> within the universe and over all things animate (people, insects, animals) and inanimate (mountains, rivers, <i>waka</i>). It also relates to a system of protective prohibitions or restrictions which control relationships between entities (people, land, environment) and their respective expression of <i>tapu</i> . |
| <i>Tūrangawaewae</i> | A term used to locate the very source of origins of a person's <i>whakapapa</i> , sometimes referred to as one's 'roots' or place of belonging, for example, one's <i>whānau</i> , <i>hapū</i> and <i>iwi</i> histories and aspirations, including genealogy, performing arts, <i>whakataukī</i> , <i>tikanga</i> , cultural obligations and responsibilities and politics. |
| <i>Whanaungatanga</i> | A term describing a kinship network which links Māori |

| | |
|--|---|
| | to their <i>whānau</i> , <i>hapū</i> , <i>iwi</i> and <i>te ao Māori</i> . It is a cultural framework for Māori identity. |
|--|---|

Spiritual and Physical Relationships

| | |
|---------------|---|
| <i>Wairua</i> | A term describing a spiritual life principle of a person and the relationship they have with the world around them. <i>Wairua</i> crosses between the physical and spiritual dimensions and includes the various levels of consciousness that drive certain behaviour in particular situations. Associated cultural concepts include <i>mauri</i> and <i>tapu</i> . |
| <i>Mauri</i> | A term used to describe a life force and ethos of all objects both animate and inanimate with the universe. This life force can be focused into a material object. Carved <i>mauri</i> stones were buried in tribal lands to maintain the <i>mauri</i> , or fruitfulness, of crops under Rongo. Like <i>mana</i> , <i>mauri</i> could be strengthened, diminished or transmitted. It is associated closely with other cultural concepts such as <i>atua</i> , <i>tapu</i> , <i>mana</i> and <i>wairua</i> . |
| <i>Whenua</i> | A term commonly used to refer to land. However, it is linked to the notion of birth in that it also refers to the placenta, which according to <i>tikanga Māori</i> is returned to the land. The act of giving birth is referred to as <i>whānau</i> . The <i>hapū</i> in this context refers to being pregnant. Therefore, the term <i>whenua</i> underpins the kinship structure and the very essence of Māori society. |
| <i>Kai</i> | A term commonly used to describe food. It is closely associated with cultural concepts such as <i>manaakitanga</i> . |

(Adapted from Ka`ai & Higgins 2003: 17-19).

The different categories of relationships (as described in Table 1) between these concepts are indicative of the abstract nature of *tikanga Māori*. This model demonstrates how concepts are not single celled or unrelated to each other. Furthermore, Rangihau illustrates these close relationships in spite of the dominant Pākehā culture. The existence of Pākehā culture on the periphery of his model demonstrates that Rangihau did not believe Māoritanga to be insular. He

recognised that Pākehātanga (Pākehā culture) had been adopted by Māori and incorporated into their *tikanga*. This model shows that regardless of the impact of Pākehātanga, Māoritanga remains strong and intact. Therefore, it is imperative that the methodology of this thesis is based on this model because it is premised on the relationships cultural concepts have with each other.

This thesis accepts the impact of Pākehā culture on Māoritanga. However, the centrality of Māoritanga in Rangihau's model provides an Indigenous framework for understanding an individual's world and, in this instance, a Māori world. Ka'ai (1995) describes Knudtson and Suzuki's theory of the way in which people interpret their worldview. Ka'ai believes that the way in which people view their world is dependent on their

... own sub-conscious culturally conditioned filters for making sense of the world around us...it is not until we encounter people with a substantially different set of filters that we have to confront the assumptions, predispositions and beliefs that we take for granted and which make us who we are (Ka'ai 1995: 24).

To illustrate the interface between different worldviews, Ka'ai provides a model she adapted from Knudtson and Suzuki (1992: 3) that highlights the peculiar characteristics of each worldview. In this instance she compares a 'Native World View' and a 'Western World View':

Table 2: Native and Western World Views

| Native World View | Western World View |
|---|---|
| Spirituality is imbedded in all elements of the cosmos. | Spirituality is centered in a single Supreme Being. |

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>Humans have responsibility for maintaining harmonious relationship with the natural world.</p> <p>Need for reciprocity between human and natural worlds - resources are viewed as gifts.</p> <p>Nature is honoured routinely through daily spiritual practice.</p> <p>Wisdom and ethics are derived from direct experience with the natural world.</p> <p>Universe is made up of dynamic, ever changing natural forces.</p> <p>Universe is viewed as a holistic, integrative system with a unifying life force.</p> <p>Time is circular with natural cycles that sustain life.</p> <p>Nature will always possess unfathomable mysteries.</p> <p>Human thought, feelings and words are inextricably bound to all other aspects of the universe.</p> <p>Human role is to participate in the orderly designs of nature.</p> <p>Respect for elders is based on their compassion and reconciliation of outer and inner-directed knowledge.</p> | <p>Humans exercise dominion over nature to use it for personal and economic gain.</p> <p>Natural resources are available for unilateral human exploitation.</p> <p>Spiritual practices are intermittent and set apart from daily life.</p> <p>Human reason transcends the natural world and can produce insights independently.</p> <p>Universe is made up of an array of static physical objects.</p> <p>Universe is compartmentalized in dualistic forms and reduced to progressively smaller conceptual parts</p> <p>Time is linear chronology of "human progress"</p> <p>Nature is completely decipherable to the rational human mind.</p> <p>Human thought, feeling and words are formed apart from the surrounding world.</p> <p>Human role is to dissect, analyse and manipulate nature for own ends.</p> <p>Respect for others is based on material achievement and chronological old age.</p> |
|--|--|

| | |
|--|---|
| Sense of empathy and kinship with other forms of life. | Sense of separateness from and superiority over other forms of life. |
| View of proper human relationship with nature as a continuous two-way, transactional dialogue. | View relationship of humans to nature as a one-way hierarchical imperative. |

(Ka`ai adapted from Knudtson and Suzuki(1992) 1995: 24-25)

These distinctive worldviews support the need to examine Indigenous knowledge through their own methodologies to ensure the validity of their cultural knowledge systems. Indigenous people, and in particular Māori people, identify themselves in the centre of their world. Ka`ai (2003a) provides a comparative table of Māori and Pākehā worldviews which develops the contrastive values in Table 2:

Table 3: Ka`ai's Conceptual Model on Māori and Pākehā World Views

| Māori World View | Pākehā World View |
|---|--|
| Landscape is understood from oral histories contained within the Māori language. | Landscape has been defined using western markers including literacy in the English language. |
| Values of Māori society have emanated from a Māori metaphysical base. | Values of Pākehā society have emanated from a western Christian philosophical base. |
| Māori attitudes to land are based on the view that they are merely caretakers of the land for future generations. | Individual ownership of land is central to Pākehā attitudes toward the land. |
| Knowledge is viewed in a holistic framework. | Knowledge is fragmented into academic subject areas. |

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>Māori are constantly struggling to have their knowledge system legitimised/validated as Indigenous people in their own land.</p> <p>Learning is life long and not age specific. Elders are considered repositories of knowledge and therefore they are valued and cherished within the society.</p> <p>Māori celebrate difference reflected in the structure of Māori society i.e. <i>hapū</i>, and <i>iwi</i>.</p> <p>Order is maintained in Māori society by specific cultural practices.</p> | <p>Western knowledge is advanced as being superior to Indigenous forms of knowledge.</p> <p>Learning is age-specific with people grouped by age regardless of readiness, motivation or interest. It is also culture specific with little variation for those whose heritage or life experiences are from a different tradition.</p> <p>Pākehā have a homogenous view of society – a one size fits all perspective and a ‘we are one people’ outlook.</p> <p>Order is maintained in Pākehā society by laws determined by the State.</p> |
| <p>Identity and a sense of place is determined by linking traditional practices of the past with the present. The future is viewed as an extension of the present.</p> <p>Māori society is based on a shared power system within social hierarchies.</p> <p>Self-sufficiency and self-determination are essential ingredients to Māori society.</p> | <p>Pākehā society is strongly focused toward controlling the future – investments and economic development.</p> <p>Pākehā society is based on a top-down power system.</p> <p>Pākehā society is constructed on neo-colonialism and therefore encourages dependency by Māori on the state.</p> |

(Ka`ai 2003a:)

While Ka`ai's analysis may be seen as provocative by some Pākehā scholars in Aotearoa/New Zealand, this table highlights how Māori being to perceive the world

through their own set of ‘filters’ when located at the centre alongside Pākehā knowledge rather than at the periphery. Like Rangihau, Ka`ai examines the interface between these two cultures and what effects they have on Indigenous systems. Firstly, Rangihau illustrates how the strength of Māoritanga is protected by its own cultural concepts. These inter-linking concepts demonstrate the layers of relationships which make up Māori knowledge systems. Rangihau includes Pākehātanga in his model to highlight his belief that his Māoritanga is paramount to his perception or his ‘filtering’ of his worldview. Ka`ai uses a table to contrast the important elements that constitute a Māori worldview in relation to a Pākehā one. This binary relationship, when read from left to right, suggests to the reader that they are being located within the Māori worldview and are now looking out towards the peripheral Pākehā worldview. Both Rangihau and Ka`ai demonstrate that their Indigenous ‘filters’ have turned the post-colonial theory of ‘centre/margin (periphery)’ or ‘other/self’ inside out.

Research methodology

This thesis, therefore, is located within the Māori Studies paradigm as proposed by Rangihau and Ka`ai. The work is not only strongly linked to the Māori world as an academic study, but it has emerged from within that world and, more specifically, from within Tūhoe as a result of the author's membership and active participation in both. This has allowed the author to acquire the essential tools (including the language and cultural knowledge to a standard acceptable to the people within the tribe) to move effectively in the Māori world and specifically amongst Tūhoe. Because Tūhoe have nurtured the author's development from birth, physically, spiritually, socially, politically and intellectually, this bond has allowed the author to gain access to numerous tribal members and to collect the data upon which this

thesis is based. This presents a very different ethnographic methodology from the one prescribed by Social Scientists who have historically observed cultures and societies that were not their own and were located in “...usually distant locales, distant, that is, geographically or culturally from the West, and seen as different from the normative European cultures” (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1998: 85). Indigenous researchers believe that all ethnographic research should be based upon and informed by a participatory or insider position, rather than on one which remains detached or outside that society. Tānia Ka`ai (1995: 110-111) formulated Māori research ethics and procedures she believed were important principles when undertaking research with Indigenous peoples, including Māori:

1. the Indigenous community must be consulted about the nature of the research and it is important that they are in agreement that the research may be conducted;
2. all research on or about Indigenous Peoples must be mutually beneficial to that community and the researcher;
3. the researcher, in conducting research in an Indigenous field, has an obligation to regularly inform, consult and update that community throughout the course of the research including the research methodology to be employed and the outcomes of the research;
4. the researcher recognises the honour and privilege of accessing Indigenous knowledge. It should be recognised that some people who may contribute to the research may be chronologically young, but their wisdom is valuable. To adopt an attitude as a researcher that one is merely a vehicle for the expression of Māori knowledge in an academic context, provides a sound basis from which to work among Māori communities;
5. the researcher accepts unconditionally that there are reciprocal obligations to the Māori community in agreeing to their research to proceed. The obligation may well be in terms of unpaid time to

undertake a task or several tasks requiring academic expertise for their community. This is based on the Māori notion:

*No te kōpū kotahi
i kai tahi, i moe tahi,
i mahi tahi.⁵*

6. the researcher observes Indigenous protocol at all times in the context of conducting research and allow for this in the preparation of their design. This includes the set timeframe not only to negotiate access to the sources of Indigenous knowledge and collect data, etc., but also to take into consideration those cultural events and practices which are mostly unplanned. In the Māori world, this may include *te whānau mai o te tamaiti* [birth of a child], *hura kōhatu* [unveiling], *tangihanga*, *te rā o te tekau mā rua* [Ringatū church gatherings held on the 12th day of each month], *poukai* [gatherings held for the Kīngitanga], *kawe mate* [memorial services], *whakataetae* [competitions], *pōhiri* [rituals of encounter], *manuhiri* [visitors], *hui* [gatherings], and *ngāhau* [entertainment]. The researcher must be prepared to participate if that is the expectation of the Indigenous community;
7. the researcher must acknowledge and cite all sources of knowledge in the text of the research;
8. the researcher, on completion of the research with the Indigenous community, appropriately inform the Indigenous community of the completion of their work in the community and thank them appropriately through *koha aroha* [gifts of appreciation] which may include *kai* [food], *taonga* [treasures], etc.;
9. the researcher, on completion of the research document, presents a copy of the document to the Indigenous community from which the information was obtained.

(Ka`ai 1995: 110-111).

⁵ According to Ka`ai (1995:111), this text was provided by Professor Wharehuia Milroy. Ka`ai explains that the passage implies that as a collective unit of people operating as a single united source, everything can be accomplished thus advancing a multitude of people.

The author acknowledges that this thesis has observed this set of protocols where appropriate during the course of data collection and the writing process.

Thesis Outline

The expression of Tūhoe identity through *moko kauae* is framed on the theoretical models of Rangihau (in Ka`ai and Higgins 2003) and Ka`ai (1995) who based their theories around the multiple layered worldviews of Indigenous people with particular reference to Māori. These theories emphasise the point that aspects of the Māori world do not stand alone in isolation but are connected to each other. This has often made explaining individual Māori cultural concepts difficult due to these interconnections. In the writing of this thesis, the author has also faced a similar challenge. It is the author's opinion that often scholars (both Māori and non-Māori) focus on a particular area of Māori culture without locating it in relationship to other cultural factors. This has resulted in a narrow analysis of research in to areas of the Māori world. The art of *tā moko* is one such subject that falls into this category and, more particularly, material on *moko kauae* which has an even more limited range of material. Therefore, this thesis will examine the political, social and economic aspects of *moko kauae* and how these dimensions contribute to the construction of an individual's identity. Models will be provided to shape an understanding of an Indigenous perspectives on identity. Although *moko kauae* is only one symbolic example of Māori culture, other elements of the Māori worldview could be applied to the same theory as representations of Māori identity.

This thesis is divided into three parts in order to illustrate an Indigenous perspective on identity. Each part begins by introducing each chapter contained within that

section and describes the relationship between them. The first two parts have been appropriately named after the Māori words that describe Indigenous peoples - *tangata whenua*.

Part I - *Tangata*, examines the practice of *tā moko kauae* as an art form of the people. This part looks at the spiritual, social, political, economic and technological aspects of the art of *tā moko kauae*. This part also critiques the limited references that have so far analysed this art and proposes that the scope of the research has not necessarily addressed the dynamic cultural issues that are an important part of *moko kauae*.

Part II - *Whenua*, focuses on the importance of land to Māori identity. The chapters within this part examine the spiritual connection Māori have with land and how this strong bond becomes the basis of Māori identity. This is illustrated through an analysis of the connection held by Māori before and after, the arrival of Pākehā. This part will also show how following the arrival of Pākehā, Māori perceptions of *whenua* have changed thus affecting how Māori perceive themselves and their identity in a different Aotearoa/New Zealand. This part concludes with a particular analysis of Tūhoe perceptions of their land, from the tribe's establishment in Te Urewera through to the period following confiscation as a means of understanding the *whenua* element of their identity.

Part III - Identity, draws from the material collected in the previous two parts. This part of the thesis is based on a collection of interviews that build upon the theoretical framework of this thesis. The primary subjects of this part are Tūhoe women who have received a *moko kauae*. Of the 12 people interviewed the author

selected a small sample group to represent the voices, the feelings and *whakaaro* (thoughts) shared by these women. The author decided that it was important to select narratives from women who strongly identified as Tūhoe through to those who saw their Tūhoe identity as being secondary to their primary *iwi* (tribe). This method was chosen to show that regardless of the affinity these women felt towards their Tūhoe identity, it remained an important element of their personal *moko kauae*. These women describe the cultural processes they had to undertake before, during and after obtaining their respective *moko kauae*. No two women shared the same process. This part illustrates how the cultural aspects of *tā moko kauae* have adapted to suit contemporary society while trying to maintain elements from the past. Furthermore, these women describe the political aspects behind their *moko kauae* and how it reflects their unique identity. All of the participants of this research agreed that their *moko kauae* was a reflection of their Tūhoe identity. Finally this part concludes with an analysis of what is Tūhoetanga. This is explored through a critique of the material regarding the different levels of Indigenous identities primarily from the global - Māoritanga, to the local - *iwitanga* theories. The author then proposes Indigenous models to describe identity at both levels. This model is then applied to Tūhoetanga and how Tūhoe descendants perceive their unique identity as a tribal group. This complements the personal journeys of the *moko kauae* women who connect their *moko* to their identity and, in particular, their Tūhoe identity.

The conclusion of this thesis draws together all the elements of the three parts to illustrate how together they represent a model for understanding Māori identity. Like Rangihau and Ka`ai's theories of the centrality of Indigenous knowledge systems, the author will show how the components of this thesis can be used to

illustrate the dynamism of *tikanga* Māori when applied to the Māori worldview. More importantly, this thesis shows how each distinctive part has a strong relationship so that when it is combined it provides a model for not only Māori identity but also the Māori worldview. The isolation of these components would limit the depth and richness of Māori knowledge systems. When combined, however, they reflect a *Kaupapa* Māori position by validating and empowering Māori epistemologies, paradigms and the Māori Studies discipline.

Part I

TANGATA

“Kei muri i te awe kāpara he tangata kē...”

Introduction

The title of Part I is taken from the *whakataukī* “*Kei muri i te awe kāpara, he tangata kē, māna i te ao, he mā* - behind the *moko* is a different man, one who in the daylight is clean” (Mead & Groves 1994: 71). There are different interpretations of this *whakataukī*; however, for the purposes of this thesis the researcher chose the first phrase as the title of this part of the thesis. “Behind the *moko* is a different person” is the subject of Part I. This will be examined through the different issues that apply to *tangata* (people), with particular reference to *moko kauae*.

Chapter One looks at the relationship between *tangata* and the *atua*. This will show how the *atua* play an integral role in Māori metaphysics. The *atua* are the source of all beings in the environment, including *tangata*. This provides the basis from which the mythological beginnings of the art of *tā moko* can be understood. Chapter One is the foundation from which Māori derive the importance of *tā moko* including *moko kauae*.

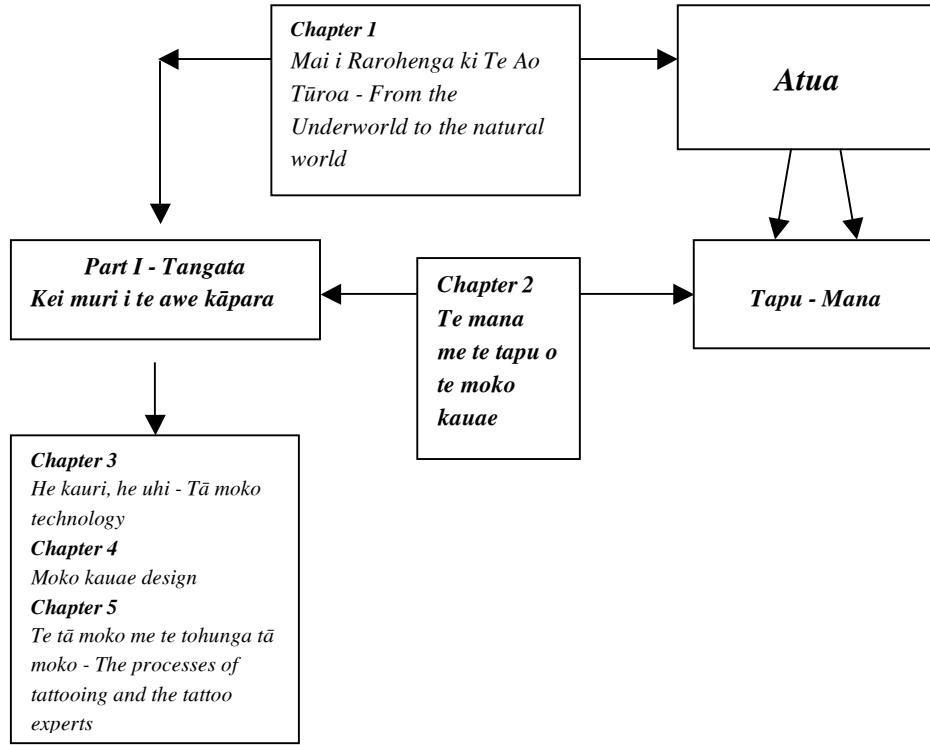
Chapter Two examines the importance of *moko kauae* through the application of *mana* and *tapu* to *tangata*. These primary concepts dictated the interactions between *tangata* and their environment, as well as how they interacted with each other. This chapter provides a contextual understanding of these terms in relation to other ones but, more importantly, how they affected *tangata* perceptions of *moko kauae*.

Chapter Three discusses the development of *moko* technology. This includes pre-contact materials and the adoption of new forms of technology. This chapter shows how the development of this technology affected some of the beliefs behind *moko kauae*. This extended to the validity of *moko kauae* as the art developed over time.

Chapter Four looks at the politics behind the *moko kauae* design. There are many questions as to the meanings behind the patterns used in *moko kauae*. This chapter will dispel some of the theories of design interpretation and provide a practical answer to these questions.

Chapter Five looks at the role of the *tohunga tā moko* and the processes of *tā moko*. This shows the significance of the art of *tā moko* through its practical application. These practices show the extent to which the *tohunga tā moko* and the recipient went to receive *moko kauae*. This chapter also documents the journeys of two women who received *moko kauae* in 2002.

All of these chapters show the importance of *moko kauae* to *tangata*. The reasons for *moko kauae* stem from the *atua*, who are the source of both *mana* and *tapu*. *Moko kauae* does not belong solely to women; it is an art that is owned collectively by the *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. This collective interest in the *tangata* by their kin provides a secure foundation for the individual's identity. The layout of Part I is summarised in the following diagram:

Figure 2: Layout of Part 1

This layout shows the relationship between *tangata* to *atua* (Chapter One), *tangata* and the customary concepts of *mana* and *tapu* (Chapter Two) and *tangata* to the aspects of *moko kauae* (Chapters Three to Five). The inclusion of Chapters One and Two in Part I of this thesis is intended to highlight the distinctive relationship between these two chapters to *tangata* and how this is related to the identity of a person.

Chapter One

Mai i Rarohenga ki Te Ao Tūroa From the Underworld to the Natural World

This chapter is an overview of mythology relating to *tangata* and, more importantly, to the origins of *tā moko* (practice of tattooing). The genesis of the Māori world will precede an explanation of the origin of *tā moko* in order to provide the reader with an understanding of the significance of the *atua* (god) and their relationship to *tangata*. The chapter will then describe the origins of the art of *tā moko* from Rarohenga (the underworld) and its introduction and development in Te Ao Tūroa (the natural world). The relationship between these two worlds is important to the evolution of the art form. The word *moko* originates from the *atua* Rūaumoko in Rarohenga and was brought from the underworld to Te Ao Tūroa. This chapter will provide a critique of the numerous narratives which all suggest a distinctive origin of the art of *tā moko*. These narratives will be analysed to draw out a conclusive account that shows the origin.

Mythological beginnings

Like many other human societies, such as the ancient Greeks, the relationship Māori people had with their natural world was closely linked to their gods. They believed that the natural phenomena of the world were representations or personifications of the gods (Best 1924:174). The language and customs of our ancestors are woven into the natural environment and provide a physical manifestation of the *whakapapa* (genealogy) connection to the *atua*. This link between *atua* and *tangata* (people) provides a basis from which Māori interacted

with their environment and with each other. The cosmological beginnings of the Māori world provide not only a basis for Māori to understand their environment but have influenced the development of Māori society. The following is a summation of the most commonly known version of the Māori genesis.

Te orokohanga mai o te ao - Māori genesis

Ranginui (Sky father) and Papatūānuku (Earth mother) are the primal parents of the Māori world and their union produced multitudes of children. Sheltered between their parents' embrace the children became restless due to overcrowding. They discussed whether to kill or separate Ranginui and Papatūānuku (Grey 1928:1). Tūmatauenga wanted to kill his parents but Tāne suggested that the best option would be to separate the two. Tāwhirimātea vehemently objected and refused to participate but the others continued their attempt to separate Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Each brother tried to push their father away from their mother but they were unsuccessful in their attempts. Tāne, using a different tactic, propped his shoulders against his mother, and using his legs he pushed his father away until eventually darkness became light and the multitudes of children were revealed for the first time (Grey 1928: 2). Ranginui, now the sky, mourned for his beloved wife and this sorrow is produced in the rain. Papatūānuku, the land, reciprocated her sorrow through the mist and dew that radiates from her. Ashamed by their *hara* (disasterous actions) the children turned their mother over so that she could not see their father's face to ease the sorrow shared by them both. In some accounts Rūaumoko was said to have been suckling on his mother when they overturned her, which is why he remained inside the earth. This is contrary to other versions that state that he was the unborn child of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Tāne pitied his parents and as compensation for the anguish he had caused them decorated each of

them. For Ranginui, Tāne covered his father in the stars and moon and his mother in trees and foliage (Reed 1999: 12-14).

Life in the new world did not produce harmony between the siblings. As a result of the separation Tāwhirimātea settled with his father and became the winds. He sought revenge on his siblings for separating their parents. These siblings had manifested themselves in elements of the natural world as well. Tāwhirimātea attacked Tāne and his children who were manifested in the trees, by splitting and uprooting them. Subsequently, Tāwhirimātea assailed Tangaroa who was represented by the oceans. As an outcome of Tāwhirimātea's rage Tangaroa's grandchildren sought refuge, and consequently, this resulted in the descendants of Ikatere going to the oceans and becoming the sea life, and the descendants of Tūtewehiwēhi going inland and becoming the reptiles.

Fearing the rage that continually brewed between these siblings Rongomātāne and Haumiatiketike sought solace within their mother and became the *kūmara* (sweet potato) and *aruhe* (fern root) respectively. Rūaumoko, who is located with his mother in the earth, states his presence through earthquakes and volcanic activity.

Tūmatauenga was the only sibling who stood up against the onslaught of Tāwhirimātea and survived, defeating Tāwhirimātea's vengeance. For this act of resilience Māori associate with Tūmatauenga as the *atua* of man and war. Tūmatauenga was angry with his brothers for not standing with him against Tāwhirimātea and as a result he sought revenge on his brothers. He created technology from his brothers and captured their children; snares were made to capture the birds from Tāne; nets were created to capture the children of Tangaroa;

spades were made and the descendants of Rongomātāne and Haumiatiketike were dug up and eaten. These acts defiled the status of his brothers and secured the superiority of man who would be created later (Buck 1952: 441).

These children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku are acknowledged by Māori society as being the *atua* who make up the natural world. The physical manifestation of the *atua* in the natural environment is a ceaseless reminder to *tangata* that they are linked to these powers. The following table illustrates the *atua* and their departments:

Table 4: Ngā Atua Māori: Māori Gods

| <i>Atua</i> | <i>Realm</i> |
|----------------|---|
| Ranginui | Sky |
| Papatūānuku | Earth |
| Tāne | Trees, birds and man |
| Tangaroa | Oceans, sea life and reptiles |
| Tāwhirimātea | Winds |
| Rongomātāne | Cultivated foods such as <i>kūmara</i> , peace |
| Haumiatiketike | Uncultivated foods such as <i>aruhe</i> |
| Rūaumoko | Earthquakes, volcanic activity and <i>tā moko</i> |
| Tūmatauenga | War and human characteristics |

(Adapted from Best 1995a: 164-187 & Buck 1952: 439-441)

Te hanga mai o te tangata - The creation of people

The previous narrative provides an understanding of one commonly known explanation of the creation of the natural world. The beginning of human existence

did not occur during this narrative. The following will describe one version of the creation of *tangata*, and, more importantly, of *wahine*. This narrative emphasises the link between *tangata* and the *atua*, Tāne, who created the first woman from the clay of his mother, Papatūānuku. Tāne located the *oha* at Te One-i-Kurawaka (the sands at Kurawaka), the female element of his mother Papatūānuku, and created the image of a woman from the earth. Unaccustomed to the figure he created, Tāne used his penis to discover where the *oha* of the woman was.⁶ Tāne thrust into different areas of the woman's body until eventually he found the *oha* (Orbell 1995:54). Once Tāne breathed life into his creation the woman indicated life by sneezing. This action is recorded at the beginning of most speeches where men will exclaim '*Tihei mauriora*' (sneeze of life). The creation narrative of Hineahuone (the woman created from earth) is the first reference to *ira tangata*. This indicates that the first life principle element for *tangata* was joined to *ira atua* (life principles of the gods) as a result of being created by Tāne. Hineahuone secured this relationship between *ira atua* and *ira tangata* by eventually mating with Tāne and producing offspring (Best 1995a: 122). This creation narrative of *tangata* indicates the *whakapapa* relationship between people and *atua*. Furthermore, this supports the deep respect Māori have for their *atua*, as they are not just manifestations of the environment, they are their ancestors.

Rūaumoko

Like other Māori rituals those pertaining to *tā moko* locate their foundations in the mythological world of the gods. Mark Kopua (2001:1) sources the origin of the word '*moko*' to Rūaumoko, the unborn child of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. As

⁶ Even though Tāne is an *atua*, Māori understood that their deities had imperfections (Wharehuia Milroy 2004: Personal Communication). An example of this understanding is highlighted in the commonly known phrase used in *haka* is “*He atua, he tangata*” which illustrates the similar characteristics people inherited from their *atua*.

noted above Rūaumoko is commonly associated with the natural phenomena of earthquakes and volcanic activity. The understanding and relationship that Māori had with their natural world and their gods were highlighted in the physical manifestations of these phenomena. As a result, Kopua translates Rūaumoko as "The Trembling current that Scars the Earth," and links this to the art of *moko*:

Ruaumoko, was responsible for the deep uneven grooves left within the surface terrain of their primal parent, Papa-tuanuku. In short, they witnessed, a natural form of *Moko* (Kopua 2001:1).

There are many narratives relating to the origins of the art form of *tā moko*. The following are versions of the different accounts commencing with the most commonly known narrative of Mataora and Niwareka. This will be supplemented with other narratives of Rukutia and Tū Te Koropanga and conclude with references to Māui Tikitiki a Taranga and Irawaru.

Mataora and Niwareka

Of all the narratives locating the origins of the art form of *tā moko* it is the story of Mataora and Niwareka that comes to the fore. The following explanation of the narrative is taken from the common threads of the accounts written by White (1889), Smith (1913), Best (1924) and Alpers (1987).

Mataora was a *rangatira* (chief) of stately attributes and warrior agility who lived in Te Ao Tūroa. On one occasion Mataora was resting in his house "Te Rara-o-te-rangi" (Smith 1913:182) when he was awoken by the presence of a party of strange women. These women were *tūrehu* (fairy like people) from Rarohenga who had

gathered around Mataora intrigued by his looks, thinking that he might be a “supernatural being” (Best 1924: 167).

Mataora enquired as to whether the *tūrehu* were women and they in return asked whether he was a man. On identifying themselves, Mataora invited the *tūrehu* into his house so that he could provide them with nourishment. They declined entering his house and the cooked food he provided. Taken aback by their response, they explained that they could not eat cooked food, so he was compelled to provide raw food for his *manuhiri* (guests).

Later, exchanges of song and dance took place between Mataora and the *tūrehu*. Mataora demonstrated his dexterity and agility in his performance. The *tūrehu* performed their dance with one of them taking centre stage. The supporting *tūrehu* performed to her and sung her name in their song. “Niwareka, Niwareka” was chanted as the tall, fair-haired woman danced to the song of her company. Enchanted by her performance, Mataora began to fall in love with the beautiful Niwareka and eventually she became his wife.

One day, after being married for a while Mataora in a rage struck Niwareka across the face. Niwareka fled back to her homeland, as domestic violence was unheard of in Rarohenga. Mataora, overcome by guilt and love for Niwareka, set off to find her.

He went to Tahuaroa, at far Irihia, where great Hikurangi looks down on the old homeland of the Maori. He came to Poutere-rangi, where Te Kuwatawata, the Guardian, holds the entrance to the underworld of spirits, and enquired of him: “Have you seen a woman passing this way?” (Best 1924:168)

Te Kuwatawata informed Mataora that she had indeed passed through to Rarohenga and that he too could pass into the underworld.

On his journey Mataora encountered *tīwaiwaka* (fantail) whom he asked about the activities of the people and his wife. He was informed of their ventures but the *tīwaiwaka* also pointed out that they knew of the reason for his wife's return to Rarohenga. Mataora was overcome with *whakamā* (shame). However, he continued on to find his wife. When Mataora arrived, he noticed the activities of the people, but the one thing that caught his eye was the process of *tā moko*.

Uetonga, the father of Niwareka, was in the process of applying a *moko* to a recipient. Uetonga, a descendant of Hinenuitepō and Rūaumoko (see *whakapapa* i, ii, iii) was a *rangatira* who specialised in *tā moko*. Mataora was intrigued, for in Te Ao Tūroa *moko* was a temporary application of designs on the face that could be removed. This form of adornment was termed "*whakairo tuhi*" or "*hopara makaurangi*" (Smith 1913: 186, Best 1941:546). This form of temporary tattooing was executed with soot, blue clay or red ochre. Like *moko* they reflected the patterns used in *kōwhaiwhai* patterns. Mataora questioned the work of Uetonga, explaining the practice used in Te Ao Tūroa. Uetonga wiped his son-in-law's face to show the worthlessness of a temporary tattoo. The people of Rarohenga laughed at this action and Mataora once again was left to feel *whakamā*. Uetonga explained that their process of *tā moko* was permanent, and thus had more *mana*. Mataora decided that he wanted to have a permanent *moko*, and asked if Uetonga would undertake the task of applying it to his face. It was agreed upon, and Mataora lay down for Uetonga to begin. The pain of the process was almost unbearable and as a consequence Mataora began to chant to Niwareka.

On hearing this chant, Niwareka's sister took off to find her and tell Niwareka that there was a man chanting her name. In some accounts (Best 1995b, Alpers 1987), it states that Niwareka was in Taranaki weaving a cloak. Her sister told her about the stranger who was being tattooed by their father, and about his chant. They rushed back to see who this man was. Blinded by the swelling caused by the tattoo, Mataora was unrecognisable to Niwareka. However, she recognised his cloak as being the one that she had woven for him. Niwareka pitied him for the suffering he was undergoing, and greeted her husband with tears.

When the *moko* eventually healed, Mataora asked Niwareka to return with him to Te Ao Tūroa. She was reluctant, as she believed that Te Ao Tūroa was an evil place where husbands beat their wives. She told him that she would need to consult with her *whānau* (family). Uetonga said to Mataora that he should return and leave Niwareka in Rarohenga for he did not want his child to come to harm again. Mataora was once again ashamed of his actions and on seeing this Uetonga said to him that he was not to repeat that incident again. Mataora said to Uetonga that he would not as "the moko I am wearing now will not rub off" (Alpers 1987:326). Mataora and Niwareka prepared for their journey back to Te Ao Tūroa. Mataora was presented with some gifts, the knowledge of *tā moko*, but also a cloak called Te Rangihaupapa. This cloak became the example of how all cloaks were made subsequently in Te Ao Tūroa. He thus rolled it up in his rain cloak and placed it in his bag.

Like his journey to Rarohenga, Mataora and Niwareka were greeted again by *tīwaiwaka* who delayed the ascent until Tatauruora or November (Best 1924: 171). Eventually *tīwaiwaka* let the couple pass on, with *Rūrū* (owl), *Kīwi* (native bird),

and Pekapeka (bat) as their guides, and advised that they be kept hidden in the darkness of night up in Te Ao Tūroa.

When the couple arrived at Poutererangi, Te Kuwatawata enquired as to what they were taking from Rarohenga to Te Ao Tūroa. Mataora replied that they were taking the guides and the art of *tā moko* that had been taught to him by Uetonga. Te Kuwatawata asked what was in his bag, and discovered that Te Rangihauapa was hidden amongst his gear. Te Kuwatawata became angry that Mataora had not declared Te Rangihauapa and told Mataora and Niwareka that passage between the two worlds would forever be closed off to the living and that only the spirits would enter. Ashamed at his forgetfulness, Mataora continued on with his wife to Te Ao Tūroa. It was from this time that *tā moko* was practised in the form in which we know it today.

Rukutia, Tū Te Koropanga and Tamanuiarangi

In Te Waipounamu (South Island), it is believed that the origins of *tā moko* are linked to Rukutia and Tū Te Koropanga. The South Island narrative talks about Rukutia and her first husband, Tamanuiarangi (Tama). Rukutia left Tama to be with Tū Te Koropanga as he was more desirable physically. Tama was said to have transformed himself into a *kōtuku* (heron) and gone to Rarohenga to consult with the spirit world about his woes. On his descent into the underworld, Tama chanced upon two of his *tīpuna* (ancestors), Tuwhenua and Tumaunga, who were highly adorned with *moko*. Admiring the *moko* of his *tīpuna*, Tama requested that he too be adorned in a similar manner. Tuwhenua and Tumaunga painted designs of Tama, but when he bathed they washed off. When he asked for a permanent design, he was told to consult with Toko and Ha who dwelt where Tuapiko and

Tawhaitiri lived (Best 1995b: 237). It was here that Tama received his *moko* and on completion went in search of his wife. When he reached the place where she was living with Tū Te Koropanga, he disguised himself so that his *moko* was not seen, and waited for her to make an appearance at the evening dances.

When she so appeared Tama repeated a charm that caused her eyes to water constantly and so profusely that she had to desist, being quite unable to take her part in the performance. This so angered Tu that he beat her, and made her cry (Best 1995b: 238).

Later that evening, Tama enchanted Rukutia with the sweet scent of the *rotu* plant that he gathered from Rarohenga. Rukutia told Tū Te Koropanga that she knew that the eyes of the man at the performance looked like those of her first husband, Tama. Tū Te Koropanga did not believe her as he had placed obstacles up to prevent Tama ever finding Rukutia.

Tama prepared to reveal to his wife his new image. He went to the stream and washed away the disguise and dressed himself up in all his finery. With his *karakia* (incantations) Tama enticed Rukutia out of the house to see him. Adoring his appearance she asked him to take her away with him. He refused saying, "Not so, you abandoned me for a handsomer man, now stay you with him. In the days that lie before I will return hither" (Best 1995b: 238).

After a period of time, Tama returned to Tū Te Koropanga's home but encountered more obstacles that had been put into place to prevent his return. Overcoming these barriers Tama moved closer to shore, where Rukutia saw him. The latter swam out to be with Tama after which he pulled her on board and then killed her. He returned with his wife's corpse back to his home. On his arrival Tama remain in *te whare*

pōtae (period of mourning) for many months between spring and summer. It is said that after this period of mourning, Tama was given a sign that indicated that Rukutia had been brought back to life again.

Māui Tikitiki-a-Taranga and Irawaru

The most commonly known narrative featuring Māui Tikitiki-a-Taranga (Māui) and Irawaru concerns Māui's jealousy of the latter's fishing prowess. As a result of envy Māui changed Irawaru into a dog. Some versions of this story include references to *moko*.

A recent scholar, Alfred Gell (1993), who derives his narrative from John White (1889), describes the narrative about the fishing expedition in which Māui flew into a rage at the ability of Irawaru to fill his canoe with fish. Irawaru repeated his performance in outskilling Māui:

Enraged, Maui turned Irawaru into a dog and beat him on the nose with a burning log, causing the blackened snout which all native dogs possess to this day. Irawaru became the ancestor of all dogs, obliged to eat excrement as a result of Maui's jealousy and hatred (Gell 1993: 253).

Gell notes that John White (1889:ii 126) saw this narrative as being " . . . the origin of the old style of tattooing known as *moko kuri* or 'dog-tattooing'" (Gell 1993: 253).

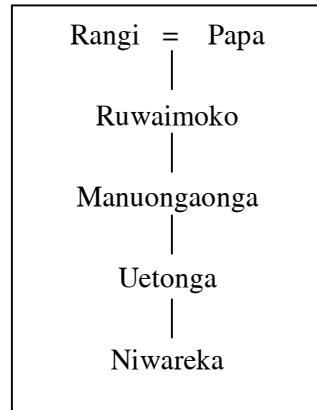
On the other hand Best (1995b) makes reference to a version from the Takitimu *rohe* (area) in which Māui returned from Horotea where he had learnt the art form of *tā moko*. Best goes on to say that as a result of the people gathering around Māui to admire his skills at *moko*, Irawaru asked to be tattooed. Māui spied a *kākahu*

(cloak) known as a '*kahu mahiti*' or '*kahu uhipuni*' (Best 1995b: 361) that Irawaru possessed and decided that he would swindle it off Irawaru. Once Māui had completed the *moko* he told Irawaru to go with him to the stream, whereupon Māui changed Irawaru into the form of a dog. Like the first version of this legend, Māui's sister went in search of her husband, but only discovered him when she used the call of the dog (Best 1995b: 362).

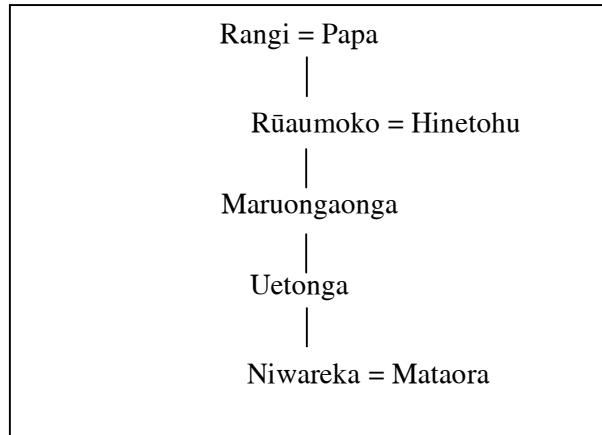
Analysis

In analysing the above narratives concerning the sources of the art form *tā moko*, there is a clear relationship between the *atua*, Rūaumoko, and the story of Mataora and Niwareka. The first relationship is found in *whakapapa* (see following page). These show that Niwareka is a direct descendant of Rūaumoko:

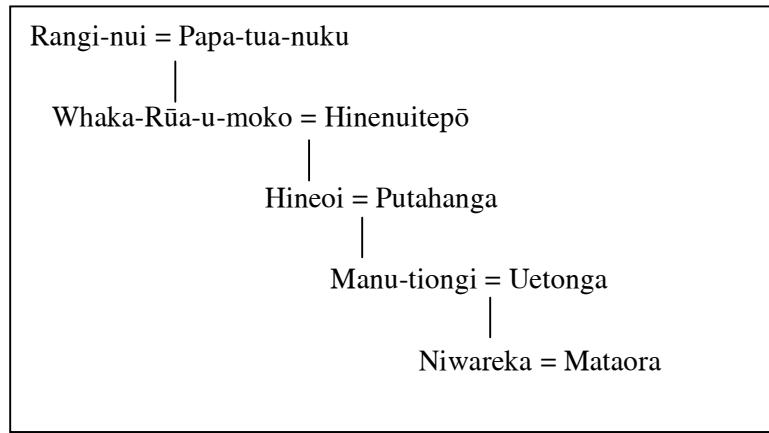
Figure 3: Whakapapa i



(White 1889: ii 4)

Figure 4: Whakapapa ii

(Best 1995b: 392)

Figure 5: Whakapapa iii

(Kopua 2001:1)

All the *whakapapa* described above show the relationship of Rūaumoko (including those with varied spelling of the name) to Uetonga, who ultimately passed on the knowledge of *tā moko* to his son in law, Mataora. The *whakapapa* support the comments made by Kopua (2001: 1) that the source of *moko* is linked to the *atua* Rūaumoko and his descendant Uetonga. This is also supported in the following *whakatauāki* (proverbial sayings):

*Na Mataora i ako
Te mahi a Uetonga
Te mahi ta moko* (White 1889: ii 7).

Mataora taught the art of Uetonga,
The art of tattooing (White 1889: ii 6).

*Nga nganga a Mataora
Nga mahi a Uetonga* (White 1889: ii 7).

The core of Mataora
The work of Uetonga (White 1889: ii 6).

The second relationship concerns the location of *tā moko* in Rarohenga and its passage to Te Ao Tūroa. There is an emphasis in the first narrative on Niwareka being a *tūrehu* from the underworld, and how the ways of Rarohenga were those of peace and light. The elaborate description of the journey of Mataora in search of his wife is highlighted. He not only had to pass the guardian Te Kuwatawata, but also the *tīwaiwaka*. This emphasis is found again in the conclusion of the narrative with Mataora and his wife, Niwareka, having to pass through the checkpoint between the worlds. There seem to be only slight variations in the descriptions of the journey of Mataora to Rarohenga, and his subsequent return with Niwareka to Te Ao Tūroa. However, what is consistent in all the variations is Mataora's forgetting to declare Te Rangihaupapa upon his return to Te Ao Tūroa, with the result that entry from Te Ao Tūroa to Rarohenga is closed off.

Rarohenga is also the location for the origin of *moko* in the narrative of Rukutia and Tū Te Koropanga. That account explains that Tamanuiarangi (Tama) on his descent into Rarohenga met ancestors who had *moko* and asked them if he could receive this artform. In Best's (1995b) version he explains that the *tīpuna*

(Tuhenua and Tumaunga) only applied a temporary design to Tama. Yet when Tama requested a permanent one he was told to consult with Toko and Ha. Best identifies White (1889: ii) as the source of the narrative. However, the latter makes no mention of the aforementioned *tīpuna*. White does in the narrative, however, source the origin of *tā moko* back to Mataora. White's version reads as follows:

Soon after this, Tama-nui-a-raki went down to the place of Mataora, and said to her, "I have come to you to learn the art of tattooing . . ." Her people tattooed him, but, on looking at his reflection in a pool of water, he washed the *moko* (tattooing) off. He was again tattooed by the people, but this time they did it with the veritable *moko*, cut into the flesh; this he could not wash off his face. And then they tattooed his body all over. He now returned to his children and ancestors who were unable to recognize him, so great was the change in his appearance through the tattooing (White 1889: ii 36).

What is apparent in these versions, in comparison to the Mataora and Niwareka narrative, is the presence of temporary tattoos. In the first narrative it is Mataora who wears a temporary design that is wiped off by his father-in-law Uetonga. In Best's version of the narrative of Rukutia and Tū Te Koropanga, Tama received the temporary *moko* from his *tīpuna* Tuwhenua and Tumaunga. White also made mention of this but he was not clear as to who the people were who applied this to Tama. In the Mataora story, he was left to feel *whakamā* about his temporary *moko* by the people of Rarohenga as it was seen to have no *mana* whereas the permanent *moko* of the underworld did.

In Gell's (1993) version, the narrative of Irawaru and Māui shows a relationship between these *tīpuna* and *moko kurī* (an early form of *moko*). However, Gell sources this story from White (1889:ii) who actually made no link between the narrative of Irawaru and Māui and *tā moko*. According to White,

Maui tattooed the muzzle of the dog with his *uhi* (instrument for tattooing) and made it black, and the *kahui-tara* (flock of tern - *Sterna frontails*) took the pattern and marked the sky with red, which may still occasionally be seen on it. They also caused the red glow which frequently shines on the face of man (White 1889: ii 126).

This is the extent of White's reference on this matter. It does not state whether the dog in question was Irawaru. The important feature of this version by White is that he notes that Māui used his *uhi* to make the dog's nose black, in contrast to Gell's mistaken interpretation that Māui beat the dog with a burning log (Gell 1993: 253). The version from the Takitimu *rohe* does not make reference to the origin of *tā moko*; rather, in that account Māui went away to acquire the knowledge of *tā moko* (at Horotea), and eventually placed the *moko* on Irawaru.

What none of the authorities mentioned is the relationship between *kuri*, excrement and the pigment used in *tā moko*. Gell (1993) makes the assumption that the style of *moko kuri* is related to this narrative yet it is not supported by his source, White (1889: ii). A full account of the manufacturing of pigments will be explored later (Chapter Three), however, it should be mentioned here that dog excrement was used as an ingredient for the ink (Hamilton 1972: 311). Yet this mythological allusion to the material used to create *moko* is not mentioned at all by Gell.

Apart from some minor variations it is apparent that the actions of Mataora and Niwareka are the most likely origins of *tā moko*. This is also supported by the reference to *moko* in the narrative of Rukutia and Tū Te Koropanga. There is a clear relationship between the *atua* Rūaumoko through *whakapapa* to Uetonga (father of Niwareka) who taught the art of *tā moko* to Mataora, the human being responsible for bringing the art form to Te Ao Tūroa. This link to Rūaumoko locates the art

form in Rarohenga, the dwelling place of Rūaumoko, who is personified in the scars that he engraved on Papatūānuku. These scars are caused by volcanic activities on the landscape, and resemble the grooved lines of chiseled *moko*. This narrative also emphasises the open relationship that Te Ao Tūroa had with Rarohenga, until the *hara* caused by Mataora ultimately closed off the two worlds from each other except for those who had died. However, it is acknowledged that Mataora and Niwareka brought with them the art forms of *tā moko* and *tāniko* (patterned weaving) to Te Ao Tūroa, the latter through their possession of Te Rangihauapapa.

Conclusion

This chapter has endeavoured to explain the mythological relationship that *tangata* have with their *atua*. This provides the reader not only with a contextual background as to the source of the relationship that Māori have with their *atua*, but also indicates how the *atua* provided Māori with their natural environment and, subsequently, are the source of all things including the art of *tā moko*. The genesis of the Māori world view were introduced in this chapter to illustrate how the natural world is considered to be representations of the *atua*. This was described through the most commonly known narrative of the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku by their son Tāne. This story shows how the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku became the *atua* for different areas of the environment. This narrative attests to Māori beliefs that their relationship to the environment is based on their respect for the *atua*.

This narrative was followed by one account of the creation of humans, and more specifically, Hineahuone. This produced the strong connection between the *atua*

and *tangata* through the establishment of *ira tangata*. The consanguinity Māori have with the *atua* is through the offspring of Hineahuone and Tāne, thus giving Māori both *ira tangata* and *ira atua* qualities.

Those narratives that describe the origin of both the natural world and *tangata* are considered an important element of Māori identity. These stories not only provide Māori with a *whakapapa* connection to their *whenua* but also to their *atua*. As this thesis proposes to show how *moko kauae* is a representation of identity it was important to describe these narratives and provide the stories that are associated with the origins of *tā moko*.

There are many variations as to the origin of the art of *tā moko*, however, this chapter argues that the origin of the word *moko* is related to Rūaumoko. Whilst all the narratives have some connection to the art of *moko* it was established that it is the story of Mataora and Niwareka that explains the origin of *tā moko*. This account describes how the art form came from Rarohenga and was brought into Te Ao Tūroa for use by humans. This connection to the underworld highlights the *mana* that was associated with *tā moko*. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Two

Te mana me te tapu o te moko kauae

The relationship Māori people have with the different *atua* is reflected in the customary concepts that make up *tikanga Māori* (Māori cultural practices). *Mana*, (“Authority, control”; “Influence, prestige, power”, (Williams 1992: 172), and *tapu* (“religious, superstitious or ceremonial restriction,” “inaccessible”, “sacred”, (Williams 1992: 385) are two of the most important concepts of Māori society. These two concepts have a significant effect on people especially in their relationships with other individuals. This connection between *tangata* is an important element of the identity of a person. This is demonstrated through the *whakapapa* of the *tangata*, which is sourced to the *atua*. These concepts are also critical to women who chose to acquire *moko kauae*. The process of *tā moko* is considered very *tapu* because of the blood that is shed during the process. More importantly, the *mana* of such an art form is connected with the *mana* of the woman who bears the *moko*. This chapter will look at the importance of *mana* and *tapu* in relation to *tangata*, and more significantly women. This will be followed by a description of how these concepts are applied to some areas of *moko kauae* in order to demonstrate its importance.

Mana and tapu

Just as all things can be sourced to the *atua*, *mana* and *tapu* are no exception. Michael Shirres (1997: 53) describes *tapu* as “...the potentiality for power, *mana* is the actual power, the power itself.” *Mana* and *tapu* are complex concepts when attempting to define them separately due to their close relationship. However, the

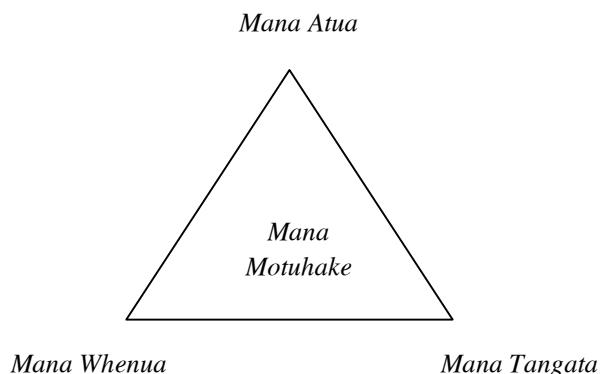
importance of these two customary concepts is highlighted in their presence in all elements of the Māori worldview, including people.

No creature stands alone. Each section of creation has its own spiritual power [*atua*] which is its ancestor, *tupuna*, and its source of *tapu* and *mana*. So an attack on the *tapu* and *mana* of any particular creature is also an attack on the *tapu* and *mana* of its particular spiritual power. Disrespect for the fish is disrespect for Tangaroa, disrespect for the forest and birds is disrespect for Taane, disrespect for the kumara is disrespect for Rongo-maa-Taane and disrespect for man is disrespect for Tuu-mata-unga (Shirres 1983: 41)

The interface between the customary concepts of *mana* and *tapu* described by Shirres (1983: 41) highlights how the source of both *mana* and *tapu* are linked to the gods and, therefore, disrespect afforded any matter in the Māori world is believed to be a slight against the *atua*.

There are different levels of *mana* depending on the matter in question. As a consequence, the varied types of *mana* are often referred to by a distinct category. This thesis will concentrate on four types of *mana*. *Mana atua* (power of the gods or the ancestors), *mana whenua* (power of the land), *mana tangata* (power of the people) and *mana motuhake* (separate *mana*). The relationship between these types of *mana* is described in the following diagram:

Figure 6: Ngā Mana Māori

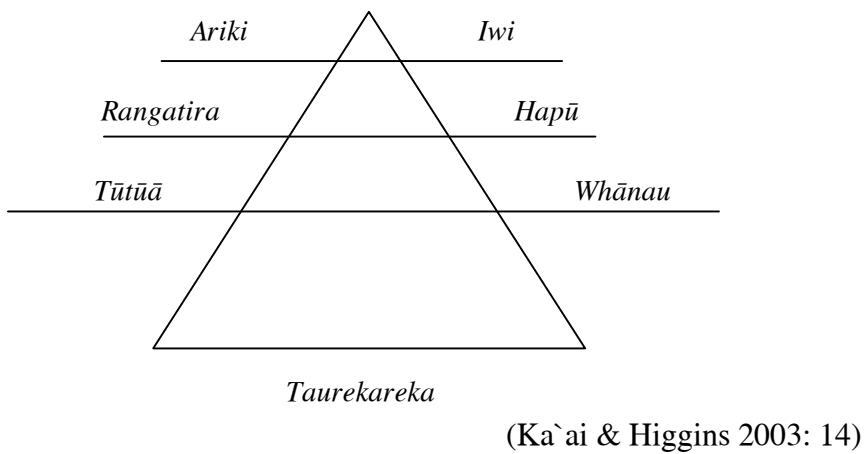


Mana Atua relates to the source of all *mana* from the gods through the ancestors to the present generations. This type of *mana* provides the basis of all *whakapapa*, which is an important aspect of the Māori worldview. *Mana Whenua* provides people with a land base to exercise their *mana* over. The *whenua* is an important element of the Māori psyche in terms of their identity, their *mana motuhake*. This type of *mana* is covered in Part II of this thesis. *Mana Tangata* is the social interactions of the people with others. This is displayed in numerous customary concepts such as *manaaki*, *whanaungatanga*, and *aroha*. These three types of *mana* connect to allow a collective group such as *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* to maintain their *mana motuhake* from other such collectives. The interface between these different types of *mana* is covered in Part III of this thesis.

The role of *mana* in respect to the acquisition of *moko kauae* relates to the status of the recipient. Māori society was based on the *whakapapa* connection to the *atua*. A person's individual *mana* depended on their location within these descent lines. The *ariki*, or paramount chief, descends from the *tuakana* (senior) line, which is seen as being closer to the *atua*. As a result of their greater *mana* the *ariki* were recognised as being the leaders of the *iwi* (tribes). By comparison, *rangatira* could acquire their *mana* through *whakapapa* or achievement (Mahuika 1975: 88-89). It should be noted that they were from the *taina* (also known as *teina*, or the junior) line in the genealogical table thus their *mana* usually extended over *hapū* (sub-tribal group), with their more limited genealogical depth, rather than the larger *iwi*. Further down the social strata, the amount of *mana* an individual acquired through *whakapapa* was dependent on how far removed the person was from the *tuakana* line, and therefore from the *atua*. Through descent *tūtūā* (commoners) were those that came from the *taina* position within the *hapū*. However, *taurekareka* (war

slaves) who made up the lowest strata possessed no *mana* by virtue of their having been captured in war. Māori societies understood the importance of *whakapapa* in relation to *mana* as this determined interaction between the classes (Ka`ai & Higgins 2003: 14). This is illustrated in the following diagram showing the *whakapapa* descent from *ariki* to *taurekareka*.

Figure 7: Māori social structure

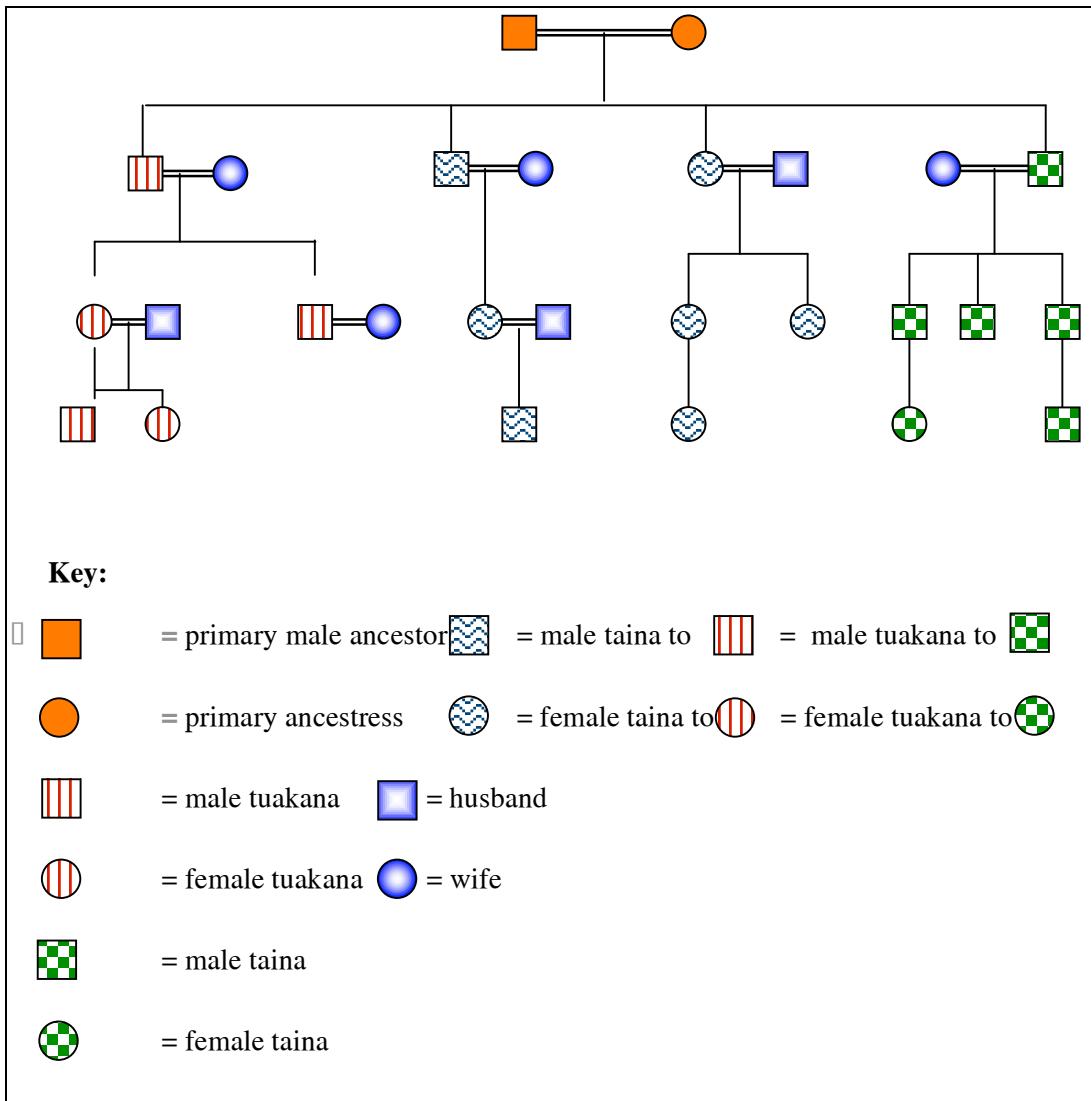


The titles indicated on the left describe the status of the person. The opposing list of names on the right indicated the extent of the social system which their *mana* covered. The *taurekareka* are not assigned to any group to show their lack of *mana* and their lack of membership in any social group. Leadership was classified into two categories: the first based on inherited *mana*, while the second was based on achieved *mana* (Mahuika 1975: 88-89, Ka`ai & Reilly 2003: 91). Inherited *mana* was based on the *whakapapa* of the individual whereas the achieved *mana* was based on the person's actions in a leadership role. The latter acknowledged the achievements of the *taina* in leading his/her people. Māori acknowledged the *whakapapa* status of individuals. People were treated according to their *whakapapa*

as the *tapu* and *mana* of that individual was inherited from their ancestors who ultimately inherited theirs from the *atua*. Those who were from *tuakana* lines were rendered more *tapu* and *mana* through their *whakapapa*.

A Māori person is never an isolated individual, but rather is connected through the web of *whakapapa* to others as *tuakana*, *taina*, or as *tūngane* (brother/cousin of a woman) and *tuahine* (sister/cousin of a woman), to name some of the more important differentiations of relationships. The location of the individual within his/her generation is not the only form of validating a person's *tuakana* or *taina* line. This is further determined by the location of the individual's parent's generation, the grandparent's generation, their great-grandparent's generation and so forth.

Figure 8: Example of the relationship between descent lines



This diagram illustrates that the *tuakana* and *taina* lines are determined by the preceding generation. It was vital for individuals to understand their wider *whakapapa* to ensure that they know whether they were either a *tuakana* or a *taina*. A continuous *tuakana* line through several generations within a *whānau* possesses an increased level of *mana* and *tapu* which is associated with the people who descend from this line. These levels of *mana* and *tapu* dictated the level of respect

an individual received. However, there are numerous accounts of *tuakana* having their *mana* usurped by their *taina*. An example of this occurs in Chapter Nine regarding the dispute between Tūhoe Pōtiki and his eldest brother, Ueimua.

Despite the power and respect accorded *tuakana* lines the *ariki* and *rangatira* were not aloof, rather as Patterson points out: “The chief, then, for all the *mana* and *tapu* that are associated with the office, is not seen as being some high and distant god-like creature, but rather as a near-at-hand, protective figure” (Patterson 1992: 71). The protective characteristic of the chief was closely associated with *tapu* as a system of law-like prohibitions. This system of protection through prohibition influenced all areas of Māori society on an every day basis including the people, as no one person was immune from the laws of *tapu*. Best states that,

The abiding force behind the institution of *tapu* was represented by the gods; they were the vivifying power that rendered it effective. Also *tapu* represented the *mana* (prestige, power, authority) of the gods, . . . inasmuch as fear of the gods was the strongest preserver of order (Best 1995b: 15).

In respect of the previous diagram, the *tuakana* lines inherit *mana* and *tapu*. The *taina*, however, can increase their *mana* and *tapu* through their actions. As a consequence, *whakapapa* does not automatically fix *mana* and *tapu*.

Tapu and Noa

Another cultural concept that must be explained in conjunction with *tapu* is *noa*. The transgression of *tapu* with objects that were considered *noa* (profane) resulted in extreme consequences. Food is a common form of *noa* and when associated with *tapu* matter it was considered offensive. Extreme penalties including death

were means of rectifying such an offence. Michael Shirres (1983: 29) sheds more understanding on the relationship between these concepts by not defining these terms in ‘equivocal’ terms but rather in an ‘analogical’ way. He distinguishes the elements of *tapu* that are seen as ‘sacred’, ‘prohibited’ or ‘restricted’ as being ‘extensions of *tapu*’ and not of the ‘intrinsic *tapu*’ of all matter. It is these extensions of *tapu* that come into conflict with *noa* and *whakanoa* ceremonies are performed to level out the affect of this conflict. *Noa* cannot affect the ‘intrinsic *tapu*’ of a person. This ‘intrinsic *tapu*’ is sourced to a person’s *whakapapa*, as they are direct descendants of the *atua*. Furthermore, this can be applied to all living matter as they too can source their origin to an *atua*. Therefore, all things are *tapu* and *noa*, men and women included. Māori avoided transgressing *tapu* as this affected the *mana* of the person. *Tapu* that is associated with a person will be examined to show the impact *noa* has as a violation of the ‘extensions of *tapu*’.

A person’s individual body and all associated qualities (such as blood and bodily fluids) were deemed *tapu* with the head being most *tapu*. Any disrespect shown towards a person’s head could cause many inter-tribal wars. To acquire a trophy of a *rangatira*’s head would give the captors a fine reputation but the relatives of the *rangatira* would be so incensed that war would surely erupt. Many curses of the Māori relate to the head which is associated with or referred to as food, especially cooked food. Examples of these curses are *Upokokōhua* or *Pokokōhua* (cooked head). This insult would have its desired affect on the receiver for no one could tolerate any association of their head with food (Malcolm 1984:97). The mythological narratives of Rona (The woman in the moon) describe the result of using such a curse. Rona cursed the moon with the term ‘*Pokokōhua*’ after tripping

in the darkness. The moon captured Rona and took her to the sky where she is said to live.

Rangatira, with their high levels of *mana*, had to be fed by slaves so that their hands would not touch the cooked food. Those of this status were considered so *tapu* that they could not have their hair washed lest their *tapu* was washed away as water was a form of *whakanoa* (make normal). This intense *tapu* of the head meant that only certain high-class *tohunga* would be able to cut and groom the hair of that *rangatira*. After this act they would fall under the intensity of the *tapu* of the *rangatira* which would affect them for days.

In very serious cases it might require two, or even three persons to feed him. One attendant would prepare the food, another would bear it to a certain place and there deposit it, while a third would come and fetch it and there deposit it, while a third would come and fetch it and convey it to the *tapu* one, and feed him (Best 1924: 257).

Transgression of *tapu* in most cases would induce *utu* (revenge, retribution) for such acts. As Hanson & Hanson (1983: 132) observe, “Maoris had no compunction regarding the use of treachery as an instrument of revenge.” As stated previously one of the most common forms of *noa* was food and it was never associated with areas where people slept or washed. Major Horatio Robley (1998) describes an incident that Rutherford encountered during his time in New Zealand, where one of his men lent his knife to a slave to cut *raupo* (reeds) for the thatching of a hut roof. Upon returning the knife the owner went off and killed a pig, which they cut up and cooked. The ailing mother of a chief with whom Rutherford and his men were residing was asked to partake in the food that they had prepared. The following day the woman died. The chief demanded an explanation of the events that had

taken place. After some consideration he declared that the associate of Rutherford be killed in honour of his mother. Rutherford stood to defend his friend and pleaded with the chief to spare the life of his friend for his ignorant actions. Rutherford's pleas were ignored and the man was killed (Robley 1998: 61-62). This example highlights how transgressions of *tapu* were considered extreme violations in which the penalties were severe, and in this instance it required death.

This section has shown that *mana* and *tapu* were important customary concepts in Māori society. When applied to aspects of the *tangata*, *mana* and *tapu* indicated the status of a person within their society. Furthermore, the degree of *tapu* of the body varies, with the head considered the most *tapu* area of the body. Blood and other bodily fluids were also respected for their degree of *tapu* and the association of these with *noa* matter were avoided at all costs, as the consequences were more often than not very severe. This chapter will now investigate *mana* and *tapu* in relation to *wāhine* Māori (Māori women) as a means of understanding the importance of these concepts to *moko kauae*.

Wāhine Māori

The complexity of defining concepts like *tapu* and *noa* have seen some authorities claiming that they are in opposition to one another (Salmond 1978:7). The compartmentalising of *tapu* and *noa* has equated men = *tapu* and women = *noa*. However, I argue that this theory is flawed as Pākehā, who have a cultural paradigm which undermined the importance of women, recorded these early accounts of these concepts. Therefore, their interpretation of men being *tapu* and women being *noa* does not consider the application of cultural concepts in their proper contexts. This is supported by Hanson and Hanson who argue that

“...female was passive and male active by no means signified that female principles always occupied subordinate positions relative to the male” (Hanson and Hanson 1983: 22). Shirres (1997:46) also supports this notion by explaining that when women were considered *noa* it referred to their extensions of *tapu*, not to their own intrinsic *tapu*.

Ariki tapairu was the term used to distinguish females of *ariki* lines. They were deemed to be *tapu* and were kept apart from the rest of the *hapū*. In many instances this was to maintain their *puhi* (virginal) status so as to betroth them to a suitor from another village. This established peace between warring tribes and *hapū*. Slaves were assigned to the *ariki tapairu* to attend to her needs as she was prevented from doing menial tasks. The *ariki tapairu* would learn weaving and performing arts (Best 1924: 407). With reference to *tā moko*, Gell (1993: 248) suggests that slaves were killed on the completion of the *moko* of a high chief, but it was a high chief who was subject to *muru* (ritualised pillaging) when the *moko kauae* of his daughter had been completed. This was to show that the interests of the *hapū*, in this case the daughter, had been insulted by the shedding of her blood. The *muru* was seen as a means of honouring the child and the high chief by showing their worth to the tribe, thus securing their *mana* amongst his people.

Women in general Māori society were considered very *tapu* during menstruation due to the degree of *tapu* associated with blood. In these instances women were kept away from common areas due to this *tapu* state. Contact with materials essential to society during this period of time would be seen as insulting the *atua*. Therefore, women were not allowed to enter into the *whare mata* (housing for nets and snares), cultivated areas, the shoreline or food storage areas, or associate

herself with men or their belongings. Such acts could bring dire consequences (Best 1924: 406). An example that highlights the nature of prohibiting women from areas concerns *whakairo* (carving). During the construction or carving of houses, canoes and other structures women were prohibited from entering the working area. This restriction was to ensure that the *tapu* materials or constructions were not violated by the *tapu* of a woman. No woman would jeopardise the men's work by entering the construction area. It was only when construction was completed and an opening ceremony was conducted were women allowed into the area. It was during this time that women played an integral role of being the first to enter houses that had been completed, usually through a *puhi* selected by the *hapū* to *whakanoa* the house.

The presence of women was seen as a potent form of *whakanoa* (make normal). First-born females who had passed menstruation were termed *ruahine* and were required in the ceremonial *whakanoa* processes. This ability dictated that women were never to purposely walk over men for fear that she removed the *mana* and *tapu* of that man (Marsden 1981: 148). However, in other instances when warriors returned from war they would crawl between the legs of the *ruahine* to *whakanoa* themselves from the killing and bloodshed which rendered these men extremely *tapu*. In some instances however, this act was used to instil *tapu* on the warrior if they had become fearful of war. In ceremonial rituals of *whakanoa*, a *ruahine* would consume cooked food used in these rituals. Alternatively she would rub the food on her inner thigh as a means of instilling *tapu* on students at the opening of the School of Learning (Hanson 1982:349). As stated earlier, claims that women are *noa* have not taken into account the context, as this evidence suggests that women had the ability to make objects *noa* and *tapu*.

The woman's ability to *whakanoa* seems to have some writers (Best 1924, Salmond 1978) deem women to be perpetually in a state of *noa* especially when they refrain from referring to a woman's ability to *whakatapu* (render objects *tapu*). The degree of *tapu* a woman has more often than not violated the *tapu* of a specific matter. This *mana* gave the woman the ability to *whakanoa* and *whakatapu* depending on the circumstances. This interpretation has often led writers to conclude that women fill an inferior position within Māori society due to their *noa* state as only *tapu* can dictate the level of *mana* an individual acquires. The anomaly of highly *tapu ariki tapairu* is ignored in stating that women “. . . are viewed as the antithesis of *tapu*” (Best 1924: 407). It appears that Best’s view does not recognise that *tapu ariki tapairu* are still women.

Te Whare o Aitua

It is important to explore Māori women's ability to *whakanoa* and *whakatapu* by looking at *te whare o aitua* (the house of misfortune). This concept indicates not only the *mana* women held but also Māori perceptions of the role of women in traditional Māori society.

Once Tāne had created his offspring (the forests) he searched for the *uhā* (female element) to produce the *ira tangata* (life principles of mortals). Tāne asked his father Ranginui who explained to him that,

The *whare o aitua* is below, while the *whare o te ora* is above (i.e., the abode or realm of misfortune is below, that of life is above). This “house” of misfortune, of ominous inferiority, is represented by this world, by the earth, by the female sex, and by the female organ of generation, which holds dread powers of destruction and pollution. Here on earth alone is death known, for

the denizens of the heavens are all supernormal beings endowed with eternal life (Best 1995a: 121).

The philosophy of women being able to provide life through their sex and also have the power to destroy life is supported by proverbs of the Māori such as “*he wahine, he whenua, ka ngaro te tangata*. Women and land cause the death of men” (Mead & Grove 1991: 93). As the proverb suggests, men die as a result of their relationships with both women and land and thus both were equally valued. Because women are respected for their ability to create life they were treated with the same consideration as the land. In many ways this relationship binds people to their source of life, physically through women and spiritually to the land. The respect towards women is represented in *te whare o aitua* as it refers to female genitalia and misfortune. The narrative of Hinenuitepō, a child and wife of Tāne further substantiates the connection between women and misfortune.

The union between Hineahuone and Tāne produced a daughter, Hine Tītama, who was also known as the Dawn maiden. When Hine Tītama matured into a woman, Tāne became her husband. Hine Tītama did not know that her husband was also her father, when she asked Tāne who her father was. He told her to consult the *pou* (posts) of the *whare*. When she consulted the *pou* of the *whare*, Hine Tītama discovered that Tāne was her father. Humiliated, Hine Tītama fled to Rarohenga. Tāne followed Hine Tītama and pleaded for her to return to Te Ao Tūroa with him. Still embarrassed by her discovery, she refused and told him that she would protect their children when the time came, stating:

Hei konā, e Tāne, hei kukume ake i a taua hua ki te ao; kia haere au ki raro hei kukume iho i a taua hua ki te Pō.

Remain, O Tāne, to bring forth progeny to the world of life; I go below to draw them down to the world of darkness (Mead & Grove 1991: 25).

From this point in the narrative, Hine Tītama is referred to as Hinenuitepō (the great woman of the place of the departed spirits), and she became the protector of the spirit world in Rarohenga. As a result of remaining in Rarohenga, Hinenuitepō married Rūaumoko and their descendants were Uetonga and Niwareka.

Another narrative that highlights the *whare o aitua* is a further reference to Hinenuitepō and Māui Tikitiki a Taranga (Māui). Māui who is a *tipua* (demigod) believed that humans should be immortal. He approached Hinenuitepō to have her consider his request. He said to her:

“E kui, te taonga i a koe na, homai ki a au kia ora ai te tangata.” Ka whakahokia e te kuia ra, “Kao.”

“A tena e kui, me matemate-a-tau te tangata.”

“Kao.”

“A e kui, me matemate-a-marama te tangata, kia pera i te marama.”

“Kao. Ka whakamatea e au te tangata i te ao i te po, kia tangi ai koutou ki o koutou mate, kia matemate-a-one ai koutou ki a koutou.”

“Grandmother, the *taonga* that you have give it to me, so that man may have immortality.” The old lady responded, “No.”

“Well then let man die as the year turns.”

“No.”

“Well then let man die as does the setting moon.”

“No. I will take man in the eve and in the dawn so you will grieve your death, and in doing so express your matemateaone” (Mataamua 1998: 115).

Failing in his discussion with his *tipuna*, Māui sought to destroy Hinenuitepō in order to bring eternal life to humankind. This he attempted to achieve by changing

into a *mokomoko* (lizard), and entering Hinenuitepō through her vagina and coming out through her mouth. When Māui attempted this feat he brought along his friends in the form of birds. The fantail was so amused by Māui's wriggling around in his endeavour to enter Hinenuitepō that the former started laughing, waking the goddess who crushed Māui between her legs. This act brought mortality to men from that point on.

Te Rangikāheke, a *rangatira* of the Te Arawa tribe and noted scholar, highlights in some detail the nature of the *whare o aitua* in relation to the previous narrative. When Māui approached Hinenuitepō's house Te Rangikāheke describes it in the following manner:

Rokohanga atu e moe ana, e tūwhera tonu ana ngā kūhā, e kōtamu noa anō ana te waha o te kōwao, e uira noa ana te mahi a te matā i ngā tapa kūhā
(Te Rangikāheke 1992: 43 cited in Reilly 2001: 49).

They found her asleep, her legs were parted, the mouth of the hole was still opening and closing and the flint in the cleft between her legs was flashing like lightning (Te Rangikāheke 1992: 69-70 cited in Reilly 2001: 49).

Te Rangikāheke uses the analogy of the word *whare* to represent not only the house of Hinenuitepō but also her vagina. This analogous term supports the notion that the *whare o aitua* is located in the vagina of women. This indicates the *tapu* nature associated with women. The female element of *te whare o aitua* is shown in this narrative to have the ability to bring life and death to men (Reilly 2001: 50, Hanson 1982: 355).

These narratives highlight not only female gods but also their importance in understanding the interaction between men and women. The power of the vagina to *whakanoa* or *whakatapu*, depending on the circumstances, is not restricted to these mythological narratives. They are also highlighted in historical accounts of different tribes. “*Ano ko te whare whawhao a Te Ao-kapu-rangi* (This is like the crowded house of Te Ao-kapu-rangi)” (Smith 1910: 254 cited in Reilly 2001: 47) is a *pepeha* (tribal saying) of Ngāti Rangiwewehi of Te Arawa. This saying originates from the acts of Te Ao Kapurangi, a chieftainess who protected her people from the onslaught of war by having them enter a doorway to a house she was straddling. Their protection was ensured by a deal that had been struck between Te Ao Kapurangi and the enemy, Hongi Hika, of Ngā Puhi. In the agreement, Hika informed Te Ao Kapurangi that only people who had passed beneath her thighs would be protected. Hence the *pepeha* acknowledges that the survival of Ngāti Rangiwewehi was due to the protection afforded by the genitalia of this woman (Reilly 2001: 46-47).

The ability of women to *whakatapu* and *whakanoa* is important within Māori society. This aspect of the female role is often misinterpreted as meaning that women were perpetually *noa*. As *noa* is considered the 'antithesis' of *tapu* it is often assumed that women also have no *mana*. However, the numerous narratives that extol the power, the *mana*, of women such as Te Ao Kapurangi and Hinenuitepō, dismiss these beliefs. Women did hold very important roles in Māori society.

Untattooed women

The Mataora and Niwareka narrative from Chapter One signified the *mana* that is associated with *tā moko*. When Uetonga embarrassed his son-in-law by removing Mataora's temporary *moko* he explained that the *moko* of the underworld was the one with *mana*. This important association between *mana* and the art of *tā moko* equates with the *mana* of those who received *moko kauae*. However, the degree of *mana* that a woman had often determined whether she acquired a *moko kauae*.

There is an assumption that women who descended from certain *whakapapa* lines acquired *moko kauae* to exhibit their *mana*. However, not all women of *mana* acquired *moko kauae* for the very reason that they were considered too *tapu* to be operated upon. This would align with the understanding of the degrees of *tapu* associated with the *mana* of a person. In these instances every aspect of these highly ranked people would be avoided for fear that their *mana* and *tapu* would be violated. One of the few recorded examples of such a woman who was deemed too *tapu* to be operated upon was Mihi Kōtukutuku, a woman of high rank of Te Whānau a Apanui and Ngāti Porou descent. During Mihi Kōtukutuku's adolescent years some *tohunga tā moko* from Te Arawa arrived in Te Tairāwhiti (East Coast) to tattoo chosen girls with *moko kauae*. The *tohunga* refused to operate on Mihi Kōtukutuku due to the *mana* of her *whakapapa*, and therefore, the degree of *tapu* that would be associated with her blood (Salmond 1975: 37). It is important to note at this point that the author recognises the time period in which this incident occurred during the colonial period. This account illustrates that Māori people were very conscious of the element of *tapu* associated with the status of Mihi Kōtukutuku even after contact with Pākehā.

Gell (1993: 262) explores the notion of people with high degrees of *mana* and *tapu* not having any form of *moko*. In his research he focuses on *tohunga* who fall into this category, as being considered too *tapu* to have received *moko*. Gell appeared frustrated with the lack of reference made to people with *mana* that did not acquire *moko*. His two primary sources are John Savage (1807) and James Cowan (1930). Savage believed that *tohunga* were not tattooed as they performed a ritual function in Māori society, as a result of their association with the *atua*. This meant that *moko* was consigned to those who preferred to distance themselves from the *atua*. In essence Gell (1993) draws a correlation between the *whakapapa* relationship of *tohunga* (who were more often than not of equal status to the *rangatira* or *ariki* - as described in Chapter Five) to their activities. Some *tohunga* were considered the platform between the *atua* to the *tangata* and, therefore, they held a very close relationship with the former. Gell believes that *moko* is associated with people who do not associate themselves in matters pertaining to the *atua*. Gell's argument for the political aspects behind *tā moko* is based on Cowan's statement on non-tattooed *tohunga*. Cowan (1930: 49) includes many photographic plates, one of which is of a *tohunga* by the name of Tumakoha from Te Arawa. Part of the caption reads "... like some of the other great *tohunga* he was not tattooed, because he was highly *tapu*." Apart from this comment, neither Cowan nor any other ethnographer examines the relationship between the untattooed people and their level of *tapu* any further.

If Cowan was aware of this, so, most likely, were Taylor, Elsdon Best, etc., yet they never thought to mention the fact. I can only assume that all of them were so locked on to the notion that tattooing promoted chieftiness, and that chieftiness was next to godliness - a very basic Victorian assumption - that they unconsciously chose to avert their minds from the implications present in the apparent fact that those Maori who were most sacred were not

tattooed. Important Maoris lacking tattoos were ethnographically invisible, just as they were not worth drawing or painting, or with this exception, worth photographing (Gell 1993: 262)

These comments are worth noting as they potentially had an effect on how the politics of *moko* developed. Judging from what Gell is saying societal attitudes towards aspects of *tapu* and *tā moko* appear to have been influenced by colonisation. European fascination with full facial tattoos and *moko kauae* brought about the notion of *moko* equating to someone's status. This development affected the cultural understanding that the extreme *tapu* of a person of high rank might mean that they would not necessarily have *moko*.

Gell also proposes that *moko* were politically driven by the warrior mentality of pre-European Māori society. For example, the full facial *moko* of men took a long period of time to complete. This process was proportionate with the development of the warrior's skills. Gell advances this theory based on warriors not serving the same purpose as *tohunga*. Therefore, warriors were not considered to have a close relationship with the *atua*. As stated earlier, Gell explains that *moko* was acquired by those who preferred to stay away from the gods.

Kuia moko

Regardless of Gell's theory *moko* is still regarded as a symbol of *mana*. The survival of *moko kauae* into the 20th Century has largely been influenced by the political motivations of Māori people to retain their identity as people. These political motivations were associated with issues pertaining to *whenua*. These issues will be discussed in Part II of this thesis.

Identity as Māori people changed with the influence of Pākehā culture. The *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* structures were still relatively stable, however, the force of Pākehā culture had Māori reconsider their identity solely in these groups. Māori nationalism also became a consideration for many Māori. These came in the form of movements such as the Kīngitanga (King Movement) and other religious movements discussed in Chapter Eight. There appears to be a correlation between Māori movements towards maintaining their group identity, and the survival of *moko kauae* into the 20th Century. It is in these areas where assertions of sovereignty over *whenua* occurred that we find *moko kauae* to be popular. Not only did these expressions of identity become a symbol of *mana* for the larger groups, they were important symbols of *mana* for the *hapū* level of society.

Women who acquired *moko kauae* received this on the basis of their *mana* that was established through their *whakapapa*.

He mana tō te moko kauae. Mā tō hapū koe e tohu, kaua mā te wahine tonu e haere kia tāhia [*moko kauae* has its own *mana*. You should be selected by your *hapū* rather than the individual determining this process] (Te Uruhina McGarvey, Personal communication, 2003).

The nomination of a woman by her *hapū* is supported by Professor Wharehui Milroy who explained that women were selected by their *hapū* to undertake *moko kauae*. This was to ensure that *hapū* had a woman of *mana* to represent them on the *marae*. Milroy describes an account in which his mother was one such woman who had been nominated by her *hapū* for such a position.

When my mother arrived at Ruatāhuna (where the *moko* was being undertaken), she heard a woman screaming from within the tent. This

woman was having her *moko kauae* applied by the *tohunga*. My mother decided that she did not want to suffer the pain of the *moko* and returned home. As a result of her decision not to take the *moko kauae*, my mother did not assume the role of *kaikaranga* for our *hapū* (Te Wharehuia Milroy, Personal communication, 2002).

Whilst in these instances these roles would have been undertaken by another representative for the *hapū*, the important point here is the *mana* associated with *moko kauae*. Milroy's mother acknowledges the significance of the *mana* afforded the *moko* when she became a silent voice on her *marae*. Women would become the faces of the *marae*. The *mana* of the *hapū* would be symbolised through the *mana* associated with the *moko kauae* of their *kuia*. Photographs taken of *kuia moko* (the last renaissance period of *moko kauae*) during their twilight years capture not only the beauty of these women, but provides the observer with an insight into *te ao tawhito* (the old world). These images encapsulate the plight of Māori in asserting their own unique identity. Michael King (1992: 86) describes his encounters with these survivors of colonial impact with heart felt sentiment.

These old people whose lives impinged on mine had carried this vision from a time when it was the generally accepted view of humanity, through a period when their race became aware of itself as a minority group threatened with extinction. The *kuia* remembered old tattooed warriors brooding over defeat, military and spiritual. And yet they carried on and revived *Māoritanga* as something it had never been previously - a proud assertion of minority group identity and a source of strength for any New Zealander able to recognise it and share it (King 1992: 86).

Mana, tapu and the contemporary renaissance culture

The application of *mana* and *tapu* to *moko kauae* has altered over time from the untattooed face representing the highest degree of *mana* a woman can possess to

the nomination of women with *mana* for *moko kauae* by a *hapū*. In today's renaissance culture the consideration of the effects of *mana* and *tapu* have also altered. The decision to acquire *moko* is primarily at the discretion of the individual. In Part III of this thesis, five women discuss their *moko kauae* journeys, including how they came to acquire this art form. For some of these women their *tuakana* status was important, yet for others it was not. This acknowledgement supports the notion that the application of *mana* and *tapu* is not necessarily important in today's culture. The potency of *tapu* as a concept that was feared by Māori society no longer appears to have the same force. However, does this then lessen the *moko kauae* of these women when they have not considered their *whakapapa* status? I think there will always be people who believe that culture should remain static, and there are others who will push the boundaries of *tikanga* as a process of development as a people.

For the *moko kauae* who shared their stories in this thesis, they all stated that their *moko* was a representation of their identity. For these women it was important for them to understand their *whakapapa* as a part of their journey, in order for them to reclaim elements of their past as a means of understanding the source of their identity.

As a result of acquiring their *moko kauae* some of these women have been approached to fulfil the roles that the *kuia moko* of the past undertook as the face of the *hapū*. The elders of these women acknowledge that the *moko* is still a symbol of *mana*. Whilst these elders may not have initially been so supportive of the women who attained their *moko* they acknowledge that there are responsibilities

that a woman must take care of in order for that *moko* to continue to maintain the *mana* and *tapu* that it symbolises.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to provide the reader with an understanding of the importance of *mana* and *tapu* especially in relation to *tangata*, *wāhine* and, more importantly, their association with *moko kauae*.

Mana and *tapu* are more often than not difficult to define as singular identities. Other concepts such as *noa*, *whakanoa* and *whakatapu* highlighted the difficulties in defining the importance of these concepts in relation to Māori perceptions of women as both providers and destroyers of life. Furthermore, this analysis illustrated that the *mana* and *tapu* of Māori women were important considerations when a woman undertook *moko kauae*. This chapter presented a discussion indicating that the higher the *mana* of a woman, the less likely she was to have been tattooed. This would be proportionate to the fear that Māori had in matters relating to *tapu*. The blood of these high-ranking women would have been avoided by *tohunga tā moko* for fear of the consequences of violating *tapu*. However, with increased Pākehā interest and misinterpretation this consideration for *tapu* became more lenient as *rangatira* began to feel the need to assert their *mana*. The untattooed were perceived to be of no rank and therefore more *rangatira* began to be tattooed.

By the 20th Century the *kuia moko* became the survivors of an increased awareness of the political pressures occurring in the country. Many of the most populated *kuia moko* areas were those that were associated with Māori political movements

who were asserting their rights to sovereignty over their lands. Just as the *moko kauae* became popular during this time period so too did the issues of land confiscation become more serious. The lines that were carved into the chins of these *kuia* were also reflected in the lines that were being drawn by surveyors on their land. The *mana* and *tapu* that were associated with these 'lines' impacted tremendously on Māori.

The contemporary renaissance movement have adapted aspects of the *tikanga* associated with *moko kauae* to enable women to have the opportunity to acquire *moko kauae*. These women see their *moko* not only as a symbol of their *mana* as Māori women, but also as a representation of their identity. This correlates with the individual's learning of *whakapapa* and *whenua* but, more importantly, it is about reclaiming an element of the past as a symbol of identity, for the present and for the future.

Chapter Three

He kauri, he uhi Tā moko technology

Tattooing is common throughout the Pacific Islands and is not unique to Māori. However, the techniques practised by Māori differed significantly from their Polynesian counterparts. Polynesian *tatau* (Tahitian and Samoan), *tatatau* (Cook Islands), *kakau* (Hawaiian) used combs of varying sizes which punctured the skin leaving the pigment just under the epidermis, whereas Māori developed their combs and chisels to cut deeper into the skin producing deeply grooved scars. It is this technique that has made *moko* unique to Māori society (Roth 1901:32 cited in King 1975:433). Whilst Māori *moko* developed its technology and evolved away from chisel tattooing into needle tattooing this did not change the terminology, with the art form still being called *moko*. King also observed that the distinctive spiral motifs in Māori tattooing and carving “... further served to separate their work from that of other Polynesians” (King 1975:433). According to Michael King (1992: 5), the term *moko* generally applied to male facial tattooing while *kauae* (chin) was used to describe *moko* on the chins of women. He argued that with the end of the male *moko*, the Māori term began to be used for the female tattoo, a usage which continues today. For the purposes of this thesis *moko kauae* will be used when specifically referring to female chin tattoos and *moko* or *tā moko* will specify the artform of tattooing as a whole unless otherwise stated.

This chapter will examine the development of *tā moko* technology to show how the culture of *moko* was also affected by the introduction of new materials. Technology, like culture, is dynamic. In many respects the development in

technology aids in the development of culture. Pigments, chisels (*uhi*) and needles (*ngira*) will be examined to show how over a period of time *tā moko* technology developed.

The development of *tā moko* in Te Ao Tūroa, after Mataora and Niwareka left Rarohenga, saw the establishment of Po-ririta, a *whare-tuahi*, or house for teaching arts (Smith 1913: 192). Many people were fascinated by Mataora's *moko* and asked him to apply it to them. Smith (1913: 193) records that Mataora's first attempt at *tā moko* on Tū-tangata was not successful and thus his name was extended to Tū-tangata-kino (ugly Tū-tangata). However, Mataora persevered and tattooed Maru and Uekaihau so gaining fame for his artwork which spread to Awarau, to Tonganui, to Rangiatea and Huiterangiora, all islands near Tawhiti or Tawhitinui (Smith 1913: 193, Best 1995b: 239). The narrative continues with Mataora being invited to go to Irihia, the home of Nukuwahirangi, to present the art of *moko* to them. The designs that Mataora executed were those that were taught to him in Rarohenga. These included the *pōngiangia* (design on the nostrils), the *pīhere* (design by the mouth), the *ngu* (on the upper part of the nose) and the *tīwhana* (lines of tattooing on the eyebrows). It was in Te Ao Tūroa that further *tā moko* designs were developed through the creation of *whakairo* (wood carving) by Nuku-te-aio and Rua-i-te-pupuke (Smith 1913: 193, Best 1995b: 240). This *tā moko* innovation extended also to *moko kauae*, since the practice reportedly originated in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The tattooing of Niwareka was, two [crosses] on the forehead, two on the cheeks; there was neither chin nor lip-tattooing at that time on the women. In the times of Ti-whana-a-rangi, Ruhihi was tattooed on the lips for the first time. The chin pattern of the women originated here in this island [New

Zealand] and was copied from a similar pattern cut on the neck of the calabashes; it was first tattooed on Ira-nui by Kahu-kura-nui, the pattern being first sketched by Kahu-kura-kotare (Smith 1913: 193).

The emergence of new designs in *moko* as a consequence of the expansion in the art forms of *whakairo* was undoubtedly influenced by the new environment of New Zealand with its diverse range of trees. These new surroundings would have not only affected the inspiration behind *tā moko* design but also the development of *tā moko* technology. The following will describe the different aspects of technology.

Wai Ngarahu (Pigments)

Pigments used in the process of *tā moko* were manufactured using a sophisticated process. As a result they were highly valued by Māori society. Most sources recognise that the commonest ingredient in the production of *wai ngarahu* was charcoal from resinous trees. Other terms used in relation to the charcoal-based production of pigment were *māpara* (heartwood), *kapara* (white pine resin) or *awe kapara* (soot from kapara), *kauri kāpia* (kauri gum), and *ahi tā moko* or *ruangarehu* (kilns for the production of soot for pigments) (Hamilton 1972:310, Cowan 1930: 138). Smith also notes that *kauri* is synonymous with the term *moko* thus indicating that pigments were commonly made from this type of tree (Smith 1913: 193). Māori also favoured *kauri* as it produced a very dark colour on the skin (Cowan 1930: 138).

The process of obtaining the charcoal ingredients was conducted under strict laws. Thus specialists were chosen to undertake the task because of the level of *tapu* (sacred) involved. Specially designed furnaces were used in the manufacturing of soot and these were named *ahi kauri* (Best 1904: 168). The wood would be placed

in these furnaces that had special covers over the air vents to prevent the loss of ash and soot. These covers were made from *harakeke* (flax) or the heads of the *toetoe* branch. Special calm nights were chosen for the firing of these kilns and the men would have to tend to the fire throughout the night (Hamilton 1972: 310-311, Best 1941: 555). The soot would be collected after the ovens grew cold and mixed with either water or oil to form a solid mass of ingredients, which were preserved for later use. This mixing process was named *whakataerangi* and the liquids used were from the *hinau*, the *mahoe*, the *tī*, the *kāretu* or the *poroporo* plants. These liquids were known as *wai whakataerangi* (Best 1904: 168). In some instances they were buried to prevent them from drying out or wrapped in the skins of rats or birds (Best 1941: 554). It was important to prevent this mixture from drying out (*puaheri*) for it was considered to be a *taonga* (Best 1904: 169).

Special containers were designed from pumice stone or from wood to store the *wai ngarahu*. These containers could be highly ornate with carvings. Pumice was probably selected because it was easy to carve (Buck 1952: 297). Hamilton describes how the prepared ingredients would be fed to a starved dog that had been tied up away from others.

After devouring the mixed food the dog was still kept tied up, and not allowed to eat any other aliment until it had voided the former. When the faeces were evacuated they were carefully gathered, and mixed up and kneaded with bird's oil and a little water, and, when this mixture became dry and hard, it was put up securely into a large shell or into a hollowed pumice or soft stone, and laid by carefully, buried in the earth, for future use (Hamilton 1972: 311).

Other ingredients used in the production of *wai ngarahu* were the *awheto* or *awheto hotete* (vegetable caterpillar). This unique creature begins its life cycle as an

animal. The caterpillar collects fungal spores between its segmented body. This fungus grows and eventually consumes the body of its host insect. As it progresses, this caterpillar metamorphoses into the predator fungus and grows a stem that is six to ten inches long (Robley 1998: 57). Riley (1994: 122) describes the life cycle of the *awheto* from the egg to its transformation into a plant.

The life cycle starts with eggs laid by one or more species of moths (the Porina moth for instance). The moth lays its eggs in crevices in the bark of the rātā tree or between the bases of tree ferns. When the eggs hatch, the caterpillars crawl to the ground, burrow underground and make a small chamber in which to develop. Occasionally the spores of a fungus called *Cordyceps robertsii* invade its body. The inside of the caterpillar is turned into white pithy vegetable matter with traces of the digestive tract of the caterpillar still remaining. The external appearances however remains so perfect that one can sometimes distinguish the body hairs and claws of the caterpillar's front legs. From the back of the head (sometimes from the anal area) a long rush-like brown "flower", or rather its stroma, makes its way to the surface to rise about 8 to 20 cm above the forest floor.

The *awheto* is burnt in a similar manner to the resinous woods and mixed to produce the pigments used in *tā moko*. Best (1904: 169) did not consider the pigments created from *awheto* to be effective enough for facial tattooing as it did not produce a dark enough ink. However, Colenso (cited in Riley 1994: 123) stated that the soot produced from the *awheto* was mixed with the "black juice of the māhoe" to enable the pigment to be effective.

With the influx of European settlers Māori adopted the use of gunpowder as an ingredient for the production of dyes which gave a blue tinge to the tattooed skin (Polack 1976: 44; Robley 1998: 58). Eventually Indian ink became available for the use of *tā moko*. Tom Porter, the son of the famed *tohunga tā moko* (tattoo expert) Tame Poata who practised between 1928-1942, recalled his father

experimented with traditional dyes. Poata preferred to use a mixture of Indian ink and water that had been boiled with green lichen which produced a dark blue colour when applied to the skin (King 1992: 44-45).

Uhi (Chisels)

The traditional instruments used for the application of the *moko* were *uhi*. The *uhi* produced the deep grooved lines that made *moko* unique. The designs were literally carved into the face as if it were a piece of wood (Gell 1993: 246). These chisels were finely crafted instruments primarily made from the bones of sea birds. They were usually termed *Te Uhi a Mataora* (The chisels of Mataora), aptly named after the originator of the art form in Te Ao Tūroa. In some areas they were termed *Te Uhi a Toroa* (The chisels of Toroa) in recognition of the albatross bone that was used in the manufacturing of these chisels (Best 1941:552-553).

Duff (1977: 233) records that there were few specimens of tattooing chisels found in the Moa hunter sites of the South Island. He did record two bone examples found at Shag River and three from Wairau. Other materials used for *uhi* were shark's teeth (Robley 1998: 49, Buck 1952: 298, Duff 1977: 223), stone, hard woods (Robley 1998: 49; Best 1941: 553, Buck 1952: 298, Duff 1977: 223), shell and human bone (Best 1941: 553). Like our Polynesian counterparts, the Māori had comb-like instruments designed to place pigment into the skin. These serrated, comb-like chisels were called *uhi matarau* (Best 1941: 552, Buck 1952: 296, King 1992: 8). The flat blade chisels on the other hand were called *uhi kohiti* (Best 1941: 552). *Uhi* varied in size and width depending on the design that it was used for.

The Maori *uhi* resembles a miniature hafted adze, for a small branch was selected as a handle with a joined branch forming a toe to which a bone

blade was lashed with transverse turns of a two-ply cord. In the Bishop Museum specimen (No. 1533), the handle is 5 inches long and the toe 1.1 inches. The blade made of bird bone is 1.75 inches long and 0.25 inches wide with a slightly convex cutting edge ground from the back like an adze, and without teeth (Buck 1952: 296-297).

Other names for different *uhi* were collected by Best (1904: 167) from Tūhoe. The following table describes the different *uhi*, their type and their function:

Table 5: *Uhi* types and function

| <i>Uhi</i> | Type | Function |
|----------------------------|-------------------|--|
| <i>Uhi whaka-tatarāmoa</i> | Flat blade chisel | First chisel used in the process of <i>tā moko</i> . Opened the skin in preparation for other chisels. |
| <i>Uhi puru</i> | Notched chisel | Chisel used for inserting the pigment into cuts made by the former chisel. |
| <i>Uhi kohiti</i> | Flat blade chisel | This chisel was used to create certain finer patterns. |
| <i>Uhi matarau</i> | Serrated edge | This chisel was also used to create distinct bold patterns or used as a <i>uhi puru</i> . |
| <i>Uhi tapahi</i> | Flat blade | Chisel used to cut open the skin. |

(Adapted from Best 1904: 167).

The operation of *moko* using *uhi* was applied with the use of a small mallet. Robley (1998) states that the mallet was termed “*He Mahoe*” and had a surface that acted as a means of wiping away the blood (Robley 1998: 49). Alternatively, the use of a fern stalk instead of a mallet was sometimes employed to apply the *moko* (Buck 1952: 297). Another means to wipe away blood involved the use of dressed flax tow that was wrapped around the finger of the *tohunga* (Cowan 1930:139, Best 1941: 554).

There are variations, however, in the method used to apply the pigment during the process. Robley (1998:49) states that the prepared pigment would be applied into the incisions using *muka* (prepared flax) that had been dipped in the dye. Cowan (1930: 138) on the other hand describes the use of a stick that had been dipped into the pigment and subsequently drawn on the lines that had been chiseled out (Cowan 1930: 138). Best (1941:554) says there were many means of applying *moko*, but elsewhere he explains that the proposed design was drawn onto the face with charcoal and water. When the *tohunga* began to apply the *moko* he would dip his *uhi* into the pigment and then make the incisions by tapping with a mallet or fern stalk. In his description of *uhi*, Buck (1952) states:

With such implements, the tattooer, on tapping with the mallet, cut through the skin instead of puncturing it and by the continued application of the narrow cutting blade, he had more control in forming his incised design than if he had tried to use a primitive scalpel. The toothed implements were used for filling in and for subsidiary motifs (Buck 1952: 298).

As with the different types of *wai ngarahu*, *uhi* was affected by the introduction of new technology in the late 18th century. As a large part of technology was based on stone implements:

. . . the Polynesians were not particularly interested in the metal articles that early white navigators offered as presents to establish good will or as exchanges for native goods. However, when the superiority of metal over stone for working implements became apparent, a feverish desire to acquire the new material spread like a pandemic (Buck 1952: 196).

J.B Palmer (1958:388) describes the influence of introduced technology on Māori culture with a particular focus on tattooing chisels. He believes that the extent of the introduced influences needs to be examined more closely. He believes that

New Zealand went through a “transitional period between 1794-1842” when the first impact of introduced technology occurred. A developmental era followed after 1842 during which aspects of the old methods were still maintained regardless of introduced technology. For the artform of tattooing this included different means of attaching chisels to the handle and the adoption of many metal chisels without serrated edges.

The metal chisels enabled a more defined design of *moko* which, along with similar developments in *whakairo*, brought about an increased popularity in these Māori arts. Buck (1952: 298) describes the analogous nature of development between the two art forms and how influential they were upon each other. He believes that new forms of design were practised in the medium of wood and later applied to skin but he notes that it is the techniques used in *whakairo* and adapted by *tā moko* that made *moko* unique to Māori. This uniquely carved effect differed from other cultures that used the method of puncturing the skin resulting in a smoother surface.

The extensive use of metal chisels in the late 19th and early 20th centuries continued until World War I. Initially, the types of metal used in the manufacture of metal chisels were the highly sought after square spike nails or hoop iron (Buck 1952: 196). Anaru Makiwhara, a noted *tohunga tā moko* from the Maungatawhiri (Mercer) district, made his *uhi* from the metal in women's corsets and knives (King 1992: 8). Whilst metal chisels allowed for deeper and more defined designs it also produced vast amounts of blood that sometimes could lead to infection. Metal chisels did have the advantage of accomplishing the *moko kauae* quickly. Pre-contact materials had required anything between one to two days chiseling in order to complete the *moko kauae* (King 1992: 8).

At the beginning of the 20th century at least eight *tohunga tā moko* were known to have still been practising with chisels. The following table identifies these *tohunga*, the areas they were from or worked in, and their preferred type of chisels:

Table 6: Instruments used by *Tohunga Tā Moko* after 1900

| <i>Ingoa</i> (Name) | <i>Rohe</i> (District) | <i>Uhi</i> (Chisels used/ preferred) |
|--------------------------|---|---|
| Anaru Makiwhara | Waikato | <i>Kohiti</i> <i>Matarau</i> |
| Herewini | Te Tai Rāwhiti – operated in Hawke's Bay and Taranaki | <i>Matarau</i> |
| Te Waru | Paeroa | ? |
| Te Hokotahi Taiwera * | Te Urewera | <i>Kohiti</i> <i>Matarau</i> |
| Te Tuhi | Taumarunui - operated in King Country and Taranaki | <i>Matarau</i> Needles |
| Te Utupotu | Taranaki | ? |
| Patuaka | Fielding | ? |

* Taiwera assisted Te Hokotahi, he was the latter's protégé

(Adapted from King 1992: 8).

As time passed so too did the skills of the aforementioned *tohunga tā moko*. Many developed unsteady hands that forced them to retire from the practice of *tā moko*. Right up to his death in 1927, Anaru Makiwhara wanted to operate on Te Puea Hērangi, a *rangatira* of Waikato. His wish was not fulfilled as the young Te Puea had witnessed the *moko* application on her *taina* (younger sibling) and been frightened by the blood and pain (King 1992: 9).

Ngira (Needles)

The *tohunga tā moko* who became prominent following the demise of the aforementioned experts were those who had adopted the use of *ngira* as a means of applying *moko*. One factor that influenced this was the increasing availability of darning needles. This new technology became very popular with both *tohunga* and the recipient as it increased the speed of application, healed quicker and was less painful. By the time of the First World War chisel *moko* had ceased and needles had taken over and become increasingly popular amongst Māori. This new method spread widely and is considered to have contributed to a renaissance period for the art form of *moko* especially during the 1930s. This development in the culture of *tā moko* was considered by many traditionalists in Māori society as not being true *moko*. This opinion seems to have stemmed from those descendants of people who had received the chisel *moko* regardless of whether the latter was made of metal or not. The following is a list of the *tohunga tā moko* who used needles:

Table 7: Instruments used by Tohunga Tā Moko after 1920s

| <i>Ingoa (Name)</i> | <i>Iwi, Rohe rānei (Tribe or District)</i> | <i>Ngira, Uhi rānei (Needles or Chisels used/pREFERRED)</i> |
|---------------------|--|---|
| Tame Poata | Ngāti Porou | Both, but preferred needles. |
| Ngakau | Waikato | Needles |
| Raro Aterea | Tūhoe | Needles but had used chisels previously. |
| Kuhukuhu Tamati * | Whatawhata | Needles |
| Hikapuhi * | Ngāti Whakaue | Needles |
| Kotahitanga | Tūhoe | Needles |
| Ngakura Rairino | Te Teko | Needles |
| Tawharangi | Bay of Plenty | Needles |

| | | |
|-------------|---------|---------|
| Pomako | | |
| Jack Galvin | Owhata | Needles |
| Jack Biddle | Tūrangi | Needles |

* Indicates that these *tohunga* were women

(Adapted from King 1992: 45-47)

The most prominent of all the *tohunga tā moko* was Tame Poata who travelled extensively around New Zealand. Tame Poata had used chisels but found them difficult to manipulate and instead he preferred to use needles that were attached to a piece of wood about the size of a pencil. According to King (1992: 45), Poata began by favouring some half dozen needles, each of which “... protruded to a point about half an inch below the handle,” however, by the later 1930s he had refined his technique and only used two needles. Poata dipped his needle instrument into the ink so that the liquid soaked the cotton lashings on the handle. Using a quick wrist action Poata applied the needles to the skin so that the ink ran into the punctured skin. The main advantage of this method was the speed of the operation, which only took up to a couple of hours. The skin would heal within about three days. By contrast, another *tohunga*, Ngakau, used three needles for the *kauae* and five needles for the lips (King 1992: 45-46).

Needles today have remained the most popular means of applying ink into skin through the use of a tattoo machine. This type of machine has become the preferred instrument of the *tohunga tā moko* who have revived the art form today.

Figure 9: Contemporary tattoo machine



(Starline Tattoo Suppliers 2003: 1)

These machines and inks are readily available from most tattoo suppliers. Even though many *tohunga tā moko* today use tattoo machines, many have experimented with *uhi* and pigments. One of the women who participated in this research commented that the *tohunga* who did her *moko kauae* had been testing different dyes to produce a very blue-green result for *moko kauae* (Huka Williams, Personal Interview: 22/07/02). Gordon Toi Hatfield (2003: 29), a contemporary *tohunga tā moko*, describes his use of traditional instruments. He describes his *uhi* as *uhi whao* (chisel for carving) that have been lashed to a piece of stick called *patu uhi*. He states that it takes him two days to make a serrated chisel. Hatfield notes that these *uhi* are made from the wing bone of an albatross. “Another stick, *patu tangi*, is then used to tap the chisel into the skin. The *patu tangi* can be made from various

kinds of native hard woods, depending on personal preference of weight" (Hatfield 2003: 29).

Just as the descendants of the *uhi* period (after 1900s) questioned the validity of needle *moko*, there has been some debate as to whether the use of tattoo machines qualify as producing a 'real' *moko*.

The decision to use both traditional and modern tools engenders debate among practitioners about the appropriateness of either, when applying Tā Moko. I would not judge one better than the other; it is just a personal preference to take advantage of both sets of tools to develop myself as an artist and the art form of Tā Moko (Hatfield 2003: 30).

There is a correlation between the development of technology and its effects on culture. The move from *uhi* to needles had an impact on some Māori in the early 1900s as to the *mana* of the new method of *tā moko*. Today, the use of traditional tools over the tattoo machine is becoming the subject of a similar debate. Regardless of which sets of tools a *tohunga tā moko* uses, the *moko* itself should always remain the most important factor.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the technology that was used by *tohunga tā moko* to show how, during different time periods, Māori adapted to the changing environment. In many respects, as the technology developed, the culture surrounding *tā moko* also changed.

Wai ngarahu was valued in traditional Māori society and the preparation of this pigment was a *tapu* process. As a result only specialists were able to manufacture

wai ngarahu. The main ingredients appeared to be the soot of resinous trees and a unique caterpillar called *awheto* or *awheto hotete*. One tree that features prominently is the *kauri*, which is acknowledged as a synonym for *moko*. *Wai ngarahu* was not immune to the influence of western technology. In the early period of contact Māori adopted gunpowder as a base ingredient for *wai ngarahu* and eventually they experimented with and appropriated Indian ink as an ideal pigment for *moko*.

Uhi are an important part of understanding *tā moko*. These chisels and their uses give the *moko* its unique nature. Whilst there were few examples of chisels from the Moa Hunter Period there are examples of chisels that were designed from bone and metal. Chisels were often named after Mataora, the originator of the art form, or termed *Te Uhi a Toroa* to show the relationship with albatrosses, whose bones were used to manufacture *uhi*. There are two types of *uhi*, the first being *uhi kohiti* or the flat blade that was used to break the skin. The other is the *uhi mataraau*, or the serrated blade, that was used to carve pigment into the skin. Like pigments, *uhi* developed over time and the introduction of new technology was taken on board by *tohunga tā moko*. The tattoo machine is the mechanism to apply *moko* today. However, there appears to be a desire by *tohunga tā moko* to learn the skills of their predecessors as a means of reclaiming the *mana* of the art.

This chapter has attempted to highlight the development of the technology used in *tā moko* to show how this area has affected the culture surrounding the art form. The comments made during the developmental stages of technology change have more often than not described the transformation as not being a valid form of *moko*. This separates the art from the *mana* associated with the person who wears the

moko. However, the permanency of the art means the *moko* lives beyond the memory of how the *moko* was initially applied. The *mana* inherent in the *moko* thereby continues undiminished by any debate about the particular technology used.

Chapter Four

He Tānga Ngutu Moko kauae design

Moko kauae is a representation of a person's status within Māori society. David Simmons (1999) has interpreted the designs associated with *moko kauae* as being a representation of a woman's precise status within her *hapū* or *iwi*. Michael King (1992) describes the development of *moko kauae* design as being associated with the *tohunga tā moko* and coinciding with the development of technology and societal changes as a result of Pākehā influence. This chapter will critique these theories as a means of determining the importance of the individual *moko kauae* pattern. Simmons (1999) analyses *moko kauae* design through his own interpretation of traditional Māori society. The critique of his work will show, using linguistical analysis, that the proposed 'traditional Māori society' that supports these theories never existed. Simmons' notion that *moko kauae* patterns could determine the *whakapapa* and therefore status of a woman will also be criticised. This chapter will attempt to show that the actual design of the *moko kauae* evolved around the skills of the *tohunga tā moko* and the changes of technology as argued by King (1992). Finally, this analysis will show how designs became standardised as a result of the numerous social, political and technological issues that affected *moko kauae* over time.

Theories of moko kauae interpretations - Simmons vs. King

David Simmons (1999) believes that *tā moko* indicated people of *mana*, in so much that the pattern of the *moko* represented the status of the person. Simmons' key primary source is Te Riria who identifies himself with the 'Ko Huiarau' group who

believe that their descent is sourced to the United Tribes of 1835. Te Riria (in Simmons 1999: 129-130) describes early 19th century Māori society being organised in eight strata. These strata were based on primogeniture, however, in the absence of men women were considered as having equal rights to males. In descending order the eight levels began with the highest, the *taiopuru*, or if a woman, the *tapairu*, then the *ahupiri*, the *noaia*, the *konini*, the *kaitahutahu ariknui*, the *kaitahutahu ariki*, the *rangatira* and *tutua* (Te Riria in Simmons 1999: 129). Te Riria's explanation of the differences between each class, is illustrated in the table below:

Table 8: Te Riria and Simmons' Male Rank Titles

| Male Title | Description |
|----------------------------|---|
| <i>Taiopuru</i> | Supreme chief. Through intermarriage united the main lines of descent. |
| <i>Ahupiri</i> | Paramount chiefs who ruled over larger districts that would include more than one <i>waka</i> or confederation of tribes. |
| <i>Noaia</i> | Descendants of the above lines but acted as the warriors for the former. |
| <i>Konini</i> | Were appointed from the <i>noaia</i> as a reward for service. Became <i>ariknui</i> of a district comprising of one tribal confederation. |
| <i>Kaitahutahu ariknui</i> | Unifier of confederate tribes or <i>waka</i> , considered the paramount chief. |
| <i>Kaitahutahu ariki</i> | Paramount chief of a tribal group. |
| <i>Rangatira</i> | Chief of a village, appointed by the council of elders or by higher authority, includes <i>tohunga</i> . |
| <i>Tutua</i> | Commoners. |
| <i>Taurekareka</i> | Slaves. |

(Adapted from Te Riria in Simmons 1999: 129-130).

There appears to be no other references supporting the notion that there were eight levels constituting traditional Māori society. For example, the words *taiopuru*,

ahupiri, *noaia* and *konini* (in this context) do not appear in the oldest and most authoritative Māori Language Dictionary (Williams 1992). Furthermore, the descriptions imply that politically Māori worked as one people with the *taiopuru*, as described by Te Riria, functioning as the supreme leader of all Māori. While Māori acknowledged their descent from *waka*, the effective social and political unit was the *hapū*. Acknowledgement was made of *iwi*, however, their political importance only developed during the 19th century as a result of colonisation. Up until the 18th century Māori society operated on a *hapū* basis: “In terms of corporate function, such as the defence of their people or a common policy towards other groups, *iwi* were not operative units” (Ballara 1998: 124). This view dispels Te Riria’s theory that there were large political groups encompassing all tribes under eight social strata. Furthermore, these strata are based purely on primogeniture without considering the place of achieved *mana* (see Chapter 2). The numerous historical examples of the actions of *taina* that surpass the *mana* of their *tuakana* in leadership roles are not taken into consideration in Te Riria’s model of Māori society.

Unlike the male titles there are some references to the terms used for the following distinctive female titles.

Table 9: Te Riria and Simmons’ Female Rank Titles

| Female | Description |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>Tapairu</i> | Highest ranking female. |
| <i>Keirungawaihua</i> | Oldest daughter of the <i>tapairu</i> . |
| <i>Ahukiruku</i> | Equivalent to male <i>ahupiri</i> . |
| <i>Noawanui</i> | Equivalent to male <i>noaia</i> . |
| <i>Māreikura</i> | Descends from one parent of the <i>ahukiruku</i> and a <i>taiopuru</i> or one parent from <i>noawanui</i> and a <i>ahupiri</i> . |

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| <i>Kaitahutahu</i> | Servants of the <i>taiopuru</i> or <i>ahupiri</i> who had the title <i>waitahupiri</i> or <i>arikinui</i> . |
| <i>Waitoto mangatawhiti</i> | Female teachers of female children of the <i>taiopuru</i> . |
| <i>Waitoto pirihunga</i> | Taught children of the second lineage. |
| <i>Taotao kohaurau</i> | Teachers of weaving. |
| <i>Taotao moruku</i> | Teachers of dyeing in the arts of weaving. |

(Adapted from Te Riria in Simmons 1999: 136-137).

All forms of Te Riria's male and female titles were cross-referenced with the most authoritative dictionaries (Williams 1992, Tregear 1891) to determine his definitions. *Tapairu* is acknowledged as being a “first born female in a family of rank, who was invested with a special tapu” (Williams 1992: 382) and “...a female ariki” (Tregear 1891: 470). The term *Keirungawaihua* is not referred to in any references as being the oldest daughter of a *tapairu*. Logically, it would be assumed that an elder daughter of a *tapairu* would assume that title alongside the mother. Like their male equivalents the *ahukiruku* and the *noawanui* are not acknowledged in any source, again raising questions about their validity. Te Riria's definition of *māreikura* differs from that located in Williams (1992: 181). Te Riria defines the *māreikura* as a descendant from certain *whakapapa* lines which appear to be confusing. Williams agrees that a *māreikura* is a “nobly born female” without elaborating on her *whakapapa* yet goes further to add that *māreikura* are “an order of female supernatural beings, the corresponding males being termed *whatukura*” (Williams 1992: 181). The interesting note here is that the male equivalent, *whatukura*, is not included in Te Riria's definition of Māori society.

Te Riria's terms fail to line up with commonly accepted understandings regarding the structure of Māori society. Apart from the lack of linguistic evidence historical

accounts do not acknowledge Te Riria's terms in reference to people of *ariki* or *rangatira* status. An incident that supports this claim is recorded by Maharaia Winiata (1958) in his account of the establishment of the Kīngitanga. For example, when the *rangatira* met to decide upon a name for the leader of the newly established Kīngitanga the three words *Toihau*, *Kahu-tatara* and *Ariki-taungaroa* were proposed. However, it was the transliteration *Kīngi* (King) that was actually adopted. None of the terms suggested by Te Riria and Simmons were put up for consideration, suggesting that Māori in the mid 19th century had little knowledge of such titles.

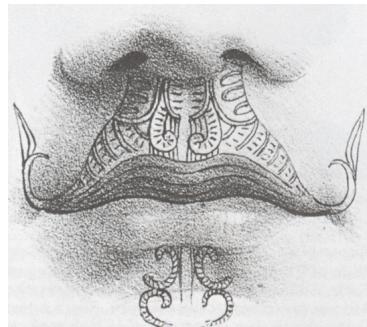
Simmons bases his research of *moko* on the understanding of a Māori society as envisaged by Te Riria's structures, with *moko* indicating the genealogy of a person and therefore their rank. His collections of sketches through to portraiture of *moko* designs are collected from manuscripts and other written material presenting a change in design over the centuries. From the earlier accounts during the 18th century Simmons shows that *moko kauae* was a very basic design and more often than not it was only the lips that were tattooed. There is more evidence suggesting that *moko* located on other parts of the body were more common than that of the *moko kauae* as we understand it. This included *haehae* (lacerations) markings that were rendered permanent with the smearing of pigment during the process. *Haehae* was a common form of expressing grief; the application of physical pain was intended to nullify the pain suffered at the loss of a loved one. Using shells or obsidian stone lacerations were applied to the arms, chest and sometimes the face. The adding of pigment into the wounds constituted an earlier form of *moko*.

The previous chapter discussed how when Mataora first returned to Te Ao Tūroa he had to practise the art of tattooing before he could refine his work. His designs were simple, stylistically involving the use of crosses, as were the designs of Niwareka. However, Smith (1913: 193) notes that the actual *moko kauae* design originated from a design that had been carved on to a calabash here in Aotearoa. *Moko kauae* design became more defined over time as technology and practice improved. The following analysis will use material collected by Simmons to show how some of his designs were not commensurate with the technology of the time, but also how with improved technology a standardisation of *moko kauae* design emerged.

Early designs

The research on early *moko kauae* design is largely dependent on the interpretations of the European artists. Simmons (1999: 105, fig 140) includes sketches published in D'Urville's *Atlas Historique* (1833), one of which (see below) is an elaborate upper lip design and a disproportionately sized *kauae* design. The intricacy of the upper lip design could be questioned on the basis that *uhi* would have had to have been extremely fine, given the amount of detail, perhaps finer than the pencil used by the recording artist. The smaller design on the *kauae*, however, resembles the basic shape of later designs used on the chin. I do not deny that *moko* extended to the area between the nose and the upper lip, however, the intricacy of this example would require a more refined technology than was then available to *tohunga tā moko*. It would also have required the artist, in this case de Sainson, to have had close contact with the subject in order to draw the *moko* so accurately.

Figure 10: ‘Lithograph after the original sketch by de Sainson, 1826’



(Simmons 1999: 105)

Twenty years after the recordings by de Sainson, artists such as George French Angas became popular. Angas does not focus on the detail of the *moko kauae* of his subjects, yet they appear to take the form of a basic pattern. In the figure below, provided by Simmons (1999: 108), the *moko* above the lip seems to be consistent with designs manufactured by *uhi*.

Figure 11: Niapo, Ngāti Maniapoto, drawn by G.F. Angas, 1844



(Simmons 1999: 108)

However, it is the design featured in the following figure (Simmons 1999: 111) that exemplifies familiar *moko kauae* designs. It is interesting to note that the author of the drawing is of Māori descent, Renata Kawepo Tamakihikurangi, suggesting perhaps that earlier European artists recorded their own interpretations of *moko* designs. This design is similar to those used by *uhi* and *ngira tohunga tā moko* in the later 19th and early 20th centuries. This poses a question in respect of the vast variations in patterns suggested by Simmons for the early 1800s. I propose that earlier sketches of *moko kauae* were not necessarily the focus of the artists' work and that there appears to be some artistic licence in their rendering of such *moko*. The following diagram drawn by Renata Kawepo Tamakihikurangi not only matches those designs of later periods but reflects the line grooves of *uhi moko*.

Figure 12: Moko Kauae, drawn by Renata Kawepo Tamakihikurangi, 1843.



(Simmons 1999: 111)

Standardised patterns

The most noted Pākehā authority on early *tā moko* is Major Horatio Robley who sought out information relating to *moko* from numerous sources. Prior to his work, little information existed on the art form. Whilst Robley's main focus was on male facial *moko*, he did sketch women and copied diagrams from other artists for his collection. Interestingly, the majority of Robley's *moko kauae* sketches are of designs that have similar styles with only minor variations. He notes these designs as being the 'usual' *moko kauae* patterns. This basic pattern is reflective of the pattern drawn by contemporary artists of the time such as Charles Frederick Goldie and Gottfried Lindauer. These two men became New Zealand's most prominent portayers of Māori and, more importantly, of Māori with *tā moko*. Their attention to detail, especially that of the deeply grooved *moko* designs, brought them wide recognition. Michael King (1975: 431) acknowledges C.F. Goldie's painting as valuable "ethnological records of the Māori." This attention to the design of the *moko kauae* of the women that they painted shows clearly that there are only subtle differences in the basic design of *moko kauae*.

Simmons acknowledges that during the period between 1850-1900 a standardisation of patterns occurred (Simmons 1999: 119). As a result of technological changes there was some refinement of the standard patterns allowing for small variations between them. The finer implements used in *tā moko* gave rise to a distinctive pattern. By contrast, Simmons (1999: 137-139) supplied obscure designs which allegedly highlight the differences between individuals of rank, as well as depicting tribal variations of *moko kauae*. These hand drawn designs generally look somewhat strange and anomalous when aligned to the patterns seen in contemporary photographs or portraits. King (1992: 50) supports the notion that

tohunga tā moko in the 20th century limited the number of their designs, allowing only small variations in the pattern, yet these do not compare with the diverse range supplied by Simmons (see below).

Figure 13: Simmons' Tribal Moko Kauae

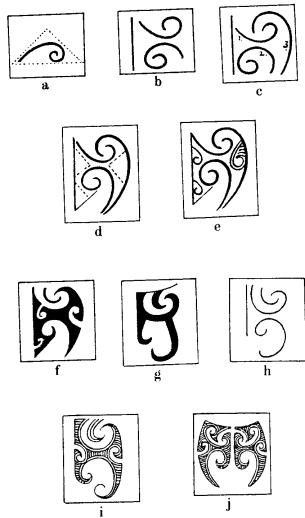


(Simmons 1999: 139)

The time period in which these patterns were applied is also not clearly defined by Simmons. Nor does he establish with any clarity the source of his designs. It appears that these designs are his own personal interpretations rather than ones based on any historical evidence. For example his patterns differ significantly from the portraits or photographic evidence he uses throughout his books. King (1975: 436) believed that *moko* designs "...were built up from simple components that fitted together like elaborate jigsaw patterns. The key to the system is the *koru* or frond pattern." This reflective system of pattern building uses the *koru* in both its negative and positive form. King (1975: 434) employs the *koru* within a triangle to

show how the shape is moved about to develop the full basic design. The following diagram illustrates how these triangle shapes are manipulated to create the basic form, and its subsequent shadings.

Figure 14: Koru based *moko kauae* designs



(King 1975: 434)

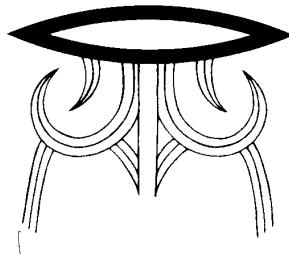
There is an obvious difference between Simmons' patterns (Figure 13) and those design formations supplied by King (see above). Unlike King (1975), Simmons does not provide patterns based on the reflective system of the *koru*. The differences between these two authors are further highlighted by the 20th century designs supplied by King (1992). Some of the *moko kauae* pattern that were used on women from Tūhoe are illustrated below. These will be followed by Simmons' example of a Tūhoe design as a comparison to show the significant differences.

Figure 15: A common pattern used by Raro Aterea of Tūhoe (Uhi and Ngira design)



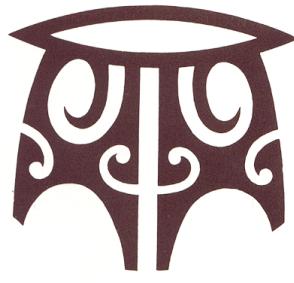
(King 1992: 50)

Figure 16: A common *uhi* design used by Te Hokotahi of Tūhoe



(King 1992: 50)

Figure 17: *Ngira* designs used in Te Urewera (amongst other places) showing slight variation in central design



(King 1992: 75-76)

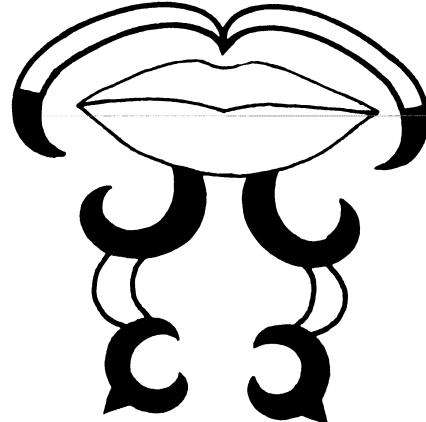
Figure 18: Ngira design used by Taiwera in Te Urewera



(King 1992: 76)

These five designs appear to be the most commonly used examples of Tūhoe *moko kauae* design. A comparison of these patterns with Simmons' Tūhoe design highlights the distinctiveness of the latter.

Figure 19: Simmons' Tūhoe moko kauae design



(Simmons 1999:139)

As with his other designs Simmons believes this *moko kauae* reflects the status and *whakapapa* of the person, yet he fails to supply any evidence to support his theories. I argue that the patterns used were dictated by the *tohunga tā moko* hence

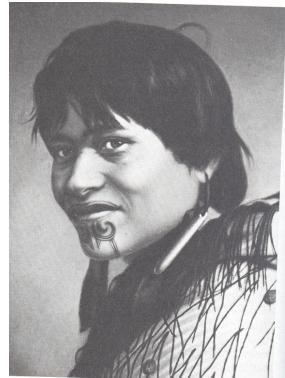
the standardisation of the designs. King (1992: 50), on the other hand, argues that the lack of variety in patterns represents the demise of the art form.

The small variations in the basic design would more often than not be determined by the anatomical structure of a woman's chin. For example, Lindauer's paintings of Rangi Topeora (see figure 20 below), Ana Rupene (see figure 21 below) and Pare Watene (see figure 22 below) show very slight variations of the same *moko kauae* design. Essentially, the patterns of Rangi Topeora and Ana Rupene are the same only the shape of their respective chins in proportion to their upper lip area is distinctly individual to each woman. Pare Watene does, however, have curled *koru* in the centre of her *kauae*, a minor variation of the same pattern.

Figure 20: Rangi Topeora painted by Gottfried Lindauer



(Simmons 1999: 115)

Figure 21: Ana Rupene painted by Gottfried Lindauer, 1878

(Simmons 1999: 114)

Figure 22: Pare Watene painted by Gottfried Lindauer, 1878

(Simmons 1999: 114)

The three Lindauer paintings reveal that each woman has a line tattooed above the lip line. In his discussions of these *moko kauae* Simmons (1999: 114) only refers to that of Rangi Topeora, stating that the line indicates that she was an *ariki tapairu*. By contrast, Simmons does not consider either of the other two women to be descended from a noble lineage. For example Pare Watene is described as being of lower birth, descending from “the third line” (or *taina* line) while Simmons only makes a comment about Ana Rupene’s male side. And yet when the images are compared all of the women have a line above the upper lip. Simmons does not acknowledge this factor. Without referring to these women’s identities one is able

to see clearly from the portraits that contrary to Simmons' interpretations all of these women are from chiefly lines. Firstly, the *taonga* that each woman wears is indicative of her rank. For example, the *huia* (type of bird) feathers that are worn by two of the women suggests that they are from *rangatira lines*. The fact that Rangi Topeora is wearing four *huia* feathers indicates that she is of higher rank and possibly from the *ariki* line. Another factor that indicates the difference in rank between these women, without identifying them by name, is the type of clothing that each one is wearing in their portrait. Rangi Topeora is wearing a *kaitaka* (unornamented cloak with coloured borders) that is only reserved for people of high rank. However, the other two women have ornamental cloaks that were usual for women with a certain amount of status. Furthermore, Rangi Topeora is acknowledged in historical accounts as descending from *ariki* lines. Without referring to the *moko kauae* design that they all bear this evidence confirms that these women were all females of rank. Therefore, Simmons' theory that each individual line used in *moko kauae* designs is a representation of a woman's *whakapapa* is flawed. These three women have similar designs yet are categorised differently in terms of their genealogy and rank by Simmons. Had Simmons provided some evidence supporting his theory about *moko kauae* as an indicator of rank it may have been plausible, however, the linguistic and ethnographic evidence is against it.

It appears that Simmons used the aesthetical aspects of design to provide a justification for the societal structure proposed by Te Riria. This misrepresentation of *moko kauae* design ignores the role of the *tohunga tā moko*, each of whom would have had a preferred style. Nor does Simmons take account of the untattooed women who would have been considered too *tapu* to wear a *moko kauae*.

Furthermore, there is no focus on the development of technology and the way this would have affected *moko kauae* design. The *mana* of a woman was reflected in their *moko kauae*; it was a symbol of their status. Simmons' theory should have examined the nature of political structures of *hapū* and the impact these structures had on *moko kauae*. He does not explore the cultural significance of *moko kauae* becoming the face of the *hapū* on the *marae* during the 19th century. This cultural praxis distinguished a woman's identity on the *marae* as a means of ensuring the *mana* of the people. Michael King (1975: 439) notes that the women from the *kuia moko* (early 20th century) acquired their *moko* largely for their ability in "...*karanga, powhiri* and *waiata*." This supports the significance of *moko kauae* to the *hapū*. However, I disagree with King (1975: 439) when he argues that the "...connotation of *rangatira* status" disappeared during this time period. I support the notion that *moko kauae* was based on *whakapapa* descent and was a symbol of status, however, this was based on the political structure of the *hapū*, and not a broad 'one nation' theory as defined by Simmons.

The development of *moko kauae* design is related not only to the development in technology but also to the impact of Pākehā settlement in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It is these issues that affected how the cultural beliefs behind *moko kauae* changed over time (as discussed in Chapter 2). The following diagram attempts to show the elements that influenced this change:

Table 10 : The influences of *moko kauae* development

| | <i>Up to ca 1830s</i> | <i>ca 1840-1890s</i> | <i>ca 1900s-1950s (Kuia Moko Period)</i> | <i>1970s- (Renaissance of <i>moko kauae</i>)</i> |
|--|--|--|---|--|
| <i>The influence of Pākehā culture</i> | — — — — — | — | —————> | → — — → |
| <i>Strength of <i>moko kauae</i></i> | | | → | — — ← → |
| <i>Technology changes</i> | Bone uhi | Bone and Metal uhi | Metal uhi and Needles | Tattoo machine |
| <i>Design changes</i> | Simple lines, including crosses | A defined design, basic <i>moko kauae</i> pattern emerges as a standard design. | More defined design with experimental variations on the basic <i>moko kauae</i> pattern. A standardised pattern maintained | Elaborate designs that have evolved from the basic <i>moko kauae</i> pattern used in the previous period. More individuality. |
| <i>Societal changes</i> | Iwi autonomy with clearly defined land boundaries. Political structures focus on the hapū. Pākehā settlers begin their demands for land. | The Treaty of Waitangi is signed in 1840. Whānau, hapū and iwi structures are threatened with increased demands for land. A rise in Māori Nationalism is called for to address these demands with moves to unify tribes Land alienation due to confiscations and the Land Court occurs. | Māori whānau, hapū and iwi continue fighting against the alienation of their land. These structures are threatened further with the rural-urban drift. This undermines the strength of hapū based Māori society as members move to the cities. For many Māori their link to their whānau, hapū and iwi are severed. | Whānau, hapū and iwi continue to have a place in Māori society. Birth of the Māori renaissance: political conscientisation of Māori through political movements such as Ngā Tama Toa, Māori Land March, 1987 Māori Language Act, establishment of Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wānanga The Waitangi Tribunal is introduced to hear grievances that occurred to Māori. However, all lands that were confiscated are not returned to the whānau, hapū or iwi. Urban Māori form an identity in the cities. |
| <i>Reasons for <i>moko kauae</i></i> | An expression of a woman's status | An expression of Māori identity in light | A reclaimed expression of hapū | An expression of identity as a means of |

| | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|
| | <i>within her whānau, hapū and iwi. This excludes those women who were of the highest rank as they would be too tapu</i> | <i>of moves towards Māori nationalism</i> | <i>identity as a means of retaining a unique Māori identity within a Pākehā society.</i> | <i>reclaiming the past in a modern global society.</i> |
|--|--|---|--|--|

This diagram attempts to explore the wide range of issues that have impacted on the development of *moko kauae*. The primary issue was the influence of Pākehā culture on the art of *moko kauae*. The strength of this new culture does not become apparent until just before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Only during the 1970s does Māori political activity begin to have a major impact on Pākehā New Zealand society and as a result past grievances began to be addressed by the government.

The impact of Pākehā culture not only affected the technology of *moko kauae* but also influenced the societal structures as a result of land alienation. The political power base of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* are located in their *whenua* as this is the source of Māori identity (see Part II). The time periods when this identity was threatened coincides with the time periods when *moko kauae* became popular. The popularity of *moko kauae* appears to be located most strongly amongst *iwi* who had their lands confiscated. Michael King (1992) captured the images and anecdotes of some *kuia moko* of both the *uhi* and *ngira* (needle) period, supporting the association between the popularity of *moko kauae* and land confiscations (see Part II). These women, who were in their twilight years, were from Waikato and Tūhoe. In many respects these women had shared a similar history of land alienation through the *raupatu* (confiscation) of their tribal lands, but had also seen the strong arm of colonisation affect Māori society (these issues will be examined in Part II of

this thesis). The blue arrow indicates the strength of *moko kauae* up to the 1950s when the art form ceases to be practised. The broken line indicates the break down in the art of *moko kauae*. The new arrow in the last period since the 1970s indicates that *moko kauae* is being revived and is still gaining strength.

The aesthetics behind *moko kauae* were influenced by all of the factors listed in this table. The standardisation of the design reflects the influence of technology and society, rather than just being based on the societal rank of a woman. Simmons' theory ignores these factors as a means of determining the importance of *moko kauae* as a token of identity. *Moko kauae* is a symbol of *mana* determined by *whakapapa*. Furthermore, the *whakapapa* of the individual is sourced to the land which gives *moko kauae* women their unique identity. King (1992: 80) examines the complex reasons behind why people were tattooed believing that the issues behind *moko kauae* as an artform can not be understood in isolation. Māori society was based on an indigenous belief system where all aspects of the environment were interrelated with each other, and *tā moko* was no exception.

The practice of [Pre-European] tattooing was part of an expression of a unified view of life. Post-European tattooing, however, grew out of a new awareness of the Maori as a threatened minority group that needed to assert its identity (King 1992: 80).

The change in ideals pertaining to *moko* from a cultural norm to a politically motivated act of defiance shows the effect colonisation had on the break down of Māori culture notwithstanding *moko kauae*. This political awareness of the changing society in Aotearoa/New Zealand appears to coincide with the popularity of Māori cultural markers. In respect to the *kuia moko* period these women would

have been the grandchildren of those ancestors who witnessed the land confiscations, who fought against land alienation, and who sent petitions to reclaim lands through the Native Land Court. As a result of fighting for the land these ancestors would have been politically aware that as a people their unique identity was at risk. *Moko kauae* became an outward expression of Māori identity at a time when Māori felt subsumed by a new culture. Michael King alludes to the *moko kauae* of these *kuia* as a political symbol concerned with maintaining not only Māori identity but also the *mana motuhake* of the people.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to highlight issues surrounding *moko kauae* by examining the developments in design. This chapter explored the theories associated with *moko kauae* designs of Simmons (1999) and King (1975 and 1992). Simmons' theory was based on his informant's belief about the structure of Māori society. This unsubstantiated model of society allowed Simmons to define individual lines of the *moko kauae* to correspond with the *whakapapa* descent line of his model. This purported model of society does not examine the political structures of *whānau* and *hapū* and their important dimension in Māori society. Furthermore, Simmons defines tribal *moko kauae* patterns without providing photographs or portraits to support his definitions. Simmons' numerous interpretations of *moko kauae* designs vary between different women who appear to have the same pattern with a few minor variations. There appears to be no consideration that the anatomical structure of individual women would alter the dimensions of a standard design. This design standardisation is not explored by Simmons especially in relation to the social, political and technological influences on *moko kauae*.

King (1975, 1992), however, believes that *moko kauae* cannot be examined without looking at all the elements not only of the artform but also the people. He believes that the development of *moko kauae* corresponds with the development of Māori society. The impact of Pākehā culture on Māori is an important feature of *moko kauae*. He links this belief to the popularity of *moko kauae* in areas where land confiscations occurred. As a result of land alienation *moko kauae* becomes more popular. Furthermore, he discusses the issues behind the change of technology from bone to metal chisels, and then eventually to needles. These factors were influential in the standardisation of *moko kauae* design in that the actual *moko* itself became the symbol for the *mana* of the people rather than the individual design. Māori would not expect Pākehā to understand the significance of each line tattooed on their chin and would therefore be more accepting of this standardisation of design. It was this design that became the symbol of a new assertion of Māori identity in the shadow of colonisation. These designs have been reclaimed by the new renaissance culture today as a declaration of the individual's unique identity as a Māori woman.

Chapter Five

Te tā moko me te tohunga tā moko Tattooing processes and the tattoo experts

The process of *tā moko* was a highly skilled operation. The association of blood with this art commanded a high level of respect for the patient and, more importantly, for the *tohunga tā moko*. The *mana* of *tohunga* in Māori society was determined not only by the type of *tohunga* a person was, but also by their skill. This chapter will explore the role of *tohunga* (priest, expert) in Māori society, with particular reference to *tohunga tā moko*. The processes of *tā moko* will be discussed by looking at the rituals that were associated with the application of the tattoo. This will include some of the *karakia* (incantations) and *waiata* (chants) performed during the process of *tā moko*. Cultural practices that were performed as a result of *tā moko* will be described to indicate the importance that was placed on the *tohunga tā moko* and the importance of the *moko kauae* itself. This chapter concludes with the author's own observations of two women undergoing the process of their *moko kauae* acquisition. This ethnographic description was recorded during the author's participation at a *moko wānanga* (learning environment) and is based on the processes she observed.

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the importance of *moko* through the examination of its processes. This will show how *moko*, in this instance *moko kauae*, is a symbol of *mana*. Furthermore, it will highlight the participation of the *hapū* or *whānau* throughout the process. This supports the theory that the *moko kauae* was a symbol of the *mana* of the *hapū*.

Tohunga

Tohunga is often translated as ‘priests’, however, its best description is ‘expert in a certain area’. The word that follows *tohunga* (e.g. *tohunga tā moko*) indicates their type of expertise (e.g. an expert tattooist). It also determined the class ranking of the expert within traditional Māori society. The following table illustrates the different types of *tohunga* recorded, including the different classes to which they belonged.

Table 11: Classifications of the different types of *tohunga*

| <i>Tohunga</i> | Type | Class |
|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| <i>Ahurewa</i> | Spiritual | High |
| <i>Tūahu</i> | Spiritual | High |
| <i>Taua</i> | War | Second |
| <i>Whaihangā</i> | Carpenter | Second |
| <i>Whakairo</i> | Tattooing or carving | Second |
| <i>Moko</i> | Tattooing | Second |
| <i>Tātai arorangi</i> | Star navigator | Second |
| <i>Kokorangi</i> | Star navigator | Second |
| <i>Matakite</i> | Fore saw the future | Second |
| <i>Tarai waka</i> | Canoe maker | Second |
| <i>Kēhua</i> | Shaman | Low |
| <i>Makutu</i> | Sorcerer | Low |
| <i>Whaiwhaiā</i> | Sorcerer | Low |
| <i>Kiato</i> | Shaman | Low |

(Adapted from Buck 1952: 474 and Best 1924:244-245)

Whilst this is not an exhaustive list of the *tohunga* of old it shows that there were clear classifications between the different types. The high-class priest was said to have a similar status to that of the *ariki* and in some instances the latter took on the responsibilities of the former. Therefore, these divisions of class also indicate the degrees of *mana* and *tapu* the respective *tohunga* possessed. Whilst there are different types of *tohunga* from the different classes, not all *hapū* had the full range.

In the instances where *tohunga tā moko* did not reside within a *hapū* invitations were sent out to a *tohunga* to practise their art. The *hapū* would commission the *tohunga* with *taonga* (treasures) such as weapons, cloaks, and greenstone and payments of food. “There was no exact standard, nor anything resembling a definite price for such work” (Firth 1929: 303), however, like European art masters, *tohunga tā moko* could gain fame from their work and therefore demand a high commission.

Maori women of status were tattooed. Only they would have been able to afford the services of a tattooing expert. They were the *puhi*, born into the *rangatira* and *ariki* chiefly lineage. The wealth of the tribe was held by those of chiefly rank and the services of the *tohunga ta moko* were expensive (Mountain Ellis 1993: 264).

Moko has been referred to as a mark of status, however, evidence suggests that this is due more to *rangatira* being able to afford the price of the *tohunga tā moko*.

Early processes

Many writers have suggested that the process of *moko kauae* was performed when a girl had reached puberty. This indicated that a girl was ready for marriage (Gell 1993: 252, Robley 1998: 44). Best (1904: 170) reports that ceremonies of *tā moko*

kauae were held, where the *taina* (younger siblings) were tattooed before the eldest daughter of a chief due to the *tapu* nature of the process. Te Rangikāheke also notes this combined ritual of *tā moko kauae*:

I te waa, e whakaritea ai e te matua, e te hapuu, e te iwi katoa, kia karangatia he taainga ngutu mo taana tamaahine, ka whakaemia he kai papai, ka ruupeke ki te kaainga. Ka whakaritea eetahi atu kootiro o oona hapuu hei taapiri i te tino kootiro i whakaritea ai teenei taainga ngutu, te tino tamaahine a te tino rangatira o eenei hapuu. Na, kua rite katoa nga kai, nga kaakahu, nga toroa, nga raukura, me nga taangata ki te waahi kotahi. Na, tokorua, tokotoru raanei nga kootiro kee atu i whakaritea hei whaariki mo te tino kootiro nei. He whaariki hoki ki a maatau nga kootiro i haere atu kia taaia tahitia me teenei kootiro noona nei teenei taainga.

At the time decided on by the father, the subtribe and the whole tribe, to announce a daughter's lip-tattooing, fine foods are gathered and collected together in the village. Other girls from her subtribes are nominated in addition to the highly-ranked girl for whom the lip-tattooing has been arranged, the chiefly girl of these subtribes. Now, the food, the garments, the albatross down, the tropic-bird feathers and the people are all ready in one place. Two or three other girls are appointed to be 'mats' for the chiefly girl. To us (i.e., Maori people), the 'mats' are the girls who will be tattooed alongside the one whose lip-tattooing it is (Te Rangikaheke in Biggs 1997: 178-179).

This ceremony would also be at the expense of the parents of the girl of *rangatira* status, as the economic value of the ritual extends beyond the payment for the *tohunga*. The preparation of a *puhi* for marriage had also to take into account cultural aspects that would cost the *rangatira*; *moko kauae* appears to have been only one step. Gell (1993: 264) suggests that the family would be subjected to "taua, or ritualized pillaging" once they had decided on a partner for their daughter. This traditional custom, also known as *muru*, was performed to show the *mana* of the woman receiving the *moko*.

The right of the *hapu* to pillage their chief on these occasions underscores the point that it was essentially his responsibility to preserve the symbolic precedence of his family by not acceding to any political inducements to form alliances, however practically advantageous (Gell 1993: 264).

Muru was a commonly practised form of retribution or resolution that did not involve warfare (Ballara 2003: 103). This ritualised plundering expressed the communal concerns of a specific group of people. In many respects *muru* was a punishment inflicted to remind the violator that they had not tried to protect the person, in this case the *puhi* of the *hapū*. Often the *muru* was a means of complimenting the offender, as those who did the plundering had considered the offender to be worthy of such an act in the first instance (Maning 1973: 109). To execute *muru* as a result of *moko kauae* indicated the *mana* the *hapū* placed upon both the women and the *tā moko* process.

The operation of the *moko* would be held in a space that was kept apart from communal areas. In most instances the *hapū* would have constructed a temporary structure in order to house the *tohunga tā moko* and the recipient. The temporary nature would allow the house to be burnt to the ground to *whakanoa* the area. The process of *moko* was very ritualised, and the *tohunga tā moko* and the client would be considered to be in “*te ahi tā moko*, the fire (or oven) of tattooing” (Best 1904: 160). This association with fire shows the process of *moko* was conducted within a very dangerous state of *tapu*. To indicate that the process was *tapu* the *tohunga tā moko* before commencing the operation would strike his *uhi* (with or without ink) into the left shoulder of the recipient (Best 1995b: 596). During this time the *tohunga tā moko* would recite the following:

*Kikiwa, kikiwa,
Matao te uhi
Ki tua o whare wera
Tohu te parapara
Rewa te ngarahu
Kia mangu
Kia u* (Best 1904: 169)

Further to this, Best (1904: 170) adds that throughout the operation special types of *waiata* (songs) called *whakatangitangi* or *whakawai tānga moko* were sung to “...cheer up and invigorate the hapless patient.” A partial example of one composed for a woman receiving a *moko kauae* is as follows:

*Tangata e taia mai ra
Kia manawanui ra
Tangata i te ruahine ra
Kia manawanui ra
Tangata i te whakautu
Kia ata whakanakonako
Tangata i te pai
Kia ata mahi
Tangata rangatira nui
Kia ata whakairoiro - e
Tangata manawanui - e
Kia ata mahi ai
Tangata i te rangi pai - e
Kia ata whakanakonako - e* (Best 1904: 170)

On completion of the process the term used to describe this aspect of the process of *tā moko* was *ahi parapara* (oven of filth), indicating that it had been completed (Gell 1993: 247). Again Best (1904: 171) provides examples of *karakia* that were used to *whakanoa* the area. These two examples are of *tute* (thrusting away) and *rokia* (providing calmness) types of *karakia*. The former is to lift the *tapu* from the area whilst the latter makes it possible for people to use the area again.

Specially designed funnels were an essential part of the process of *tā moko*. These elaborately designed vessels were used to feed the patients of *tā moko* whose mouths would be swollen through the process. Buck (1952: 299) believes that the highly decorated funnels were created for *rangatira*. Rangi Ruri, a *kuia* (elderly woman) from Tūhoe, who received a *uhi moko* from Te Hokotahi and Taiwera during the 1920s-1930s, discussed the severity of the swelling of the operation of her *moko kauae*. Rangi Ruri could only drink through a “hollow reed” (Ruri in King 1992: 10). These funnels protected people from contaminating their *moko* with any type of food matter that was considered *noa*.

The *uhi moko* during the period of the 1920s-1930s, as recorded by King (1992: 8-9), was considered so *tapu* that temporary establishments were used to house the operation. As a result *karakia* was an essential aspect and performed throughout the duration of the process. Anaru Makiwhara, however, preferred to have *karakia* prior to and on completion of the *moko* and required silence during the process. “The relatives would sit near the tent fly, but very quietly, for fear of disturbing his concentration” (Zizter in King 1992: 9).

Afterwards, the women were not allowed to eat greasy food for several days, nor look into a mirror until the scabs came away from their chins weeks later. This was a mark of the *tapu* nature of the tattooing process. Anaru told them their *moko* would not appear if they did these things, although there were probably sounder reasons for such rules (to prevent infection in the first instance and to avoid shock at the sight of the swollen wounds in the second) (King 1992: 9).

During the period of the *ngira* tattooist, King (1992) describes the process that was undertaken by Tame Poata. Poata travelled extensively through the East Coast, Te

Urewera, Bay of Plenty, Rotorua and Waikato to *moko* women from 1928-1942 (King 1992: 45).

The night before tattooing, Poata would choose a room, clear it of people, and *whakatapu* to make sacred. This process involved closing the doors and windows, sprinkling water about, and chanting *karakia*. The next day the selected women would come to the room, usually singly, and lie down on mattresses (King 1992: 45)

With some women, Tame Poata would sketch the design first to allow the woman's relatives a chance to approve. *Karakia* were an important part of the process to Poata, as a means of dealing with *tapu*, but also the *karakia* acted as a form of mental anaesthetic. The following example is quoted by King:

- 1 *He ngārahu tapu taku ngārahu
Nāu e Io o Tikitiki-o-Rangi
Tēnei o pia, tēnei o taura
He iho nui, he iho roa*
- 5 *He iho taketake ki a koe e Io e
Puritia i te ioio nui, i te ioio o te pukenga
I te ioio o te hiringa wānanga tipua
I te wānanga ariki, i te wānanga atua
Nō runga i ngā rangi tūhāhā*
- 10 *Nō te uruuru tahito, nō te uruuru tipua
Nō te uruuru matua! Ki a koe e Io
Matua e! e Ruatau!*
- 13 *E Tāne-te-waiora, e!* (King 1992: 46)

Metaphorical language was prevalent in many *karakia* and *waiata* (songs) of the Māori. This example used by Poata uses words that are found in the materials of *tā moko*, but alternative interpretations make a connection between *ira atua* (godly elements) and *ira tangata* (human elements). In the first two lines there is an acknowledgement that the sacred pigments of *tā moko* came from the gods, in this

case Io (who is referred to as the supreme god), from the highest heavens of Tikitiki-o-Rangi. The third line is a classic example of the ability of Māori to manipulate words to highlight relevance to an area. In this instance ‘*pia*’ is a word that is used for ‘elementary student’ but it is also the name of tree gum, one of the ingredients used in the manufacture of *wai ngarahu*, as discussed in the previous chapter. *Taura* (rope) is made from prepared flax that is also used in *tā moko* for applying the ink and for wiping blood away from the tattooing area. The translation of *taura* that is supplied by King (1992: 46) is used to describe ‘a more advanced student’ that draws the relationship with *pia* closer together. It is acknowledged that both *pia* and *taura* belong to the *atua* by the personal possessive ‘*o*’ that precedes both words. *Iho* is used in lines 4-5 to describe the “[h]eart, inside, kernal, pith, essence, of a tree etc” (Williams 1992: 75). Again this indicates a relationship to the pigment ingredients, however, King (1995: 46) describes *ihō* as “sacredness”. I would uphold the alternative meaning of *ihō* as the “umbilical cord” that connects *ira tangata* to *ira atua*. This connection between Māori and the *atua* is great (*nui*), long (*roa*) and essentially originating (*taketake*) from the *atua* (in this respect the *atua* Io). Lines 6-7 describe the *ioio* or “strands” that connects humans to knowledge sourced from the *atua*. The following two lines describe the genre of some of the ‘Schools of Learning’ (*wānanga*). The first one is that of the “paramount chiefs” (*ariki*) and those of the *atua*. The latter possibly indicates the *atua* where knowledge pertaining to Te Ao Tūroa comes from. The tenth line of the *karakia* states that the origin of all knowledge comes from the highest heaven, Te Rangitūhāhā. Among its many meanings ‘*uru*’ or ‘*uruuru*’ is “chief or head” indicating metaphorically that knowledge is sourced to the *atua*. From Io knowledge is passed through Ruatau who, according to Best (1995a: 189), was one of the “...intermediaries between Io and the supernatural

offspring of the Primal Parents.” This descent from Io to Ruatau and finally to Tāne-te-waiora describes how knowledge was passed down from the heavens to the latter, who ultimately passed it on to humans. Best (1995a: 117-118) recorded 41 variations of Tāne's name which includes Tāne-te-waiora indicating “life, prosperity, welfare, sunlight”, an appropriate term during the process of *tā moko*. This *karakia* highlights the relationship of *ira atua* and *ira tangata*.

Another *waiata* used during *tā moko*, recorded by Raymond Firth (1972: 413-414), was uttered by a *tohunga tā moko* while he worked:

| | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>He tangata i te whakautu,</i> | Let the lines be true and straight |
| <i>Kia ta whakanakonako;</i> | On the man who is rich and great. |
| <i>He tangata whakautu kere</i> | On the man who does not pay |
| <i>Kumekumea kia tatahi</i> | Make them crooked, coarse and splay. |

(Translation, Buck, Te Rangihīroa in Firth 1972: 413-414)

This *waiata* exemplifies the importance of the payment given to the *tohunga* for services rendered. While under the *uhi* of the artist the patient is reminded that they need to seek enough *taonga* to ensure that the workmanship of the *moko* is of the highest quality. Another point that can be drawn from this *waiata* is that only those members of society who could afford the services of the *tohunga* would have received *moko*, as the payment was high. This would have been especially so for the *rangatira* since the *tohunga* would have sought compensation for exposing himself to the high degree of *tapu* running through the blood of the *rangatira*.

Tohunga tā moko wahine (female moko experts), tikanga and the Tohunga Suppression Act

The first reference to female *tohunga tā moko* appears in accounts during the *ngira moko* period. King (1992: 47) refers to Kuhukuhu Tāmati and Hikapuhi from

Whatawhata and Ngāti Whakaue respectively as being examples of women who practised *moko kauae*. Kuhukuhu Tāmati worked extensively in the Waikato area and towards the West Coast of the North Island. She provided her own tent to house her practice and was revered by the *iwi* of that area as a *tohunga tā moko*.

Hikapuhi held her practice in Owhata but was often overlooked by some women who preferred to wait for Tame Poata. Apart from Poata's fame in the application of *moko kauae* Hikapuhi would have been judged on her gender rather than her ability. It is worth noting that some *iwi* preferred to acknowledge traditional beliefs that women should not work in these areas due to their ability to *whakanoa*. Therefore, female *tohunga tā moko* were not accepted by all *iwi*. The *ngira moko* period not only saw a change in technology but a philosophical change amongst some *iwi*. The development of technology and of attitudes in Māori society highlight changes that were occurring to *tikanga Māori*. The relevance of *tapu* was beginning to lose its influence amongst some *iwi* and the acceptance of female *tohunga tā moko* is an example of a change in *tikanga Māori*.

There are many factors that have influenced the development in *tikanga Māori* especially in *tā moko*. The obvious factor is the influence of Pākehā introduced culture, notably the introduction of metal chisels and needles to *tā moko* operations. King (1992: 7) argues that the adoption of new technology is a tribute to Māori survival during a period of growing 'Europeanisation'. This modification in culture is a testament to the resilience of Māori, especially Māori women who continued to receive *moko kauae* until the 1950s.

One of the more substantial reasons for change occurred as a result of the 1908 *Tohunga Suppression Act* which was designed to eradicate all forms of *tohunga*, especially those:

. . . people pretending to possess supernatural powers in the treatment and cure of disease, the foretelling of future events, and otherwise, and thereby induce the Maoris to neglect their proper occupations and gather into meetings where their substance is consumed and their minds are unsettled, to the injury of themselves and to the evil example of the Maori people generally. (Tohunga Suppression Act 1908: 549)

The Minister of Native affairs and prominent Māori leader, Sir James Carroll, introduced this bill in 1907. He was concerned that Māori were adopting a “regressive attitude” to developments being made in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Ward 1994: 13). This attitude was being pushed by the actions of self-named ‘prophets’, particularly Rua Kenana of Tūhoe. Carroll wanted Māori to become more civilised and with the aid of the assimilation policies of the Government he believed that Māori should not continue traditional practices. He believed that Rua Kenana was nothing more than a charlatan who was inhibiting the development of Tūhoe by drawing them back into isolation again (Ward: 1994: 13). This act was supported by other Māori members of Parliament, such as Sir Māui Pōmare, who advocated better health standards for Māori:

In a number of his reports Pomare commented bitterly about the mortality that some of the new breed of *tohunga* caused for example, by attempting to heal the sick by bathing them in cold water and administering alcohol. He strongly supported Carroll's introduction of the Tohunga Suppression Act in 1907 (Butterworth 1996: 405).

Sir Apirana Ngata tried to prosecute a woman *tohunga* named Hikapuhi in 1909 under the *Tohunga Suppression Act* for her acts of healing people with brandy. Carroll however did not support the case and Hikapuhi was not charged. The Māori newspaper *Te Pīpīwharauroa* supported the purposes of the *Tohunga Suppression Act* through the writings of Reweti Kōhere, another prominent Māori leader, who condemned the practises of *tohunga*. Hikapuhi and her healing abilities featured in this newspaper and she was publicly criticised for her acts as a *tohunga* (Coney 1993: 93). At this time Hikapuhi worked in the Wairarapa and lower North Island area, however, she was from Ngāti Pikiao of the Te Arawa region. It is not clear whether this Hikapuhi, who returned to Te Arawa following the death of her husband, is the same Hikapuhi King (1992) refers to as a *tohunga tā moko*. Eventually the *Tohunga Suppression Act* was repealed in 1963 long after the last *tohunga tā moko* of the *uhi* and *ngira* period had passed away.

The most notable women *tohunga tā moko* today are Julie Paama-Pengelly-Kipa and Christine Harvey who both feature on the *tā moko* website (www.tamoko.org) as reputable *tohunga tā moko*. The precedent set by Kuhukuhu Tāmati and Hikapuhi has allowed women to become *tohunga tā moko* without question of females being practitioners of the art.

Tā moko wānanga, 2002

The following account is taken from the author's personal journal. On the 15th of November 2002 I had the opportunity to observe and participate in a *moko wānanga* (discussion) that was held in Rūātoki. The objective of the *wānanga* was to discuss the nature of *moko kauae* in Tūhoe and to apply the *moko* to those women who had decided that they were ready to receive this *taonga*. Prior to

anyone having the *moko kauae* the *tohunga tā moko*, Chas Doherty (Tūhoe), discussed the issue of *moko* becoming a commercial commodity for some tattoo artists. He believed that the fight for intellectual property rights - a major issue towards the beginning of the latest renaissance culture - had been hindered by the drive for economic gain. On an *iwi* level, Doherty believed that there needed to be a framework set up by Tūhoe to ensure the protection of the art form. One way of achieving this objective was to educate Tūhoe who have a vested interest in *tā moko* through *wānanga* in order to maintain the *mana* of the *taonga* for Tūhoe as an *iwi*.

Part of the struggle of establishing this framework seems to stem from mainstream societal influences that have affected the communities within Tūhoe especially in terms of the impact they have had on the individual *hapū*. The perpetuation of negative influences introduced since colonisation continues today in a vicious cycle of social problems. Observations made by individuals of these types of social problems have led *tohunga tā moko* such as Doherty to believe that the *mana* of the *moko* or the *moko* itself is a means of educating these communities into breaking this circuit. The dependency of individuals within Tūhoe on the State has determined their lives and *tikanga Māori* has adapted to these influences.

As a result of this Doherty believes that *moko kauae*, *pūhorō* and *tīwhana* are *moko* that need to be separated out from other forms of *moko*. These particular forms of *moko* more closely resembled those often worn by our *tīpuna*. The application of these *moko* had to be conducted under the strictness of *ritenga* (ceremonial rites). Doherty made the point during the *wānanga* that *tohunga tā moko* should not be

paid in monetary terms for these types of *moko* but rather payments should reflect the customs of our ancestors where the *tohunga* was gifted with *taonga*.

The discussions of this first evening focussed primarily on *moko* as a *taonga*. This gave the women who were preparing to receive *moko* the opportunity to ask questions about the process. It was made clear that in the light of the belief that the art is a *taonga* the *tohunga tā moko* did not see the operation of the *moko* as a 'side show'. Due to the level of *tapu* involved in the process these types of *moko* only allowed for immediate family or support people who had been selected by the recipient to witness the process. Doherty specifically distinguished these types of *moko* from those placed on other areas of the body as being the ones that should follow *ritenga*. Therefore, he stressed the importance of these types of *moko*, especially *moko kauae* in this instance, as it gave the women a deeper understanding of the commitment that they were about to embark upon. The reclaiming of the past as a means of standing proud in the present in order to continue on into the future was a strong theme that continued to run throughout the *wānanga*.

Of the eight women who had been organised to undertake *moko kauae* only two were present at the evening's discussions. The presentation by Tame Iti (Tūhoe), who had come to assist Chas Doherty in facilitating the *wānanga*, and those from Doherty himself were very compelling. So much so that I believe that if the other six women had participated they would have left their reservations behind and undertaken the task of receiving *moko kauae*.

It is clear that in this current cultural renaissance of *moko kauae* discussions or *wānanga* such as these are important not only for educating people who are observing the process but also for ensuring that women are clear as to the nature of this *taonga* that they wish to acquire. These discussions ended at approximately 2 am so that the women could rest before the *moko* session began.

Early the next morning I was looking across towards the *marae* of Te Rewarewa and through the rising mist stood a lonely figure stretching his limbs. Chas Doherty was undertaking his preparation as a *tohunga tā moko*. I pondered the women's commitment for *moko kauae* from the previous night and it intrigued me to think that this commitment lay in the hands, the mind and the experience of this *tohunga tā moko*. After completing his personal preparations Doherty came to the small *whare* (house) that had been set aside for *moko*. The preparation of the batch was undertaken by the *tohunga tā moko* and selected others. The *tohunga tā moko* and the women receiving *moko* were not allowed to eat prior to the operation so as to remain *tapu* until the completion.

Once the *whare* had been prepared everyone was asked to move there to attend the initial *karakia*. Those who were not directly involved in the operation congregated to the side of the *whare* listening intently to the *karakia* of the *tohunga tā moko*. The first woman to have her *moko* applied was supported by her husband and children. Her *moko* journey began to the sound of the *pūtātara* (conch shell). “*Ka Horo! . . .*” a *manawawera* (type of chant) started a series of *waiata* (songs) that ranged in genre from traditional to more contemporary styles. The purpose of the *waiata* was to distract the recipient from the pain of the *moko kauae*. In accordance

with the *tapu* nature of the *moko* we were prohibited from going around to the opened side of the *whare* to observe.

Approximately three hours later everyone was notified that the first recipient (Rose) was completed. I noticed that Rose looked completely washed out from the experience as she went to *hongi* (press noses) all who came to support her.

The next recipient, Sharon, was then taken into the *whare* to begin her journey of *moko kauae*. Like Rose, Sharon had pre-selected people to accompany her throughout the process. Sharon's husband, a Native American Indian, chanted traditional songs that were used by his people during their initiation rites of piercing the skin. Other members of Sharon's *whānau* performed similar songs sung for Rose reflecting her *whakapapa* links to Tūhoe. On the completion of Sharon's *moko kauae* she acknowledged all the participants of the *hui* (gathering) with a *hongi*, and reflecting Rose's experience she too looked drained by the experience.

The completion of these women left the *tohunga tā moko* to conclude with more *karakia* to *whakanoa* the *whare* so that it could return to being used for its usual purposes. This was followed by a *hākari* (feast) which allowed the *tohunga tā moko* to be freed of remaining *tapu* but was also intended as an acknowledgement of their work. During the *hākari* Rose and Sharon presented their *koha* to the *tohunga tā moko*. Rose, a weaver, presented the *tohunga tā moko* with *taonga* she had created and Sharon provided similar goods as payment for their *kauae*. The *wānanga* concluded with speeches from representatives of both Rose and Sharon which were reciprocated by the *tohunga tā moko*.

The observations that I was privileged to make throughout the course of the *wānanga* allowed me to witness how the aspects of *tapu* are addressed in a contemporary setting. *Karakia* had been used from the outset of the contemporary period and was acknowledged earlier as being an essential part of the process of *moko kauae*. Like Makiwhara and Poata, Doherty removed the operational unit away from the communal areas when performing *tā moko*. This practice underlines the important nature of *tapu* in the operation of *tā moko* and the violent nature of matters *noa* that are prohibited from making contact during the process. The separation of the location ensured that this respect for *tapu* safeguarded the *tohunga tā moko* and the recipient. *Tapu* and its prohibitions are not as severe today in Māori society as they were in the past, however, even in this contemporary setting *tapu* is respected as being an important aspect of Māori culture and therefore the right processes are carefully followed. An adaptation or modification to *tikanga* that occurred at this *wānanga* concerned the recipients who were able to choose those to be present at the time of the operation. In previous periods it tended to be nominated people who served a role during the process or, in the case of Anaru Makiwhara, no one was allowed to be present with the recipient. Another interesting factor of this *wānanga* was the presence of women who had had *moko kauae* completed earlier. These women offered their moral support to the recipients as a sign of welcome into the exclusive group of *moko kauae* bearers.

The presentation of *taonga* to the *tohunga tā moko* as payment for their work was in keeping with the philosophies of the *kuia moko* period. However, it was noted by the *tohunga tā moko* during the discussions of the first night that there are *tohunga tā moko* who readily accept monetary payment for *moko kauae* and *tīwhana* in lieu of *taonga*.

An analysis of the development of *tā moko* processes from the *uhi* period to the *ngira* period highlights how the influence of introduced culture has affected the practices of the art. The following table describes processes that were followed in both periods of time.

Table 12: Developments in the processes of chisel, needle and tattoo machine periods

| <i>Chisel period –1920s</i> | <i>Needle period 1920-1950</i> | <i>Tattoo machine period 2002</i> |
|---|--|---|
| Grooved lines, cut deep into chin | Smooth more defined lines | Smooth, defined lines. Ability to add intricate detail |
| Released large quantities of blood, wash away dies | Some bled more than others depended on recipient | Some bleeding still occurs. |
| Often took a whole day to complete, depending on pain threshold | Poata could tattoo up to six a day, depending on how fast he wanted to work | Between 30 - 60 minutes depending on the detail and whether the lips were tattooed |
| Restricted from eating greasy foods and looking at themselves until it had healed | Poata placed Vaseline over the completed <i>moko</i> to seal it. | <i>Hākari</i> (feasts) were held for the women to partake in. No restrictions were placed on the women. |
| Susceptible to infection due to the deep grooves | Some <i>moko</i> would not “take” because of infection but could be redone after healing | Antiseptic sprays and barrier creams are applied to heal and protect the <i>moko</i> |
| Healing process was long. Many incurred infection, sometimes death. | The healing process was up to three days | The healing process was between 24-48 hours depending on the person. |
| Kept apart from village during process | Done within the <i>hapū</i> in a room that was kept apart from other rooms | Kept apart in a separate house. |
| Traditional dyes: dog excrement, <i>awheto</i> (vegetable caterpillar), charcoal mixed with oil = green/black colour. | Poata preferred to use Indian ink mixed with water that had been boiled with green lichen = produced dark blue colour. | Tattooing ink. |

(Adapted from King 1992 and Higgins Personal Journal 2002).

Apart from technological developments that influenced changes in the practice of *tā moko*, there are other aspects that progressed during these three time periods. One such example is the earlier restriction from eating greasy foods in case the *moko* did not take. By contrast, Poata used grease (in the form of Vaseline) to seal his work. Contemporary artists, such as Doherty, take different elements from both periods but, more importantly use modern technology as a basis from which to bring life to the art form again.

Conclusion

Tohunga served many purposes within traditional Māori society. These purposes were dictated by rank. This classification system determined the level of *mana* afforded to the *tohunga*. In respect to the *tohunga tā moko* their work was paid for through *taonga* and food. Depending on their skill they could demand a high commission. The operation of *tā moko* was dictated by the *tapu* nature of the artform. The *tohunga tā moko* of both the *uhi* and *ngira* period adhered to the stringent rules of *tapu* and this was reflected in their different practices.

Early processes of *tā moko* showed the importance of *whānau* and *hapū* throughout the duration of the operation. Te Rangikāheke described the role of *taina* undertaking *moko* prior to their *tuakana* as a means of preparing the way for the latter. This indicated the status of the *tuakana* over the *taina*, yet highlighted the concept of *whanaungatanga* (expressions of love based in the family) in a *tapu* operation such as *tā moko*. Furthermore, the *hapū* had the right to *muru a rangatira* for subjecting his daughter to this violation of *tapu*. This expression signified the *mana* associated with both the *puhi* and the *moko kauae* she received.

Prior to the 20th century there were no accounts of female *tohunga tā moko*, however, as *tikanga Māori* started to adapt to the new environment of 'Europeanisation' the acceptance of female *tohunga tā moko* came about. This has continued through to this modern age where there are notable *tohunga tā moko wahine* (female *tohunga tā moko*) practising. The *tohunga tā moko wahine* is one of the changes that has become an accepted cultural praxis.

The operation of *tā moko* has also experienced changes. The practice that was documented in this chapter is an example of how a *tohunga tā moko* tries to incorporate elements of the past practices into the operation of *tā moko* today. The *tohunga tā moko* from the *wānanga* believed that the reclaiming of the art form of *tā moko* has to incorporate the metaphysical aspects (such as *tapu*) in order for the *moko kauae* to be classed as a *taonga* rather than a tattoo. These beliefs have enabled this contemporary practice to continue to grow stronger and to allow women to express their unique identity as Māori women.

Part II

WHENUA

"Nōku te whenua o ōku tūpuna"

Introduction

The title of Part II, taken from Firth (1972: 368), portrays the sentiments that Māori have for their *whenua*. This phrase was adopted as the title of Part II to show the spiritual significance of *whenua* to *tangata*. This title also incorporates the *whakapapa* connection Māori share with their *whenua* indicating the importance of the land for identity. This part of the thesis proposes to examine issues of land as a source of Māori identity.

Chapter Six looks at the relationship between *whenua* and the *atua*. This illustrates the *whakapapa* connection to the land denoting the spiritual link Māori have to *whenua*. The geographical definition of the land will be framed by this *whakapapa* connection, at the macro level, or large land mass, and the micro level, or the local geographical features. This chapter will describe how these different levels of definition are connected to *tangata* through *whakapapa*. The association between *tangata* and *whenua* at this level provides Māori with a source of their identity as respective *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

Chapter Seven investigates the importance of *mana* and *tapu* to *whenua*. These concepts, when applied to land, enabled Māori to protect the resources of their *whenua* as their *mana* as a people was tied up in their *whenua*. This relationship of *mana* and *tapu* to *whenua* further highlights the significance of the land as an important component of an individual's identity.

Chapter Eight analyses the change in Māori perceptions of *whenua* since the arrival of Pākehā. This shows how the influence of the ‘new *tangata*’ (Pākehā) impacted

on the Māori spiritual and physical connection to the *whenua*. This chapter explores issues surrounding the colonial demands for land and Māori political groups who emerged as a result of this. Furthermore, it will show how some Māori adopted aspects of Pākehā culture, in order to reclaim their rights to their *whenua*.

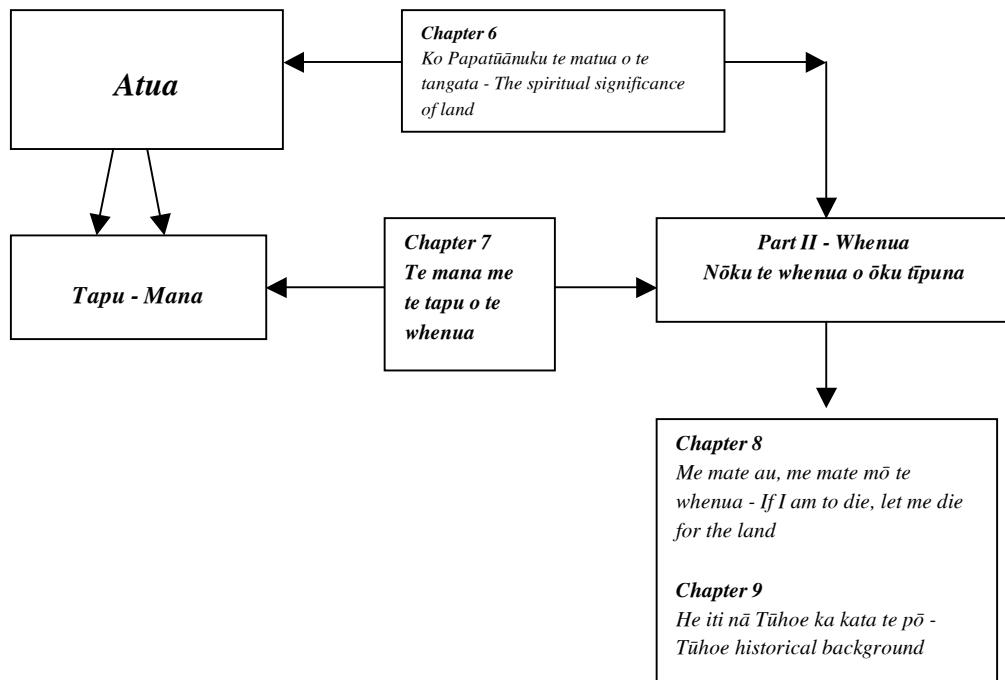
Chapter Nine is a brief history of Tūhoe and their relationship to their *whenua*. This case study will describe the origins of Tūhoe as an *iwi* and their development as a people in relation to their land until it was opened up for Pākehā settlement. Tūhoe isolated themselves from other *iwi* (including Pākehā) as a means of maintaining their autonomy. Tūhoe were subjected to the colonial confiscation of their land. Despite this Tūhoe continued to fight for their rights to those lands. As the last ‘jewel in the colonial crown’, Tūhoe lands were opened up to Pākehā settlement. This chapter will draw from the topics of the previous chapters of Part II as seen through the history of one specific *iwi*. This chapter will show the spiritual connection Tūhoe has with their land and the efforts Tūhoe took in order to maintain the *mana* and *tapu* of their *whenua*. The affects of land confiscation and differing perceptions of land, as they relate to Tūhoe, will also be discussed in this chapter. This chapter shows, through the history of one specific *iwi*, the importance to Māori of *whenua* as a source of identity.

All of the chapters in Part II - *Whenua* highlight the importance of *whenua* to *tangata*. *Whenua* is the life source of *tangata* and this belief provides Māori with a framework for their identity. The relationship between *tangata* and *whenua* is manifested in the customary concepts that are associated with land. These concepts provided protection for the *whenua* but also for the *tangata* in their interaction with it. The collective interest in *whenua* ensured that these customary concepts were

enforced. Furthermore, the common interest in *whenua* provided not only a link between the *whakapapa* of the people to their kin, but also to their land. It is this relationship that provides Māori with their unique identity as *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

The layout of Part II is detailed in the following table:

Figure 23: Layout of Part II



This diagram shows the importance of each chapter in the relationship between *whenua* and *atua* (Chapter Six), and *whenua* and the customary concepts of *mana* and *tapu* (Chapter Seven). Issues relating to *whenua* (Chapter Eight and Nine) are linked to Māori political perceptions of land and the impact land alienation has had on Māori. The inclusion of these chapters highlights the distinct relationship between *whenua* and its important role in Māori identity as *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

Chapter Six

Ko Papatūānuku te matua o te tangata **The spiritual significance of Whenua**

The above *whakataukī* (from Mead & Grove 1994: 119) highlights the importance Māori placed on the primal parent Papatūānuku as being responsible for the human life cycle. This *whakataukī* also reflects the relationship that Māori have with this *atua*. In their explanation Mead and Grove (1994: 119) note that Rewiti Kōhere (a scholar and collector of *whakataukī*) believed that Māori respected Papatūānuku as they did their own mother. This connection between *atua* and *tangata* indicates the importance placed on the physical, spiritual and metaphysical relationship between Māori and *whenua*.

This chapter will explore binary understandings of concepts that are related not only to this *atua* but also the relationship to *tangata*. This chapter will also look at the mythology surrounding *whenua* to contextualise the importance of the relationship Māori had with Papatūānuku and subsequent ancestors who defined specific geographical features that are referred to by Māori. The chapter will examine the different layers of narratives associated with the defining of distinct areas of the landscape as subsequent generations are created. The influence of these ancestors on the landscape is recorded in the numerous names allocated to different geographical features of this *whenua*. This will be explored by analyzing the different periods of settlement in Aotearoa/New Zealand and how the definition of the geographical features is related to these waves or layers of settlement. This will provide the basis from which to argue that as a result of these layers a stronger *whakapapa* connection between *tangata* and *whenua* is formed.

Atua relationship to whenua

The Maori loved his land and identified with it perhaps more closely than any other race. His close, spiritual relationship with the land stemmed from his traditional concept of the basic origin of mankind deriving from the loving union of the earthmother [*sic*], Papa-tu-a-nuku, with the sky-father, Rangi-nui-e-tu-nei (Sinclair 1975a: 115).

As explained in Chapter One, the separation of Papatūānuku (Papa) and Ranginui (Rangi) by their children created the natural environment. Papa is represented in *whenua* and as the primal parent for all living things she is considered one of the most, if not the most, important *atua*. One of the underlying themes of this creation narrative is the respect afforded the primal parents by their children during their quarrelsome period. The separation appears to be considered such a *hara* by Tāne that he undertakes the task of clothing his parents as a means of compensation for inflicting separation upon his parents (as discussed in Chapter One).

As the mother of all the *atua*, Papa protected the majority of her children and provided them with their domains. Of the most significant *atua* who participated in the creation narrative, only Tāwhirimātea was noted as aligning himself with Rangi. This narrative also highlights the vengeance of Tūmatauenga on his brothers for not standing against Tāwhirimātea when he sought *utu* for the separation of their parents. Rongomātāne and Haumiatiketike sought protection within Papa as they chose not to stand against Tūmatauenga. It is this action that reinforces the belief that Papa acted as a mother and sought to protect her offspring from harm. It is these actions which provide the example to Māori that one of the most significant roles for women is to provide protection to their children. “Women are identified metaphorically with Papatuanuku, the primal mother, sharing her status and

functions as bearer, nurturer and protector of succeeding generations” (Metge 1995: 95).

The following table highlights the dual definitions of *whenua* concepts and how they are related to that of a mother within a *whānau*. This further supports the notion that Papa is the parent who provides protection but also life in the Māori worldview.

Table 13: Dual definitions of *whenua* concepts

| <i>Term</i> | <i>Definition relating to land</i> | <i>Definition relating to people</i> |
|---------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>Whenua</i> | Land | Placenta |
| <i>Pito</i> | Geographical point | Umbilical cord |
| <i>Ūkaipō</i> | Land of the ancestors | The suckling breast of a mother |

(Adapted from Metge 1995)

As the provider of life to Māori, it was noted in Chapter Two that Papa provided Tāne with the *oneone* (soil) to create Hineahuone. The creation of the first human who possessed both *ira atua* and *ira tangata* qualities provided the *whakapapa* link between humans and their *atua*. Furthermore, the creation of the first woman from Te One-i-Kurawaka, or the pubic area of Papa, indicates that Māori were created from *whenua*. The ideology that Māori were created from Te One-i-Kurawaka provides the dual definition of the word *whenua* to mean both land and placenta. This double meaning allows Māori to source their existence from the environment because it is a manifestation of the numerous *atua*. It is this conceptual belief of being created from *whenua* (in either definition) that strengthens the relationship between Māori and their land. Metge (1995: 110) notes that when Tāne created Hineahuone from Te One-i-Kurawaka Papa said to him “*Ka puta tō hua tuatahi*,

whakahokia tōna whenua ki te whenua. (When your first child is born, return her whenua to the whenua).” This ritual continues throughout Māori society as an important aspect of connecting new human life to their *whenua*. These practices included the burying not only of the *whenua* but also that of the *pito* as a symbolic gesture of having the life cord (umbilical cord) connected to the source of life in the land. This further validates a person's rights to that land as their placenta and their umbilical cords are buried in their ancestral lands.

The narratives surrounding Hine Tītama, who subsequently became Hinenuitepō, follow the description of the creation of Hineahuone and Tāne in Chapter Two. Her discussions with her father/husband on retreating to Rarohenga emphasise that Māori believe that upon death they return to the *whenua*. This belief completes the life cycle of humans; however, it supports the connection with the *atua* even upon death.

The mortal remains of countless generations of ancestors of the Maori were laid to rest in the bosom of the earth mother, secure in her sacred caves, sandhills and the other hidden places on tribal lands. There they remained to bind the glories of the past to the present. At the same time they presented their challenge to the tribe to maintain its integrity in the interest of generations to come (Sinclair 1975a: 118).

Sinclair uses the word “bosom of the earth mother” as a burial place for the dead. This correlates with Joan Metge's (1995: 110) definition of *ū-kai-pō*, which she translates as “the breast of Papatuanuku and the night is the long night of death.” Furthermore, *whakataukī* that are often used as part of eulogies such as "*Haere ki te kāinga o Hine-te-Mate* - Depart to the dwelling place of the Daughter-of-Death" (Mead & Grove 1991: 4) indicate the belief that Māori have of the *atua*

Hinenuitepō as the guardian of the dead. The living's directive to the deceased in a eulogy indicates that the living wish the deceased to return from whence they came, that is to the *whenua*.

The importance and permanency of whenua

The connection between the life cycle of *tangata* and *whenua* is located in these narratives. This link is also illustrated in proverbial sayings that show how pertinent *whenua* is to people's life cycle. The following *whakataukī* demonstrate the importance of land over human life. These proverbial sayings often have variants that are supplied after each *whakataukī* where relevant.

He kura kāinga e hokia, he kura tangata e kore e hokia
A treasured home will endure, not so a treasured person

He kura tangata, e kore e rokohanga; he kura whenua ka rokohanga
A loved person will not remain, a treasured land is always there. (Mead & Grove 1991: 44)

Toitū he kāinga, whatungarongaro he tangata
The land remains while the people disappear (Mead & Grove 1996: 172).

Whatungarongaro he tangata, toitū he whenua hoki
People disappear, the land remains (Mead & Grove 1996: 198).

The above *whakataukī* are the more commonly known examples that show the permanency of land. The examples highlight that Māori understand that their existence is not considered as important as that of *whenua*. Instead, it is the protection of *whenua* that is stressed within these *whakataukī*. There are other *whakataukī* that also illustrate the subordinate relationship of *tangata* to *whenua*.

He whenua taimaha te whenua, he tangata māmā te tangata
 The land is heavy but people are light (Mead & Grove 1991: 97)

The metaphor of weight used in the previous *whakataukī* indicates that the removal of *whenua* is impossible. Weight is used to indicate the continuity of *whenua* as opposed to people who are mortal beings.

Ka ngaro reoreo tangata, kīkī e manu
 No human voices, only the twittering of birds (Mead & Grove 1994: 35).

In this *whakataukī* the morality tale of the end of human existence shows that the only life that will remain will be those of the birds left to inhabit the *whenua*. This illustrates again that Māori believe that the *whenua* is more important than their own existence.

Ko te kakī tangata anake i mate, ko te kakī whenua i ora
 Only the human neck perished; the neck of the land remained unyoked
 (Mead & Grove 1994: 135)

It is also important to note that in the above *whakataukī* the analogy of the *kakī* (neck) is used. As noted in Chapter 2 the consideration that the head was considered the most *tapu* area of the human body is aptly used as a metaphor in this *whakataukī*. This emphasises the value Māori placed on land by comparing *whenua* to a *tapu* area of the body.

I a au te one poto, i a au te one whero
 Mine is the small piece of land, it is the one with poor soil (Mead & Grove 1994: 1).

Mead and Grove go on to explain the moral of this *whakataukī*: that Māori should be grateful for the *whenua* that they hold regardless of the size of the land (Mead & Grove 1994: 1). However, an alternative translation could be 'Mine is the small piece of land, mine is a treasured land.' The use of the word *whero* could indicate the importance placed on the *whenua*. *Whero* (red) is a colour that is often associated with *rangatira* and *mana*. Therefore, this alternative translation of this *whakataukī* develops the notion that there is a value statement placed on the *whenua* regardless of the portion.

Geographical definition¹ through whakapapa

There are several narratives that develop the specific geographical definitions of *whenua*. These occur in different layers of narratives as the *whakapapa* between Māori and their *atua* unfold. The first layer after the narratives concerning the spiritual definition of *whenua* are those that are created by those ancestors who are also considered to be *tipua*. "The primeval ruptures of the landscape were named to identify the titanic feats of gods themselves" (Sinclair 1975a: 116). These often-celestial ancestors or demi-god figures provide a metaphorical understanding of larger landscape formations.

Te Ika a Māui

The most commonly known *tipua* to define a landscape is Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga. Māui is noted in Chapter One as being one of the sources for the art of *tā moko*. The discovery of the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand is only one of the many feats that Māui accomplished alongside that of slowing the sun as well as

¹ The author chooses to use the term 'geographical definitions' to indicate how geographical features are named and described. This will build on the different layers of *whenua* definition.

trying to bring immortality to men. Māui was responsible for the fishing up of Te Ika a Māui (North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand). The following is a summary of the more commonly known version of this narrative.

Māui's brothers grew envious of his achievements and tried to exclude him from a fishing expedition they had planned. Māui, however, stowed himself away in their canoe only to appear when his brothers had reached the deep fishing grounds. Annoyed with Māui, the brothers refused to share their bait and hooks with him. This did not deter Māui who, using the jawbone of their ancestress Murirangawhenua as a hook and his own blood as bait, threw out his line to catch his game. Māui was successful in getting a bite on his line, however, the weight of his *ika* (fish) required the help of his brothers to pull up the catch. Aiding their youngest sibling the brothers helped Māui pull up what is known today as Te Ika a Māui.

The narrative describes how Māui then instructed his brothers that they were to leave the catch until he had completed the offerings to the *atua*. Weary by yet another achievement on the part of their youngest sibling the brothers decided to ignore Māui's instructions and went to claim parts of the *ika* for themselves. This resulted in the carving up of the *ika*, which was linked to the geographical formations of mountains and valleys in the North Island.

Māui's actions consequently produced the large landmass known as the North Island and those of his older brothers created the Island's landscape. Not only is the North Island sourced to Māui but also large parts of the Island are referred to as

parts of the actual fish caught by Māui. Some of the better known examples are listed below:

Table 14: Names associated with Māui and their locations

| Name | Location |
|--|---|
| <i>Te Ika a Māui</i> | North Island of Aotearoa/ New Zealand |
| <i>Te Ūpoko o te Ika a Māui</i> | Wellington district |
| <i>Te Hiku o te Ika a Māui</i> | Northland |
| <i>Te Matau a Māui</i> | Hawkes Bay |
| <i>Te Waka o Māui</i> (see below for further information) | South Island of Aotearoa/ New Zealand |
| <i>Ngā Pākau o te Ika a Māui</i> | The West and East Coasts of the North Island of Aotearoa/ New Zealand |
| <i>Te Punga o te waka a Māui</i> | Stewart Island |
| <i>Te Taurapa o te Waka o Māui</i> | Southland |
| <i>Te Tapuae o Māui</i> | Fiordland |
| <i>Te Taumanu o te waka o Māui</i> | Kaikoura ranges |
| <i>Te Tauihu o te waka o Māui</i> | Marlborough Sounds |
| <i>Ngā kauwae o te ika a Māui</i> | Two entrance points into the Wellington harbour |
| <i>Ngā karu o te ika a Māui</i> | Lake Wairarapa and Wellington harbour |
| <i>Te manawa o te ika a Māui</i> | Maungapōhatu |
| <i>Te pito o te ika a Māui</i> | Lake Taupō |
| <i>Te Tara o te ika a Māui</i> | Coromandel |

(Adapted from McKinnon 1997)

Te Waka o Aoraki

The geographical definition of Te Waipounamu (South Island) is similar to that of Te Ika a Māui in that they were created by celestial beings who are descendants of Ranginui. In northern *iwi* traditions the South Island is referred to as Te Waka a Māui (The canoe used by Māui to fish up the North Island). However, according to the narratives of Ngāi Tahu the creation of the South Island is due to the celestial beings of Aoraki and his brothers. Ngāi Tahu source their origin to a variation of

the creation narrative in which Raki's (Ranginui) first wife was Pokoharua-te-po. This union produced four sons, Aoraki, Rakirua, Raraki and Rarakiroa who dwelt in the heavens. One day Raki discovered Papatūānuku and left the heavens to be with her. Upset at their father for deserting their mother the brothers descended from the heavens in their *waka* to confront their father's new lover. However, once they saw their father with his new wife they understood why he had left the heavens. Aoraki and his brothers decided to return to their mother to offer her some support. As Aoraki began his *karakia* to lift their *waka* to the heavens he made a mistake and as a result they remained on the earth. Stranded on the earth and with the impending storm Aoraki and his brothers panicked. The strength of the storm overturned the *waka* and the brothers were left on the hull of the canoe and eventually they were turned to stone. These four brothers make up Te Tiritiri o Te Moana (The Southern Alps), with Aoraki forming the highest mountain peak of Mount Cook (Huria 1998: 48). As with the narrative of Te Ika a Māui, the story about Te Waka o Aoraki shows how the formation of the larger land mass of Te Waipounamu were brought into being, particularly the distinctive mountain range called the Southern Alps which bisects the Island.

The creation stories concerning the North and South Islands of Aotearoa/New Zealand share the common theme that these locations were created by their celestial *tipua* ancestors. The Māui and the Aoraki narratives defined the land base and this is deeply entrenched in the oral histories of all *iwi*. However, it is not until the subsequent migrations to these landmasses that specific geographic definitions of the landscape appear.

Migration settlement

The following analysis draws primarily from Te Rangihīroa (Peter Buck) and his three major settlement phases in Aotearoa/ New Zealand (1952). The author acknowledges that there has been further research completed in the area of Māori settlement. However, while more recent research (Davidson 1984, Howe 2003, Simmons 1976) does not fully support Buck's (1952) hypothesis he does draw attention to the links made between the ancestral settlers of Aotearoa/New Zealand and the land itself. It is this aspect that will be used in the following analysis. The three phases of settlement as retold by Buck (1952) name particular geographic features in the landscape. These features are usually named in honour of the achievements or the acts of those different ancestors. These acts draw a closer relationship through *whakapapa* between Māori today and their ancestors who were responsible for naming the landscape.

Kupe

According to Buck (1952: 7), Kupe first discovered Aotearoa/New Zealand. The narrative, which describes his discovery of these lands, concerns the pursuit of *Te Wheke a Muturangi* (The pet octopus of Muturangi). Muturangi was an arch enemy of Kupe and when the *wheke* had upset Kupe, he demanded that Muturangi kill his pet. As Muturangi refused to act upon Kupe's wishes, the latter led an expedition to pursue and kill the octopus. Kupe chased *Te Wheke a Muturangi* from Hawaiki to Aotearoa/New Zealand where he eventually killed the octopus in Te Moana o Raukawa (Cook Strait). Buck (1952: 7) notes that S. Percy Smith (1910: 40) acknowledges at least 27 place names associated with Kupe. One such place name was Kupe's departure area named "Hokianga nui a Kupe (Great returning

place of Kupe)" (Buck 1952: 7). The following names are noted by McKinnon in the *New Zealand Historical Atlas* (1997) as being related to Kupe.

Table 15: Names associated with Kupe and their location

| Name | Location |
|--|--|
| <i>Rangiwakaoma</i> | Lower mid East Coast of the North Island |
| <i>Ngā waka o Kupe</i> | Aorangi mountain range |
| <i>Te Mātakitaki o Kupe</i> | Near Cape Palliser |
| <i>Ngā Rā o Kupe</i> | Near Cape Palliser |
| <i>Te Mana o Kupe ki te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa</i> | Mana Island |
| <i>Te Koko o Kupe</i> | Marlborough Sounds |
| <i>Te Umu Wheke</i> | |
| <i>Te Mimi o Kupe</i> | |
| <i>Te Kupenga o Kupe</i> | |
| <i>Te Kakau o te toki a Kupe</i> | |
| <i>Te Ope a Kupe</i> | |
| <i>Te Kawau a Toru</i> | |
| <i>Ngā Whatu Kaiponu</i> | |
| <i>Te Tokatapu a Kupe</i> | Manukau harbour |
| <i>Te Hokianga a Kupe</i> | Hokianga |
| <i>Akiha</i> | Hokianga harbour |
| <i>Porihere</i> | |
| <i>Tuputupu whenua</i> | |

(Adapted from McKinnon 1997)

Toitehuatahi (*Toikairākau*) & Whātonga

Toitehuatahi was a *rangatira* from Hawaiki. Challenged by other *rangatira* from other islands a regatta was organised to determine the navigational skills of the young men of Hawaiki. Toitehuatahi's *mokopuna* Whātonga and Turahui, entered into the regatta but due to inclement weather the *mokopuna* were set adrift and pushed further out to sea beyond the horizon. Toitehuatahi decided to search for his *mokopuna* and ensure their safety. Landing in Rarotonga Toi found that his *mokopuna* were not there. He decided to look in the lands discovered by Kupe (Buck 1952: 23). Arriving in the Tamaki area he settled for a short period before

moving on to explore other areas of the new land (Buck 1952: 23). He finally settled in the Bay of Plenty district, in Whakatāne, at his *pā* known as Kaputerangi. This *pā* is located above the current town of Whakatāne. Geographical features that are associated with Toitehuatahi include *Te Moana-a-Toitehuatahi*, (the sea in the Bay of Plenty), and also *Te Paeroa o Toitehuatahi* (Coromandel Peninsula). These names attributed to Toi indicate that geographic definition to the landscape was occurring, that is the land and the surrounding areas were being defined and divided in to zones associated with particular ancestors. In the example of Toi, this process continued through Toi's *mokopuna*, Whātonga, who named other parts of the land.

Turahui and Whātonga landed at Rangiatea and were later informed that their grandfather had been searching for them. Whātonga prepared an expedition to follow Toitehuatahi to the lands of Kupe. Whātonga is said to have traveled some distance around Te Ika a Māui until he finally came across Kaputerangi and Toitehuatahi. The latter became known as Toikairākau for adapting to his new environment filled with forests. However, others source this change in name to Toi's ability to use an adze. For some, the origin of *whakairo* (carving) are attributed to his descendants (Harrison, Te Kanawa & Higgins 2003: 116).

One of Whātonga's wives Hotuwaipara bore him a son named Tara. From another union Whātonga had a *mokopuna* named Rangitāne (Buck 1952: 27).

Tara and Rangitane with their forces defeated the Tini o Ruatamore in Hawkes Bay. Tara and his people, evidently accompanied by his father and mother, moved on to the area around the present Wellington Harbour which was given the name of Whanganui a Tara (Great harbour of Tara) (Buck 1952: 27-28).

This development of indicating geographical points by naming them after the efforts of different ancestors not only builds upon the *whakapapa* of the generations to follow, but builds up the identification of these people with their landscape. Those who descend from Tara source their *ūkaipō* link to those areas that were claimed by their ancestor Tara.

The naming of geographical features for later voyages did not deter Māori from using the names associated with their *tipua*, such as Māui or Aoraki. These names, as noted above, describe the larger landmass, whereas the naming after ancestors of subsequent generations registers particular locations at a more localised level.

Waka narratives

The final phase of migrant settlement, according to Buck (1952), is represented in the great fleet of canoes that came from Hawaiki. However, it is worth noting at this stage that more recent scholarship believes that this final settlement period resulted from a succession of *waka* rather than a fleet (Williams 2003: 27). These new immigrants settled throughout the country and established their *mana* through intermarriage. This consolidated their rights to this new *whenua*, which was not their *ūkaipō*. However, their descendants acquired the right to this *whenua*, as they were both part immigrant and part indigenous.

These *waka* are not only connected with parts of the landscape, but they also provided Māori with a sense with identity to those ancestors who arrived from the ancestral lands of Hawaiki. Many of the *tīpuna* noted above will have influenced the naming and defining of a geographical feature in their respective areas. One of the most prominent explorers and definers of the landscape was Tamatea-pōkai-

whenua (Tamatea), the *mokopuna* of Tamatea-arikinui (*rangatira* of the Takitimu *waka*). Tamatea's determination to explore saw him traverse most of the country. This is recorded in the substantial number of locations named by him or as a result of his actions. The following table illustrates the extent of his explorations.

Table 16: Names associated with Tamatea-pōkai-whenua and their location

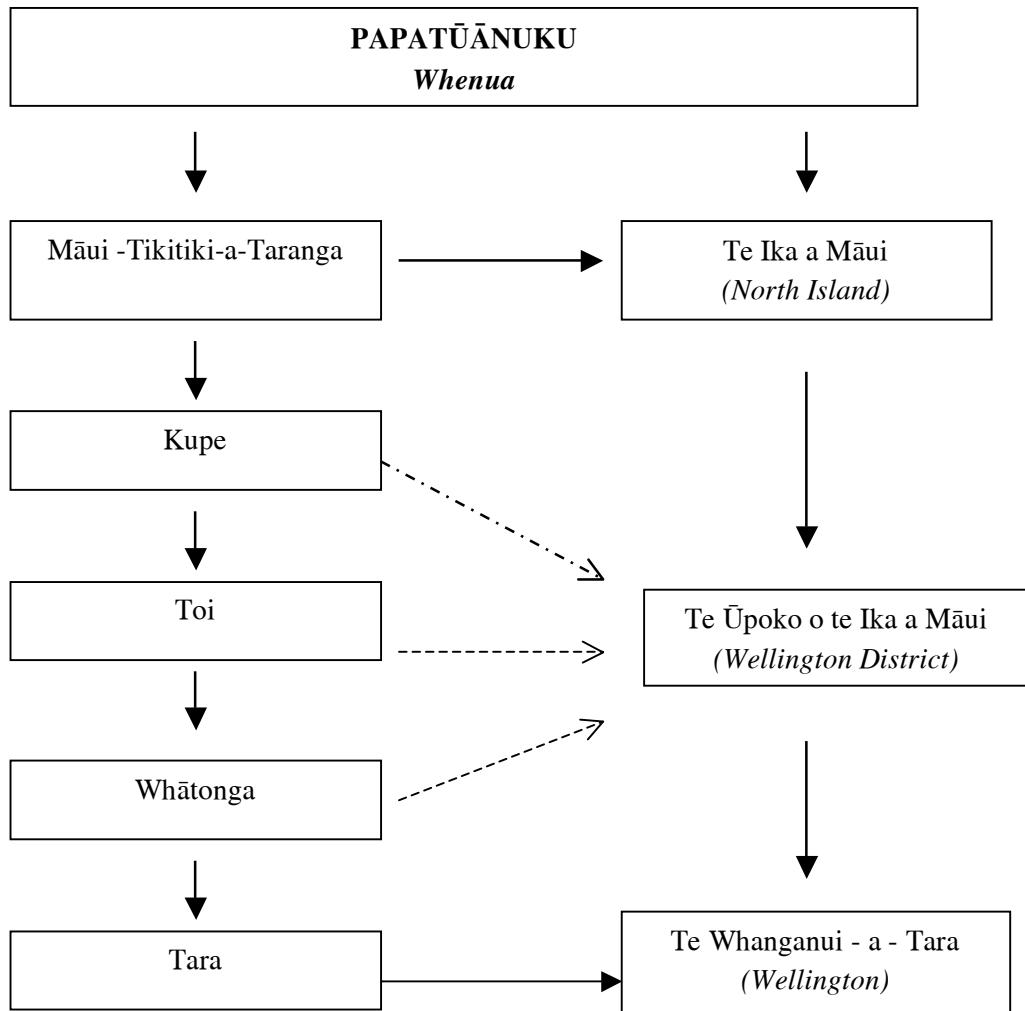
| Name | Location |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Tapu te ranga</i> | Hawkes Bay |
| <i>Otūpaopao</i> | |
| <i>Torohanga</i> | |
| <i>Ōwhiti</i> | |
| <i>Taumata-whakatangitangi-kōauau-a-Tamatea-pōkai-whenua-ki-tana-taahu</i> | Southern Hawkes Bay |
| <i>Poutu</i> | Central Plateau |
| <i>Powaru</i> | |
| <i>Te Tutae o Tamatea</i> | Area between Taranaki and Tongariro |
| <i>Ngā Kurī a Tamatea</i> | |
| <i>Te Ana o Tamatea</i> | |
| <i>Tāngarākau</i> | |
| <i>Tāngahoe</i> | |
| <i>Tamatea pōkai whenua</i> | Whanganui |
| <i>Ō Tamatea</i> | Kaipara |
| <i>Te Tokotūranga o Tamatea</i> | |
| <i>Orongotea</i> | Ahipara Bay |
| <i>Te Tapuae o Uenuku</i> | Northern inland Kaikoura range |
| <i>Umerau</i> | Seaward Kaikoura range |
| <i>Te Whakatakanga o te ngārehu o te ahi a Tamatea</i> | Hamner Springs |

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| <i>Ngā Pūngārehu o te ahi a Tamatea</i> | Rāpaki |
| <i>Te Poho o Tamatea</i> | |
| <i>Hine Tamatea</i> | West Coast (from Aoraki) |
| <i>Ngā Rā o Takitimu</i> | Southland |
| <i>Tākitimu</i> | Tākitimu mountains in Southland |
| <i>Ōkaka</i> | Near Tuatapere |
| <i>Te Taka o te ngārehu o te ahi a Tamatea</i> | Fiordland |
| <i>Te Horohaka o te Kākahu o Tamatea</i> | |
| <i>Te Kauati a Tamatea</i> | Ruapuke |
| <i>Te Kārehu a Tamatea</i> | Bluff |
| <i>Taka o te kārahu o Tamatea</i> | Fiordland |
| <i>Kākahu o Tamatea</i> | |
| <i>Umerau</i> | |

(Adapted from McKinnon 1997)

The geographical definitions of the landscape of Aotearoa/ New Zealand links not only modern *iwi* to their direct ancestors, but also connects these *iwi* to their *tipua* and also the *atua* Papatūānuku. As discussed above the larger landmass is linked with those who are closely related to the *atua* while the more defined or local geographical areas are associated with ancestors who are related to the different waves of settlement in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The following diagram describes this relationship using the Māori name for Wellington as an example:

Figure 24: The development of geographical definition descending from Papatūānuku



Papatūānuku heads this diagram as the all-encompassing representation of land as she is the source and origin of *whenua*. The left-hand set of boxes includes the *whakapapa* descent of the ancestors who have been discussed earlier in this chapter in the sequence of their settlement in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Descending from Papatūānuku on the left-hand side is, firstly, the *tipua* Māui who fished up the Te Ika a Māui. This shows how the process of geographical definition begins with a vast landmass being classified through the achievement of Māui in fishing up the

North Island. The descent through the right hand column of boxes shows how the large landmass is slowly differentiated into more specific geographical regions (the micro level) within that larger landmass (the macro level) as the *whakapapa* of the left-hand side moves down through specific ancestors. The ancestors in the left-hand column, who are described in this chapter, are all connected through their *whakapapa* of settlement or discovery. Whilst there is no definitive source for the name, Te Īpoko o Te Ika a Māui, it can be assumed that the name was coined by the people who inhabited the whole landscape of the North Island after Māui's fishing feat. The settlement may have taken place between Kupe and Whātonga, as indicated by the broken lined arrows in the above diagram. Finally, the *whakapapa* descent concludes with Tara after whom the harbour of Wellington was named. This diagram describes how naming and defining the land is connected with *whakapapa*. As generations unfolded, their achievements were recorded as names on the rich landscape, further defining the specific geographical features of this *whenua*.

The definition of the *whenua* by these ancestors provides the *whakapapa* connection that links *tangata* to *whenua*. It is from this connection that Māori draw their identity as a people. The relationship that Māori have with *whenua* arises from their philosophical belief that the blood running through their veins as a people is sourced to their *whenua* which provides for the life cycle of the person.

The never-ending list of names remains a record of the passage of generations of men and women, identifying and preserving scenes of wars, stratagems, turmoil, peace, achievement and failure. They begin with birth itself and end in death, but always demonstrate the renewing cycle of life (Sinclair 1975a: 116).

As noted by Sinclair, these lists of names provide historical reminders to future generations of the struggles and accomplishments of their ancestors, creating a significant link between Māori and their land as it also provides them with their identity.

The significance of boundaries

As discussed earlier, the different layers of narrative of the settlements that occurred throughout the pre-history of Māori have been instrumental in the definition of the landscape. The macro definition of larger landmasses by *tipua* through to the more micro definitions of significant geographical points by the different waves of settlement have been instrumental in the development of boundaries that demarcate the rights of a particular *iwi*. As the landscape becomes more defined and specific names are applied to areas of *whenua*, so too is the organisation and development of Māori societal structures. Boundary demarcation becomes more prolific as a result of the Third Settlement Period as described by Buck (1952).

The following list indicates many of the different *waka* which are noted as being part of this final settlement phase. It includes their *whenua* and the *iwi* who descend from the respective *waka*.

Table 17: Waka confederations including land occupation and descendants from Buck's (1952) Third Settlement Period

| <i>Waka (canoe)</i> | <i>Whenua (land of occupation)</i> | <i>Iwi/hapū who descend from these waka</i> |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| Tainui | <i>Mōkau ki runga, Tāmaki ki raro, Maungatoatoa ki waenganui. Ko Parewaikato, ko Parehauraki, ko Te Kaokaoroa o Patetere</i> (Mōkau to the South, Tāmaki to the North, Mangatoatoa in the middle including Parewaikato, Parehauraki and Te Kaokaoroa o Patetere). | Waikato, Pare Hauraki, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Hauā, Ngāti Toarangatira, Ngā Tai (in the Eastern Bay of Plenty). |
| Tokomaru | South of Mokau to Onukutaipari south of Taranaki | Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Maru |
| Kurahaupō | Whangachu- Horowhenua Taranaki | Mūaupoko, Rangitāne, Ngāti Tara, Ngāti Ira , Ngāti Apa |
| Aotearoa | Taranaki | Te Ati Awa, Ngāti Ruanui, Ngā Ruahinerangi, Taranaki, Tāngahoe, Pakakohi |
| Te Arawa | <i>Ko te ihu o te waka kei Maketu, ko te kei o te waka kei Tongariro</i> | Ngāti Rangiwewchi, Ngāti Whakaue, Ngāti Pikiao, Ngāti Rangi-te-aorere, Uenuku Kōpako, Tūhourangi, Ngāti Wāhiao, Ngāti Tuarā, Ngāti Kea, Ngāti Tahu, Ngāti Te Kohera, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Te Rangiita, Ngāti Tūrangi-tukua, Ngāti Turumākinā. |
| Mataatua | <i>Mai i ngā Kuri a Whārei ki Tihirau</i> | Tūhoe, Ngāti Awa, Whakatōhea * (see Takitimu below), Ngāti Te Rangi, Ngā Puhi |
| Horouta | Tairāwhiti - Te Urunga-o-te-rā | Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau a Apanui, Te Whānau a Tūwhakairiora, Te Aitanga a Matc, Ngāti Uepōhatu, Te Whānau a Ruataupare, Te Aitanga a Māhaki* (see also below), Rongowhakaata, Ngāti Tamanuhiri, Te Aitanga a Hauiti |
| Tikitimu | Te Māhia in the north, and Turakirae in the South. However, this confederation is divided into three sections: <i>Wairoa: Paritū - Keteketerau</i> | Ngāti Kahungunu, Te Whatu i Apiti, Te Huki, Hinepheinga, Te Aitanga a Māhaki* (shared descent lines), Te Whakatōhea* (shared descent lines), Ngāti Ranginui (in |

| | | |
|--|--|---------------------------------|
| | <i>(near Te Whanganui o Orotu); Heretaunga: Keteketerau - Porangahau; Wairārapa: Porangahau - Turaki- rae (near Wellington).</i> | <i>Bay of Plenty district).</i> |
|--|--|---------------------------------|

(Adapted from Buck 1952: 51-59 & McKinnon 1997).

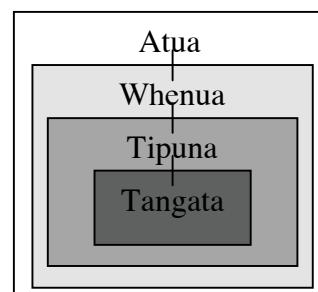
Whilst this is not an exhaustive list of all land boundaries and *iwi* descending from this final *waka* settlement period it is important to note that intermarriage between ancestors of different *waka* occurred. As a result *iwi* who fell into this category often did not reside in the same district as their *waka* kin. This is noted with Ngāti Ranginui who are located in the Bay of Plenty (Mataatua *waka* district) but descend from the Takitimu *waka*. This required boundaries that ensured these *iwi* maintained their rights to their *whenua* especially when they were distanced from their kin.

The boundaries of lands were minutely known, and natural features as streams, hills, rocks, or prominent trees marked the borders...Besides the tribal boundaries, which were of the greatest significance, each piece of land owned by a family or an individual was demarcated in a similar manner (Firth 1972: 390).

The demarcation of *whenua* into boundaries by using features of the natural environment correlates with the naming of the landscape by these ancestors of this settlement period. During this period more specific attachments to regional areas of *whenua* occurred. It was not only the landscape that was becoming more defined but the *whakapapa* of Māori were becoming more distinctive as they developed into separate *iwi*.

These more definitive geographical markers provide the foundation for Māori identity as the connection between the *whakapapa* of the person is directly connected to the *whakapapa* of the land. More often than not Māori will use the geographical features to describe themselves as people. This supports, firstly, the *whakapapa* connection but it also stresses that the *whenua* is of more significance than the individual person. These descriptions of identity using geographical features are recorded in *pepeha* (tribal utterances), *waiata*, and tribal narratives, and are often used as a means of identifying a person; for it is one's ancestors who are more important than the individual. These ancestors continue to live on through future generations in the *whakapapa* connections to the *whenua* and through the references that are made to them when Māori identify themselves to each other. It should be noted that introductions between Māori are made by asking who the individual belongs to, such as “*Nā wai koe?*” as opposed to “*Ko wai koe?*” (Author’s personal observation). The use of the latter question appears to be an adoption from Pākehā culture who place a value on the individual as opposed to the collective (Patterson 1992). This further supports the notion that the earlier generations are considered more important since they provide the foundations from which Māori source their own identity.

Figure 25: The relationship between the elements of identity



This diagram shows how the source of identity is connected through a *whakapapa* linking Māori not only to their ancestors but also to their *whenua* and their *atua*. As this chapter has shown there is a relationship between the macro level of the *atua* and how this becomes more defined and specific the further down the *whakapapa* descends. This diagram also highlights how the Māori respect the importance of the larger entities that surround the individual and this is reflected in their ideology that these aspects provide the individual with their identity.

Conclusion

The spiritual significance of *whenua* has always been of importance to Māori as it is an essential element of an individual's identity. This was examined, firstly, by looking at the basic ideology of land through the *atua* Papatūānuku. The relationship between this *atua*, who is personified in the land, and the life cycle of the Māori provided an understanding of the dual definition of the terms that are associated with *whenua* and which represent the generic respect afforded to this *atua* by Māori.

The creation of the *whenua* was described through the layers of naming, by *tipua* at the macro level, and by *waka* ancestors at a more local, micro level. These layers established the *whakapapa* links between *tangata* and *whenua*. This definition also develops the notion that land boundaries become important as societal structures develop from the *waka* to *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau*.

The definitions of the geographical and genealogical connections provide these new societal structures with their respective identities. The Māori ideology that these

specific geographical definitions provide Māori with an identity strengthens the bond between *tangata* and *whenua*.

The Maori had a great respect for land *per se*, and an exceedingly strong affection for his ancestral soil, a sentiment by no means to be correlated only with its fertility and immediate value to him as a source of food. The lands whereon his forefathers live, fought, and were buried were ever to him an object of the deepest feeling. “*Noku te whenua, o oku tupuna*” – “mine is the land, the land of my ancestors” was his cry (Firth 1972: 368).

It is these sentiments recorded by Raymond Firth that summarise what it truly means to source one’s identity from the *whenua*. His concluding lines illustrate the bond between Māori and their *whakapapa*, their *whenua* and their *atua*. This connection provides an understanding of the spiritual significance of this *taonga*.

Chapter Seven

Te mana me te tapu o te whenua Politics of *whenua*

Whenua (land) is more than an asset to Māori people. Māori acknowledge that *whenua* is a source of identity and this spiritual connection renders land priceless. As discussed in the previous chapter the spiritual relationship that Māori share with the *whenua* runs deeply through the *whakapapa* of the person. *Whenua* is sacred and powerful as it is the essence of every individual and provides the individual with their identity. The collective guardianship of the land allows people to have a united stance that *whenua* is to be respected and protected as it is *tapu* and is the source of the *mana* of the collective group. This chapter will look at how these concepts of *tapu* and *mana* are expressed by examining important cultural concepts related to land. It will explore how *mana whenua* is protected by Māori but also how *tapu* is implemented as a means of respecting and protecting the land resource. Chapter Two referred to the notion of how *mana* and *tapu* were related to people, while this chapter will examine the significance of these concepts to the land, in order to provide a link between both *tangata* and *whenua*.

Te tapu o te whenua

The previous chapter examined issues surrounding the connection between the *whenua* and the *atua*, Papatūānuku, and developed the idea that as subsequent ancestors settled in Aotearoa/New Zealand this provided Māori with a stronger spiritual bond to the land. *Tapu* plays a significant role in ensuring the bond between *tangata* and *whenua*. Therefore, the role of *tangata* was to safeguard the *whenua* through continued respect for the *atua*. “The Māori of old accepted the

responsibilities of his supernatural ancestry that made him guardian priest of the deities that controlled the relationships among humans, animals, vegetable, insect, fish, bird, mineral and the spirit worlds" (Sinclair 1975a: 116).

In order to sustain this relationship Māori used the concept of *tapu* to ensure that *whenua* was protected as a resource for future generations. This meant that *tikanga* or *ritenga* were performed in all matters pertaining to the use of natural resources. This relied on the skills of the *tohunga* to make certain that the appropriate *karakia* were performed prior to the use of any resource.

The narrative of Rata and his acquisition of a tree from the forest is a reminder to Māori that these *ritenga* were an important aspect of their belief in maintaining their relationship with the *atua*. Rata was instructed by his mother to cut down a totara tree in order to manufacture a *waka*. After spending all day cutting and preparing the tree, Rata retired for the evening. The creatures of the forest were disgusted at Rata for not undertaking the appropriate *karakia* prior to cutting down the tree. These creatures reinstated the tree to its former glory during the night. The following day Rata was amazed to see the tree standing in its original position and that there was no sign of his efforts from the previous day. Again Rata set off, cutting down the tree, and again that evening the creatures restored it. Astonished, Rata cut the tree down again but instead of returning home he decided to hide and see who was interfering with his work. As they had the previous nights, the creatures replaced the tree. Rata jumped out from his hiding place and confronted them. These creatures reminded Rata that he was acquiring the tree without paying homage to Tāne, the *atua* of the forest. Ashamed by his negligence Rata returned

to his home. The creatures could see that he was truly remorseful and decided to complete the creation of his *waka* for him (adapted from Alpers 1982: 125-127).

The above narrative emphasises the value that Māori placed on the need to respect their relationship with the environment. To ensure that this relationship was maintained traditional forms of resource management were used to protect the resource. This relied on the philosophy that the *whenua* did not belong to the individual but to the collective (*whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi*). Therefore, it was the collective's responsibility to protect the land for future generations. According to Patterson (1992: 137), "Maori have an ideal of a shared life; if wealth and power are to be pursued at all they should primarily be collective wealth and collective power. Central to these Maori ideals is a concept of collective responsibility." Salmond (in Asher & Naulls 1987: 5) indicates that ownership was held collectively, so that the land was there to provide sustenance and habitation for all Māori. This tenet of collective guardianship is supported by Sinclair (1975a: 116) who states, "The land was regarded as the sacred trust and asset to people as a whole. Laws of *tapu* were invoked only to protect-well defined areas of land, lakes, rivers, waterways, or stretches of the seaside from human exploitation or defilement." This supports the importance of *tapu* in reference to land, as the abuse of a resource was considered a *hara* which would result in severe punishments. This is attributed to the collective belief in the concept of *tapu* and shows how Māori would avoid violating such a concept. Ballara (2003: 75) confirms this belief: "Maori observed and avoided *tapu* as if their survival depended on it, which they believed did. Their lives were dominated by the *wehi* (terror, awe, fear) of committing *hara* (offences) against *tapu* of *atua*, living or dead." Māori respected the concept of *tapu* as a means of social control that determined their lives. This

was furthered through the relationship that Māori had with their *atua* who were the source of both *mana* and *tapu*.

Rāhui

The concept of *rāhui* serves to protect the *whenua* through applying *tapu*. “The most common types of rahui are those associated with pollution and hence tapu (the pollution rahui), and those related to conservation of resources (the conservation rahui). These two are closely interlinked and, in fact, one implies the other” (Mead 1997a: 169).

Pollution rāhui

Both types of *rāhui* are built upon the implementation of *tapu* in a certain area in order to protect a natural resource. The ‘pollution *rāhui*’ is associated with the death of a person which has contaminated a food source. The dead are considered extremely *tapu* and the food contaminate is *noa*. There are numerous examples in tribal histories that illustrate the implementation of a *rāhui* on a food source, due to the death of a person in the area.

Mihikitekapua, a prolific composer from Tūhoe and Ngāti Ruapani, was married to Hikawai from Ngāti Kotore, Ngāti Hingāna of Ngāti Kahungunu. She lived with her husband's people at Te Pāpuni near Ruakituri. Their son, Māhia, was treated favourably by his parents due to his chiefly and warrior like attributes. Despite his skills, Māhia died in 1819, during a battle between Ngāti Hingāna and Te Whakatōhea following which Ngāti Kotore fled to the shelter of Mihikitekapua's people at Maungapōhatu. It is recorded that Mihikitekapua placed a *rāhui* on Te

Pāpuni due to the death of her son. Pou Temara (1990: 53) discusses the events that eventuated

E rua tau i muri iho o te matenga o Māhia ka puta te aroha o Ngati Hingāna ki ō rātau whenua ka whakatika ki te hoki ki Te Pāpuni. Kāti, i te tū tonu te rāhui a Mihi-ki-te-kapua, ka puta tana kōrero ki a Ngāti Hingāna, ‘Taihoa e hoki, kei kainga e koutou ngā parapara o taku tamaiti.’ Kāore i arohia ake te kōrero a Mihi-ki-te-kapua. Hoki ana a Ngāti Hingāna ki Te Pāpuni me Ruakituri, ka tahuri ki te whakaputu i ngā kai o te ngahere me te rau ake i o te awa. Ka takahia te tapu o te rāhui a Mihi-ki-te-kapua.

(Two years after Māhia's death Ngāti Hingāna wanted to return to their home and prepared to return to Te Pāpuni. But, Mihikitekapua's rāhui was still standing. She warned 'Do not return yet lest you eat the remains of my child.' Mihikitekapua was ignored. Ngāti Hingāna returned to Te Pāpuni and Ruakituri, stopping to collect the foods from the forest and the river. They had trampled the *tapu* of Mihikitekapua's *rāhui*).

The outcome of Ngāti Hingāna ignoring Mihikitekapua's warning ended with her rallying her Tūhoe kin to seek *utu* (revenge) on her husband's people.

It is important to note that Mihikitekapua's instruction warned Ngāti Hingāna that if they were to return through the forest they would be eating '*ngā parapara*' of her child. In essence, Mihikitekapua was stating that the food resource had been polluted by the death of her son and that the *rāhui* was put in place to ensure that the food source had sufficient time to rejuvenate and was no longer associated with the dead. However, Ngāti Hingāna believed that enough time had passed to enable them to travel through the forest without harm and without the fear of *tapu*.

The length of time a *rāhui* was put in place (especially in cases of pollution *rāhui*) depended upon the *mana* of the person who died in that area or, more importantly, depended on the *mana* of the person who placed the *rāhui* in the first instance. As noted earlier Mihikitekapua was a woman of substantial *mana* and as a result her son was to be treated with respect. She believed that the two-year period had not been sufficient time to warrant the *rāhui* being lifted. Mead (1997a: 169) notes that “the intensity of the pollution varies according to the rank of the victims.” He supports this further by noting another example of a *rāhui* being placed in the Ngāti Tūwharetoa area when their *ariki* Te Heuheu Tūkino and his people were accidentally killed due to a landslide at Lake Taupō. The people immediately placed a *rāhui* on this area as both land and lake had been affected by the *tapu* of the dead. As Mead (1997a: 169-170) notes, “The rahui lasted for five years. This is the length of time that was thought necessary for the ‘radioactive’ nature of the pollution to dissipate into the atmosphere and become harmless.” Further to this Mead (1997a: 170) explains that once the *rāhui* had been removed ceremonies were performed by the *tohunga*, using the first catch from the lake to appease the *atua*.

The power of *tapu* ensured that the process of *rāhui* was an effective means to protect people from transgressing the *tapu* of the dead who had polluted a food resource. Ignoring the *rāhui* was considered to be insulting the *mana* of that person who instigated the *rāhui*. In the case of Mihikitekapua, Ngāti Hingāna suffered the consequences of their actions when Tūhoe sought their *utu* and killed many, including Mihikitekapua’s husband. The extent to which Mihikitekapua went to avenge the transgressions of her husband's people indicates that the *rāhui* was considered to have the backing of her *mana*. Firth (1972) describes how some *tohunga* would use *karakia* to sanctify the *rāhui*. He states: “The priest then

proceeded by means of an incantation to ‘sharpen the teeth of the *rahui*, that it might destroy man’” (Firth 1975: 258). The analogy of this type of *rāhui* having teeth is expanded on by Mead when he states that the *rāhui* “...is believed capable of ‘biting’ those who challenge it” (Mead 1997: 170). In the narrative of Mihikitekapua, Ngāti Hingāna fell victim to the ‘bite’ of Tūhoe as a result of their actions.

The ‘teeth’ of the *rāhui* were usually applied once markers had been established to signify that an area was under the protection of *rāhui*. These markers were termed *pou rāhui* and there are examples of these *pou* having items of the person or *tohunga* who initially placed the *rāhui*. Firth (1972: 258) describes the process undertaken in establishing the *rāhui*: “...a post was set up in the ground on the edge of the forest or the bank of the stream which it was desired to guard, and to it was attached a *maro* [girdle], a lock of hair or bunch of grass.” These *pou* were signs so that people would not trespass for fear that they would feel the effects of the *rāhui*'s ‘teeth’. While Mihikitekapua's example of ‘biting’ Ngāti Hingāna is one means of retribution, other forms of ‘biting’ were issued through *karakia*. “A kind of “conditional curse”, . . .was set upon the post, so that any person meddling with, the forest, or the productivity there-of, either by practical or magical means, would be slain by the force of the spells associated with the *rahui*” (Firth 1972: 258-259). The power of the *rāhui* is associated with the fear that Māori had of the power of *tapu*. As stated earlier by Ballara (2003: 75) Māori avoided any transgressions with *tapu*. This in turn made *rāhui* an effective means of applying *tapu* to *whenua*, and ensuring the belief that the connection between *tangata* and *whenua* was secured.

Conservation rāhui

Te toto o te tangata, he kai; te oranga o te tangata, he whenua

“A person's blood is obtained from the food eaten, and it is from the land that sustenance is derived” (Mead & Grove 1996: 157)

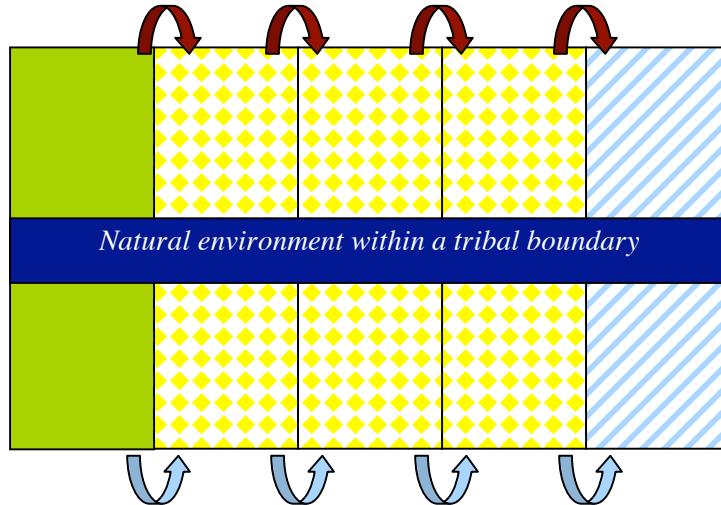
This *whakataukī* illustrates how the guardianship role that Māori have with *whenua* is important for the survival of the people. Māori believed that the environment needed to be protected as it was an essential element of their existence. “The resources of the natural world are not to be abused. Even essential food resources are to be approached with care and used with respect” (Patterson 1992: 144). This highlights that Māori resource management was an important aspect to their livelihood. Resources were never collected in excess and only what was needed was acquired for the whole community.

Resource management was implemented through the conservation *rāhui* which is described by Mead (1997a: 171) as “...the mild one, the one with no teeth.” The less potent degree of *tapu* that was placed on these resources was still respected as it was established by a person of *mana* usually a *rangatira*. The purpose of this *rāhui* was “to save the resources of a shellbank or a patch of forest from becoming unduly depleted, the chief of the *hapu* might proclaim over it a *rahui*, in consequence of which no one would be allowed to take supplies therefrom for a time” (Firth 1972: 259). It was essential for a *rangatira* to be aware of the state of resources within their land areas as this fell into his/her area of administration of the people (Buck 1952: 346). The area of resource management is one of the qualities of a *rangatira* as noted by Best (1898: 242). He lists resource management first,

perhaps, signifying the importance of this quality. Thus the power of the conservation *rāhui* rested on the *mana* held by that *rangatira*.

The importance of implementing the conservation *rāhui* allowed for the replenishment of resources thereby maintaining bountiful amounts of food. People understood resource management and adhered to strict systems of food gathering. Therefore, when conservation *rāhui* were implemented they were easily kept apart from other areas where food was collected. This is illustrated in the following diagram.

Figure 26: Māori resource management using the conservation *rāhui*



Key:

- Indicates the environment within a tribal boundary, such as *whenua*, including forests, but also aqua culture such as the sea, coastline, rivers and lakes.
- Indicates that this would have been the area sectioned off for the collection of resources.
- Indicates land that would be untouched, or not needed for food collection allowing the resources to thrive.
- Indicates that a conservation *rāhui* has been placed on an area to ensure that it has been prohibited to allow for regeneration to occur.
- ↷ Indicates the next piece of land that will be used for gathering resources
- ↶ Indicates the next area that will have the *rāhui* placed upon it.

Within a tribal boundary the *rangatira* would determine which portions of the land would be used for the collection of food and therefore would manage the environment to ensure that there was always plenty for his/her people. The conservation *rāhui* was instrumental in aiding the *rangatira* in this process. The

above diagram shows how portions of land were divided up to ensure that plenty of resources were available for the *iwi* or *hapū*. In this respect the *tapu* of the *rāhui* was respected due to the value that was placed on the *whenua* being the source of sustenance, as noted in the *whakataukī* discussed at the beginning of this section. Furthermore, *tapu* ensures that the *whenua* is respected because it is an extension of the *tangata*: “Tapu is something that teaches you how to respect the whole of nature because Maori things involve the whole of nature” (Pēwhairangi 1975: 8).

Te mana o te whenua

The previous chapter [] analysed the spiritual connection Māori have to *whenua*. This section will [] show how this spiritual connection is applied through the use of *mana*. As noted in Chapter Two, *mana* has multiple meanings even when it is applied to *whenua*. This section will expand on the geographical definition of [] how land was claimed and of customary tenure rights. This will emphasise the importance of *whenua* and why it [] was vehemently protected. This was meant to ensure not only the *mana* of the people but the *mana* of the *whenua*.

The term *mana* may have a variety of meanings according to circumstance but generally implies some extra efficiency or virtue with a supernormal tinge. In regard to land it usually denotes the superior power or prestige and intimacy of association which a tribe possesses with regard to its territory as compared with the relation of other tribes to it (Firth 1972: 391).

Māori land tenure was multi faceted in that there were different forms of rights to *whenua*, however, the essential concept that joins them together is *mana*. This will be examined through different forms of Māori land tenure and how *mana* is applied to them.

Papa tipu

Sinclair (1975a: 118-119) defines tenure by explaining the two phases of settlement, ‘pre-fleet’ and the ‘fleet era’. He goes further to describe how the people of the ‘pre-fleet period’ discovered and settled large expanses of the landscape and began to define the geographical features, supporting the arguments of the previous chapter. Furthermore, he discusses the notion that the ‘fleet era’ were known to have intermarried with the ‘pre-fleet’ in order to sanction their rights to the land. The word *papa tipu* is land from whence a person was raised, or grown. *Papa tipu* is used for customary title, however, from a Māori worldview it would be the former interpretation that would be of significance. This accords with the belief that *whenua* provides for the life cycle of the *tangata* and therefore the *whenua* becomes a growing place for people.

Taunaha - rights of discovery

When land was unoccupied and no dwellers could be identified *whenua* was claimed under *taunaha*. Continued occupation of the *whenua* gave the discoverers the *mana* to occupy this land (Asher & Naulls 1987). It was under this concept that boundaries become more defined, using geographical features. It was important to Māori to remember these boundary demarcations and ensure that these were protected to ensure their rights to the *whenua*. This was a knowledge system that was passed down through the generations and was considered valuable information for the *mana* of the *iwi* (Sinclair 1975a: 119).

Ahi kā - rights of occupation

Ka wera hoki i te ahi, e mana ana anō

“While the fire burns, the mana is effective” (Mead & Grove 1994: 65).

This *whakataukī* illustrates the importance of *ahi kā* in ensuring the *mana* of the people. *Ahi kā* literally means ‘lit fires’ indicating that the *whenua* is being occupied. This concept was considered the most important of the Māori land tenure concepts, as occupation was vital to the *mana* of the *iwi* who claimed ownership over *whenua*. For if there was no acknowledged occupation, other *iwi* would use *take taunaha* to make claims to that *whenua*.

If a Maori could prove land had been continuously occupied by successive and numerous generations of ancestors right down to himself, it was said he had kept his ancestral flame alive on the land. He had maintained his occupation against all comers and the successful dispersal of other claimants strengthened the ties. His title was that of the long burning fire, ‘*ahi ka roa*’ (Sinclair 1975a: 120).

To effectively maintain the *mana* of the *iwi* occupation or *ahi kā* was essential. While some lands did not have fires burning there had to be some evidence that indicated that the *whenua* was being used. This could take the form of using the land for its resources such as gardening or food gathering (Asher & Naulls 1987: 6). The extinguishing of *ahi kā* ultimately extinguished the *mana* of that *iwi* to have occupational rights to that *whenua*. Furthermore, people's *mana* was often judged on how they cared for their lands. No occupation or form of occupation could bring disgrace to an *iwi* as this *whakataukī* shows.

Hāhā te whenua, hāhā te tangata
“Desolate land, desolate people” (Mead & Grove 1991: 9).

Tipuna - ancestral rights

Further to *ahi kā*, ancestral right was claimed through the descent from the ancestors who had continuous occupation. This right relied on precise *whakapapa* information in order for rights to be established. This emphasises again the importance of *whakapapa* in connection not only to *tangata* but, more importantly, as it established their *mana* to the *whenua* (Asher & Naulls 1987).

Tuku - gifting rights

This concept was not exercised frequently as the value of land to Māori was so immense. However, there are instances when this did occur especially when another *iwi* aided the landowners during battle. As a result owners gifted land to their supporters for their services. “The right to gift land was rarely made on an individual basis. Land might be gifted by a chief or a lesser person, but only in the interest, and with the consent and oversight, of the tribe or hapu” (Sinclair 1975a: 121). For the supporting *iwi* subsequently to lay claims to this land they had to occupy the gifted lands. In some instances *tuku* was made by *rangatira* who were dying and the *tuku* was seen as a means of restoring peace amongst the people, as a way of benefiting the whole *iwi*. In this case this prevented any further disputes amongst the people. The *rangatira* whose *ōhākī* dictated the *tuku* had to have *mana* in order for his/her people to fulfill his/her wishes (Asher & Naulls 1987: 6). “In general the cession of land to another tribe seems to have been regarded as one of the most valuable gifts, to be made only on occasions of great significance” (Firth 1972: 390). This supports the notion that this type of exchange was not often exercised.

Raupatu - conquest rights

Ko te tangata ki mua, ko te whenua ki muri

“First the people then the land.” (Mead & Grove 1994: 144)

This *whakataukī* summarises the process of *raupatu* in that to gain *mana* over a land (through conquest) you must first eradicate its people. The basis of *raupatu* rights to land requires two fundamental processes in order for the *raupatu* to have *mana*. Firstly, invasion or conquest and, secondly, successful occupation (Mead 1997a: 227 and Sinclair 1975a: 121). According to Mead (1997a: 227), “Conquest is the actual defeat of an occupying group, but that in itself does not constitute *raupatu*. It is the second phase - undisturbed occupation - that confirms the *raupatu*.”

There is some debate as to whether *raupatu* was practised frequently. Octavius Hadfield believed that “[i]nvasion of territory is by far the most prevalent cause of war; in fact almost all wars may be traced to this origin” (Hadfield cited in Ballara 2003: 85). Ballara (2003) disputes Hadfield's claim by stating that “the acquisition of territory through war was usually a product of that war, but not an end in itself” (Ballara 2003: 86). Asher and Naulls (1987: 6) observe that “...successful conquests and prolonged occupation of *whenua raupatu* (confiscated lands) were not common, and most of the boundaries established by the original waka are still intact.” Regardless of how frequently *raupatu* occurred the important point is that *raupatu* had to fulfill two phases as described earlier in order to be a success.

There is a misconception that for *raupatu* to be a success, the people of the land had to be totally annihilated. In more cases than not there were survivors of the conquest whose destiny lay in the hands of the conquerors.

There were generally three methods of dealing with vanquished people. The first was to annihilate them completely; the second was to send them into exile somewhere else, while the victors occupied the land; and the third was to allow them to remain, but at the sufferance of the victors, and to be used as labour or to live as ‘tenants’ at the will of the victors. Iwi forced to live under the third option can hardly be said to retain mana whenua (Mead 1997a: 226).

The process of conquest through the eradication of people was only one option for the victors. It was more likely though, that there would be survivors remaining either to banish or use for labour. Firstly, the conquered were stripped of their *mana whenua* as they no longer controlled their land but, more importantly, the *mana* of the conquerors was increased because their power base had grown through the acquisition of land and people. Furthermore, when survivors remained under the mantle of the conquerors this did not allow them to claim *ahi kā* rights, as they did not have *mana whenua* rights (Mead 1997a: 229). The following *whakataukī* expresses the importance of *mana whenua* in light of losing one’s position as a result of conquest.

Tēnā takahi iho, kei whea he tūranga?

“There then, if you trample as long as you like in the deep sea, can you find firm standing ground for your feet?” (Mead & Grove 1996: 137)

Furthermore, this proverbial saying emphasises the importance of protecting your *whenua* so as to maintain your *mana* as a people.

As discussed earlier *take tīpuna* sanctified the rights of a person to *whenua*, however, for the conqueror they could not make this claim. This was often overcome by keeping survivors of their conquest, especially women, to produce children who would be able to claim both *take tīpuna* but also *take raupatu*. This would then secure the rights and connection to the conquered land and, therefore, provide a strong spiritual connection to the *whenua*.

An aspect of *raupatu* that became more relevant for Māori was colonial confiscation of land. It should be noted at this point that Mead (1997a: 225) states that Crown confiscation of Ngāti Awa land was not considered a “valid *raupatu*” under *tikanga Māori*. The Te Arawa armed forces who fought against Ngāti Awa had been commissioned by the Crown and whilst Te Arawa were successful, Ngāti Awa claim that they never “relinquished their mana *whenua*” (Mead 1997a: 227). The assistance from the Crown, through commissioning Te Arawa and supplying the weapons, renders the *raupatu* invalid as there was no undisturbed occupation by the conquerors (Te Arawa).

Land taken by means of *ringa kaha* [strong arm] or by *raupatu* (the blade of the patu) is *whenua raupatu*. However, land obtained by military conquest had to be occupied and held in order to extinguish the rights of the former owners...Occupation had to be defended successfully against challenges (Mead 1997a: 233).

The processes of *raupatu* were clearly understood by Māori. However, colonial confiscations were never considered valid by Māori as they only completed the first phase (military defeat) in the process of *raupatu*. Even though land was confiscated by the Crown in order to sell on to settlers for occupation, this cannot be considered to be the completion of phase two (undisturbed occupation) of

raupatu as the settlers themselves were not necessarily involved in the conquest of the lands. In general therefore colonial *raupatu* of Māori land remains invalid under *tikanga Māori*.

Conclusion

The spiritual significance of the land was discussed in the previous chapter highlighting the importance Māori placed on land. This chapter looked at how this spiritual bond that Māori have with the land was manifested. This was undertaken by examining the concepts of *mana* and *tapu*. These fundamental concepts, often intertwined with each other, were applied to land to illustrate the mechanisms Māori implemented in order to secure and protect the bond that they have with their *whenua*.

Rata and his efforts to obtain a tree from the forest introduced the first section of this chapter. This discussion showed the importance of rituals that are associated with *whenua* when acquiring natural resources. These rituals were designed not only to protect the people as a collective but also their environment. Two types of *rāhui* were discussed to show how *tapu* was not only instrumental in protecting people from pollution, but also in maintaining their resources through conservation. *Rāhui* in both these forms depended on the *mana* of the *rangatira* or *tohunga* who implemented the prohibition, but *tapu* was the vehicle through which this *mana* was respected. Ignoring the *tapu* often meant that the trespasser would suffer the 'bite' of the *rāhui*.

Mana whenua was examined in relation to Māori land tenure. These included explanations of *papa tipu*, *taunaha*, *ahi kā*, *take tīpuna*, *tuku* and *raupatu*. The

description of these forms of land tenure provides an understanding of the value that was placed on land, as the source of a person's *mana*. Without land there was no *mana*.

The importance of *mana* and *tapu* was displayed in the customary concepts described in this chapter. This provides an understanding of how the spiritual relationship to *whenua* is proportionate with the physical relationship that Māori had with their *whenua*. The value Māori associated with *whenua*, and their need to protect it, is a reflection of its *mana* and *tapu*. This reinforces the bond that Māori have with their land. Māori would protect it vehemently, and with passion, as it was and remains the source of their identity to this day.

Chapter Eight

Me mate au, me mate mō te whenua
“If I am to die, let me die for the land”

This *whakataukī* was said during a battle between Ngāti Whakaue and Ngāti Hauā at Ohinemutu (Mead & Grove 1996: 33). However, I have chosen this *whakataukī* as a title to describe the contents of this chapter which examines how Māori vehemently protected their *whenua* with the influx of the new people (Pākehā) who had a different culture and who valued the land differently. Despite this domineering Pākehā culture having advanced technology Māori fought against the Pākehā acquisition of land. This brief political history outlines two of the key areas that were severely affected by the onslaught of the new culture, especially the decline of Māori perceptions of land, *mana* Māori and identity. Through Māori political and religious groups Māori tried to reclaim their *whenua* as a means of maintaining their *mana* as people. The regions that will be examined in this chapter belong to those *iwi* who maintained the art of *moko kauae* as a form of identity as discussed in Part I of this thesis.

The new “tangata” arrives to claim the “whenua”

The Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of New Zealand and was signed by some Māori chiefs on 6th February 1840. Using aspects of their distinctive *moko* designs most *rangatira* signed the Māori version, thereby consenting to the terms - as they understood it - of the Treaty of Waitangi. The contentious issues surrounding this Treaty will not be explored in detail in this thesis, however, they need to be established before examining the issues pertaining to land and the new

culture. It should be acknowledged at this point that the use of *moko* as a signature reflected the uniqueness of the design as an expression of an individual's identity. As only a few women signed the Treaty of Waitangi, the author chose not to analyse their *moko* signatures. Lengthy discussions of the *moko* signatures of the Treaty of Waitangi would have had to focus on male facial tattooing which is not the subject of this thesis.

The Treaty of Waitangi came about as a result of the impending European settlement. For the British Government the Treaty of Waitangi was a means of guaranteeing the Māori's welfare (Sinclair 1957: 20), by guaranteeing them their lands and other valued resources under Article II of the Treaty. However, land soon became a point of dispute between Māori and the incoming settlers who desired possession of the vast land resource of the *tangata whenua*. Whereas Māori viewed land as *tapu*, settlers saw such values as merely "idle objections to the sale of land" and did not consider the Māori perspective to be legitimate (Taranaki Herald, 20 June 1857 cited in Sinclair 1957: 6). Pākehā people sought the land for themselves, in order to convert it into English-style farms and to develop New Zealand as a colony of Britain. Māori were determined not to relinquish all their lands so easily to settlers. As Sinclair (1957: 4) observes, "[t]his contest for dominion lay beneath the relations of the two races through most of the nineteenth century, and no compromise seemed possible." Antagonism started to build between Māori and Pākehā as a result of the latter not understanding the culture or the values of the *tangata whenua*. This was intensified when Māori participated and succeeded in economic trading with Pākehā. "Living among a numerous population of 'savages', and conscious of the superiority of their own culture, the settlers came both to fear and despise their neighbours" (Sinclair 1957: 10).

The word ‘Maori’ conjured up in the settlers’ minds a stereotype based on experience in other colonies. This stereotype Maori bore little resemblance to the real Maori, though daily misunderstandings seemed, to the settlers, to lend validity to this picture. It was this Maori, as much as the real one, who influenced the behaviour of the settler. When the wars began it was this fictitious Maori whom they thought they were fighting (Sinclair 1957: 10).

The influence of the missionaries allowed Māori to begin to understand Pākehā culture and values. Their work pre dated the contact between settlers and Māori and they were instrumental in the transformation of Māori philosophical and cultural belief systems. The tireless work of the missionaries and their converted Māori saw other Māori questioning their belief in *tapu*, as a fundamental customary concept. The influence of the missionaries prompted Māori to accept Pākehā settlers. Despite this Māori acceptance (though on the latter’s terms) the new comers still believed that they were superior to the ‘savages’ and were demanding more land from the Government. The Governor, George Grey, agreed that it was a profitable time to benefit from the land hungry settlers. This was facilitated by land purchase policies that were designed to advance European settlement (Sinclair 1957: 44).

The Pākehā hunger for land regardless of Māori *ahi kā* rights, and the growing Māori reluctance to sell gradually escalated tensions and resulted not only in bloodshed, but profound cultural developments in Māori *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. Keith Sinclair (1957: 61) believes that Māori nationalism developed over a period of time between 1800-1858 as a result of the changing Māori reaction to Pākehā. During the initial contact period - 1800-1840 - Māori were more accepting of Pākehā culture. Between 1840-1848 there appears to have been some unorganised Māori resistance to the settlers principally those Pākehā who associated themselves

with the New Zealand Company settlements. Not until the period between 1848-1858 did more organised structures of resistance to prevent sales and to protect the *whenua* come to the fore. More significantly however, Sinclair (1957: 61) locates the foundation of a ‘national organisation’ from 1848. Civil war broke out between sections of *iwi* who were against the selling of land and those who supported land sales. During this period of time the Kīngitanga was also established. Tensions between the growing number of settlers and the decreasing Māori population intensified after 1853 and by 1860 the Kotahitanga movement had gained prominence.

These developments demonstrate the effects of Pākehā culture on *tikanga* Māori. Māori believed that *whenua* could not be gifted or disposed of (see previous chapter) without the consent of the whole *iwi* where it would benefit that *iwi*. Inter-*hapū* or *iwi* fighting had been an element of traditional Māori society. Lands that fell under the traditional *raupatu* are examples of the outcomes of such conflicts, where fighting was not necessarily based on acquiring lands but on gaining *mana*. The influence of the new culture was instrumental in breaking down the spiritual connection Māori had with their land.

To puku! Horo tangata, horo whenua!

“Your belly! O man-eaters, O land-gobblers” (Mead & Grove 1996: 173).

The above *whakataukī* expresses the pressure that Pākehā were applying to Māori to sell their land. This is evident in the desire of some *iwi* to sell their lands but, more importantly, the pressure of Pākehā culture forced Māori to unite as *iwi* and to take a national stance in order to protect their *whenua*.

“Kua maoa te taewa - The potato has been cooked”

Te Whiti o Rongomai, the Taranaki prophet and leader from Parihaka, is the reference for the above *whakataukī*. As Mead and Grove (1994: 161) explain, “The potato was a metaphor for the Maori people being overcome by European arms and land confiscations. He [Te Whiti] meant that being so cooked meant the potato could be eaten without further action.” This *whakataukī* is an appropriate title for this section as it will describe the extent the people of Taranaki went in order to maintain their connection with their *whenua*.

It is important to begin by referring to the Waitara Purchase (1859-1860) as an example of how Māori beliefs in a ‘collective responsibility’ towards land had broken down amongst those people in Te Ati Awa. This shows the extent of the influence Pākehā culture had over Māori at this time.

Prior to the Waitara Purchase the Land Purchase Department had to adhere “...to the traditional Maori custom of communal rights to land. This meant no Maori could sell his own individual piece...without the consent of the whole of the owners” (Sinclair 1975b: 145-146). Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitake, *rangatira* of Te Ati Awa, ardently opposed the Waitara purchase, and wrote to the Colonial Government continually over a period of three Governors (Fitzroy, Grey and Gore Browne) to state that his people would not sell Waitara (Sinclair 1957: 117). He expressed to all the Governors that “...Waitara shall not be given up” (Sinclair 1957: 117). When Kīngi Te Rangitake wrote to Fitzroy he tried to appeal to his sense of spiritual connection to *whenua* by asking the Governor, “Friend Governor, do you not love your land - England - the land of your fathers? As we also love our land at Waitara?” (AJHR 1881 E-1: 19 cited in Sinclair 1957: 117) Using a Māori

ideology Kīngi Te Rangitake petitioned the Governors to understand the importance of *whenua* to Māori by drawing a comparison to land in England. It is evident that Kīngi Te Rangitake used the reference to *whakapapa* to indicate the spiritual significance of the land to Māori in his appeal to the Pākehā Governors. Subsequent actions that took place suggest that Pākehā did not have the same spiritual affinity to the land as Māori.

Te Teira (from Te Ati Awa also) offered to sell land in Waitara to Governor Thomas Gore Browne in March 1859. The Governor, interested in the offer, explained to Te Teira that he would have to prove his title to the land. “Teira then laid a *parawai*, or bordered mat, at the Governor's feet, as a symbol that he placed his land in the Governor's hands” (Sinclair 1957: 137). Te Teira, without consulting the *rangatira* Kīngi Te Rangitake, offered Waitara as a means of *utu* against Kīngi Te Rangitake for another issue. Te Teira offered the *mana* of the *whenua* as a means of slighting the *mana* of his *rangatira* without considering the outcomes the sale would have for the community. The ability of an individual to offer *iwi* lands for sale is an example of the influence that Pākehā culture had in breaking down *tikanga* Māori. The author accepts that whilst Te Teira may have been executing the *tikanga* of *utu* he in turn was using the Pākehā process of land purchase to execute his revenge. The extreme actions of Te Teira in seeking retribution against Kīngi Te Rangitake for his own personal issue appeared to be more important to the former than any consideration of the implications for the people. This was a move away from the cultural belief in community benefits to an individual benefit. “There is no doubt that within a Pakeha world-view a concept of individual responsibility is dominant, and likewise that within a Maori world-view a concept of collective responsibility is dominant” (Patterson 1992: 142). Te

Teira did not prioritise the ‘collective responsibility’ of ensuring the protection of Waitara. Rather he saw the individual benefits far outweighing the collective. Not only would he obtain retribution against the *rangatira* (Kīngi Te Rangitake), but also attain more *mana* from the Government by being acknowledged as the landowner of Waitara. The animosity between Kīngi Te Rangitake and Te Teira reflected the Government’s policy of divide and rule in order to acquire more lands without being delayed by obtaining *iwi* agreement.

The government, in spite of denials, had been considering for some time a policy of buying up the claims of small groups as they came forward, rather than waiting for all claimants to agree on a sale. This was seen as the only way to break the ‘deadlock’ in Taranaki (Parsonson 1991: 263-264).

Te Teira’s revenge was acknowledged when the Colonial Government ‘officially’ viewed Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitake as having no rights to the lands in Waitara and therefore allowed the purchase to happen (Parsonson 1991: 264). “This celebrated ‘purchase’ was the root of the war in Taranaki and ultimately of the war in Waikato” (Ballara 1998: 263). Belich (1986) supports this notion, however, he believes that there were other reasons behind these wars, “...the widespread desire for the imposition of British administration, law, and civilization on the Maoris was so important that it should rank with land-hunger as a cause of war” (Belich 1986:77).

This ‘civilization’ of Māori by the British was instrumental in undermining *tikanga* Māori. Civilising implies that Māori did not have social customs that maintained order amongst the people. The *Concise English Dictionary* (1996: 84) defines ‘civilize’ as “...reclaim from a savage state; to introduce order and organization among; to refine and enlighten.” Previous chapters have illustrated the importance

of Māori customary concepts to society as a means of social control and development. Pākehā had viewed Māori as living in a ‘savage state.’ Contemporary Pākehā - many of whom did not understand *te ao Māori* (the Māori world) - dismissed the value of *tikanga* Māori. The unenlightened view of the Pākehā of the time adversely affected the way Māori valued their own *tikanga*.

After the Waitara Purchase, Kīngi Te Rangitake interfered and resisted the Crown surveyors as a means of asserting his *mana*, but also to protect the community’s lands by removing the surveying pegs. Kīngi Te Rangitake and his people set up their *pā* at Te Kohia. Pākehā troops were sent in and told Kīngi Te Rangitake to surrender. “When they refused to do so, the troops opened fire” (Waitangi Tribunal 2003:18-19). This was the commencement of the long wars in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The *New Zealand Settlement Act 1863* gave the colonial government the rights to confiscate vast amounts of land if Māori were seen to be rebelling against the Crown. “The New Zealand Settlements Act was directed to national security, and the rationale was stated in the statute itself: its purpose was to achieve law and order by establishing ‘a sufficient number of settlers able to protect themselves and to preserve the peace’” (Waitangi Tribunal 2003: 2). In addition to the *New Zealand Settlement Act 1863*, the Colonial Parliament introduced the *Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863* that was designed to forcibly arrest and kill suspected rebels without a trial (Sinclair 1975b: 147). Taranaki Māori were forced to accept individualisation of titles, whereby communal ownership was disbanded. “The penalty for non-compliance was to be the forfeiture of their lands” (Sinclair 1975b:

146). The reasons for the land wars were overshadowed by the result of these wars where the colonial government confiscated Māori land. In 1865, in Taranaki alone, nearly 1,199,622 acres of prime land was confiscated (Waitangi Tribunal 2003: 1). Māori were evicted from their *papa tipu* and became victims of land alienation on a hitherto unknown scale and according to a foreign *tikanga*.

Ko Ngāruawāhia tōku tūrangawaewae (Ngāruawāhia is my standing place)

For Waikato *iwi* this utterance by Tāwhiao signified the importance of Ngāruawāhia as the base for the Kīngitanga. The Kīngitanga is considered the most notable expression of Māori nationalism in New Zealand history. However, it also became one of the real reasons behind colonial confiscations of land. The pressure that Pākehā applied to individuals within *iwi* or *hapū* groups to sell land was a catalyst for the debasement of *tikanga* Māori. The sudden rise of nationalism amongst Māori proved an effective means of raising the fears of Pākehā. In 1861 Governor Grey believed that the Kīngitanga, its people and their own governing bodies were becoming a significant threat to his colonial authority (McKinnon 1997: 38).

Some *iwi* saw the benefit of uniting as tribes in light of the Pākehā pressure to sell land. At a meeting at Pūkawa in 1856 the notion of a Māori King was discussed amongst *rangatira* from various tribes and Potatau Te Wherowhero of Waikato was nominated as the best candidate. Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa, also known as the ‘King maker’, supported Potatau’s nomination and lobbied with tribes of the Waikato area for their support of the ‘King’ as a means of producing laws that would protect people and their lands (Oliver 1991: 312).

Tamihana spoke strongly to express his concern for the establishment and maintenance of law and order within the tribes. He hoped that a Maori kingship would provide effective order and laws, unlike the Pakeha government, which allowed Maori to kill each other and only involved itself when Pakeha were killed (Stokes 1991: 292-293).

Eventually, Potatau agreed to assume the mantle of King and was inaugurated at Ngāruawāhia in 1858. Potatau stated at the ceremony '*Kotahi te kohao o te ngira e kuhuna ai te miro mā, te miro pango, te miro whero.*' (There is but a single eye of the needle through which white, black and red threads must pass). This symbolised the ideology of unity amongst the people including Pākehā. Te Wherowhero did not see himself as being in conflict with Queen Victoria's sovereignty and prior to his ascension to King, he was consulted by the Governors of the time for the Māori position on various matters.

However, after his acceptance of the kingship he was increasingly estranged from the governor's confidence. As land disputes increased in number and severity Te Wherowhero was in many cases forced into a position of opposition to government policy (Oliver 1991: 312).

Potatau's reign as King was short lived and after two years in the position he died and was succeeded by his son, Tāwhiao Tukaroto Matutaera Potatau Te Wherowhero. Tāwhiao's reign as King coincided with arguably the most tumultuous period in the relationship between Pākehā and Māori, with the wars of Taranaki and Waikato, and resulting confiscations that left Tāwhiao and his people landless. British forces invaded the Waikato in 1863. They supposedly believed that Waikato were preparing themselves for an assault on Auckland. "Tāwhiao and his people lost over a million acres to the settler government and subsequently to the settlers themselves" (Mahuta 1994: 146).

Left to live like refugees, Tāwhiao and his people retreated into Ngāti Maniapoto lands, now known as the King Country, and contemplated the future of his people. It was at this time that Tāwhiao was said to have developed his *tongi* (prophetic visionary sayings), which reminded his people that they needed to stick to the ideologies of the Kīngitanga (Mahuta 1994 146). Tāwhiao also adopted the *Pai Mārire* religion - still followed by the Kīngitanga movement. During this period the King (till then known by his Christian name, Matutaera) received the name Tāwhiao from Te Ua Haumēne (Head 1991: 285).

Tāwhiao tried to push the government to agree to some reconciliation for the Waikato confiscations but little was agreed upon. Frustrated by the lack of progress, Tāwhiao decided to petition Queen Victoria, in a bid for the Treaty of Waitangi to be honoured (Mahuta 1994: 148).

The petition proposed a separate Maori parliament, the appointment of a special commissioner as intermediary between Pakeha and Maori parliaments, and an independent commission of inquiry into land confiscations (Mahuta 1994: 148).

However, the Queen's representative, Lord Derby, informed Tāwhiao that he would have to consult with the New Zealand government. The latter claimed that there had not been any injustices caused to Māori and that the Treaty of Waitangi had not been breached. As a result Tāwhiao's proposals were dismissed. Tāwhiao, however, continued to work towards a distinctive parliament and within Waikato he developed the *poukai* (source of food) which allowed for people under the *Kīngitanga* to have direct consultation with the King, while ensuring everyone was

fed. Later, Tāwhiao established *Te Kauhanganui* (Council) which all tribes were invited to participate in (Mahuta 1994: 148).

During Tāwhiao's reign he was assisted by Manga Rewi Maniapoto (a *rangatira* of Ngāti Maniapoto), who orchestrated many assaults on behalf of the King Movement. He expelled John Gorst from Otawhao and removed the magistrate from Waikato because he believed they were undermining the *mana* of the King (Henare 1991: 40). Prior to this, however, Maniapoto assisted Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitake during the Taranaki wars. Based on this experience he believed that the government was trying to incapacitate Māori authority especially in regards to land issues. “Rewi's realistic outlook led him to conclude that the British intended to invade Waikato unless the King movement was abandoned” (Henare 1991:40). Under orders from Governor Grey, Lieutenant General Duncan Cameron invaded Waikato on 8 July 1863.

The major battles of the Waikato region between 1863-1864 (between Māori and Pākehā) were at Ngāruawāhia (as discussed earlier), Rangiriri in November 1863, and Pāterangi-Orākau in January-April 1864. These battles extended out to Pukehinahina in April 1864 to ensure that there were no members of the Kīngitanga taking refuge in the Western Bay of Plenty area. The Waikato wars were considered the most successful Pākehā military operation for its time period. Efforts in other areas were not as successful. “It [the campaign] had clear goals, military victory accompanied by the withdrawal of the inhabitants from the occupied area” (McKinnon 1997: 38).

Māori resisted the Pākehā attacks on the Waikato. Such participation in the conflict and the association with the Kīngitanga were seen as a means of resistance and rebellion against the Crown. To Māori such participation was merely a defence of their *mana whenua*. George Grey argued that the amount of land confiscated had to be equivalent to the ‘degree of guilt’ under the *New Zealand Settlement Act 1863* (McKinnon 1997: 39). However, those *iwi* of the Kīngitanga who participated in the defence of the *whenua* during the Pākehā invasion received differing levels of punishment when the lands were confiscated. “Ngāti Hauā lost about one-third of their lands; Waikato almost all, Ngāti Maniapoto whose land had not been occupied by British forces, virtually none” (McKinnon 1997: 39). These Māori suffered the injustice of having their *whenua* taken from them for allegedly rebellious acts. However, it appears that Māori who owned valuable lands were targeted most severely in both the Taranaki and the Waikato cases. Land confiscations were inconsistent when they were executed, as those who had the best land, had the most taken away regardless of the level of their participation in the 'rebellious' acts. The invasion and subsequent confiscation of land was hypocritical under the *New Zealand Settlement Act 1863*. This Act purported to ensure that peace was maintained in the country, however, the Pākehā soldiers who entered into the Waikato had very suspicious motives for their raids. The primary motive of the Waikato invasion was to disband the Kīngitanga as it had become a threat to Pākehā. Waikato had 1, 202,172 acres of land confiscated from them.

The influence of Māori religious leaders

Whilst Pākehā culture was instrumental in the disempowerment of *iwi*, some Māori used the new culture as a mechanism to overcome and reclaim *mana* Māori. The establishment of the Kīngitanga was an example of Māori implementing ways to

reclaim *mana* by uniting at a national level. This is evident in that traditional Māori society had never been based on a monarchy system as signified by using the word Kīngitanga; a transliteration based on the word ‘king’. During the same period of discontent (1848-1858) other Māori came to prominence in the form of Māori religious leaders. This included Te Whiti o Rongomai (Te Whiti), Tohu Kākahi (Tohu) (both from Parihaka), Titokowaru (from Southern Taranaki), Te Ua Haumēne (Te Ua) (also from Taranaki) and Te Kooti Rikirangi Te Turuki (Te Kooti) (from Rongowhakaata). Apart from Titokowaru, the aforementioned were the founders of Māori religious groups that provided the basis for a renewed stand by Māori against the actions of the Crown. Their shared resistance to the pressure of the Crown for land sales saw important relationships being forged among these men.

Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi both learned the Bible and used their knowledge of the scriptures as the basis of *He Tikanga Hou* (A new doctrine) religion (Keenan 1994: 190). These two men were noted for their prophetic sayings, however, their best known acts concerned their passive resistance to the confiscation of land. Their resistance to armed constabulary forces in Taranaki frustrated the government of the time, and prompted them to imprison Te Whiti and Tohu in the South Island. Once they were released they continued their passive resistance against land sales and the eventual confiscation of lands in Taranaki (Keenan 1994: 193).

The numerous accounts of Titokowaru suggest that he moved between acts of peace and war. A well-known warrior, Titokowaru appeared to be a notorious Māori ‘rebel’ to the Crown. His ability in warfare earned him a reputation as a feared

warrior and rebel. Titokowaru also assumed the mantle of Te Ua Haumēne upon the latter's death and established Te Ngutu o te manu as his base. Subsequently, he turned towards finding reconciliation between Māori and the Crown (Belich 1991: 322).

Te Ua Haumēne's philosophies were similar to the other three men. Te Ua established the Pai Marire religion, also known as Hauhau, in 1862 which is considered "the first organised expression of an independent Maori Christianity" (Head 1991: 283).

Te Ua associated with leaders of the anti-land-selling movement in Taranaki, driven into political action by the purchase of the Waitara block under terms which contravened Maori customary law. He became a supporter of the King movement, and in 1860 fought against the government, acting also as chaplain to the Maori soldiers (Head 1991: 283).

Te Ua was also considered a prophet of the time and he used his prophetic visions, the Old Testament, and traditional Māori theologies, as the basis for his religion. For many years the Pai Marire were thought to be murderous and belligerent. This reputation prompted Pākehā to believe that all Māori resistance movements were inhumane and barbaric (Belich 1986: 204).

Te Kooti Rikirangi Te Turuki adapted aspects of the Pai Mārire faith to establish his Ringattū religion. The upraised hand is the sign used by this faith and "it was emphasized by Te Kooti himself that the holding up of the hand was not for the purpose of warding off bullets, but as an act of homage to God" (Greenwood 1942: 21).

As well as being a noted prophet, Te Kooti had become notorious for his ability in warfare. This frustrated the government who pursued Te Kooti throughout the countryside in the hope that they would be able to punish him. However, Te Kooti had gained the support of both Tūhoe and the Kīngitanga which allowed him to evade arrest. *Te Whai a Te Motu* (the pursuit around the island), signifying Te Kooti's subterfuge from Pākehā, was commemorated by Tūhoe in Ruatāhuna when they used this phrase to name the *wharenui* (meeting house) at Mataatua marae. The Crown desperately tried to capture Te Kooti to prevent his stirring up Māori to resist Pākehā efforts. Te Kooti stated “although you go in pursuit of me, even with the Governor, I will not be captured by you, nor will I be killed by you, and it will be simply through accident that I shall die” (Binney 1991: 198).

Despite the ‘pursuit around the country’ Te Kooti continued his teachings and was famed for his *kupu whakaari* (prophetic sayings) which became an important element of the Ringatū faith. One such saying was

‘Ko te waka hei hoehoenga mo koutou i muri i ahau ko te Ture, ma te ture ano te Ture e aki’

The canoe for you to paddle after me is the Law, only the Law will correct the Law (Binney 1995: 490).

This *kupu whakaari* expresses Te Kooti's vision that the way to regain autonomy was to use Pākehā culture against Pākehā. If Pākehā were going to disempower Māori through Pākehā laws then Te Kooti believed that the only way Māori would reclaim their *mana* would be to use Pākehā law. It is this insight by Te Kooti and other prophets of the time that also influenced a change in *tikanga*, from one initially *iwi*-based to one that was a more pan tribal-based philosophy. The

adoption of Pākehā culture resulted from the pressure Pākehā placed on Māori to sell their *whenua* and the subsequent land confiscations. This adaptation by Māori culture did not mean that Māori lost sight of their ultimate aim of maintaining their rights to be self-determining and autonomous under the Treaty of Waitangi.

The different layers of Māori religious and political movements resulting from land loss, show a common bond amongst Māori people as a result of the turmoil introduced by settlers and the government of the time. Towards the end of the 1800s it became obvious to Māori that their allegiance to such resistance movements was not producing the outcomes they desired and that the government was still trying to drive Māori from their land base. All of these Māori resistance groups not only shared the common suffering of land loss but they all believed in the maintenance of their unique identity as Māori. This discouraging period for Māori was darkened further by renewed epidemics of diseases and the continuation of the Government's assimilation policies aimed at Māori.

Protecting mana or acts of rebellion?

The injustices suffered by Māori, and in this case those of Taranaki and Waikato, were so immense that Pākehā left these *iwi* stripped not only of their *whenua* but also their *mana*. Māori protests against surveyors, and the military, continued as a means of protecting their *mana*. The acts that were inflicted on the Māori of both Waikato and Taranaki were means of disempowering these *iwi*. Pākehā believed they had the ability to determine *tikanga* Māori especially in respect to *whenua*, ultimately breaking down the ideology of collective responsibility towards this *taonga*. Despite the Government's desire to disempower Māori and gain control of

the latter's power base (their *whenua*), Māori stood against the Government but at a huge expense to these Māori.

The relationship that Māori had with Pākehā prior to the Treaty of Waitangi was amicable, as Māori maintained their own *mana* as *iwi* on their *whenua*. However, in the decades following the Treaty of Waitangi, the relationship began to deteriorate as Pākehā culture and customs began to influence Māori. Pākehā pressure on Māori to sell their land often left smaller *iwi* exposed and vulnerable to their demands. Without the strength of numbers to continue to protect their lands the resistance by these *iwi* was often futile. Governments had failed to honour their obligations under Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi, which guaranteed Māori their land, possessions and *taonga*. These failings brought about a change in Māori customs where *iwi* saw a need to unite as one to ensure that the *mana* of each tribe remained intact. The Kīngitanga was a move that united many tribes. The effectiveness of the establishment of the Kīngitanga raised fear and trepidation in the colonial governments who saw this movement as rebellious. This provided the Government of the time with the ammunition it needed to confiscate the Waikato lands. In the case of Kīngi Te Rangitake, his stand against the surveyors at Waitara was meant to show the Government that they had purchased the land illegally by not seeking the approval of the whole of the community. The Waitangi Tribunal found that in respect of the Taranaki claim the Crown failed to acknowledge the *rangatiratanga* of this *iwi* to determine their domestic affairs and, more importantly, those related to their *whenua*.

It is the right of peoples to determine themselves such domestic matters as their own membership, leadership, and land entitlements. Remarkably, it

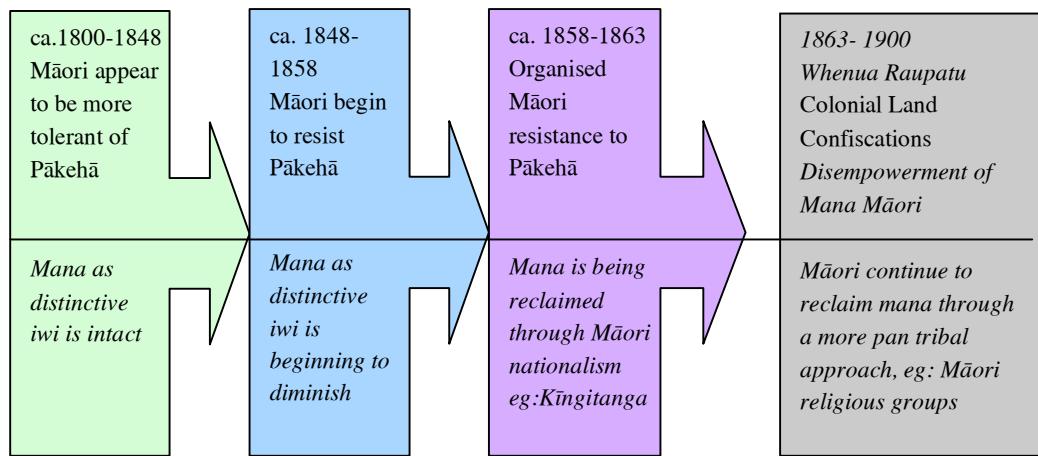
was presumed that the Government could determine matters of Maori custom and polity better than Maori and that it should have the exclusive right to rule on what Maori custom meant (Waitangi Tribunal 1996: 5, O'Malley 1998: 11).

The presumption that Pākehā people in Government fully understood *tikanga Māori* and so could make decisions on behalf of Māori is farcical. If Pākehā of the time had fully understood Māori customs then they would have acknowledged Kīngi Te Rangitake's efforts to resist the Waitara purchase. Pākehā manipulated Māori customs to benefit themselves, as was the case with allowing the purchase to proceed through Te Teira. Their acknowledgement that he had proper titles to the *whenua* bypassed the need to seek the support of the whole community. Te Teira's *mana* appears to have been sanctioned by Pākehā rather than the whole of the *iwi*. This is demonstrated by the Government's determination to ignore the claims of Kīngi Te Rangitake.

The result was not only the distortion of Maori custom by those who did not understand it but the introduction of a profoundly wrong process. The process, which still applies today, is one where decisions particular to Maori are made not by Maori but on their behalf, even in the administration of their land or in the application of their traditions (Waitangi Tribunal 1996: 5, O'Malley 1998: 11).

The following diagram highlights the relationships between Māori and Pākehā over time and the consequences for *mana* Māori as a result of the deterioration in this relationship.

Figure 27: The development of the relationship between two cultures and the effects on *Mana Māori* over a 100 year period as related to *whenua*.



(Adapted from Sinclair 1957: 61).

This diagram illustrates the influence Pākehā culture had on *tikanga Māori* using *mana* as an example. When Pākehā are not as influential in the early period prior to the Treaty of Waitangi, *mana* was maintained within the *iwi* groups. With the increasing pressure to acquire land, aspects of Pākehā culture influenced Māori to the extent that it affected the communal belief in guardianship over the *whenua* as the source of the *mana* of those respective *iwi*. The 1858-1863 period was the time many Māori attempted to unify *iwi* in order to reclaim Māori autonomy and self-government. However, the Government, who were threatened by this at the time, used these strategies to disempower Māori by confiscating the source of their *mana*, that is the *whenua*. From this period Māori began to adapt their culture to include aspects of the Pākehā world to enable them to fight for their rights to their *whenua*. The Māori religious and political leaders of that time adopted aspects of Pākehā culture in their philosophies because they understood that Pākehā had become the self-styled ‘authorities’ of Māori culture. Furthermore, these leaders saw that it was

time to use Pākehā culture against Pākehā culture to find an avenue for Māori to reclaim their *mana* and their *whenua*.

Conclusion

The title of this chapter reveals the feelings that Māori have for their *whenua*. This *whakataukī* has resounded throughout the colonial history of Aotearoa/New Zealand. “*Me mate au, me mate mō taku whenua*” was not only a belief and value of Māori it was practised by the numerous ancestors who have been connected to the land both before and since the arrival of the Pākehā. This chapter examined how Māori perceptions of land changed with the arrival of Pākehā. It also explored how when threatened with a loss of *whenua* Māori fought to protect their *mana* over the *whenua*.

Prior to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 the relationships between Māori and Pākehā were amicable, however, no sooner had the ink of the *moko* signatures dried than the relationship corroded. The new culture began to influence Māori customs, especially those related to *whenua*, as a means of disempowering the people. Pākehā wanted the land and not all Māori wanted to sell. The pressure between the two cultures exploded with Māori protecting their land and Pākehā still wanting more land. Furthermore, the Government believed that Māori needed to be civilised as a means of introducing order into the country. This dismissed *tikanga* Māori as a means of social order amongst Māori, primarily communal responsibility.

The influence of Pākehā culture was responsible for the change in *tikanga* Māori. This change affected Māori perceptions of land whereby recognition of collective

guardianship changed to individual title ownership. The *tikanga* behind the concept of *mana* began to incorporate Pākehā values to the extent that social order fell into disarray within many *iwi*. This forced Māori to develop their own strategies to deal with the pressure of land sales. Māori advanced the notions of nationalism through both political and religious movements. This included adopting aspects of Pākehā culture into their own as a mechanism to reclaim their *mana*. The Government was threatened by these movements and sent in armed forces to prevent a Māori uprising. Māori stood against the Government to protect their *whenua* to the death. Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed Māori their lands and their *taonga*, yet Pākehā ignored this obligation. Māori were left to defend the *mana* of their people, and the *mana* of their *whenua*. This chapter has focused on the situation in both Taranaki and Waikato, so as to illustrate the extent Māori would go to protect their *whenua*. Despite these efforts the *New Zealand Settlement Act* in 1863 delivered the final blow by providing the Government with the right to confiscate Māori land for any acts of rebellion or resistance to land purchases. Millions of acres were subsequently confiscated from Māori. Ultimately, Māori were left alienated from their land, their connection to their ancestors (including their *atua*), their *mana* and ultimately from their identity. However, Māori continued and still continue to fight for the injustices that their ancestors incurred because without *whenua* there can be no *mana* as a people.

Chapter Nine

He kotahi nā Tūhoe, ka kata te pō **Tūhoe historical background**

The title of this chapter is a Tūhoe *pepeha* describing their nature and skill in battle. This *pepeha* literally means that ‘at the hand of one Tūhoe person, the realm of the dead is delighted.’ The origin of this *pepeha* goes back to Rangiteaorere, a nephew and *whāngai* (fostered child) of Tūhoe Pōtiki. Rangiteaorere gained his warrior abilities from his uncle and used this skill to conquer the enemy of his birth father, Te Rangiwhakaekēhau, at the siege of Mokoia in the Te Arawa area. This *pepeha* was initially used to describe the victory by Rangiteaorere but it has become a characteristic motto for Tūhoe as an *iwi* when forced into situations of maintaining their *Mana Motuhake* (separate authority). This chapter will examine Tūhoe, as an *iwi*, their origins and their political history as it relates to the eventual confiscation of their land as an example of how the *whenua*, in this case Te Urewera, is a significant aspect of Tūhoe identity (*Tūhoetanga*). Drawing on concepts from the previous chapters of Part II, this chapter will provide an in depth look at the strong spiritual connection Tūhoe has with their land as a source of their identity as a people.

Figure 28: Whakapapa iv Celestial beginnings***Te Whakapapa o Pōtiki***

| |
|------------------------------------|
| Ranginui |
| Rangiroa |
| Rangipouri |
| Rangipotango |
| Rangiwhatumā |
| Rangiwharorangi |
| Rangiwhakere |
| Te Tahunuioterangi |
| Tukutuku |
| Hekeheke |
| Uaua |
| Te Maunga = Hinepūkohurangi |
| Potiki |

(Adapted from Best 1972)

The above *whakapapa* shows the descent of Te Maunga from Ranginui, the primal sky father. Te Maunga (the mountain) united with Hinepūkohurangi (the mist maiden) at Ōnini in Te Urewera. Their marriage produced Potiki who is the eponymous ancestor of Ngā Pōtiki. Tūhoe claim descent from Pōtiki and it is this *whakapapa* that secures Tūhoe's *tangata whenua* (Indigenous people) rights to the lands of this area. Being descendants of Te Maunga and Hinepūkohurangi Tūhoe are often referred to as 'Ngā tamariki o te kohu' or 'The Children of the Mist'. The mist that shrouds the landscape is a distinctive feature of Te Urewera acknowledging the presence of the *tipuna*, Hinepūkohurangi.

Ngā Pōtiki were situated in the Whakatāne river valley southwards from Karioi to the west of Maungapōhatu (Best 1972: 8). The narrative of the origin of Pōtiki

from Hinepūkohurangi and Te Maunga legitimizes Tūhoe's *tangata whenua* status over that area. Best states that:

Tuhoe are really Nga Potiki, more aboriginal in blood than Hawaikian, hence Nga Potiki would be the more correct tribal name for them at the present time. By Hawaikian I mean the later-coming migration by the Matatua and other canoes (Best 1972: 17).

Ngā Pōtiki were not the only *tangata whenua* of the Eastern Bay of Plenty district. Te Tini o Toi (The Multitudes of Toi) and Te Hapuoneone (The people of the land) were also the groups of original ancestors of the Eastern Bay of Plenty district, prior to the arrival of the Mataatua *waka* from Hawaiki (the ancestral homeland of the Māori).

Te Tini o Toi (The multitudes of Toi) originate from Toitehuatahi and settled at Kaputerangi *pā* (fortified village) in Whakatāne. Toi linked many of the tribes who were located in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. The tribes who descend from Toi were Te Tini o Awa, Te Marangaranga, Te Tini o Tuoi, Te Tini o Taunga and Ngāi Turanga (Best 1972: 62). Collectively they were known as 'Te Tini o Toi' as they could claim descent from him. Jeffery Sissons claims that the boundaries of Te Tini o Toi extended west from Waimana to the Rangitaiki river and inland to Galatea and Te Whaiti (Sissons 1991: 8).

The other *tangata whenua* group that is acknowledged in Tūhoe history is Te Hapuoneone. They are descended from Hapekitumanuioterangi (Hape) who migrated to Aotearoa and landed at Ohiwa (Best 1972: 59). Te Hapuoneone tribal

boundary is located from Ohiwa to the Tauranga valley and westward to the Taiarahia range to Rūātoki.

These three tribes intermarried with each other forming alliances and groups with new identities. However, Hirini Melbourne (1987a: 2) records that “politically and economically, each tribe was an autonomous unit whose authority and jurisdiction extended to the limits of their own territories.” Yet, Melbourne (1987a: 2) goes further by stating that “...cooperation was easily solicited through shared lineages that extended back to one or more of the original ancestors of Potiki, Toi or Hape.”

Immigrants

The arrival of the Mataatua *waka* in the final settlement period impacted on the *tangata whenua* groups of the Bay of Plenty. The most noted people on the Mataatua *waka* include Toroa, the *rangatira* (captain of the vessel), Tama ki Hikurangi, the *tohunga* for the *waka*, as well as Toroa's half-brother Tāneatua who was another *tohunga* on board the *waka*. Tāneatua is also known for defining the geographical features of the inland area of the Eastern Bay of Plenty. Muriwai, the sister of Toroa, is the *tipuna* who is associated with Whakatōhea. Puhikaiariki (Puhi) was the youngest of Toroa's siblings who, after a later dispute with his eldest brother, took the *waka* of Mataatua to the Te Tai Tokerau (North region) where he settled and became the eponymous ancestor of Ngā Puhi (Best 1972: 728). Wairaka, the daughter of Toroa, was the famed rescuer of the Mataatua *waka* when it nearly cast the women onboard adrift. She is said to have stood up and shouted to the gods “*Kia whakatāne au i ahau*” (let me turn myself into a man), after which she navigated the *waka* to shore. Whakatōhea claim that it was Muriwai who

performed this feat, whilst Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa claim that it was Wairaka. This act is also commemorated in the name of the settlement known as Whakatāne.

Toroa's family soon intermarried with the *tangata whenua* located in this area which cemented their settlements on the land. Wairaka married Rangikitua of Ngā Tūranga of Te Tini o Toi and they had Tamatea ki te Huatahi. Wairaka's descendants were said to have moved southward into the Ngā Pōtiki area, securing alliances with them. Tāneatua married a Ngā Pōtiki woman named Hinemataroa and they produced Paewhiti who married Tamatea ki te Huatahi. From this union came four children, Ueimua, Tānemoeahi, Uenuku Rauiri (female), and Tūhoe Potiki.

Na Toi raua ko Potiki te whenua.

Na Tūhoe te rangatiratanga.

The land is from Toi and Potiki.

The prestige and sovereignty over those lands came from Tūhoe.

(Melbourne 1987a: 15)

The above declaration states Tūhoe's rights to the land through their descent from Te Tini o Toi and Ngā Pōtiki but asserts that the prestige and sovereignty came from the Mataatua immigrants (Milroy & Melbourne 1995: 22). The connection made between the Indigenous people and the settlers of the Mataatua waka is an example of how the landscape and the people become more defined. The layers between the celestial origins of Tūhoe through to this last settlement period sanctified Tūhoe's claim to *mana whenua* over this area.

Tūhoe Pōtiki

There are only a few references to the eponymous ancestor, Tūhoe Pōtiki. One of the key references to him is in a narrative that features him and his older brothers, Ueimua and Tānemoeahi. As Ueimua was the *tuakana* he acquired the majority of the lands. Left with smaller land shares, Tūhoe conspired with Tanemoeahi to take control over parts of Ueimua's lands. The sibling rivalry turned into a battle between the brothers and eventually Tūhoe killed Ueimua. As a means of defiling the *mana* of Ueimua and claiming mana over his lands, Tūhoe Pōtiki consumed his brother's heart. Ueimua's people, who belong to the tribes Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Pukeko, fled from the lands but years later tried to reclaim the lands through various means. However, what is clear from *iwi* traditions is that when Tūhoe Pōtiki subsequently left for Kāwhia the *ahi kā* (burning fire) was maintained by his sons, Murakareke and Karetehe, and their subsequent descendants, who courageously defended the lands from Ueimua's descendants. These battles continued throughout Tūhoe's history and the rivalry between the respective descendants will be discussed later. The other reference to Tūhoe Pōtiki concerns his move to Kāwhia after marrying a woman from Ngāti Te Ata of Waikato, where he settled and eventually died. There are references stating that Tūhoe Pōtiki drowned at Kāwhia (Best 1972), whilst others state that he lived out his life there (Miles 1999)

Te Urewera

Te Urewera is the mountainous area located between Hawkes Bay in the east and the Bay of Plenty to the north in Te Ika a Māui. The western boundary is made up of the Ikawhenua-a-Tamatea range while Lake Waikaremoana defines the southern border. “The high backbone of the Urewera is the Huiarau range; and its spiritual

heart is Maungapohatu, the sacred plateau-mountain of the Tūhoe iwi” (Binney 2002a: 1-2). As stated earlier, Best (1972) described Tūhoe as really being Ngā Pōtiki. The original boundaries of Tūhoe were,

Maungapohatu to Nga Mahanga on the Whakatane River, and then westward to the watershed between the Whakatane and Rangitaiki rivers, whence it followed Te Ika-Whenua-a-Tamatea range to a point about a mile to the west of the Tarapounamu peak. From there the line ran to Maungataniwha, crossed the Waiau River, and followed the Huiarau Range to Whakataka, and thence to close the circuit at Maungapohatu (Best 1972: 17).

Over time the Urewera district expanded to include Waikaremoana, Papuni, Waimana, Rūātoki and Te Whaiti (Best 1972: 10). Apart from the flat viable lands in Waimana and Rūātoki the inland areas of Te Urewera are described by Best (1972: 8):

. . . it is extremely rough, broken, mountainous forest country. At Nga Mahanga are a few alluvial flats of very small area, but in any other part of the district it is rarely that a flat piece of land an acre in extent is seen. The district possessed no seacoast, nor did its boundaries approach in any way near the coast, until the time that the Waimana and Opouri-ao district were obtained by conquest.

Regardless of the rough terrain of the inner Urewera Tūhoe maintained their *kāinga* (homes) within the forest clad lands also known as Te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe. The forest is an extremely important part of Tūhoe's existence. Being a land locked people Tūhoe relied on trade of forest goods with coastal *iwi* such as Upokorehe at Ohiwa. As Hirini Melbourne notes (1987a: 16): “Tūhoe lifestyle in the past was governed by their forest environment. The forest was, and still is, an integral part

of Tūhoe life, culture and identity.” For Tūhoe, the forest contained more than sustenance, clothing and medicinal ingredients, it was a source of *mauri* (life essence) and this was protected by *tipua* (supernatural force) who were manifested in trees, rocks, birds or other features (Melbourne 1987a: 16). Tūhoe knew the whole forest and this was considered an essential part of Tūhoe identity. The synonymous relationship between Tūhoe and Te Urewera had early Pākehā believe that the people were as rough, harsh and inaccessible as their climate. This “. . . no doubt contributed to the inhospitable reputation the area acquired with Pakeha and ensured it remained isolated from European contact for so long” (Miles 1999: 6). This stereotyping continued into the 19th century when Tūhoe were considered to be as ‘primitive’ and as ‘savage’ as their landscape. Tūhoe’s isolation in their mountainous ranges created a shroud of mystery where Pākehā believed that Te Urewera was kept this way to harbour fugitives (Binney 2002a: 35).

By the mid-1860s, the Urewera was generally perceived as a region needing the imposition of European authority, that is, it needed ‘subjugation’. The fame of Tuhoe's fighters created the erroneous notion that their 'conquest' would provide a telling and much needed example to Maori as a whole (Binney 2002a: 36).

However, Te Urewera and its landscape features are an essential part of Tūhoe identity. These land features are *tipuna* and homage is paid to them in many *waiata*, *tauparapara* (incantation), *whaikōrero* and *pepeha*. The *waiata* ‘Whakawairangi’ composed by Te Moetūtāhuna, a *puhi* from Waimana, makes an analogous comparison of Maungapōhatu (the sacred mountain of Tūhoe) to her elderly lover’s (Te Ihuwaka) prowess at doing the *haka*.

*...Ko te puke i hakahaka ka pau te hāpai
Rite rawa i ngā hiwi ki Maungapōhatu,
Maunga tīpua rā, kai reia e te huka e...*

(Words from author's personal collection)

The analogy compares the strength of Te Ihuwaka as a performer (*Ko te puke i hakahaka ka pau te hāpai*) to that of the sacred mountain of Tūhoe, Maungapōhatu. This indicates the status she placed on Te Ihuwaka by comparing him to the sacred mountain of the people (*Rite rawa i ngā hiwi ki Maungapōhatu*). Furthermore, his age is indicated by the metaphor of the snow that falls upon the mighty mountain (*Maunga tīpua rā, kai reia e te huka e*). The numerous examples of references such as the one above, to landscape features of Te Urewera in Tūhoe, is indicative of the connection between Tūhoe as a people and their lands in Te Urewera.

The forest was the life source to Tūhoe for food and technological equipment. Tūhoe were not considered agricultural people and “ . . .were compelled to subsist almost entirely upon the products of forest and stream” (Best 1972: 8). In essence this meant that Tūhoe managed to sustain themselves on the products of the forests, where other *iwi* had burnt off large parts of their forests in order to cultivate foods. Apart from the flora of the forest, the bird life became an important resource to Tūhoe. The preservation of birds became a delicacy and was used in trade for commodities but also at *hākari* for important visitors (Miles 1999: 10). Te Urewera was primarily left untouched because Tūhoe saw the value in the forest as their life source.

Ngā pakanga o mua - Early battles to ensure mana as an iwi

As stated earlier, Best (1972) believed that Tūhoe was formed out of Ngā Pōtiki and such a view is supported by the descent of Tūhoe Pōtiki from Ngā Pōtiki and Te Tini o Toi. The development of Tūhoe as an *iwi* came about as a result of intermarriage between descendants. Subsequent generations saw the development of many *hapū* of Tūhoe. Best (1972: 214-215) names 58 *hapū*. In some cases the intermarriage with tribes who lay on the boundaries of Tūhoe allowed Tūhoe to claim occupation rights to those lands. However, the development of *hapū* occurred not only through intermarriage but through war between *hapū* as well. Throughout the history of Tūhoe there are numerous accounts of inter-tribal and inter-*hapū* warfare that impacted on the survival of some *hapū* and their occupational rights to land. This early establishment of Tūhoe as an *iwi* continued for generations and Best (1972: 356) believes, based on genealogical information, that Tūhoe as a people do not become more defined until the 18th century when the first dated accounts of Tūhoe appear.

Between 1800-1820 Tūhoe became involved in war with the bordering tribes, Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Pukeko, Ngāti Kahungunu and Te Arawa. During these wars Tūhoe consolidated Waikaremoana, Te Pāpuni, Waimana, Rūātoki and Te Whaiti. As a result of many of these battles marriages (*pākūhā*) were formed between Tūhoe and women of the aforementioned *iwi* in order to bring about peace but also to consolidate *ahi kā* rights. These marriages convinced Best (1972: 195) that they could "...almost be said to be almost one and the same people" (cited in Ballara 1998: 294).

One of the most feared of all Māori tribes during the 1800s was Ngā Puhi as they had obtained muskets. Ngā Puhi first entered the Bay of Plenty in 1818 when they began their attacks on Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Pūkeko “who retreated inland to, amongst other places, the Urewera district” (Miles 1999: 29). However, Tūhoe did not encounter the Ngā Puhi raiders. Pōmare returned to Te Urewera in 1822, but Tūhoe again eluded Ngā Puhi by moving south to assist in the battles against Ngāti Kahungunu and others, leaving Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Pūkeko to face the northern raiders again (Melbourne 1987a: 21). It was not until 1823 that Tūhoe encountered the strength of Ngā Puhi after Te Maitaranui (a Tūhoe chief) had traveled to ask Pōmare for his assistance in Tūhoe’s war with Ngāti Kahungunu (Milroy & Melbourne 1995: 36). Ngā Puhi stormed through Te Urewera, yet it appears that the main casualties of this war were Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Pūkeko and Ngāi Tai. Taking shelter at Maungapōhatu, Te Maitaranui recounted to Pōmare the *whakapapa* link between Tūhoe and Ngā Puhi through Toroa and Puhi and asked for peace between the *iwi*. Peace was forged and an alliance was drawn up that saw Ngā Puhi continue raiding other *iwi* but leave Tūhoe unharmed (Best 1972: 522-523).

The beginning of disempowerment - Early Pākehā relationships with Tūhoe

Tūhoe were never sought out to sign any of the copies of the Treaty of Waitangi that were being circulated throughout the country around 1840. The Bay of Plenty representative was James Fedarb who was employed by Gilbert Mair. It is not known whether Tūhoe were given the opportunity to sign the Treaty, but Fedarb's efforts saw only 26 signatures collected for the entire Bay of Plenty area. Anita Miles (1999: 72) states in her report to the Waitangi Tribunal that:

Hobson and Williams had urged Maori to consider the protections afforded them, their lands and property by signing the Treaty but Tūhoe would not have felt the need for British ‘protection’. They did not face the pressures concomitant with increased settler presence and the view that they retained ultimate authority over the ownership and control of their lands would have been unquestioned.

Whilst the Treaty of Waitangi did not come to Te Urewera this did not deter the missionaries. The entrance of the missionaries into Te Urewera is of more significance in Tūhoe history than the Treaty of Waitangi. “In his evidence given to the Urewera Commission in 1900, the Tuhoe elder Te Makarini Te Wharehuia (Makarini Tamarau) dated the arrival of Christianity to the Urewera as 1839” (Binney 2002a: 38). This date coincides with the arrival of John A Wilson, an Anglican missionary in Opotiki. However it is not until January of the following year that Wilson sent his preachers out to the Urewera (Binney 2002a: 36). William Williams and Reverend William Colenso both arrived in Te Urewera through Waikaremoana and Ruatāhuna, and eventually in 1842 the first church was built in Rūātoki.

The Government assimilationist policies were increasingly coming into force in New Zealand and one of the key agents were the Resident Magistrates. H.T. Clarke was the Resident Magistrate for the Bay of Plenty in 1859, however, Te Urewera did not fall under his jurisdiction. The first official visit to Te Urewera was by C Hunter Brown who was the magistrate for Wairoa in 1862. The purpose of his visit was to promote Governor Grey’s offer of *rūnanga* (councils) to Tūhoe. These *rūnanga* would be “self-governing Maori district councils with powers to determine land-titles, legislated for the previous year partly as a device to undercut the influence of the new Maori King, Potatau II” (Binney 2002a: 63). He was also

expected to collect information on the strength of Tūhoe should they rebel against government policies and on the viability of European settlement in the area (Binney 2002a: 63). Being isolated from other *iwi* Tūhoe held an advantaged position allowing them to observe the relationships between Māori and Pākehā at the time. This was apparent in the reproaches made to Brown during his visit. “Physical isolation afforded Tuhoe the privilege of learning from other tribes’ experiences and the majority of Tuhoe opinion shifted to oppose the intrusion of Pakeha and their acquisition of Maori land” (Miles 1999: 74). Tūhoe were aware of political incidents that were occurring to other *iwi*. During his promotion of the *rūnanga* system in Te Urewera Brown became aware that Tūhoe were very suspicious of the Government. Tūhoe expressed their opinion of the Taranaki war including the Waitara purchase. Cautiously, Tūhoe pledged some support for the proposed *rūnanga* system. This system was disbanded and was replaced by the Native Land Court (Binney 2002a: 71).

Fighting for the cause - Tūhoe's relationship to other iwi

Tūhoe initially supported the new Māori King, who had prompted such official anxieties, in 1856 at a *hui* at Pūkawa on the shores of Lake Taupo. Tūhoe supported the notion of Māori autonomy under Te Heuheu Iwikau of Tūwharetoa. However, he refused to take up the mantle of being the Māori King. Tūhoe pledged their support to Te Heuheu by attaching a *taura* (flax rope) symbolising Maungapōhatu to the flagpole called Tongariro (the sacred mountain of Tūwharetoa) at Pūkawa in 1857. However, Tūhoe did not affiliate themselves with the Kīngitanga (King movement) under Potatau of Waikato (Binney 2002a: 63-64).

The 1863 *New Zealand Settlements Act* had a huge impact on Tūhoe. This act would allow the Government to get access and ‘open up’ areas that settlers had not penetrated (Miles 1999: 110). Te Urewera was one area that had not been opened up to Pākehā settlement. This aspect of Te Urewera intrigued Pākehā and their desire to get access into this area became a driving force.

In 1864 Rewi Maniapoto, a *rangatira* from the King Country, called upon Tūhoe, to assist in the battle of Orākau. Participation in this battle became a point of discussion amongst *rangatira* in Tūhoe. Many *rangatira* were resistant to Rewi Maniapoto's request in case Imperial troops claimed Tūhoe lands during their absence in the King Country. Tūhoe discussed their commitment to the pact they had committed to at Pūkawa and agreed in principle that Tūhoe should send some representation to Orākau. Tūhoe sent a small delegation of approximately 50 men and women out of which 30 were killed. Initially the *rangatira*, Te Whenuanui, had stated his intention not to participate in the battle at Orākau, however, once the delegation left he changed his mind and went off to join them. On his return to Ruatāhuna Te Whenuanui was greeted by the widows of the men who had fallen at Orākau. These women performed a *manawawera* (type of chant) that described their anguish but also their anger at Te Whenuanui for returning alive from the battle at Orākau. This *manawawera* is still performed by Tūhoe:

*E hoki mai nei koe Te Whenuanui ki te aha
 Tē mate atu ai i te unuhanga o te puhi o Mātaatua
 Ka mahora ki te riu ki Waikato, ki te aroaro o Maniapoto
 I tangi ai te pū repo, ka tutū te puehu ki runga ki te rangi e tū mai nei.
 Ka turakina mai taku wao tōtara
 Ki Mahihirangi, ki Te Wairiko
 Ki ngā wai e rua ki Whakatāne, ki Rangitāiki*

*I tangi taukuri ai ngā pouaru
Auē, taku kuru pounamu e.*

(Words from author's personal collection)

The account given by the *rangatira* Paitini to Elsdon Best (1972) describes the nature of Tūhoe's participation at Orākau as being relentless. Even when Rewi Maniapoto seemed to have been defeated Tūhoe prompted him to continue and fight to the end (Binney 2002a: 81). This energy in battle fueled the reputation that Tūhoe were hard, persistent fighters and from that point on the Government carefully observed Tūhoe's movements.

Their relative territorial isolation, combined with the fact that they had given support, albeit on a limited scale, to Ngati Maniapoto's defence, turned Tuhoe into a provocative force of fighters in the mindset of the colonial governments. Those who had convinced themselves that Maniapoto's resistance to invasion was an act of rebellion against the Crown were equally convinced that Tūhoe's autonomy was potentially a threat to ordered European rule. Because Tuhoe had suffered no direct threat to their lands in 1864, from now on they would be assumed to be among the more dangerous Maori subjects of the Crown (Binney 2002a: 83).

Te Ua Haumene, from Taranaki, sent Patara Raukatauri and Kereopa Te Rau to the east of Te Ika a Māui to spread his Pai Mārire religion and to ask Hirini Te Kani a Takirau, *rangatira* of Uawa, to act as the religion's political leader (Binney 2002a: 85). Hirini Te Kani a Takirau refused to participate or act as their leader, but Raukatauri and Te Rau continued spreading the religion in the area. Raukatauri and Te Rau arrived in Ōpōtiki in 1865 and were explicitly instructed by Te Ua Haumene that they were not to cause disturbances with Pākehā in the area (Binney 2002a: 85). “Pakeha were extremely threatened by Pai Mārire or the ‘Hauhau

religion', in spite of its pacifist origins, and viewed adherence to the cult as synonymous with rebellion" (Miles 1999: 102).

Te Rau and Raukatauri were instrumental in stopping all shipping into the Bay of Plenty area. This was to try and prevent Reverend Carl Volkner from returning to Ōpōtiki. "Volkner was known by his own congregation, Te Whakatohea and by Ngati Awa leaders at Whakatane to be acting as a government informant for the region" (Binney 2002a: 86). With the support of members of Volkner's congregation, Raukatauri and Te Rau duped the minister into attending a meeting, where he met his fate (Binney 2002a: 87). The news of his death spread throughout the country and unnerved many settlers. There is no proof that Tūhoe were involved in the sanctioning or undertaking of this crime, but the Government assumed the 'stubborn fighters' of Tūhoe must have participated.

The Pākehā hysteria surrounding the murder of Volkner had not dissipated, when a few months after Volkner's death James Fulloon was murdered. James Te Mautaranui Fulloon had been commissioned to capture the murderers of Volkner. Fulloon, who could *whakapapa* into Tūhoe through his mother, had acted as a translator for C Hunter Brown during his journey to Te Urewera in 1862. Fulloon wrote to the Governor to request that he be given the task of capturing the murderers of Volkner, but his eagerness to ingratiate himself saw him and two of his crew members killed. Aware of the potential military backlash from the murders, Ngāti Awa wrote to the Governor to declare their innocence in the murders of Volkner and Fulloon. Wepiha of Ngāti Awa told the Government that his people were not involved in the murders and asked the Governor not to waste his time in the Ngāti Awa region. He wrote "...come not to Te Awa a Te Atua

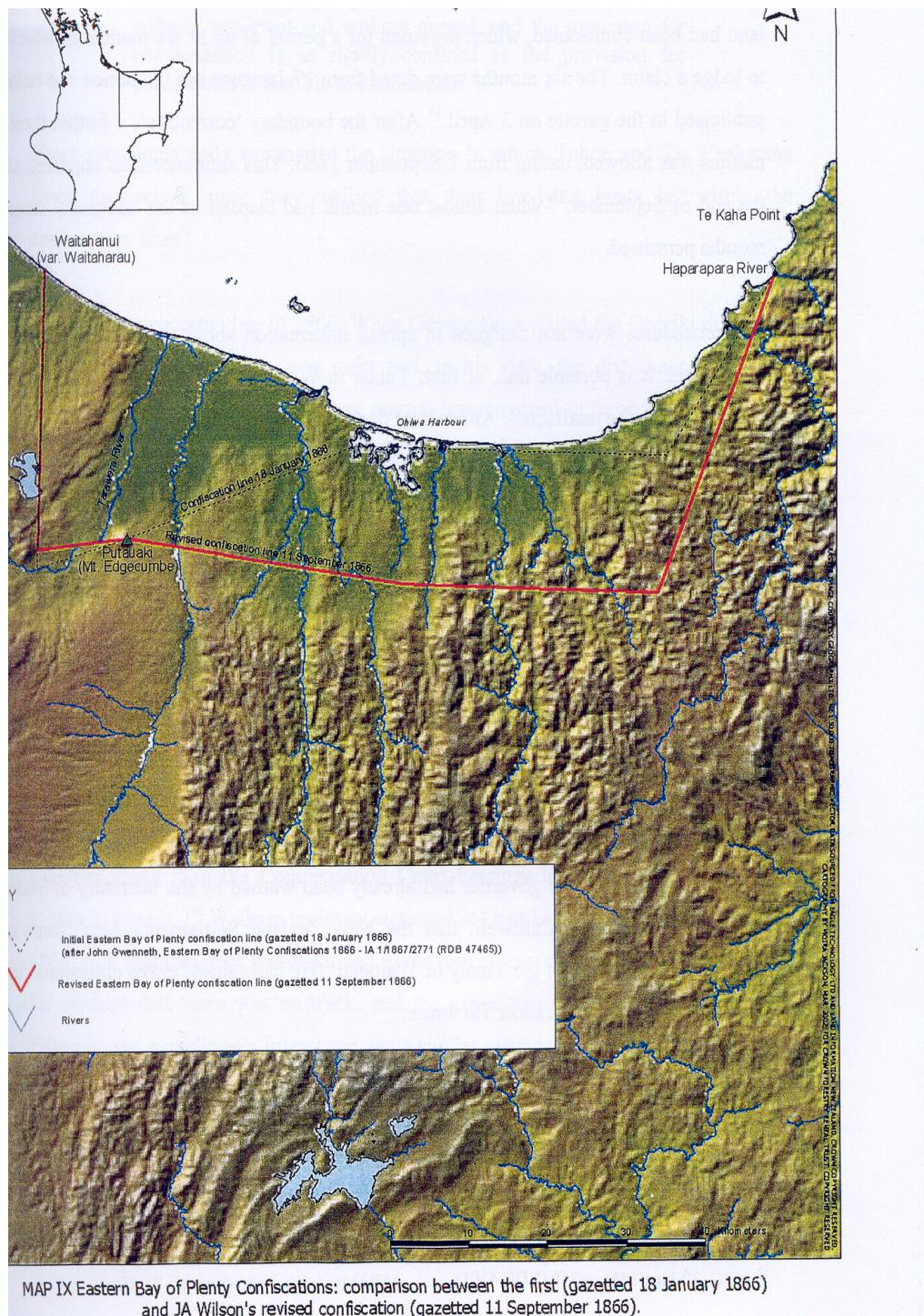
[Matata] nor to Whakatane nor to Ohiwa, go straight to Opotiki to the place which is blood guilty" (Binney 2002a: 90). By the end of 1865 all but Kereopa Te Rau had been killed or imprisoned for the murders of these men. At large, Kereopa Te Rau sought refuge in the interior parts of the Urewera, as he knew that Europeans feared to enter there.

Raupatu - the line is drawn

The continual raiding between tribes of the Mataatua (used to denote Bay of Plenty) area was only heightened by the trials for the murders of Volkner and Fulloon. Governor Grey planned to bring order and hopefully disband the Pai Mārire by using the *New Zealand Settlement Act 1863*. He declared that the lands in the Eastern Bay of Plenty were confiscated on 17 January 1866. The proclamation was subsequently amended on 1 September 1866 because the boundaries of the original were inaccurate:

The western boundary of the confiscation began at the mouth of the Waitahanui river at Otamarakau, ran south then eastward to the Tarawera River, bisected Putauaki (Mt Edgecumbe), crossed the Whakatane, Waimana, Waioeka, and Otara Rivers to take in the entire Whakatane, Ohiwa and Opotiki districts, then turned north-east, crossing the Motu River to the Haparapara River, in the Whanau a Apanui rohe (and included lands of Ngai Tai to the east of Opotiki) (Miles 1999: 112).

Figure 29: Map of the Eastern Bay of Plenty confiscations



(Binney 2002a: 124)

The lands that were confiscated in the Bay of Plenty were clearly the prime lands of the area. Specifically for Tūhoe the confiscated land encompassed all of their rich agricultural lands and the confiscation line forced them back to the untenable hills and valleys (Miles 1999: 112). The confiscation of land was part of the government's policy and was used to threaten Māori so as to 'tame' them. "This was a policy designed explicitly to divide Maori into loyal and rebel categories, and to force Maori to prove their 'loyalty' by acts, deeds, and a compulsory taking of the oath of allegiance to the Crown" (Binney 2002a: 106). The other key reason for enforcing the confiscation of land policy was to open up areas of Māori land, and in this case prime lands, for European settlers.

Tūhoe were prime candidates for the enforcement of this policy. They were still operating autonomously outside the Government's authority which did not reach as far as Te Urewera. For Europeans the landscape of dense bush and mountainous ranges still seemed mysterious, and a place of refuge for fugitives. The confiscation of their land allowed for the government to start opening up the Urewera and exposing and 'taming' the 'wild men' within (Binney 2002a: 106).

Tūhoe were informed that their lands had been confiscated because they were in rebellion against the Crown. The Government justification for the confiscation of the prime lands of Tūhoe was their involvement in the Battle of Orākau and the murders of Volkner and Fulloon. The alleged crimes against Tūhoe have yet to be proven. Their involvement in the Battle of Orākau, whilst minor cannot be denied. At the time Tūhoe took their grievances to the Compensation Court only to be unsuccessful in all their attempts. Unwilling to give up their land Tūhoe became divided over what approach they should take to gain back their *whenua*. Tamara

Waiari (who was also known as Te Makarini), returned to Puketi Pā in Opouriao, “...to prevent further incursions into Tūhoe territory by both the military and the settlers”(Milroy 1993: 500). Puketi Pā was the original *pā* of the eponymous ancestor Tūhoe Pōtiki. This political stance by Tūhoe in staking ownership to confiscated lands saw the removal and detainment of Te Makarini and his people in Whakatāne (Miles 1999: 164). According to Melbourne (1987a: 85), the government response to this action saw the end of Tūhoe’s cooperation with any government authority.

Tūhoe’s rebellious reputation was still considered a threat to the Government of the time and as a result many Government war expeditions entered into Te Urewera between 1866 and 1872. The Native Affairs Minister, Donald McLean, feared that Tūhoe would seek revenge for their losses at Orākau by attacking Napier. In January 1866 the first military expedition was sent in to Waikaremoana; however, Tūhoe living there escaped across the lake. Angered by the desertion of the people the military destroyed the homes and pillaged livestock and crops. “The expedition treated the Waikaremoana people and their villages as ‘rebels’, sacking and destroying property” (Binney 2002a: 111). Following this first attempt, a second expedition was sent in to Te Urewera. The militia consisted primarily of Māori loyalists including the notorious Ropata Wahawaha of Ngāti Porou. Donald McLean became frustrated with Tūhoe’s resistance to the fighting but also because he believed that Tūhoe was harbouring Kereopa Te Rau. This made him even more determined to open up Te Urewera. McLean stated that Te Whenuanui’s participation in the defence of these military invasions was the reason why Tūhoe had their lands taken from them (Binney 2002a: 113-114).

“Ko te mana tuatoru, ko te Mana Motuhake” - Tūhoe and Te Kooti

The presence of the prophet Te Kooti in Tūhoe’s history is important as it highlights the introduction of the Ringatū faith amongst Tūhoe. This religion founded by Te Kooti is still the most predominant religion of Tūhoe. When Te Kooti evaded capture by Government troops, Tūhoe were instrumental in protecting and hiding Te Kooti in Te Urewera. His influence on Tūhoe extended beyond his religious teaching of the Ringatū faith in so much that his *kupu whakaari* (prophetic sayings) remain an important component of Tūhoe oral history. Te Kooti was also a prolific composer of *waiata* and many of these songs are still sung by *iwi* who follow the Ringatū teachings. One such *waiata* that Te Kooti composed for Tūhoe is a *kupu whakaari* forecasting the future of Tūhoe in respect to their land. The *waiata* is classed as a *waiata tohutohu* (song of instruction) that is to guide Tūhoe in their decisions regarding their lands:

Kāore te pō nei mōrikarika noa!
Te ohonga ki te ao, mapu kau noa ahau
Ko te mana tuatahi ko te Tiriti o Waitangi
Ko te mana tuarua ko te Kooti Whenua
Ko te mana tuatoru ko te Mana Motuhake;
Ka kīa i reira ko te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe
He rongo ka houhia ki a Ngāti Awa
He kino anō rā ka ata kitea iho
Ngā mana Māori ka mahue kei muri!
Ka uru nei au ki te mahi Kaunihera
E rua aku mahi e noho nei au
Ko te hanga i ngā rori, ko te hanga i ngā tiriti!
Pūkohu tairi ki Pōneke rā,
Ki te kāinga rā i noho ai te Minita
Ki taku whakaaro ka tae mai te Poari
Hai noho i te whenua e Kootitia nei;
Pa rawa te mamae ki te tau o taku ate
E te iwi nui e tū ake ki runga rā
Tirohia mai rā te hē o aku mahi
Māku e kī atu 'Nōhia, nōhia!'
Nō mua iho rā, nō ngā kaumātua

*Nā taku ngākau i kimi ai ki te Ture
 Nō konei hoki au i kino ai ki te hoko!
 Hī! Hai aha te hoko!*

(Words from author's personal collection)

This *waiata* contained prophetic notions of the fate of Tūhoe with particular reference to their lands. In the opening lines Te Kooti is troubled by the visions of a dream which revealed three powers. The first (line 3) he describes as being the Treaty of Waitangi, the second (line 4) is the Native Land Court, and the third (line 5) is *Mana Motuhake*. Ultimately these will determine the boundaries of Tūhoe (line 6). In the tenth line Te Kooti describes the different councils that will enter into Te Urewera for surveying and road building. This became a large issue for Tūhoe and will be examined within this chapter. In line 13 Te Kooti metaphorically describes Tūhoe having to go to the Government in Wellington to determine the administration of lands in Te Urewera. Te Kooti's final instruction to Tūhoe is to hold strong and not sell the land. This brief description of the above *waiata* shows the prophetic ability of Te Kooti, which led to Tūhoe's belief in his instructions.

The relationship that Tūhoe forged with the prophet Te Kooti confirmed the Government views that Tūhoe were rebels. Te Kooti's influence spread widely and he assisted in the raids at Whakatane in 1869. "The military alliance of Tuhoe with Te Kooti, woven in February-March 1869, was the direct consequence of successive government actions" (Binney 2002a: 192). Te Kooti also assisted in the eventual capture of Kereopa Te Rau in 1871 by Tūhoe *rangatira* Te Whiu Maraki. Te Whiu Maraki surrendered Kereopa Te Rau into the hands of Ropata Wahawaha who collected the £1000 bounty that had been placed on the captive's head yet

failed to share it with Te Whiu Maraki (Binney 2002a: 256). Regardless of Tūhoe's association in the capture of Kereopa Te Rau, the Government still did not accept that Tūhoe had not participated in the murders of Volkner and Fulloon. Between 1866 and 1872 there were six major military expeditions (including loyalist Māori parties) into Te Urewera searching for Kereopa Te Rau and Te Kooti.

Reclaiming mana whenua

When Te Kooti left Te Urewera for the King Country in 1872, Tūhoe began to reassess their political structure. At a *hui* (gathering) on the 7-9 June 1872 Te Whitu Tekau, the Union of the Seventy, was established at Ruatāhuna. "By so doing the hapu were consciously re-asserting their authority and expressing confidence in their own capacity to govern their lands collectively" (Binney 2002a: 271). Te Whitu Tekau informed Donald McLean of their existence and described the land boundaries of Tūhoe, including the lands that had been confiscated. The Government saw the collective group as potentially being a hostile one and refused to acknowledge Te Whitu Tekau as being the authority for Te Urewera. In an attempt to disband the group the Government tried to bribe members away from the collective with money (Binney 2002a: 271).

One of the main issues of contention for Te Whitu Tekau was the Native Land Court and the surveying for the development of roads within their boundaries. As a result Tūhoe took physical control of their lands and each constituent chief of Te Whitu Tekau was responsible for guarding their boundaries (Miles 1999: 195). Trespass notices were erected on the confiscation line, which read "*Hai arai i te pakeha me ana mahi* – to keep off the white man and his works" (O'Malley 1998: 217). Throughout their existence Te Whitu Tekau sent petitions to the Government

over the return of confiscated lands. Tūhoe continued to protest against the confiscation of their lands and the unjust way the Government had acquired those lands.

The Government believed that the only way to ‘open up Te Urewera’ would be to send in surveyors to draw up a road. Te Whitu Tekau agreed to oppose selling/leasing of land and road building within the boundaries. One of the main stands of Te Whitu Tekau was to show that traditional lore of the Māori could be upheld and the *rangatiratanga* over the lands be left with Tūhoe. The *rangatira* of Ngāti Koura, Te Makarini Te Wharehuia, stated that, “This is why all the lands of the people are lost; they consent to the laws of the Government” (cited in Miles 1999: 194). These statements supported the philosophies of Te Whitu Tekau. Reclaiming *mana whenua* meant retaining their unique culture and not falling into those philosophies of the Pākehā government. However, Tūhoe were poor and Donald McLean offered Tūhoe the contracts for road construction.

Within Tuhoe at this time, the question of roading took on an acute political aspect; roads were a demonstrable physical reminder that the eastern Bay of Plenty was not as isolated from Europeans as it had once been, in either the geographic or the political sense (Miles 1999: 198).

Just as Te Kooti had described in his *waiata* “*Kāore te pō nei mōrikarika noa*” roading became an issue of discontent amongst Tūhoe. Just as the *waiata* foretold to Tūhoe that Pākehā would enter into Te Urewera the *waiata* also instructed Tūhoe about the three types of *mana*. In today’s effort to seek retribution for these past injustices Tūhoe has had to use the first two types of *mana* suggested by Te Kooti to claim their lands in an effort to eventually claim the *mana motuhake* over their

lands. In one of the petitions of Te Whitu Tekau sent by Kereru (a chief of Ngati Rongo) the latter made the following point to the Government of the time, which remains the core of Tūhoe's current Waitangi Tribunal claim today:

I and the ture will be strong enough to move the line. I shall carry it to Auckland, to Wellington, and even to the other side of the water. I shall be right because the law is on my side. The Government stole the land. They have made restitution at Turanga [Poverty Bay]. The Government said they took the land for our fault: we never committed any fault (AJHR 1874, G-1A 4-5 cited in Binney 2002a: 302).

Tūhoe continued making petitions to the Government about their rights to the confiscated lands, but the government saw the guerilla tactics practised by some of the chiefs as rebelling against the Crown. Tamaikoha, a *rangatira* from Waimana, vehemently protected his lands from surveyors and road builders and erected notices on his boundaries that stated that the “trespasser will become relish for my food” (Melbourne 1987a: 102)

Disputes began to arise between leaseholders of confiscated lands and *rangatira* of Te Whitu Tekau. Te Mākarini warned the leaseholders that if their livestock crossed over the confiscation line and entered into the Tūhoe area “he should take his patu to kill cows, ehara i te patu tangata [but not people]” (Wilson 1874: 17 cited in Binney 2002a: 325). In 1875 Captain Fergusson alongside William Kelly formed the Whakatane Cattle Company after buying up military allotments in Opouriao (the confiscated land area). The Cattle Company expanded by leasing lands close to the confiscation line from Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Pūkeko (Binney 2002a: 340). In order to show the seriousness of Te Whitu Tekau, Te Makarini Te Wharehuia impounded Fergusson's cattle, an action that had also been carried out

the previous year by another *rangatira*, Te Ahikaiata (Binney 2002a: 341). In response to these actions the Government punished Tūhoe again by awarding Puketi, the ancestral pa of Tūhoe Potiki, to loyalist Ngati Pukeko. Donald McLean eventually resolved matters between the Whakatāne Cattle Company and Tūhoe.

The “Acts” of deception - Tūhoe and Government

The Government continued to pressure Tūhoe into allowing surveyors into Te Urewera to construct roads. In the meantime Te Whitu Tekau continued to petition the Government for the return of the confiscated lands. In 1882 applications were lodged for surveying in the Waimana Valley (Sissons 1991: 88). This surveying aided the Native Land Court to assign titles to blocks of land. Te Whitu Tekau opposed the Native Land Courts because individual ownership of land through titles went against traditional land tenure. Surveying would ultimately cost the tribe, many of whom would have to sell the land to pay for the surveyor.

In 1894 the Premier, Richard Seddon, and the Minister of Native Affairs, Sir James Carroll, spent time travelling through the North Island to discuss the proposed Native Land Act. Their tour took them into Te Urewera as “Seddon and Carroll were concerned that Government legislation did not appear to extend into the Urewera and that Tūhoe clearly considered themselves to be autonomous” (Webster 1979: 125). The issues of surveying and land titles became the basis of discussion between Seddon, Carroll and Tūhoe. Tūhoe stated clearly that they did not want surveying to continue within Te Urewera as not only was it expensive but there were fears that lands would be lost in the surveying. Seddon did offer a low cost and independent surveyor to Tūhoe to alleviate the latter’s anxieties. However, Carroll explained to Tūhoe that the only way to secure their lands was to go

through the Native Land Court, as Committees² did not have the backing of the law (AJHR 1895: 90). As stated earlier, Te Whitu Tekau opposed the Native Land Court, however, Tūhoe continued to claim that their lands were to be controlled by a Tūhoe Committee. This would give Tūhoe the right to adjudicate and be self determining over their own lands and, more importantly, this would allow Tūhoe to define their traditional land boundaries. This position was held throughout the meeting and Tūhoe were invited to discuss these issues further in Wellington. Seddon had believed after leaving Rūātoki that he had finally managed to get Tūhoe to obey ‘British rule’, thus becoming loyal subjects. By contrast, Tūhoe believed that the government was finally prepared to listen to Tūhoe’s requests (Miles 1999: 260). However, continued entry by unauthorised surveyors into Te Urewera in 1895 saw Tūhoe mount a campaign of resistance. Government artillery troops were sent in to assist the surveyors. Seddon was angered that his new ‘loyal subjects’ were protesting against his surveyors. Tūhoe on the other hand were against surveying. They had not been reassured by Seddon’s comments at their earlier meeting and prepared for a large-scale war. However, it was Carroll’s ability to mediate between the parties that stopped the imminent battle.

In September 1895 a delegation of Tūhoe arrived in Wellington to meet with the Government. In light of the tension between Tūhoe, the government troops and surveyors, the discussion focused on the issue of land control in Te Urewera. Tūhoe presented their case to the Premier and Carroll standing firmly against the Native Land Court’s role in deciding land titles. The compromise outcome was to

² “Maori committees, often adaptations of traditional runanga, were one obvious and important means by which Maori could attempt to retain some form of collective cohesion in the face of settler and Crown efforts to undermine the tribal basis of Maori society...Another primary function of some committees was to act as an alternative to the Native Land Court, adjudicating on land titles and settling boundary disputes” (O’Malley 1998: 11-12).

establish a Tūhoe committee to determine land ownership titles. After extensive discussion Seddon presented The 1896 Urewera District Native Reserve Act to the House of Representatives. This act was passed on 12 October of the same year and “The long title of the Act was ‘An Act to make provision as to the Ownership and Local Government of Native Lands in the Urewera District’” (Miles 1999: 275). The Act had incorporated aspects of the discussions held between Tūhoe and Carroll. This Act turned Te Urewera into a reserve that fell outside the jurisdiction of the *Native Reserves Act* 1882 and the Native Land Court of 1894. The Act formed a committee of seven, five of whom had to be representatives of Tūhoe. The committee’s purpose was to investigate the ownership of blocks, as defined in accordance with existing *hapū* boundaries where possible. According to Vincent O’Malley (1998: 230), Tūhoe believed that this Act provided them with the power of self-governance. However, for many it was a means of pacifying Tūhoe for another purpose. The Tūhoe representation on this committee was short lived, as the Government believed that there was a conflict of interest for the Tūhoe committee members. This eventually enabled the Government to seize control over the lands by determining the ownership titles.

The lands that were considered to be under the *Urewera District Native Reserve Act* 1896 clashed with some of the claims that were taken to the Native Land Courts. These issues were dealt with under the *Urewera District Native Reserve Amendment Act* of 1900. However the amendment stipulated that the Urewera Commission would have to use lease money to pay for further surveying. In the original Act, the Government was to take care of all costs. Tūhoe was unaware of this amendment and were horribly shocked on discovering it.

By the turn of the century Tūhoe were feeling more vulnerable to the onslaught of Government policy, with Tūhoe's perceived autonomy steadily undermined by these policies. Many chiefs had decided that the old isolationist tactics of retreating into Te Urewera was a better option. Rua Kenana, a self-claimed prophet, who established a new community under his leadership at Maungapohatu, encouraged these isolationist tactics. Rua Kenana became a formidable force and played a significant part in Tūhoe's history. Rua's actions forced Sir James Carroll to draw up the *Tohunga Suppression Act* in 1907. Carroll and other Māori Ministers of the Crown, such as Sir Apirana Ngata, believed that Rua was nothing but a charlatan and was leading Tūhoe back into the past. Clearly, to these individuals Rua's philosophy and attitudes represented a challenge to their efforts at cooperating with the Government, and to use orthodox legal structures to improve the situation of Maori. Yet one could argue that Rua's stand resulted from the ineffectiveness of the Urewera Land Committees set up as a result of the *Urewera Native Reserve Amendment Act*. The formation of the Stout-Ngata Commission prompted more amendments to the *Urewera District Native Reserve Amendment Act* in 1909. Ngata assured Parliament that section 8 was "for the purpose of promoting settlement on their lands by the Natives themselves" (NZPD 1909: 1386).

Battered and bruised - Te Urewera is opened up and Tūhoe suffers as a result

In 1907, as result of the *Mining Act* of 1905, the Government, who believed that there was gold in the district, finally opened up Te Urewera. This saw the end of official resistance against Pakeha influences. With the opening up of Te Urewera the isolation tactics that had once been deployed by the people as a means of retaining their sovereignty finally ended. The open access to their lands hit Tūhoe very hard in light of the economic pressure of the time. The confiscated lands of

1866 were the prime lands of Tūhoe, and the early part of the 20th century saw established Pakeha farmers reaping the agricultural benefits of these lands. Food sources were minimal in the Urewera and many harsh frosts killed the small plantations that fed the tribe. Like many other Maori communities Tūhoe suffered from the epidemics of influenza and measles which raged throughout the late 1890s. In 1897 at a *tangi* of one of the victims, Tūtakangahau (who was a major informant to Elsdon Best), stated that

. . . I see before me O friends, the end of the Maori people. They will not survive. We can see plainly that out people are fast going from the earth. We have discarded our laws of tapu and trample upon our mana Maori . . . The Maori is passing away and Pakeha steps into his place (Craig 1964: 78).

The economic climate of Tūhoe had always been dismal and this was noted by Seddon during his visits throughout Te Urewera where he saw Tūhoe “living in absolute poverty, not having sufficient food, not having the comforts they ought to have” (Miles 1999: 371). However, Tūhoe’s poverty became more apparent with the opening up of Te Urewera to Pākehā as the former was unprepared for the economic development and health epidemics of the world that lay outside Te Urewera. As the last section of New Zealand to become colonised, Tūhoe suffered the ordeals that other Māori had overcome decades earlier. Their isolation from colonisation had not prepared Tūhoe for such an onslaught of change. With high mortality rates due to epidemics some Tūhoe believed that they should sell their land interests, as they believed that there was no future as an *iwi* (Miles: 1999: 371). Reduced to living in the untenable parts of their lands because of Crown confiscations Tūhoe had to make do with what was given to them. With little capital to sustain an economy, land began to be sold to gain capital to fund farming

in the area. However, due to the lack of farming experience attempts by some Tūhoe to establish themselves were unsuccessful (Campbell 1997: 20-21).

The Crown had successfully opened up the last remaining part of Aotearoa/New Zealand for European settlement and acquired the majority of the lands. The *Urewera District Native Reserve Act* of 1896 which Tūhoe had been convinced would aid their cause had eventually been the source of their demise. Their support for *Mana Motuhake*, though sometimes violent, plagued their future of becoming an economically sound *iwi*. Restricted to only small untenable areas of the Urewera Tūhoe were forced into poverty by the limited access to fertile lands to grow crops. All the prime lands of Tūhoe had been confiscated or acquired by the Crown. Tūhoe's efforts to reclaim their *mana* had finally been stripped away. Pākehā had broken through Tūhoe's defence and this left Tūhoe vulnerable to the new world (Pākehā) that they were totally unprepared for.

Conclusion

This brief historical outline of Tūhoe has described many of the concepts that have been covered in Part II off this thesis. The spiritual connection that Tūhoe have with their *whenua* is linked to their *whakapapa* dating to the primal parent Ranginui. Tūhoe have always acknowledged their rights to the land through their declaration “*Nā Toi rāua ko Pōtiki te whenua, nā Tūhoe te rangatiratanga.*” This declaration acknowledges the source of their existence as an *iwi* but also the *mana* that they have as a people. Furthermore, this spiritual connection is sourced in Te Urewera. It is the boundaries of Te Urewera that provide Tūhoe with their geographical features that make up their identity. The forest is an essential part of this identity as Tūhoe relied on this resource as their life source.

As the *whakataukī* that heads this chapter illustrates, Tūhoe were renowned for their ability at warfare. This is recorded in the numerous battles they entered into against other *iwi*. This characteristic appeared to influence Pākehā ideas about the make up of Tūhoe. The inaccessibility of Te Urewera heightened the exaggerated mysteries that Pākehā conjured up of Tūhoe, and left them with a sense of trepidation about the people. This curiosity became one of the reasons why the government tried to open up Te Urewera and civilise the ‘savages’ contained within. The other reason was their desire to acquire the prime lands of Tūhoe.

Tūhoe observed the political movements of other *iwi* and offered their support where they could. This showed that at the time of a general move towards Māori nationalism, Tūhoe supported the notion but for other *iwi* not themselves. Tūhoe believed that they had maintained their autonomy and that the other Māori movements did not apply to them. Tūhoe supported where they could and this included the establishment of the Kīngitanga and the battle of Orākau. However, the murders of both Volkner and Fulloon became the excuse the Government had been waiting for to confiscate the Bay of Plenty lands.

Despite the Crown confiscations, Tūhoe maintained the *mana* of their *whenua*. Forced off the confiscated land, Tūhoe protected the rest of the lands by displaying their protestations on the confiscation line preventing any entry into Te Urewera. Te Kooti became very influential amongst Tūhoe at the time and his prophecies became a part of Tūhoe lore. Another form of reclaiming *mana* over the *whenua* was the establishment of Te Whitu Tekau. This united the numerous *hapū* of Tūhoe to petition the Government for the return of their *whenua*. Te Whitu Tekau opposed both the Native Land Court and surveyors and believed that Tūhoe should

determine land titles and not Pākehā. Eventually Acts of Parliament were passed to placate Tūhoe, but over time the Acts became a veil of deception that would cost Tūhoe their right to have autonomous control over their *whenua*. As a result of these tactics Tūhoe retreated further into Te Urewera, adopting their old isolationist tactics. However, by the time Pākehā gained control over Te Urewera Tūhoe were not prepared as a people for the new world this brought with it.

Tūhoe “has pleased the underworld” in their efforts to maintain their *whenua*. The warrior characteristic is more than appropriate when describing this *iwi*. As Te Urewera was the last area of New Zealand to be opened up to Pākehā, Tūhoe became the last *iwi* to be colonised. Tūhoe fought to reclaim *mana* over their confiscated lands, and to retain their *mana* over the remainder of their lands. This battle continues today with the impending Waitangi Tribunal claim (WAI 36). The extent that Tūhoe went to exhibit their *mana* signifies how important *whenua* is in relation to the identity of this people. Though stripped of this by the Government, Tūhoe remains one of the proudest and staunchest *iwi* in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Part III

IDENTITY

He Tānga Ngutu, He Tūhoetanga

Introduction

Part III of this thesis will introduce five Tūhoe women who have received *moko kauae*. These women share their personal journeys to illustrate the different elements that were described in both Part I and II. They will describe how the processes they undertook were premised on their personal political beliefs. Furthermore, all of these women considered that the basis of their *moko kauae* is their identity and, more specifically, their Tūhoe identity.

Chapter 10 - *Ko Taku Moko Kauae Tēnei* focuses on an exploration of the research participants' individual journeys towards obtaining their *moko kauae*, which provides a link between their experiences and those aspects of *tā moko/moko kauae* that were discussed in Part I - Tangata of this thesis.

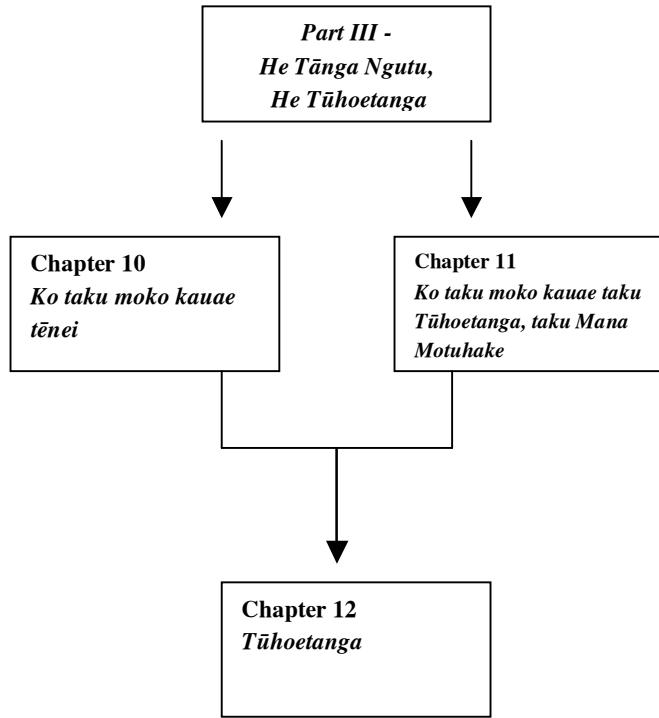
Chapter 11 - *Ko Taku Moko Kauae Taku Tūhoetanga, Taku Mana Motuhake* examines the identity politics behind the research participants' desire to receive *moko kauae*. This will describe their personal political influences, how people react to the *moko kauae*, the identity politics of the *hapū* and/or *whānau* and the influence of the political party, Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe.¹ All of these women link their *moko kauae* to their identity and their Tūhoetanga. Furthermore, Tūhoetanga provided the basis of their decision to acquire *moko kauae* because it relates to the identity politics of the past, as a symbol for the future.

Chapter 12 - *Tūhoetanga* analyses identity politics from the global level (Māoritanga) to the local level (*iwitanga*), and how Indigenous people perceive

¹ The members of this group focus on the politics that affect the whole of Tūhoe as a tribe.

their identity. This chapter will provide different models that can be applied to Māori identity. These models have been founded on Indigenous ideas, beliefs and worldviews and can be applied to all levels of identity from global, to the local (*whānau* and *hapū*). This chapter uses one of the models to illustrate Tūhoetanga and describes the different characteristics that make the people who identify with this group unique. These characteristics have been described by the Tūhoe descendants themselves and complement the narratives of the women from the previous two chapters.

These chapters draw together the different elements from both Parts I and II to show how *moko kauae* is related to the identity of the individual. The processes of *tā moko* that were described in Part I are discussed by these women to illustrate how this art has developed over time through the influence of technological and societal changes. Furthermore, these chapters describe the deep relationship people share with the *whenua* as a basis for their identity. This relationship was introduced in Part II and will be developed further in these chapters to demonstrate the correlation between *moko kauae*, *whenua* and how they relate to identity politics. The layout of Part III is detailed in the following diagram:

Figure 30: Layout of Part III

This diagram represents how the different elements that are discussed by the women who participated in this research ultimately join together to support their stand that their *moko kauae* is a representation of their identity and, more importantly, of their *Tūhoetanga*.

Chapter Ten

Ko taku moko kauae tēnei
This is my moko kauae

This chapter will introduce five Tūhoe women who have gone through the process of acquiring a *moko kauae*. They represent a cross section of the women who have acquired *moko kauae* within Tūhoe. Each woman's journey is unique. The focus of this chapter will be an exploration of their individual journey towards obtaining their *moko kauae* which provides a link between their experiences and those aspects of *tā moko/moko kauae* that were discussed in Part I - Tangata of this thesis. This will be examined by allowing these women to describe the following parts of their personal journeys:

- A personal introduction
- The decision making stage
- The tattooing process
- The meanings behind their *moko kauae*

This chapter will outline their shared experience yet highlight that each individual's journey was significantly different from the others. These narratives reflect the thoughts and beliefs of these women who have acquired a *taonga* of the past as a symbol for the future generations. All narratives provided by these women will be indicated by italics and indented throughout the chapter. This chapter will also explore whether in light of advanced technology and societal beliefs these women's experiences differed from their ancestors of the *uhi* and *ngira moko kauae* periods.

He moko kauae nō Tūhoe

Hinepau Toko (Hinepau) is the eldest of her family; she is from Te Māhurehure *hapū* in Rūātoki and resides at the Rewarewa Kaumātua Flats. She is currently working with Te Kaokao Takapau, a Māori health organisation that provides services to the Eastern Bay of Plenty. Her particular focus is in the area of *mirimiri* (massage) and she spends time visiting *kaumātua* ensuring that they receive this treatment.

I was born in Rotorua, my mother's from there and her father's from Ngā Puhi. There I've got three iwi, Tūhoe, Te Arawa and Ngā Puhi. See that's the area (Ngā Puhi) I don't know and I probably would like to know one day but at this moment I'm so absorbed with Tūhoe. It's awesome and I'm still absorbing it because it's just heaven. The whakapapa are here and there's still a lot to learn (Hinepau Toko, Personal Interview: 24/07/02).

Hinepau spent most of her life living outside of Tūhoe. Whilst Hinepau's *whakapapa* connections extend into other *iwi* but the *iwi* she chooses to identify with primarily is Tūhoe. Her return to Rūātoki has been a spiritual return to her roots and a journey of self-discovery.

Mihi McLeod (Mihi) is currently a tutor at the Anamata Private Training Establishment in Whakatāne. Raised by her grandparents at Te Arimāwhao near Wairoa, Mihi grew up being more akin to her Ngāti Kahungunu side. However, recently Mihi has been reestablishing her linkages with Tūhoe.

Ko Takitimu te waka, ko Titirangi te maunga, ko Waiau te awa. Ko Kahungunu te iwi. Ko Tamaterangi te hapū, ko Rangiāhua te marae. Huri atu ki te taha o tōku koroua, ko Mataatua te waka. Ko Maungapōhatu te maunga. Ko Tamakaimoana te hapū. Ko Tauranga te awa. Ko Tūhoe te iwi. Ko Mihi ahau. I whānau mai ahau i raro i tērā o ōku maunga ki te taha o tōku whaea, a Whakapunake. Ko tōku nei tipuna ko Ruatuahine i āwhina tōku whaea ki te whānau mai i ahau. Kei konā hoki tōku nei pito e tanu ana. Ko ahau te mataamua o te whānau o Te Tauri rāua ko Kapotahituahine. 14 mātou i roto i tōku whānau, tokowhitu he wahine, tokowhitu he tāne. I tēnei wā tokorua kua whiti atu ki tua o te ārai. I tipu ahau i roto i ngā parirau o ōku tīpuna, arā, ngā mātua o tōku nei pāpā. I tētahi wāhi e kī ana ko Te Arimāwhao. He kāinga tēnei kei roto i te rohe o te Wairoa, tata ana ki te marae o Rangiāhua. I tīmata ahau i te kura Māori o Rangiāhua. 23 ngā tamariki i taua wā i haere ki tērā kura. I taku nei tīmatanga i te kura, kore rawa tōku reo Pākehā, engari kāore e roa ka mea mai tōku kuia, e hia atu ngā wā ka hoki au ki te kāinga e mea ana, e toto ana ōku waewae mai i ngā patutanga o te māhita mō te kōrero i te reo. Ka mea atu taku kuia ki ahau me mutu te kōrero i te reo kia pai ai taku haere ki te kura me taku hopu i ngā tikanga o tauiwi. Engari mō te kura noa iho tērā, pai tonu te kōrero i te reo i te kāinga.

Ka haere ahau ki te ‘Rock College’ o Wairoa mō ngā tau e whā, mutu ana i konā nā te kore pūtea a ōku mātua, ka mea atu ki ahau me mutu, me haere ahau ki te mahi ki te āwhina i te whānau. Ko te mahi a tōku nei pāpā i taua wā he kutikuti hipi. Ko au tana tonotono, he tunu kai. 16 ōku tau ka haere ki te mahi i Te Whanganui a Tara. Ko taku mahi tuatahi he haere ki te tuitui kaka mō tētahi Pākehā i Porirua He whare nui tōna mō te hanga kākāhu. Nā taku poto rawa

kāore au e taea te tū hei mannequin [laughter] hei whakaatu i ngā kākāhu. I taku taehanga ki Te Whanganui a Tara i mate au i te mokemoke. Ko tōku wāhi noho ko tētahi whare mō ngā kōtiro Māori i haramai i waho o Te Whanganui a Tara, arā ko Pendennis. Ko ngā kaitiaki o te whare rā i ahu mai i Nūhaka. Kāore au i noho, kāore au i te tino tau ki ērā mahi, ka haere au ki tētahi tari typing. I te ngau tonu ahau i te mokemoke. Ka piki au ki runga i te tereina hoki tōtika ki te kāinga. Kāore au i kōrero ki tōku rangatira mahi. Ka mea mai taku māmā kei te aha ahau, kāore au i te hoki “He aha ai?” Kāore au i te hiahia. He wāhi makariri, kāore e awhina i a koe, ahakoa i haere ahau ki te taha o ētahi Māori me tētahi atu rōpū Māori, ko Ngāti Pōneke. Engari kāore au i te tino rata. Ā muri i tērā ka whai haere ahau i ētahi atu mahi, ā, tae atu ki Ahuriri mahi ai. E 23 ūku tau ka tutaki ahau i taku tāne. E rua pea ngā tau ka puta mai tā māua mataamua. Whai muri ko a māua tama e rua. Ka pakeke haere rātou ka hūnuku mai mātou ki Whakatāne i Ahuriri. Ko te mahi a taku tāne ko te mira o Whakatāne. Ko tana mahi he tohunga mīhini me kī Engineer. Ko tāku i taua wā he tiaki i ngā tamariki. E ono pea ngā tau o taku pōtiki ka whai wā ahau ki te haere ki te mahi. Nā te iti o te pūtea ka whakaaro ahau me haere ki te kimi i tētahi atu mahi (Mihi McLeod, Personal Interview: 25/07/02).

Mihi is the oldest woman who participated in this research. She affiliates to both Ngāti Kahungunu and Tūhoe. Mihi was raised primarily with her Kahungunu people (at Te Arimāwhao, near Rangiāhua in the Wairoa district), and she acknowledges that this is where her *pito* (umbilical cord) is buried. This indicates her affinity to this side of her *whakapapa*. For Mihi she is rediscovering her Tūhoe connections even though she is aware of her *whakapapa* links. She is also the eldest

of 14 siblings. Mihi's personal introduction describes how when she enrolled at school she was unable to speak English and how she was punished at school for speaking *te reo*. After High School Mihi entered the work force, firstly assisting her father who was a shearer. Later she moved to Wellington as a seamstress. However, Mihi yearned to return home, as she did not like living in Wellington even though she associated with other Māori through Ngāti Pōneke (a urban Māori group located in Wellington). She found new employment in Napier where she also met and married her husband. After she had her three children Mihi and her family moved to Whakatāne when her husband gained employment at the mill as an engineer. When her youngest child turned six, Mihi decided she needed to find a job.

Tangimoe Clay is a successful artist and businesswoman in Ōpōtiki. Her art gallery 'Tangata Whenua' produces quality Māori art much of which she creates or commissions local Māori artists to provide for her gallery.

Ko Mataatua te waka

Ko Whakatōhea te iwi

Ko Te Rere te marae

Ko te Iringa te tupuna whare

My father is Te Urukeia Titoko from Tūhoe, and my grandfather was Te Horipai.

My uncles Taiapa and Tauha are still living in Tāneatua. My mother is actually from Gisborne but she was brought up on our Whakatōhea side. I assign my artistic ability from my Tūhoe side but my business side is from my Whakatōhea

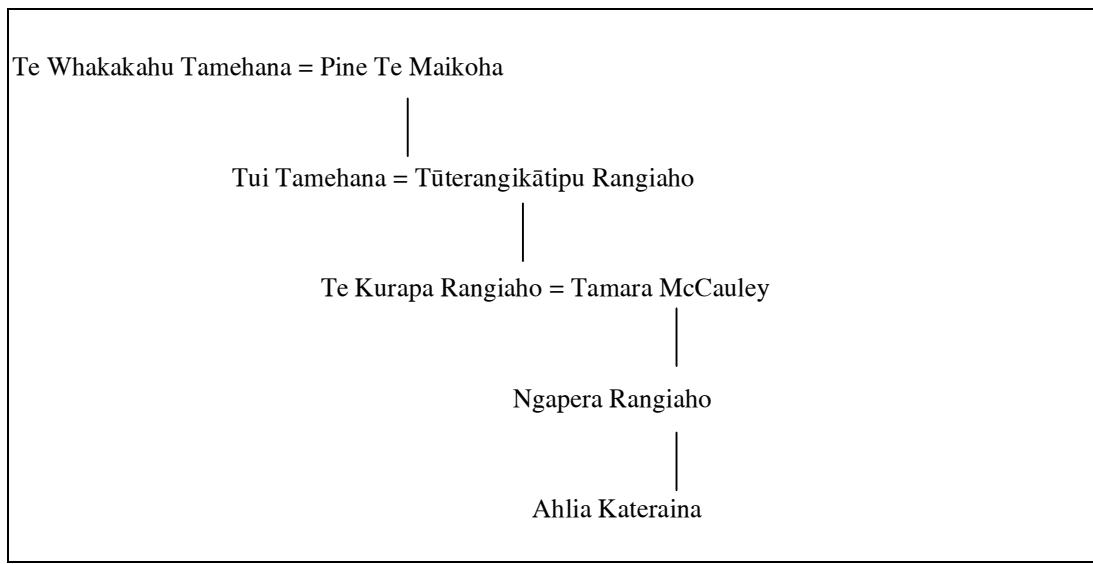
connection. I am the eldest girl of the eldest girl. My mother was prepared in the 1950s to get moko but turned it away. I am an avid follower of Tame Iti and the Māori political movement and it is through these groups I feel my affinity towards Tūhoe, however my heart will always be with Whakatōhea (Tangimoe Clay, Personal Interview: 19/11/02).

Tangimoe is similar to Mihi in that whilst she acknowledges her Tūhoe *whakapapa* her affection for her Whakatōhea *iwi* is very strong and yet both women understand that an important element of their identity is their Tūhoetanga. Tangimoe acknowledges that her mother was nominated by her people to receive a *moko* yet never undertook the process. For Tangimoe this is an important aspect of reclaiming the rights to *moko kauae* as her ancestors who had nominated her mother had unknowingly preordained her right to *moko kauae*. Furthermore, Tangimoe is a member of Tame Iti's political group Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe which allows her to feel drawn to her Tūhoe kin.

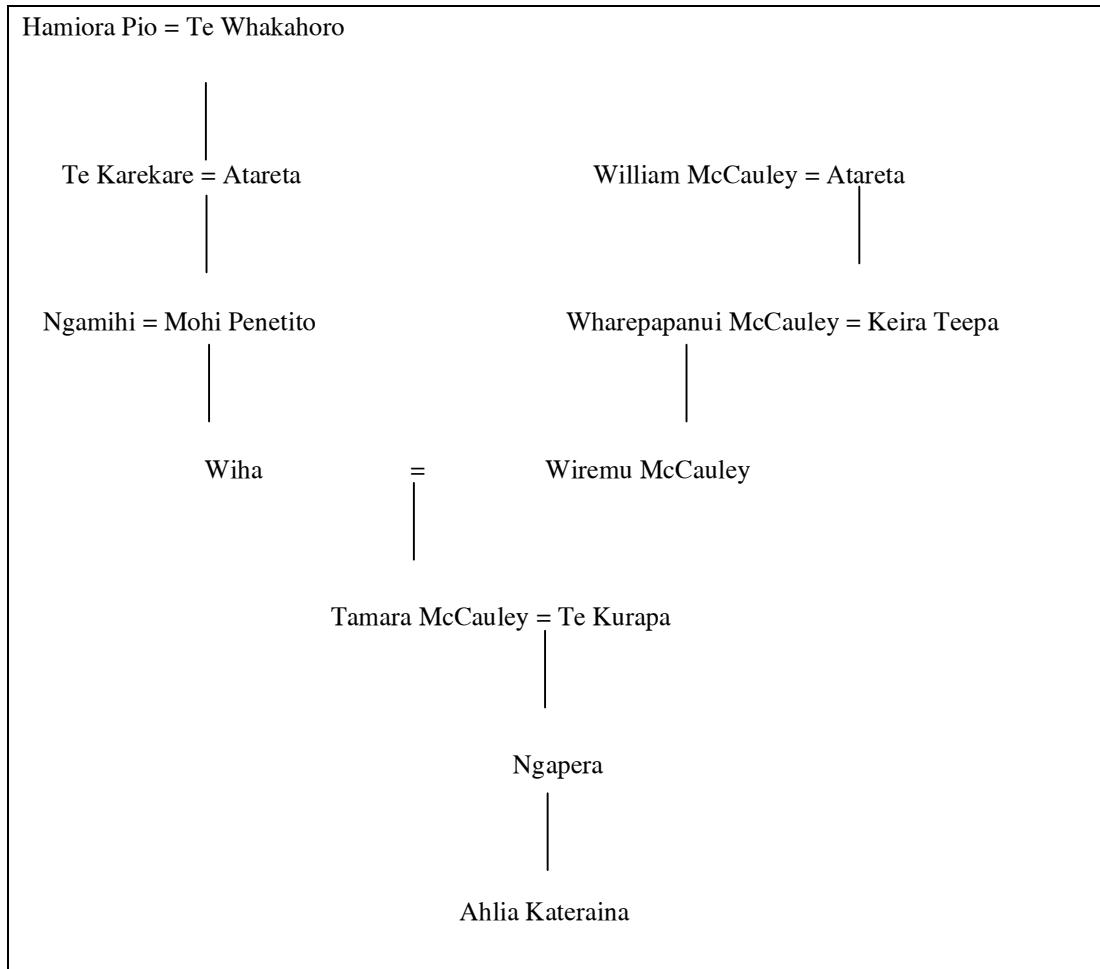
Ngapera Rangiaho is currently a student at Te Anamata Private Training Establishment. Ngapera is an ardent weaver of *whāriki*, and is committed to providing these *taonga* for her *marae*. As a mother she is encouraged that her daughter is interested in the area of weaving and together they share this passion. Ngapera did not grow up within Tūhoe, she lived in Auckland as her father was a religious Minister stationed there. She also spent most of her time going to her mother's side of the family in Te Teko on her Ngāti Awa side. Like Hinepau, Ngapera is rekindling her ties with her Tūhoe side, which became more apparent upon the death of her father.

Ko Ngapera Rangiaho tōku ingoa. Ko Te Kurapa Rangiaho tōku pāpā. Ko Ngāti Koura, Ngāti Rongo ōku hapū. Ko ōku tīpuna ko Te Whātehu Tamehana rāua ko Nanny Pine. Ko Tamara McCauley tōku whaea, ko ōku mātua tīpuna ki tōna taha ko Wiha Penetito me Wiremu McCauley (Ngapera Rangiaho, Personal Interview: 25/07/02).

Figure 31: Te Taha ki tōku Pāpā a Te Kurapā Rangiaho



(Whakapapa provided by Ngapera Rangiaho 16/11/02)

Figure 32: *Te Taha ki tōku Māmā a Tamara McCauley*

(*Whakapapa provided by Ngapera Rangiaho 16/11/02*)

Huka Williams is also a student of the Anamata Private Training establishment and resides in Rūātoki with her partner and two of her three children. Huka is passionate about issues relating to Tūhoe, and is actively involved as a core member of the Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe political party that is led by Tame Iti. Huka is one of the younger members of her family of 11 siblings.

Ko Huka Irene Williams tōku ingoa. Ko ōku hapū, ko Te Urewera, Ngāti Koura, Ngāti Rongo, Tamakaimoana, Hinekura me Te Whānau Pani i Waikaremoana. Ko

ōku iwi, ko Tūhoe, Ruapani, Kahungunu, Ngāi Tahu. I pakeke ahau i te whārua o Rūātoki. Ko ōku mātua ko Hemopo Rupi Williams rāua ko Te Akakura Tihi (Huka Williams, Personal Interview: 22/07/02).

These personal introductions established the affiliations of these women not only to Tūhoe but also other *iwi*. Some state that their primary tribe is Tūhoe, others affiliate to another tribe as their primary *iwi* yet acknowledge Tūhoe as being an important part of their identity. Typical of their humble manner most of the women only provided a small personal profile. The diverse backgrounds provided by these women to the author indicate the level of connection and commitment each woman has with their Tūhoe identity. Huka grew up and continues to live in the Tūhoe district. Hinepau was born in the district but lived for the majority of her life away from it and has only just returned to Rūātoki. Ngapera acknowledges her Tūhoe *whakapapa* yet grew up primarily in an urban setting. Mihi grew up with her Kahungunu people yet continues to learn about her affiliation with her Tūhoe people. Tangimoe identifies strongly with her Whakatōhea people, yet through her political association with Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe, she finds her connection to her Tūhoe *whakapapa*.

He whakaaro, he kōrero - deliberation and discussion

As women who have experienced the process of attaining a *moko kauae* it was important to examine whether their respective procedures were the same. It is interesting to note that all of these women encountered different methods in the tattooing of their *moko kauae*.

Part I of this thesis explored issues around the processes of *tā moko*. Chapter Two discussed the important role of the *hapū* during the nomination of a woman undertaking a *moko kauae*. The elders of the *hapū* usually nominated women and discussion of the issues surrounding the nominees were contained at this level. This collective responsibility for the welfare of the *hapū* in ensuring the *mana* of the people and for the woman herself was an important aspect of the processes of *tā moko*. The important factors (such as *whakapapa*) associated with the nomination of a woman to this position had to be considered. In today's society the daily activities of an individual are no longer dictated by the *hapū* and therefore the process of deciding upon a *moko kauae* today differs significantly from the *kuia moko* period. The women who participated in this research discussed the steps they undertook when deciding upon acquiring a *moko kauae*.

Hinepau sought spiritual enlightenment on deciding whether she should receive the *taonga* of *moko kauae*.

A lot of karakia, had to do be done and I had to open my hinengaro [psyche], taha wairua [spiritual side], taha tinana [physical side] to be sure it's something pure in my heart that I needed to know that if it's mine, if it's right. So I spent two years hard praying to give me guidance. Titiro ki ēnei [pointing at photos/book of kuia moko] these are our kuia and I read about them and I said "Yes that's me, I'm Ngāi Tūhoe so why not carry that tradition on?" Oh I talked with my whānau about it first and they were there to support me (Hinepau Toko, Personal Interview: 24/07/02).

After long deliberations Hinepau believed that it was important to her to obtain her *moko kauae* as a means of continuing traditions and her decision involved discussing these issues with her *whānau*.

Like Hinepau, Mihi consulted her *whānau*, firstly with her husband, as she was concerned that being a Pākehā he might find accepting her reasons for wanting a *moko kauae* difficult.

Ka kōrero au ki tōku nei tāne ka haere i te wā i kōrero ahau ki tōku tāne nā te mea he Pākehā. Ka kōrero au ki a ia, ka mea mai ia kāore he aha, ko koe, ko koe. Ka pēhea koe penā ka pātai mai tētahi atu tangata, ko wai tērā. Ka mea, “Kāore he aha.” Ka hoki au ki te kōrero ki tōku nei pāpā me ētahi o ngā koroua o te hapū. Ka hoki ahau, ka kōrero. Ko tōku nei pāpā he apotoro i roto i te Hāhi Rātana. Ka mea mai ia, pēhea ōku whakaaro mō ngā tikanga e mau ana i runga i tēnei [pointing to moko]. Ka mea, “Well, ki tōku nei mōhio e kawe ana i ngā mātauranga.” Ka mea mai, “He aha ērā?” Ka kōrero ahau mō te āhua o te noho o te Māori i mua i te taehanga mai o Tauiwi, ū rātou atua, ū rātou tikanga, ū rātou kawa. I te mōhio ia, ko tōna pātai, he whakamātautau. Kāore e roa ka puta mai ētahi o te hapū. “Ka pai girl, you go for it.” Engari kāore ū mātou hui whānui, ki a Kahungunu whānui, engari ki roto i te hapū, ā, ka whakaae mai rātou (Mihi McLeod, Personal Interview: 25/07/02).

After her consultation with her husband, seeking support from her extended *whānau* was an important part of the process that she undertook. Reflecting cultural aspects of the past, Mihi consulted with members of her *hapū*. Some of her elders put her through a cultural audit as to her reasons behind why she should

procure her *moko kauae*. This was to ensure that she was making her decisions wisely so that there would be no regrets later. Mihi views her *moko kauae* as being associated with her own personal achievements in life. As a mature student in the tertiary sector her struggle to learn and achieve qualifications mirrored her decision to acquire *moko*. She only decided to get a *moko kauae* on her graduation from Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi.

Tangimoe shares a similar experience with the above in that it was important for her to consult with her *whānau*.

Moko has always been in the back of my mind and I have always been conscious that I do not speak te reo. Tame Iti told me that I should get a moko kauae because I may never ever have got it even if I did have te reo. I discussed it with my elders but realised that many of them were colonised by Western thought, believing that moko should have been left in the past. However, I have a deep respect for my brothers, sister and the old people and sought out their approval to receive a moko kauae. This came with some struggle however approval was granted on the condition that I received it on the marae (Tangimoe Clay, Personal Interview: 19/11/02).

The support from her *whānau* was an important aspect of her decision and although it came with conditions, it is important to note that *moko kauae* had ceased for a long time within her own *hapū*. The difficulties that she experienced from her *kaumātua* were frustrating for her. She believed that she needed to re-educate her elders on the value of *moko* and in this case *moko kauae*. Furthermore, Tangimoe

believed that these difficulties stemmed from the colonisation of her people, whom she believed had forgotten the value behind *moko kauae*. However, a compromise was made between Tangimoe and her *whānau*, which resulted in them supporting her decision.

As the *tuakana* of their *whānau* these three women believed that gaining the support of their respective *whānau* was an important part of the process of acquiring their individual *moko kauae*. This highlights the point that while an individual's actions are not fully dictated to by the *hapū* or *whānau* in modern society, these women recognised the importance of gaining the support of their people. When these women made the momentous decision to acquire their *moko kauae* they believed that their *whakapapa* was an essential part of their journey towards *moko*. As a result the *moko kauae* required the support of those people who form a part of their respective *whakapapa*.

Ngapera was also influenced by her *whānau* when she decided to attain her *moko kauae*, however, her story differs significantly from the others.

I didn't decide to get my moko kauae, my moko kauae was given to me. It was given to me at the age of 20 by my kuia, Nanny Kira Penetito, Rangitiaria Edwards. My grandmother's older sister was the oldest of 10 and her mother, our kuia Ngamihī Penetito had a tā moko. Her moko kauae was gifted to her by the tohunga Tame Poata. My kuia use to awhi him whenever he used to travel around and as a gesture of what she was doing he tattooed her moko kauae. She was 16 at the time and since her it missed two generations.

I was going to Murupara to a tangihanga with my koro and Nanny Kira when they noticed that I've got a tattoo on my back and that my eyeliner is tattooed. Nanny said, "Put your kuia's moko on." I said, "I can't," and they go "Why?" So I took them through why I believed that I couldn't receive the moko kauae. At that time, I was heavily drinking and heavily into drugs and that was the main reason why I said, 'no, no I can't get a moko kauae.' Their reply was, "Later, when it is time you will put that moko on." One of the other reasons why they chose me goes back to when our kuia Ngamihi was still alive. I used to touch her moko kauae and I always swore . . . and I think they got really sick of me because every year I'd see her and I would say, "I'm getting one [meaning moko kauae], I'm getting one." This occurred until I was 10 while we were living in Auckland. I used to have all these Goldie reprints in my room as they reminded me and made me feel close to my kuia. My friends were all frightened to step into my room and I couldn't understand why. My father would come in and say to me that my friends were not used to seeing these things (reprints). But I would say, "They're beautiful". One time my Nanny Kira came through to Auckland with our kuia Ngamihi and my father spoke to her about my bedroom, and finally he said to them, "Go into that girl's room." My kuia came in to my room and I said, "You're sleeping with me". As Māori was her first language her English wasn't the best but she said to me, "Why have you got those?" and I replied, "You, it reminds me of you. It's beautiful, you're beautiful," and she just smiled at my innocent remarks.

When I got older getting a moko kauae has always been at the back of my head. But I think that based on my childhood passion for moko kauae this was one of the main reasons that my kaumātua approached me about getting one when I was about 20.

However, I didn't actually obtain my moko kauae until I was 28, after my grandfather passed away. Of course my kuia Nanny Kira had passed away too. So my grandmother, who was the second eldest, said, "Go and do that thing (moko) now," and I said, "Yeah, but I'm still doing what I'm doing." She said, "But now that you've got your baby, you're not out there all the time" (Ngapera Rangiaho, Personal Interview: 25/07/02).

Ultimately, it would have been Ngapera's choice to obtain her *moko kauae*, however, her decision was influenced heavily by the fact that her *kuia* told her that she was to acquire one. These decisions made by her elders reflected their desire to harness her childhood passion for the art of *moko kauae* and perhaps influence a change of course in her life. Ngapera knew that she could not receive her *moko kauae* at the initial time her *kuia* asked her to as her life style involved a lot of drugs and alcohol. Knowing the value of being given such a *taonga* by one's elders Ngapera was aware that she could not abuse this by continuing with her life style so she opted to wait until an appropriate time. This Pākehā 'cultural' life style of drugs and alcohol had been a prevalent feature in Ngapera's life and part of her decision to acquire a *moko kauae* also meant that she would have to make a change into a more Māori form of 'cultural' living.

Huka's decision making process took a different approach altogether from the other women. She was more inclined to seek advice from outside her *whānau* unit. She was more influenced by political issues affecting Māori generally. This formed the basis for her deciding to get a *moko kauae*.

I decided to get a moko kauae when I was younger. But at that time I knew, that nobody would do it, and if there was somebody who would be the one to do it? So when I was about 19 or 20 I knew that I wanted to have a moko kauae. There was no moko here then, and seemed to only appear when we would do kapa haka and that was only drawn on us. But beyond that there was nothing. I used to question why isn't it still alive if that is part of being who we are as Māori? Why weren't people proud of being who they are by identifying themselves with moko kauae or any kind of moko? When your Uncle Taurewa Hohua came out of prison and he got his whole tiwhana done, and I saw him down the [Rūātoki Rugby] club, I saw that the reaction of the kaumātua was one of pride. They were happy to see that art form again and your Koro Moai got up and acknowledged him because he had taken that extra step. A step that they could have done but hadn't. A lot of this has to do with the nature of the society they grew up in where they were concerned with the reactions that people would make if they were to take a moko. Not necessarily the reactions of their own people, but more what Pākehā would think. After having a long discussion with your Uncle Tame, Uncle Wēti and a lot of other people I decided I would get one. This decision came after the noho whenua (occupation) at Waikaremoana and other noho whenua we did through the Mataatua region. It was then when I definitely decided; yeah I'm going to get a moko kauae.

The one thing that I did know was that if I was to consult people this would have me doubt my decision. If I was to go around and see everybody and say, "Oh I'm gonna get a moko kauae, what do you think?" I believe that there could have been some negativity and this would cause a lot of doubt in my mind. So when I was at a

conference at Hopuhopu, I sat and talked to Titewhai Harawira for a few hours. Tame kept asking Titewhai if she wanted to go to Auckland with him to get her moko kauae done. He told her that he was taking me up to get mine done at the time. Even though I didn't know that at the time I tried to encourage her to come with me to get hers done at the same time. Eventually she said to me, "Next time I see you, you will be a different person." I said, "What do you mean?" She said, "Well when Eva [Rickard] got her one, it elevated her to another plane." When you looked at her, with or without a moko, even though it was the same person there was something else there that was missing all the time. I was happy to talk to her, somebody who's outside of my own whānau and my iwi and she understood my political beliefs (Huka Williams, Personal Interview: 22/07/02).

Huka's decision was influenced by the political climate of the time, even though she had initially wanted to have a *moko kauae* when she was younger. Her desire to have a *moko kauae* when she was young was stymied through the lack of acceptance of *moko* in the New Zealand society. However, as noted earlier a relative who had completed his term in prison and returned to the community inspired her to think seriously about *moko kauae*. The acceptance of the man, inclusive of his *tīwhana*, prompted Huka to contemplate the steps towards attaining her *moko kauae*. After Huka's discussion about *moko kauae* with political activist, Titewhai Harawira, she felt comfortable about her decision to undertake *moko kauae*. The analogy to the late Eva Rickard, another Māori activist who undertook *moko kauae* when she was a *kuia*, was also important to Huka. This political drive towards *moko kauae* as a means of visually identifying oneself as Māori was an important part of Huka's motivation.

Different decision-making processes to get their *moko kauae* were taken by the women interviewed in this research. The first three women, who all identified themselves as the *tuakana* of their families, saw that consultation with their *whānau* and *hapū* was an important part of the process. By contrast, Ngapera and Huka, perhaps because they did not identify as the *tuakana* of their respective families, experienced different processes of discussion with *whānau*. Ngapera's decision was, however, *whānau* influenced in that she was told to get a *moko kauae*. When analysing Ngapera's narrative it is clear that her *kuia* were concerned at the direction her life style was taking and tried to encourage her to make a change. Ngapera's passion for *moko kauae* as a child became the catalyst for her *kuia* to harness this zeal as a way to move her out of a life of drinking and drugs into a healthier way of living. Huka, who was politically motivated to acquire her *moko kauae*, opted to refrain from consulting with *whānau* as she was concerned that she would be dissuaded from undertaking the process. In many respects, Huka consulted a different *whānau* who were not necessarily connected by *whakapapa* but by a belief in a Māori assertion of sovereignty.

This component of the whole process identifies a variety of cultural archetypes whereby the *tuakana* sought approval from the *whānau* while the *taina* adopted other methods towards their journey of *moko kauae*. As stated earlier, *moko kauae* was considered a symbol of status and logically the *tuakana* would have rightly been decided upon as the appropriate person to undertake *moko kauae*. This does not dismiss the *taina*'s entitlement to procure *moko kauae*; however, based on a Māori cultural paradigm the *taina* would have needed to obtain the approval for

moko kauae or be nominated for the process as was the case with Ngapera. However, the decision of a *taina* to acquire a *moko kauae* resonates with the characteristics of *taina* who sometimes achieve *mana* greater than their *tuakana*'s as discussed in Chapter Two.

Te Tā - The tattooing process

As the art form of *moko* has developed there has emerged a number of *tohunga tā moko* who have acquired skills in this area, including the *karakia* that are used during the process. As with the initial decision to obtain a *moko kauae* the women experienced very different processes during the application of their chin tattoo.

The late Haruru Biddle, who at the time was becoming known as an accomplished *tohunga tā moko*, tattooed Hinepau. *Karakia* has always been an essential element to her *moko kauae* and for her she felt comfortable with Haruru, as he was considerate of this spiritual side.

When I went over to Haruru I didn't realise that he was a spiritual man. I hadn't opened my mind to it till we sat down and he asked about karakia and I looked over and I said, "Aye? Oh yeah". So I got up to do the karakia for all of us and I wondered if that was my place aye, being a tāne I thought he might have thought that it was his mahi. Anyway I did the karakia for us. Hika it was lovely day, it was a beautiful day, and he sat down and talked about it first and he said, "Is it really what you want?" I looked straight into his eyes and I said, "Yes, it is otherwise I wouldn't be here." That's all he wanted to know so he did his own karakia and I said, "Huh, where's he gone to?" He did his karakia and then he

started the procedure of drawing then I had a look at it and I said, “I wasn’t happy”. He knew it too. It was removed and I did karakia again to make it better. So, after we both calmed down he started and that was it, never to look back. One of my experiences with him was when he stood in front of me working and looking at my face, I looked at him and I could see that he glowed. Behind him I was looking for my Dad but the person behind him was Aunty Rachael Harawira, however, I was on a high all day just seeing that and having this. It took an hour and a half to complete with the kōrero. He was saying I didn’t have to explain the kōrero that I wanted on my moko because he already knew what he was doing. I said I want to explain it for myself, for my own peace of mind to know that everything’s ok (Hinepau Toko, Personal Interview: 24/07/02).

Hinepau’s deep spiritual belief indicated to Haruru that this was an important aspect of her life. Her vision of an Aunt during the application of her *moko* emphasises that this was an important part of the process rich with spiritual meaning. While Hinepau’s father did not appear, Hinepau’s mind was settled by the appearance of her Aunt. Hinepau was conscious that she might have transgressed the *mana* of Haruru by conducting the *karakia* prior to the commencement of the tattooing. However, this appeared to have been settled as Haruru understood her need to participate in the spiritual part of the process.

Mihi sought the services of Derek Lardelli, an accomplished *tohunga tā moko* from the East Coast region.

Ka haere au ki te kōrero ki a Derek, engari ko tētahi mea, ko te āhua o te moko me āna kōrero. Engari ko tāna e mea ana ki a au ko ia te rangatira o tēnei moko. Me kī pēnei nā. Kāore e taea e tētahi atu te haramai ki te whakarerekē taku moko, nā te mea ia wā ka tāhia te tangata ka ngaro he wāhi pakupaku ūna. Ka mea kei te pai tērā ki a au. Kotahi noa iho te tangata hai tāhia, koinā. Anā ka whakarite he wā, ka kōrero ki tōku pāpā me te haere ki te kōrero ki tōku nei whaea kēkē.

I a māua ko Derek e kōrero ana me tōku nei pāpā, ka mea mai a Derek, mehemea e hiahia ana ki raro i ngā tikanga tuturu o te Māori, me kī ki te rongo i te mamae. Ka mea mai anō, “engari i roto i tēnei ao hurihuri kei te taha Pākehā ētahi rongoā hai whakakore i te mamae, pēhea ki a koe?” I kite au i taua āhuatanga i te wā i tāhia i ūku hoa. Ka mea au, “Ae”. Nā te mea ko taku mataku hoki mō te mamae. Ka mea, “Ko ahau tērā kei te haere ahau ki te tohunga tango niho hei whakakorehia i te mamae.” Taku taenga atu ki te tari o te tohunga tango niho pēnei kē te roa o te ngira [indicating size of needle]. Kāore au i te pīrangī ki te titiro ki te ngira. Ka puta hoki te wehi. And, ko te mamae hoki! I konei nē, e rima ngā werohanga o tēnei taha me rima o ēnei taha [pointing to her chin and mouth]. Anā, ka wero ki konei kia whā. Anā ko taku whaea i taku taha ka mea mai, kāore au i te wātea ki te kōrero pēnei kē ūku ngutu nē. Arā kē te mātotoru o tōku ārero! Ana, ka kuhu mātou ki te wāhi, ko te wāhi i tāhia ahau ko te Kuratini, engari i roto i tētahi o ā rātou whare whakairo, mahi toi, tētahi wāhi mō aua mahi me ngā mīhini. Ka heri karakia, i reira ētahi o ūku whānau e heri karakia. Ka mea a Derek, “did you wash your teeth?” He mea whakatoi. Engari, i haere pai, kāore au i rongo i te mamae i te wā i mahi ia ki konei [the chin], engari tana haerenga ki konei ka rongo te mamae [the lips]. Engari ka taea e au te haere tahi me te

mamae. Kāore e roa ka mutu, tata ki te rua haora. Mutu ana tērā ka kōrerohia, ka kōrero ōku taina. Kāore he utu, he koha i runga i te aroha o ngā mahi a ngā tūpuna, he koha i runga i ngā kōrero, he koha mai i te whakaaro Māori nē. I hanga ahau he poraka huruhuru mai i te hipī, ka rau atu ahau ki roto i tētahi kete harakeke. Arā, ka tū ia ki te kōrero mō taku moko. Kua ritea kē e māua ngā kōrero mō te moko, nā te mea ka kī atu ahau, kaua e wareware ki te kōrero mō taku moko (Mihi McLeod, Personal Interview: 25/07/02).

Mihi's experience appears to be the most unique in that she was given the option by the *tohunga tā moko* as to whether she wanted to be staunch and undertake the process of *tā moko* without pain relief, or opt for an anaesthetic. Pain conscious Mihi opted to have the chin area numbed by the dentist. Her *moko kauae* was done at the Polytechnic where Derek works and took nearly two hours. She also made a point of offering Derek a *koha* for his work, reflecting the custom of payments made to the *tohunga* for their work. Interestingly, the other women who received *moko kauae* did not mention this aspect. This of course would not necessarily have been a matter for public discussion as the *koha* agreed upon was probably a private arrangement.

Like Mihi, Tangimoe received her *moko kauae* from Derek Lardelli. As she had previously agreed with her elders, her *moko kauae* was completed on the *marae*.

The hui took place on the first weekend of July 1998 at Te Rere marae in Opōtiki. I was tattooed with my taina Lizzie and my cousin Lovey. The tohunga tā moko was Derek Lardelli. The kaumātua continually chanted karakia throughout the night.

Derek gave a presentation on the significance of moko from the past through to the present. He shared with us that, "Moko has a whakapapa, a history and an iwi. Iwi ki te iwi, kanohi ki te kanohi, toto ki te toto". Derek designed our individual patterns the night before, stating that we all had a unique 'canvas' [chin] which required a unique pattern.

At 9.00 am Sunday morning the karanga filled the house and Derek began his rituals of karakia. As I am the tuakana I opted to go first. The table on which I lay upon was surrounded by my female relatives and children who stayed by my side to massage and stroke me through the process. There were approximately two rows of women and children circling me during the process and encircling these rows was a row of men who chanted continuously throughout the process, which lasted three hours.

Derek began by doing my lips as this is the most painful area to tattoo. From there he completed the middle and eventually moved out to the wider part of the chin. When my moko was completed, I was greeted by the whānau who came to support me, and there were many songs sung by the elders indicating that the process had been completed. At the end of the whole ceremony all the materials that were used in the process of tā moko were gathered together and buried (Tangimoe Clay, Personal Interview: 19/11/02).

The communal nature in which Tangimoe was able to share her experience with her people signifies the importance of her *moko kauae* to her *whānau* and *hapū*. Their attendance to support her shows that they observed the rituals pertaining to her

moko kauae as *tapu* and, therefore, their presence physically and spiritually through *karakia* and *waiata* was intended to protect her and her *taina*. It is interesting to note that Te Rangikāheke described how the ceremonies of *tānga ngutu* were done in groups. He states that the *taina* were tattooed first as a preparation for the *tuakana* who would be tattooed last. In this case, however, Tangimoe opted to go first so that she paved the way for her *taina*. Te Rangikāheke described the women who were tattooed first as ‘*whāriki*’ (mats), and they acted as a means of protection for the *tuakana* during the ritual. Tangimoe’s stance shows that as the *tuakana* she needed to *whāriki* her *taina* during the process of *tā moko*. Tangimoe’s narrative places emphasis on the *tikanga* aspects of the operation. This is further highlighted by the reference to the burial of the materials used during the process, indicating that they had become *tapu* through their association with blood. This acknowledgement highlights the significance of *moko kauae* in today’s society. The *mana* associated with *moko kauae* is still believed in, as shown by the burial of the *tapu* items that were linked to the tattooing process. Furthermore, the *tohunga tā moko* Derek Lardelli, explained to Tangimoe that, “*Moko* has a *whakapapa*, a history and an *iwi*. *Iwi ki te iwi, kanohi ki te kanohi, toto ki te toto.*” This highlights the significance of *moko kauae* as a symbol of identity. It indicates the important elements associated with the *moko kauae*, *whakapapa*, history and *iwi*. The connection of *moko kauae* to these elements supports the reasons why Tangimoe and her *taina* undertook their tattooing process at the *marae*.

As stated earlier Ngapera was influenced by her *kuia* to receive her *moko*. However, Ngapera was conscious of the life style she was leading, even though it had slowed down considerably since the birth of her child. The directive from the

whānau meant that Ngapera's brother tattooed her. The methods used differed from all the others in that he had to create a tattooing machine from scratch.

I went back to Wellington, after discussing the issue of the moko kauae with my kuia, to think about it and my brother, who was staying up in Auckland, came down and said, "Did the kuia(s) tell you to put that tā moko on." I said, "Yeah". And he said, "Well that's why I'm here, we're the only ones who know what our kuia's moko looks like." Before he put it on I said, "Me tuhia i te tuatahi" (Draw it first). I wanted to see it first and after looking at the design I told him that I wanted him to change it. He said, "You can't change it!" But I told him that I needed to change it because that moko belonged to our kuia; the tohunga [referring to Tame Poata] gave it to her not me. I said, "That's his design, if you go and copy it then it's no different from forging. You need to be somebody in your own right that's his trademark."

Before we began, however, I remembered what Nanny told me to do. She told me to close my house off, close off the room that we were doing the mahi in and have karakia and only my brother and cousin could be in there with me. My cousin was helping to wipe me down. It took seven hours for me. The reason why it took so long was because my brother wasn't thinking properly and left the machine in Auckland. So he had to make one of those old types with a pen and toy. So it took seven hours to do my chin. The other thing was instead of stopping because he was getting sore, the more his back hurt the more he applied pressure and it cut my bottom lip and now it's got a scar.

I treasure the kōrero of my nannies and wearing this makes me proud to carry it on for them. My kuias never put any conditions on me it just comes out of the pure love except one of the kuia said that I'm not to cut my hair. They told me that I was the kaitiaki of this for our whānau (Ngapera Rangiaho, Personal Interview: 25/07/02).

Ngapera's experience shows how her *whānau* was an important part of her process of receiving a *moko*. Having her brother and cousin applying her *moko kauae* to her indicates the support from her siblings for the choices that were made on behalf of her *kuia*. Acting out their *kuia*'s wishes highlights the nature of *whānau* in supporting the actions or commitments of its members. Ngapera did have some concerns about the design of her *moko kauae*. She wanted to oblige her *kuia*'s wishes yet felt strongly about issues of plagiarising another person's design. The slight variation she made to the design indicates that she acknowledges the *mana* of the *tohunga tā moko* Tame Poata. Her integrity allowed for her own *moko* to gain its own *mana* and not become a copy of someone else's.

Ngapera appears to have endured the longest operation time due to the makeshift machine that was created by her brother, who acted in the role of *tohunga tā moko*. The application of *moko kauae* by members of the *whānau* is not discussed in references to *tohunga tā moko*. This does not mean that established *tohunga tā moko* did not apply their skill to their siblings, however, it can only be assumed that they may have. Ngapera's stamina throughout the process only illustrates the depth of the covenant she made with her *kuia*.

Huka opted to have Chas Doherty, a *tohunga tā moko* from Tūhoe, tattoo her *moko kauae* even though she could have chosen Haruru Biddle. For her the *tohunga tā moko* of her *moko kauae* needed to have a closer *whakapapa* connection for her to be comfortable.

I decided to go for Chas (Doherty) because of our whakapapa link. It was because of whakapapa that I didn't opt for Haruru. Even though Haruru was there and he used to always talk to me about getting my moko kauae done by him it just wasn't meant to be. I was telling him that there were wairua feelings that were telling me not to get him to do it. But I think when Haruru took the step to do tā moko for ngā wāhine it brought it alive again, the moko kauae became different. At the time I don't think any other men had ever thought about doing moko kauae, but he did. He did mō ngā wāhine o Tūhoe.

However, when I went up to Auckland after the conference at Hopuhopu, that was when I decided I was going to get my moko done. So I called Chas and I told him that I would be at his place in the morning. I got there about six in the morning and about 9.00 am it was all over. We did our karakia and by about 9am I had my full moko. He asked me if I wanted to do it in stages but I said, "Nah, might as well go for it all in one go." It took him about 2 hours to get an idea of what he wanted and it took him about an hour to complete it. The karakia that was done was the ritenga that Chas has learnt. He has taken that time and effort to take every little detail, which he can, which he can rangahau [research] by himself. This is because he's taking in his hands a bit of wairua from you and he's replenishing it with a moko. His karakia had put me to sleep, so in my mind I saw it and I

visualised it but I didn't let anybody else know because the tohunga should just pick it up himself. He did and I knew at the end of the day that I went to the right tohunga. Although we had Haruru here I believe that after sitting here and having long discussions with Chas which went over a period of two to three years that he came and delivered what I wanted, without being told. So I was really happy with that (Huka Williams, Personal Interview: 22/07/02).

Huka believed that *whakapapa* was a significant means of deciding who would place her *moko kauae* on her. She also acknowledged Haruru's contribution to the practice of *moko kauae* within Tūhoe, however, she still preferred to have Chas Doherty as the *tohunga tā moko*. The *karakia* that Chas used seemed to lull Huka into a unconscious state allowing the *tohunga* to continue his work without the patient squirming with pain.

Apart from receiving her *moko kauae*, Chas placed a *moko* on her forehead,¹ which was what Huka had wanted yet hadn't expressed this to the *tohunga*. Huka believes that a competent *tohunga* would have been aware of this and thus the application of this other *moko* confirmed Huka's belief that she had asked the right *tohunga tā moko* to complete her *moko kauae*.

The experiences shared by these women of receiving their *moko kauae* highlight that the rituals pertaining to *tā moko* are different. *Karakia* is a key element, yet there were particular aspects to each *moko* process that distinguished each experience from those of the other women. The key features that separated their experiences included the following. The *wairua* visions experienced by Hinepau signified the *tapu* nature of the ritual, where a person under the power of *tapu* was often more receptive to receiving such visions. Mihi noted that the *koha* that she had arranged with the *tohunga* was an important aspect to her *moko kauae* process. Tangimoe's considered move to be the first recipient of *moko kauae* acted as a *whāriki* for her *taina* emphasising how the *tuakana* supports the *taina* who reciprocates by respecting and supporting the elder sibling. Ngapera endured a long process due to the make shift nature of the technology, however, this highlights her commitment to obtaining her *moko kauae*. Finally, Huka felt that the *whakapapa* of the *tohunga tā moko* was essential in her identifying the appropriate operator for her tattooing process. For Huka, this was realised through the actual process of the *tohunga tā moko* knowing subconsciously the appropriate design she wanted.

¹ Whilst this is not mentioned in this part of Huka's transcript it was apparent to the author that Huka was referring to both her *moko kauae* and the one placed on her forehead as she saw them as being connected to each other.

Te tikanga o ia moko kauae - the meanings of each moko kauae

As each *tā moko kauae* experience is unique to the individual so are the meanings behind their *moko kauae* design. As discussed in Chapter Four *moko* designs were determined by the *tohunga tā moko*. This chapter also dismissed the notion that particular designs were drawn to indicate one's social standing within the *hapū*. These women discussed how little influence they had over the *tohunga tā moko* in relation to their *moko kauae* design. Ngapera, however, did make some changes in her design as she did not think it was appropriate to plagiarise the designs of Tame Poata, and told her tattooist to change it accordingly. Furthermore, Huka said the *tohunga tā moko* should be adept in their practice so that they knew the design most appropriate for the individual being tattooed. For her this marked out the skill of the *tohunga tā moko*.

Hinepau's father designed her *moko kauae* pattern prior to his death. She wanted her design to reflect her *whānau*, which was why she had asked her father to draw her a pattern to have tattooed on to her chin.

Well I asked Dad to design my moko kauae pattern for me and he did it five years before he died but I never found it until two years after he died. It was in his papers and it was under a poem. When I discovered it I knew that it was my moko kauae design. I began to mirimiri it and I was picturing it on my chin. It is a whakapapa; it's a whānau whakapapa. It's not a representation of something deep and esoteric. It's our matua (Dad) and us six kids and the rest are all mokopuna. It's not something heavy. I didn't want it to be too heavy because I do massaging for the kuia that stay here. I go to their homes and I use it for that, for hauora. It's

good because you feel good for yourself because you're doing something positive. I feel confident going into people's homes without fear of what's around the corner. It helps in this way (Hinepau Toko, Personal Interview: 24/07/02).

Hinepau associates the meaning of her *moko kauae* with her *whānau*. For Hinepau the *whānau* is the most important aspect of her life. After discussing a design with her father prior to his death the inspiration of her design reflects these discussions. Since her father's death Hinepau has had to ensure that her *whānau* has remained a robust unit. She associates this responsibility with her role as the *tuakana* of her *whānau*. As a spiritually motivated person Hinepau was conscious of the *tapu* nature of a design and, therefore, did not want her *moko kauae* to be *taumaha* (heavy). This protective element is also reflected in her work in health promotion, especially in *mirimiri* for *kaumātua*.

In contrast, Mihi's design reflects a significantly cultural basis behind her design. It incorporates elements of the *atua* and of Māori myth.

Kua ritea kē e māua ngā kōrero mō te moko, nā te mea ka kī atu ahau, kaua e wareware ki te kōrero mō taku moko. Ahakoa kotahi noa iho te kōrero kei te kawe. Ko ēnei, koinei te kauae runga, me te kauae raro. Kei waenganui ana e pēnei ana ko ērā ngā ngutu whakatete a Niwareka, te wahine a Mataora. Koinei te ara hā ora o Tāne. Kia puta atu te ira tangata ki te whai ao, ki te ao mārama. Kei konei ngā kōrero mai i ngā tīpuna, 'kaua e mate wheke me mate ururoa.' Kei ngā tahataha ngā manaia ko rātou ngā kaitiaki. Ko te kōrero mā ngā manaia e tiaki te moko. Koirā te kōrero mō taku nei moko. Anō tētahi atu kōrero koinei te ara haere o

Māui, engari ko tēnei nā ki a au nā e whakaatu ana ki te ao, ae he Māori ahau. Koinā. Ko te moko nei e whakaatu ana i tōku nei Tūhoetanga, tōku nei Kahungunutanga, tōku Mana Motuhake. Kāore au i te haere ko au anake, ka heri mai i ōku tīpuna, ōku whānau (Mihi McLeod, Personal Interview: 25/07/02).

Essentially the incorporation of these mythological and cultural elements into Mihi's design reflects her stance as being proud to be Māori, and more especially, Kahungunu and Tūhoe. The inclusion of Niwareka, Mataora's wife, highlights the female element of *moko* indicating the source of the *moko kauae*. The *kauae runga* and *kauae raro* that is referred to by Mihi highlights the fact that her *moko* was completed after her graduation from Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi.² These cultural paradigms are used to describe knowledge: the *kauae runga* refers to esoteric knowledge while the *kauae raro* indicates practical knowledge. It reflects the strength of Māori people as described in Māori myths about Tāne's journey to seek out *te ira tangata* (human element). This is further supported by the proverb she supplied in her description “*kaua e mate wheke, me mate ururoa*” which literally translates as ‘do not die like the octopus but rather die like a shark’. This *whakataukī* expresses the need to have courage in all aspects of life, and to fight like a shark until death. For Mihi her *moko* is also about her *whānau*: it represents her Tūhoetanga, her Kahungunutanga (uniqueness as a Kahungunu person), and her *Mana Motuhake* as a Māori woman.

² Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi is one of three Māori tertiary institutions. This particular institution is located in Whakatāne.

It was noted earlier that Tangimoe's design was personalised for her by the *tohunga tā moko*. Each participant at the *hui* was given a particular design based on the individual's 'canvas'.

My design indicates that I do not speak te reo Māori, however, I do not believe that it alters my position within the whānau because I am still who I am. My position in the whānau is through whakapapa, not my moko, and it is through my whakapapa I have moko kuae. It has been 65 years since anyone in my whānau has worn a moko kuae (Tangimoe Clay, Personal Interview: 19/11/02).

The representation of Tangimoe's *moko kuae* acknowledges that while she does not speak *te reo Māori*, her motivations for having the *moko* outweigh the significance of the design. For her she places more emphasis on the attainment of the whole *moko kuae* rather than any particular meanings of the designs. Tangimoe believes that her *moko kuae* does not alter her position within her *hapū*, as her *whakapapa* has already secured this.

Ngapera's design is based on her *kuia*'s pattern, however, she adjusted this so that it was not a replica of Tame Poata's design. This allowed Ngapera to add her own unique *kōrero* to her alterations.

What I've been given is the right, a gift, to wear this moko kuae. I suppose it's from me bugging them all that time when I was small and now it's completed. Although the change I had made is very slight, I put the kōrero to this change. When I came back home after I had it done Nanny was so wrapped until I told her I

had changed the design. She questioned why I had changed the design so I told her why. The thing she couldn't figure out was where the actual change was. That's how slight it was and no matter how hard they tried to find the change they couldn't see it. In the end I had to draw it and show them with my additional kōrero. But the kōrero that came to me is also a gift, when I said to that kuia (at the initial time they approached me) I said, "I don't even know how to kōrero Māori Nan." She said, "That's not what it's about. What we're giving you is a life process, it's a life process, and eventually you'll be speaking Māori. You'll know how to, and you will know how to operate on the marae" (Ngapera Rangiaho Personal Interview: 25/07/02).

Even though Ngapera's *kuia* were unable to determine Ngapera's design changes, they were pleased that she was able to have the sense to adapt the design and to add her own personal *kōrero* to it. When Ngapera went to her *kuia* to show her *moko kauae* design the discussions held between them only solidified the notion that they were trying to influence Ngapera down a different life path or 'life process'. Their support at the time also showed how they continually kept encouraging her towards acquiring Māori knowledge, including *te reo*.

Huka allowed the *tohunga tā moko* to determine her *moko kauae* design. In many respects she felt that it would be inappropriate for her to influence the *tohunga* in his work.

There were a whole lot of other things that I had to do in preparation to getting a moko kauae. It took a few years with some visions about acquiring my moko but not

so much on how it would look. Like a lot of people believe what their moko will look like, or some of them prefer to go for their kuia's moko, but I think they miss the whole point. It's your own personal mark. At the end of the day, you're the one carrying it, nobody else is. It's a personal thing, a signature of your identity. When my moko kauae was completed Chas told me that it represented "Ira Atua, Ira Tangata." I was happy with that, because I had visualised that concept in my mind along with the moko on my forehead. I hadn't discussed this with him, but somehow he knew and he placed a moko there. The moko on my forehead is ira atua and my chin is ira tangata (Huka Williams, Personal Interview: 22/07/02).

This cultural belief in *ira atua* and *ira tangata* shows the basic Māori world view in which there is an interaction between humans, their gods and the environment. As a politically motivated person Huka wanted her *moko* to represent this strong Māori ideology of the relationship between people and the environment. Huka made the comment that *moko* should reflect an individual rather than duplicating other people's designs to become a signature of a person's identity. Ngapera discussed this as well and believed that the nature of the design should not be about copying somebody else's. The other women acknowledged that their designs were unique to them and, therefore, a representation of their beliefs, their lives, and their identity.

Analysis

When aligning the material in this chapter to Part I of this thesis there are many aspects of this modern period of *moko kauae* that have evolved from the earlier *tā moko* periods. The personal journeys of these women in obtaining their *moko*

kauae were distinctive to the individual. Each woman who provided their story for this research highlighted a different aspect of their journey that they felt was an important element. The dynamic nature of *moko kauae* processes undertaken by each of these women did demonstrate some relationship to those processes from the past. The adaptations of these past elements in today's processes are indicative of the changing structures of Māori society.

The decision making process these women undertook illustrated the different beliefs these women hold. The *tuakana* of this group saw the approval of the *whānau* and *hapū* as an integral component of their decision. This acceptance from the wider community provided these *tuakana* with the support to acquire their *moko kauae*. This reflects the processes undertaken by the women of the *kuia moko* period (see Chapter Two). In the case of the *kuia moko* these women were nominated by the *hapū* to acquire *moko kauae* as a symbol of the *mana* of the people when fulfilling the roles on the *marae*. This association between the symbolism of the *mana* of the people in *moko kauae* of the *kuia moko* period and of today's society is still relevant. However, in the case of Tangimoe, her motives for enlisting the support of her people was not to acquire individual *mana* but to allow her people to reclaim this symbolism as an identity marker for them. While essentially these *tuakana* self-nominated themselves to acquire *moko kauae*, they believed that the support of their *whānau* and *hapū* allowed them to feel secure in their decision. These women were scrutinised by their respective *whānau* and *hapū* as to the reasons why they were willing to wear *moko kauae*. This cultural auditing by the collective group (as in the case of Mihi) ensured that the *mana* of the art of *moko kauae* remained intact. The notions of *whakapapa* status is not discussed in

respect to these women as they self identified as being the *tuakana* of their respective *whānau*. However, the important note here is that the *tuakana* of this group believed that the collective support of the people was an important part of their process in obtaining their *moko kauae*. For these *tuakana*, the *moko kauae* represents their identity within the collective unit of their *whānau* and their *hapū*.

The *taina* who participated in this research did not highlight the importance of obtaining the support of the wider *whānau* or *hapū*. In many respects Ngapera's elders influenced her decision to acquire *moko kauae*. The collective group who participated in her journey highlights the importance of her *whānau*'s influence. Ngapera had always been fascinated by the *kuia moko* whom she descended from. This interest established Ngapera's belief in the *mana* behind *moko kauae*. Therefore, Ngapera believed that *moko kauae* could only be worn by those who held that respect, for themselves but also for their people. The role of the *whānau* in her story reflected the love they felt for her as a member of their collective. This ideology of collective responsibility of the *whānau* and *hapū* units is an important element in the make up of Māori society. In respect to Ngapera's journey her *whānau* could see that she had been caught up in the negative aspects of the Pākehā world through her reliance on drugs and alcohol. The decision by her *whānau* to encourage her to receive the *moko kauae* of her own *kuia* was a means of influencing Ngapera to reconsider her life style. Ngapera respected the *moko kauae* not only as a consequence of the *whakapapa* shared between her and her *kuia*, but also because she regarded the *moko kauae* as possessing *mana*. Her decision to acquire *moko kauae* came about as a result of her changing her life style to acknowledge both her *whānau* and the *mana* behind *moko kauae*. As a result of

these changes, Ngapera has been encouraged to study both *te reo Māori* and *raranga* (weaving). The foresight of her *whānau* in using *moko kauae* as a means of encouraging Ngapera to abandon the negative way of life she was leading, and turn to a more positive Māori outlook, was an important aspect to Ngapera herself. This *whānau* support is similar to those of the *kuia moko* period in that her people nominated her. Yet ultimately she has had to come to her own decision based on her own beliefs in the *mana* of the *moko kauae*. The other *taina* in this research (Huka) also held a deep respect for *moko kauae*, and like Ngapera, had wanted to acquire one from an early age. However, unlike Ngapera and the other members of this research group Huka did not seek the support of *whānau* or *hapū*, as she believed that she would not receive their backing. Instead, her motives for *moko kauae* were associated with her political beliefs in Māori sovereignty. In many respects Huka saw the political ‘*whānau*’ group as being the most influential in her decision to acquire *moko kauae*. Therefore, she was more comfortable with seeking the support of these members, as she believed that her *moko kauae* is an expression of her political beliefs, that is, to maintain *mana motuhake* in Tūhoe. Huka’s decision to acquire *moko kauae* was supported by a collective group who were not defined by a common ancestry but by common ideals.

The issues surrounding the decision making process raises notions of conflict between individual and collective choice. These women, who ultimately had to make the individual choice to acquire *moko kauae*, all found support in a collective group. The support of these collectives became an important element in the process of *moko kauae*. An examination of Māori societal beliefs illustrates the significance of the collective belief, however, expressions of individualism are also common in these beliefs. These expressions of individualism are noted through the

actions of *taina* who assume positions of leadership. Furthermore, in respect to *moko kauae* Te Wharehuia Milroy described how his mother, who was nominated by her *hapū* to receive *moko kauae*, decided not to fulfill her *hapū*'s wishes (see Chapter Two). Another example of an individual going against the norm of cultural responsibility is illustrated in Tangimoe's story in which she opted to receive her *moko kauae* first. This act differs from those described in Part I of this thesis in which the *taina* acted as a *whāriki* for the *tuakana*. For Tangimoe, she believed that the role of the *tuakana* is always to protect the *taina*. These acts support the idea that individualism does occur in Māori society though within a commonly shared belief in the value of the collective.

The actual processes that these women undertook during the tattooing of their *moko kauae* differed from each other. In respect to the technology, Ngapera was the only one who chose to discuss the tattooing instruments used on her. This discussion was important as it explains why her *moko kauae* took seven hours to apply. None of the other women interviewed indicated that they had any other form of technology apart from the tattooing machine.

Another issue concerned the availability of anaesthetic in the case of Mihi. This option allowed the patient some relief from the pain of *moko kauae*, however, in Mihi's case she did note that she could still feel intense pain during the operation. In contrast, Huka believed that the *karakia* of the *tohunga tā moko* allowed her to drift into a unconscious state as a form of pain relief. For her, she believed that *karakia* was the anaesthetic used in traditional Māori society. Furthermore, *karakia* was an important element in settling Huka, Hinepau and Tangimoe throughout the

duration of the operation of *tā moko*. Huka believed that *karakia* was important as the *tohunga tā moko* was essentially removing a part of the individual's *wairua* during the process. The *karakia* was intended to ensure the protection of the *moko kauae* recipient and the *tohunga tā moko*.

The location of the operation is an example of the unique journeys these women encountered. For Tangimoe, having her *moko* done at her *marae* was part of the agreement she had made with her people. In contrast, Mihi had her *moko kauae* done at a Polytechnic, as this was where the *tohunga tā moko* had his studio. Despite the varied locations, these women all acknowledged the important role of *tapu* during their tattooing either in the form of *karakia* or through specific actions that were undertaken, such as the burial of all tattooing materials.

The processes that these women undertook in obtaining their *moko kauae* whilst unique, all shared some common themes. These differences go back to the past practices of *tā moko* that have been adapted to suit contemporary circumstances. These adaptations are not only influenced by technological changes but also ideological transformations. All of these women highlighted certain aspects they felt were important in their journey. These have been summarised in the following table:

Table 18: Interview Summaries

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Name | Hinepau Toko |
| Iwi | Tūhoe, Te Arawa, Ngā Puhi |
| Decision Process | <i>Whānau</i> played an important role during this process |
| Tattooing Process | <i>Karakia</i> was an essential part to the whole process |

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| Tohunga Tā Moko | The late Haruru Biddle, Tūhoe |
| Design meaning | Hinepau's design is reflective of the pattern drawn for her by her father prior to her death. Her <i>moko kauae</i> is her <i>whānau</i> . She did not want to have a deeply significant meaning to her <i>moko kauae</i> , however she did want it to reflect her strong spiritual side. For Hinepau her <i>moko kauae</i> signifies her identity at the <i>whānau</i> level. The importance she assigns the <i>whānau</i> expresses how this element is an important aspect of her identity, her Tūhoetanga. |

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Name | Mihi McLeod |
| Iwi | Ngāti Kahungunu, Tūhoe |
| Decision Process | Mihi consulted with her husband and then with her <i>hapū</i> . The role of these people was an important aspect of this process. Mihi also was put through a cultural audit to ensure that she had fully considered the implications of receiving a <i>moko kauae</i> . |
| Tattooing Process | Mihi was offered anaesthetic as part of the process. She was tattooed at the Polytechnic. Mihi discussed the importance of the <i>koha</i> she gave to the <i>tohunga tā moko</i> . This reflected those customs of payments as described in Chapter Five. |
| Tohunga Tā Moko | Derek Lardelli, Tai Rāwhiti. |
| Design Meaning | This original design was created by the <i>tohunga tā moko</i> to reflect Mihi's life at that point in time. As a post graduation move, Mihi's design represents the <i>mana</i> associated with traditional Māori knowledge as a representation of her unique identity as a Māori women, but more importantly as a woman from Ngāti Kahungunu and Tūhoe. |

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Name | Tangimoe Clay |
| Iwi | Whakatōhea, Tūhoe |
| Decision Process | Tangimoe consulted with her <i>hapū</i> , as she believed that it was important to gain their support. <i>Moko kauae</i> had been offered to her mother, yet she chose not to accept this. Part of Tangimoe's consultation was to reclaim this art for her people that had ceased to exist after her mother's generation. Tangimoe's people accepted her reasons, however, they instructed her that it should be undertaken at her <i>marae</i> . |
| Tattooing Process | As the <i>tuakana</i> Tangimoe believed that she needed to go first as a means of protecting her <i>taina</i> . Furthermore, the support of her <i>whānau</i> and <i>hapū</i> was identified by the number of people who participated in these women's journeys. The <i>whānau</i> and <i>hapū</i> who came to support their kin undertook <i>waiata</i> and <i>karakia</i> . |
| Tohunga Tā Moko | Derek Lardelli, Te Tai Rāwhiti |
| Design | Tangimoe described how her <i>moko kauae</i> indicated that she did not |

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Meaning | speak <i>te reo</i> Māori. However, the important element to her <i>moko kauae</i> pattern was that it was a representation of her <i>tino rangatiratanga</i> as a Māori woman, from Whakatōhea and Tūhoe. |
| Name | Ngapera Rangiaho |
| Iwi | Tūhoe, Ngāti Awa |
| Decision Process | Ngapera was encouraged to acquire her <i>moko kauae</i> by her <i>whānau</i> . They believed that the <i>moko kauae</i> would enable Ngapera to break away from her life style of alcohol and drug abuse. |
| Tattooing Process | Ngapera's <i>moko kauae</i> took seven hours to complete due to the make shift tattooing machine her brother created. She set up a separate room for this operation to ensure no transgressions of <i>tapu</i> occurred. |
| Tohunga Tā Moko | Ngapera's brother. |
| Design Meaning | The design was based on the <i>moko kauae</i> pattern that her <i>kuia</i> wore. Ngapera stressed the importance of making her design unique to her to maintain the <i>mana</i> of her <i>kuia</i> 's <i>moko kauae</i> . Ngapera was able to adapt the meaning of her <i>moko kauae</i> to suit her as the individual. Her <i>moko kauae</i> is a reflection of her identity as a Māori woman and, more importantly, a woman from Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa. |

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Name | Huka Williams |
| Iwi | Tūhoe, Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Ruapani |
| Decision Process | Huka chose not to consult with her <i>whānau</i> or <i>hapū</i> . However, she did consult with people who shared similar political beliefs to her. These people were influential in her decision making. |
| Tattooing Process | Huka's <i>moko kauae</i> took approximately two hours from discussion to completion. She had her <i>moko kauae</i> done in Auckland, at the home of the <i>tohunga tā moko</i> . |
| Tohunga Tā Moko | Chas Doherty, Tūhoe |
| Design Meaning | Huka's design is a reflection of her beliefs in <i>ira atua</i> and <i>ira tangata</i> . She believes that this is an expression of her sovereignty to decide what is important to her. This expression is commensurate with her political beliefs. Her <i>moko kauae</i> is a reflection of her reclaiming her past for future generations. Huka believes that the act of acquiring <i>moko kauae</i> is about having a signature to her identity as a Tūhoe woman. |

The notions of identity as a Māori woman and, more importantly, a woman who identifies with a particular tribal group, come through all of these stories. This recognition of the unique identity of the individual supports the notion that *moko kauae* in today's society is a symbol of the individual person - *Te Tangata*. Identity in this society, whether that be in New Zealand society or within Māori society, has been acknowledged by these women who have undertaken the processes of obtaining *moko kauae*.

Conclusion

These Tūhoe women who have shared their personal stories for this thesis all stand by their personal decisions to acquire a *moko kauae*. Whilst Tūhoe is not the primary *iwi* of some of these women, they acknowledge that it is an essential part of their identity insomuch that Tangimoe attributes her artistic ability to her Tūhoe side. Establishing their own personalities these women provide an insight into their

lives. This ranged from a spiritually influenced life reflected in health promotion through to a teacher, a businesswoman/artist, a student/weaver, and a politically motivated member of *Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe*.

The decision making process for each woman was different, however, it was interesting to note that the *tuakana* placed an importance on seeking the support of their *whānau* before undertaking *moko kauae*. Yet in saying this all the women were influenced by their *whānau* in some way. *Whānau* also incorporates people who share the same beliefs, as in Huka's case, where she discussed issues with her political activist peers.

The processes behind the tattooing of each individual reflected some of the old customary methods that have been discussed in earlier chapters. Each participant acknowledged that *karakia* was the essential element in the tattooing stage. Whilst some adopted unorthodox means during their operation this did not detract from the shared belief that *tapu* played an important part of each process. These women also went to a range of *tohunga*, of the five only two had the same *tohunga tā moko*, which gave an insight to the different practices of these modern *tohunga*. The *tohunga tā moko* had adopted some practices from the past, yet adapted them to suit the technology of today's society.

The journeys shared by these women showed many similarities, yet contrasted in many instances to provide a diverse picture of the nature of *moko kauae* in today's society. This chapter explored the meanings behind the designs of the respective women. These meanings ranged from representations of *whānau* through to strong

Māori metaphysical ideals that included cultural and mythological models. It was interesting to note that the designs did not indicate the woman's status within her *hapū* or *whānau*. The motives these women had in acquiring *moko kauae* all lead to identity politics. While each woman had a unique design, these patterns essentially told the same story. These women all stated that their *moko kauae* was a symbol of their identity, as Māori women, but more importantly as women who belonged to certain tribes, notably but not exclusively, Tūhoe.

Chapter Eleven

Ko taku moko kauae taku Tūhoetanga, taku Mana Motuhake
My moko kauae is a reflection of my Tūhoe identity, of my Mana Motuhake

This chapter will examine the identity politics behind the research participants' desire to receive *moko kauae*. The chapter will begin with the women's own description of how people react to their *moko kauae*. Such reactions have only strengthened the women's sense of who they are. The chapter will then explore the relationship between the individual responses of these women and the way they perceive their unique identity in the context of their own *hapū* or *whānau*. The chapter will look at Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe as a way of exploring the varied influence of this political group on these women's sense of identity, which ranges from a total commitment to the group to an identification solely to their own *hapū* or *whānau*. Despite these differences all the women link their *moko kauae* to their identity and to their sense of Tūhoetanga. It is Tūhoetanga and *moko kauae* that connect these women as a common group. This chapter will conclude by discussing the comments made by these women regarding the status of *moko kauae* especially in connection with how the art form has developed overtime until today. This will provide us with an understanding of how their decision to acquire *moko kauae* relates to the identity politics of the past as a basis from which they can move in to the future.

Reactions

Since the *kuia moko* period, *tā moko* (in all forms) did not appear again until its renaissance culture in the early 1980s as part of the gang culture. The association of *moko* with gangs, including the fictitious types portrayed in movies, such as *Once were Warriors*, attached a stigma to *moko* that was based on an ignorance of the cultural value of the art. This notoriety attached to *moko* has even become a barrier for Māori people who contemplate procuring a *moko*. The women of this thesis have all experienced a range of reactions since acquiring their *moko*, some positive and others negative.

Hinepau was one who has experienced a range of reactions to her *moko kauae* from members of her own *whānau* through to complete strangers.

There have been a lot of people that have stared at me since I got my moko kauae and I tell them to just pātai, to ask because it's not going to jump out and hurt them. I believe that people should just ask and not base their ignorance on their own judgements of my moko kauae. Those who do ask find out that it's just my Dad and us kids and all the mokopuna. I leave it at that, but if they think the worse of it like associating my moko with gangs and they are not prepared to ask well they're not worth talking to. I think they will just have to accept what's there. If they want to be judgmental about it or have an opinion about it, you can't do anything but explain to those who are prepared to ask that it is part of our culture.

A lot of babies are a little frightened of me at first and at first I use to freak out myself by their reaction. Now I grab their hands and make them rub my moko and

tell them how nice it is and make them touch it so they are no longer frightened. Moko kauae shouldn't be scary, it's not supposed to be scary.

My hapū were apprehensive at first about my moko kauae. They stood back and looked at it. I just said straight up, "What do you think?" They just thought it was different. They didn't make any other comments on how it looked. But that's ok, that's their opinion you know. If I love it you know I don't care if anybody else doesn't like it. It's mine and it's my Dad's. However, since getting my moko kauae the hapū have said to me that I shouldn't be in the kitchen. They want me to go around to the front now [of the marae], you've got to go to the whare puni. I say wait a minute this is the year 2000. I believe it is up to you as a person, if you feel it in your heart to go there [the front of the marae] then that's fine but at this time I'm happy here where I'm comfortable. I don't let my moko kauae affect me as a person. No, I'll never change or let this change my whole appearance. I'm still me. All of us we work as a team. They're happy to have hands to help [at the marae], that's where I'm happy and there's a time and place I suppose for everything and only then will I be ready to move to the front of the marae. But at the moment nobody's going to tell me I'm wrong. I'm happy where I am (Hinepau Toko, Personal Interview: 24/07/02).

Hinepau considers people who are not prepared to ask her about her *moko kauae* as ignorant. She invites people to ask questions as a means of educating them that *moko* and, in her case, *moko kauae* is not always related to gangs. Educating people on the cultural significance is important so as not to perpetuate these negative ideas, especially amongst children. Her *hapū*, whilst apprehensive of her

new acquisition, soon realised that she did not obtain her *moko* so that it would place her into a new position on the *marae*. She does not believe that she is ready to take on the challenges of moving to the front of the *marae* to perform new duties there and is content with continuing her work in the *whare kai* (dining hall). Hinepau is aware, however, that the time will come when she will have to fulfil a new role, but she is prepared to wait until she feels ready for a new responsibility. The change in attitude by her *hapū* indicates their recognition of the *moko kauae* as a symbol of the *mana* of the *hapū*. This is demonstrated in their desire to place Hinepau in the position of *kaikaranga* (ceremonial female callers).

Mihi shares a similar view to Hinepau in that she would prefer people to ask her about her *moko kauae* and not assume the reasons why she wears one.

Anei ngā kōrero mō tātou te iwi Māori. Mai i taua wai ki teneki wā, mōhio ana koe ki te moko ka āhua rerekē āu whakaaro nā tēnei, ka āhua rerekē te titiro a te tangata ki a koe. Ehara i te mea he whakaiti e tiro mākutu ana, e mau ana koe i tērā mō te aha? Engari ko ētahi ka āhua tumeke, ngā mea o te kāinga, ngā mea o tōku nei whānau. Ko taku nei kōrero ki a rātou, mehemea e hiahia ana koutou ki te mōhio he aha au mau ana i te moko, me pātai, kaua e haere ki te heriheri kōrero, me pātai koe. Kāore he aha (Mihi McLeod, Personal Interview: 25/07/02).

Mihi explains her frustration with people who tend to stare at her because they are unsure how to approach asking her about her *moko kauae*. Within her own *whānau* she knows that it initially shocked them, but she believes that people will only understand her reasons for her *moko* if they ask.

Tangimoe discussed how her decision to have a moko *kauae* is linked to her political beliefs in *tino rangatiratanga* and *Mana Motuhake*. Conscious also of her language ability, she realised that some people, especially Māori, were questioning her eligibility to receive *moko kauae* due to her lack of speaking ability in *te reo*.

My elders tended to question what I had done for the people rather than the issues relating to my reo ability, they didn't necessarily see that as an issue. Being primarily from Whakatōhea they saw the moko as being throat cutting and not recognising it as a stand for Mana Motuhake. Today I am not conscious of my moko any more, but when I first received my moko I was always eager to connect with other people who had moko because there were so few of us. Now I don't worry too much because there are more people who have moko kauae, and there is already a connection made through our common knowledge of what we have experienced in receiving a moko. But I believe that if you want to have moko kauae you have to be hardened to deal with the reactions that you receive. It is hard. Dealing with the business [Tangata Whenua Gallery] is a breeze compared to some of the reactions that are made to moko. There are many challenges that are laid out in front of you when you have moko and these are mainly from Māori people such as issues relating to te reo. For me other challenges have been related to my business such as people dismissing the goods I stock in the shop, and some saying that by selling taonga and having a moko will make me pōrangī (crazy) (Tangimoe Clay, Personal Interview: 19/11/02).

Tangimoe's realistic assessment of the types of ignorant reactions she has received is part of the responses she has had to deal with. As a result she believes that people who wear *moko* are those who are prepared to endure this type of response. It is distressing to note that the greatest critics of Māori women who have received *moko kauae* are Māori themselves. The example provided by Tangimoe in relation to her gallery only shows how Māori need to examine the cultural value behind this art form and cease perpetuating the stigma associated with *moko*. Furthermore, Tangimoe discussed how her own people from Whakatōhea believed that the acquisition of *moko kauae* was "throat cutting". This response is driven by the protective nature of the *whānau* and *hapū*. In today's society, Tangimoe's people believe that the *moko kauae* will marginalise her, and reduce her to a stereotype. However, for Tangimoe the *moko kauae* is about reclaiming her *mana motuhake* as a Māori woman.

Ngapera has also experienced the negative reactions of Māori towards her *moko*. Many of these feelings are related to Ngapera's eligibility to wear her *moko kauae*.

I've been challenged by other women, those who know how to kōrero Māori, at the very early stages of my tā moko. I got questions like, "Do you know how to do raranga whāriki [weave mats]?" "Do you know how to waiata?" "Do you know how to kōrero?" And I'd say, "No!" But the last straw was, "Do you know how to do the pūkana [dilating of the eyes used in performing arts]?" I started to think that I was going to disappoint my kuia by not being able to do any of the things these Māori people were asking of me. But my kuia reminded me that she was the one that had chosen me to wear it. Other people have asked, "Did you go through

the process of the hapū hui, did you have a hui?” I told them that when you are approached by your elders you do not get time to think about a response, it just comes out of the blue because they’ve watched you while you were growing up. It’s just like if my Nanny came up to me with a pounamu mere or any taonga, I would readily accept it. Given that although I had my doubts about receiving this taonga [moko kauae] at first, I needed to explain to my Nanny what I was doing at the time so they knew what stage in my life I was at. I didn’t want to agree at that time and not be able to live up to their desires. I didn’t want to be a disappointment to them (Ngapera Rangiaho, Personal Interview: 25/07/02).

Ngapera was aware that before accepting her elders’ request she would have to change her life style, as she did not want to disappoint them. This indicates again how important her *whānau* are in her *moko kauae* journey. The responses of Māori that have been made to these women is not always an indication that Māori generally do not support *moko kauae*. For many Māori it is a combination of not understanding the current issues behind why women choose to obtain *moko kauae*. Most knowledge of *tā moko* is associated with the *kuia moko* period and, therefore, a comparison is drawn between the *kuia* and these women who have decided to participate in the revival of the art. The motivation of women today to acquire *moko kauae* is not to assume the *mana* of the *kuia moko*. Educating people on the reasons why women are now acquiring *moko*, and the politics behind their efforts, is an essential element in changing attitudes to *moko*.

As a core member of the Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe political group, Huka spends a lot her time in this group. This entails land occupations within the Mataatua region

(Bay of Plenty) and supporting other *iwi* in their protests such as Pakaitore in Whanganui. Because these Māori protests are extensively reported through the media, the *moko* of these people are identified with their respective political groups. Echoing the narratives above, Huka has experienced mixed reactions to her *moko kauae*.

Personally myself, I have had interesting reactions to my moko kauae. In fact I have had a positive reaction, unlike Uncle Wēti [another member of Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe] who has had a negative reaction. He's always had stigma and negative reactions to his tīwhana (male face moko), but I've never had that problem. In fact I've had the problem of having too many opportunities handed to me that I am not really ready for. I've had good reactions, good positive reactions. The main thing, however, is I don't really care if they call me a radical because of my association with Tame Iti. I really don't care. When I'm out of the valley and I meet kids they'll turn around and their eyes are nearly popping out and they'll say to me, "Are you going to do the haka?" or, "Is it real? Can we touch it?" This is quite positive because they are prepared to ask me about my moko.

I was actually more afraid of how people in the valley [Rūātoki] here would react than outside people. Especially how Jack [Huka's partner] would react because I didn't even tell him that I was going to get a moko kauae. The interesting thing, however, was that he knew that I was up to something because my father's tewhatewha [long staff weapon] kept falling off the wall and everytime they put it up, it would fall off again. So they [Jack and children] had a feeling. They knew then that I was doing something.

During the time of our kuia moko they were living it in a different time, they did not compromise their tikanga. You know it was still here. And it had nothing to do with, could you speak te reo, and all that. But in this time our children need people to look up to. They need something even if it's just a moko. They need something to look up to even if it just gets to the point where moko is just a natural thing. See my mokopuna she thinks it's natural. But if I was to go and pick up another mokopuna that doesn't live in my household or lives in a household that doesn't have moko they get frightened (Huka Williams, Personal Interview: 22/07/02).

These positive reactions from outsiders, including the children, highlight how people are becoming increasingly aware of *moko kauae*. Even though Huka had not told her *whānau* that she was getting a *moko* they were aware that she was definitely up to something life-changing. This compounded her anxiety about how these people and other people living in Rūātoki would react to her *moko*. She believes that the revitalisation of *moko* at this time is important for the future generations. The more they recognise *moko kauae* the more they will believe that it is a positive aspect of Māori culture. The *kuia moko* period did not have as many restrictions for those women who wished to acquire the art. Huka contextualised this by adding that the time period that these *kuia* were living in accepted *moko kauae* as one of the many Māori social institutions that made up *tikanga Māori*.

It is apparent from all these women's stories that they have all experienced varying responses to their *moko kauae*. The negative experiences that they have received seem to stem from other Māori people who have questioned the eligibility of these women to acquire *moko kauae*. These questions which range from language ability

to being able to do the *pūkana* appear to be come mainly from Māori who are either unaware of the cultural significance of *moko kauae*, or have a romanticised opinion of the art believing that it should remain in the past. As noted earlier the *kuia moko* period was a time when Māori were primarily living in their *papakāinga* (traditional homes) and, therefore, life was dictated by *tikanga Māori*. However, the impact of colonisation has meant that some Māori do not fully understand their cultural world view and, therefore, assume that this current revitalisation is transgressing a very *tapu* area. There is some merit in this view, however, the *tapu* associated with *tā moko* occurs during the process of receiving the *moko* and does not apply to the wearing of the *moko kauae*.

Another interesting issue that permeates each narrative is that these women are aware that they need a thick skin in order to protect themselves from criticism. Yet, this is only required when people choose not to ask and, instead, make their own judgements about these women and their *moko kauae*. This attitude is also reflected in these women's views on Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe and other political issues.

Politics

The political motivations of these women are as unique as the *moko kauae* they bear. For some, they share a similar view that their *moko kauae* is a representation of their struggle as a member of Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe. Others do not believe in this struggle and see their *moko* as a representation of being Māori, or of *whānau* politics.

Hinepau commented that she is more concerned with the issues and philosophies of Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe. Being a close relative of Tame Iti (founder and leader of the party) she does not necessarily believe in his philosophies.

I'm not a great follower of Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe, but I've heard a lot about it. I wouldn't mind going to one of their meetings one day but I won't follow Tame. [Laughter] Not him, anybody else but him. Don't get me wrong he's all right. But we clash over certain issues, we have different opinions and we don't see eye to eye on many issues. We sit down and debate these things because there are a lot of issues that I don't like him being involved in. My primary political motivation is whānau and hapū based and issues surrounding tikanga. What I've noticed is that we seem to be lifting the men. Our kuia always said that the wāhine is going to be the backbone for the men and women still are today. They are the little things that we picked up when we were young but we still hold on to. It was important to me to know those tikanga and to know that I'm a Ngāi Tūhoe wahine, born and bred here (Hinepau Toko, Personal Interview: 24/07/02).

Hinepau's position has been consistent throughout her whole story in that she is impelled towards issues surrounding her *whānau* and also her *hapū*. Whilst not always agreeing with the philosophies of her *tūngane*, Tame Iti, this appears to be more related to her concern for him as a member of her *whānau* rather than totally dismissing his political convictions. As Hinepau's beliefs are centered on her *whānau* and *hapū* she believes that the issues of these core groups should be maintained before looking at the whole *iwi*. Her concerns highlight issues around

tikanga and the maintenance of customs. She acknowledges the role of women on the *marae* and her focus is ensuring *tikanga* for the *whānau* and *hapū* is sustained.

Mihi's political motivation was driven by continuing her academic career at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi. This reawakening through new knowledge and her pride in being Māori is represented in her *moko kauae*.

Ka haere au ki te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi. Ko te tikanga i te tuatahi ki te whai i te tohu mō te ako, engari i te kōrero ahau ki a Tāmati Kruger, koia i taua wā te Kaihautu o Te Whare Wānanga, i runga i āna kōrero ka āta whakaaro anō ahau me whai i te tohu mātauranga Māori. Ka hipa atu ngā tau e toru. I roto i taku tau whakamutunga, i oho mai taku wairua Māori, i mua atu i tērā kāore au i te aro. Engari kua oho mai te hiahia, te manako, ki te whakaātinana i taku i ako. Ae, he Māori ahau, he pai ki e whakaatu he Māori koe. I āta whakaaro ahau me pēhea taku whakaatu ki ōku nei tāina, ki ōku tuakana he pai ki te whakaatu he Māori koe. I roto i taku rōpū i te kura o Awanuiarangi ētahi kōtiro ataahua i mea mai rāua, “Hey, mutu ana tātau i tēnei tohu kei te haere mātou kia tāhia.” Ka mea au, “Aye?” Ka mea atu, “Ae, kei te haramai koe?” Ka mea atu, “Oh kao. Āhua mamae ki a au tērā”. Engari kāore au i te tino rata ki te tiki noa iho. Tuatahi ki a au nei me haere ki te hoki ki te kōrero ki tōku whānau. Engari ka haere ēnei tokorua kia tāhia. I mua, ko tētahi i hoki ki te kāinga ki te kōrero ki tōna whaea, ki tōna hapū. Ko tētahi koia tonu tana rangatira, haere tōtika tonu. Kai te pai tēnā. Ka haere rāua ki a Derek Lardelli, he whanaunga tata ki tētahi o rāua, ā, he whanaunga tata ki ahau. Nā ka haere mātou ki te tautoko i ēnei tokorua i Tūranga. Ka tāhia rāua e Derek. Ataahua te mahi a Derek, i āta whakaaro au, ae tērā pea

ka hiahia ahau. Engari, me oti i aku nei mahi, taku tohu me te whakapakari i tōku nei reo (Mihi McLeod, Personal Interview 25/07/02).

Inspired by her fellow classmates, Mihi decided that she wanted to express her pride in her culture in a similar manner. However, for Mihi the acquisition of a *moko kauae* could only be done after she had completed her studies. She was concerned that prior to her graduation she would not be suited to wearing the *moko*. This *moko kauae* then became an acknowledgment of the Māori knowledge that she had acquired in her studies. Furthermore, this newly acquired knowledge and sense of pride saw Mihi determined to consult with her *whānau* and *hapū*, so that they could feel part of the process of *tā moko* with her. This signifies Mihi's beliefs in her *moko kauae* being associated with her identity. For her, her people are an integral component of her identity.

Tangimoe has already stated that she is inspired by the struggles of Māori in relation to issues surrounding *tino rangatiratanga* and *mana motuhake*.

For me, the realisation that I wanted to wear one came during the time when Tame Iti was delivering eviction notices to Pākehā people who resided on the confiscated lands. It was here that political iwi issues came to the fore for me. It made me aware that I needed to be proud of who I am, about being Māori. This country belongs to us, and it is through talking to Tame that I became influenced in moko as being a means of a life style change.

One of the first times I became involved in issues relating to Mana Motuhake was when we occupied Paemānuka. Hostility grew during our occupation there and we went with Aunty Hinehou Campbell and her daughter Tracey to support the cause. We were having a hui regarding the area, and had been looking after people, however, we watched our men walk away from the occupation and they left us women there to defend our land. The men believed that the women had trodden on their mana at the marae and so the men from Whakatōhea left. It was our Tūhoe relatives who came in to support us women by erecting our tents and watching over us. The men from Whakatōhea left us with a bare construction, but we continued as women from Whakatōhea occupying the land that belonged to us. Paemānuka belonged to all the tribes of Mataatua. It was sectioned off for tribes as a mahinga kai and was shared communally by all the tribes of Mataatua, hence Tūhoe's support in the matter.

My moko has made me more aware of being Māori and to be aware of tino rangatiratanga. In my shop the emphasis on products made by Māori is one of my commitments to upholding Mana Māori. The process of my moko coincided with the development of my shop. However, my moko hasn't always led to harmony in the community, as there has been hostility with both Māori and Pākehā communities. I believe that opening my shop is a form of protest because it's the only shop with a Māori name even in a Māori community. Even small matters relating to the shop have been my assertions of tino rangatiratanga, for example, the seat that is located outside my shop took me ages to have the council place it there once I had fought through the bureaucracy.

Today I have become more involved in issues relating to my hapū, whereas before I tended to only involve myself at the marae when there were tangihanga on but now I am more actively involved in our hapū issues. However, it has always been a conscious step for me. Before moko though I could pick and choose when I wanted to be consciously Māori but since moko I have made that commitment to kaupapa Māori. This is what is important in my life (Tangimoe Clay, Personal Interview: 29/11/02).

Apart from actively participating in land occupations, Tangimoe sees her shop as a coup against Pākehā business people in Ōpōtiki. By actively promoting Māori artists and supplying and commissioning Māori works she is promoting Māori through the artistic medium. Her involvement in issues surrounding her *hapū* are now the central motivation for her, and her *moko kauae* has been essential in this development. The *moko kauae* has also made Tangimoe committed to *kaupapa Māori* now more so than ever before, as her *moko kauae* has forced her to become involved.

Ngapera's political motivations are reflective of her narratives; they are driven by her *whānau*. As discussed earlier, Ngapera's *whānau* asked her to receive the *moko kauae* as a means of changing the life course she was following at the time. Ultimately this has influenced Ngapera's political philosophies that now stem from *tikanga-based* ideals.

I have always been aware that my moko kauae is about a life process. You develop your own sense of motivation over time. There are those who wear it for the love of

wearing it. They have a kaupapa attached to it. We all have different thoughts of how we wear our moko. I have thoughts of gratitude and love and I just follow after that. I have learnt that my kuia Ngamahi was a midwife and she worked a lot with harakeke and the rongoā to bring out the after birth. I realised then that harakeke wasn't just for raranga and now I have learnt something more from my kuia as I have developed. I am motivated by contributing to my hapū and participating in these aspects. Currently I am trying to contribute to my hapū by producing whāriki. This I believe is my political motivation currently by improving the taonga [in this case whāriki] of the marae of my hapū promotes hapū self-esteem. This to me is important, however, you have to do it with a good heart and a good wairua. I felt that I was ready to make this commitment and they [her whānau] supported me and that is what is important (Ngapera Rangiaho, Personal Interview: 25/07/02).

Ngapera's contribution to her *hapū* in promoting self-esteem assists in her own personal life process development. This has motivated her to continue to learn about issues relating to her *whānau* and *hapū*, which has included learning *te reo* through her current studies at Anamata (a private training establishment located in Whakatāne and Tāneatua). Ngapera contributes to her *hapū* through her weaving and participation at different events hosted by her *hapū*. Her skills in creating *whāriki* for the *marae* not only improve these facilities but also allow the people to feel proud of their identity as a member of that *hapū*.

Huka is a core member of Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe and, therefore, she shares the philosophical ideas. However, her membership in this group is actually prompted by her concern for issues relating to Tūhoe as a whole tribe.

Te Mana Motuhake o Tuhoe means a lot to me. My reason for being part of this political group is because I believe that if we do not have people there monitoring certain activities within Tuhoe, then some situations will become unbearable. We don't want to be dictated to by outside Government organisations and the reason we stand for Mana Motuhake o Tuhoe is because we want things to be better for our people, our children and our mokopuna. If we can't make a stand now, if we don't make this stand now, we will never make a stand. Time and technology is moving ahead and this is impacting on our children especially in their way of thinking. In the future we might not even have concepts that have land based values, like tūrangawaewae, it might be completely lost. So Te Mana Motuhake o Tuhoe is there to make sure that these things aren't lost, our traditional rites aren't lost and that our environment isn't polluted. At the beginning Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe was an idea, politically sparked and evolved from various organisations that we were politically involved in. From Nga Tamariki o Te Kohu [a former Tūhoe political group], through to Te Kotahitanga [another former Tūhoe political group], and now we are known as Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe. Our predominant core members all have ta moko, which is a political statement by itself.

As a tribe, Tūhoe has always fought for mana motuhake either as a whole tribe, or as individual hapū. Te Whitu Tekau and the philosophies and the ideals that came from Te Whitu Tekau are an example of Tūhoe's struggle as an iwi. Te Mana

Motuhake o Tūhoe's main kaupapa is related to issues of land injustices, therefore our primary objective is to retain the land for Tūhoe to maintain our tūrangawaewae. For us this means we can maintain our Tūhoetanga. So getting a moko is about stating your mana motuhake. So when you wear your moko, you aren't wearing it for yourself you wear it on behalf of your iwi and your hapū. I believe that in the time of our kuia moko they were politically driven and their moko kauae was a reflection of this. They had no qualms in saying, 'I know I'm a Tuhoe, I know my whakapapa, I know where I come from, I know the history of this area'. They knew their world, and it was their political statement. It's a symbol of identity of who I am. With the issue that we're dealing with now concerning the raupatu I know and a lot of other people are aware about the hara (misgivings) that happened to every single family and person during Tūhoe's history. Your bloodline connects you directly to those tīpuna who fell, who died. It is really about our essence of being Tūhoe. We were alienated from our land, we are the Indigenous People of this land, we need to stand up and tell people this.

Tame is the leader of Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe, Tame Iti. Tame returned after his stand at Parliament buildings where he established the first Tūhoe embassy. Being a member of the Communist Party motivated Tame's whole political stand. When he returned and settled here in Rūātoki, just next door here, we established two groups Ngā Tamariki o te Kohu who made the stand at Taiarahia, and Te Kotahitanga. I was the secretary of Ngā Tamariki o te Kohu and Te Kotahitanga at the time. I was their secretary and we had frequent meetings on different issues. Our main issue arising was the raupatu. At this time Hirini Melbourne and Wharehuia Milroy were filing their first claim to the Waitangi Tribunal and they

came and held a wānanga over there at Rangimōwaho [one of the ancestral houses at Te Rewarewa marae, Rūātoki]. From that wānanga we decided that we would take the issues that would be highlighted during the raupatu and use those issues and articulate scenarios which depicted certain events. So from that we had the blockading of the Tāneatua road that happened on Waitangi Day. We blocked the road and handed out to everybody an information sheet that explained the events that had happened on the first entry of St John, Mair and Whitmore into Te Urewera, which took place here in 1867. From there the ball just started rolling to where we had the posting of the eviction notices. Consequently these were issued on the same day that everybody in the Tāneatua region, Opouriao, was handed eviction notices during the time of the confiscation, where they were told to dismantle their pā and withdraw towards Rūātoki even though our people couldn't read them at the time. Another incident was when the jet boats held their annual event up the Ohinemataroa River, which had been going on for about 20 years. This national race would bring many jet boaters to the river and see them zapping up our river. We stopped this by throwing rocks at them and standing in their path so that they stopped the race. The protest was because these people did not have any respect for our river and were affecting the environment. Ohinemataroa is one of our ancestors, and a life source to Tūhoe.

Nationally Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe has become a real icon since the time Tame spat at the Governor General, Cath Tizard, in a statement which traditionally was what our tīpuna did to vent their anger. Plus we also raised the Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe flag on the naval flag pole at Waitangi which only fueled tensions at Waitangi but the effect now is that the flag, and symbol is recognised nationally. So the Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe is always active, maybe you don't think it's active

because people are too used to thinking that active means it makes it onto the TV. But we are actually active right now. Right now while we are speaking we are occupying two areas.

Although I have done a few things politically within the iwi, to me it doesn't mean anything because we still have bigger issues out there. My political philosophy is based on an idea, and that idea extends and goes hand in hand with my moko. It came from a philosophy of rebelling against the system. I was never comfortable with Māori being put into a boundary and even in that boundary we do not have total control or management of it. We are always being dictated to by a system. We need to move away from the state system's determined lines. We have 98% of the valley of Rūātoki that have been unemployed for a good 30 years. We are still dictated to by a social welfare structure. We've been down trodden so many times, you get to a point where there is something missing and you need to go and get it and for me that's where tā moko slots in. It was always there but it was just getting the people to take the step towards it (Huka Williams, Personal Interview: 22/07/02).

The insight Huka provided into the philosophies of *Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe* highlighted her political motivations for obtaining a *moko kauae*. For her she sees her *moko kauae* as being an essential part of her identity, and as a means of expressing her *mana motuhake*. The issues relating to the land echo the earlier *kuia moko* period where they were the children or grandchildren of the ancestors who had been affected by the *raupatu*. For Huka, her *moko* is her statement about repelling the effects of colonisation. It has been an extension of her other political

activities such as protests, land occupations, and terminating jet boat races. These political protests, including land occupations and the issuing of eviction notices, stem from Huka's belief in the importance of *whenua*. These actions are drawn from the historical accounts of Tūhoe during the tumultuous period of the confiscation. Huka believes that the negative social issues she sees in Rūātoki results from Tūhoe being deprived of their fertile lands. She is of the opinion that had the *raupatu* not occurred Tūhoe would have continued to maintain their autonomy and would not have become dependant on the State system.

The *moko kauae* for Huka is one means by which to break away from this dependency. When she contemplates the *kuia moko* period, she understands that the people then were secure in their identity. Their Tūhoetanga was never questioned because their lives centred on their *whānau* and *hapū*. She believes that not all Tūhoe have that same sense of security in their identity, especially the younger people. Her *moko kauae* is about reclaiming the security shared by the *kuia moko* as a symbol for future generations in order that they may feel comfortable in their Tūhoetanga.

Each woman's narrative has reflected political motivations behind their acquisition of their *moko kauae*. Whilst these have ranged from *whānau* or *hapū* issues through to Tūhoe and Māori issues, they all believe that their *moko kauae* is an important aspect of their beliefs and ultimately is related to their identity, especially their Tūhoetanga.

Tūhoetanga

The importance of identifying with a tribe is often more important to Māori than being recognised as a ‘Māori’. It is the connection of a collective *whakapapa* to one ancestor that provides a shared history through the actions of this ancestor and subsequent descendants. For these women their identity as members of Tūhoe varied. Some considered Tūhoe to be a secondary affiliation, with the main attachment being to other tribes. Others again considered Tūhoe to be their principal *iwi*. Regardless of the priority assigned to their respective *iwi*, these women all stated that their Tūhoetanga was an indivisible part of their identity.

Hinepau grew up outside of Rūātoki while her father was working on the dam at Te Mahoe. For her she felt a loss in not being surrounded by her Tūhoetanga and the return ‘home’ has been important for her as she rediscovers this dimension. This journey has had her researching into her *whakapapa* and as a result discovering her history, through learning about Te Purewa, a Tūhoe *rangatira* and warrior from her *hapū*.

I wished we never left Rūātoki. We were only kids then when we moved to Te Māhoe. It was frightening then, but we still wanted to be based here cause this is where we were brought up. It was hard you know going away so young to lose it all and never to come back for 30 years. But you know then, in that time we brought ourselves up with our Dad as we never had a Mum. When we came back to Rūātoki it was heaven to be home. I used to say, “why did we leave here Dad?” I had to learn later that we left because my Dad had to look for work in those days. He always said that there would be a time when you’d want to come home and eventually we did come back. We came back never to leave again.

I'm a wahine from Ngāi Tūhoe and I'm proud to be a wahine from Ngāi Tūhoe because of who we are. I even looked into our whakapapa cause we come down from Te Purewa's line. This discovery was important because I didn't know that we came from him and to learn about him was an awesome experience. Those things were shunned away from us when we left here and it wasn't until we came back did we discover this. It was kept from us because Te Purewa was a notorious warrior and this aspect was not celebrated by our whānau. I take the good side of him, he was a tohunga, he was a staunch tohunga. Dad never talked about the other side of him, as he was a proud man and I respect that, he just didn't want us to know the other side of Te Purewa. It is understandable that Te Purewa was a notorious warrior as his hapū are at the front of the Rūātoki valley which could have only been protected by someone as courageous as him. But for me I would question whether it would be better if we did know so that we can protect ourselves from the other side of him. He's got a good side and a bad side but we look at his good side. We still like to know the bad side so that way we can protect our mokopuna and ourselves but Dad wouldn't talk about it. To him Te Purewa was a tangata rangatira that was it to him. But through the kōrero it gradually came into our thoughts and heart. That's important too and those are the values we are passing on to our mokopuna. Yeah to me it is my identity because it's my matua and us sisters and brothers and the mokos. We've got nine so far and it's growing and I love it (Hinepau Toko, Personal Interview: 24/07/02).

The discovery of Hinepau's *whakapapa* connection to Te Purewa is an important aspect of reclaiming her Tūhoetanga, for she can share a sense of pride in knowing

that she descends from an acclaimed Tūhoe *rangatira*. As Hinepau explains Te Purewa was not only a noted warrior, but also a *tohunga*. Whilst considered notorious by her elders, Hinepau realises that understanding the nature and characteristics of her ancestors, such as Te Purewa, allows her to fully understand herself, her children and *mokopuna*. This, blended with her spiritual nature, allows her to continue Te Purewa's *tohunga* side in her work in health. Her ancestor has become a role model for her. She believes that as descendants of our ancestors we continue their characteristics in the present, to help shape the future. The connection to the ancestors is an important element in feeling secure in one's identity.

Both Mihi and Tangimoe stated that their primary *iwi* was not Tūhoe, however, they have both also stated that they associate their *moko kauae* with their identity, which includes Tūhoe. For Mihi, her discovery of her Tūhoe side did not become apparent to her until she was older and a student at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi. However, this late discovery does not diminish her appreciation that this is an essential part of her identity. Mihi stated earlier: “*Ko te moko nei e whakaatu ana i tōku nei Tūhoetanga, tōku nei Kahungunutanga, tōku Mana Motuhake. Kāore au i te haere ko au anake, ka heri mai i ōku tīpuna, ōku whānau*” (*Mihi McLeod, Personal Interview: 25/07/02*). The prominence she places on her identity, as reflected in her *moko kauae*, is the key factor behind her taking the step towards attaining this *taonga*. For Tangimoe her affinity to Tūhoe extends beyond her comments that she assigns her artistic talent to Tūhoe. In relation to her *moko kauae* Tangimoe acknowledges the teachings of her *tohunga tā moko* prior to her receiving her *moko* that, “*Moko has a whakapapa, a history and an iwi. Iwi ki te*

iwi, kanohi ki te kanohi, toto ki te toto" (Tangimoe Clay, Personal Interview: 19/11/02). *Whakapapa*, history, and *iwi* are elements that run deep in the bloodlines of every person. The process of *tā moko* literally draws out these connections through the designs that are tattooed into the skin. The combination of ink and blood becomes a physical representation of the *whakapapa*, the histories, and the *iwi* affiliations of all of those women who receive *moko kauae*. These elements highlight their importance to Tangimoe and other women who choose to obtain a *moko kauae*.

Ngapera's experience reflects that of Mihi and Tangimoe's where these women are only developing an attachment to their Tūhoe side as they have grown older. For Ngapera this has become more significant since her father passed away. Growing up in Auckland kept her away from her Tūhoe side and during holidays she tended to spend her time with her Ngāti Awa whānau. Now, however, Ngapera is returning more and more to Rūātoki to discover her connection to Tūhoe.

To me, to be Tūhoe is acknowledging who I am and where I come from. I've never thought about being Tūhoe, it's just like I know who I am. I've just come back to Rūātoki after my father passed away, because we were never brought up here, we were brought up in Auckland. We moved away years ago. Everytime we came back for the holidays we used to stay at Te Teko because my kuia from Tūhoe was staying in Tūrangi at the time. So we never came back to Rūātoki. It was until we brought Pāpā (Dad) back and one of the koroua i reira (elderly men there) Koro Big John Teepa said, "kia kaha koutou ki te hoki mai ki te kāinga." (You need to

keep coming back here.) So that's what we've been doing in the last couple of years.

It's been one of learning for me as we used to spend our time with our kuia at Te Teko. Sometimes Pāpā would speak of his Papakāinga (home lands) but not often. He more or less focussed on his work as a Minister. It wasn't until later that I came back and now I am going to the marae hui (marae meetings), te whakakotahi i te whānau (to unite my family) and mainly to help in the wharekai (dining room). I don't even kōrero Māori when I go back home, to Rūātoki, but one day I will but I'm still learning a lot. It is about being whānau with my Tūhoe side, getting involved with matter equivalent to that of my Ngāti Awa side. It's all a process, everything in life is a process, you just carry on and focus on what you want to do and go for it. There's no time barrier on it. It's always learning to carry and achieve what you want to do and go for it. Those who are fortunate to be given the opportunity to get a moko don't be frightened because it will all fall into place. Even if you don't know anything. Just wear it with a lot of might and kaha [strength] and especially a lot of aroha. You need to get over the barriers out there. But always whakawātea (release), don't carry the mamae (hurt). There's always a new day, just carry on, be strong, don't worry about anybody else. If it's negative just chuck it away and look for the positive. Go hard, just follow your heart, it might be rocky but it will get better (Ngapera Rangiaho, Personal Interview: 25/07/02).

Ngapera acknowledges that it was imperative for her to involve herself in matters regarding her Tūhoe side. Her small contribution to her *marae* is important in her

life process, in this case reestablishing her connections to her father's people. Ngapera's contribution to her Tūhoe people has developed since her father's death. For her this keeps the connection to this part of her *whakapapa* alive not only for her but also for her daughter. This enables this element of her identity to continue to be strong. Tūhoe is just as important to her identity as her Ngāti Awa and Scottish ancestry, and her commitment to Tūhoe since her father's death is part of her life process.

Being involved in the political party of Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe has allowed Huka to have an understanding of the impact of colonisation on Tūhoe. In many respects this affects how she perceives the importance of being Tūhoe.

Tōku Tūhoetanga. He kōrero ka takoto, he kōrero whakatauāki, ‘ko koe te taumuka o te tangata nei, te taumuka hua o te tangata nei o Tūhoe’. ‘We are the descendants of this man called Tūhoe.’ Being a Tūhoe is not my priority in my life, like I call myself Tūhoe because I think it was a title given to us. But I know that my connections go beyond just being Tūhoe, like I know, for example, we were a pitau (frond) from a rarauhe (bracken fern) that extended back to Te Maunga (The Mountain) and Hinepukohurangi (The Mist Maiden). I am more comfortable being this than being Tūhoe. But Tūhoe, is what we are now and what we are comfortable with now. But if I had a preference it would be that we are a product of a rarauhe and we became Ngā Tamariki o te Kohu. So being a Tūhoe means a lot but deep down inside me I know it's not enough, it's not enough just to be a Tūhoe. There are other emotions, wairua and other deeper things that are there

which go beyond my Tūhoetanga, and where my roots of my Tūhoetanga begin which identifies me as an individual within Te Urewera hapū.

We go back to two celestial beings Hinepūkohurangi and Te Maunga. We believe that we are ‘Ngā Tamariki o te Kohu,’ we are ‘the children of the mist’. Hinepūkohurangi is when I look toward the Huiarau ranges from our Rūātoki valley here, I always see the mist, and it’s a part of me. It is part of Te Urewera. We have these two celestial beings that united, and we are the products of those two beings. In our traditions we always refer to Hinepūkohurangi and Te Maunga, and this union. We are Ngā Tamariki o Te Kohu.

With the coming of the Mataatua waka we have, Toroa, Puhi Ariki, Muriwai amongst others including the tohunga, Tāneatua. Now this particular tipuna married Ohinemataroa (from the tangata whenua). The intermarriage by the settlers of Mataatua into Ngā Pōtiki, Te Hapuoneone secured rights to the lands.

Pākehā people cannot comprehend our spiritual belief in celestial beings and so we had to be packaged and presented in a comprehensive form. We became Tūhoe. As a result we are actually marketed as Tūhoe people. It was interesting to read Judith Binney’s report [Encircled Lands 2002a] over there, how we identified ourselves as Urewera people, not as Tūhoe. After we went under the political governance of Te Whitu Tekau things started to evolve. But at the time Tūhoe still identified as hapū of Te Urewera and after that we started to say we were Tūhoe. So I really believe that we were labeled under Pākehā terms and not our own. This also brought the perception that we were ‘mohoao’, ‘uncouth’ people. I don’t

believe that. We began to lose our identity through social change throughout the course of our history. We also lost our practice of tā moko, because you were considered to be too out there. Even now a lot of people feel a bit uncomfortable around people with tā moko because they're uncomfortable with people identifying themselves as being Māori.

Tūhoe politics has changed in a big way. It was more refined I feel, more refined in the era of our tīpuna, and then somewhere along the way it got whittled down and watered down. Now we've got a real diluted version of Tūhoe politics and a lot of problems stem from this. Some of those problems come from being involved in World War I and World War II and the impacts caused as a result of that. Another factor is the many government acts that were passed like the Tohunga Suppression Act, Land Alienation Acts and creating institutions such as the Māori Land Court, of which this was the worst. Other areas that were affected were in health, education, food and religion. Since I decided to get my moko kauae I gave up alcohol, drugs and cigarettes. I like the philosophy of giving these up. I like that philosophy not only as a benefit to my own health, but because I think that our children need role models. Our children need role models because they don't have many positive role models as a result of their history and the effects of colonisation.

This ultimately stems from the raupatu (confiscation) of our lands and for me our raupatu case is our priority. It has always been about the raupatu, the confiscation of land, the desolation of our people, they were all hara (wrong doings). Moko for me is who I am, and who I've become and who I am going to be until I die. Moko for me is something that my mokopuna and all of them after me are going to be

comfortable with. Just like how my children are comfortable with it. They knew me prior to having moko and they still know me as having moko and to them things haven't changed. My moko is my identity as a Tūhoe person and one of Ngā Tamariki o Te Kohu (Huka Williams, Personal Interview: 22/07/02).

Huka sources her identity to the union of Te Maunga and Hinepūkohurangi. The result of this union is ‘Ngā Tamariki o Te Kohu’. This term is used to describe the many descendants of Tūhoe as this reminds these descendants of their connections to their celestial origins. The Ngā Pōtiki who directly descend from Te Maunga and Hinepūkohurangi are the source of Tūhoe’s *tangata whenua* rights to the land. The intermarriage with the settlers of the Mataatua *waka* provided another element to Tūhoe’s identity. This union is acknowledged by Tūhoe as being an important aspect of their identity, and these ancestors are acknowledged in the declaration, “*Nā Toi rāua ko Pōtiki te whenua, Nā Tūhoe te mana me te rangatiratanga*” (Melbourne 1987a: 1). Huka supports the description of Tūhoe identity made by Judith Binney in her *Encircled Lands* Report, in which Tūhoe referred to themselves by the land, Te Urewera. Therefore, she understands Tūhoe identity formed after the political influence of Te Whitu Tekau, and as a response to Pākehā. Furthermore, Huka believes that the continued influence of Pākehā on Tūhoe throughout Tūhoe history has inevitably affected Tūhoe identity. Her reference to the participation in the World Wars is linked to her belief that the male population in Tūhoe was weakened as a result of the deaths of its men on active service. This she believes impacted not only on the population of Tūhoe, but also affected the attitudes of the survivors of the wars. Huka’s understanding of the impact of Pākehā culture throughout the Tūhoe’s history influences how she sees the status of Tūhoe as an *iwi* today. She refers to the different Acts and

Government institutions such as the Māori Land Court that impacted on the people by removing them from their source of identity, the land.

Huka's passion for issues pertaining to the *raupatu* claim for the Waitangi Tribunal is one of the driving forces behind her belief in her *moko kauae*. The social impact of colonisation on Tūhoe has influenced the state dependency many people living in the Tūhoe area fall into. This ultimately affects how future generations view the 'world' and for Huka this is one of her primary concerns. She believes that her life style change since her *moko kauae* presents a positive message by not participating in drugs, alcohol or smoking cigarettes. She believes that getting her *moko* is part of her commitment not only to Tūhoe, but also to the future generations to break out of the vicious circle of state dependency.

Analysis

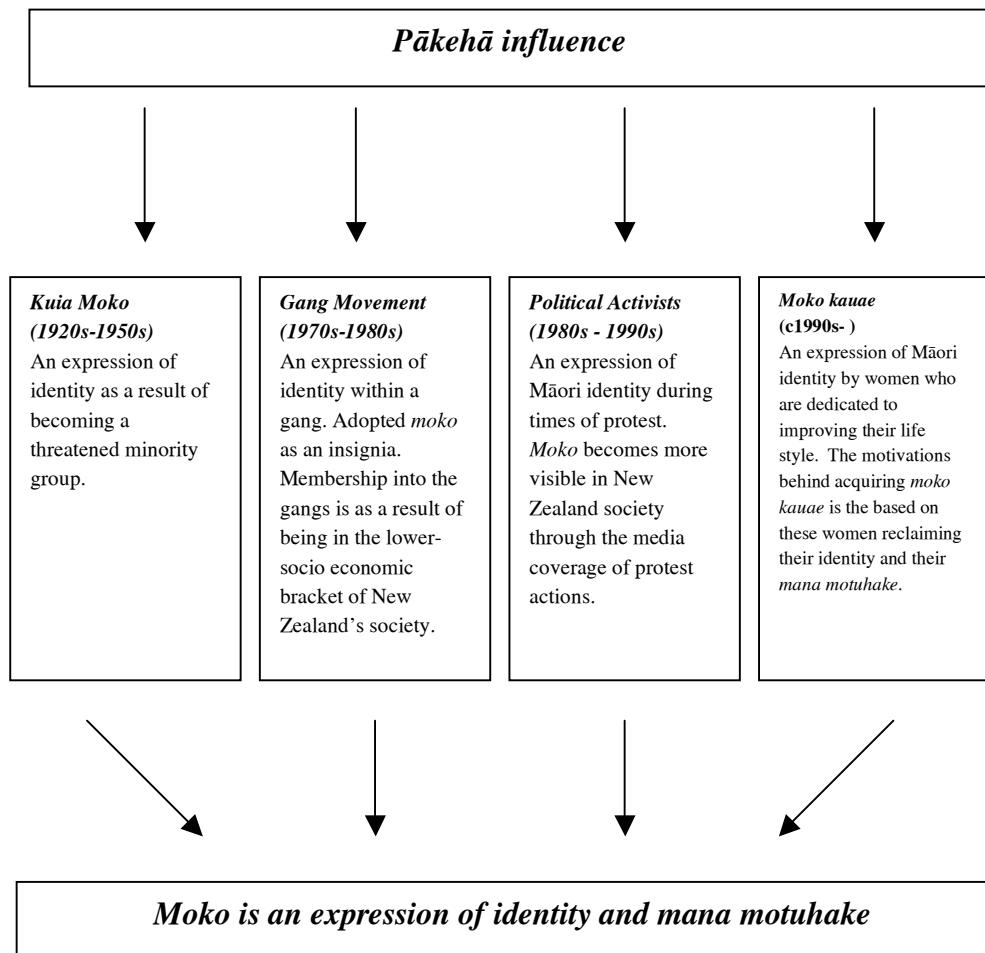
The participants in this research have all identified their *moko kauae* as a representation of their identity. The issue of identity politics was reflected in their personal and political beliefs. These women described the reactions they have received as a result of obtaining their *moko kauae*. In many respects the negative reactions have only reinforced the women's understanding of the cultural significance of *moko kauae*. They have discussed how many Māori have been the source of the negative responses they have received. They believe that these reactions are more often than not based on a romanticised view that *moko kauae* should have remained in the past with the *kuia moko* period. In many respects these women have acquired their *moko kauae* as a means of promoting their unique identity as Māori women, and more importantly as Tūhoe women, through a

distinctively Māori art form. Michael King (1992: 80) describes how the *kuia moko* period “...grew out of a new awareness of the Maori as a threatened minority group that needed to assert its identity.” The parallels between the *kuia moko* period and today’s society are very similar. The women today have captured this belief and applied it to their own understandings of *moko kauae*. Therefore, these women are of the opinion that their reasons for *moko kauae* reflect those of their ancestors of the *kuia moko* period, and that the reactions that they have received from other Māori have stemmed from ignorance.

It was important to examine the impact of the reactions to the women’s *moko kauae* in order to illustrate how people perceive this art. As noted earlier the revival of the *moko* (post-*kuia moko*) began with the gang movements. Eventually the association between the art and gangs shifted to the political activists such as Tame Iti. The visibility *moko* received through the media as a result of land occupations had people associate the art with political activists. Apart from Tangimoe and Huka the other women in this research do not affiliate explicitly with a political group. It was interesting to note that all these women experienced reactions that were linked to the social politics of their *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi*. In Tangimoe’s case her people were concerned with how non-Māori people would react to her *moko kauae* and, therefore, they tried to discourage her from acquiring her *moko kauae*. Tangimoe believes that her people were too caught up in the negative stereotypes people had about *moko*, rather than the positive cultural significance of the art and, more importantly, her motives to reclaim her *mana motuhake*. For many of these women the negative reactions made by Māori to their *moko kauae* has only strengthened their sense of identity to their *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, and has encouraged them to

become active members within these groups. These women believe that those Māori people who cast aspersions on their decisions to acquire *moko kauae* lacked an understanding of the cultural and political significance of *moko*. These women are of the opinion that *moko kauae* is about asserting their unique identity, their *mana motuhake*, which they believe was taken from them through the influence of Pākehā culture. This is demonstrated in the following diagram that shows how, from the *kuia moko* period through to today, *moko* is an Indigenous expression of identity that appears as a result of the pressures of Pākehā attempts to dominate Māori.

Figure 33: Political motivations behind *moko*



The women in this research refer to the association between identity and *mana motuhake* as being a factor behind acquiring their *moko kauae*. This separate *mana* is proportionate to these women's beliefs that their sense of security in their identity is expressed through *mana motuhake*. Their *moko kauae* is an outward expression that they have become self-determining over what they do with their lives, regardless of the pressures of Pākehā influences. The *moko* periods illustrated in the previous diagram highlighted issues related to identity for their respective groups. The identity issues surrounding the *kuia moko* period were discussed earlier. Then Māori used *moko kauae* at a time when they felt increasingly threatened by the inroads of Pākehā culture and the Pākehā-dominated New Zealand State. The Gang Movement, whose members have Māori ancestry, reclaimed *moko* as an insignia based on their cultural heritage. These gangs were made up of Māori people who came from the lower socio economic bracket of New Zealand's society and enlisted in gangs as a means of rebelling against the State. These gangs adopted *moko* as a symbol of their united identity in their respective gangs (whether it be the Black Power or the Mongrel Mob). Similarly, Māori political activists dedicate their time to protesting against the injustices done to Māori through Pākehā institutions and influences. *Moko* has become an expression of these political activists who spend time challenging the Government over issues pertaining to Māori. The motivation behind *moko* throughout these periods has been the need to assert Māori identity and *mana motuhake* as a result of the growing influence of Pākehā culture. Today's *moko kauae* period is no exception. They believe that Māori who have reacted negatively to them acquiring chin tattoos

need to understand the political dimensions behind the cultural significance of *moko kauae*.

The personal political dimensions for each of the participants in this research varied. However, they all referred to a commitment to the elements that make up their identity. For some of these women this was contained at the *whānau* level, whereas for others it included their *hapū* and *iwi*. For Hinepau, Mihi and Ngapera their *moko kauae* is associated with their continued learning of their cultural heritage. These women believe that the maintenance and continued learning of *te reo me ngā tikanga* (language and culture) are an essential element to their identity. Their *moko kauae* is not a symbol stating that they have become the repositories of knowledge, but rather they have made a commitment to learning. Ngapera describes this as being only one step in her life learning process. Furthermore, for all of these women, their *moko kauae* has influenced a change in their way of living. These women have made conscious efforts to improve their life as a means of reclaiming their identity and their *mana motuhake*. These positive changes have included the giving up of drugs and alcohol, active participation in *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* affairs, gaining an education, and promoting healthy life styles amongst the wider community. These women believe that these dimensions behind their *moko kauae* allow them to become self-determining with their lives as they have gained a deeper understanding of the impact Pākehā cultural influences have had on their identity.

Tūhoetanga is a specific dimension to these women's identity as they all have a *whakapapa* connection to Tūhoe. The extent of this affinity differs amongst all of

these women as Tūhoe is not the only *iwi* these women *whakapapa* to. However, all of these women believe that their *moko kauae* is an expression of their Tūhoetanga. This aspect of these women's identity is sourced to their knowledge of their *whakapapa*. Furthermore, this *whakapapa* links these women to a common heritage, to their histories, to their land, to their ancestors. In the case of Hinepau and Tangimoe, they associate their own characteristics with their Tūhoe ancestors. In respect of Hinepau, she believes that part of her learning process is to understand the narratives that are associated with her ancestor Te Purewa, as a means of understanding herself and her *whānau*. Similarly, Tangimoe, associates her artistic ability with her Tūhoe connection and her business sense to her Whakatōhea people. The link between the histories of the ancestors and the people of the present time influences the latter's decisions for the future.

The continued link between the past and present provides Māori with the matrix to their unique identity. Therefore, the understanding of their Tūhoe identity allows these women to feel secure in their decisions to acquire *moko kauae*. In the case of Huka, she describes how her *iwi* identity evolved from *Ngā tamariki o te kohu* through to Te Urewera and eventually became known as Tūhoe. She acknowledges the changes to Tūhoe identity as a result of Pākehā influences and her acquisition of *moko kauae* is her attempt to maintain the uniqueness of Tūhoe identity for future generations. Regardless of all of the participants' understanding of Tūhoe history, culture and politics, they reflect Huka's sentiments that their *moko kauae* is an expression of their identity, of their *mana motuhake* and, more notably, their Tūhoetanga.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the political attitudes of women in relation to their *moko kauae*. For the majority of these women their *moko kauae* is a representation not only of their political philosophies but also their identity. The issues of politics were explored by focussing on the reactions that these women have received since acquiring their *moko kauae*. This provided the context to understanding how they viewed issues relating to Māori and, in some instances, how they impacted on Tūhoe.

All of these women have experienced some negative reaction to their *moko kauae*. These responses ranged from whether these women had sought the approval of their *hapū*, to questioning their ability to speak *te reo* Māori and whether or not these women could do the *pūkana*. The women who participated in this research all believed that people (especially Māori), need to educate themselves in the political aspects of *moko*. The negative reactions they have received from Māori probably arises from a romanticised view that still surrounds *moko kauae* as a result of the art ceasing with the *kuia moko* of the 1920s-1950s. The little information written about *moko kauae* has often left some Māori believing that these women are tampering with or transgressing strict laws of *tapu*. Tangimoe's comment about a person needing to grow a thick skin to deal with this attitude seems to reflect the sentiments of the others. All of these women are prepared to speak to people who are curious about *moko kauae* as they believe that people need to be educated in the value of the art.

As with the previous chapter issues surrounding *whakapapa*, *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* are deeply entrenched in these women's accounts. They believe their *moko kauae* is a reflection of their own philosophies. Hinepau viewed her *moko kauae* as a symbol of a life commitment to aid in the betterment of peoples' welfare. Mihi saw her *moko kauae* as representing her having reached a certain level of achievement in her academic career. Ngapera perceived her *moko kauae* as the motivation for improving her life style. She believed that the commitment she made to her elders in obtaining her *moko kauae* was about bettering her own life. Tangimoe and Huka were more involved in issues that surround *tino rangatiratanga* and *mana motuhake*, and their belief that Māori need to assert their rights politically in these areas.

For all of these women the key issue regarding their *moko kauae* was identity. This was examined by looking at how their Tūhoetanga impacted on their lives. For some of them it was a quintessential part of their lives while others acknowledge that it is just as important as their other *iwi* that make up their identity. With Tūhoe they share the common thread that they are descended from the same ancestors and acknowledge that the struggles of their ancestors have influenced their lives today. Their political statements regarding *moko kauae* recognise their *tipuna* and their struggles but, more importantly, they are concerned with reclaiming their *mana motuhake* for themselves and for the future generations.

Chapter Twelve

Tūhoetanga **Tūhoe Identity**

All of the women who participated in this research have confirmed that their *moko kauae* was a representation of their identity as Māori but, more importantly, as Tūhoe. This chapter will examine issues surrounding identity politics with specific reference to the global (*Māoritanga*), the local (*iwitanga*), and more specifically, *Tūhoetanga*. This chapter will show how *Tūhoetanga* is a term used to reflect a Tūhoe perspective of their identity. Other Māori add the suffix *-tanga* to their *iwi* name to reflect a similar philosophy. However, each *iwi* has a unique view of what their identity incorporates. These features define the particular composition of each *iwi* Māori and, furthermore, explain why Māori can never be treated homogeneously.

This chapter will provide models for identity that can be applied to both the global and the local level. Furthermore, these models of identity can be applied to *whānau* and *hapū* that are the components of the *iwi* at the local level. These models will draw together the material from previous chapters to illustrate why certain customary concepts are essential to the make up of an individual Māori person. These Indigenous models are taken from the Māori worldview to demonstrate the multiple layers of local identity.

Finally this chapter will use one of the models to illustrate what are the elements that make up Tūhoe identity. These elements have been described by Tūhoe

descendants. The author has refrained from using other non-Tūhoe sources to describe Tūhoetanga. It is the author's belief that only Tūhoe people can truly describe what it is to be Tūhoe. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the personal issues illustrated by the women in the previous chapters. This will be accomplished by exploring the different elements that are fundamental to Tūhoetanga such as the importance of *whakapapa*, *whenua* and the concept of *matemateaone* (a deep love relationship between kin, and for land).

Māoritanga

The word Māori means “normal, usual, ordinary” (Williams 1992: 179). When associated with *tangata* Williams defines Māori as “*man, human beings*, as opposed to supernatural being”. Further on he states that the term became “later, *man of the Polynesian race*, not foreigner, the distinction both being confined to colour.” Williams also adds that ‘Māori’ refers to the “Natives” of New Zealand, to which he adds a note stating that the use of this term in this manner occurred around 1850. “It appears, therefore, as if the original usage originated with the Māoris themselves” (Williams 1992: 179).

If we look at these meanings of the word Māori, we can understand how Māori viewed themselves in relation to their natural world. This thesis has explained (in Part II - Whenua) that Māori understood their existence as being subordinate to the land and to their *atua*. By describing themselves as Māori, the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand indicate their spiritual relationship with these two elements of their world. The reference to being “ordinary” in comparison to the natural world and to the *atua* illustrates the respect that Māori had for this

worldview. However, it is important to point out that by using the term Māori - ordinary- they meant the relationship with their own natural and spiritual world and not to other people, including Pākehā. Mead (1997a: 246) supports the idea that Māori described themselves as Māori, based on their relationship with the land:

As descendants of the original inhabitants of New Zealand, we might be excused for saying that, before the coming of the Pakeha, there was this beautiful land called Aotearoa and it was settled by a proud, virile and handsome people who came from tropical Polynesia. They called themselves Maori, the normal ones, the ordinary, and the people of this land (Mead 1997a: 246).

Māori is the blanket term used to describe those indigenous peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand who can trace their genealogy to a specific *iwi*. This term originated after the arrival of Pākehā people for the latter did not share a similar culture to the indigenous people of this country. The difference between the two races saw *iwi* acknowledge a similarity amongst themselves and accept the term Māori as a generic term for them. Mason Durie (1998: 53) discusses how even though Māori accepted this global term it was in comparison with Pākehā people and not with other *iwi*.

Often the culture of the newcomers, because of its stark contrasts, provided Māori with a reason for emphasising their common features, rather than their tribal difference, if only when interacting with the settlers. Even then it was an identity more obvious to the newcomers, and in truth largely determined by them, rather than a true reflection of any sense of homogeneity on the part of Māori people (Durie 1998: 53).

Hana O'Regan (2001: 48-49) supports this notion by arguing that the adoption of the term Māori, or pan-identity (as she describes), was the result of Pākehā contact with *iwi*. “Whatever the tribes chose to do, they did so as tribes; the Māori people as a whole entity did not operate as a unified ethnic collective against the Pākehā. In this sense the tribes remained sovereign or autonomous” (O'Regan 2001: 48-49).

In relation to identity, the notion of *tangata whenua* is comparable to Māori spiritual and metaphysical beliefs of the importance between people and *whenua*. However, this term has not been adopted as readily by non-Māori because there would have to be an acceptance that *iwi* were the rightful owners of their *whenua*. The term that has been more popular when analysing Māori identity is Māoritanga. This term is used to denote a uniquely Māori perception of identity as it incorporates the cultural values of the people.

It is difficult to speak about Maoritanga and to write about it and try to contain oneself...after all, you are describing life experiences, the way you live, and it is how you live with your culture that you get Maoriness or Maoritanga. For me, I am a product of my environment and all that my people transmit to me (Rangihau 1974 cited in Stokes, Milroy and Melbourne 1986: 40).

John Rangihau explained how difficult it was for him to define Māoritanga. He located his understanding of the word to his own identity being connected to both the natural environment and people, especially the ancestors. Rangihau is well known from having pioneered the writing on tribal identity¹. In this he drew from long standing *iwi* understandings of what Māori identity meant. In his paper “Being

¹ This refers to actual written literature on Māori identity. The notion of tribal identity was an ideology held by Māori, yet was not written in texts. Therefore, in terms of tribal identity in discourse, Rangihau pioneered this theory.

Maori” he addressed the issue of Māoritanga, and considered its possible Pākehā origins

I can’t go around saying because I’m a Maori that Maoritanga means this and all Maoris have to follow me. That’s a lot of hooey. I have a faint suspicion that Maoritanga is a term coined by the Pakeha to bring the tribes together. Because if you cannot divide and rule, then for tribal people all you can do is unite them and rule. Because then they lose everything by losing their own tribal histories and traditions that give them their identity (Rangihau 1975: 233).

John Rangihau’s suspicion that the term Māoritanga may have been used as a Pākehā tool for disempowering *iwi* identity is supported by Andrew Vercoe, who argues that the term ‘Māori’ was used as a means of treating Māori as a homogenous group of people, and failed to recognise the *mana* of the individual tribes and of their distinctive identity.

‘Māori’ is a term that has subtly divested individual *iwi* of their identity and power and has allowed successive governments to dogmatically create blanket social policies that robbed tribes of their relative autonomy: you all look the same and sound the same, so we’ll give you a label that will classify you in such a manner that we can treat you alike. It’s probably here that the arguments vaunted by assertive personalities in *iwi*-society are loaded with contradiction. In academic terms, the whole notion of being Māori needs to be deconstructed so that mana-Māori can be redefined in terms of mana-*iwi*, mana-hapū and mana-tangata (Vercoe 1998: 69).

By contrast, the American anthropologist Allan Hanson (1989: 894) believes that the notion of Māoritanga is a movement by Māori to have New Zealand society acknowledge the *mana* or status of Māori on equal terms with Pākehā. He acknowledges the assimilation policies of Pākehā to create a homogenous New

Zealand society. However, Hanson advances an impetus for Māori to acquire equal rights in Aotearoa/New Zealand society.

The movement known as Maoritanga (Maoriness) or Mana Maori (Maori Power) is one of the most important developments in New Zealand society today. As with any large social movement, Maoritanga includes diversity...the goal to secure for Maoris a favorable place in the nation being built in New Zealand...The earlier vision was to create one culture, European in form, into which Maoris would be successfully assimilated...Maoritanga's vision is different. Its image of the future New Zealand is a bicultural society, in which Maori are on a par with Pakehas politically and economically and Maori culture is respected as equally valid but distinct from Pakeha culture (Hanson 1989: 894).

According to Hanson, Māoritanga, or equality, in Aotearoa/New Zealand's society, has become an ideal for Māori and often a nightmare for Pākehā. An element in this fear of Māoritanga is based on a misunderstanding of what Māoritanga means. Professor Mead describes societal perceptions of what Māoritanga is and provides his own interpretations of this term:

Nearly everybody in New Zealand thinks they know precisely what Maoritanga means. To some, it is action songs and haka and nothing else. To others, it is that terrible practice of sleeping together in a meeting-house and of eating pork bones and puha. Or it is that portion of New Zealand culture we use as bait to entice the tourists. Yet another group of New Zealanders may throw up their hands in despair and say that it is surely those activities which Maori do on their own and don't want to share. So Maoritanga is something which, however important it might be to the Maori people, tends to divide the nation. A more comprehensive definition of Maoritanga focuses on the Maori way of living, on our attitudes to people and to the environment. Included in this definition is reverence for the past - that we of today are the legacy of yesterday and that what we do now has an influence on the lives of our children who will take over the land when we grow old and die. Thus, our aim in life is to make things better, not worse, for the next generation (Mead 1997a: 90).

Pākehā misunderstandings of what Māoritanga means provides support for the kinds of assimilation policies described by Hanson (1989) and Vercoe (1998). Reducing Māori identity to aspects of indigenous culture such as *haka*, communal living in a meeting house, and eating pork bones and *puha* does not address the elements that are important to Māori, such as the relationship between the people and the relationship to the land. Rangihau comments on the determination of Māori to maintain their unique identity in the light of pressures for integration.

However, the thing that stands out in my mind is our resilience, the fact that we can still feel Maori in spite of the pressures that are being exerted on us to become more like the dominant people, to become Europeanised, to become assimilated. But we still retain something of life which we are only able to see and feel because it is part of our environment and of the things that we have been taught by our parents (Rangihau 1974 cited in Stokes, Milroy and Melbourne 1986: 40-41).

Whilst Māoritanga is viewed as one form of maintaining a sense of identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand, it appears to be used by Māori as a response to the continual domination of Pākehā culture. This reactionary concept is an expression of Māori awareness that their rights as the indigenous people are not being acknowledged by Pākehā. As Mead (1997a: 90) stated earlier Māoritanga recognises the past as a means for functioning in the present and as an example for the future. Therefore, Māori identity is viewed from the position that an individual stands on a time continuum alongside their ancestors and their future descendants. This determines the strong relationship between the existence and lives of the ancestors and the shaping of the identity of the individual today.

Iwitanga

The lives of the ancestors of the past through their trials and tribulations provide the people of the present with their history as it relates to their environment. This relationship, based on kinship, provides Māori with a more specific identity based on the history of their ancestors. This ideology of identity became more pronounced through the writings of John Rangihau (1975), who argued that the idea of a generic Māori identity was not an Indigenous one. He believed that Māori identity is based on a person's *iwi*, because of a shared history, a shared environment, a shared language and, more importantly, a common genealogy.

Although these feelings are Maori, for me they are my Tuhoetanga rather than my Maoritanga. Because my being Maori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tuhoe person as against being a Maori person. It seems to me there is no such thing as Maoritanga because Maoritanga is an all-inclusive term which embraces all Maoris. And there are so many different aspects about every tribal person. Each tribe has its own history. And it's not a history that can be shared among others. How can I share with the history of Ngati Porou, of Te Arawa, of Waikato? Because I am not of those people. I am a Tuhoe person and all I can share in is Tuhoe history (Rangihau 1975: 232).

This response to issues of Māoritanga versus *iwi-tanga* (denoting uniqueness of the tribe) illustrates not only Rangihau's affinity with his kin through their common history and genealogy but also acknowledges the *mana* of each and every *iwi*. Such a definition of a sense of identity based on kin does not, however, exclude the wider relationship between *iwi*. “For me being Maori is being part of my tribe and then in an extended fashion, being part of the tribes who came from my canoe Mataatua...”

(Rangihau 1974 cited in Stokes, Milroy and Melbourne 1986: 40). This affinity to other *iwi* is still based on kinship, as those *iwi* who descend from *waka* are the proliferation from a common ancestor. Again these extended *whakapapa* relationships further recognise the *mana* of the respective *iwi* identities.

The notion of *iwi-tanga* as a basis for identity and *mana* is indicative of how Māori interact with each other. From this position Māori understand the historical relationship between tribes and therefore a respect for distinct identities is formed. However, there are those people who use *iwi* identity as a means of denigrating a person's *mana* in terms of their *iwi*. Sir Tīpene O'Regan describes an incident that he experienced with one of his former work colleagues who at the time was in the midst of having an altercation with another member of staff. It should be noted at this stage that both Sir Tipene O'Regan and his former work colleagues are 'Māori' who are steeped in their *iwi-tanga*. The result of this encounter solidified his belief in Sir Tipene O'Regan's Ngāi Tahutanga and in *iwi* identity generally.

I remember Joe Malcom [of Te Arawa] telling me to 'turituri tō waha' ['shut your mouth']. He told me that I wasn't really a Māori, I was just a Pākehā with a whakapapa. I looked at him and said, 'Yeah - right.' That was the day I ceased to be Māori. That was the day, finally, where I said 'I'm Ngāi Tahu.' And if others want to basically identify themselves on an extraneous piece of Pākehā theory - they can. I've had deep, long and loving friendships in the wider Māori world, but I don't see other people as Māori anymore - I see them by their *iwi* (Sir Tīpene O'Regan in Diamond 2003: 25).

Sir Tīpene O'Regan supports Rangihau's idea of tribal identity and believes that the term Māori lacks an inherent *mana*, as the definition is equivalent to the concept of *noa*. Tribal identity was fully understood and was never questioned. However, the

incident described by O'Regan, is one experienced daily by many descendants of Tahu Pōtiki. Sir Tipene O'Regan's daughter, Hana (2001), also describes similar experiences that she and others from Ngāi Tahu have had to endure over their Ngāi Tahu identity. Spurred on by a non-Māori's research that attacked the authenticity of Ngāi Tahu descendants as being the 'least Māori' Hana O'Regan (2001) chose to address the issues surrounding Ngāi Tahu identity. The criticisms of Ngāi Tahutanga by Māori and non-Māori have scarred many of the descendants of that *iwi* leaving them with low self-esteem about their identity. Her work provides an insight into the development of Ngāi Tahu identity as a means of addressing the critics but also to honour her people who share a similar identity. She supports her father's belief in *iwitanga* over Māoritanga as a means of being distinctive and not homogenous. She states:

Identifying primarily with the tribal identity rather than the larger pan-Māori ethnic identity can help to eliminate the pressures felt by many Kāi Tahu to be more *Māori*. If the primary identity is Kāi Tahu, and that means something different from being Māori, then one need not feel whakamā for 'not meeting the grade' (O'Regan 2001: 143).

Furthermore, Sir Tipene O'Regan's experience has strengthened the *mana* that is associated with tribal identity. He believes that it is the foundation of an individual's identity.

Te Rangihau would make that point - your primary position is your *iwi*. But you were relaxed about it. Our lives are all made up of different layers, and your *iwi* is the base layer. I well understand that there are people who are categorised as Māori - after all, the derivation of the word is simple enough. Wai Māori is fresh water - Māori just means ordinary - ordinary people (Sir Tipene O'Regan in Diamond 2003: 26).

The notion of layers of identity as described by O'Regan (in Diamond 2003) could apply to the histories, the environment and the people who constitute the foundations of *iwi*. Other layers of identity, expressed in concepts such as *whanaungatanga*, *manaaki* and *aroha*, provide an individual with their sense of belonging and security. These elements are not only important as expressions of identity towards a specific *iwi* but also of how the individual perceives their position amongst their kin. Timoti Karetu states, “[m]y greatest sense of belonging is to the tribe among whom I grew up and who influenced me most strongly in my attitudes to things Maori and to being Maori” (Karetu 1979: 27 cited in Stokes, Milroy and Melbourne 1986: 40).

Whanaungatanga (the expressions of kinship relations) is taken from the base word *whānau* and describes the importance of maintaining these relationships. These expressions of affinity for kin unite individuals who draw their identity from the *whānau* groups.

Whanaungatanga deals with the practices that bond and strengthen the kinship ties of a *whānau*. The commitment of ‘*aroha*’ is vital to *whanaungatanga* and the survival of what the group sees as important. Loyalty, obligation, commitment, and inbuilt support systems made the *whānau* a strong stable unit (Pere 1982: 23).

Pere’s description of *whanaungatanga* illustrates how each *iwi* places significance on different areas that they perceive as being important to the collective. The time continuum addressed earlier is relevant to the notions of *whanaungatanga*. The ancestors preordained the interactions between kin, through the expressions of

whanaungatanga. Individuals of the present turn to the actions of the ancestors for guidance: “To do the right thing is to follow the ancestors...There is true continuity in the concept of tipuna, for this word unites in it all the generations which have set up and still set up the standards by which the kinship group lives “ (Johansen 1954: 172 cited in Patterson 1992: 80). Patterson (1992: 81) adds to this by emphasising that an individual must not only know their *whakapapa* to their ancestors but also understand the lives of their ancestors. This historical understanding predetermines the individual’s actions when they encounter a similar situation.

The ancestors, then, play a central part in Maori values. This is an important dimension of the conception of personal identity in terms of whakapapa or genealogy...And knowing about one’s ancestors is not simply a matter of knowing a genealogical table. One must also know what the ancestors did, as these actions constitute the ethical precedents for one’s behaviour (Patterson 1992: 81).

The concept of *whanaungatanga* is not restricted to relations within the *iwi*. The expression of this concept is illustrated in the interaction of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* internally as one social unit or with outsiders. The manifestation of *whanaungatanga* internally is noted in a group’s ability to draw closer together in times of happiness and sadness. Externally this concept is expressed through the acts of *manaaki* (to show respect or kindness to).

Kinship bound us together in this situation. To me, kinship is the warmth of being together as a family group: what you can draw from being together and the strength of using all the resources of a family. And a strong feeling of kinship or whanaungatanga reaches out to others in hospitality (Rangihau 1975: 222).

In many respects *manaaki* and *whanaungatanga* overlap in meaning, however, when *manaaki* is manifested to an outsider these acts become a mark of the people's *mana*. The *mana* of the people is reflected in how they host another group of people, hence the base word of *manaaki* is *mana*. Failure to act on this concept when entertaining visitors is noted through criticisms that can be made by *manuhiri* to the hosts. This is supported by numerous *whakataukī* such as the following:

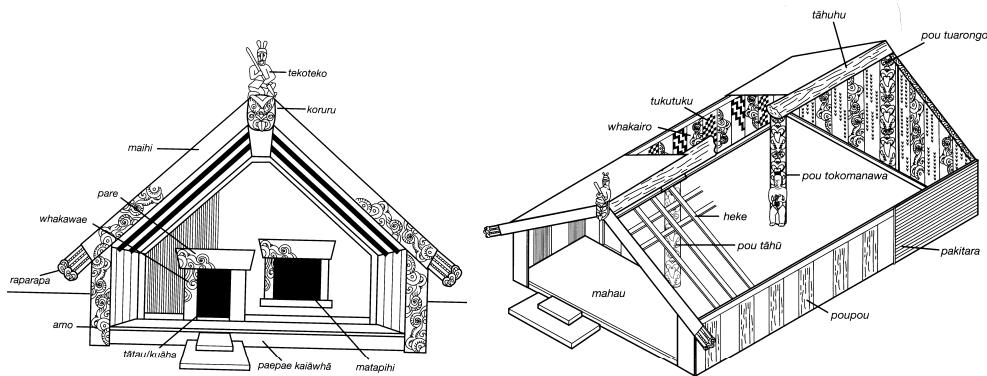
“He tangata takahi manuhiri, he marae pūehu”

“If one tramples or fails to respect guests, the marae becomes dusty”

(Mead & Grove 1991: 78)

This proverb reminds Māori people that the acts of *manaaki* extend to all areas of hospitality and, therefore, they must ensure the well being of any visitors. All facets of the *marae* must be cared for to ensure the expressions of *manaakitanga* are consistent when *manuhiri* arrive. One area is the maintenance of the *wharenui*. The *wharenui* is a physical representation of an ancestor, and in many cases the house is named after that *tipuna*. The carved and/or painted representations of various other ancestors within the house collectively narrate the *hapū*'s history. Thus the *mana* of the *hapū* is embodied in their *wharenui*. Therefore, the moral of the previous *whakataukī* reminds the *tangata whenua* that it is essential to provide appropriate clean facilities but also that they need to take pride in their *taonga*, and more specifically their *whare*.

The components of the *wharenui* provide one indigenous model to describe the important elements that make up Māori identity. This is illustrated in the following figures:

Figure 34: Wharenuui

(Higgins & Moorfield 2003: 75)

The construction of the *wharenuui* provides a model for understanding the different elements and relationships contained in Māori identity. These elements draw from *whakapapa*, *tīpuna*, *whenua* and *atua*. The relationship between these elements is illustrated by the emotive concepts of *whanaungatanga*, *manaaki* and *aroha*. The creation narrative as described in Chapter One of this thesis sourced the origin of life to the primal parents Rangi and Papa, who were separated by their son Tāne. The *tāhuhu* (barge board) of the house represents Rangi, whilst the floor is Papa. These ancestors continue to be separated by the *poutokomanawa*, *pou tāhu* and *pou tuarongo*. These *pou* represent the posts that were used by Tāne to prop up his father. The *heke* represents the many layers of *whakapapa* descent from the *atua* to each respective *poupou*. These *poupou* each portray a specific ancestor of the *hapū* or *iwi*. Sitting or sleeping at the base of these ancestors forms the continuation of the *whakapapa*. It has been the author's experience that many Māori will look for their ancestor when entering the house as a way of connecting with their past, and therefore, their identity. The symbolism of the *wharenuui* as a model for identity

further supports the importance of the *marae* as a bastion for Māori culture even with the pressures of Pākehā culture.

The challenge of living within an all-pervasive Western modernity is today's crisis for tribal identity and the *marae*. Core *marae* values of *whakapapa* and *tikanga*, carefully maintained for countless generations, have allowed descendants - the seeds of Rangiatea - to maintain their kin relationships to their ancestors (*mana*), to the land (*whenua*), and to each other (*whanaungatanga*) (Tapsell 2002: 164).

Paul Tapsell's reference highlights the important elements of identity, as discussed so far in this chapter. The ancestors, the land and *whanaungatanga* are the essential, tightly interwoven elements of Māori identity. It is from this combination that Māori gain their sense of belonging, their pride and, more importantly, their *mana*. The importance of these elements not only to *mana* but also identity signifies the relationship individuals have to the collective group. Hirini Moko Mead describes the interface between an individual and the collective from which their identity is sourced. The culmination of the previously mentioned elements becomes the defining factors of the individual's sense of belonging to the collective. In essence Mead (1997b) believes that the fundamental connection is the *whakapapa* to the ancestors who have passed away. This provides the connection to the landscape and to the people. Furthermore, he expresses the importance of the collective over the individual:

... these are the people [the dead] that give meaning to our identity as persons. As individuals we are not very important. The sub-tribe group, our relatives, the *marae*, the ancestral mountain, the rivers, the carved house, and all of the artwork of the group, including family heirlooms, define us as persons. I cannot be understood as a mere individual who is cut adrift from my cultural roots. The roots help me stand like a tree (Mead 1997b: 176).

Mead uses the analogy of the tree with its roots firmly planted in the ground in order to stand tall as a member of a collective group, in this instance his *hapū*, who define for him his identity. This analogy can further represent the notion of being planted firmly in the *whenua*. This connection to the land is expressed in the cultural concept of *tūrangawaewae* (literally standing place for feet). The full understanding of *tūrangawaewae* is defined in *Te Matapuna – Some Maori Perspectives* as “...the rights of a tribal group in land and the consequential rights of individual members of the group; the land so defined” (New Zealand Planning Council 1979). This term means that the identity of a person is located in the land from whence their ancestors came. It therefore becomes a defining factor in a person’s sense of belonging not only to a land base but also to their kin.

Attitudes to the land are many and varied but in essence the concept of *tūrangawaewae* is that the land becomes an outward and visible sign of something that is deeply spiritual. It is a source of nourishment to the inner man rather than to his physical needs. His identity belongs there, his sense of self awareness begins there, his sense of mana and importance originate there (Bennett 1979: 78-79).

Manuhuia Bennett’s summation of Maori perceptions of land emphasizes the importance of the cultural concept of *tūrangawaewae*. This concept shows the affinity Māori share with the land as a source of identity and, more importantly, of *mana*. Part of this relationship is associated with the numerous ancestors whose stories, histories and lives are commemorated within the landscape. This provides an individual with a context and a history to their standing place. This layering of *kōrero* (stories, histories and narratives) secures the individual’s *tūrangawaewae*,

reinforcing the relationship between all the elements of identity. According to Hirini Melbourne there are many components to *iwi* identity:

In declaring tribal identity, Māori people point to those things they feel and share in common with all the people of their tribe. They indicate their tribal origins and associations not by whakapapa alone, but by referring to their sacred mountains, rivers, lakes, to their villages marae and most revered ancestors (Melbourne 1987b: 10).

Here Melbourne acknowledges that land, *whakapapa* and *tīpuna* are important elements for localised tribal identity. This commonality provides the basis from which social interactions such as *aroha* can be expressed.

Mason Durie (1998) used seven types of *pou mana* (*mana* posts) as chapter headings for his work on the politics of Māori self-determination. He states:

In *Te Mana, Te Kāwanatanga* discussion about self-determination is shaped by a two-dimensional framework which incorporates the foundations of Māori control and authority, ngā pou mana, as well as factors relevant to Māori realisation of self-determination, te mana whakahaere ... Ngā pou mana are the sources, the foundations, of authority and standing for Māori (Durie 1998: 13).

The elements of identity can also be categorised into the different forms of *mana* that have been described in this thesis: *mana atua*, *mana whenua* and *mana tangata*. These types of *mana* can be used to show the relationships between the numerous customary concepts that are essential components of identity. This is described in the following diagram:

Figure 35: He Tihi Tangata (1a) Māori Collective Identity

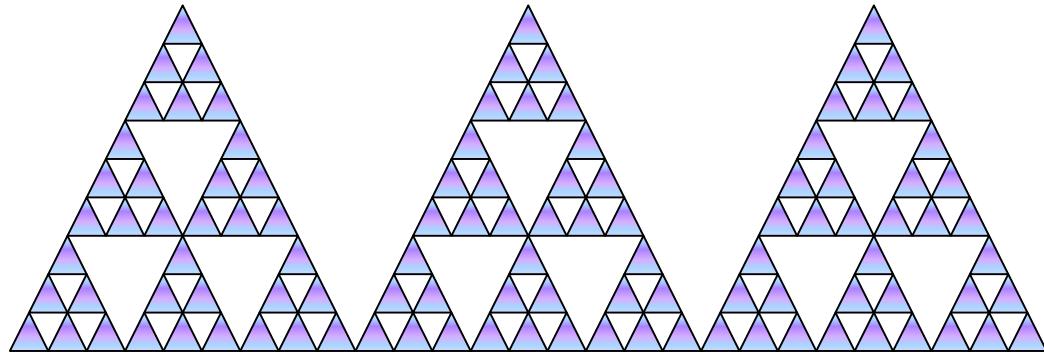
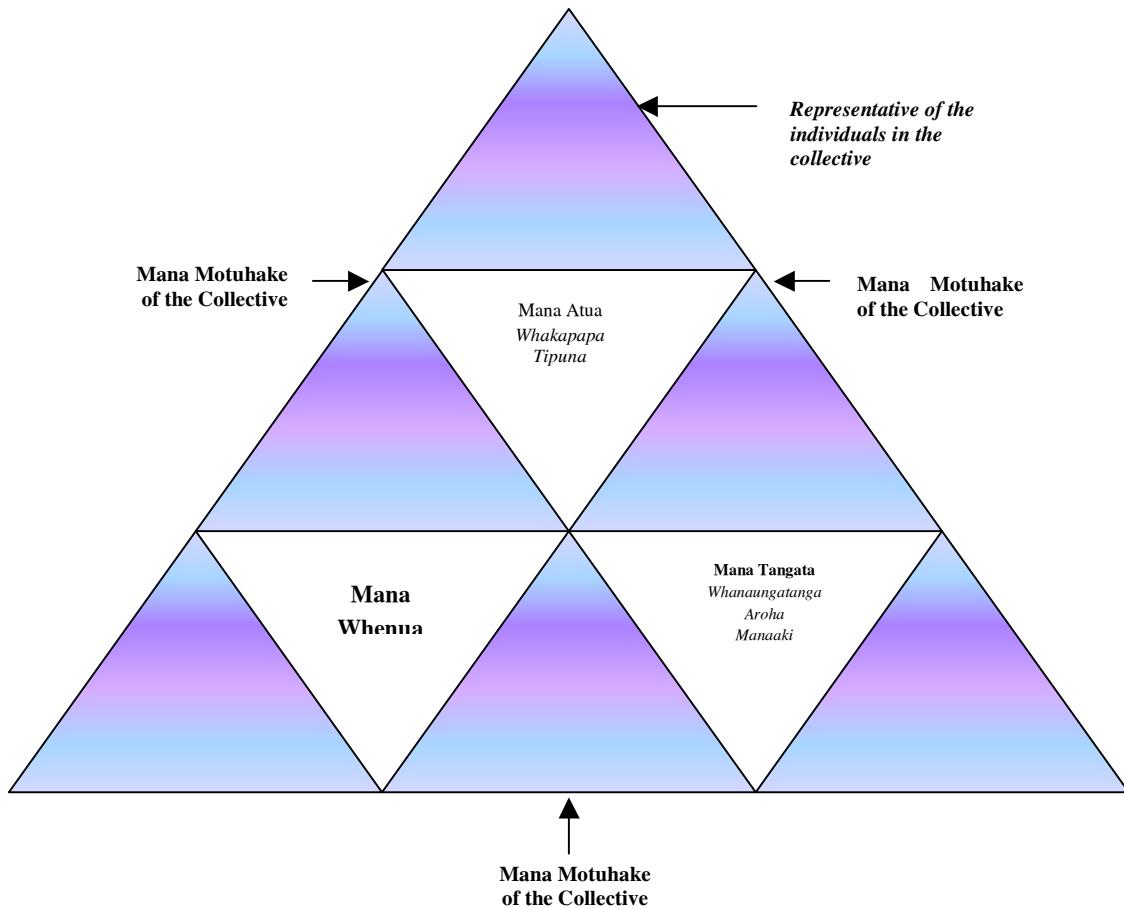


Figure 36: He Tihi Tangata (1b) Māori Collective Identity



These diagrams are based on the Māori *tukutuku* (latticework) pattern *niho taniwha* (*taniwha* teeth) used to adorn the walls of the *wharenuia*. The *niho taniwha* pattern is representative of the *mana* of the people. *Taniwha* are described as monsters that live in water (Williams 1992: 337), however, this term is also used to refer to *rangatira* (Williams 1992: 338). Therefore, it is appropriate to use this design to represent the chiefs and their communities. These triangular patterns (1b) are combined together to form a larger version of this basic pattern (1a). These patterns suggest a range of mountains again supporting the connection between the people and the land. The shaded triangles represent an individual's position within a collective, whether that be at the *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi* level. Each collective is joined (as illustrated by the white triangles) by the three types of *mana*. Within these different *mana* are relevant customary concepts that have been discussed in this chapter. The strong unity of the triangles depicted in these diagrams highlight the importance Māori place on the collective as a means of representing not only their identity but, more importantly, to indicate their *mana motuhake*. This notion of unity is further supported by the following *whakataukī*:

He tahi maunga ka ekehia
 He tahi moana ka ekehia
 He tahi tangata e kore e ekehia
 He tapu, he tapu, he tapu

Mountain summits are conquered
 Mountainous oceans are conquered
 The summits of the human spirit will never be conquered
 For it is sacred (unconquerable) (Higgins 1998: 24).

Te Ripowai Higgins uses this *whakataukī* to describe the unconquerable spirit that Māori manifested in the face of colonisation. Māori determination to maintain the “traditional and natural” elements of their society is reflected in the many acts of defiance against the assimilation policies of successive Governments in Aotearoa/New Zealand notably in fields such as education (Higgins 1998: 24). This proverb reminds Māori of the importance of the *mana* of the collective, for when united the collective is unconquerable. The analogy of the *niho taniwha* pattern to a mountain of people who are joined together by the many cultural concepts described in this chapter illustrates the unity of people and their unassailable collective identity.

Tūhoetanga

“To me, Tuhoetanga means that I do the things that are meaningful to Tuhoe”
 (Rangihau 1975: 233).

John Rangihau believed that “*Being Māori*” was a form of identity imposed on him by non-Māori and that for him his identity was based around his Tūhoetanga. Part II of this thesis provided an historical context, with a particular focus on land issues, of the Tūhoe tribe. This section of this chapter will explore the concept of Tūhoetanga through the voices of different Tūhoe people. Furthermore, the different elements that make up Māori identity will be examined through Tūhoe ideals, including the concept of *matemate-ā-one* (a deep love relationship between kin, and for land). Rangihau described earlier in this chapter how his “Tūhoetanga” was the basis of his Māoritanga, for without the histories, the narratives and the traditions of Tūhoe he would have no claims to this unique identity. This meant that he believed that he could not share in another tribe’s history because he did not

belong to other *iwi*: “I am a Tūhoe person and all I can share in is Tūhoe history” (Rangihau 1975: 232). Tūhoe history is important as a contextual background to this particular tribe’s identity, however, I believe that it is important to view Tūhoetanga through the beliefs shared by the people who identify with this *iwi*. The following will explore the three types of *mana* that bind the individuals in the *Tīhi Tangata - Māori Collective Identity Model* together.

Mana Atua - Whakapapa - Tipuna

This thesis has clearly stated that one of the most important elements of identity is *whakapapa*. Genealogical ties have to be sourced to the eponymous ancestor as a form of membership in the collective, and in this case, the *iwi*. Part II described the origin of Tūhoe existence from the union between the mist maiden, Hinepūkohurangi, and Te Maunga and, subsequently, the intermarriage with the settlers of the Mataatua *waka*. This history provided an understanding of the rights Tūhoe claim over their *whenua*. Further *hapū* expansion eventually demarcated the *Rohe Pōtae*, the tribal boundary known as Te Urewera. Wharehuia Milroy describes what he believes to be the elements of Tūhoe identity:

In the first instance, Tūhoe identity for me is *whakapapa*. I have to be able to trace to a number of different ancestors my Tūhoe *whakapapa*. I can trace from the *tipuna* Tūhoe down to myself. But that in itself is not necessarily my total Tūhoe identity because there are other lines of descent that come from another ancestor, some other ancestor which links in with my Tūhoe *whakapapa*. Now the point I am trying to make is this that in looking at other ancestors the fact of the matter is that at some point in time there were events which caused these *hapū* of Tūhoe to band together in a common way in which they began to see themselves as Urewera. And the name or word Urewera, comes from an act which happened to one of Tūhoe’s sons. And secondly, that was reinforced by that expression which came out of the

Rangiteaorere story “*He kotahi nā Tūhoe ka kata te pō*”. Now there must have been something in those relationships of that period which created an identity in the mind of outsiders in one instance, and insiders, meaning those who constitute a Tūhoe grouping, that forced people to say that that group is Tūhoe (Te Wharehuia Milroy, Personal Communication: 2003).

According to Milroy, the proverbial utterance by outsiders in the Rangiteaorere story is the first occasion that ‘Tūhoe’ is recognised as an identity marker for the descendants of the ancestor. However, the name Te Urewera was the identity adopted by the numerous *hapū* of Tūhoe around the 1860s (Ballara 1998: 295). This allowed for an expression of *hapū mana*. Furthermore, the various *hapū* united during times of unrest, as described for the formation of Te Whitu Tekau (see Chapter Nine). Milroy believes that one of the important elements of Tūhoe identity is *whakapapa* to the common ancestor, Tūhoe, and to subsequent ancestors (including their achievements). These relationships provide an individual with their membership of a particular group. These ancestors would also have had relationships to people from other *hapū* or *iwi* through intermarriage. Regardless of the *whakapapa* connection an individual has with a particular *iwi*, this person would have a stronger affinity to one particular group. Tīmoti Karetū comments on this issue in speaking about his *whakapapa* into both Tūhoe and Ngati Kahungunu:

...in terms of my whakapapa, I am as much of one tribe as of another, although emotionally I feel more attached to one tribe in particular. I do believe that I am the product of the community in which I grew up and not really the product of my antecedents in terms of my way of thinking and reacting ...My greatest sense of belonging is to the tribe among whom I grew up and who influenced me most strongly in my attitudes to things Māori and to being Māori (Karetu 1979: 22 cited in Melbourne 1987b: 10).

Karetū was referring to his Tūhoe *iwi*, to whom he felt closer, as he was raised amongst his Tūhoe kin. In this statement he believes that even though he is a product of his ancestors he does not necessarily believe that they alone influenced his beliefs in his sense of Tūhoe identity.

It appears that whilst *whakapapa* is an important element in Tūhoetanga this is only one aspect of *iwi* identity. *Whakapapa* provides an individual with membership in a particular group and a connection through the time continuum with the ancestors. Relationships between descendants become the foundation from which identity is developed. These interactions provide an individual with an historical connection to one of the other elements to Tūhoetanga - the land. It is the relationship that these ancestors developed in respect to the *whenua* that produces the historical narratives which serve as a guide for future generations and provide a sense of their belonging, a *tūrangawaewae*.

Mana Whenua - Tūrangawaewae

The *Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe* defines the tribal boundaries of this *iwi*. This land has provided Tūhoe with sustenance, homes, burial grounds, histories and geographical landmarks that represent the people's identity. Milroy confirms his belief in the connection of *whenua* to Tūhoetanga. He states:

You've got to be able to point out your landmark and those things that become part of your history and traditions that you record them in your oratory, you record them in your *waiata*, you record them in your *wānanga*, you record them in so many different ways that this builds the psyche of Tūhoe identity. Land then is important because once you've established your territorial boundaries through your various *hapū*, the next point then is to

defend that against anyone else. When you defend it against anyone else, you can't do it on your own, you have to call upon those kinship links, those *whakapapa* links that tell you that those *hapū* there are much better to form an alliance with than to going over the boundary there to make an alliance with someone over there, that's the first instance. You are able to do that eventually because you can call on the traditional sorts of alliances to help you out in times of crisis, but often it is your nearest *hapū*, or *hapūs* [sic] that form the Tūhoe confederation. So land then is an important factor in determining this Tūhoe identity (Te Wharehuia Milroy, Personal Communication, 2003).

The connection Milroy makes between identity and *whenua* highlights the importance of understanding the geographical aspects that are significant to people. The landscape, the names and the events which occurred on the *whenua* are referred to when drawing a connection to the people. The significant geographical landmarks of Tūhoe are described by Wharehuia Milroy and represent the spiritual connection the people have towards their landscape:

Here within are the symbols and values which highlight for me the essence of what it means to be Tūhoe:

Our mountains are Panekire, Huiarau, Matakuhia, Maungapōhatu, Manawarū, Tawhiuau, Te Kaokaoroa o Taiarahia, Te Tahū-o-Hao-ki-tahā, Parekohe, Te Ika whenua a Tamatea, these are the symbols of enduring treasures and the source of many waters.

The bathing water of our ancestors is Waikaremoana. Their drinking waters are Hopuruahine. Tauranga, Te Tamāhine a Hinemataroa and Whirinaki are the canoe passageways of my ancestors and the waterways for the spiritual journey of our dead returning to Hawaiki.

The forest was the foodstore of my people, the source of their meeting houses and dwellings, their garments, their canoes, their weapons and implements and also their refuge.

Our valleys are Waimana, Waiotahe, Rūātoki, Waiohau, Te Whaiti, Ruatāhuna, Maungapōhatu and Tuai, where also dwell the spirits and

supernatural powers encapsulating all those elements from which I derive my feelings of reverence, of inspiration, of pride, the ether of my Tūhoetanga.

Together we all breathe the living air of Ranginui. Together we all share Papatūānuku from whom we sprang. Through whakapapa, the kinship bonds come from the gods, the tangata whenua, the Hawaiki ancestors of the canoe Mataatua, to Tūhoe the person, Tūhoe the people, to Tūhoe of today. Our language describes the scenes we visualise and articulate. Before us are the elders. The land, the marae are our tūrangawaewae. Our being and emotions are from our people now lost from sight, but whose deeds are remembered in the words and the things they had fashioned and shaped. All these are united through our shared beliefs in the existence of a Supreme Being. This is our Tūhoetanga (Milroy in Melbourne 1987b: 18-19).

Milroy begins by describing the significant mountain ranges of Tūhoe as the source of strength, endurance and of the source of the life essence of water. The significance of these ranges supports the basis of the *Tihi Tangata* model of identity. Mountains are important geographic markers of *iwi* identity that are often the first to be referred to when Māori people introduce themselves (author's personal observation). Historically, *iwi* were identified by their *maunga* during the discussions for the support of the establishment of the Kīngitanga (see Chapter eight). The water features of Tūhoe landscape is introduced with the bathing waters of Tūhoe ancestors, Waikaremoana, and subsequently he describes the 'drinking waters' that supply not only nourishment but are considered the pathways for the journeys of the spirits. The forest is an essential element to Tūhoe identity. "Tūhoe lifestyle in the past was governed by their forest environment. The forest was, and still is, an integral part of Tūhoe life, culture and identity" (Melbourne 1987b: 16). Milroy describes the forest as the storehouse for the people as it is the source of sustenance and technology. Tūhoe depended on the forest. "*Ko tētahi o ngā tino āhuatanga o te Tūhoetanga, ko te puihi, ko te ngahere, te wao nui a Tāne*" (One of

the important aspects of Tūhoe culture is the bush, the forest, the domain of the god, Tāne) (Te Uruhina McGarvey, Personal Communication 2003). The strong relationship that Tūhoe have with the forest is demonstrated in the references made by Milroy, Melbourne and McGarvey. These Tūhoe repositories of knowledge have all stated that the forest is a fundamental component of Tūhoetanga. Milroy goes further to describe the numerous valleys that are located in the *Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe*. These valleys are the main settlements of Tūhoe where most of their *marae* are located. This factor is acknowledged by Milroy who believes that these settlements provide the people with their respective *mana* because their ancestors were born, lived, worked and died there. This historical context provides the current generations with a sense of belonging through their heritage. Milroy concludes his belief in what symbolises Tūhoetanga by incorporating the connecting factors between *whakapapa*, *whenua*, *atua*, *tīpuna* and language. These factors can not stand alone when related to Tūhoe identity. Each is as important as the other. Hirini Melbourne supports this by stating:

Each landmark and locality was known and named and had some association with human activity, as well as descriptive qualities. The mountains, rivers, lakes, fishing grounds, trees, burial grounds and the like existed as part of Tūhoe's tūrangawaewae. Over time these landmarks have become clothed with words. Numerous stories have been created about them. Songs have been composed and sung. Each hapū or iwi has its own waiata, its own proverbs, pepeha, whakataukī, kōrero, stories to immortalise aspects of their past, their environment and experiences (Melbourne 1987b: 18).

Immortalising the numerous aspects of individual *hapū* or *iwi* identity through different mediums (such as *waiata*) further supports the importance that people have placed upon the landscape, with the latter providing the inspiration for many

of these compositions. The continued performance of these compositions by *hapū* and/or *iwi* becomes an open declaration of the affinity these respective people have with their land as a source of identity. These declarations are passed through the generations so that all Tūhoe youth become aware of the landscape, the significance of the *whenua* to the traditions, the histories of Tūhoe people. This becomes an essential part of the make up of Tūhoe people. It is an inherent part of their lives.

There are various important landmarks that become important in the traditions of Tūhoe. All of these landmarks become important in the development of the psyche of a young Tuhoe child. It becomes embedded into the soul and into the mind. Your *wairua* is all full with the understanding within you that you are Tūhoe because these things become part of your life. I participate in the activities that occur in these areas because if it is important to my elders then it must be important to me. And as you grow older you learn to understand how much those things meant to those old people. *Ngā urupā, ngā wāhi mahi kai, ngā wāhi i tūtū ai ngā whare o ngā rangatira, o ngā tīpuna* (the burial grounds, the food gathering areas, the areas where the houses of the chiefs and the ancestors stood). And that is why I say the land and the territory is important because if it's in the territory it must be Tūhoe, whether it belongs to this *hapū* or that *hapū* it must be Tūhoe and you have a responsibility to take care of it (Te Wharehuia Milroy, Personal Communication, 2003).

This description by Wharehuia Milroy highlights the relationship with the land and how this emotional connection is firmly established through each generation. This results from the actions of the elders, the beliefs of the young in the elements that were considered to be important to these elders, and a continued participation by the collective to ensure the survival of these elements. Milroy describes the protective nature people have with their land because they are responsible for its preservation for the future. This highlights how the combination of the land and the people and the interaction between the two is essential when describing

Tūhoetanga. The education of future generations to hold fast to the values of the ancestors is the key to ensuring the survival of Tūhoe.

The deep spiritual affinity Tūhoe share with their land was described by Pou Temara on his return ‘home’ in Ruatāhuna.

When I come back to Ruatāhuna and when I come back to one of the *maraes* in Ruatāhuna and when I stop my car outside one of the main gates of that particular marae that I’m attending and then I look around there are certain things I recognise on the *marae*. The meeting house, its dining hall. I see the people all standing to the left of the meeting house ready to receive me, to welcome me on to the marae. And then I move on to the *marae*. I feel the sensation of the earth, of the mud of the soil. I feel the wind upon my face and as I feel those sensations I reaffirm myself with the land. I know that I am home because that is the land, that is where I belong, the land is saying to me, the *whenua* is saying to me, “I am you and you are me”. I am saying, “*whenua* I am you, you are me and I come from you and in time I will go back to you. It is from you that I gain my *tūrangawaewae*, the place upon which I can place my feet and be someone and be Māori. It is you *whenua* that gives me the right to be, that gives me the right to be Tūhoe. Without you *whenua* how can I be Tūhoe?” (Pou Temara, *Tuesday Documentary*, 1995).

Temara’s discussion about his sense of belonging to Ruatāhuna and, more specifically, to a particular *marae* highlights the close relationship held between Tūhoe people and the land of their *hapū*. His *tūrangawaewae* is sourced at that *marae* in Ruatāhuna, yet it is more than just a *marae* complex, a meeting house, dining hall and faces of people who live there waiting to welcome him. For Temara the sensation of the earth as a means of reconnecting with all the elements of his Tūhoetanga is more important. He believes that it is the *whenua* that is recalling him home to his rightful heritage. Furthermore, he understands the cyclic relationship people have with the land from birth until death, but ultimately he

knows that his Tūhoetanga is determined by this *whenua*. His Tūhoetanga is non-existent without the *whenua*. Many Tūhoe people, especially those who live outside of Te Urewera share this philosophy. The desire to return to the land becomes a means of reuniting with both the land but also the people who continue to maintain the *papakāinga*, who maintain the *ahi kā*. Hirini Melbourne supports this idea that it is an important aspect of Tūhoetanga to return to their ‘home’ in Te Urewera. The life energy that is sourced in the land becomes a haven for Tūhoe people to maintain and nourish their Tūhoetanga, their uniqueness as Tūhoe:

To Tūhoe people where ever they live, returning home to Te Urewera means a return to a place of refuge, healing and growth. The return to escape the assault of western values and systems and to re-tie the bonds of tribe and kin, and to reinforce the enduring values of tūrangawaewae, whanaungatanga and aroha (Melbourne in O’Connor 1997: 10).

Melbourne illustrated the significance of Te Urewera in reinforcing Tūhoe people’s identity. The Tūhoe territory provides a shelter for its descendants to ensure that their traditions can still be maintained and practised. The pull that Te Urewera has on Tūhoe people exemplifies the strength the *whenua* has emotionally and spiritually. This is more apparent for those who live outside of the *Rohe Pōtae*. Within the territory Tūhoe people are able to practise the traditions, the culture and the emotions through their unique expressions. However, it is not only the pull of the land that gives an individual their sense of belonging it is also the people who play a significant role in drawing Tūhoe who live ‘outside’ to return home to “recharge the batteries” (Melbourne in O’Connor 1997: 10).

This sense of “recharging the batteries” is not only felt by older Tūhoe people but also by the *rangatahi* (young). Te Tauhou Nohotima, a Tūhoe *rangatahi* based in Wellington, has a strong emotional affinity to return home to his *marae* to reconnect his *wairua* to the land.

It's very important to have a relationship between *whenua* and people, this is a key part of *marae*. A *marae* is built on a *whenua*, which is a part of you, which is your *tūrangawaewae*...My affinity to my *marae* is the affinity to the land, and the land is as close to me as the family. This is where my *whenua*, my *pito* was placed upon. The land is humble when I arrive home to mow the lawns, clean the *urupā*, and help with cleaning the *marae*. It is sad to see me go, you feel the land crying, until the next time we are back to clean the *marae*. So to have land in Rūātoki is to have a place in the heart of Tūhoe. To have a piece of Tūhoe in your heart is to carry Tūhoetanga, your homeland, with you (Te Tauhou Nohotima, Personal Communication 2003).

Nohotima's description of how he believes *whenua* is connected to his Tūhoe identity illustrates how the spiritual significance of the dual meanings of the words *whenua* and *pito* have continued to be understood by the *rangatahi*. Furthermore, he sees his *marae* as being the focal point of his identity and his *tūrangawaewae* and that it is pertinent for him to return not only to maintain the *marae* but also to recharge his own *wairua*.

A mechanism that has enabled Tūhoe people, especially those who live outside of the *Rohe Pōtae*, to “recharge their batteries” has been Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe (Tūhoe Festival). This biennial tribal festival draws in Tūhoe from all over the country to participate in the numerous activities such as *kapa haka* (performing arts), sports, debating and art competitions that are held within *Te Rohe Pōtae*. The festival allows Tūhoe people from all over the country not only to participate in

these events but, more importantly, rekindle ties with both the land and also their kin.

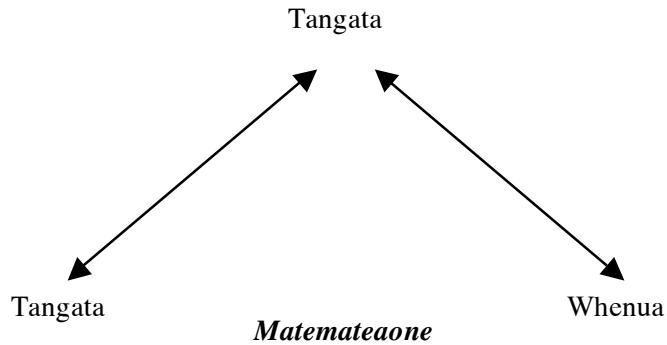
Mana Tangata - Matemateaone

The cultural concepts that are located under *mana tangata* in the *Te Tīhi Tangata* diagram can be categorised as the emotional concepts since they include *whanaungatanga*, *aroha* and *manaaki*. These concepts have a very wide definition and can be applied to all aspects of the Māori worldview. These emotional characteristics are not unusual to Tūhoe. They are expressed in all aspects of Tūhoe practices of *tikanga*, *kawa* and *ritenga*. However, there is a concept that incorporates all of these emotions that is termed *matemateaone* by Tūhoe people. “*Matemateaone* is a distinct Tuhoe term that involves many Maori ideas and values. It informs and shapes practices such as *aroha*, *manaakitanga* and *whanaungatanga*” (Mataamua 1998: 115).

Matemateaone is first noted in the narrative of Māui and Hinenuitepō (as described in Chapter One) where Māui asked for humans to be immortal. Hinenuitepō declined Māui’s request, as she believed that the expression of this concept should not exist amongst people. Hinenuitepō believed that death would bring people closer together to express the compassion, the love and emotion associated with losing a loved one and therefore, it is “...the renewal of kinship ties of friendship, of comradeship, and suggests a perpetual bond between the earth, and the life of the people” (Mataamua 1998: 116). The communal grieving that is expressed during all forms of *hui tangata mate* (rituals/ceremonies pertaining to the dead) remind people of these ties with the earth, the dead but, more importantly, with the living.

Williams (1992: 193) defines *matemateaone* as “deep affection” and the example he provides suggests a relationship between the people and the land and the people with the people (“*He matemate a one ki a ratau, na reira ia i noho ai ki taua kainga.* - It is because of this deep affection for them that he stays at his home”). This relationship can be seen in the following diagram:

Figure 37: Matemateaone relationships



This diagrammatic representation of *matemateaone* illustrates the relationships an individual has with both the land and with other people. The expressions of *matemateaone* are more prevalent through the connection people make with each other. Mataamua (1998: 117) describes *matemateaone* as the combination of *manaakitanga* and the bond of *whanaungatanga*. He goes further to describe the belief of his *koroua* Timi Rawiri, "...that this Tuhoe idea came about by being together as a family, being nurtured together, raised together and bound together as one large and extended group. It was a feeling that existed between the people, like love for each other, and being able to depend on each other" (Mataamua 1998: 117-118). This sense of belonging to the collective of the extended *whānau* draws these members to each other through the expression of *matemateaone*. This is further supported by Te Wharehuia Milroy who describes how often living outside of Te Urewera he feels a sense of reconnecting with both the land and the people. He describes this as "recharging the batteries". For those Tūhoe people who live outside of the *Rohe Pōtae* the return home provides a rejuvenation of the individual's soul.

It is a strong emotional bond with people. It is no ordinary feeling but it is a feeling that stems from the fact that there is a certain amount of pride and a certain amount of love that you derive from the fact that you know that person, you know the *whakapapa* of that person, and you know where that person comes from and you can relate readily by just a few words that you might use. They may be words of humour, they may be serious but once you express them the other person knows what that means and you understand each other. This is part of that *matemateaone* syndrome we talk about. And *matemateaone* itself, to me, is that sense that you get when you are away, when you start missing that land and the river. You miss the environment and its characteristics, the historical things that go to make up the things that make you as a person. And you miss the people especially, cause when you go back, and you talk about your "batteries being recharged", certainly the

environment is one element of it, but it is the people who really “charge your batteries” up. And what that does for me is when I go back, it doesn’t matter where abouts I go back, I know people there and I know that we are on the same footing. We are *whanaunga*, it derives from the fact that we often need to get together so that we can confirm and reaffirm those things that make us relatives of each other. I suppose I mean those things that make us creatures of God in the unique environment that is known as Te Urewera or Tūhoe territory. But *matemateaone* is a living thing, it is living, it is not something that you can take out of a book. It sometimes defies description because it is probably 90% emotion, 8% thought and the other 2% are elements that are probably not so important that we can identify them. These are just quantities that I think because the emotion is related to those things relating to wairua. The major part of this *matemateaone* is a love, it is a love that you have, *matemateaone* has a strong element of *aroha*, *manaaki*, *tautoko* [support] if you wish of individuals towards individuals (Te Wharehuia Milroy, Personal Communication 2003).

Milroy has described the emotional elements of the concept of *matemateaone* in reference to how Tūhoe interact with each other. This concept provides the philosophical basis for Tūhoe social interaction. This becomes more apparent to those Tūhoe who reside outside the district when they connect with those people who remain on the land maintaining the *ahi kā* for the whole of the tribe. This deep love for the landscape and the people as a means of replenishing the soul is expressed in the following *whakataukī*:

Hokia ki ō maunga kia purea koe e ngā hau o Tāwhirimātea
 Return to your mountains so that you can feel the winds of Tāwhirimātea
 (Melbourne 1997: 9)

This *whakataukī* summarises the feelings that were expressed by Te Wharehuia Milroy. The allusion to Tāwhirimātea, the *atua* of the winds, refers to the ancestors who descend from the *atua* as well as the individual. It provides that person with a

connection to a particular landscape and to the people. These spiritual connections highlight how the blood that runs through the veins of an individual through their *whakapapa* also runs through the land which strengthens the bonds felt between people with their kin and their *whenua*. These feelings are supported by Te Tauhou Nohotima who believes that part of being Tūhoe is maintaining the bonds between his kin:

I guess the key that makes me Tūhoe is that I grew up in Rūātoki, and this is where most of my connections are, my memories of my childhood, the friends and people that I love, the hard times, the good times, and what made me how I am today. Rūātoki is a hard place, however, once you pass the mist and dive deeper, a heart is there, where the people of Tūhoe are. People that have moved out of Tūhoe always gather together and talk about people from home...Now that I am living outside of my homeland of Tūhoe, I sometimes feel lonely. So I gather with other Tūhoe people and we talk, have a beer and just be in the presence of other Tūhoe people. Being around people from Tūhoe helps me recharge and carry on with life until I go home to Rūātoki. Keeping the connection to my Tūhoetanga is very important...This is what Tūhoetanga means to me (Te Tauhou Nohotima, Personal Communication 2003).

Matemateaone is not, however, restricted to the emotional connection felt between Tūhoe and their own kin. The importance of the elements of *matemateaone* are always at the foremost of the Tūhoe psyche when interacting amongst their own kin, but also other people such as *manuhiri*. This is supported by the following *pepeha*:

Tūhoe moumou kai, moumou taonga, moumou tangata ki te pō
Tūhoe wasters of food, wasters of treasures, wasters of people in the night.

This literal translation does not fully explain the intentions of this proverb. The meaning of this proverb describes a Tūhoe mentality that has continued from one generation to the next. The expression of *matemateaone* to *manuhiri* is apparent in the Tūhoe belief that visitors must always be well looked after to the extent that the proffered food and treasures become waste because such an abundance has been provided the *manuhiri*. The last phrase of this proverb is characteristic of Tūhoe prowess in battle. There are numerous accounts that illustrate the fighting abilities of Tūhoe ancestors. The proverb alludes to their wasting of people into the night, which is also known as the realm of the dead.

The importance Tūhoe place on ensuring the well being of their visitors is not only an important aspect of *matemateaone* but also of Tūhoe identity. This behaviour or custom of Tūhoe is firmly entrenched in the *tikanga* of the many *hapū* of Tūhoe. This is supported by Te Wharehuia Milroy in the following description:

The third thing, is a commonality in terms of what constitutes things that are specifically Tūhoe. Indeed things like *tikanga* for instance and why we do things on most of our *marae* in a reasonably consistent manner. So that is another aspect of this Tūhoe identity. That is not to say that some of our *hapū* didn't act differently, but by and large when the more senior *rangatira* begin to assert their rank then you will find that there is a tendency for everyone to begin to arrive at a more uniformed approach as to what constitutes *tikanga*. So in our situation I think Tūhoe have generally stuck to that sort of approach. That is, when we do it [*tikanga*] at one end of the territory the other ones at the other end of the territory reinforce that by repeating that process. Mainly because one, we are *whanaunga*, two, we test each other out and three, it is important to us to be a little bit different from someone else in order that we can allow others to use those *pepeha* and to use those *whakatauki*, *whakatauāki* that are expressive of a Tūhoe identity. It is not usual for us to say, for instance, “*Tūhoe moumou kai, moumou taonga, moumou tangata ki te pō*.” We do say that but in very special

circumstances but there are often occasions where other *iwi* utilise those expressions. And it is their recognition of our identity and that uniqueness if you like of the people of Tūhoe. And if you use that expression it is also a recognition of the way in which others see us and understand some of our mores, our ways of doing things (Te Wharehuia Milroy, Personal Communication, 2003).

This element of Tūhoetanga that Milroy describes illustrates the unique manner in which Tūhoe people execute *tikanga*. This ‘commonality’ is firmly entrenched amongst Tūhoe people and is manifested in their practices. This does not preclude any individuality within the individual *hapū*, however, there is a basic *tikanga* that is an essential aspect of Tūhoetanga. However, this does not mean that Tūhoe culture has always remained stagnant through the generations. As stated above, the *rangatira* of the *iwi* have guided Tūhoe *tikanga* through time and have incorporated aspects of a changing environment and society. What has been an unchanging aspect of Tūhoe *tikanga* is the importance Tūhoe have placed on *manaaki* not only amongst themselves but also with *manuhiri*. This is recognised by other *iwi* in their continued reference to the *whakataukī* that acknowledges this Tūhoe quality.

Like the *whakataukī* “*Tūhoe moumou kai, moumou taonga, moumou tangata ki te pō*,” the concept of *matemateaone* is not often spoken of amongst Tūhoe and more often than not it is referred to only when people witness acts of *matemateaone*. Te Ripowai Higgins (Personal Communication, 2003) remembered as a child her *kuia* and *koroua* referring to the acts of kindness Te Ripowai and her generation expressed amongst their kin. They referred to how the unity of kinship shared by Te Ripowai’s generation at a young age demonstrated that the concept of *matemateaone* would remain strong in Tūhoe. This is supported by Te Tauhou

Nohotima (Personal Communication, 2003) who believed that he could not define *matemateaone* because it was not spoken about by his generation, rather it was only expressed through actions. This substantiates Milroy's statement that *matemateaone* is a deep love emotion that is not definable. The enigmatic qualities of this concept will always be secondary to the practice of *matemateaone*. Tūhoe social interaction between themselves, other people and the environment is founded on this concept through other customary concepts such as *manaakitanga* and *whanaungatanga*. Not surprisingly, Tūhoe people rate *matemateaone* as an essential part of their Tūhoetanga, of their Tūhoe identity.

Conclusion

The identity of the *tangata whenua* of Aotearoa/New Zealand is defined by the use of the term Māori. This generic word describes those Indigenous peoples who descend from *iwi*. This has often been described as a blanket term used by Pākehā today to classify all *iwi* into one group without recognising their distinctive characteristics. The fact that the *tangata whenua* define themselves as Māori reflects the relationship these people have with their environment. The ‘normal’ quality of the word Māori illustrates the Māori view that they, as people, are secondary to their environment.

John Rangihau believed that the most important aspect of his “Being Māori” was his *iwi* identity. He firmly believed that it was his Tūhoetanga that constituted his rights as an Indigenous person in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This provided him with all the elements of his existence as an individual: *whakapapa*, history, *kōrero*, *whenua*, *aroha*, *manaaki*, and *whanaungatanga*. These elements have been

depicted in different indigenous models in order to show the relationship they have to the *mana* of the individual, but more importantly, to the collective. The layering of these elements in the form of the *wharenuia* shows the importance of the social institutions and the social interactions and relationships Māori have in their worldview. Furthermore, *He Tihi Tangata* categorises these elements into different types of *mana*: *mana atua*, *mana whenua* and *mana tangata*. These orders of *mana* link together the individuals of a collective group by not only providing them with a sense of identity but, more importantly, providing them with their *mana motuhake* as a collective.

This model was applied to the descriptions given by Tūhoe descendants as to what constitutes their Tūhoetanga. These narratives support the accounts of the women in the previous chapters which illustrate what is Tūhoetanga and why these descendants place an importance on this aspect of their identity. The women believe that their *moko kauae* is an essential part of their identity and, more specifically, their Tūhoe identity. This chapter has explained the elements of Tūhoe identity as described by Tūhoe descendants and supports the sentiments of John Rangihau (1975: 233) while being “meaningful for Tūhoe”.

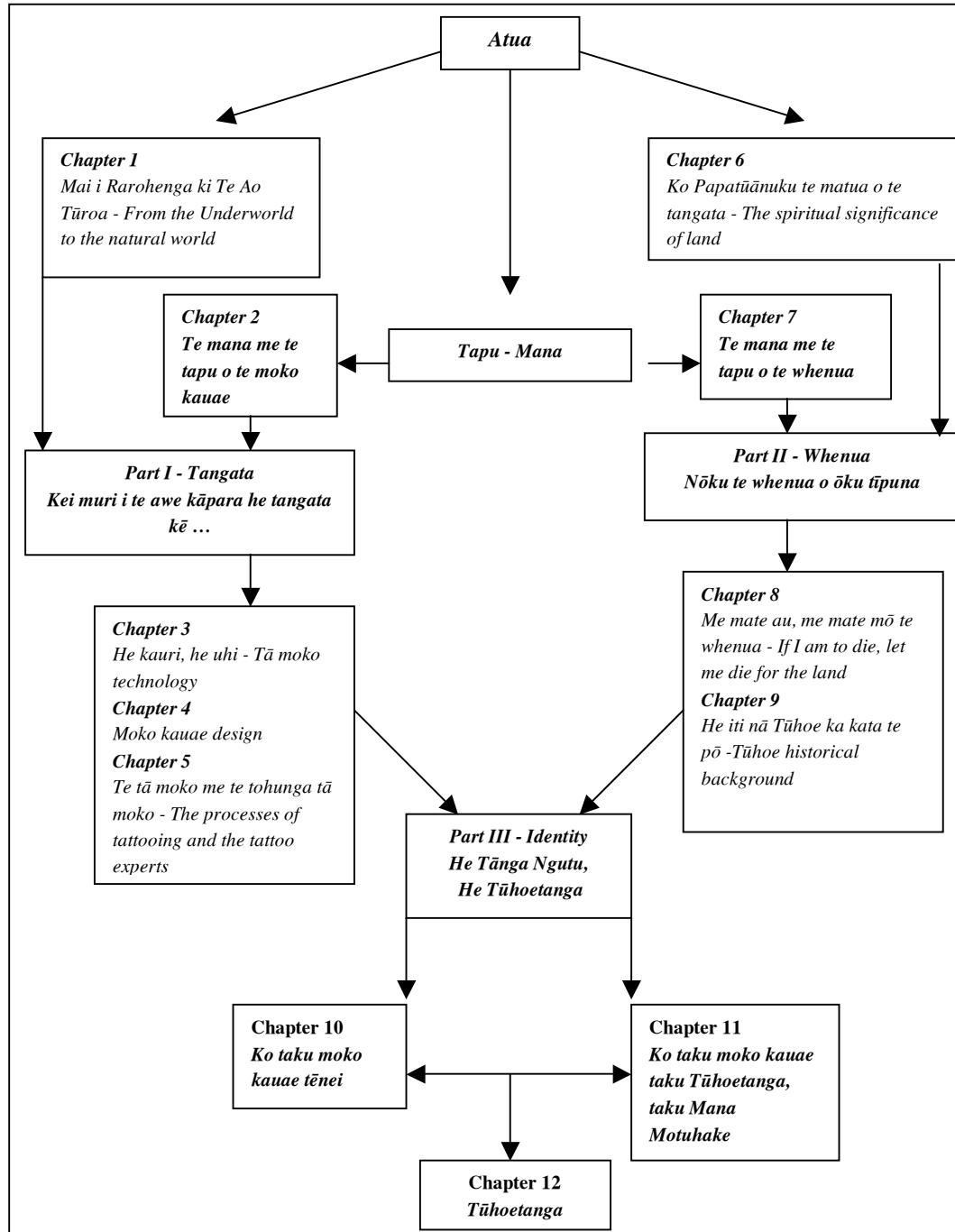
Kupu Whakamutunga
Conclusion

He rā ki tua - A new day awaits

(Mead & Grove 2001: 114)

This thesis used diagrammatic figures to illustrate the connection between each of the chapters. The following diagram brings together the separate parts of this thesis describing how symbolic aspects of Māori culture, such as *tā moko kauae*, are a representation of Māori identity and how each component of identity is related to each other:

Figure 38: Moko kauae as a representation of Māori identity



This model shows the importance of the *atua* in the Māori worldview as the source of all life including the primary cultural concepts of *tapu* and *mana*. These concepts affect all aspects of the Māori worldview and as shown in this thesis are applied to all matters pertaining to humans and the environment. This model uses the Māori words used to describe Indigenous peoples - *tangata whenua*. The left-hand column represents the research that is dedicated to *moko kauae* as the existence of this art relies on the people. Other Māori cultural aspects relating to people could also be applied to this column such as other traditional arts including, *whakairo*, *raranga* and the performing arts. These art forms are symbolic of the unique characteristics of Māori identity since they are Indigenous art forms. The right-hand column is representative of the analysis of *whenua*. Like those issues pertaining to *tangata*, *whenua* shows the relationship between the *atua*, the concepts of *tapu* and *mana* and how these have changed over time since the arrival of the Pākehā. Finally, these two parts are joined together to form an Indigenous identity stemming from the two key elements of *tangata* and *whenua*. This model is currently reflective of Tūhoe identity, however, it could be applied to any level of Māori identity from the global - pan tribal to the local - *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi* level.

This model and those of Rangihau and Ka`ai (see *Kupu Whakataki*) are reflective of the voices of the ancestors who laid down the foundation of Māori existence. This work has located Māori at the centre of the model rather than the periphery, to recognise the “validity of Māori cultural imperatives alongside usual western educational research ethics and procedures” (Ka`ai 1995: 112), and so to give voice to *tikanga ā tangata whenua* (Indigenous cultural practices and customs) and, more particularly, *tikanga Māori*. As Thiong`o (1986: 16) states:

Language carries culture and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world. How people perceive themselves affects how they look at their culture, at their politics and at the social production of wealth, at their entire relationship to nature and to other beings. Language is thus inseparable from ourselves as a community of human beings with a specific form and character, a specific history, a specific relationship to the world.

As the new day approaches the challenge for Māori is to continue to maintain their cultural integrity as a means of empowering themselves in this globally orientated world. *Moko kauae* is an example of how Māori might be so empowered, as it expresses who Māori are and aspire to be today.

2003 marked a significant year for Tūhoe as a ray of hope approached thorough the mist covered landscape of Te Urewera. It would be the year where finally the Crown, through the Waitangi Tribunal, would enter *Te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe* and begin to address the grievances of the people over the stolen lands. However, as Tūhoe waited in anticipation for the first hearings to begin, the mist grew heavy, thick and dark as Hinepūkohurangi came to take away one of her children, Hirini. Hirini Melbourne joined the *tira haere ki te pō* (the travelling party who move into the night) alongside the many *tīpuna* who too had spent their lives dedicated to the struggle of reclaiming what rightfully belongs to Tūhoe. *E te pāpā* Hirini, and the many ancestors who shed their blood, their sweat, their tears for the WAI 36 claim, “*he rā ki tua* - a new day awaits,” where the following proclamation must be recognised:

Nā Toi rāua ko Pōtiki te whenua

Nā Tūhoe te mana me te rangatiratanga

However, even if a full acknowledgement is made for the wrongs that Tūhoe have incurred and recompense is offered it is unrealistic to expect that this will compensate for the loss of so many people who devoted their lives to Tūhoe and to the *raupatu* claim. There is only a limited amount of remuneration awarded to Waitangi Tribunal Claim settlements. These funds can never replace what *iwi* Māori have lost as a result of colonial *raupatu*. In spite of this, however, Tūhoe remain strong in these times of uncertainty about how the Crown will react. Passionate cries, furious debate, anger and frustration will no doubt be part of presenting the claim to the Tribunal. But as deliberations take place, only time will reveal the outcome. However, as Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (1986: 3) states, “A people united can never be defeated.”

The ability to hear claims and address grievances to the Waitangi Tribunal came about as a result of the Māori Renaissance of the 1970s-1980s where the political conscientisation of the Māori grew at a rapid pace through generations of Māori activists who pushed for a change in societal attitudes. Ranginui Walker (1990:243) describes how there were two primary types of activists at the time, “radical” and “conservative”, both of whom pushed for issues of redress over the injustices placed on Māori, as these groups believed that “Without sovereignty the Maori would be dead as a nation” (Walker 1990: 244). Regardless of the approach Māori took during the Māori renaissance the impetus of these people pushed for the recognition of Māori sovereignty in all aspects of Aotearoa/New Zealand’s society. The following table highlights some examples of the initiatives Māori undertook during this time:

Table 19: Examples of Māori initiatives as assertions for Sovereignty

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Initiatives</i> |
|---------------|--|
| 1970 | Ngā Tamatoa and the Te Reo Māori Society lobbied for the introduction of Māori language in schools |
| c 1970 | Land occupation at Raglan Golf Course |
| 1970s-current | Waitangi Day Protests |
| 1975 | Māori Land March |
| 1977 | Land occupation at Bastion Point |
| 1977 | Waitangi Tribunal is established |
| 1979 | Te Ataarangi Māori language teaching methodology is taken to the community |
| 1981 | Te Kohanga Reo is established |
| 1982 | Wānanga institutions are established |
| 1985 | Kura Kaupapa Māori are established |
| 1987 | The Māori Language Act recognised Māori as an official language. Te Taura Whiri - Māori Language Commission is established |

(Adapted from Kāai 2003b: 182& Kāai 2003c: 203-204)

Tānia Kāai (2003b: 187) believes that these examples of the struggles Māori people have undertaken to reclaim sovereignty demonstrates the relevance of the Māori language and culture in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Furthermore, she states that the impetus of these movements revived the spirit within Māori to reclaim all facets of their heritage. One such movement is the revitalisation of *tā moko*. Kāai (2003b: 187) states:

The revitalisation of *tā moko* among the younger generation of Maori encompasses a political dimension within a traditional Indigenous art form of beautification. As well as enjoying a reviving tradition, many Māori are wearing *tā moko* as a political statement of cultural integrity.

Table 10 (p. 11) of this thesis illustrated the different aspects that impacted on the development of *moko kauae* including technological and societal. Throughout all of the time periods (including contemporary society) Māori have associated *moko kauae* with *mana*. In the early period it reflected the *mana* of the woman within her *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. This moved into a phase where the effects of colonisation impacted on these Māori societal structures and Māori nationalism became more prominent. During the *kuia moko* period *moko kauae* was reclaimed as an expression of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* identity to maintain the *mana* of traditional Māori society. There has been a 20 year gap between the *kuia moko* period and today, and *moko kauae* has become a catalyst for women to reclaim elements of their past that represent them as Māori women and as women from a *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

The author's journey to understand the beauty behind the faces of the *kuia moko* who hang from the walls of the *wharenui* were answered by Tūhoe women who participated in this research. These women presented a different perspective on how the author saw her Tūhoetanga. Their honest and humble stories of their journeys to reclaim an aspect of the past illustrated their dedication to maintaining the *mana* of their people. These women's stories and those of the *kuia moko* that were recounted to the author as a child by her mother's generation were in fact similar. All of these women shared a common bond that extended beyond the *moko kauae* and even beyond the *raupatu* line - these women shared a pride and integrity in their Tūhoetanga. This was demonstrated in their commitment to undertake a painful, permanent, yet beautiful art. These women reflect the sentiments of other Indigenous women who according to Thiong`o (1986: 3) state "...that they do not

sleep to dream, “but dream to change the world”. Today’s *moko kauae* have been an expression of women empowering themselves, in their lives, and in their *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. The women who have shared their personal journeys in this thesis all discussed how they respected the *mana* of the *moko* and, therefore, have taken steps to change their life through reeducating themselves especially in their Māori world. Their awakening since their blood was first shed and the ink inserted demonstrates that their *moko kauae* is the motivation behind maintaining the “cultural integrity”, (Ka`ai 2003b: 187), the *mana motuhake* of the people they identify with.

Tūhoe has had to live for nearly 140 years with a permanent line cut through their landscape and their hearts. This confiscation line has been a constant reminder of the loss incurred by the people. The *raupatu* has always been an element of a young Tūhoe person’s development; it is a part of their identity. The kinship ties that bind Tūhoe is indicative of the strength in the unity of the tribe. This unity is taking on a different face today. *Tā moko* is becoming more prevalent amongst *ngā tamariki o te kohu* as an expression of their commitment to their pride in being Tūhoe. While the *raupatu* line has been a fixture of Tūhoe identity for many generations it has the potential to be masked and even eroded by a much stronger cultural representation of Tūhoetanga, that of the *moko* and, more specifically, the *moko kauae*.

Rārangi Kupu**Glossary*****Kupu Māori***

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| <i>Ahi kā</i> | Burning fires, indicating occupation on land |
| <i>Ahi parapara</i> | Oven of filth |
| <i>Ahi tā moko</i> | Kilns, used in the manufacture of soot for pigments |
| <i>Ao tawhito</i> | Old/traditional world |
| <i>Ariki</i> | Paramount chief |
| <i>Ariki tapairu</i> | Female <i>ariki</i> |
| <i>Aruhe</i> | Fern root |
| <i>Atua</i> | Gods, deity |
| <i>Awe kapara</i> | Soot from the <i>kapara</i> |
| <i>Awheto, awheto hotete</i> | Vegetable caterpillar |
| <i>Haehae</i> | Laceration |
| <i>Haka</i> | Posture dance |
| <i>Hākari</i> | Feast |
| <i>Hapū</i> | Sub tribe |
| <i>Hara</i> | Offence, disastrous action |
| <i>Harakeke</i> | Flax |
| <i>He Tikanga Hou</i> | The New Teachings |
| <i>Hongi</i> | Pressing noses, Māori custom of greeting |
| <i>Hopara makaurangi</i> | Temporary tattoo |
| <i>Hui</i> | Gathering |
| <i>Huia</i> | Native bird, now extinct. Feathers were highly prized |
| <i>Iho</i> | Heart, inside, kernel, pith, essence, of a tree, sacredness, umbilical cord |
| <i>Ika</i> | Fish |
| <i>Ingoa</i> | Name |
| <i>Ioio</i> | Strands |
| <i>Ira atua</i> | Godly elements |
| <i>Ira tangata</i> | Human elements |
| <i>Iwi</i> | Tribe |
| <i>Ka Horo!</i> | A <i>manawawera</i> from Tūhoe |
| <i>Kahu mahiti</i> | Type of cloak |
| <i>Kahu uhipuni</i> | Type of cloak |

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>Kaikaranga</i> | Ceremonial caller |
| <i>Kāinga</i> | Homes |
| <i>Kaitaka</i> | Highly valued cloak |
| <i>Kākahu</i> | Clothing, cloak |
| <i>Kakau</i> | Tattoo, Hawai`i |
| <i>Kaki</i> | Neck |
| <i>Kapara</i> | White pine resin |
| <i>Karakia</i> | Incantations, prayers |
| <i>Kauae</i> | Chin |
| <i>Kauae raro</i> | Practical knowledge |
| <i>Kauae runga</i> | Esoteric knowledge |
| <i>Kaumātua</i> | Elders |
| <i>Kaupapa</i> | Topic, basis |
| <i>Kauri</i> | Tree, used to refer to <i>moko</i> |
| <i>Kauri kāpia</i> | <i>Kauri</i> gum |
| <i>Kawa</i> | Protocol |
| <i>Kia Whakatāne au i a au</i> | Let me become a man |
| <i>Kīngi</i> | King |
| <i>Kīngitanga</i> | King Movement |
| <i>Kīwi</i> | Native flightless bird |
| <i>Koha</i> | Gift |
| <i>Kooti Whenua</i> | Native Land Court |
| <i>Kōrero</i> | Talking, narratives, stories |
| <i>Koru</i> | Spiral pattern, sourced to the fern frond |
| <i>Kotahitanga</i> | Unity, Māori Nationalism |
| <i>Kōtiro</i> | Young girl |
| <i>Kōtuku</i> | Heron |
| <i>Kowhaiwhai</i> | Painted spiral type patterns |
| <i>Kuia</i> | Elderly woman |
| <i>Kuia moko</i> | Denotes the women who received <i>moko kauae</i> between the 1920s-1950s. |
| <i>Kūmara</i> | Sweet potato |
| <i>Kupu whakaari</i> | Prophetic sayings |
| <i>Kuri</i> | Dog |
| <i>Mana</i> | Power, authority |
| <i>Mana motuhake</i> | Separate authority |
| <i>Manawawera</i> | Type of chant or <i>haka</i> |

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| <i>Manuhiri</i> | Guests, visitors |
| <i>Māori</i> | Used to denote Indigenous Peoples who descend from <i>iwi</i> |
| <i>Māpara</i> | Heartwood |
| <i>Marae</i> | Focal point for <i>hapū</i> , or group of people. |
| <i>Mareikura</i> | Female supernatural beings, female nobles |
| <i>Maro</i> | Girdle |
| <i>Matemate-a-one</i> | Expressions of love for people and land |
| <i>Mauri</i> | Life essence |
| <i>Mirimiri</i> | Massage |
| <i>Moko</i> | Tattoo |
| <i>Moko kauae</i> | Chin tattoo of women |
| <i>Moko kurī</i> | Early type of tattoo, simplistic style using short lines |
| <i>Mokomokai</i> | Preserved tattooed heads |
| <i>Mokomoko</i> | Lizard |
| <i>Mokopuna</i> | Grandchild |
| <i>Mōrikarika</i> | Troubled |
| <i>Muka</i> | Prepared flax, soft white fibres produced from stripping green pigment of flax. |
| <i>Muru</i> | Ritualised pillaging |
| <i>Ngā Tamariki o te Kohu</i> | The children of the mist |
| <i>Ngira</i> | Needle, used to represent needle <i>moko</i> period |
| <i>Ngu</i> | Tattoo design on upper part of the nose |
| <i>Noa</i> | Profane |
| <i>Nui</i> | Large, big, great |
| <i>O</i> | Personal possessive |
| <i>Ōhākī</i> | Last words |
| <i>Oneone</i> | Sand, dirt |
| <i>Pā</i> | Fortified village |
| <i>Pai Mārire</i> | Māori religious group |
| <i>Pākūhā</i> | Arranged marriages |
| <i>Papa tipu</i> | Ancestral lands |
| <i>Papakāinga</i> | Homelands, traditional homes |
| <i>Parapara</i> | Filth |
| <i>Patu tangi</i> | Tapping stick used in tattooing |
| <i>Patu uhi</i> | Mallet |
| <i>Pekapeka</i> | Bat |

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>Pepeha</i> | Tribal specific saying |
| <i>Pia</i> | Gum, elementary student |
| <i>Pihere</i> | Tattoo design by mouth |
| <i>Pito</i> | Umbilical cord, land point |
| <i>Pokokōhua</i> | Cooked head, curse, derogatory term |
| <i>Pōngiangia</i> | Tattoo design on the nostril |
| <i>Pou</i> | Posts |
| <i>Pou rāhui</i> | <i>Rāhui</i> posts |
| <i>Poukai</i> | Ceremony of <i>manaaki</i> used by the Kīngitanga |
| <i>Puhī</i> | High born women, virgins |
| <i>Pūhoro</i> | Thigh tattoos |
| <i>Pūkana</i> | Dilating of the eyes, used in performing arts |
| <i>pūtātara</i> | Conch shell |
| <i>Rāhui</i> | Restriction from a certain area or conservation of resources. |
| <i>Rānei</i> | Or |
| <i>Rangatira</i> | Chief, noble status |
| <i>Rangatiratanga</i> | Sovereignty |
| <i>Raranga</i> | Weaving |
| <i>Rarohenga</i> | The underworld |
| <i>Raupatu</i> | confiscation |
| <i>Raupo</i> | Reeds from lakes |
| <i>Ritenga</i> | Strict ceremonial customs |
| <i>Roa</i> | Long |
| <i>Rohe</i> | Area, district |
| <i>Rohe pōtae</i> | Regional boundary. Used by Maniapoto to describe King Country, but also used to describe the boundaries of Tūhoe |
| <i>Rokia</i> | Producing a calmness |
| <i>Rotu</i> | Plant from Rarohenga |
| <i>Ruahine</i> | Older woman used for ceremonial purposes |
| <i>Ruangarehu</i> | Kilns, used in the manufacture of soot for pigments |
| <i>Rūnanga</i> | Councils |
| <i>Rūrū</i> | Owl |
| <i>Tā</i> | Apply |
| <i>Tā moko</i> | Practise of tattooing |
| <i>Taina</i> | Younger person of the same sex, of the same |

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| | generation |
| <i>Take</i> | Reason, cause |
| <i>Taketake</i> | Originating |
| <i>Tānga ngutu</i> | Chin tattooing |
| <i>Tangata</i> | Person |
| <i>Tangata whenua</i> | Indigenous people |
| <i>Tangi</i> | Cry, grieve |
| <i>Tāniko</i> | Type of weaving |
| <i>Taonga</i> | Treasured items |
| <i>Tapu</i> | Sacred |
| <i>Tataau</i> | Tattoo, Cook Island |
| <i>Tatau</i> | Tattoo, Samoa and Tahiti |
| <i>Tau, tauparapara</i> | Incantations used before <i>whaikōrero</i> |
| <i>Taua</i> | War party |
| <i>Taumaha</i> | Heavy |
| <i>Taunaha</i> | Discovery |
| <i>Taura</i> | Rope, more advanced student |
| <i>Taurekareka</i> | Slave |
| <i>Te ahi tā moko</i> | Ovens used to create pigments |
| <i>Te Ao Tūroa</i> | The natural world |
| <i>Te Pipīwhārauroa</i> | A Māori Newspaper |
| <i>Te reo Māori</i> | Māori language |
| <i>Te reo me ngā tikanga</i> | Language and culture |
| <i>Te Uhi a Mataora</i> | The chisels of Mataora |
| <i>Te Uhi a Toroa</i> | The chisels of Toroa |
| <i>Te whare potae</i> | The house of mourning |
| <i>Tihei mauriora</i> | Sneeze of life, used at the beginning of <i>whaikōrero</i> |
| <i>Tikanga</i> | Cultural practises |
| <i>Tino rangatiratanga</i> | Self determination |
| <i>Tipua</i> | Special force |
| <i>Tipuna</i> | Ancestor |
| <i>Tīpuna</i> | Ancestors |
| <i>Tīwaiwaka</i> | Fantail |
| <i>Tīwhana</i> | Name used to indicate male full facial <i>moko</i> , but originates from the pattern found on the forehead of men |
| <i>Toetoe</i> | Plant with white brush ends |

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|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>Tohunga</i> | Priest, expert |
| <i>Tohunga ahurewa</i> | High tier priest |
| <i>Tohunga kēhua</i> | Shaman, low tier priest |
| <i>Tohunga kiato</i> | Shaman |
| <i>Tohunga kokorangi</i> | Star navigator |
| <i>Tohunga makutu</i> | Sorcerer, low tier priest |
| <i>Tohunga matakite</i> | Fore saw the future |
| <i>Tohunga tā moko</i> | Expert in tattooing, second tier priest |
| <i>Tohunga tā moko wahine</i> | Female tattooist |
| <i>Tohunga tarai waka</i> | Expert in canoe construction, second class priest |
| <i>Tohunga tātai arorangi</i> | Star navigator |
| <i>Tohunga taua</i> | Expert in war, second tier priest |
| <i>Tohunga tūahu</i> | High tier priest |
| <i>Tohunga whaihangā</i> | Expert in carpentry, second tier priest |
| <i>Tohunga whaiwhaiā</i> | Sorcerer |
| <i>Tohunga whakairo</i> | Expert in carving, second tier priest |
| <i>Tongi</i> | Prophetic saying |
| <i>Tuahine</i> | Female relative of a male from the same generation |
| <i>Tuakana</i> | Older sibling |
| <i>Tuku</i> | Gifting |
| <i>Tūngane</i> | Male relative of a female of the same generation |
| <i>Tūrehu</i> | Fairy like people |
| <i>Tute</i> | Thrusting away |
| <i>Tūtūā</i> | Commoner |
| <i>Uha</i> | Female element, vagina |
| <i>Uhi</i> | Chisel used for tattooing |
| <i>Uhi kohiti</i> | Flat blade chisel |
| <i>Uhi matarau</i> | Serrated comb like chisel |
| <i>Uhi whao</i> | Chisels |
| <i>Ūkaipō</i> | Land of the ancestors, the suckling breast of a mother |
| <i>Upokokōhua</i> | Cooked head, curse, derogatory term |
| <i>Uru, uruuru</i> | Chief or head |
| <i>Utu</i> | Revenge |
| <i>Wahine</i> | Woman |
| <i>Wāhine</i> | Women |
| <i>Wai ngarahu</i> | Pigment |

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|----------------------------|--|
| <i>Waiata</i> | songs |
| <i>Waiata tohutohu</i> | Songs of instruction |
| <i>Wairua</i> | Spiritual essence |
| <i>Waka</i> | Canoe, canoe federations |
| <i>Wānanga</i> | Schools of Learning, discussions |
| <i>Wehi</i> | Fear |
| <i>Whaikōrero</i> | Form of oratory |
| <i>Whakairo</i> | Carving |
| <i>Whakairo tuhi</i> | Temporary tattoo |
| <i>Whakamā</i> | Shame, embarrassment |
| <i>Whakanoa</i> | Process of making things <i>noa</i> |
| <i>Whakapapa</i> | Genealogy, genealogical relationship |
| <i>Whakatangitangi</i> | Songs used in process of <i>tā moko</i> |
| <i>Whakatapu</i> | Render an object <i>tapu</i> |
| <i>Whakatauāki</i> | Proverbial saying |
| <i>Whakawai tānga moko</i> | Songs used in the process of <i>tā moko</i> |
| <i>Whakawairangi</i> | To become crazy |
| <i>Whānau</i> | Family, birth |
| <i>Whanaungatanga</i> | Expressions of support, love within a family |
| <i>Whāngai</i> | Foster child |
| <i>Whare</i> | House |
| <i>Whare mata</i> | House for storing nets and snares |
| <i>Whare o aitua</i> | House of misfortune, vagina |
| <i>Whare tuahi</i> | House used to teach arts |
| <i>Wharekai</i> | Dining hall |
| <i>Wharenui</i> | Ancestral house |
| <i>Whāriki</i> | Mat |
| <i>Whatukura</i> | Male supernatural beings, male nobles |
| <i>Whenua</i> | Land, placenta |
| <i>Whero</i> | Red |

Name Index

| Name | Prominence |
|------------------------------|---|
| Aoraki, Mount Cook | <i>Tipua</i> . He and his brothers turned to stone and created the Southern Alps of Te Waipounamu New Zealand |
| Aotearoa | |
| Best, Elsdon | Ethnographer spent many years collecting information from Tūhoe. Author of <i>Tūhoe, Children of the Mist</i> |
| Brown, C Hunter | Resident magistrate for Wairoa |
| Carroll, Sir James | Minister of Native Affairs, influential in the development of the 1896 Urewera Reserve Act |
| Clarke, H.T. | Resident magistrate of Bay of Plenty |
| Colenso, William | Missionary |
| Doherty, Chas | Accomplished <i>tohunga tā moko</i> of this modern period |
| Fedarb, James | Sent to Bay of Plenty to collect signatures for the Treaty of Waitangi |
| Fergusson, Captain | Owner and founder of Whakatāne Cattle Company |
| Fulloon, James Te Mautaranui | Commissioned to find the murderers of Volkner, eventually murdered for efforts |
| Galatea | Settlement in the Eastern Bay of Plenty |
| Goldie, Charles Frederick | Artist |
| Grey, George | Governor of New Zealand |
| Hape | Eponymous ancestor of Te Hapuoneone |
| Hapekitumanuioterangi | |
| Harvey, Christine | Accomplished female <i>tohunga tā moko</i> of this modern period |
| Hatfield, Gordon Toi | Accomplished <i>tohunga tā moko</i> in this modern period |
| Hauhau | Term used to describe those members of the Pai Marire religion |
| Haumiatiketike | <i>Atua</i> , personified in uncultivated foods |
| Hawaiki | Ancestral homeland of the Māori |
| Hikapuhi | Accomplished female <i>tohunga tā moko</i> of the <i>ngira</i> period |

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|---------------------|--|
| Hikawai | Mihikitekapua's husband |
| Hineahuone | First woman created by Tāne from earth |
| Hinemataroa | Wife of Tāneatua, from Ngā Pōtiki |
| Hinenuitepō | Hinetītama changed her name to Hinenuitepō once she found out that her husband was also her father |
| Hinepūkohurangi | Mist maiden, her marriage to Te Maunga produced Pōtiki |
| Hinetītama | Daughter of Hineahuone and Tāne |
| Huiarau | Mountain range, located in Ruatāhuna |
| Ikatere | Descendants of Tangaroa who remained in the sea |
| Io | Supreme God |
| Irawaru | Brother in law of Māui, was turned into a dog due to Māui's jealousy. |
| Iti, Tame | Tūhoe, political activist, founder of Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe political group. |
| Kaputerangi | <i>Pā</i> site located above the township of Whakatāne |
| Kareteche | Son of Tūhoe Potiki |
| Kāwhia | West Coast of the North Island. Burial place of Tūhoe Pōtiki |
| Kelly, William | Co-founder of the Whakatāne Cattle company |
| Kenana, Rua | Self confessed prophet, seen as a charlatan by Ministers of Parliament |
| Kereru, Numia | <i>Rangatira</i> of Tūhoe, part of Te Whitu Tekau |
| Kīngitanga | The Māori King Movement |
| Kohere, Reweti | Māori Scholar |
| Mihi Kōtukutuku | <i>Rangatira</i> from Te Whānau a Apanui. Mihi Kōtukutuku was believed to have been too <i>tapu</i> to obtain a <i>moko kauae</i> due to her status. |
| Kupe | One of the early settlers |
| Lindauer, Gottfried | Artist |
| Mahia | Son of Mihikitekapua and Hikawai |
| Makiwhara, Anaru | Accomplished <i>tohunga tā moko</i> of the <i>uhi</i> period |
| Maniapoto, Rewi | <i>Rangatira</i> of Maniapoto, called upon Tūhoe to |

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| Mataatua | assist him in the battle of Orākau |
| Mataatua | Canoe that brought first migrants to the Bay of Plenty, name also refers to the tribes that descend from that canoe. Can refer to the lands of these tribes combined |
| Māui Tikitiki-a-Taranga | <i>Waka</i> , settled in the Eastern Bay of Plenty |
| Maungapōhatu | <i>Tipua</i> , responsible for many feats including the fishing up of the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand |
| Maungatāwhiri | |
| McLean, Donald | Sacred mountain of Tūhoe |
| Mihikitekapua | Mercer |
| | Minister of Native Affairs |
| | Tūhoe, Ngāti Ruapani, renowned composer, was responsible for placing a <i>rāhui</i> on the forest after her son's death. This blocked her husband's people from returning to their home. The latter ignored her <i>rāhui</i> and as a result Mihikitekapua sought <i>utu</i> . |
| Moetūtāhuna | Composer of the song Whakawairangi |
| Murakareke | Son of Tūhoe Pōtiki |
| Murirangawhenua | Ancestress who gave her jawbone to Māui. The latter used this as a hook to fish up the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand |
| Muriwai | Sister of Toroa, ancestress of Whakatōhea |
| Muturangi | <i>Tohunga</i> , from Hawaiki who owned the pet octopus that Kupe chased to Aotearoa/New Zealand |
| Ngā Pōtiki | Descendants of Pōtiki, <i>tangata whenua</i> of Eastern Bay of Plenty area |
| Ngā Puhi | <i>Iwi</i> from Te Tai Tokerau (Northern regions) |
| Ngāi Tahu | <i>Iwi</i> , located in the South Island. They are the descendants of Tahu Pōtiki |
| Ngakau | Accomplished <i>tohunga tā moko</i> of the <i>uhi</i> period |
| Ngaruawāhia | Township in the Waikato area, location of the Tūrangawaewae <i>marae</i> , stronghold of the Kīngitanga |

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|----------------------------|---|
| Ngata, Sir Apirana | Māori minister of Parliament, from Ngāti Porou |
| Ngāti Awa | Tribe located in the eastern Bay of Plenty |
| Ngāti Awa | <i>Iwi</i> , eastern Bay of Plenty, descendants of Ueimua |
| Ngāti Kahungunu | <i>Iwi</i> , located in the Hawkes Bay to the Wairarapa area, descendants of Kahungunu |
| Ngāti Kōtore | <i>Hapū</i> of Ngāti Kahungunu |
| Ngāti Koura | <i>Hapū</i> of Tūhoe |
| Ngāti Maniapoto | <i>Iwi</i> , located in the King Country |
| Ngāti Pūkeko | <i>Iwi</i> , eastern Bay of Plenty, descendants of Ueimua |
| Ngāti Rongo | <i>Hapū</i> of Tūhoe |
| Ngāti Ruapani | <i>Iwi</i> , located in the Waikaremoana district. |
| Ngāti Tūwharetoa | <i>Iwi</i> , located in the Central Plateau, descendants of Tūwharetoa |
| Ngāti Whakaue | Tribe from the Te Arawa confederation |
| Niwareka | Wife of Mataora, source of <i>moko</i> |
| Ohiwa | Harbour in the eastern Bay of Plenty |
| Opouriao | Confiscated Tūhoe lands |
| Orākau | Scene of warfare in which some Tūhoe aided Ngāti Maniapoto |
| Paama-Pengelly-Kipa, Julie | Accomplished female <i>tohunga tā moko</i> of this modern period |
| Paewhiti | Daughter of Tāneatua and Hinemataroa, mother of Tūhoe Pōtiki |
| Papatūānuku, Papa | <i>Atua</i> , personified in the land |
| Poata, Tame | Accomplished <i>tohunga tā moko</i> of the <i>ngira</i> period |
| Pokoharuatepō | According to Ngāi Tahu narratives, she is the first wife of Rangi (Raki) |
| Pōmare, Sir Māui | Māori Member of Parliament. |
| Pō-ririta | House for teaching arts |
| Puhi | Youngest brother of Toroa, ancestor of Ngā Puhi |
| Puhikaiariki | |
| Pūkawa | Located on the Southern shores of Lake Taupō. This is where the Kīngitanga movement was |

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| | agreed upon. |
| Puketī Pā | <i>Pā</i> of Tūhoe Pōtiki |
| Rakirua | Brother of Aoraki |
| Rangikitua | Husband of Wairaka, from Ngāi Tūranga of Te Tini o Toi |
| Ranginui, Ranginui-e-tū-nei, | <i>Atua</i> , personified in the sky |
| Rangi | |
| Rangitaiki | River of the Ngāti Awa people in the eastern Bay of Plenty |
| Rangitāne | <i>Mokopuna</i> of Whātonga |
| Rangiteaorere | Son of Uenuku Rauiri, raised by Tūhoe Pōtiki. Originator of the saying ' <i>He iti nā Tūhoe ka kata te pō</i> ' |
| Raraki | Brother of Aoraki |
| Rarakiroa | Brother of Aoraki |
| Rarohenga | The underworld |
| Rata | <i>Tipuna</i> , who tried to cut down a tree without seeking the approval of the <i>atua</i> |
| Raukatauri, Patara | Member of the Pai Marire religious group, associated with the killing of Rev. Volkner |
| Ringatū | Religion founded by Te Kooti |
| Robley, Horatio (Major) | Ethnographer of <i>tā moko</i> |
| Rona | Woman in the moon |
| Rongomātāne | <i>Atua</i> , personified in peace and cultivated foods such as the <i>kūmara</i> |
| Ruatāhuna | Settlement in Te Urewera |
| Ruatau | Intermediary between Io and supernatural offspring |
| Rūātoki | Settlement in Te Urewera |
| Rūaumoko | <i>Atua</i> , personified in earthquakes and volcanic activity. The source of the word <i>moko</i> |
| Rukutia | Associated with alternative narratives on the origin of <i>moko</i> |
| Ruri, Rangi | Tūhoe <i>kuia</i> from the <i>kuia moko period</i> |
| Seddon, Richard | Premier of New Zealand |
| Taiarahia | Mountain located in Rūātoki |
| Taiwera | Accomplished <i>tohunga tā moko</i> of the <i>uhi</i> |

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| Takitimu | | period. Protégé of Te Hokotahi. |
| Tama ki Hikurangi | | <i>Waka</i> , from the final migration phase |
| Tamaikoha | | <i>Tohunga</i> of Mataatua |
| Tamakihikurangi, | Renata | <i>Rangatira</i> of Tūhoe |
| Kawepo | | Artist |
| Tamanuiarangi, Tama | | Rukutia's first husband |
| Tamatea ki te Huatahi | | Son of Wairaka and Rangikitua, father of Tūhoe Pōtiki |
| Tamatea, whenua | Tamatea-pōkai- | Descendant of Tamatea-arikinui, traversed widely throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand. Many land marks are named after him |
| Tamatea-arikinui | | <i>Rangatira</i> of the Takitimu <i>waka</i> |
| Tamati, Kuhukuhu | | Accomplished female <i>tohunga tā moko</i> of the <i>ngīra</i> period |
| Tāne, Tāne te waiora | | <i>Atua</i> , personified in the forest and forest life |
| Tāneatua | | Half-brother of Toroa, <i>tohunga</i> and responsible for naming most parts of Te Urewera |
| Tānemoeahi | | Older brother of Tūhoe Pōtiki, ancestor of Ngāti Pūkenga |
| Tangaroa | | <i>Atua</i> , personified in the sea and sea life |
| Tara | | Son of Whātonga |
| Tawhiao, (Tawhiao Tukaroto | | Second Māori King |
| Matutaera | Potatau | Te |
| Wherowhero) | | |
| Tāwhirimātea | | <i>Atua</i> , personified in the winds |
| Te Ahikaiata | | <i>Rangatira</i> of Tūhoe |
| Te Ao Kapurangi | | <i>Rangatira</i> from Te Arawa who saved her people from execution by straddling the apex of the house. |
| Te Ao Tūroa | | The natural world |
| Te Arawa | | Confederation of tribes in the Rotorua area |
| Te Ati Awa | | <i>Iwi</i> , located in Taranaki, Wellington and Northern South Island |
| Te Awa a Te Atua | | Matata |
| Te Hapuoneone | | Descendants of Hape, <i>tangata whenua</i> of Eastern Bay of Plenty area |

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| Te Heuheu Iwikau | Ariki of Tūwharetoa, nominee for Kingitanga |
| Te Hokotahi | Accomplished <i>tohunga tā moko</i> in the <i>uhi</i> period. |
| Te Ihuwaka | <i>Rangatira</i> , from Tamakaimoana |
| Te Ika a Māui | North Island of New Zealand |
| Te Kani a Takirau, Hirini | <i>Rangatira</i> of Uawa, sought after to become the <i>rangatira</i> of the Pai Mārire religion |
| Te Kooti | Prophet |
| Te Kuwatawata | Guardian of the entrance to the Underworld |
| Te Mahurehure | <i>Hapū</i> of Tūhoe |
| Te Maitaranui | Rangatira of Tūhoe who sought the support of Pōmare and Ngā Puhi |
| Te Makarini Te Wharehuia, or Makarini Tamarau | <i>Rangatira</i> of Tūhoe |
| Te Maunga | The mountain, his marriage to Hinepūkohurangi produced Pōtiki |
| Te Moana o Raukawa | Cook Strait |
| Te One-i-Kurawaka | Sacred soils of Papatūānuku from where Hineahuone was formed |
| Te Rangihaupapa | The cloak brought by Niwareka to Te Ao Tūroa as the example of <i>whatu</i> |
| Te Rangikāheke | Early Māori scholar, informant to George Grey |
| Te Rangitake, Wiremu Kīngi | <i>Rangatira</i> from Waitara who refused to support the Waitara Purchase |
| Te Rangitūhāhā | Highest heavens |
| Te Rangiwahakaekehau | Father of Rangiteaorere |
| Te Rara-o-te-rangi | Mataora's house |
| Te Rau, Kereopa | Notorious murderer of Volkner, part of the Pai Mārire religion |
| Te Tai Tokerau | Northland |
| Te Tairāwhiti | East Coast of the North Island. |
| Te Teira | <i>Rangatira</i> , who participated in the Waitara Purchase |
| Te Tini o Awa | The Multitudes of Awa |
| Te Tini o Toi | Descendants of Toi, <i>tangata whenua</i> of eastern Bay of Plenty area |
| Te Tiriti o Waitangi | The Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840 |

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|--------------------------------|--|---|
| Te Ua Haumēne | | Prophet and founder of the Pai Marire religion |
| Te Īpoko o te Ika a Māui | | The wider Wellington District |
| Te Urewera | | Lands belonging to the Tūhoe people, also a term used to describe this group of people. |
| Te Waharoa, Wiremu | | The King Maker |
| Tamihana Tarapipipi | | |
| Te Waipounamu | | South Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand |
| Te Waka a Māui | | South Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand |
| Te Whaiti | | Settlement in Te Urewera |
| Te Whānau a Apanui | | <i>Iwi</i> , located in the eastern Bay of Plenty |
| Te Whanganui a Tara | | Wellington Harbour |
| Te Whenuanui | | <i>Rangatira</i> , from Tūhoe |
| Te Wherowhero, Potatau | | First Māori King |
| Te Whiti o Rongomai | | <i>Rangatira</i> , prophet from Parihaka |
| Te Whitu Tekau | | Union of the seventy, a political group of Tūhoe chiefs who opposed the Native Land Court and surveying/road building |
| Te Whiu Maraki | | Captured Kereopa Te Rau, <i>rangatira</i> of Tūhoe |
| Tikitiki-o-rangi | | Highest heavens |
| Titokowaru | | <i>Rangatira</i> , warrior from South Taranaki |
| Tohu Kakahi | | <i>Rangatira</i> , prophet from Parihaka |
| Toi | | Eponymous ancestor of Te Tini o Toi |
| Toikairākau | | |
| Toi te Huatahi | | |
| Toi, Toikairākau, Toitehuatahi | | Early settler to the eastern Bay of Plenty, prior to the Mataatua <i>waka</i> |
| Toroa | | <i>Rangatira</i> of Mataatua |
| Tū tangata-kino | | Ugly Tū-Tangata |
| Tū Te Koropāngā | | Associated with alternative narratives on the origin of <i>moko</i> |
| Tūhoe | | <i>Iwi</i> , located in Te Urewera, descendants of Tūhoe Pōtiki |
| Tūhoe Pōtiki | | Eponymous ancestor of Tūhoe |
| Tukino, Te Heuheu | | <i>Ariki</i> , of Ngāti Tūwharetoa |
| Tūmatauenga | | <i>Atua</i> , personified in warfare and men |
| Turahui | | <i>Mokopuna</i> of Toi |
| Tūtakangahau | | <i>Rangatira</i> of Tūhoe |

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|---|---|
| Tūtewehiwehi | Descendants of Tangaroa who became the reptiles |
| Ueimua | Oldest brother of Tūhoe Pōtiki, ancestor of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Pūkeko |
| Uenuku Rauiri | Sister of Tūhoe Pōtiki, mother of Rangiteaorere |
| Uetonga | Niwareka's father, <i>tohunga tā moko</i> from Rarohenga |
| Victoria, Queen | Monarch of Britain at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi |
| Volkner, Carl | Missionary of Opotiki, known Government informant killed by Pai Marire group` |
| Waikaremoana, Te Waikaukau o ngā tīpuna | Lake Waikaremoana, referred to by Tūhoe as the bathing waters of the ancestors |
| Waimana | Settlement in Te Urewera |
| Wairaka | Daughter of Toroa, saved Mataatua canoe |
| Waitara | Scene of the Waitara Purchase, Taranaki |
| Whakatāne | Township in the eastern Bay of Plenty. Named after the feat of Wairaka who saved the Mataatua <i>waka</i> . |
| Whakatōhea | <i>Iwi</i> located in the eastern Bay of Plenty |
| Whātonga | <i>Mokopuna</i> of Toi |
| Wilson, John A. | Anglican Minister at Opōtiki |

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