TARANAKI WAIATA TANGI
AND FEELINGS FOR PLACE

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment of
the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at
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by
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The occupation of Moutoa Gardens in 1995 highlighted efforts by Whanganui iwi to draw attention to the non-settlement of long-standing land grievances arising out of land confiscations by the Crown in New Zealand in the 1860s. Maori attitudes to land have not been well understood by successive New Zealand governments since that time, nor by many Pakeha New Zealanders. In an effort to overcome that lack of understanding, this thesis studies a particular genre of Maori composition; namely, waiata tangi or songs of lament, which contain a strong indigenous sense of place component. The waiata used in this study derive from my tribal area of Taranaki, which is linked historically and through whakapapa with Whanganui iwi. These waiata were recorded in manuscript form in the 1890s by my great-grandfather Te Kahui Kararehe, and are a good source from which to draw conclusions about the traditional nature of Maori feelings for place.

Two strands run throughout this thesis. The first examines the nature of Maori feelings for place and land, which have endured through primary socialisation to the present day. By focusing upon a form of expression that reveals the attachment of Maori towards their ancestral homelands, it is hoped that the largely monocultural Pakeha majority in New Zealand will be made aware of that attachment. It is also hoped that Pakeha may be suitably informed of the consequences of colonialist intervention in the affairs of the Maori people since 1840, which have resulted in cultural deprivation and material disadvantage at the present day. In the current climate of government moves to address the problems bequeathed them by their predecessors, it is important that the settlement of land claims and waterways under the Treaty of Waitangi should proceed unhindered by misapprehension and misinformation on the part of the public at large.
The second strand of my thesis concerns the waiata texts themselves, which I wish to bring to the attention of the descendants of the composers of those waiata, who may or may not know of their existence. Since so much of value has been lost to the Maori world it is important that the culturally precious items that remain should be restored as soon as possible to those to whom they rightfully belong.

Key themes examined in this thesis are the nature of Maori "feelings" for place and a "sense" of place; Maori research methodologies and considerations, including Maori cosmology and genealogical lines of descent; ethical concerns and intellectual property rights; ethnographic writings from the nineteenth century which tried to make sense of Maori imagery and habits of thought; the Kahui Papers from which the waiata were drawn; and the content and imagery of the waiata themselves. I also discuss the use of hermeneutics as a methodological device for unlocking the meanings of words and references in the waiata, and present the results both from a western sense of place perspective and a Maori viewpoint based on cultural concepts and understandings.

Key words: confiscation, ethnography, hermeneutics, indigenous, intellectual property rights, land, Maori, Moutoa Gardens, research ethics, sense of place, Taranaki, Treaty of Waitangi, waiata tangi, Whanganui.
He Mihi

Te whakapapa o te Kahui Rangi me te Kahui Ao, koianei:
ko Aonui, ko Aoroa, ko Aopouri
ko Aopotango, ko Aowhekere, ko Aowhetuma
ko Manawa kia Tapore tana, ko Aioroa
ko Miritau i tukua hei reinga
mo Aioroa te pepeha koia tenei:
kei te wakawiniwini nga tai o te po
kei te wakawanawana nga tai o te ao marama
kei te whakarurutu nga tai o Pupuke
ko Manatu ki te rangi
ko Renau ka tipu te puke i waenga
ko Rongo, ko Tu, ko Ru, ko Ouoko
ko Tahu, ko Ari, ko Tikimaru
Motuwhariki, ko Tikihawaiki
ko Taaneruanuku, ko Tanetokorangi
ka marama te ao, ka wehe a Rangi i a Papa
ka heke mai ko te ara taumaha o Papa raua ko Whatitiri
kei a Papa, kei a Whatitiri, Whatitiri matakataka
Ngaia te marama, Waiorau, Maikuku makaka
Tangotango arahuta, Puaitoro, Rakateatuahae
Tapairu momono, kei a Kea, kei a Mohutara
kei a Te Wai, Tamatahara, Niorotapu
Kakahiao, Nonoterangi, Hekeiterangi, Mapunaiterangi
kei a Hinekarikari, taumaha kamatu kamanamai na
kei a Wakahiringa, kei a Kahuporangi, kei a Ueroa
kei Whakaiti, kei a Rongotuhia, kei a Marere
kei a Rahiripoho, kei a Marere, kei a Wairua
kei a Te Kaea, kei a Awhituri, kei a Rongotuhia
ka mutu te hika o Papa o Whatitiri ia Rongotuhia...
   ko Awhituri ka moe i a Taapu Minaara te Rangiha tuake
   ka puta ki waho ko Te Kahui Kararehe
   ka moe a Te Kahui i a Riria Tinirongoa
   ka puta ki waho ko Tuiau te Tauru o te Rangi
   ka moe a Tuiau i a Alice Ellen Scandlyn
   ka puta ki waho ko Loris Annie Te Kahui
   ko moe a Loris Annie i a Alfred Harland White
   ka puta ki waho ko au e tu nei
ko Arihia Mete taku ingoa...
   ko Taranaki te maunga
   ko Kurahoupo te waka
   ko Taranaki tuturu te iwi
   ko Ngati Haupoto te hapu
   ko Pungaeereere te awa
   ko Kaimirimiru te marae
   kia ora mai tatou katoa!
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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To my cousin Jim Kahui, who accepted my need to work with our tupuna’s writings and who gave me an insight into the meaning of "his place" at the heart of my area of study: Tena koe, te rangatira; ko koe ano te tino tangata o nga uri o Te Kahui me nga tupuna kua ngaro atu ki te po. To Jan also, for her unfailing kindness and hospitality. Most of all, to my mother Loris Annie Te Kahui White, whose support flows unstintingly from her belief in the work I do, and in my ability to do it. Tena rawa koe e whae, ka aroha tonu ahau ki a koe, koutou ko tiku whanau tata katoa, mutunga kore. Ki a koe Ian, taku hoa rangatira, me a taua tamariki, mokopuna, aku mihi tonu. Ki nga teina me te tungane, he mihi. Ko tenei taku koa ki a koutou me o koutou whanau, whanaunga, hapu, iwi, huri noa i te motu, puta noa i te ao. Ki a ratou kua wheturangitia: toku papa me nga matua tupuna na ratou i whakamohiotia wairuatia nga tikanga me nga kupu i roto i enei tuhituhinga, tena rawa koutou katoa. Okioki mai, pai marire.
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**COSMOLOGY, WHAKAPAPA AND PLACE**

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GLOSSARY

He Whakamarama/Points to note

1. The definitions given here for these commonly-encountered words are indicative only of their full range and depths of meaning. Readers seeking further clarification should consult a Maori language dictionary such as Williams (1971).

2. Maori nouns do not take "s" in the plural; that is, they are collective nouns (cf. English words such as hair, sheep, food). A word such as iwi, therefore, could imply one or several iwi depending on context.

3. Many verbs or universals may also be used as nouns; thus whakapapa can refer to either a genealogical line of descent or else to the process of establishing one’s links to a particular ancestor in that genealogical line.

Nga kupu/The words

ahi ka                         "lit fires" of continuous occupation
Aotearoa                      Maori name for New Zealand, usually translated as "the land of the long white cloud"
aroha                         love, longing, pity, sympathy, compassion
atua                          supranormal being
hapu                          tribal sub-section, working unit of a tribe
ihi                            essential force
iwi                            tribe, tribal entity; people
kaimoana                      seafood
kainga                        home, unfortified village
kaioraora                     abusive recriminatory song
kaitiaki(tanga)               guardian(ship); protect(ion)
karakia                       ritual chant, incantation; prayer
kaumatua                     tribal elder
kaupapa                      foundation plan of action
kohatu                        stone, rock
mahinga kai                   place of food gathering or preparation
mana                           influence, prestige, status, psychic force
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<th>Term</th>
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<td>mana motuhake</td>
<td>&quot;separate&quot; mana of the Maori people, also equated with rangatiratanga</td>
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<td>mana whenua</td>
<td>mana derived from long-term land occupation in a given area</td>
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<td>manaak:iC tanga</td>
<td>care for; hospitality</td>
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<td>marae</td>
<td>open space within the tribal complex, communal gathering place for tribal discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maunga</td>
<td>mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maunganui</td>
<td>name of a high point at the entrance to Tauranga Harbour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mauri</td>
<td>regenerating life principle, elemental energy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mihi</td>
<td>greeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moana</td>
<td>sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muru</td>
<td>ritual plunder for a specific offence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>fortified village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pataka</td>
<td>storehouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puketi</td>
<td>hill of the ti or cabbage tree, <em>Cordyline</em> spp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rahui</td>
<td>temporary restriction on the use of a resource to allow for regeneration or replenishment</td>
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<td>rangahau</td>
<td>research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rangatira(tanga)</td>
<td>chief, leader; exercise or expression of chiefly authority; autonomous rights possessed by a tribal group</td>
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<tr>
<td>rangi</td>
<td>air or tune of a song</td>
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<td>raupatu</td>
<td>conquest</td>
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<td>rongoa</td>
<td>medicine</td>
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<td>rotu moana</td>
<td>karakia to calm the sea</td>
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<td>tangata whenua</td>
<td>&quot;people of the land&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>tangi(hanga)</td>
<td>cry, weep; ceremony of mourning, funeral service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taonga</td>
<td>treasure, prized possessions and values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapu</td>
<td>sacred, restricted, removed from profane use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tauiwi</td>
<td>stranger, foreigner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tauranga</td>
<td>canoe anchorage, resting place</td>
</tr>
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<td>te reo</td>
<td>the (Maori) language</td>
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<td>tikanga</td>
<td>that which is right or proper under the circumstances, custom</td>
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<tr>
<td>English Word</td>
<td>Samoan Word</td>
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<tr>
<td>tino rangatiratanga</td>
<td>tino rangatiratanga</td>
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<tr>
<td>tupuna</td>
<td>ancestor, grandparent, great-grandparent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turangawaewae</td>
<td>&quot;standing place for the feet&quot;, where one has the right to speak</td>
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<tr>
<td>tuturu</td>
<td>real, true, genuine</td>
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<tr>
<td>utu</td>
<td>recompense, restoring of a situation to a state of balance, reciprocal obligation</td>
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<td>wahi</td>
<td>place</td>
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<td>waiata</td>
<td>song</td>
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<td>wairua(tanga)</td>
<td>spirit(uality)</td>
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<td>waka</td>
<td>canoe, vessel</td>
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<tr>
<td>whakamarama</td>
<td>enlighten, make clear, explain</td>
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<tr>
<td>whakapapa</td>
<td>genealogy, ancestral line of descent</td>
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<tr>
<td>whakatauki</td>
<td>proverb, tribal saying</td>
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<td>whanaunga(tanga)</td>
<td>extended family relationships</td>
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<td>Whanganui(tanga)</td>
<td>state or condition of belonging to Whanganui iwi</td>
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<tr>
<td>whare</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whare wananga</td>
<td>school of learning</td>
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<td>whenua</td>
<td>land; placenta, afterbirth</td>
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INTRODUCTION

0.0. Introduction to the Thesis

The theme of this thesis is the intertextual study of Maori feelings for place, more particularly those of Taranaki Maori, with whom I affiliate as a tribal member. The materials that contribute to the thesis findings are the texts of songs such as waiata tangi or songs of lament, which were held in oral form by the families and communities of their nineteenth century composers, and committed to writing by my great-grandfather, Te Kahui Kararehe of Rahotu (central Taranaki), in the 1890s and early 1900s. In this thesis I examine the question of Taranaki Maori feelings for place as expressed through a particular genre of song composition: the traditional song type known as waiata tangi.

0.1. Contemporary Setting

The background to the subject matter with which this thesis is concerned is the question of Maori feelings for land, or place, within the Taranaki tribal region. The contemporary context or foreground of the thesis relates to the phenomenon of site occupations (buildings and, more particularly, land) in the 1990s, by iwi groups who were protesting at the slow pace of settlement of Maori land claims against the Crown. Of added concern to Maori was the fact that intended sales of Crown land to non-tangata whenua (more specifically, foreign) interests would jeopardise the satisfactory resolution of land claims by disposing of land that was needed to settle those claims.

These occupations, and the disquiet they engendered, are divisive of present day New Zealand since many New Zealanders, especially non-Maori, do not understand the motivation behind such protests. This lack of understanding has its origins with many of those who colonised New Zealand from Britain and Europe in the nineteenth century, and with their failure to come to terms with the world views of the indigenous culture. The failure of the education system since then, to adequately examine and explain our colonial past, perpetuates this original lack of understanding by those early settlers. Because of the largely unresearched impact of such failings upon the state of Maori-Pakeha relations in this country, any study that seeks to enlighten those who maintain a monocultural (particularly eurocentric) stance on social and cultural issues must assist materially in fostering more harmonious relations between our two peoples in the future.

To date (March 2001), Taranaki as a collection of tribal entities on the West Coast of the North Island of New Zealand remains the outstanding exception to those tribes whose land claims have been addressed and settled by the Crown. Taranaki Maori suffered the first
and worst excesses of the colonial wars of sovereignty in the 1860s, which began in their homelands and spread to other parts of the North Island. It is both appropriate and desirable, therefore, that their "feelings for place" (i.e., the culturally-specific ways in which they regard the land) should be made known in advance of formal restitution, so that a climate of understanding may prevail. In this thesis, more particularly in Chapters Three and Ten, I examine these feelings for comparability with those of non-Maori towards places with which they strongly associate; since the popular perception in this country is that land is the setting within which differences between the two cultures are most manifest.

0.2. *He Whakamarama/Explanation*

Explanatory material is introduced at relevant places in the thesis, as I have found from experience in intercultural relationships that explanations need to be reiterated or rephrased before they can be internalised, and this is best done when the context reinforces the explanation. I therefore explain terms such as "Maori" and "Pakeha" in Chapter Four, rather than isolating these terms and presenting them out of context in this Introduction.

I need, however, to explain my use of words such as "feelings" and "attitudes" to describe ways in which Maori regarded the land and their place in it (see 3.9.). Feelings are conceivably more emotive than attitudes, and where these feelings are seen to be positive then a word such as affection or bonding might be used instead. The use of such words should not be construed as begging the question this thesis sets out to prove, however, nor should the use of words like feelings and attitudes be seen as a tacit denial of the existence of emotional ties to the land. In general I refer to feelings and attitudes in preference to attachment and bonding as being less value-laden, and less likely to pre-empt the results of my research.

I also need to explain the connection between place and land in a Maori context. To Maori, a place might be considered as land which holds special significance by virtue of an ancestral event that happened there. Where a number of such places occur in close proximity, as might be expected over an extended period of occupation of a particular area, those places effectively combine to become land. In general, I use "place" in the singular as the smallest unit to which the conclusions in this thesis apply. Those conclusions then also, by extension, apply to land as a plurality of related places in the tribal territory.

A further word needs to be said about macrons, which I have not used here for reasons associated with a succession of formatting and conversion changes which
accompanied the writing up of this thesis since 1995, and which threw macroned words or parts of words out of alignment in the text. As noted in Chapter Five, macrons are used to mark long vowels in Maori words, although this convention relates more to how those words are spoken than to how the eye picks them off the printed page. Russell Bishop (1996:9) comments in respect of his own (written) text that "the intention of the Maori terms is not compromised by lack of pronunciation guidance". Nevertheless, their value in signalling which of a range of possible meanings applies in a given context makes them a useful tool in textual study. For that reason if for no other their omission from this thesis is cause for regret.

0.3. Content of Chapters

In Chapter One, an overview of historical events from 1840 that have contributed to the ongoing unrest over land rights begins the process of intercultural understanding. This overview illustrates clearly how interactions between Maori and Pakeha in the past have suffered through a lack of understanding of Maori world views, and through a general failure to make good that lack of understanding.

In Chapter Two I discuss methodological concerns such as the transparency and direction of my research approach, and the nature and interconnectedness of translation and interpretation in dealing with the texts under study. Chapter Three surveys place and related concepts in connection with the particular focus of textual translation and interpretation in this thesis; namely, the unlocking of meaning of those phrases from the waiata that give an indication of Maori feelings for place. The applicability of sense of place theory to the research question is also discussed, and a further element of the research framework - cosmology and whakapapa - identified to supplement sense of place studies.

Chapter Four deals with Maori perspectives on research, such as differences between academic and iwi approaches to research, and the need for care in working with iwi intellectual property. This chapter also looks at more informal and personal matters which might elsewhere find their way into a preface. The relatively late placement of this material allows for the progressive development of understanding, since it is not possible to explain every aspect of the work at the outset without offering too many strands of detail for the reader to assimilate at the one time.

Chapter Five gives an overview of the particular body of family manuscript writings, referred to throughout this thesis as the Kahui Papers, from which the song texts are drawn. This chapter also contains biographical details concerning the principal recorder of these texts, my tupuna (great-grandparent), Te Kahui, who lived from 1846 to 1904.
Chapter Six looks at waiata tangi as a form of Maori oral literature which is heavily influenced by the places in which its composers and subjects were situated in the course of their everyday lives; and surveys early ethnographic practices in New Zealand which resulted in the collection of much of this material. The waiata texts are presented in Chapter Seven in untranslated form, each introduced by a headnote detailing, where known, its historical background and some aspects of its subject matter. In Chapter Eight, phrases taken from the waiata for the purpose of answering the research question are grouped for perusal under headings related to the landscape themes of sea, sky and land. The nature of the relationship between people and the land is illustrated by the wealth of detail contained in this chapter, which describes the physical and metaphysical characteristics of the tribal landscape.

Chapter Nine draws the research themes together under the mantle of cosmology and whakapapa, which inform and illumine all work that is done in a Maori context. In Chapter Ten, I examine these same themes in relation to the western concept of sense of place, which I set against Maori feelings for place for comparison and evaluation.

0.4. **In Conclusion**

In addressing the primary focus of this thesis, conclusions drawn from the data are used to build up a picture concerning the nature of Taranaki Maori feelings for land and for place. This not only brings into sharper focus the issues involved in land occupations such as those that occurred in the 1990s, but has the potential to inform future exchanges between Maori, Pakeha and the Crown in the settlement of historic land grievances occasioned by colonial misconceptions concerning Maori land rights and use, and the impact of tribal alienation from ancestral lands.
CHAPTER ONE: THE RESEARCH SETTING

1.0. Introduction

Land means many things to many people. To the Maori people of Aotearoa/New Zealand who still live as members of tribal descent groups, or who have consciously re-affiliated with such groups, the meaning of land has sharpened in focus since the annexation of these islands by the British in 1840, and the beginnings of formal colonisation.

In this chapter I take a critical look at the interface between Maori and Pakeha in the western coastal region of Taranaki, which takes its name from the volcanic cone that dominates the ring-plain south of the city of New Plymouth. The tension between Maori and Pakeha in Taranaki is no better and is in some ways worse than in many other parts of New Zealand, as an examination of the colonial history of that region shows. Since I have family links extending back into Taranaki I am motivated to probe the meaning of land for the Maori people there, so that others may appreciate that two conflicting world views may attach to the same piece of soil, and may understand the nature of the Maori world view.

This thesis is structured around the theme of Taranaki Maori "feelings for place" (see 1.2.). It begins with an overview of a particular reaction to the Pakeha presence in Taranaki in the years following initial British settlement.

1.0.1. Setting the scene

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Taranaki gave rise to or influenced most of the major Maori "adjustment" movements (Sinclair, 1969:141), or "aboriginal autonomous" movements (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996:19-20) of New Zealand's short colonial history. These included the Parihaka movement as well as its predecessor, Pai Marire or Hauhau, under whose banner the Taranaki tribes fought at Sentry Hill (see Chapter Seven, Song 2). That movement contributed to the rise of the Ringatu faith on the East Coast under its leader, Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki (Binney, 1995b:1; Walker, 1984:270-71), and to the Tariao faith which took root in the Waikato under the leadership of Tawhiao, the second Maori King (Elsmore, 1985:129,139). These largely scripturally-based movements grew out of reactions to aspects of colonisation such as land loss due to military invasions and government confiscations from 1860 onwards, and to conflicts of interest with the rapidly growing settler population.
In Taranaki a series of ill-considered moves by government kept the province in a state of war from 1860 to 1869, although the effects of war were felt long after outward hostilities had ceased. From the late 1860s the open village of Parihaka to the west of Mount Taranaki became a refuge for landless Maori from other parts of New Zealand, as well as from within Taranaki itself. Under the inspiration of its leaders, Tohu Kakahi and Te Whiti-o-Rongomai, Parihaka became a centre of non-violent direct action against government surveys which were opening up confiscated land for Pakeha settlement (Low & Smith, 1996). The ploughing of settler-occupied land and the re-erecting of fences across roads which cut through Maori cultivations, both features of Parihaka activity in the 1870s, were occasioned by one or possibly both of two related concerns. One was that the Parihaka leaders were challenging the legality of the confiscations (Ward, 1997:128); the other, that they were protesting at the government's failure to provide the Maori people with promised reserves (Riseborough, 1989:2), after extensive confiscations had cut them off from the sea and the mountain and robbed them of their resource base. In either case the protests were justified (Ward, ibid) although, as might be expected, they had unfortunate consequences for the Parihaka people.

On 5 November 1881, government forces marched against Parihaka, to be met by children skipping and performing the haka, and by women who had baked loaves of bread to feed the troops (Riseborough, 1989:164; Smith, 1990:105-7, passim). Despite this peaceful welcome and total lack of military resistance, the Parihaka leaders Tohu and Te Whiti were taken into custody, the village destroyed, and its more than 1,500 occupants forcibly removed to other parts of Taranaki. These tactics by government against a section of its unarmed citizenry did not succeed in quenching the Parihaka spirit though, for as Riseborough (1989:215) explains:

Neither imprisonment, nor the loss of the land, nor finally the death of both Te Whiti and Tohu in 1907, caused their followers to forsake them, and their teaching has been given expression over the years in Taranaki's continuing commitment to non-violence.

Today, Parihaka lies at the heart of protracted efforts to obtain satisfaction for the "never-ending war" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996:1) that has destroyed the fabric of Taranaki Maori

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1 The most far-reaching of these moves was a decision by Governor Gore Browne to proceed with a disputed land purchase at Waitara, which led to the outbreak of war in Taranaki in 1860 and caused considerable humanitarian concern. The British government, for instance, had "grave reservations" about the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863, which legalised the confiscation of land of tribes involved in the war (Waitangi Tribunal, 1995:22), and which it considered was capable of "great abuse" (ibid:23).
society. This "war" took the form of armed aggression by government to 1881, followed by the forced leasing of Maori reserves in a form which persists to the present day, and which denies the Maori people the use of their lands (ibid:2). The Waitangi Tribunal, in its investigation into Taranaki land claims, found that "a litany of landmarks serves as a daily reminder of their dispossession" (ibid:13), but this is not the only reminder of dispossession in Taranaki. At Parihaka a distinctive body of songs, deriving from the ploughing and fencing campaigns of the 1870s that led to wholesale arrests and imprisonments without trial in the South Island, has kept alive the deeds of the past to the present day. These songs tell of "the grievances of the Maori under pakeha rule, the tragedy of the war, [and] the confiscation of the land" (Cowan, 1930:200-201). The Parihaka waiata "Te Raa o Maehe", for instance, tells how the Parihaka prisoners were shipped into exile in the South Island from the 1870s. As long as such songs are remembered and sung, the injustices of the past will not be forgotten.

Maori protest over unaddressed legislative injustices and broken promises continues, and one of its modern manifestations is the phenomenon of land occupation, or settling on disputed land to assert ownership according to Maori customary rights. In the context of this thesis the occupation in 1995 of Moutoa Gardens at Wanganui, south of Taranaki, is of particular importance.

1.1. Occupation at Moutoa

The occupation by Whanganui iwi of Moutoa Gardens (renamed Pakaitore marae), from 28 February to 18 May 1995, sparked several other protests in the North Island and raised a number of questions. What did Maori hope to achieve by such moves? The Waitangi Tribunal had been set up to address Maori land grievances, so why were Maori not prepared to wait on the due processes of law? The historical background to Pakaitore was extensively probed (Murray, 1995; Binney, 1995a; Moon, 1996), with

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2 This is based upon a Tuhoe song, "Ka Tuu Au Ka Korikori", which tells of similar vicissitudes experienced by the Ringatu leader Te Kooti Arikirangi, who was banished to the Chatham Islands in 1866. For the text of that song see Best (1996:598), and Kerry-Nichols (1884:279).

3 The difference in spelling between the name of the city of Wanganui and that of the Whanganui River, from which the local iwi take their collective title, is principally one of dialect (for discussion see Chapter Five). Whanganui iwi, as descendants of the founding canoe Aotea, have a tendency to drop the "h" in speaking, so that Whanganui and Wanganui (or W'anganui) are essentially the same. According to Moon (1996:363), "Whanganui" is the spelling preferred by the occupiers of Moutoa Gardens.
Binney quoting as a reason for the occupation that Whanganui iwi wanted to "reclaim the land as the heart of Whanganuitanga ... in an active statement of its [sic] rights under the treaty" (ibid:4). Was this the full, or even a sufficient, reason for the occupation?

According to Binney, the occupation resulted directly from a lengthy history of land and river confiscation in the region, achieved mostly by legislation rather than by military invasion as in Taranaki. Pakaitore's emotional importance to the hapu of Whanganui, its human face, was revealed by the elders who remembered what their old people had told them about Pakaitore in their day. Then it had been a shared camping and fishing site, which served as a gathering place and a centre for trade and "human creativity" (ibid) for hapu up and down the river.

A Whanganui iwi view of their relationship with their lands was given in the Wellington Evening Post (2/4/95), and summarised in The (Christchurch) Press one month later (2/5/95). The Evening Post, which "provided the translations from the Maori", did not identify the translator although, in the apparent absence of iwi statements to the contrary, it must be assumed that this translation expresses fairly well what Whanganui iwi wished to say. That is, that their relationship with the land "is often characterised as a spiritual bond with Papatuanuku [Mother Earth] and a cultural kinship with the source of life". It is also "a legal one that creates rights and obligations for those who by whakapapa [genealogy] share a spiritual and cultural tie with particular pieces of land" (Evening Post, ibid; emphasis and interpretations as given). This explanation draws together kindred concepts such as wairuatanga (spirituality), kaitiakitanga (guardianship), and whanaungatanga (family relationships), all of which relate to the natural environment and to Maori perceptions of their place within it. But how representative is this view? Does it pertain to the West Coast tribes in general, or is it the view of Whanganui iwi only?

Inasmuch as Whanganui have whakapapa links extending into Taranaki (Moon, 1996:353; Waitangi Tribunal, 1999:30), similarities between the occupation of Pakaitore in the mid-1990s and the Taranaki "peace village" of Parihaka in the 1870s and 1880s are too stark to be ignored. This was acknowledged by the elders at Pakaitore, who stated that their occupation was modelled on Parihaka, and that their kaupapa or plan of action was based on the teachings of that movement (Binney, ibid). Those teachings, which emphasised peace in the face of provocation, were a significant factor in preventing bloody confrontations at Wanganui more than a century later, and determined when the people would give up their occupation of Moutoa Gardens and leave.
Currently, Taranaki’s drive to get historic land claims settled through direct negotiations with government has reached the stage of signed Heads of Agreement with several of the iwi involved. A problem which some hapu aggregates are working through is deciding who their mandated representatives should be. Nevertheless, the Waitangi Tribunal (1996:313) makes it clear that current arguments over tribal representation should be "properly directed not to the tribes but to the destruction of their society and institutions", the most important of these being leadership structures which were irreparably damaged through prejudicial actions by successive governments and their officials. I return to this point in Chapter Four in connection with the war in Taranaki.

The latest phase of hearings into Taranaki land claims by the Waitangi Tribunal began in September 1990 at Owae Marae, Waitara, following a claim submitted in March 1987 by the Taranaki Maori Trust Board for the Taranaki tribes generally (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996:321,322). These hearings are only now giving practical effect to a compact made more than 160 years ago, when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840. Because of the delay in effecting the settlement of historic grievances on the West Coast, and with the impatience that many young Maori have been feeling in recent years (Gardiner, 1996), the prospect of another Pakaitore or Parihaka remains a distinct possibility. Moutoa Gardens has, in fact, been reoccupied each year on the anniversary of the first occupation, and this may well continue until the question of ownership is settled to iwi satisfaction (The (Christchurch) Press, 2/3/99).

1.2. The Research Problem

An insight into the perceptions and attitudes the early Maori brought to the land would provide a valuable background for attempting to understand the current strength of Maori feeling for ancestral land (Asher & Naulls, 1987:3).

The publicising of events at Moutoa Gardens in 1995 solved a problem I was faced with in deciding on a thesis topic. I wished to draw upon the private manuscript writings of my tupuna Te Kahui Kararehe as my primary source of data, and needed a research theme that would do justice to those writings. That theme was suggested by the confrontations at Pakaitore, behind which I could sense the influence of Parihaka, which had provided the background for my M.A. thesis five years earlier (A Smith, 1990). In the present context, what inferences could be drawn about the larger issues that were typified by the standoff at Pakaitore, and how could I relate those issues to my iwi of Taranaki, and to the writings I wished to make use of?
In the wake of intense media speculation generated by Pakaitore and similar confrontations throughout New Zealand, I felt there had to be a way of determining the strength of Maori feelings for ancestral lands, and how those feelings related to the reason for land occupations, which was generally held to be a question of land rights. I went back to Te Kahui’s writings for inspiration, and found it in a scattered body of waiata texts which I knew contained a strong, albeit indigenous, "sense of place" component. (I make the distinction because the concept of sense of place is essentially a western construct, and I did not want to preempt the results of my study by assuming that Maori "feelings" for place are the same as a "sense" of place).

The literature warns that generalising from studies of particular settings [such as Pakaitore] yields "trite conclusions" (Noblit & Hare, 1988:28), while an issues-based approach [such as land occupations] can become "out-dated" (Smith, 1983:xiv) if the issue itself becomes irrelevant. Nevertheless, I felt that my emerging thesis theme of determining Maori feelings for place from the waiata texts could assist in understanding the land situation as it pertains today in many parts of New Zealand, and especially in Taranaki, my principal area of interest. Despite reservations such as those expressed in the literature the results of my study will, I trust, provide insights into the nature of Taranaki Maori feelings for land, as well as those of Whanganui iwi whose occupation of Moutoa Gardens provided the catalyst that led to this study.

1.2.1. Evaluating the texts

The class of waiata that includes waiata aroha, and more especially waiata tangi or laments (see Chapter Six), constitutes a useful field of study in attempting to determine Maori feelings for place according to traditional thinking. Texts such as those recorded in the Kahui Papers have recognised value as carriers of tribal information (Bishop, 1996:259; Mitcalfe, 1974:4), since their slight rhythm and formalised structure provided mnemonic aid in transmitting knowledge unchanged over many generations. The retention in some older texts of archaic words whose meanings are no longer known demonstrates the effectiveness of such texts in preserving ancient knowledge over "substantial periods of time" (Merriam, 1964:281), and in handing it down with "literal

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4 The New Zealand Maori Council (in Asher, 1980:28) defines ancestral land as, amongst other considerations, "all Maori lands and waters ... still claimed as ancestral Maori lands". This includes lands and waters taken during "the irregular processes of colonisation and settlement, such as mere presumption, confiscation, inappropriate legislation, land jobbery and other improper means" (ibid). The point to note is that ancestral land always remains ancestral land, since it "cannot leave its ancestral source" (Durie, 1999:65).
accuracy" (Harding, 1892:442).

Since the most reliable records are those which do not lend themselves to variations in wording (Roberton, 1956:46), the song texts used in this thesis can be reasonably assumed to express "traditional" Maori views; that is, views which, although not necessarily reflecting a pre-European past, were not substantially influenced by European contact at the time the texts themselves were recorded. This assumption is supported by Johansen's statement (1954:270) that a late text from a region which was relatively unaffected by missionary influence is of greater value than an early text from a region where this influence was felt at an earlier stage. In comparison with Northland, say, which suffered severe and prolonged missionary contact, Taranaki was "relatively unaffected", which confirms the value of many of the texts in the Kahui Papers as indicators of traditional thinking.

The assumption that the texts may express traditional Maori views is also supported by Murton's statement (1987:102) that an ideological core in modern Maori society "would seem to be in accord with views held in the past about the nature of tribal society". Murton considers that systems of thought contained in Maori mythology and poetry are "central to the understanding of Maori culture, society and behaviour" (ibid:107), while Salmond (1983:319,325) feels that early Maori manuscripts may help us return to Maori interpretations of their world in the nineteenth century, or find "new ways" of thinking about traditional Maori life. On a broader front, Dodgshon (1999:618) postulates the survival into the present of traces from the past (ethnographic, documentary, and so forth) which may be used to define the past, while Said (1993:3) considers that appeals to the past are a common strategy in interpreting the present. Patrick Joyce (in Munslow, 1997:24-25) holds that access to the past is "only ever through a text", the language of which mediates the relationship between past and present. I am therefore well placed in exploring the waiata texts at the heart of this study, since the decision to base my research on these texts is strongly supported by the literature.

1.2.2. Evaluating the topic

Needs identified in the literature which can be informed by the present study include those of researching "contemporary Maori attitudes to resources and the environment" (Robinson, 1989:6); of studying "Maori sentiment for land ... and the structuring of Maori territory" (Murton, 1987:101); and of analysing sense of place and identity in "the reshaping of New Zealand into Aotearoa" (Spoonley, 1997:154).
The need for greater cultural awareness of the relationship of Maori and land is particularly emphasised. Phillips (1987:vi) writes of "Two peoples, two cultures, two relationships with the land", and adds: "There is no issue in contemporary New Zealand more urgently in need of serious understanding". The late Sir Robert Mahuta (1987:86) refers to the problems that Maori face in addressing this issue, because of having to "fight and struggle every step of the way to achieve the simple human rights that arise from our historic association with the land".

Murton (1987:109) warned more than a decade ago of the need for an accommodation of majority and minority viewpoints on land and identity, if New Zealand was to restructure itself socially and economically to enter the twenty-first century. For Maori, an important dimension of "land and identity" is spirituality, which characterises the relationship of Whanganui and other tribes with the land and its waters, which are inseparable in Maori thought. The spiritual dimension was recognised by the Waitangi Tribunal in its early report on the Motunui-Waitara claim (1983:10), when it noted the need for greater awareness by non-Maori of Maori spiritual and mental concepts in relation to seafood and water. Spirituality was also a feature of the Tribunal's report on the Whanganui River (1999:71-72), which noted the emphasis placed by claimants on the spiritual dimensions of the river and their likeness to the sacred waters of peoples and religions in other lands.

Because the Tribunal has to this point (March 2001) produced only the first part of an interim report on the Taranaki claims, and because the scale of the injustices was so immense and the effects so traumatic, little has been written about the spiritual relationship of Maori with the land in Taranaki. This relationship is evident, nevertheless, in the way in which the generations have remained in sight of their confiscated acres in the hope that the land might, one day, return to them.

1.3. **Maori Land Issues**

A significant obstacle to the resolving of Maori land issues has lain in persistently western interpretations of Maori attitudes to, and connections with, the land. This was particularly noticeable in Taranaki in the 1850s, when investigations were undertaken into the nature of Maori links to the land after the settlers were displaced from tribal lands by the return of the customary owners of those lands from the Cook Strait area (see 1.4.1., below). Those investigations focused on aspects of Maori land tenure such as communal
ownership and the conditions under which land was alienated, in a bid:

- to destroy the strength of hapu and iwi and their control, through their chiefs, over their own resources, substituting individual ownership over land, and,
- to thus facilitate the purchase of land from individuals (Waitangi Tribunal, 1995:25).

That is, the first move in the acquisition of Maori land for colonial settlement was the destruction of Maori social structures and their economic bases (ibid:10,13).

Some Pakeha in the nineteenth century argued that land was "a curse" to Maori (Sinclair, 1961:5), and that extinguishing native title was essential for their material and social benefit (Sorrenson, 1965:30; Ward, 1973:114). These arguments were very often self-serving, since not only land speculators but also some politicians stood to gain considerably from the greater availability of Maori land for purchase and resale (Sinclair, 1969:142; Riseborough, 1989:21-23).

Some Pakeha used the example of land sales to bolster their argument that Maori lacked special feelings for "their country" (Sinclair, 1961:5,8). Indeed, where the latter had insecure tenure, such as on the boundaries between tribes, some tribal members were only too anxious to sell (Te Rangihiroa, in Ballara, 1982:539). In the socially troubled climate of the 1840s and 1850s, divisions within tribes between those who wanted to sell communally-held land and those who wished to retain it in customary ownership were exacerbated to the point of active conflict by government opportunism and manipulation.

Some Pakeha, imbued by a similar spirit of humanitarianism to that which caused Britain to intervene in New Zealand's affairs in the first place, were more reasoned in their approach. Sir William Martin compared the pride of the Maori in maintaining their lands against aggression with the British spirit of patriotism (AJHR, 1861, E-1, Appendix, p.5), while Governor FitzRoy (AJHR, ibid, p.23), Archdeacon Hadfield (1860), and contemporary historian Rusden (1888) were amongst those who expressed sympathy for the Maori stance. Maori themselves, in explaining their feelings for the land in the face of settler demand for those lands, appealed to the love of the British for theirs: "Friend Governor, do you not love your land - England - the land of your fathers? as we also love our land at Waitara", the Te Ati Awa leader Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake asked Governor FitzRoy in 1844 (Caselberg, 1975:56). This simply stated condition of the heart was all the more poignant because Taranaki had fought so long to retain their lands in the half

1997) gives an overview of nineteenth century opinions on land matters as a background to current Maori land claims against the Crown.
century before colonisation, and the worst fighting of all - the Taranaki war - was yet to come.

A Taranaki whakatauki (tribal proverb) reflects their will to survive:

Afish covered with large scales will never be eaten.

[That is, the Taranaki people would never be defeated].

(Brougham, Reed and Karetu, 1987:106).

1.4. Historical Background

Almost a century after the outbreak of war in Taranaki, Sorrenson (1959:211) wrote that land was "a permanent barrier to amicable race relations" between Maori and Pakeha, and that "the seeds of conflict were present from the beginning". A brief overview of conditions in Taranaki prior to and following colonial settlement will help to explain these statements.

1.4.1. The Taranaki situation

Although Taranaki was inhabited by scattered tribal remnants in 1840 (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996:31,33) it appeared, outwardly at least, to be devoid of occupants. Observers who tried to explain events leading up to the wars of the 1860s found an easy answer in Taranaki's so-called "fear" of Waikato (Wakefield, 1839, in Martin, 1860:12), which had caused them to leave their homelands during the 1820s and early 1830s. Caution and prudence had almost certainly played a part in the emptying out of Taranaki's northern and central regions, for they had suffered heavily in the opening decades of the nineteenth century from musket-armed raids by Northland and Waikato tribes. In such a situation it was natural for Taranaki to withdraw in order to recover their fighting strength.

For those at risk from tribal raids there was an added incentive to leave Taranaki. The Ngati Toa chief Te Rauparaha had gone south in 1819 with the northern leaders Patuone and Waka Nene, who had alerted him to a ship passing through Cook Strait and suggested he move there from his home at Kawhia to trade for guns (Smith, 1910:306). He did this, migrating by way of Taranaki to the Kapiti coast, north of Wellington. Taranaki itself had no deep water anchorages to encourage trading vessels to that part of the coast, and the tribes were denied the opportunity of obtaining guns for this reason. After the battle of Kikiwhenua in 1826, when large numbers of Taranaki captives were

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Smith (1910:414 fbd). Te Kahui (in Broughton, 1984:184-85) explained the significance of the name Kikiwhenua: "... ko te rironga o te tangata ki Waikato; riro ora, riro mate."
taken north to Waikato and Hokianga, many of those who were left moved south and established themselves at Otaki, Waikanae, Totaranui (Queen Charlotte Sound), and Port Nicholson (Wellington). Following Te Rauparaha's example they thus positioned themselves to take advantage of the trading opportunities these locations offered.

When the New Zealand Company came looking for land to buy in Taranaki, Wakefield went first of all to Te Ati Awa at Totaranui and Port Nicholson. The "sale" of Taranaki land that resulted was later ratified by "buying" the same area of land in Taranaki, described as "[lying] between Kawhia and Mount Egmont, abreast of the Sugar Loaf Islands, and [running] for thirty miles inland" (Wakefield, AJHR, 1860, E-2, p.1). This "supposed purchase" (FitzRoy, AJHR, ibid, No.12) was made from forty-seven tribespeople who had remained behind at Ngamotu, the Sugar Loaf Islands offshore from present day New Plymouth. According to the popular record this small group was all that remained in Taranaki after the rest had "fled away" into other districts after being "conquered" by Waikato in the 1830s (Gorst, 1864:130). As a facile explanation of a complex situation, however, this statement ignores several basic facts.

First, for a conquering tribe to claim mana whenua status over land they had to occupy and cultivate that land. Because of the changing dynamics of tribal interaction in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, Waikato did not do this. In fact, they were beaten back by Taranaki at Te Namu (Opunake) in 1833, and conclusively defeated at Waimate (southern Taranaki) the following year; at which time the Waikato leader Te Wherowhero agreed to make a lasting peace (Smith, 1910:514). Second, pockets of tribespeople had remained in Taranaki to maintain ahi ka, the "lit fires" of occupation, for the rest (FitzRoy, AJHR, 1860, E-2, No.12; Condliffe, 1959:69). Some had "found refuge in the mountains of Cape Egmont" (Hobson, 1841, in Martin, 1860:19); that is, in the Kaitake and Pouakai ranges north-west of Mount Taranaki. Because of the presence of tribal members in the district, those who had gone south to Cook Strait knew they could return to their ancestral lands at any time.

For those Taranaki tribes living around Cook Strait, the time to return to their

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Ko Kikiwhenua tetahi ingoa o tenei mate o Taranaki... He moemoea na tetahi tohunga poropiti o Waikato, nana tenei ingoa a Kikiwhenua" (... the taking of the people to Waikato, dead or alive. Kikiwhenua is one of the names of this defeat of Taranaki's... A Waikato visionary had a dream and gave it this name of Kikiwhenua).

7 Wakefield also bought land in central Taranaki (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996:23), although the Company did not pursue this latter claim when pre-Treaty land sales were examined by Commissioner Spain in 1844 (ibid:23-27, passim).
lands was determined by the arrival of the first New Zealand Company settlers in Wellington in 1840, and by an influx of settlers into New Plymouth in 1841. They may not have felt ready to return, in terms of fighting strength and the accumulation of wealth through trade, but the arrival of the Pakeha in such unexpectedly large numbers demanded urgent action. As it happened, many Taranaki captives from the musket wars, released when the northern tribes were converted to Christianity in the late 1830s and early 1840s, returned home before the tribes from the south. For Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake was not able to lead his northern Taranaki hapu back to Waitara from Waikanae until 1848, seven years after the first settlers arrived (Wells, 1878:144).

By that time the closely knit settler community, many of them from neighbouring villages in Cornwall and Devon (Dalziel, 1991), had suffered a major setback. Commissioner Spain, appointed by the British government to investigate pre-1840 land purchases in New Zealand, ruled in 1844 that the rights of Taranaki’s "resident natives" only were to be allowed. This gave validity to the purchase of Taranaki land that Wakefield had concluded with the few at Ngamotu. But Spain’s recommended award of 60,000 acres was not accepted by Governor FitzRoy who, recognising that returning tribespeople would strongly assert their rights, secured a smaller area of 3,500 acres - the FitzRoy Block around New Plymouth - for the Company. This was less a policy for future settlement, as it should have been, than a political arrangement based on the realities of the settler presence, and on Te Ati Awa opposition to aspects of that presence (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996:39-40). Nevertheless, a condition agreed between Te Ati Awa and the government, that the settlers would not expand beyond the FitzRoy Block, was effectively set aside when the Crown waived its right of pre-emption north of New Plymouth in favour of the New Zealand Company, who had continued to bring in shiploads of settlers (ibid:40-41).

Mounting pressure from the settler population to recover "Spain’s award" of 60,000 acres was exacerbated by the failure (as they saw it) of the returning tribes to utilise the fertile acres around Waitara that they themselves were impatient to possess (ibid:42; Reeves, 1950:196,197). The Victorian belief that individual property rights arose from the expenditure of labour and capital upon land, from which it acquired its value, meant that - in settler terms at least - the more land in Maori control the less likely

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8 The limit of this expansion was marked by the setting up of a carved rahui pole, Pou Tutaki (see discussion, 9.2.1).
they were to be able to expend the necessary labour upon it, and the weaker in consequence their claims of ownership. As Adams (1977:189) points out, however, the application of a European theory of land value was "peculiarly inappropriate" to a society which used land in many different ways apart from cultivating it, for: "Land and water, whether wild or tamed, provided the necessities of life" (ibid:177). The fact that Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake and his followers established large gardens on their return to Waitara in 1848, and sent much of their produce to the New Plymouth market (Sorrenson, 1981:172), does not fully address the question of land use by Te Ati Awa, although the view that Maori land has been either "unused or misused" (Murton, 1987:96) is the perception of one culture only, based on its agricultural leanings.

The pressure on land for settlement in Taranaki, and a growing determination to put the Maori people in their place vis-a-vis the sovereign power of the British (Ward, 1973:114), led inexorably to the outbreak of war in 1860. The fighting itself lasted for nine years in Taranaki and consisted of three phases. The first Taranaki war began with government aggression over the Waitara Block, and lasted until March 1861. The second, a resumption of the first following the military reoccupation of Tataraimaka south of New Plymouth in 1863, was marked by the "creeping confiscation" of Maori land and a scorched earth policy of attrition (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996:93). The third, Titokowaru's war in south Taranaki, was marked by the "terrible strategy" adopted by the troops of bush-scouring - "sudden attacks on soft targets, even deep in the bush" (Belich, 1989:8) - in which colonial militia played a prominent part.

Sinclair (1991:14) explains that the wars which began in 1860 have attracted several names, all of which imply some view about what caused them, or who was responsible. Thus, "Maori wars" implies that Maori instigated the troubles that flared in Taranaki and spread to other parts of the North Island, while "land wars" suggests that they were about land, which was only part of the reason. Sinclair himself uses the phrase "Anglo-Maori wars", since the fighting was initially between Maori and Imperial troops, and only later involved colonial forces. Other names, some more specific than others but most evidencing the point that Sinclair makes, include "Pakeha wars" (Older, 1978:80), "inter-racial wars" (Biggs, 1960:4), "civil wars" (Fitzgerald, 1970:47), "internal wars" (Sharp, 1997:7) and, especially, "sovereignty wars" (Durie, 1998:3).

Whatever the cause, the war that began at Waitara was intended to exert non-Maori dominance over the soil and its indigenous occupiers for, as Governor Gore Browne wrote concerning the purchase of the Waitara block, "the question of the purchase
of an insignificant piece of land is merged in the far greater one of nationality” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1995:19). The conflict that resulted "began in men's minds before [it was] fought out in the fern and the bush" (Sinclair, 1969:123), and reflects the escalating bitterness between Maori and Pakeha in the mid-nineteenth century over incompatible land values and competing forms of land usage.

Even more crippling than the loss of land, for the future relations of both sides, was the larger loss that resulted from "a legacy of fear and loathing" on the part of Pakeha:

The prospect of a conquest by Maori seemed never more likely than in Taranaki. The consequential fear led to an outburst of hatred, with Maori regularly depicted in cartoons, papers, and periodicals in an unwholesome way. Some sensitivity to racial characteristics remains, for cartoon images of a heathen and contemptible people survived to influence generations of racial attitudes (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996:105).

1.5. Te Muru me te Raupatu

An outcome of the wars in Taranaki was the confiscation of some 1,922,200 acres (777,914 hectares) of land under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863. The Waitangi Tribunal (1996:173,312) arrived at this figure by adding to the total area of land confiscated in Taranaki (1,199,622 acres) a further 296,578 acres of land “said to have been purchased” from 1872 and discountable as a valid acquisition in Treaty terms (ibid), and a further 426,000 acres of land “expropriated by land reform and the Government’s Native Land Court process” (ibid:312), which destroyed native title and replaced it with individual title to facilitate Crown purchase.

The Taranaki tribes refer to the war and confiscations as "Te Muru me te Raupatu", but there is painful irony in each of these terms. In customary thought a muru, the appropriation of property, could be justified (see, for instance, “The Great Muru” (JPS 28:97-102), in which Te Kahui was implicated), but the government confiscations were without just cause. The second term, raupatu (conquest), was used by Taranaki Maori to refer to their "marginalisation by the organs of the State, for ... they were never conquered by the sword but were taken by the pen" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996:6-7); that is, by discriminatory legislation in the wake of war and dispossession.

Condemned by the Waitangi Tribunal (1996:309) as "immoral in concept and unlawful in implementation", the confiscations were represented by the government as punishment for the so-called "rebellion" of the Taranaki tribes, who had fought back against the Crown in defence of their homes and lives, and in an assertion of their rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. This had guaranteed them (Article II, Maori version):
... te tino Rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otiia ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga, me nga Rangatira katoa atu, ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te wenua, ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou ko te pai hoko e meatia nei i te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.

Or, in the English version:

... the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate ... (ibid:249; emphases mine).

In reality, pressures exerted by the government of the day through aggressive land purchasing policies led to an intolerable situation where Maori were not permitted the luxury of deciding for themselves - either by wish, desire, or disposition - to alienate land. Instead they were "forced into a position from which they could not retreat" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996:294) for, as Sir William Martin (1860:72) explained, "To fight for their land, to resist encroachment even to the death, this has been their point of honour". More significantly, they were "bound to take action to keep the balance, as required by utu" (Waitangi Tribunal, ibid:104). Government advisers familiar with Maori ways knew that the principle of utu would be called into play, and that the tribes would fight - could be manipulated into fighting - and that the confiscation plan simply awaited that day.

Confiscation legislation, or confiscation "on paper", took the form of the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 and its annual amendments to 1867 (ibid:118,351 fwd), even though confiscation "on the ground" had already occurred (ibid:117-18). That is, the confiscations were legalised retrospectively (ibid:110). Nevertheless, the government found itself short of funds to enforce confiscations on the ground in Taranaki in the aftermath of war, and surveyed land only as it could afford to do so. Some land remained confiscated on paper for more than fifteen years (Waitangi Tribunal, 1995:27), fuelling rumours amongst Maori that the confiscations had been abandoned. In some cases land was surveyed for sale and for grants to military settlers - enlisted by the Crown and promised land before the relevant enabling legislation had been passed (Waitangi

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9 Meanings of utu include reciprocity, equivalence, and the restoring of a situation to a state of balance (Firth, 1959:412-13; O'Connor, 1991:139; Patterson, 1992:117). Patterson (ibid:116-135) gives a range of meanings from other authorities, as well as an in-depth discussion of this term.
leaving insufficient land for promised Maori reserves. In other cases, delays of up to twenty years were experienced before Crown grants were issued to hapu (Waitangi Tribunal, 1995:26). The slow uncertain pace of creeping confiscations resulted in years of uncertainty for the Maori people (ibid:25), many of whom joined the Parihaka community in an effort to determine the government's intentions concerning them, and thus their own future.

Even then they were not free from government pressure, especially in the wake of the destruction of Parihaka by government forces on 5 November 1881, for:

Images of a fuller picture escaped later to the public arena; images of assaults; rape; looting; pillage; theft; the destruction of homes; the burning of crops; the forced relocation of 1556 persons without money, food, or shelter; the introduction of passes for Maori to facilitate the military's control of movements in the area; and the suspension of trials and other legal safeguards when it appeared that lawful convictions might not be achieved (ibid:1996:206).

A West Coast Commission was set up in 1880 to enquire into Maori land grievances in Taranaki while road making and surveying, resisted by the Parihaka ploughmen and fencers, continued unabated (Riseborough, 1989:90 fwd; Waitangi Tribunal, 1996:247). Under a second Commission, sitting during the invasion of Parihaka, Maori reserves were eventually made and almost immediately vested in government control for Pakeha settlement:

By regular changes to the law, the settlers' interests were continually advanced, to the detriment of Maori, until most of the reserves had been leased by the [Public Trustee] on perpetually renewable terms. Many were then to be sold, again through Government policy and not by the voluntary action of Maori. In the result, although it was regularly claimed that lands had been returned to Maori, most did not return to their possession or control (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996:207, emphasis mine).

The Sim Commission, appointed in 1926 to investigate Maori grievances concerning land confiscations throughout the North Island, found that the fighting which began at Waitara in 1860 was an act of aggression on the part of the Crown (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996:309), and "the worst injustice ever perpetrated by a New Zealand government" (Sinclair, 1969:143). The Commission also found that the second Taranaki war was merely a resumption of the first and that, although the Taranaki tribes were by then legally in rebellion under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863, they should not have been

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10 This clearly shows the premeditated nature of the war and the government's confiscation policy. By 1869, however, the government was prepared to admit that its policy had been an "expensive mistake" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1995:27).
punished by the confiscation of land. These findings justified Taranaki actions in defence of their lands, although the damage had by then been done, and the results are incalculable.

1.6. Summary
This chapter examines the historical background to the research question, and surveys the social circumstances that pertained in Taranaki over close on two centuries of social unrest occasioned by external forces. A brief timeline would include events of the 1820s and 1830s, when Taranaki was involved in tribal conflict with its northern neighbours, to the present day. That timeline would also include the arrival of the settlers in New Plymouth in 1841, the return of the tribes from the Cook Strait area throughout the 1840s but more particularly in 1848, the war years of the 1860s, the challenge posed by the Parihaka movement throughout the 1870s, and the continuing challenge to governments since the 1880s to make good the mistakes of the past.

In this chapter I focus particularly on negative aspects of colonisation and dispossession since 1840, which gave rise to autonomous or adjustment movements such as Parihaka in central Taranaki. During the 1870s this movement attracted refugees from government fighting in other parts of the North Island as well as within Taranaki itself, and employed increasingly sophisticated methods of resistance to colonial land acquisition tactics. Destroyed by government forces in 1881, Parihaka nevertheless remains as a symbol of injustices suffered by Taranaki Maori since European settlement, which have yet to be addressed in their entirety.

Today, reminders to government of its responsibilities towards its Treaty partner include the occupation of disputed land such as Moutoa Gardens in 1995. Links between this occupation and Parihaka in the 1870s and 1880s are well recognised, as are the themes of peace and spirituality that characterised each event. The challenge posed by such themes is to determine the extent to which they reflect traditional Maori attitudes to and feelings for ancestral lands, and to demonstrate this in such a way that Pakeha, as the cultural "other" in this country, may be suitably informed.

In the present case my decision to use waiata texts from family sources gave me a useful platform from which to work in addressing the question of Maori feelings for land.

An exhibition jointly mounted in August 2000 by City Gallery Wellington and the Parihaka Pa Trustees, entitled "Parihaka: The Art of Passive Resistance", explored this "dark chapter in New Zealand's history" (Shiels, The (Christchurch) Press, 30/8/00, p.33) through the medium of artworks, documentary and audiovisual material, plays and films.
and place. Texts such as those used in this thesis are resistant to change over time (Simmons, 1976:11), and can be assumed to reflect traditional values. This assumption is supported by the literature, which emphasises the need for greater cultural understandings of the relationship between Maori and land. The particular form of waiata that is studied here - waiata tangi - gives an indication of how this relationship was expressed in the past, although the nature of that relationship must then be interpreted according to Maori values to impart an understanding of why it should have been expressed in that particular manner.

1.7. In Conclusion

The waiata texts, and the message they imparted to listeners, acquired even greater significance in Taranaki tribal society in the nineteenth century, due to aspects of the settler presence that challenged Maori occupation of their lands and led to a more explicit focus on landscape features in the tribal territory. As will be seen in Chapters Three and Nine, the naming of tribal landmarks in the waiata was an assertion of ownership in the face of increasing land loss, and a reassertion of tribal autonomy in the face of an aggressive counter-culture and a rapidly changing world order.

In Chapter Two I discuss methodologies of relevance to my research into this particular aspect of Maori tribal society, and explore the potentialities of hermeneutics as an aid to understanding the texts under study.
CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.0. Introduction

In outlining the research problem in Chapter One, I showed that I had an awareness of the themes and intent of the waiata texts I wished to study in order to answer the research question. Those texts, as indicated in 1.2. and 1.2.1., contain a strong indigenous sense of place component, and constitute a useful source of data for determining Maori feelings for place according to traditional thinking. This prior awareness on my part accords with the suggestion (Bultmann, 1985:242) that an interpreter approaches a text with specific questions in mind, and so has a certain idea of its subject matter. Thus meaning exists at the beginning of research as "the choice of theme to be investigated, [and] the awakening of the desire to investigate" (Gadamer, 1985:265-66). This awareness on my part also accords with other statements in the literature concerning themes and areas of research in the human sciences, which are "constituted by the motivation of the enquiry" (ibid:267), since a researcher's "personal, historical relationship" to the work helps shape the research (Denzin, 1989:29).

Having my desire to investigate the song texts so neatly supported by the literature, though, raises a methodological concern which Hammersley (1992:33) highlights when he refers to building preconceptions into research conclusions. Although Johansen (1954:271) considers that the danger of being carried away by one's point of view is "almost nil" in the study of Maori texts from the past, I felt that having a certain idea of the subject matter of the waiata texts could incline me, however unintentionally, to translate them in such a way that they supported my line of inquiry. Since many of the waiata I use are not in the public domain, but depend for the way in which they appear in this thesis on the care with which I have transcribed them from the originals, the steps taken to arrive at my research conclusions may not satisfy the need for transparency in all cases. For this reason the research framework has been somewhat self-consciously elaborated in this and following chapters so that the various dimensions of the work, and the connections between its disparate elements, may be more fully understood.

2.1. Research Context

Willis (1980:90) uses the phrase theoretical "confession" to refer to a researcher's explanation of the social context of his/her work, and the methodological and analytical procedures to be adopted in pursuing the research topic. This explanation should demonstrate the "rigour, reasonableness and coherence" of such procedures (Eyles,
1985:35), including those of data analysis, which must be based on "reason, consistency and intellectual honesty" (ibid:32). I address the social context of my work in Chapter Four, and devote the present chapter to a discussion of procedures and methodologies of relevance to the research topic, which centres on Maori feelings for place. I start with an examination of Maori studies, the area of study within which I began my research.

2.1.1. Maori studies and interdisciplinarity

Mead (1983:333) considers that teachers of Maori have "some idea" of what constitutes Maori studies, although Royal (1998:7) is conscious of questions over methodology and paradigm in this particular "field of study". Durie (1996:22) highlights the confusion inherent in the term, which can be taken to mean any or all types of study that are undertaken by, in, or about Maori. In Maori studies the emphasis is typically on holistic interdisciplinary approaches (ibid:31) while, in interdisciplinarity itself, named disciplines interact across porous boundaries (Johnston, 1987:9). Peters (1999:13) refers to this interaction as "academic boundary crossing sometimes termed 'postmodernism'", while Opie (1999:268) sees the breaking down of disciplines as exemplifying key features of postmodernity.

Postmodernism can be traced to New York in the 1960s (Featherstone, 1995:43), although Rojek (1993:278) refers to the "moment" of postmodernism which began in the mid-1980s and took root in an academic context (ibid:287). Dear (1988:265) considers that few people have a clear sense of what postmodernism means, while Peters (1993:29) sees it as a shorthand cipher or code which refers to the breakdown of boundaries between the disciplines and different forms of knowledge – none of which is more privileged than the rest.

A characteristic of postmodern fields of study is that they are on "friendly borrowing terms" with intellectual methods in adjacent fields (Inglis, 1993:227) and have in some cases cast off the designation of "discipline" in favour of the more flexible term "studies". Borrowing also takes place between disciplines such as human geography and other social sciences (Gregson, 1986:184), and between the sciences and humanities (Opie, ibid:267), in an effort to answer strategic questions in particular contexts (Grossberg, 1996, in Peters, 1999:14-15).

In this thesis the strategic question I wish to answer relates to the existence and nature of a Maori "sense of place". To 1990, comparatively little interdisciplinary research
had been undertaken on sense of place, although Hay (1990:82) considers that this topic demands a broad range of academic perspectives. Explorations of place, such as that which manifests itself as landscape (see Chapter Three), can be "confined by the boundaries of no formally defined discipline" (Relph, 1976:6), since "the rules governing the transformation of the visual into the readable are not derived from any single discipline" (Stock, 1993:314). Descriptive writing, which transforms "the visual into the readable", is one of the themes I address in analysing the data extracted from the waiata texts at the heart of this study.

2.1.2. Maori studies and cultural studies

Bassett (1996:516) refers to the ideal postmodern intellectual whose role is to "[interpret] between different subcultures in an increasingly differentiated society". Intellectual work is not confined to what is studied (Hall, Hobson, Lowe & Willis, 1980:43), but must also relate to how "what is studied" is expressed in written form, since Geertz (1983, in Gregory, 1994:4) refers to a "blurring" of the boundaries between formal intellectual inquiry and imaginative writing. Giddens (1984:220) contrasts the "blurred genres" of modern thought (Geertz's phrase) with earlier studies, and comments that "real and profound convergences of interests and problems are occurring across broad spectra of intellectual life".

A problem that Maori academics had to contend with in the 1980s was the debate over the nature of Maori studies. This has been superseded by a broader debate over the nature of cultural studies in general, which Hall et al. (1980:7) describe as an area of intersection between different disciplines in the study of cultural aspects of society, such as education, race and ethnicity, and gender issues (ibid:8). Cultural studies was originally concerned with textual analysis (ibid:9), although it had "no clear precedents, no fixed reference points, no scholarly orthodoxy" (ibid:42). Peters (1999:10) places it in a cross-disciplinary and counter-disciplinary context, while Dominguez (1996:46) refers to its perceived multi/inter/cross/anti-disciplinary nature.

From the foregoing it can be seen that Maori studies (in its postmodern form, perhaps, of Maori "cultural" studies), has the potential to contribute significantly to an understanding of present day cultural and social issues in New Zealand. This is the context in which my work is based, although I draw also upon translation studies and its parent hermeneutics, on place studies, and on parent disciplines of Maori studies such as anthropology and its sub-discipline, ethnography. I draw too upon history, although I am
not an historian, nor an anthropologist or ethnographer, nor yet a human geographer or social scientist, but someone who fits into no readily definable mainstream category. This apparent lack of "academic whakapapa", a characteristic of present-day tertiary environments, provides the basis for the methodological considerations that follow.

### 2.2. Methodological Approaches

According to Hay (1990), researchers have most commonly used humanistic (or phenomenological) and behavioural (or positivistic) geographical approaches to investigate sense of place. Humanistic approaches may be considered "value laden" (ibid:5) and "close to banality" (Relph, 1981:135), since they express sentiments about the human condition, while behavioural studies abstract people from their social and environmental settings, and rarely consider their subjective feelings (Hay, ibid:86).

Methodologies used in humanistic geography include etymology, phenomenology, reviews of archival material, and the interpretation of literary texts that may "articulate qualities of lifeworld or place which might otherwise remain half-hidden" (Pocock, 1988b:96, in ibid:95). Such (humanistic) studies are often "metaphysical in outlook, anthropological in content and historical and literary in their modes of analysis and presentation" (Lowenthal, 1972, in ibid:86).

Phenomenology, "or more accurately self-reflection" (Eyles, 1985:35), is the study of phenomena which lie beyond immediate observation, but which include the ideas, emotions and experiences of others. Ethnography, the method typically used by cultural anthropologists to describe another culture (Hay, ibid:119), adopts the same empathetic stance in considering subjective states of mind (ibid:104). Of the two, phenomenology’s "enquiring manner" provides a means of investigating people’s lifeworlds and exploring their sense of place (ibid:93,118; Eyles, ibid:54), while ethnography's more in-depth descriptive approach is suited to investigating indigenous people's sense of place (Hay, ibid:103). Since problems can arise in the transferability of concepts between cultures, cultural learning and sensitivity are crucial in this latter type of methodology (ibid:119).

A similar field of study, interpretive understanding "or, more currently, hermeneutics" (Ley, 1981:218), attempts to empathise with the thoughts and feelings of those whose activities are to be understood (Eyles, 1985:49). Depending on personal experiences and introspective capacity (Apel, 1948, in ibid), interpretive understanding is used as an aid in the preliminary exploration of a research problem. It is useful in the context of discovery and in formulating hypotheses (Rudner, 1966, in ibid), but not in
validating or verifying research findings.

In the light of these explanations my approach in this thesis could be regarded as a combination of phenomenological and interpretive methods of inquiry, although it more nearly approximates to the latter because of its preliminary, investigative nature. Nevertheless, since a text is a phenomenon in its own right and not "a passive document to be simply digested" (Opie, 1993:3,12), phenomenological methods of inquiry must be used to unlock the meanings of such texts. My approach is not ethnographic (see Chapter Six), since I do not need to cross cultural boundaries in order to achieve understanding. I do, however, draw heavily upon ethnographic writings which are as nearly as possible contemporaneous with the texts under study, in order to determine the meanings of references contained in the texts that cannot be deduced solely through cultural understandings. My approach therefore contains elements of phenomenology, interpretive understanding and ethnography, although it does not conform entirely to the rules of any one of these areas of inquiry.

I do not consider my approach to be a fully-fledged Maori research methodology such as kaupapa Maori research, which has a participatory, emancipatory focus (Bishop, 1996), although it could lead to such work. It is more in the nature of "rangahau taki" (from rangahau: to seek, search out, pursue; and taki: to lead, bring along, challenge, entice: Williams, 1971:323,371), since it contains elements of all these aspects of intentionality. As noted above it is preliminary, investigative, exploratory: in short, hermeneutic. I turn now to a discussion of this term and its application in the present context.

2.3. Introduction to Hermeneutics

In contemplating my research framework, I felt that the key to achieving a credible research strategy lay in the fine distinction between the translation and interpretation of the waiata texts, as discussed in hermeneutics, the science, theory or art of understanding the meaning of textual writings (Newton, 1990:11; Chladenius, 1985:60). Hermeneutics

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1 I examine the difference between translation and interpretation, the term more generally used by hermeneuticists, in 2.5.1., below.

2 Shankman (1984:264) explains that the term science, as used by Geertz (1973) and others, derives from the hermeneutical "human sciences" as opposed to the natural sciences, and that the German idealist philosophers of the nineteenth century regarded interpretation as a science. Michael Dear (1988:268) appears to share this view when he states: "To me, the essence of science is interpretation".
was originally used to interpret biblical passages and, later, writings of a poetic, dramatic or philosophical nature (Stock, 1993:320). More recently, hermeneutic writings represent a German reaction against British positivism at the turn of the nineteenth century (Eyles, 1985:48), and have themselves been subjected to the hermeneutic approach since many have been translated from German into English (Giddens, 1984:215).

Mueller-Vollmer (1985:1), who produced a reader of hermeneutic texts drawn from the German tradition, explains that the etymology of the term hermeneutics bore "an obvious relation to Hermes, the messenger god of the Greeks". Hermes carried messages between the gods and mortal beings, and acted as interpreter by clarifying, adding to or commenting on those messages in order to make them intelligible (Webb, 1996:36). He therefore had to be conversant with the idiom of both gods and humankind.

Boeckh (1985:136,142) identifies four types of hermeneutic activity, each of which "modifies and presupposes" the others (Mueller-Vollmer, 1985:22). Of these, grammatical activity, "from which all interpretation starts" (Boeckh, ibid:137), is the kind favoured by the founder of modern hermeneutics, Schleiermacher (1985:72), who believed that knowing a language was as simple as knowing its grammar (Mueller-Vollmer, ibid:10). Schleiermacher developed 44 canons for the grammatical aspect of his system, the two most important being that a text can only be interpreted with reference to the language shared by the author and his/her original audience, and that the meaning of each word is determined with reference to the words surrounding it (Webb, 1996:37-38). I return to the first of these canons in 2.4.2. and the second in 2.7.1., below.

In addition to the grammatical aspect, Schleiermacher (1985:76) identified a psychological aspect of interpretation which requires a "complete knowledge of the person". Where a temporal and spatial distance separates the author and interpreter this necessarily calls into play another dimension, possibly involving what Glancy (1993:50) refers to as "tacit ways of knowing", and which I suggest is intuition. This suggestion runs counter to Gadamer's belief (1976:118) that hermeneutics is not "a mysterious communion of souls" but the sharing of a common meaning, and to Rabinow and Sullivan's ([1987]:13) that interpretive social science "is not subjectivism, neither is it simply intuitivism". I return to the subject of intuitive understanding in the context of the hermeneutic circle (2.3.2.), and the translation triangle (2.6.), below.
2.3.1. Intertextuality

The term hermeneutics is a complex one with contradictory or "at least" ambiguous connotations (Mueller-Vollmer, 1985:iix). A number of different hermeneutical approaches are possible, of which phenomenological hermeneutics is oriented towards the sciences, while methodological hermeneutics "derives meanings from texts ... by reading" (Heelan, 1994:368,372). This latter definition suggests a close link with intertextuality, or the deriving of meaning from one or more texts in the production of others (Barnes & Duncan, 1992:2; Gibbons, 1986:35).

A leading exponent of the art of intertextuality, the Danish historian J. Prytz Johansen, studied Maori writings in the 1940s and 1950s from half a world away. Johansen was interested in Maori tradition, and placed great value on the use of texts in the original language (Johansen, 1954:269). Johansen's work is rated highly by Schrempp (1990:153) and Charlot (1995:141), although Patterson (1992:98) considers that his focus upon precise meanings for spiritual terms has caused him to miss much of value in the nature of the concepts themselves. Nevertheless his approach, based on a close comparative reading of Maori writings, has furthered the understanding of Maori world views (Murton, 1987:93), and shows what can be done with Maori manuscripts which await interpretation - or sometimes, reinterpretation - by researchers working from a Maori perspective.

A specialised application of intertextuality involves the use of dictionaries and other finding aids in determining the meanings of references that occur in the texts under study.\(^3\) In the words of Charles Taylor (1976:156), "What we are trying to establish is a certain reading of [the whole] text or [its partial] expressions, and what we appeal to as our grounds for this reading can only be other readings". The problem is often that, as Chladenius (1985:61) puts it, "one should interpret a work before one knows the meaning, which is impossible". That is, the story behind the text needs to be known so the interpreter can understand what the text is saying. This seeming impasse is overcome by entering into a cyclical process known as the hermeneutic circle, in which the interpreter "grasps the easy parts of the meaning and uses them as a key for interpreting the difficult parts" (Schleiermacher, 1985:81).

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\(^3\) In a Maori context, determining the meanings of such references is often greatly facilitated by checking with local kaumatua (tribal elders). Where this is not possible some other means of clarification must be sought.
2.3.2. The hermeneutic circle

A general rule for entering the hermeneutic circle is to begin with an overview of the text and then work through each part until its meaning becomes clear (ibid:86). Once some parts have become understandable the meaning of the whole may be anticipated or "presupposed" (Gadamer, [1987]:130). This gives a speculative working idea which is modified or revised as new details emerge, until movement between the parts and the whole "disappears when [the text] is perfectly understood" (Gadamer, 1976:119).

Interpreting different parts of a text involves a methodologically correct way of entering the circle (Apel, 1994:45-46) and, until I came across this idea, I was unaware that I had intuitively "stumbled" (rather than entered, correctly or otherwise) into a hermeneutic circle of my own devising. In translating a text from the Kahui Papers concerning place names on Mount Taranaki, I encountered the phrase: "Te parua whaka te whakarua o Taranaki" (Smith, 1993:34). This phrase meant nothing to me until I learnt that part of the western rim of Taranaki's crater had slipped away and left a readily distinguishable feature on the mountain skyline. Once I became aware of that fact I could translate accordingly.

The literature recognises that a text can offer resistance to the translator (Newton, 1990:150), who may have nothing to base a meaning on, and may even find the text incomprehensible (Gadamer, ([1987]:131). My own experience has been that I am sometimes unable to begin translating a text because of its seeming "impenetrability"; although, with perseverance, I may find a word or phrase which makes sense, and which allows me to enter and move about inside the text by thinking solely (and intuitively!) in Maori. Researching the meanings of references as they emerge helps to further clarify the meaning of the text until I am able to understand it in full.

Because of the subjectivity inherent in such a process some writers see the hermeneutic circle as problematic, and advocate breaking out of it (Boeckh, 1985:137; Taylor, 1976:157). Others consider it a solution to the perceived difficulty in hermeneutic analysis of validating interpretations, which are "always tentative and subject to revision in the hermeneutic circle" (Abercrombie et al., 1994:197,198). A concern which Geertz (1973:24) raises is that cultural interpretation is not assessable, but is either self-validating or else validated by "the supposedly developed sensitivities" of the person who presents it.

Schleiermacher, or rather his translator, directs the reader to "Comprehend it by moving in both directions simultaneously" (ibid:86). This suggests a need to apply hermeneutics not only to the text to be interpreted, but to the instructions for doing so as well.
Ley (1981:219), however, allows for focused intuition or methodological subjectivity in social research, while Denzin (1989:141) recognises the impossibility of conducting purely objective studies, since "all interpreters are caught in the circle of interpretation".

2.3.3. Hermeneutics in summary

My initial approach to hermeneutics was to view it as a method, although a reading of Heidegger (in Palmer, 1984:91) suggests that we should not try to devise models of a "hermeneutic method", but should think in terms of the essence of the hermeneutical approach. Some writers consider that the work of hermeneutics is not to create or validate specific methodologies, nor to develop a procedure or method of understanding, but to clarify the conditions in which understanding takes place (Gadamer, 1976:121; Mueller-Vollmer, 1985:x). A potential limiting factor in the universality of the hermeneutic approach is that extremely loose and extremely tight writings - both of which are present to some extent in the waiata texts I study - lie outside the scope of interpretation (Schleiermacher, 1985:94). Nevertheless, hermeneutics has helped to clarify and extend my understanding of the nature of interpretation and of its practical application in the present endeavour.

2.4. The Nature of Interpretation

Interpretation is essential to explanation (Connerton, 1976:102), and should relate "the unfamiliar to the familiar" in the minds of those to whom that explanation is given (Tilden, 1957:21). All interpretation includes information, although it is not information as such but, rather, "revelation based upon information" (ibid:9). Interpretation involves guiding others to an understanding of a text so their appreciation of its worth is enhanced (Newton, 1990:58; Chladenius, 1985:58). Thus the role of an interpreter is to act as a mediator or facilitator between the author of a text and its audience or readership, who may not be adequately prepared to receive it. Newton (1990:vi,11) sees little general agreement about how literary texts should be interpreted, although some useful guidelines are suggested in the literature, and given here for consideration.

2.4.1. Interpretation in practice

Gadamer ([1987]:129) writes of attaining to an understanding which is faithful to the meaning of the text, and states that a text may be understood because it contains "pure meaning" (ibid:85). A contrary view is that the meaning of a text - as intended by its author - is not hidden or resident within it, otherwise there would be no disagreement (Iser, in Newton, 1990:138; Shields, 1991:17). If the meaning is not then "contained" in
the text, how does one deal with the added difficulty of a concept which is unknown in
the language into which it is to be translated?

Barnwell (1980, in Noblit & Hare, 1988:76) offers three strategies for dealing with such concepts: first, to use a broadly descriptive phrase which conveys the general meaning; second, to "translate" the words of the concept while "interpreting" the context around it; and third, to substitute a known concept from the receiving language. The third of these strategies may involve a mind shift from one culture to the other, e.g., replacing a concept like "precedents" (looking towards the Maori past) with the concept of "goals" (in Pakeha terms, looking to the future: see 3.7.1.).

In general, a good interpretation should bring out everything that is intended in the text, without adding anything to it (Stuart, 1980:141). In particular, the interpreter should not introduce ideas or shades of meaning that do not fit the time and currency of the text (Newton, 1990:53), since this could distort the meaning intended by the author. Although Bassnett-McGuire (1991:23) cautions against trying to determine an author's intentions on the basis of a self-contained text, the need to look closely at this aspect may serve to reassure us that we have read a text correctly, and fully understood its meaning (Ingarden, 1985:197; Gadamer, 1984:57).

2.4.2. Authorial intent

Authorial intent is of particular interest in New Zealand in connection with the Treaty of Waitangi, the drawing up of which resulted in completely different texts in Maori and English. Levine (1989:17), therefore, echoes the words of hermeneuticists such as Schleiermacher and Giddens when he writes: "In order to know what a text means we need to know a lot about the author [and] his/her intentions".

Gadamer (1976:118) queries the extent to which an awareness of authorial intent enters into interpretive practices, although Schleiermacher (1985:83) believed that an interpreter should put him/herself in the author's position before beginning to interpret. This would involve not only knowing the language as the author and original recipients knew it, but also "the inner and outer aspects of the author's life" (ibid:84). That is, an interpreter should have begun to think him/herself into the mind of the author in the initial stages of reading a text (Giddens, 1984:225) - through such means as a study of the history and social conditions of the time, other writings by that author, biographical details, and suchlike background preparation. This pre-visualisation or
"preunderstanding", as Bultmann (1985:245) calls it, requires a degree of empathy over and above the investigative approach, for along with rational thought one must include "heart and spirit" in the research process (Quinney, 1988:103).

2.5. Multiple Translations/Interpretations

A problem in researching the meanings of texts is the frequent emergence of multiple translations (i.e., the words chosen to represent the thoughts expressed in the source text), and/or interpretations (i.e., the explanations given of unfamiliar concepts in the source text). These multiple versions occur when a researcher reaches different conclusions at different times through a growing awareness of the text being studied, or when several researchers achieve different results through their individual perceptions of the same text. The potential for multiple translations/interpretations is recognised by Culler (in Newton, 1990:68), who rejects the notion that texts can be limited to a single meaning. Every translation is open to improvement (Baker, 1992:7), for all are inadequate (Ingarden, 1985:203), unfinished and inconclusive (Denzin, 1989:8), or "incompletable", falsifiable, and hence fallible (Apel, 1994:46). Since understanding remains relative and can never be completed (Dilthey, 1976:115), the true meaning of a text may never be discovered (Gadamer, 1976:124); although, while the process can never be "completely finished", it is never "wholly impossible" (Mounin, in Bassnett-McGuire, 1991:36).

The first approach to understanding a text is to look at its rational meaning (Gadamer, [1987]:128), although a first approach to a dense or cryptic text (Schleiermacher's "tight writings", 2.3.3., above) is capable of producing several different translations/interpretations, none of which is "privileged, absolutist or authoritative" beyond the point at which it can be contextually verified (Bishop, 1996:26). Unless a means of independent verification can be found, therefore, it may be impossible to determine which of a number of versions is correct (Chladenius, 1985:71). In practice no absolute, inflexible or ultimate translation exists, no set of norms for producing the perfect translation, and no single right way of translating (Bassnett-McGuire, 1991:81,101). This does not mean that any interpretation is as good as any other, but that there are no definitive interpretations (Munslow, 1997:29). Somewhere within the different versions, however, will be an "invariant" or "essential" core, which the researcher should seek to

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5 Collingwood, in the early twentieth century, based the notion of empathy upon the connection between authorial intent and one's own experiences (Munslow, 1997:184).
isolate (Bassnett-McGuire, ibid:26,59).

2.5.1. Translation or interpretation?

Geertz (1973:18) describes a good interpretation as one which takes us into "the heart of that of which it is the interpretation", but how do we know that (or when) we have "got there"? From personal experience of translating and interpreting Maori texts, I would suggest that the basis on which an interpretation ultimately rests or founders is the quality of the translation that precedes it.

Edwards and Walker (1996, in McKinley et al., 1997:50) describe translation as "a highly skilled act of recreation which faithfully mirrors the spirit of the original", while Neubert (in Bassnett-McGuire, 1991:25) sees it as both a process and a product. In moving through the "process" of translating in order to achieve the "product" (the translation), a translator makes the text understandable (Bultmann, 1985:244). Important choices must be made between literal translations, modified literal translations which make the text grammatical in the new language, and idiomatic translations which translate the meaning of the text and so may differ substantially from literal translations (Barnwell, 1980, in Noblit & Hare, 1988:76).

I use the term "interpretation" for the type of translation that Barnwell refers to as "idiomatic", so a discussion of differences between translation and interpretation may help to dispel any confusion that might exist in the minds of readers concerning these terms.

The logical sequence, in preparing a text for presentation to others, is to translate and then interpret it, for one must first "grasp" a concept before one can "render" it (Geertz, 1973:10). In some cases an initial translation may be all that is needed to convey an understanding of the text; although, even for those who can read it in the original and for whom a translation is not required, an interpretation may be needed to elaborate on complex or specialised references. In practice translation and interpretation are interrelated, although specific functions of each may be identified.

In its simplest form, translation is concerned with linguistic features such as the denotation of words and phrases, while interpretation looks at the connotations surrounding them (Barthes, in Newton, 1990:82). Interpretation gives the overall meaning of a text, while translation replaces the original words or phrases with their equivalents in

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* The terms are fairly general. Other writers refer to meaning-for-meaning or free translations, and word-for-word or literal translations (Edwards & Walker, in ibid; Barnwell, in ibid:31); and to paraphrases (Colenso, 1880:64).
the receiving language. Although translation and interpretation may be seen as two separate acts, Bassnett-McGuire (1991:80) considers it "quite foolish" to argue that a translator translates but does not interpret, since "every reading is an interpretation" (ibid:100).

Interpretation involves a temporal dimension, since it places a text in its appropriate historical and cultural setting (Newton, 1990:70). It may also involve an ethical dimension, if the researcher is required to weigh matters of sensitivity involving human subjects and decide for or against their inclusion in the work. This suggests that interpretation is concerned with the present as well as the past, while translation is more likely to be temporally neutral. I return to this point in Chapter Four in connection with iwi intellectual property rights.

2.5.2. Inclusion or exclusion?

In situations where information is being disseminated cross-culturally some intervention may be needed for understanding to occur. In such situations a good - or at least conscientious - translator works hard to render a text intelligible in the light of the recipients' own understanding (Denzin, 1989:132). The same cannot be said of the "intellectual duel" that takes place between speakers and listeners in a Maori setting, such as on the marae (Metge & Jones, 1995:5), where "... the speaker speaks. Understanding is the business of the listener" (Ross, 1969:49). In such settings listeners are often left to work out their own meanings from what are, characteristically, intensely cryptic oral statements.

Pere (1982:16) explains that verbal expressions that could be interpreted in different ways were used to safeguard significant information from those who were not suitably qualified to receive it. That is, interpretation could be used to exclude as well as to include by being directed at selected levels of understanding, so that each person took from it only what s/he was capable of receiving. This suggests that, to be effective, an interpretation must be able to satisfy all levels of understanding. It also suggests, in terms of the need to protect certain kinds of information in current research into Maori topics, that a way exists of safeguarding that information as it passes into the public arena. I discuss this aspect of the work in Chapter Four, where I give my reasons for not presenting a translation of the full texts in Chapter Seven, but only those phrases that are set out as data in Chapter Eight. This omission is compensated for in the present chapter by explaining how translation may be carried out.
2.6. The Translation Triangle

Translating between languages means "reconciling different modes of thinking more than finding equivalent terminology" (Cleave, 1989:46), although the question of what takes place in a translator's mind to achieve this reconciliation is not readily answerable. The literature suggests that sympathetic imagination may be brought into play in the process of reading a text (Iser, in Newton, 1990:139), and that an object can be either actually present through "accompanying intuitions", or may appear in representation, such as in a mental image (Husserl, 1985:175).

Statements such as these support the three-way process I use in translation, which involves: first, visualising what is meant by the word or phrase in Maori (that is, visualisation must occur in the language of the text); second, moving out of a Maori frame of reference into English; and third, describing in English the visualisation that has come across from the Maori text. This postulates a translation "triangle", in which movement takes place along two consecutive sides rather than directly across the third. This triangle is also multi-dimensional, since meaning is not only carried across from one language to another but is also brought forward from past to present.

A reference to the mechanism by which a particular word "automatically calls forth a predictable meaning" (Stonum, 1984:204) suggests the possibility of moving directly along the third side of the translation triangle from Maori to English. But this is not supported in practice, for each language "embodies a view of the world peculiarly its own" (von Humboldt, 1985:104), and choosing the right word or phrase in English to match the thought expressed in Maori can be a demanding process, not a mechanical one.

The different stages in my translation approach resemble several aspects of interpretation identified by Jauss (in Newton, 1990:134-35). These include: aesthetic perception, which often requires repeated readings to bring about understanding; reflective interpretation (the true hermeneutic stage of interpretation), which requires a seeking out

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7 Historians emphasise the difficulty of translating from Maori to English in connection with the war that began at Waitara in 1860. Thus Dalton (1967:101) considers that "an argument rarely stands on sound foundations if it depends upon precise shades of meaning in passages translated to or from the Maori language". Harrop (1937:94) expresses similar views, while Kawharu (1991:579) shares his concern about the consequences of "attempting to translate the categories of one language-culture system into those of another".

8 Bassnett-McGuire (1991:16) examines a translation rectangle by Eugene Nida, which moves from the source text to the target language through a process of analysis, transfer and restructuring. This is a similar model to my own, and follows a process of reading and translating in the source language, followed by translation into the target language "through a further process of decoding" (ibid:80).
of the conditions to which the text was a response in its time; and the application of the reading or interpretation in a particular context. Of these aspects, aesthetic perception is similar to the visualisation stage of the translation triangle. In reflective interpretation I move from Maori into English, having researched the background information needed to interpret the text to others. The application in the present context is that of using the information so derived to answer the research question. These aspects of interpretation support the concept of my translation triangle, and confirm its validity as a first step on the road to interpretation.

2.6.1. Assessing visualisation

Although Penning-Rowsell (1986:119) sees difficulty in verbalising what we see, Munz (1973:65) states that any image can be more or less successfully described in words. Martin uses the term apparency to refer to the ability of language to seemingly "show" us experiences rather than merely "refer" to them (1975, in Noblit & Hare, 1988:34), while Betti (1984:32) considers that the interpreter (or translator) is "called upon to reawaken in his [sic] own mind the idea conceived and expressed by the mind of the author".

Writers in a Maori context also emphasise the visual nature of knowledge transmission. Sir Apirana Ngata (in Ramsden, 1948:100-101) considers that the effectiveness of orators lay in evoking in the minds of their audiences the pictures they had in their own minds. Andersen (1946:x) comments on the evocative quality of personal and place names in waiata and notes that, to Maori, every reference was "a fragment of history, or a picture, or both". In translation one should aim for "the transfer of impact, of the many-sided image" of a poem (Mitcalfe, 1961a:12) which, in its essential elements, creates "an image or illusion" (Mead, 1969:380).

These statements point to the possession by Maori of a keenly developed visual sense, so that incorporating visualisation into the translation of Maori texts is not only logical but culturally appropriate. A potential limiting factor in the universal applicability of the translation triangle could be, as Biggs (1960:7) comments, that "the purely symbolic nature of language ... can only call up a picture in terms of past experience". But this comment refers more to pre-European Maori, who had no other knowledge systems upon which to draw for comparative purposes. Today, "experience" can also include vicarious understandings derived from other people's experiences in an increasing variety of contexts, which greatly expands the knowledge base upon which we may critically draw.
2.6.2. Assessing translation

Critics may argue that allowing for the subjectivity of the translator "opens the door to relativism" (Newton, 1990:147). In reality there is no absolute standard against which to measure the adequacy of a translation, although there are degrees of adequacy.

In general a translation should not only reflect the style, spirit and impact of the original (Stuart, 1980:95) but should also address more specific points. Does it render the words of the original into their best English equivalents? Has the ambiguity of a passage been brought out? Has an idiomatic expression in the original been converted into a comparable expression in English? If a complicated word in English has been used to translate a simple word in the original text, does the resulting precise meaning outweigh the aesthetics of using a simpler English word? (Stuart, ibid:25; Noblit & Hare, 1988:7).

Other questions that might be asked when using the translation triangle are: Do the Maori text and my translation evoke the same kinds of visual images in my mind? How do I know that I am using (and therefore visualising) words and phrases in the same way as other translators? How, in fact, do words and phrases influence the translation process?

2.7. Words and Meanings

In an objective world, words are thought to link up with their objects in "essentially right and incontrovertible ways" (Eagleton, 1983:134, in Barnes & Duncan, 1992:2). In reality a word seldom finds its mirror image in an unrelated language, since it may differ in expressive (composer) or evoked (recipient) meaning (Baker, 1992:13). Thus the meaning of a word is not fixed but includes "all kinds of associations and kindred concepts" (Barnes & Duncan, ibid:10-11). The Maori word rangi, for instance, may denote the air or tune of a song, or a stanza, verse or division of that song; while these parts of a song may also be referred to as whiti or upoko. These words in their turn have other meanings such as (whiti), to shine or cross over, and (upoko), head, and so on. In many cases the specific meaning of a word is only discernible from the context in which it is used.

Although some translators feel they have to reproduce everything in the source text "come what may" (Baker, 1992:61), the reality is that it is not always possible to give every word its full meaning. The translator should try to do justice to key words in the text (ibid:26), but if a translation is felt to be lacking in some way then a compensatory technique may be used (ibid:78), such as adding leftover information to another part of the text to make up for the loss of specificity at a particular point (ibid:23). An example from Song 25 (lines 8-9) illustrates this kind of technique:
Me mihi kau ake, me kite kau ake kua rite te tangata
Ki te tanu kararehe, haere kopu ki raro ki te whenua.
All I do is grieve, all I perceive is people
Being buried as animals in the full-bodied ground.

Depending on vowel length, meanings for kopu include: full, filled up, and: belly, womb (Williams, 1971:138). In the lines given here, kopu is attached adverbially to "haere", to go. In translation, in order to bring out the meaning fully, I have attached it adjectivally to "ground", thus inserting it at another point in the text. An element of word play is also evident in these lines, which heightens the effectiveness of the word as used in the text, and which is captured by its placement in the translation.

From the foregoing it can be seen that the meaning of a word may be determined by considering it in isolation, i.e., semantically or textually. It may also be considered as part of a sentence, i.e., contextually (Ingarden, 1985:202), in which case an "indefinite, indeterminate multiplicity" of words may be involved (Schleiermacher, 1985:89). This multiplicity can be considered as a collection of minor groupings of related variables, from which the right word emerges as a result of eliminating each group in turn, and deciding on the variable within the final group that best matches the mood of the original. Selection may involve more than just choosing the "right" word, however, as the following example shows.

In Song 61, the phrase "moana tuatua" (line 26) often accompanies and complements two other phrases: moana oruoru (rough sea) and moana waiwai (open sea) (Williams, 1971:242,475). One meaning of tuatua is to "chop repeatedly" (ibid:444), although the phrase moana tuatua does not translate as "choppy sea". Rather, it comes from the same source as taitua, the western sea (ibid:365), which is rough and boisterous. Here we have two words which could be used to translate tuatua, but since Williams has used "rough" for oruoru, the only word that remains, from the options given, is "boisterous". In the selection process, therefore, a certain amount of pragmatism may be evident, and indeed necessary.

2.7.1. Word equivalence

A word with many meanings in the source language is likely to have a large number of equivalents in the target language, since each meaning attracts its own equivalents (Baker, 1992:50 fwd). Conversely, a word with fewer or more specific meanings in the source language will have fewer equivalents in the target language, or is more likely to differ from potential equivalents.
Strategies for dealing with non-equivalence include using: words which are more neutral or less expressive; cultural substitutions, which replace culture-specific items (e.g., food, beliefs) with others that have a similar effect on the target audience (ibid:21); loan words (a form of cultural substitution); paraphrases, using either related or unrelated words; or, as a last resort (ibid:42), translation by omission. In this latter case the translator need not reproduce everything in the source text if it impedes the flow, or is not vital to the development of the text.

Another strategy for dealing with the complexity of words might be to consider them in combination, such as in phrases or sentences. Referring back to Scheiermacher's second canon (2.3.), that the meaning of a word is determined with reference to the words surrounding it, a combination that suggests itself here is formulaic phraseology.

2.7.2. Formulaic phraseology

Baker (1992:47) explains that certain words "go together" in a given language. This is especially so in Maori where formulaic phrases, which communicate a range of ideas in set patterns of expression, feature in many forms of oral literature. Examples from the waiata in Ngata and Te Hurinui's Nga Moteatea (NM), which demonstrate this feature in their opening lines, include:

(NM 118): *E muri ahiahi takoto ki te moenga*
(With the fall of eventide upon my couch I lie).

(NM 165): *E muri ahiahi takoto ki te moenga*
(With the fall of eventide I lay me down to sleep).

These examples also show how different words in English may be used to translate such phrases, although slight differences in wording are inevitable here since the verbal indicator that normally attaches to takoto (to lie) is missing in the Maori text for reasons possible associated with line length (see 6.7.1.).

Some writers see phrases as "building blocks" in the creation of literary forms (Stuart, 1980:116), which then becomes a mechanical process of "bolting words together" in the right order (Barnes & Duncan, 1992:2). In the context of Maori waiata this would make a composer's own "way with words" of dubious value in addressing the subject of Maori feelings for place, so how intentional is language when expressed as formulaic phraseology, and to what extent does it constrain the creative process, or allow an element of choice?
2.7.3. Waiata composition

When Maori composed waiata they borrowed words and phrases from existing waiata and reassembled them to fit new or changed circumstances (Colenso, 1880:61), so that an apparently recent waiata "is thus sometimes really of very ancient origin" (Grey, 1853:14). Best (1905:178) refers to this process as plagiarism, although the composition of new waiata from old was a legitimate form of composition which depended upon a common stock of formulaic phrases that could be varied endlessly (Orbell, 1978:6). Creativity lay in the freedom and power to choose, and in the extent to which a composer could sway listeners through a skilful blend of carefully selected elements of expression.

Andersen (1923:762; 1969:341) writes that a phrase appealed more to Maori as the expression of an idea than as a string of words in sequence, and that they did not have a perception of words as separate and distinct entities. He quotes the performance of waiata in support of this idea, for singers often drew breath in the middle of a word:

I have heard the word ‘aroha’ thus broken: breath would be taken after ‘aro’ had been sung, the new phrase beginning with ‘ha’, the second part of the word (ibid, 1923:762).

The realisation that waiata consist of formulaic phrases, then, suggests how such texts might be translated: not word for word, but as whole thoughts or ideas. As Dewes (1964:47) advised, "do not be tied to specific words so long as the meaning [or ‘spirit of the original’] is transmitted into the receiving language".

In translating the waiata for the purpose of extrapolating data for this thesis, I identified key words of phrases in the source texts and used Harlow and Thornton’s *Name and Word Index to Nga Moteatea* (1986) to compare them with passages in which they appear in *Nga Moteatea*. The value of this approach is that it allows for the verification of my translations by others, and has been incorporated into the research framework for this purpose.

2.8. Summary and Conclusions

The interdisciplinary nature of Maori studies has allowed it to penetrate into an increasing range of areas of inquiry. One of those areas is the intertextual study of Maori feelings for place, which constitutes the focus of this thesis.

Methodological considerations affecting the study of the source texts on which my

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9 Williams (1997:413) points out that, to Maori, repeating or paraphrasing another’s words was a sincere compliment, and quotes Ruka Broughton of Nga Rauru as saying that this process acknowledged the mana of the idea being expressed, and of the person who first expressed it.
research is based include the nature of interpretive approaches such as hermeneutics, and the need to confirm subjectively-derived findings and justify the use of phenomenological methods of inquiry. An important consideration in planning the research framework was to make the translation-interpretation link as transparent as possible to allow for verification by other researchers. Another was to emphasise that multiple versions are possible and indeed to be expected when translating and interpreting in an intercultural context.

Interpretive schemes such as the hermeneutic circle are of value in intertextual study, which provides the background against which translation proceeds. The concept of the translation triangle is offered as a way of facilitating this process, while the translation of units of comprehension such as concepts, words and phrases is discussed and useful tactics outlined for dealing with such units. The option of translating the waiata texts as phrases, rather than words, provides a means of checking the interpretation of the extracted data by comparing them with already translated phrases in *Nga Moteatea*, which acts as the control for the work.

In Chapter Three I discuss place and related concepts in connection with the particular focus of textual translation and interpretation in this thesis: namely, those phrases from the waiata that give an indication of Maori feelings for place. The applicability of place theory to the research question is also discussed, and a further element of the research framework identified to set against sense of place studies.
CHAPTER THREE: UNDERSTANDING PLACE

3.0. Introduction

Having discussed my methodological framework in Chapter Two I turn to an area of inquiry of possible relevance to that framework; namely, western studies on place. In Chapter Ten I examine sense of place for points of comparison between that concept and Maori feelings for place, since the nature and significance of sense of place "cannot be assumed to exist" (Eyles, 1985:32). I begin the process of understanding in the present chapter by investigating the meanings of place and related terms such as location, landscape, space, time, and land.

In examining these concepts and their meanings the need becomes apparent for a clear definition of terms that function crucially in one's argument (Massey, 1994:250). The concept of place itself is "incredibly mobile" (ibid:1), and the term ambiguous, with both "public" and "private" meanings (Meinig, 1979:3). Place is both pivotal and hard to grasp (Thrift, 1999:317), so that most definitions of it are arbitrary (Tuan, 1975:245), and none seems to fit exactly. Place is, in short, "wide open to a variety of interpretation[s]" (Relph, 1976:29), although its meaning is - or should be - intuitively obvious (ibid:2).

Lukermann (1964, in Relph, ibid:3) identifies six major components of place, of which location is fundamental. But how, asks Tuan (1975:214), does "mere" location become place? Some writers see location as more specific than place, although place has more "substance" than location in that it has visual impact (ibid:213,235; Relph, 1976:4,61). This suggests that place may be regarded as landscape, although Relph (1981:171) considers that place and landscape are misleading abstractions, and notes the confusion caused by using words such as place, region, area and location interchangeably (1976:3).

Interdisciplinary discussions on landscape highlight problems of language and terminology so that - although language is seen as "the only possible pathway" to the landscapes of the Maori world (Salmond, 1983:311) - Penning-Rowsell (1986:119,120) concludes from a western perspective that landscape language is "inadequate". Landscape as a subject of generally acknowledged importance (Lowenthal, 1986:1) is ubiquitous yet indefinable (Meinig, 1979:2), since it includes virtually everything around us, although virtually nothing is known about it as a totality (Lowenthal, ibid).

Like place, landscape is ambiguous (Cosgrove, 1998:13), elusive (Jackson, 1979:153) and paradoxical (Lowenthal, ibid), since it has many meanings which "overlap
and interpenetrate one another" (Relph, 1981:58). J.B. Jackson (1986) discusses the usage of the term landscape and whether it is specific to a particular time or place, or contains a human element, or refers to natural scenery, or is "a collection of lands" (ibid:67); while Clarke (1995:120) asks whether it is a "naive, humane [sic] concept, intuitively understood by all people". The literature does not appear to offer a conclusive answer, which leaves the matter open to individual interpretation.

The concept of land, too, has "so many derivative meanings that it rivals in ambiguity the word landscape itself" (J Jackson, 1986:67). This may be the closest point of similarity between the two terms land and landscape for, although the literature sets out the connection between, e.g., place and landscape (see 3.2., below), and place and land (see 3.8.), the connection between land and landscape - although perhaps "intuitively obvious" - does not appear to be well documented. Lacking clarification from place studies, therefore, I put forward my own interpretation of these terms: the one (landscape, as environment) to immerse oneself in; the other (land, as Papatuanuku, the earth-mother of Maori mythology), to be cherished and walked upon.¹

3.1. Landscape and Environment

I use the terms landscape and environment interchangeably in this thesis, although Tuan (1979:100) sees a need to distinguish between these terms for reasons which become apparent from the literature. Some writers see landscape as simply a dimension of the environment, or as less inclusive or more detached than environment (Mugerauer, 1985:52; Meinig, 1979:3). Meinig (ibid:2,3) defines landscape as not exclusively environment, or even nature or scenery, but the external visible character of a locality. More obliquely, Heidegger (in Relph, 1985:28) observes that to define environments simply in terms of their observable features is to conceal the nature of whatever it is that "assails us and enthral us as a landscape".

A popular dualism in the literature distinguishes between western approaches to land, which treat humans as separate from the landscape, and Maori world views which emphasise the anthropocentric nature of the landscape and the indivisibility of humans from it (Hall & McArthur, 1993:4). Cooper (1993:33), writing with Maori in mind, refers

¹ See Chapter Nine, and Grey (1956:2), concerning the separation of earth and sky: "It is better to rend them apart, and to let ... the earth lie under our feet. Let ... the earth remain close to us as our nursing mother".
to the "detailed familiarity" of people's knowledge of their environment, and their "purposeful intimacy" with it, while Relph, from a sense of place perspective, uses the term landscape to encompass environments "in terms of the way in which I experience them" (1981:22). Taken at face value, the sentiments are not too greatly different. Immersion in an environment means "to open one's pores, as it were, to all its qualities" (Tuan, 1975:243), at once our most complex and direct experience of the real world (Salmond, 1982:81).

3.2. Landscape and Place

Many writers see landscape as the concept closest to place, although landscapes are less experiential than places (Meinig, 1979:3). To Relph (1981:29,123), landscape is a property of, as well as the context for, places while, to Peter Jackson (1986:120), landscapes "become" places when people invest them with meaning. A landscape may have meaning through its physical features and its past (Cooper, 1993:32), although that meaning is diffuse and without concentration in comparison to place (Relph, ibid:123).

Early discussions focused on the meanings people gave to the landscape features of specific places (Perkins, 1989:62), the individual realities of which must be understood by all the senses (Relph, 1981:170). Nevertheless, a place is not "an inert, experienced scene" (Pred, 1984, in P Jackson, 1986:121), but a profound centre of human existence and felt values, to which people are bound psychologically and emotionally (Relph, 1976:141; Eyles, 1989:108,109).

Place is described variously in the literature as a geographical entity (Allen, 1990:2), a point or focus in space (Meinig, 1979:3; Giddens, in P Jackson, ibid:122), an appropriation and transformation of space and nature (Pred, 1984, in ibid:121), an element in the experience of environment (Cullen, 1971, in Relph, 1976:53), and a piece of environment which has been "claimed by feelings" (Gussow, in Relph, ibid:142). Places integrate elements of nature and culture (Relph, ibid:3) and, as significant centres of experience or of "com[ing] to know the world" (Tuan, 1975:213), are given meaning by the people who use and identify with them (Eyles, 1985:16). Much of this meaning comes from a sense of continuity with the past (Whittle, 1993:7), which serves to "illumine and transform the present" (b hooks [sic], 1991, in Massey, 1994:171).

A consideration of all these aspects suggests that Maori, whose ancestors arrived from the Pacific over a thousand years ago (see 9.5.1.), had unlimited time in which to
invest places in the landscape with meaning. Thus landforms which would have existed "independent of the viewer" (Tuan, 1975:236) prior to Maori occupation of Aotearoa/New Zealand became focal points around which Polynesian mythology crystallised into the forms in which it survives today - in large measure, through primary socialisation in tribal areas with long ancestral associations.

3.3. Landscape

Western writers see landscape as a continuous surface (Meinig, 1979:3), an impersonal assemblage of visible features (Penning-Rowsell, 1986:114), a physical location with no meaningful associations (Stock, 1993:16), or a composition of man-made spaces on the land (J Jackson, 1986:68). It is also "a people-centred resource" (Nicholls, 1992:iii), which would not exist were it not for the cultural dimension. As settings for human existence, landscapes are part of lived reality, which is simply "out there" (Tuan, 1979:89).

In tracing the meaning of landscape back to its Teutonic origins, Swaffield and O'Connor (1986:17) found that the earliest uses of the German form, landschaft, "related not to appearance, or even territory, but to the people of a territory, and their collective condition". Thus there was an intimate connection between people and the setting in which they lived. Phrases such as "community-on-the-land" (ibid:18), a unity of people and environment (Cosgrove, 1998:35), and similar statements (Violich, 1985:113; Schama, 1995:10), suggest a comparable situation to that of Maori, whose landscapes have a vibrancy that makes them relevant and significant to those who identify with them.

Landscapes include not only "what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads" (Meinig, 1979:34) and, almost certainly, within our hearts as well. In landscape representations (such as in the waiata):

... the most powerful themes are those which comment on the ties between human life, love and feeling and the invariant rhythms of the natural world: the passage of the seasons, the cycle of birth, growth, reproduction, age, death [and] decay ...; and the imagined reflection of human moods and emotions in the aspect of natural forms (Cosgrove, 1989:122).

The term landscape therefore has "a multiplicity of meanings and making sense of them depends mostly on the context in which it is being used" (Relph, 1981:58). In this thesis the context is one of landscape as place (or environment), which includes "trees ... people, and clouds in all their particular manifestations" (Relph, 1985:23); in short:
... everything I see and sense when I am out of doors, [such as] ... rain and rainbows, ... the evidence of senses other than sight.... the feel of the wind and remembered experiences (ibid, 1981:22).

When people consider landscape they often think of it as scenery, or the visual elements we perceive in our daily surroundings (Park, 1981:67). Landscape does have a connection with scenic nature (Meinig, 1979:2), although it is more expansive than this as it contains a human dimension. It is more inclusive than scenery (ibid) although, as scenery, it reveals "the state of the weather and the passing of the seasons" (Relph, 1985:24). It has a visual and sensed immediacy (ibid:23) although, as visual space, it is "farthest removed" from us (Tuan, 1975:224). To Relph (1976:30), place has "a physical, visual form - a landscape" and, as visual landscape, has its "clearest articulation" in prominent features such as hilltops and rivers. That is, it incorporates the physical components of "earth and sea and sky" (ibid:47).

The visual or aesthetic meaning of landscape may be as simple as a pictorial conception of land (Pound, 1987:51), as in this description of New Zealand's west coasts:

> From a rocky headland, bathed in sunlight, one looks along a beach of black iron-sand, sparkling from a myriad tiny points, bordered inland by grey dunes and the leafy green of the bush, while to seaward the great rollers of the Tasman, moving on in ceaseless procession, shatter themselves with a pulsating roar into lines of hissing white foam (Firth, 1959:49).

Landscapes such as this are "defined by our vision and interpreted by our minds" (Meinig, 1979:3). They harbour the places of our memories (Relph, 1985:24), being built up "as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock" (Schama, 1995:7). Their essential character is that they combine both objective and subjective views (Samuels, 1979:70-72, passim), and are seen more as objects for interpretation than as contexts of experience (Relph, 1985:23).

When a mind encounters a landscape, what it beholds is necessarily coloured by its own history (Tuan, 1979:91), while the words from its own language determine or constrain how it describes that landscape (Mugerauer, 1985:56). An example is provided by Baucke's (1928:164) description of Mount Taranaki as "the glorious cathedral spire of New Zealand", which is as far removed from the history of this proud icon of the Taranaki Maori people as it is possible to be. Meinig (1979:44) writes that the landscape is a "rich store of data" about the people who have created (or inhabit) it, although that data must be placed in its appropriate historical context to be interpreted correctly.
Landscapes should not be interpreted too narrowly, nevertheless, since they include intangible phenomena (Smith, 1983:xiii), or carry symbolic meaning (Cosgrove, 1989:126). Some studies use metaphor to "grasp" the meaning of landscape (Eyles, 1985:33), which may be seen as a code, the study of which is undertaken as a deciphering of meaning (Meinig, 1979:6). A landscape may also be seen as a text to be read, whether as natural scenery (Lewis, 1979:12), or its depiction in words (Stock, 1993:317). It must be visualised, and if not directly by our own eyes then by means of the best substitutes (Meinig, ibid:5).

These statements suggest that landscape elements may be incorporated into the wording of texts and recovered by means of visualisation (see 2.6.). I give two examples from the waiata by way of illustration, which describe movement in the landscape. The first reads: "i te huhihi torea, i te waewae ripeka" (a flock of oyster catchers [or stilts], cross legged) (see 9.2.4. These birds need to be seen in action to realise that their legs, as noted by the composer, actually do appear to "criss-cross" as they run). The second example, equally evocative of meaning, reads: "he manu ko'anga au e karahae i runga ra, e kopa te haere te tihi o Munaia" (I am like a young bird that leaves its nest and flies away to Munaia's peak (see 9.3.3.). Here the composer makes use of the word kopa, meaning bent or folded - used also of a wallet or satchel with a flap lid (Williams, 1971:135) - to give an image of a bird gaining height with downwardly thrusting wings, so that it appears to fold ("kopa") and unfold in flight. The words by themselves do not suggest this meaning; they need to be "seen" for understanding to occur.

In considering the meaning of place for my community of interest in Taranaki, the waiata texts I use are capable of giving a clear representation of landscape as place, and could be considered an acceptable alternative for the landscape itself. At the same time it must be noted that landscapes, like texts, are "multi-layered, offering the possibility of simultaneous and equally valid different readings" (Cosgrove, 1989:123; see 2.5.). Landscape is also "so dense with evidence and so complex and cryptic that we can never be assured that we have read it all or read it aright" (Meinig, 1979:6). If the present study has drawbacks, therefore, they could be due to factors such as the complexity of the evidence and my inability to "read it aright", rather than to any failings in the texts themselves.
3.3.1. Maori and "the landscape"

Nicholls (1992:17) considers that Maori may have had a landscape culture, although the existence of this culture is "by no means clear". While Firth (1959:60) felt that Maori enjoyed a fine view, and showed themselves to be appreciative of landscape by clearing away growth from a hilltop resting spot so they could look out over the surrounding countryside, Shultis (1991:113) suggests that the importance placed on easily cultivatable land would have resulted in "ambivalent feelings towards mountains or other unproductive areas". Sir Apirana Ngata (in Ramsden, 1948:105) adds a further dimension by stating that Maori did not name places "to commemorate thereby [their] appreciation of the surrounding scenery", but rather to associate those places with people and events. Pound (1987:49) considers that Maori, unlike Europeans, did not see the land as "picture". Nor, in the pre-European past, did they apparently have time for the "quiet contemplation of the beauties of Nature", since their waiata dealt with "war and love, birth and death" (Bird, 1956:21). Nevertheless, many waiata refer to elements of the natural environment in their opening lines and, as the examples in Chapter Eight show, reveal a detailed familiarity with the landscape that contrasts sharply with European perceptions of Maori aesthetic awareness.

Nicholls (1992:37) experienced "a gulf in perspectives" between Maori and Pakeha on the subject of landscapes, although the word landscape is used naturally by Maori writers such as Adds (1988), Royal (1994), and O'Regan (1988, 1999). Peter Adds, for instance, gives as components of the landscape the earth, forests, seas, and all the other elements of the natural and cultural world. Royal (ibid:11) uses the term in connection with the world of the Maori ancestors, with its streams, rivers, lakes, islands, marae and villages; while O'Regan (1999:14) writes of landscape in the context of Maori cultural identification with "the coast, with water and mountain". It would appear, therefore, that this term can be and is being used to encompass everything in Te Ao Turoa, the "longstanding Maori world" of our ancestral inheritance.

O'Regan (1987b:145) explains that the core of the Maori view of landscape is whakapapa, which "lays claim to the old bones buried in the landscape of Aotearoa". What could be mistaken for an empty recital of landscape features and names - as in rituals of welcome on the marae, for instance - masks a deeper and more elemental awareness of the connectedness of people to "this" landscape through time, which
"stretches back in genealogical stages to the gods" (Murton, 1987:104). Relph (1984:216) refers to a deeper way of seeing beneath the surface forms of things, and this approximates to the sense that Maori have of their environment, which they encapsulate in words that have the power to impart this sense to others.

3.4. Sense of Place

The words we use do not adequately convey a sense of place, the smells, noises, movement of clouds and the "feel" of landscape.... The exception to all this is perhaps the language of poetry (Penning-Rowsell, 1986:120).

In Chapter Six I discuss the perception by early Pakeha collectors of Maori waiata that the songs they collected bore the distinguishing characteristics of poetry. Penning-Rowsell, therefore, in the quotation above, appears to recognise the important contribution that words can make in developing an awareness or "sense" of place in particular contexts.

Tuan (1975:235) refers to a sense of place that includes an appeal to the senses and requires "close contact and long association with the environment", while Relph (1976:63) refers to manifestations of sense of place in the landscape. Violich (1985:131), however, feels that it is not enough to reveal sense of place as a generalised quality of a chosen environment. Rather, one must understand the sources of a particular sense of place, and specify the environmental elements that make one place different from another.

Given the significance of place (see 3.8., below), a sense of place is seen as an important dimension of well-being (Meinig, 1979:46). Sense of place is "inextricably bound up" with individual identity and the totality of life (Eyles, 1985:2,72; Relph, 1976:preface), as well as with the ongoing development of consciousness and ideology (Pred, 1983:62). But, Tuan (1975:214) asks, what is the "sense" of sense of place? How does one recognise sense of place when it is in many ways "intangible" (Violich, 1985:113), and how can it be analysed without destroying its "quintessentially unanalysable character?" (Penning-Rowsell, 1986:115).2

As with discussions regarding place and landscape, a lack of clarity is evident in the literature concerning sense of place, although this concept is recognised as being made up of meanings, feelings and attachments which are specific to certain places,

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2 Nevertheless, Swaffield (1988:20) identifies three aspects of sense of place: the physical environment, individual perceptions and experiences, and shared social ideals and values. Hay (1990:52) focuses on three realms: the emotional, which is central to sense of place and includes place attachment and place identity, the experiential, and the perceptual, which is most peripheral.
communities, and times (Perkins, 1988, 1989). One meaning of "sense" (as in sense of place) is visual or aesthetic (Tuan, 1975:235), while the simplest description may be that offered by Williams (in Pred, 1983:58), of a felt sense of the quality of life at a particular place and time.

An authentic sense of place comes from belonging to a place as an individual and a member of a community, and "to know this without reflecting upon it" (Relph, 1976:65). In this sense, sense of place is subconscious (Tuan, ibid), or implicit (McNaughton, 1986:4); in the case of iwi Maori, determined by primary socialisation, as might be inferred from the emphasis placed on links to the land through whakapapa and cosmic beliefs (see Chapter Nine), which must be passed on through social processes.

On the other hand, sense of place may require "a certain distance between self and place that allows the self to appreciate a place" (Tuan, 1980:4), since people are sometimes only aware of their attachment to (or sense of) place when they have left it and can see it from a distance (ibid, 1975:235). That is, a sense of place can be explicitly or consciously acquired. The term may also allow for a degree of individual interpretation, as between insiders who "experience" place and outsiders who merely "describe" it (Buttimer, 1980:170).

3.5. Place and Space

Space is one of the meanings given to place by the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, although space, like place and landscape, is considered a difficult term because of its multiplicity of meanings and wide variety of applications (Massey, 1994:1; Shields, 1991:30). Massey (ibid:261) sees space as relational, while Relph (1976:8) considers that it lies within a continuum which has "direct experience at one extreme and abstract thought at the other". Relph (ibid) sees a need to clarify the relations between space and place to avoid separating places from their conceptual and experiential contexts, and suggests that space derives its meaning from places while providing the context for those places. Hay (1990:68) contrasts an unknown "space" with a known "place", while other writers see space as abstract or flowing, and place as concrete or enclosed (Ponsi, 1985, in ibid:28; Massey, 1994:7).

A useful clarification of the relationship between space and place is discussed in Relph (1976:9-28, passim), where "perceptual" space is compared with "existential" or lived space, which individuals experience as members of a culture. Perceptual space, the
realm of "direct emotional encounters with the spaces of the earth, sea, and sky" (ibid:10), is differentiated into centres of special personal significance, or places. Perceptual space may be idiosyncratic or person specific, and is essential to one's identity as a person.

3.6. Space and Time

To Salmond (1982:78-79), space in "commonsense English" is three-dimensional and static, forming a backdrop for movement and the passage of time. Giddens, however, is critical of the concepts of time and space as "mere containers of human action" (in P. Jackson, 1986:122), since societies are not just located in linear time and absolute space, but are "socially bound" in time and space (Giddens, 1984, in Shields, 1991:46).

According to Freire (1974:5) we "humanise reality" by giving temporal meaning to geographic space (in Peters & Lankshear, 1990:132); even though space is more basic than time, the meaning of which "varies fundamentally from people to people" (Tuan, 1975:219). Nevertheless, Schleiermacher (1985:88) considers that space may be determined by reference to time and vice versa, so that the two meanings are essentially the same. I return to this point in the context of Maori and western conceptions of time (see 3.7.1., below).

Time and space are often mutually defined. Thus time is less accessible than space (Dodgshon, 1999:608), space is not a static "slice through time", or the absence of time (Massey, 1994:261,265), time reveals relations of succession or change, and space of structure or organisation (Dodgshon, ibid:610), and movement in time happens passively, while movement in space occurs actively (ibid:609,610).

Tuan (1975:218) sees time as a flow of events, and space as units which lie "side by side". Thus we can (or should be able to) see at a glance the entire length of a finite straight line, but cannot hold in our minds from beginning to end the full duration of a period of time. Unlike measurements of time such as the seasons or day and night, there are no naturally occurring measurements of space beyond those of, or created by, the human body (Tuan, ibid:222-23). This would appear to give humans the impression of being in control of space, and so incline them towards a vocabulary that emphasises space over time. The English language, which contains words like "thereafter" instead of "thenafter", and "always" instead of "alltimes" (ibid:218), is better at storytelling (time) than geographical description (space) (Massey, 1994:267), even though the place where
an event happened (i.e., its location in space) is more easily remembered than its location in time (Munz, 1973:44).

In Maori, the same word can be used for matters relating to both space and time, which are "inseparable in all cultures" (Hay, 1990:30-31). An example is prompted by Tuan's reference (1975:214,223) to "the space of which I am the centre" (that is, "here"). In Maori, the word "tenei" (this, here, now) can also refer to "the time of which I am the centre" (that is, "now"). Other space-time indicators in Maori include the directional particles mai ("towards") and atu ("away from"), which express a range of orientations including the spatial, temporal and emotional relationship of the speaker to his/her subject/s.

In keeping with the holistic nature of Maori thought, space (as place) is never complete without an awareness of what happened there. In particular, the significance of place is its connection with ancestral events, which occurred at definite locations within the tribal territory. These were designated by words such as wahi, a place or locality; takiwa, a district or space; and wa, a definite space, area, or region (see also Salmond, 1982:86 for a discussion of these terms). But wa can also mean "interval, time, season"; takiwa can mean "time, period"; and a further word, tawhiti, can mean "distant, widely separated in space or time"; so that an event had significance not only because of where it happened but of when it happened. Together these made up the circumstance or "wa" of that event.

3.7. Time and Memory

A nostalgic sense of place, in which people are dominated by feelings towards place at some time other than the present (Eyles, 1985:124), is also influenced by memory through the subconscious storing of impressions (Tuan, 1975:235). According to Nemerov (in ibid, 1980:5), the word memory goes back to the Latin memor: to be mindful, worried, careful; or to the Greek mermeros: anxiety. These definitions seem to signify a degree of uncertainty about the future based on negative perceptions (or experiences) of the past. By contrast Maori, who did not dwell overmuch on the future (Thornton, 1987:70), regarded the past with confidence if the Maori words for memory are anything to go by. These include mahara: thought, recollection, remembrance, to bear in mind [the gloss "anxious" (Williams, 1971:163) is, more likely, "to think upon"]; pumahara: thoughtful, sagacious; and puku: secretly, without speaking.
In a much quoted reference, Best (1924:1:15) tells of a kaumatua who dictated 406 songs from memory, and of another who memorised and recited the whakapapa of his hapu, amounting to over fourteen hundred names. Sir Apirana Ngata (in Ngata & Te Hurinui, 1959:xxxix) tells of "illiterate elders" who could memorise "genealogies, land boundaries and strange songs" with ease. Nevertheless, memory is seen as contradictory (Smith, 1974:7), and the memory of some elderly Maori informants vague (Biggs, 1960:4), while the oral transmission of Maori legends through many generations produced "startling results" (Williams, in Grey, 1928:vii). Thus memory can be a gradual forgetting because of its unreliability, or an attribute that gives greater clarity of vision (Gadamer, 1976:123); and which, moreover, can be stimulated by an encounter with the past.

At one time Maori committed significant narratives to rhythm, which helped them memorise the knowledge contained in those accounts (Durie, 1997:147). Coupled with the evocative power of landmarks this proved invaluable in recalling knowledge submerged in the subconscious, as an incident involving Taranaki kaumatua Billy Mitchell shows. Approached for information on fishing grounds and other wahi tapu in connection with claims to the Waitangi Tribunal in the early 1990s, Uncle Bill found this work much more difficult than previously as many of the old landmarks had gone (trees cut down, hillocks levelled, and other geographic markers destroyed). He had to recall the appropriate karakia before identifying those places, and so he would go off in the early morning, down to the beach or somewhere quiet, and wait for the words to come back to him so he would know where to look. In effect, he "read" the landscape with the aid of words that triggered memory.3

3.7.1. Past, present, future

Jameson (in Dodgshon, 1999:614) applies the phrase "chain of signification" to the transfer of meaning from past to present, while Dilthey (1985:149) sees time as a restless progression in the other direction. Tuan (1975:224) regards the past as "the latent zone of potentiality" for the future, whose potentialities in turn validate the present (Poggioli, 1968, in Harvey, 1989:359); while Davies (1988:14) points out that if the future is determined by the present then it is already "contained" in the present.

3 Herskovits (in Merriam, 1964:280) cites a Dahomean record keeper who recalled details to mind by "singing" his way through the recital that contained those details.
These statements illustrate the indeterminate nature of time as a concept, which adds to the complexity of any study that includes time as a component. The literature represents time as cyclical, spiral or periodic, as of the seasons (O'Connor, 1991:156; Tuan, 1975:216), or "embedded", as in daily life (Laclau, 1990, in Massey, 1994:252), or packaged into self-contained units or episodes (Dodgshon, 1999:615; Bauman, 1996:24,25). Time is also seen as a continuum (Irwin, 1984:5), a gulf to be bridged (Gadamer, 1976:122) or, more simply, as linear progression (Susuki & Knudtson, 1992; O'Connor, 1991:156).

The distinction is occasionally drawn between a western conception of time as absolute dates, in which time proceeds unvaryingly in a uni-dimensional fashion marked by externally determined points of reference, and a Maori conception of time as relative chronology. In the latter case time was represented by a sequence of events which depended for their relative placement on other events that happened in close conjunction with them (Neich, 1996:92). That is, time (as event) occurred in "clumps", which were connected both uni- and bi-dimensionally and so demonstrated a spatial characteristic. Although the time-space relationship referred to by Schleiermacher in 3.6. (above) is much more complex than this, the Maori conception of time as given here would appear to fulfil his basic premise that time is "essentially the same" as space.

In English, which is a temporal language (Bassnett-McGuire, 1991:31), time is an important category with a terminology that is past, present and future specific. In Maori, on the other hand, there is no verbal tense, for:

**Time is a continuous stream. The temporal is subordinated under the cosmic process and denotes not time but sequences in processes and events which occur in the cosmic process. Hence the particles 'ka', 'e ... ana', and 'kua' attached to simple verbs denote the initiation, continuation and termination of particular processes and events (Marsden, 1981:162).**

Thus Maori verbal constructions "cut obliquely across" their English equivalents, of which a definite time-reference is an integral feature (Karena-Holmes, 1995:61).

Another important difference is the relative mental positions of past and future, which are reversed in the two cultures. A much-quoted phrase in Maori, "nga wa o mua", refers to the past as something which, having been experienced, lay before the Maori ancestors who stood with their backs to the future. By contrast the past in English, being over and done with in the present, lies behind those who face the future. Goodall
1990:24) reiterates the Maori position when he writes that events of the future are behind him, "still unseen", until:

... my arrow of personal time carries me further to see those things unfold before me to join the past and the known. So, we observe an inchoate future translate into an ordered past, from which useful information is available to help guide us further.

3.7.2. Past and present

To Maori, traditional knowledge offered the best advice on how to live within the limits of their environment, since it bestowed the comfort of having been tested and confirmed as sound practice by previous generations. This led to a respect for the past, for ancestors, and for ancestral precedents. The literature recognises that, in traditional societies, past and present generations were linked by customs and habits which persisted through time, and were founded on "the easy grasping of time spans of centuries" (Relph, 1976:32). This may be the ideal expressed by Lowenthal (1985:410, in Dodgshon, 1999:613), who called for "a heritage with which we continually interact, one which fuses past with present".

To Baudrillard (1994a:161, in ibid:612), society is "weighed down" by its recovery of the past, although Latour (in ibid:616) considers that this may deepen our relationship with the past, since life must be lived "amidst that which [has gone] before" (Meinig, 1979:44). To Maori, the past was too important to leave behind when, under pressure from social or environmental forces, they moved to a new tribal homeland or territory. At such times they effectively replanted their history in their new home by giving the new landscape names from the old, so that events which had given rise to these names became relocated in the new setting (Davis et al., 1990:5). A story could also be re-sited in time, so that distant events were brought closer and made more relevant to the narrator and his/her audience.

The tendency of orally transmitted accounts of the tribal past was therefore to telescope time by compressing less relevant time and expanding times that were more relevant. This meant that legendary and traditional histories were not static but dynamic and changing, due to the tendency for Maori, like "all other peoples in all other times", to

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4 Te Maire Tau refers to this as "consecrating the landscape with ancestors from the homeland" (pers comm, 28/4/99).
adjust their past to suit their present (Belich, 1996:62).

3.7.3. Place names

Pakeha may recognise some of their own colonising traits in the way the East Polynesian ancestors of the Maori people named the landscape on first arrival. The process of naming seeks to provide points of reference which will transform a chaotic, disoriented and fearful wilderness into a known place (Murton, 1987:93), so it can be appropriated into the cultural system (Byrnes, 1988). In the Maori world, place names give an insight into the emotional landscape of the tribal area (Norman, 1989, in Roberts et al., 1995:11).

Yoon (1986:99-100) classifies indigenous Maori place names - "old Maori names whose origins were not influenced by Europeans" - under three main headings; namely, those given in memory of former homelands such as Hawaiki or the Pacific [e.g., Hikurangi, Taranaki (Davis, 1990:20)]; those which commemorate historic events after arriving in New Zealand [e.g., Hokiaanga, Whakatane (Walker, 1969:407,409)], and those which describe the landscape of an area [e.g., Maunganui, Puketi (Davis, ibid:29,34)].

Many place names occur in groups, and illustrate the spatial nature of tribal events and the holistic integration of tribal history with the local landscape.

Some place names are descriptive because Maori intended them to be informing (Stowell, [1911]:199), and this related as much to the physical terrain as it did to the ancestors (Davis et al., 1990:7-8). Names identified food and other resources, or preserved "environmental sounds" (Carter, in Byrnes, 1998:26); as with the name of the Waingongoro River (from "ngongoro", to snore) in southern Taranaki. Thus place names which commemorate a wealth of "long-remembered history, mythology and imagery" (Sinclair, 1981:87) also illustrate the close association of Maori with the land.

3.8. Maori and Place

Explaining Maori concepts and values in English is inherently difficult because of the differing mindsets of the two cultures (Mutu, 1994; Smith, 1999), as illustrated in this chapter. Similarly, the use of a word like place involves the transfer of the value loadings

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5 Hokiaanga: in full, Te Hokiaanganui-a-Kupe ("the great returning place of Kupe", the legendary ancestor of the Maori people); Whakatane: from the statement by Wairaka, "Me whakatane au i [a] au" (I must acquit myself as a man), when the newly arrived Mataatua canoe threatened to drift off on the tide and, its crew having gone off to view the land, she was the only one left to save it.
of the English word into the Maori context, so that Pakeha may see apparent similarities where none exist. What is needed for understanding to occur may be as simple as listening to what Maori have to say in articulating the nature, extent and quality of their relationship with place, which "provides the basic framework for vitally important connections with ancestors and family ... Who you are, and who your family is and was, is a part of the place - a personal referencing and specificity" (Cooper, 1993:32-33).

Cooper's comment refers to the tendency for Maori to introduce themselves to each other - whether in formal greetings on the marae or more generally in everyday life - by giving their connections to their tribal group and to significant ancestors and ancestral landmarks, rather than (or secondary to) their personal status and current place of abode. This recital of group-specific ancestral and place names establishes a framework of reference to which others may relate, and ties the people of a particular tribal group to a particular geographic area in a tapestry of indissoluble family and community linkages.

3.9. Maori and Land

In a geographic sense, land is a definite portion of the earth's surface, especially an area with recognised boundaries (J Jackson, 1986:66). To Maori, land as a recognised tribal area served a utilitarian purpose as the place from which the community drew its sustenance; although the word for land, whenua, also refers to the afterbirth of a newborn child, since the land is personified as Papatuanuku the earth mother, the source of all life. In this sense land is more than just a portion of the earth's surface, but has an emotional significance which transcends geographic boundaries.

Writers who are frequently quoted in the context of Maori love for and attachment to tribal lands include Buck (1950), Firth (1959), and Metge (1967b). More recently, writers such as Sinclair (1981), Yoon (1986), Asher and Nauls (1987), and Murton (1987) have contributed their understandings of the close relationship of Maori with the land. Adams (1977: 177) encapsulates much of what has been written by explaining that:

... land had emotional and societal values. It conferred dignity and rank, providing the means for hospitality, the battlefield where prowess might be displayed and honour won, the resting place for the dead, and the heritage of future generations. It carried on its back the pa and the marae, the wahi tapu, or burial grounds, and the sacred places. Land was a giver of personal identity, a symbol of social stability, and a source of emotional and spiritual strength.

Maori views of land have become more specific since colonisation, through such factors
as a growing awareness of European perceptions of land as a commodity from which added value could be wrested, and an accompanying consciousness of the nature of their own, hitherto implicit, acceptance of land as the natural provider of all their needs. Ballara (1982:531) considers that placing a capital value on land constituted an attack on Maori values without destroying the spiritual attachment it held for many Maori, whose consciousness of their ties to it was "in many cases enhanced". The loss of land that accompanied Pakeha settlement also contributed to an enhancement of Maori feelings for tribal lands, since this rendered those feelings explicit (see 9.8.).

Pakeha may recognise kindred ties with Maori in acknowledging and expressing their own love for the land (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991:1043; Dann, 1991), and for a "sense of place" which establishes a sense of identity that is a necessary part of the human condition (Park, 1997:29; Turner, 1983:12). Nevertheless, Maori attitudes to land reflect the vital role it plays in their culture not only as the source of identity but of spirituality and social structure (Challenger, 1988:8). Ritchie (1981:28) describes land as "the place of eternal return, the whenua, the placental land, the place of after-birth and after-death". Ancestral remains were laid to rest in "sacred caves, sandhills and other hidden places on tribal lands" (Sinclair, 1981:88) for, as Dansey (1981:141) explains, the only place for the dead to lie is in "the heart of our own land, in the midst of our own people".

Concepts which reflect, but do not fully explain, the nature of Maori links to the land include turangawaewae, wahi tapu, mauri, and wairuatanga ("spirituality").

3.9.1. Turangawaewae

A desire to have a place to put one's feet, a spot beyond question to call one's own, seems from ancient times to have been one of man's basic emotions (Dansey, 1978:85).

The concept of turangawaewae is variously translated as a "footing in the marae" (Fitzgerald, 1970:47), footstool (Minhinnick, 1989:3), native heath (Kawharu, 1992:26) or, most often, a place to stand (Patterson, 1992:89). Marsden explains that turangawaewae is as much a spiritual footing as a physical one (in Metge, 1986:77) but, in whichever sense it is used, it needs to be secure ("Rangi", in Vasil, 1990:103). Rangihau (in Rangihau & Romanos, 1985:22) sees turangawaewae as an emotional tie between Maori and land because "the land is the place from whence he [sic] came".

A tribe's turangawaewae is its land (Walker, 1999:109), although something more
than geographic situation is meant, since "Love, pride, tradition and rights to carry out certain tribal duties" are tied to land which has been passed down from the ancestors (Dansey, 1978:85). Turangawaewae "signals the cultural reality that belonging to a place rather than owning it lies at the heart of Maori identity" (Kawharu, 1992:26).

3.9.2. Wahi tapu

Gummer (1990:21) gives a list of wahi tapu - anchorages, landing places, fishing grounds, shellfish areas, reserves for catching birds, inland waterways ("breeding grounds for fish"), primaevet forest, groves of trees, ancient trees ("like old men"), battles sites, springs of water, and thermal waters - and explains: "These are not all wahi tapu, but they are all special places, and sometimes it is hard to tell the difference". The concept also includes "all aspects of the environment or papatuanuku [sic], from which Maori base their descent" (Keelan, 1993:98).

Wahi tapu means, literally, sacred places. In Taranaki, our sacred places include sites on the mountain such as Maru, the defensive pa complex which Taranaki occupied during the Waikato raids in the 1820s (see Chapter One, note 6, and 5.0.3.). Burial caves such as Te Ana-a-tahatiti, on the upper slopes of the mountain, received the bones of our chiefs until the late nineteenth century, while deep shafts on the lower slopes, the Kahui Holes, may have fulfilled a similar purpose in respect of those of lesser rank.

Other sites, especially along the central Taranaki coastline, include secret or unmarked burial places, mauri kohatu or ancient carved rocks, tauranga waka or canoe anchorages - one of which, as noted in Macdonald (1990:17), was concreted over by a local boat club to use as a launching site - and hilltop pa sites, some of which have been cut through by roads, or levelled, or built upon. Pakeha writers such as Elworthy (1988:10) and Nichols (1992:27) are critical of the impact that Europeans have had on the indigenous landscape, and nowhere is this felt more keenly than along the Taranaki coast in respect of these precious places.

3.9.3. Mauri

Violich (1985:130-31) recognises the existence of immaterial characteristics and

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6 Prickett (1981:199,200) writes that almost all of these carved rocks (or petroglyphs) belong to the traditional territory of the Taranaki tribe, and suggests that they convey information or may have "something to say concerning the relation of people to each other and to the land".
intangible qualities of objects beyond their purely physical properties, which "might actually be essential attributes to human well being". To Maori, the mauri or life force possessed by all created things is an essential attribute without which the processes of the natural world would cease to function. As Murton (1987:93-94) explains: "Birds, fish, insects and plants, also natural phenomena such as the moon, mist, wind and rocks, were felt to possess a life essentially similar to that of human beings". Because of mauri, places and landscapes are "not just trees or stones or soil. They have life, energy and character uniquely their own - they can influence and be influenced by the human presence" (Cooper, 1993:32).

Mauri is latent elemental energy (Gray, 1991:[5]), or the spiritual essence or life principle to which every natural object or aggregate of objects (e.g., a forest) owed its vitality and its existence (Firth, 1959:254-55). The mauri of resources was a variable element which could be reduced through adverse circumstances, but revitalised through appropriate procedures. It could also be invoked in a new resource setting. Thus Rahirimihia, the daughter of Ngati Haupoto's eponymous ancestor (see 4.2.), accompanied her father to selected places on Mount Taranaki and assisted in the necessary rituals there. In the process, she and her father Haupoto gave rise to names such as Puke-kokako, Te Ahi-titi, and Te Ahu-kawakawa,7 which reveal the nature of those rituals. The purpose for which they were performed lies at a deeper level of understanding, and involved what the Rev. Maurice Gray refers to as "the cosmosization of place" (pers comm, 14/3/01), or the tying in of the useful purpose of that place with the spiritual dimension.

3.9.4. Wairuatanga

Maori spirituality or wairuatanga is portrayed by Irwin (1984:6) as one side of a triangle of wholeness, although the difficulty of expressing the spiritual dimension of Maori life is, as Solomon and Schofield (1992:17) state, like "trying to grasp hold of a handful of water".

Berg and Kearns (1996:107) see Maori spirituality as "a counter-hegemonic narrative" which has the potential to become hegemonic and thus produce "a new set of

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7 These names translate, respectively, as "Hill (or mound) of the kokako" (the New Zealand crow, Callaeas cinerea); "[Sacred] fire of the titi" (the mutton bird, Puffinus griseus); and "Sacred mound of the kawakawa" (Macropiper excelsum).
exclusions". If so, that narrative is part of the way in which Maori are re-defining their world in the wake of a secularisation of thought that casts doubt on their spiritual beliefs (Tuan, 1975:237; Murton, 1987:107). References in the literature to the "spiritual attachment" or "inbuilt biological affinity" which Maori "claim" to have for their land (ibid:92; Wetherell & Potter, 1992:139) are countered by the deeply evocative writings of O'Regan (e.g., 1999), Sinclair (1981), and others, which make an unassailable case for the existence of such a bond.

Chief Judge Eddie Durie (1987:78) considers that Maori belong as much to the unseen "permanent" world of the spirit, which pervades all aspects of nature, as they do to the more "transient" world of the living; while Maori Marsden (1988:5) differentiates between the natural world and the "real world" behind it. As Maurice Gray (1991:1) explains, Maori have traditionally maintained a close spiritual relationship with the land, their personified earth mother Papatuanuku, who represents "the well of their spirituality, the encyclopedia of their knowledge, the cradle of their history and the source of their sustenance". In a physical sense she also represents "stability, comfort, shelter and nourishment to all" (ibid). Thus Maori links to the land are holistically reinforced through an integration of the spiritual and physical dimensions.

3.10. Summary

Two of the most noticeable features of studies on place are their lack of agreement over the precise definitions and meanings of the concepts upon which they are based, and an acknowledgement that this lack of precision exists. Thus terms such as place, landscape and land are labelled in the literature as ambiguous, elusive, and paradoxical, both as to meanings and to usage. They are often used comparatively to indicate quality or quantity, so that one is "more experiential" or "less inclusive" than another, even though that other may be only vaguely or generally defined. The practice of using terms such as place, location and landscape interchangeably adds a further element of confusion to this growing field of study.

Place, the specific focus of the present chapter, is more particularly associated with

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8 Perhaps, by shutting out Pakeha who do not appear to have a set of metaphysical values that parallel those of Maori (Gray & Murray, 1991:13). Hegemony is the conviction of the dominant society that its way of doing things is natural and normal (Rojek, 1993:282), although it is not clear what hegemony actually is, for it explains "everything and nothing" (ibid:283).
landscape, and also with location. As location, place is a geographical entity, but it is also strongly associated with a people’s culture as well as with their history, which shapes culture (Mulgan, 1989:57). As landscape, these elements of place are less apparent than the scenic or natural dimensions of the environment, although human perceptions (and perhaps memory) are necessary for meaningful aspects to emerge.

As the setting for subjective experiences, landscape may be regarded as environment, which has a social and historical focus similar to that of location. As the focus of objective interpretations, landscape may be regarded symbolically or metaphorically, whether as a "code" to be deciphered or a "text" to be read. Conversely, as in the present study, landscapes may be read from a text which, like landscape itself, is multi-layered so that different interpretations are possible.

3.11. In Conclusion

Place as a geographical reality has so many meanings and ramifications that no single definition is adequate or sufficient. This suggests that place may be made to mean what you (or I) want it to mean, which brings it back to the realm of everyday discourse. In such a setting it could reasonably be expected that place is understood in much the same sense by all, since the meaning of a word is its use in the language (Wittgenstein, 1958:43, in Thrift, 1999:315). Nevertheless, differences do exist in the understanding and use of place and related concepts, as happens when words are taken out of common usage and imported into specialised settings. The difficulty in establishing links between Maori and Pakeha views of land and landscape, for instance (see 3.0.), is that connections between these terms are not well documented in the literature, although they may be understood from their dictionary meanings, or intuitively from their use in ordinary discourse.

A problem when considering differing Maori and Pakeha attitudes to land is the tendency to get caught up in simple dualisms. Thus Pakeha are portrayed as being separate from the land and Maori as having a close spiritual relationship with it. I do not deny the deeply spiritual nature of Maori involvement with the land, as I am heavily implicated in this myself. The problem appears to lie in the tendency to perpetuate the perception of situations as they existed in the past, but which have become more complex and less readily reducible to simple formulae over the intervening generations. The answer to the problem may hinge on the extent to which primary socialisation is able to
bridge the gap between past and present, as it appears to have done in tribal Taranaki.

Another dualism discussed in this chapter is the concept of western time as absolute and Maori time as comparative. This becomes more complex when seen as linear (western) and spatially oriented (Maori) time. In much the same way as Maori place names "bound" the landscape (space) into a web of history (time), significant tribal happenings (time) were "bound" by other events into a network of relationships which had both structure and organisation (space). But whether conceived in the abstract or located within the spatial framework of the Maori landscape, time is one concept that was (and is) viewed differently by Maori and Pakeha, as a comparison of terminology and tense in both languages shows.

The most significant difference between Maori and Pakeha lies in whakapapa, which connects Maori in elemental ways to "this" landscape, and stretches back through mortal and godlike ancestors to the earliest ages of the world. Pakeha may recognise kindred ties with Maori in acknowledging and expressing their own love for the land but, in a return to the dualism of Pakeha as "separate" from and Maori as "closely related" to the land, the sheer length of time that Maori have had to become integrated with the landscape, both physically and metaphysically (Patterson, 1992:157), is a reality that cannot be gainsaid.

3.11.1. He Whakamutunga/Endnote

In Chapter Nine, in analysing the data obtained from the waiata, I set out a Maori research framework of whakapapa and cosmic genealogies which I use as my determinant of the nature and extent of Maori feelings for place. I also examine the western concept of sense of place in Chapter Ten, to see to what extent it exhibits similarities to or differences from Maori perspectives on place.

Having discussed methodological considerations of relevance to my work in Chapter Two, I devote Chapter Four to an examination of additional aspects that must be considered when researching in a Maori context, such as the researcher's role, background and accountability; research ethics; and intellectual property rights.
CHAPTER FOUR: MAORI RESEARCH CONSIDERATIONS

4.0. Introduction

Recent Maori writings identify a number of considerations that must be taken into account when carrying out research into Maori topics. These include an awareness of the researcher’s role as a facilitator of understanding rather than an authority figure in the research process (Soutar, 1996:55), and the need to "say where you're coming from" with respect to Maori world views so that Maori readers may attach the appropriate level of credibility to the research findings. Maori as a people have been extensively researched in the past, and the conclusions disseminated in ethnographic writings have assumed an air of authority that is inappropriate considering that many of those conclusions have since been tested and found wanting. Maori now insist on a greater level of accountability to themselves as the research community, and I discuss relevant aspects of that accountability in this chapter in connection with the presentation of this thesis.

Charles Royal (1994:14) writes in respect of the perceived authority of the written word in a western context that "it is vital that the reader understands the circumstances in which publications are created, and what kind of authority is speaking within the pages of those books". Since academic theses are considered published accounts because "in practice the public has access to them" (Soutar, 1996:55), I observe that precondition here in addressing concerns of an ethical and philosophical nature, such as differences between academic and iwi approaches to research, and the need for care in working with iwi intellectual property. But first, since Maori introduce themselves in terms of their tribal links at the outset of any endeavour, I give an indication of my family background, and of the seventy year hiatus that separated my family from its tribal roots.

4.0.1. Early years

I was about eight years of age when I became aware of being, in part, "Maori". The signs were there had I considered it: our mother’s family name of Te Kahui, her photograph as a baby with her Pakeha mother and handsome Maori father, and our mix of family features; for while one of us is brown skinned and blue eyed, another has pale skin with brown eyes and black hair. Would anyone take us for Maori if we chose not to be identified as such; or, for those of us who have chosen to follow our Maori side, does it - or should it - matter that we do not "look" Maori?
Certainly we were treated as Pakeha by the predominantly Maori pupils of the two-roomed school we attended on the North Island's East Coast. Here, we learnt what it was like to be in the minority; although, for me, it was the beginning of an awareness of the divide that existed between Maori and Pakeha, and the beginning, too, of a developing loyalty to my Maori side that was at odds with the Pakeha stance of many relatives and acquaintances. There were advantages in growing up in Ngati Porou's tribal territory, nevertheless, for we escaped the climate of bitterness and hardship in Taranaki that some of our cousins experienced. We also enjoyed the gentle beaches of the East Coast, so different from our mother's turbulent western seas. Thank you, Ngati Porou, for giving us space and sunshine in which to grow.

If we felt different in any way though, our mother's experience of growing up in Taranaki was no better in respect of her tribal roots. Sheltered by loving Pakeha grandparents after her father's death from infectious endocarditis during World War I, she knew nothing of his family or circumstances beyond infrequent encounters with Maori whose deference she mistook for rejection. After seventy years she was ready to go back, but where was "home", and where was our marae? Made welcome at her cousin Sam Te Hira Kahui's place at Rahotu in 1983, we learnt that Kaimirumiru - the Kahui homestead, our marae - had been partially destroyed by fire, and that the shell of the old building had been used to store hay in during the depression years of the 1930s. The walls had collapsed, and family portraits left hanging there were ruined by lying in contact with the damp ground. The only surviving photograph was one of my mother's father, who had died when she was three years old and whose passing had resulted in her being taken away to live with her grandparents.

Her upbringing from that point on was reasonably assured, unlike that of the cousins she left behind.

4.0.2. The situation in Taranaki

"Wehi" (in Vasil, 1990:103) states that many tribes are "in tatters" after what they have gone through - which, he considers, is not surprising. Peter Adds (1992:38) notes the resentment in Taranaki that resulted from land confiscations under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863, which "undermine[d] the very roots of Maori culture". The Waitangi Tribunal report that dealt with Taranaki Maori claims against the Crown refers to "the present-day damage to the psyche and spirit of the people caused by deleterious
and prejudicial action over generations", and notes: "While time can soften hurt, the
hurt in Taranaki has not been allowed to mend" (1996:313). Taranaki Maori are thereby
condemned to a situation in which they are, in Said's words (1994:47), "inconsolable
about the past, [and] bitter about the present and the future".

A word which best fits the situation is kupapa, to "lie flat, stoop, go stealthily",
used more particularly in its metaphorical sense of "remain quiet, become passive"
(Williams, 1971:157). This word occurs in a Parihaka song, Te Raa o Maehe ("The Days
of March"; see 1.0.1. and Reed, 1962:201-203), which commemorates the arrest and
detention without trial in the South Island of men who resisted government land surveys
in the aftermath of the Taranaki wars and confiscations:

... kupapa, e te iwi ki raro ki te maru o te Ariki
Hei kawe mo tatou ki te ora tonutanga ...
... bow, o people, beneath the shelter of the Lord
Who will carry us to everlasting life ...

Certain inflammatory and ill-informed statements in recent times speak of kupapa as
traitors or collaborators, but the situation in Taranaki was far too complex for such
sweeping condemnation. Nor, as Mason Durie (1998:145) points out, can blame be
attached to those who have been unable to maintain ahi ka, the "lit fires" of continuous
occupation. Events in Taranaki have made it impossible for many who have moved away
to reconnect with their roots as iwi Maori have been advocating since the 1980s.
Development opportunities have been lost with the destruction of Taranaki tribal society
(Waitangi Tribunal, 1996:310), although this does not mean that Taranaki leaders have
been supine over the past hundred years or so. Almost constant protest over confiscated
lands has been maintained with the presentation of some 1500 petitions to Parliament
(Addrs, 1992:39), which has "gouged out" a path between Taranaki and Wellington
"known affectionately as the Taranaki track" (Ratahi, 1990:38). In the words of the
Waitangi Tribunal (ibid:2):

If war is the absence of peace, the war has never ended in Taranaki, because that
essential prerequisite for peace among peoples, that each should be able to live
with dignity on their own lands, is still absent and the protest over land rights
continues to be made.

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1 For example, Alan Taylor (Te Iwi, June 1990:3). Those Maori who fought on the
government side did so for their own, not government, reasons. Nevertheless, Taranaki claims the
right to decide for itself how the motives of its people should be interpreted.
4.0.3. Return to Taranaki

The effect of the New Zealand Settlements Act of 1863 was not only to "remove and change the long relationship that [Taranaki] Maori had established with the land", but to damage and alter the cultural, economic and political fabric of the iwi as well (Adds, 1992:38). A negative local economy now dictates that my hapu share a marae with two neighbouring hapu along the coast; although, for me, Kaimirumiru will always be my marae because of its associations with my family past and present.

An additional problem in seeking to bridge the gap between iwi past and Pakeha present was the lack of assured kaumatua guidance within our own whanau. There was at first - most importantly - Uncle Sam Kahui. He and my mother had played together as children, and although she later left Taranaki he stayed on in the senior line of progression. But he was the last of the old kaumatua, and now there is no-one left of that generation apart from my mother and her sisters in the junior line. It is inappropriate to go outside the whanau for advice because of giving someone else authority over our affairs, so where does that leave us?

O'Regan (1987b:145) refers to present day knowledge of the Maori past as a supplement or replacement, "filling the gap that two generations of dislocation have left". For my part I go back three generations to Te Kahui, and to the collection of private manuscript writings he left - the Kahui Papers – that passed to Uncle Sam and from him to my cousin Jim, their present guardian. Te Kahui is my kaumatua, and his writings are my ultimate authority in framing a view on "things Maori" in Taranaki. I believe that those writings were recorded for just such a time as this, when his descendants would look for greater cultural understandings than are apparent in the prevailing orthodoxies of the anthropological record, or in the conjectural hesitancies of infrequent whanau gatherings.

4.1. Terminology

I mentioned earlier that I am "part Maori", so in terms of the two historically significant ethnicities in this country I must also be "part Pakeha". The use of these terms in this thesis and with reference to my own identity calls for an explanation of what I mean by such terms, and by the designation of Taranaki in relation to my tribal background.
4.1.1. Pakeha

A tendency amongst Maori to define Pakeha as non-Maori meets Grossberg's logic of difference (1996:93), in which the cultural "other", being defined by its negativity, "can only give rise to a politics of resentment" (Nietzsche, in ibid:97). In some ways this has already happened, for the meaning of the term Pakeha has been increasingly debated in recent years. Peters (1999:25) explains it as a Maori word for European, "the exact meaning of which is still unclear", although the use of the word European as a synonym for Pakeha is described as pretentious (Mead, 1983:337), and inaccurate, since "long before the Treaty we were in close contact also with many other Euro foreigners from Norway, Portugal, Denmark, Spain, America, and elsewhere" (Goodall, 1990:33).

Pearson (1989:62 fwd) gives some definitions of the word Pakeha and the way in which writers have used it since 1971. A recurring theme is that it applies to those of European descent who have put down roots in this country and feel they belong here (Dann, 1991; Metge & Jones, 1995:7). Metge's (1990:15) observation that "Pakeha culture" derives from Victorian England echoes a suggestion in Te Kahui's private writings that Pakeha were those ruled over by Queen Victoria:

... ki te Pakeha te kingitanga, koia a Kuini Wikitoria te putanga mai ki tenei whakatupuranga (Kahui Papers, AC:124).
... *the kingship is the Pakeha's, for whom Queen Victoria is its expression in this generation.*

Or, as the southern Taranaki leader Titokowaru wrote to Colonel Whitmore: "You were made a Pakeha, and the name of England was given to you for your tribe" (Belich, 1989:207).

Other synonyms for Pakeha include Euro-New Zealanders (Ruddle, 1995:112), Anglo-Saxons (O'Connor, 1991:139), Caucasians (King, 1985:16), and the alternative Maori word tauiwi (strangers); although, since "Many belong in each other's whakapapa and genealogies" (Renwick, 1993:50), Pakeha "are not strangers. To most of us they are relatives" (Goodall, 1990:33). Due possibly to the idea advanced by the early missionaries that Maori were one of the lost tribes of Israel (Elsmore, 1985:63-64), Te Kahui associated tauiwi with the Gentiles, who stood in the same relationship to the Jews of the Old Testament as Pakeha did to Maori; that is, they were junior in each case.

In this thesis I use the term Pakeha as a convention (Kawharu, 1992:23), a kind of shorthand (Murton, 1987:109; King, 1985:16), and as a description (King, 1991:16) of one side of my genetic makeup. It sits alongside my Maori side as its dichotomous other,
owing its origin to, defined in terms of, and meaningless without, that other (Willmott, 1989:10; Pearson, 1989).

4.1.2. Maori

The "multi-faceted" nature of what it is to be Maori (Durie, 1995:6) is discussed by writers such as Metge (1967b), Walker (1987), Durie (1997), and many others. Pool (1991:17 fnd) gives statutory and census definitions of Maori which show a trend towards ethnicity and away from earlier definitions based on ancestry. As explained by Pool (ibid:23,24), ethnicity allows for the "social reality" of self identification as Maori (a feature which is increasingly being recognised in statutory contexts), while ancestry requires a knowledge of one's "biological composition" or degree of Maori "blood".2

Spoonley (1993:36) describes ethnicity as an identity which reflects the cultural experiences and feelings of a particular group, although Nash (1990:117) had previously referred to "the mistaken view that ethnic identity is a matter of individual choice". As long as the individual has Maori antecedents then I take issue with this latter statement, since the simplest Maori definition of "being Maori" is being able to whakapapa back to a Maori ancestor. The question is indeed, and rightly so, one of choice. In my case I am three sixteenths Maori according to mathematical reckoning, but one third Maori according to the social reality that my Pakeha grandmothers were sisters, which has reduced my ancestry by one quarter but increased my Maori genes proportionally. Thus I am more susceptible to influences from my Maori side while appearing outwardly Pakeha. The Maori side of my being has greater appeal to me because it gives a sense of belonging, it is more immediate, it is "here" in the landscape. I therefore claim the right to define myself as Maori because I wish, and choose, to do so (Durie, 1997:159-60).

4.2. Taranaki Iwi

In choosing to define myself as Maori I align myself specifically with my whanau (Te Kahui), my hapu (Ngati Haupoto), and my iwi (Taranaki). Immediately the need becomes apparent for an explanation of the way in which terms such as whanau ("extended family") and iwi ("tribe") are used, or relate to other terms used, in this thesis. To begin with, a distinction is often drawn between Maori and iwi, since many Maori

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2 Beaglehole (1946:9) wrote that "a Maori" was anyone who considered him/herself to be such, "no matter what the amount of Maori blood may be"; although Metge points out that the concept of degree of Maori blood is "unscientific" (1967b:54), since inherited characteristics are transmitted by the genes, not in the blood (1967a:44).
relate to each other on the basis of tribal identity rather than "as Maori". Nevertheless, I use the terms Maori and iwi interchangeably here unless tribal (i.e., iwi) identity is specifically meant. I also use the terms family and whanau interchangeably unless the extended family (i.e., whanau) is intended.

A further point to note is the different usages of the name Taranaki for, as Smithyman (1979:380) points out:

... talk of 'Taranaki' can sometimes be ambiguous, since, as well as being general, 'Taranaki' may also be a name particularly referring to the territories west and south of the mountain.

As the grand ancestral mountain of the Taranaki tribes, Taranaki has since 1986 borne the official title of "Mount Taranaki or Mount Egmont" (Minister of Lands official statement, 2/5/86). "Taranaki" also refers to the province which takes its name from the mountain, although I use it only indirectly in that sense.

As a tribal designator, Taranaki refers to my iwi immediately west of the mountain, as well as to other iwi living around its base in more or less close proximity. Unlike the "real" (tuturu) or central Taranaki tribe west of the mountain (kaumatua Billy Mitchell, pers comm, 5/2/90), those other iwi go under the inclusive name of Taranaki whanui, the wider Taranaki tribes. Defined by statute from the mid-twentieth century (Ballara, 1998:318), they are: Te Ati Awa, Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Tama to the north; Ngati Ruanui, Nga Ruahine, Pakakohi, Tangahoe and Nga Rauru to the south; and Ngati Maru as an inland tribe to the north-east of the mountain. An indication of their diversity is given by Taranaki kaumatua Huirangi Waikerepuru (in Nicholls, 1992:37), who says that differing iwi perspectives in Taranaki "vary greatly".

In this thesis I use the name Taranaki to refer to these various entities, which may sometimes need to be inferred from context; however, I write more particularly from the viewpoint of Taranaki tuturu, although I do not claim to speak for them. The views that follow, then, are entirely my own.

4.3. Maori Research

Problems connected with researching Maori topics in a university setting include the need to satisfy academic requirements while working towards iwi authentication. This is not always achieved by reworking the document that emerges to make it more accessible to iwi, since this does not meet the demands of transparency and accountability in all cases. Iwi must be able to approve the outcomes in whatever form they appear, or the process of consultation becomes flawed or tokenistic. For this reason I have tried to
present results "in a manner intelligent to the Maori community and not only to one's research colleagues" (Murton, 1987:107). This does not involve "writing down" but, rather, rephrasing my thoughts according to interpretive practices in order to be understood more clearly.

4.3.1. Iwi research

Debate, both national and international, surrounds the issue of who should carry out research into indigenous subjects. In New Zealand this becomes a debate over the propriety of Pakeha carrying out research into Maori topics, and of Maori researchers who study iwi other than their own (O'Regan, 1990; Royal, 1992; Ballara, 1993; Soutar, 1996).

Arguments in favour of indigenous researchers carrying out research into their own communities include the deeper and more valid understandings that come from an empathy with and appreciation for the values inherent in the community; awareness of historical and societal conditions; and the pragmatic advantage of having already-established links with community members. Disadvantages include the need to guard against parochialism or partisanship, against constraints imposed by kinship connections (such as whether to exclude certain types of information that may be prejudicial to the tribal image), and against drawing conclusions which are inferred rather than explicitly confirmed; in short, how to achieve "a judicious combination of involvement and estrangement" (Hammersley, 1992:145).

Tribal descent may increase the right to research one's own iwi history, since iwi are "strongly suspicious" of the motives of Maori from other tribes (Soutar, 1996:44). An additional advantage is the maintenance of tribal distinctiveness, since hapu (or iwi) perspectives can only be given by members of that hapu or iwi (ibid:55), while representation and accountability are achieved more effectively through tribal membership (Vasil, 1990:136). Nevertheless, Te Awekotuku (1991) considers that restricting iwi research to researchers from that iwi could evolve into a form of active separatism, while other writers feel that research should be done by those who have access to the knowledge of their elders (Ballara, 1998:12), or are best fitted to do it, regardless of tribal affiliation (Mikaere, 1992:3).

3 Bultmann (1985:245) writes that "Only he who lives in a state and in a society can understand the political and social phenomena of the past and their history, just as only he who has a relation to music can understand a text that deals with music, etc.... If we approach history alive with our own problems, then it really begins to speak to us".
The link between doing such work and being given the mandate to do it is not clearly defined. Katerina Mataira tells from personal experience of the belief that individuals are born to serve certain tasks, such as to be the repositories of family history (McTagget, 1985), while others select themselves by virtue of their interest in their family backgrounds (Bishop, 1996:44). If traditional lines of knowledge transmission fail the mandate may become a self-appointed one of seeking for knowledge wherever it may be found. The information does not then become the property of the individual, but must be shared amongst the tribal group so that all may benefit (Royal, 1992:11).

4.3.2. Iwi histories

O’Connor (1989:40) writes that every culture has the right to its own history, and while every tribe "has its own history" (Rangihau, 1981:174), the right to tell that history is only recently being reclaimed by tribal historians. Ideally, cultures should be studied in terms of their own historical context, since how we formulate or represent the past shapes our understanding and views of the present (Said, 1993:4). For Maori, and particularly for iwi, this means researching and presenting our own accounts of the histories in which our ancestors appear as participants (Royal, 1994:14).

An example occurs in Te Kahui’s private writings (KB:37-69), in which he devotes some thirty manuscript pages to Taranaki’s movements from May 1863 to April 1864, from an initial gathering at Kaitake to the battle of Te Morere, Sentry Hill. This account tells of Taranaki’s struggle to defend their homelands against armed aggression by Imperial forces, and of their returning to the burnt out remains of Kaitake Pa "kia tikina te pungarehu o Kaitake" (to fetch the ashes of Kaitake), where Taranaki blood had been spilt and where, Cowan (1983:1:230) tells us, a "lady" (so-called) drank champagne the day after its capture. This action was tantamount to cannibalism in Maori eyes, and reinforced their own determination to observe the Mosaic law of "an eye for an eye" (Elsmore, 1985:79. The symbolism is complex, and I can do no more than merely indicate it here).

Te Kahui writes as a participant and an eye witness (Smith, 1996:509), and his account makes for compelling reading, being equally valid if not more so than mainstream versions of these events.

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4 This foreshadowed a statement by the Parihaka leader Tohu Kakahi who, when asked what he would do if one of his followers was shot during the ploughing campaigns of the 1870s, said he would "gather up the earth on which the blood was spilt, and bring it to Parihaka" (Hammond MS:23; Smith, 1990:73[74]).
4.3.3. Righting the record

Sir Apirana Ngata (in Ramsden, 1948:98) spoke of the "great deal of inaccurate matter" on record which it was the duty of the descendants of the ancestors to put right. Simmons refers to this as clearing away the Pakeha deadwood (in Ray, 1982:15), but what is the significance of such statements?

I give an example of where faulty interpretation of the historical record has led to the perpetuation of misinformation concerning Te Kahui's father, Minarapa Te Rangihatua, known also as Taapu Minarapa. In an otherwise praiseworthy attempt to honour this Taranaki leader for his involvement in the early history of Wellington, historians have confused him with another Minarapa in Taranaki, the Nga Mahanga leader Kahu Minarapa. This error, in which Taapu Minarapa's identity is subsumed under that of Kahu Minarapa, is now enshrined in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* I (p.357), and on a memorial stone in Wellington's Te Aro Park. In being deprived of his tribal identity Taapu Minarapa has effectively become a non-person, equivalent in status to a slave (so-called), the lowest of beings in tribal society. Confusion may have been evident in Te Kahui's day, for he wrote (AA:27):

Ko tenei tangata, ko Minarapa Te Rangihatua, no Taranaki tuturu ake, kaore ia i uru ki roto ki nga iwi o tenei takiwa, kotahi tonu tona iwi, ko Taranaki mutu tonu. *This man, Minarapa Te Rangihatua, belonged to the 'real' Taranaki tribe, he wasn't part of the other tribes of this district, he had just one tribe and that was Taranaki!*

The key to determining the separate identities of the two men is contained in the Kahui Papers, in "insider" information (Smith, 1996). The worth of such information should never be discounted, nor the ability of "the descendants of [our] ancestors" (Ngata's phrase) to interpret it correctly.

Another point to be addressed in researching Maori topics is the reclaiming of the right of first interpretation in the face of incorrect statements which occur in the literature, and which result from an uncritical acceptance of secondary sources, or from the application of distinctly monocultural or western perspectives to situations which are uniquely Maori. I give two examples from Te Kahui's life, the first of which demonstrates the prevailing European dogma about the rights of women (Salmond, 1991:354), in which their roles were "subtly downplayed or overlooked" (Reilly, 1995:19).

In a letter which Te Kahui wrote to Percy Smith in 1894, he gave an Ara Tamawahine or female line of descent from the cosmic figures Papa and Whatitiri to his own sister Rongotuhiaiata (see my Mihi, p.iv). That letter was translated in 1980 by an
interpreter of the Department of Internal Affairs,\(^5\) who gave as his considered opinion that Smith should have been able to detect "a serious flaw" in the information supplied by Te Kahui; that the latter had either not obtained his information from an authoritative source or else was "having Smith on"; and that the application to his mother's line of the genealogical terms he used was "somewhat inappropriate". In a subsequent letter (27 April 1894), Te Kahui asked that his previous comments be disregarded, and that he would supply the correct information:

Kauaa koe hei titiro moo teenaakua tae atu naa ki a koe, me tatari mai koe ki te mea tika (Broughton, 1984:33).

Don't look at what has been sent you, but wait for the right one.

The inference is that Te Kahui fell short of Pakeha "standards" of honesty. In reality, he doubted his own memory in relation to the information he had provided. "I wareware i a au te whakararangi i enei kuia ki raro iho i a Maikuku-Makaka" (I've forgotten the order of names below Maikuku-Makaka), he wrote privately, the frequent corrections to this list of female ancestors in his manuscript books bearing witness to the fact.

In a more recent case, Wilson (1985:69) refers to Te Kahui as "an old man in Taranaki ... who talked about half-caste Europeans and half-caste negroes as if their number had been legion" (see also Smith, 1910:418). While Wilson was dealing in theoretical abstractions, Te Kahui was speaking from the centre of his social world. His first wife was half Negro, and his second half European.\(^6\) The recorded incident in which he left the one for the other according to accepted Maori practice drew a belittling and inappropriate reference in the international literature to "the adulterous Kahui and his mistress" (Hanson, 1983:154; JPS 28, 1919:97-102). Because of the high regard in which we hold our ancestors - and because they are so well known to us - such comments are unforgivable, and cast doubts on the "expert" nature of what might otherwise be regarded as credible scholarly research.

One safeguard against the "insensitive denigration" of unique aspects of Maori history (Ballara, 1993:21) is the right of first interpretation, referred to above. There is mana in the first interpretation of events (S Swaffield, pers comm, 1995), but it is of a particular kind. It takes into account the difficulties inherent in separating history from the people whose past is being portrayed (Durie, 1998:77), or who are "the living,

\(^5\) Polynesian Society MS Papers 1187, Alexander Turnbull Library, letter dated 2 April 1894.

\(^6\) Te Kahui's second wife, Riria (Lydia), was the daughter of a Pakeha by the name of William Holder, who deserted her mother at an early stage in their relationship (Kahui Papers, passim).
breathing descendants" of academic problems (Ballara, 1993:21). It says that if you want to get at my past you must go through me by quoting my interpretation first, rather than hazarding one of your own without a full knowledge of the facts. It says: "I am the primary proprietor of my past" (O'Regan, 1987b:142); for when you deal with another person's past you deal also with their identity (Mikaere, 1992:3); at once a presumptuous and an unethical thing to do.

4.4. Ethics

Geering (1991:7) explains that the word ethics comes from the Greek ethos, referring to cultural traditions or the acceptable way of doing things; while Inglis (1993:xi) writes that "Everybody agrees that the study of culture is a moral activity; nobody agrees on its proper ethics".

In New Zealand, research into Maori subjects has become a hotly debated topic (see 4.3.1., above), in terms of who should do it and how it should be carried out. An ethical framework based on the code of conduct of the New Zealand Association of Social Anthropologists takes cognisance of Maori views, and covers archival research as well as that involving living human subjects. These latter aspects are of relevance to my work, since I draw my data from the Kahui Papers and must negotiate the use I put them to with their present guardian.

Another dimension is involved, for these texts belong as of right to the descendants of the tupuna who composed them, or for whom they were composed. Because of the way in which this thesis is structured, however, the need to consult with individual "owners" does not become critical until the next stage of development; that is, until I have produced a recognisable body of material and disseminated it to iwi. Quite simply, those owners have not been and cannot be identified until sufficient information is available for them to identify with. The process I have chosen to follow in this thesis, therefore, represents an earlier stage than that at which most research starts, and is similar to the exploratory steps taken by Ngata and Te Hurinui in seeking background information for waiata which later appeared in their four volumes of Nga Moteatea. These two Maori scholars protected the texts they worked with to some extent by publishing them in Maori newspapers, in a climate which was less suspicious of outsiders than is evident today, but more concerned about the implications of revealing tribal intellectual property to other iwi.
Concerns for iwi intellectual property bring their own challenges to academic work, particularly in areas such as verification and transparency of process, which help to ensure academic credibility. I discussed these issues in Chapter Two, but emphasise here that since I am dealing with the intellectual property of others I must take steps to protect it. Legal instruments for the protection of Maori intellectual property are not yet fully developed, although the Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples (1993) states:

... Indigenous Peoples of the world have the right to self-determination; and in exercising that right must be recognized as the exclusive owners of their cultural and intellectual property (discussed in Smith, 1999:118-120).

O'Regan (1997:25) points out that the Mataatua Declaration is not enforceable either in New Zealand or internationally, but that it makes for "an uncompromising starting point" in discussions concerning iwi intellectual property rights.

Another area of concern, as noted earlier in this chapter, relates to the accountability of the researcher and to the responsibility to act wisely in respect of information which may be sensitive or potentially harmful. The temptation to withhold or modify some types of information, and the ethical dilemma it poses, lie at the heart of the debate over whether researchers should work within their own iwi. Rather than modifying knowledge, however, other safeguards may be applied to it, such as restricting access or presenting it in such a way that only those who have been granted or earned the right may benefit fully. One such way in my case would be to follow a recognised procedure for protecting tribal knowledge and write my thesis in Maori, but since many of those I wish to reach are not conversant with te reo that is not an option. Another way is not to translate the texts upon which my research is based (except, of course, for the data I extract from them). This is the option I have chosen to follow here, which I explain in the sections that follow.

4.4.1. Translation concerns
In choosing to work with the texts from the Kahui Papers, my decision to present them in untranslated form arose out of several considerations. The need to protect iwi intellectual property rights has been discussed above, but additional to that are the integrity of the texts themselves, and inappropriate perceptions of the translator as authority figure rather than, simply, as someone who facilitates understanding.
Paul (1994:171) writes that, once a text is translated into English, "the superficial translation is the total picture". My concern is that readers who do not understand Maori (and even some of those who do) might focus on my translations rather than seeking for enlightenment in the texts themselves. Because translation tends to fix the meaning according to the translator's choice of words - from a sometimes large selection of words! - I wanted to preserve the integrity of the texts as the ultimate determinant of what the composers said, rather than having that authority vested in me. Since an awareness of language and tikanga increases the likelihood of greater cultural understanding, the information contained in the texts is more likely to reach those who are culturally prepared to receive it. I discussed this point in Chapter Two, and return to it in 4.5., below.

4.4.2. Textual integrity

My decision to present the texts in untranslated form is not without precedent, although differing reasons are given in the literature for doing so. Thus a translation can obscure the meaning of a text (Garlick, 1998:13), or fail to supply deeper spiritual meanings (Durie, 1998:31). Since thought and language are bound together many terms can only be translated approximately, and present "stark skeletons" of their true inner meanings (Dale, 1931:258, in Ryan, 1972:160). Some translations are given as guides only for texts which are their own authoritative representation (Royal, 1994:29), while some writings are intended expressly to benefit those that understand Maori (Dansey, 1974:xii).

Maori oral literature is best appreciated in its original form, since much of the poetic quality of the work, and the beauty of the language, is lost in translation (Best, in Firth, 1985:29; Karetu, 1981:45). A name may set up resonances which are wholly inaccessible to English-speaking readers (Oppenheim, 1983:247), while those who read the original are in direct contact with Maori self-expression, undistorted by secondary sources (Charlot, 1995:145). Palmer expressed the thought (in Ngata & Te Hurinui, 1959:xii) that "No matter how brilliant the translation, how apt the phrase or vivid the image, the English version is no substitute for the original Maori".

4.5. Maori and Knowledge

Writing in Maori, or the non-translation of Maori texts, can lock meaning away from "the Anglophone reader" (Oppenheim, ibid:254) or be used to both "express and to mask deep feelings from the non-Maori majority" (Butterworth, 1987:523). My decision
to adopt this approach is as much in response to demeaning misrepresentations such as those outlined at 4.3.3., as for more general reasons as given in the literature and surveyed at 4.4.2. This approach effectively brings to academic research the protective mechanisms surrounding traditional knowledge transmission, which render certain types of information unavailable to those who are not prepared to work towards understanding, or to wait for progressively deeper insights to develop as understanding unfolds. At the same time the "intrinsically private" nature of tribal information (Gummer, in Ballara, 1993:18) does not preclude those who are suitably qualified from working with it. Salmond, Ballara, Parsonson, Metge, and Stokes, to name a few, have served the necessary apprenticeship in the Maori world, which insists that knowledge must be earned by those who aspire to it and show they are worthy to hold it (Pewhairangi, in King, 1981:8-10).

Unlike present-day western views which regard knowledge as a universal pool from which all who seek to learn may draw (Dell, 1987:100), knowledge in the Maori world was seen as finite, with a tendency to dissipate amongst those with whom it was shared (Manihera, in King, 1981:8). Because it was part of the giver it was not shared lightly, for when you give of yourself you lose some of your life force (Rangihau, in King, ibid:12). For this reason also there is a strong resistance today to the commercialisation of knowledge, which destroys its intrinsically sacred character; although at one time Maori were willing to accept payment for providing information to Pakeha collectors as they perceived that money was important to Pakeha, and were merely exchanging one item of value for another (Reilly, 1990:55). From my own experience I know that the publication of iwi material - seen as a form of commercialisation - can involve the researcher in unquantifiable expense, as the overriding imperative is to make the information available, regardless of cost or recompense.

4.5.1. Oracy and literacy

A tension exists between traditional forms of knowledge dissemination (e.g., by imparting it to carefully chosen recipients on the marae), and releasing it in written form, often without safeguards, into the public arena. A distinction between oral and written records is that the holder or source of oral information is able to control that information in a way which is not possible with written records (Royal, 1993:5). In researching Maori topics, nevertheless, oral and written records should be coordinated for best results, since holders of oral records are often unaware of what exists in print to supplement their accounts (Soutar, 1996:48), while print sources need the interpretive skills of tribal
specialists to balance a generally eurocentric focus.

Kaumatua remain the most important sources of iwi information, although their role is changing due to factors such as a growing lack of fluency in te reo, a developing unfamiliarity with marae procedures, and a breakdown in tribal structures (Durie, 1998:86). This affects some tribes more than others and some not at all, although older kaumatua can recall the trends that led to such changes. Taranaki kaumatua Billy Mitchell, for instance, tells of being disciplined by his father for speaking Maori at school:

Ko to Maoritanga kei te whatitoka o te whare nei; e haere nei koe ki te kura, ko to matauranga he matauranga mo ake, ake (W Mitchell, pers comm, 21/4/90).

Nor was Maori spoken in front of Pakeha at one time, as much from natural courtesy and self-imposed restraint as from an awareness engendered by the negative reactions of those who did not understand it, that it was somehow "wrong" to do so. Through association with older Maori, and because of the prevailing climate of Pakeha opinion in my formative years, this has become my own attitude: that one should make all clear for non-speakers of Maori, such as not using Maori terms where English equivalents exist. The habit of a lifetime is difficult to break.

With the loss of priceless wisdom, as the number of tribal elders diminishes, Maori are increasingly turning to printed sources for information. However, the authoritative tone of the printed word is generally antithetical to Maori thought, which tends to be suspicious of the emphasis on analytical certainties where Maori themselves would adopt a more flexible approach. Such imprecision may well be characteristic of political argument, as Nash (1990:99) claims, but it is also a characteristic of oral societies where "tomorrow I would tell it another way" (Tawhai, 1996:14. See, too, my differing approaches to the question of Maori feelings for place in Chapters Nine and Ten).

Bergson (1910) states in literature on place that the problem with committing oneself to writing is that "we confuse the feeling itself, which is a perpetual state of becoming, with ... the word which expresses [it]" (in Tuan, 1976:218), since language "cannot clothe it without arresting its flux" (Tuan, ibid).

4.5.2. Information sources

Debate over the relative importance of sources used in Maori research, whether national or international, indigenous or western, oral or written, has led to the articulation of a range of views. Ballara wrote her book *Iwi* (1998) primarily from documents which "let Maori voices predominate" (ibid:51), while Smith used "a dual framework - the
whakapapa of Maori knowledge and European epistemology" (Walker, in Smith, 1999). O'Regan (1992:26) considers that a comparative study of other cultures can help us understand the shaping of Maori tradition, while Mead (1983:333), who based a framework for discussing Maori studies upon an article in a Canadian ethnic studies journal, states: "The world of ideas has always been open to us and we must travel that world and learn from it" (ibid:345). Irwin (1988:32) writes of participation in the international academic community, while Mikaere (1992:2) refers to "traffic at the inter-tribal, inter-racial and ... international crossroads".

Sources that place a researcher's work in a wider context provide useful theoretical underpinnings, although such sources should be assessed according to whether they provide a balanced perspective on controversial subjects. This should rule out politically motivated writings, although many Maori are, by the very nature of their concerns, so motivated. Pere and Royal are two whose work in indigenising historical writings in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi "highlights the radical and political nature of what these historians are attempting to do" (Reilly, 1995:20). Nevertheless, Dewes (1981:61) looked for bilingual Maori scholars to write New Zealand's history from a Maori point of view, and many are now doing just that.

4.5.3. University or marae?

In fulfilling the requirements of universities, many Maori academics experience a double pull (Pohatu, 1988:80) or dual accountability (Durie, 1995:7, Irwin, 1994:25), in terms of combining the "hard, grinding business" of developing a disciplined Maori scholarship (O'Regan, 1992:21) with the imperative of addressing the needs of their Maori communities.

For those who are "removed some considerable distance from the tribal headquarters", as Mead (1983:340) expresses it, the challenge becomes one of deciding how best to contribute to iwi development. I recognise that my situation is a relatively privileged one of having access to knowledge sources which are not readily available to other members of my family. This has motivated me to share the results of whanau and hapu research with those who have a right to it; namely, the descendants of those who shaped iwi history in Taranaki and contributed to our being. I have had sufficient contact with some of the more widely dispersed members of my whanau to know that a hunger exists for such knowledge, although it has presented me with ethical questions in respect of others. Do those (mostly unidentified) others already have such information? Would
they recognise it in the form in which I presented it? Would they want it, or want others to have access to it? Would they, in the case of the present work, be able to gain access to it through the medium of a doctoral thesis, the product of an essentially "internationalist" learning institution? (Vasil, 1988:37).

In determining the answers to such questions I have been guided more by the work of Maori academics such as Reedy (1993) and Royal (1994), rather than by iwi historians of the calibre of Steedman (1996), whose work highlights the difference between scholastic rigour and enthusiastic non-professionalism. Steedman notes, for instance, his limited education and inability to speak Maori, but feels the need to record what information he has, however flawed, in order to bring out "the truth" through active debate. An alternative view is put forward by Soutar (1996:55), who suggests that the writing of one's tribal history would be facilitated by attending a higher institution of learning in search of the appropriate training. In similar vein, Oppenheim (1983:247) sees a need for Maori with "scholarly and literary competence in both languages" who can work with texts from a particular tribal area, while Charlot (1995:144) hopes that debate over the right to publish Maori material will be resolved as more Maori are "inspired and trained to assume the task". Royal's book, *Kati Au i Konei* (1994), produced under the auspices and direction of his iwi of Ngati Toa and Ngati Raukawa, is one such publication. Another is the work done by Reedy (1993), who urges the holders of iwi records to make them available to other tribal members so they may have access to "authentic accounts of their own traditions, as recorded by their own writers" (ibid:10). Reedy further encourages Maori scholars to publish family manuscripts so that other members of the family may benefit as our tupuna intended.

At the same time as considering iwi needs, I am challenged to meet other goals, which I see as a series of expectations on the part of others. These are that, as an academic, I am expected to seek higher qualifications. As a Maori academic I am expected - as noted - to benefit the Maori community through my work. As a Maori woman academic I am expected to add my achievements to those of other Maori women academics in order to address the gender imbalance that exists within universities. As a mature Maori woman academic I find it necessary to work some of these expectations together in order to achieve others. That is why I have chosen to combine in this thesis the differing approaches of iwi and academic research, of marae and university; the one requiring analytic skills, the other more intuitive - though still disciplined - thought processes.
4.6. Future Directions

References in Maori writings to te wahi ngaro, the "lost portion" of Maori heritage (e.g., Mead, 1983:346), focus on the knowledge that has been lost over time to the Pakeha world. This knowledge is referred to as a taonga in Article II of the Maori version of the Treaty. However, few writers make reference to that other class of taonga: the generations who have drifted away from iwi connections into a kind of urban anonymity, and who have accustomed themselves to functioning as individuals rather than as part of a day-by-day working collective. Not all Maori have experienced the close family relationships of a marae centred childhood, nor have all tribal communities been able to sustain an unquestioned and continuing leadership for those who do go back.

The loss of leadership in my own hapu was accelerated by hostilities in Taranaki in 1860, according to a military communication which reported that Puketoretore (as Ngati Haupoto were then known) "[had] lost since the rebellion their principal chiefs". As a result of such loss many members of my whanau and hapu no longer have access to traditional sources of knowledge and inspiration, and I have tailored my approach in this thesis to suit their particular circumstances.

At the same time I recognise my responsibility to safeguard the knowledge presented here, and to disseminate it through family and tribal networks at the conclusion of this work. Ideally that will begin the "real" work in which, by research and consensus, the owners of the texts on which this thesis is based will decide on the definitive version of those texts. For this to happen, individual whanau must be able to identify "their" texts from clues contained in the texts and in the headnotes to the texts, such as place and ancestor names and background history. At that point the material becomes theirs to do with as they wish, and my self-appointed mandate comes to an end. If I can contribute further I will do so, but that is not my overriding concern. What is important is that these taonga should find a home, and that the right of first interpretation be given back to those to whom it belongs: the descendants of the tupuna whose creativity brought these writings, as they are now, into being. This is not high-minded altruism on my part but a clear sighted recognition that, since so much has been lost, what remains is doubly precious. It is one way of contributing to the continuation of individual and tribal identity in Taranaki, and of restoring a fraction of the "lost portion", te wahi ngaro, of our cultural heritage.

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7 Maori Affairs MA 1/1 Vol.2, 60/121, National Archives (Carrington to McLean, letter dated 13 September 1860).
4.7. Summary and Conclusions

Considerations which must be taken into account when researching Maori topics include the researcher's role as facilitator rather than authority figure, and the expectation that s/he will present his/her "research credentials" to the Maori community so the appropriate level of authority may attach to the research findings. Researcher accountability and the ethical nature of iwi research are matters that must also be addressed.

The right of first interpretation is a theme which permeates this chapter, based on negative experiences of research findings which misrepresented ancestors and past events, and which are perpetuated through the uncritical acceptance of the veracity of printed works. A concomitant theme is the trend towards reserving tribal and family information for tribal representatives, to prevent the occurrence of further "myths" of perception and interpretation on the part of the unqualified and culturally unenlightened.

In the chapter that follows I survey the Kahui Papers and their principal author, my tupuna Te Kahui Kararehe, as a preliminary to discussing the nature of waiata and the appropriateness of such texts as source material in the determination of feelings for place in my area of study.
CHAPTER FIVE: THE KAHUI PAPERS

5.0. Introduction

An extensive collection of Taranaki material was recorded from the early 1890s until 1904 by my great-grandfather, Te Kahui Kararehe of Rahotu (central Taranaki), and by others of his family until 1920 or so. This material is held privately, and I am privileged in having been granted access to the collection which I refer to throughout this thesis as the Kahui Papers. Some of the songs in these Papers are in the public domain in archival holdings such as those indicated in Chapter Six. Many others recorded by Te Kahui and his younger brother Taurua Minarapa, whose manuscript books are also in the collection, are clearly local and apparently found nowhere else.

Given my family connections it is not surprising that I should have chosen to work with these Papers, and that I made this decision before deciding on a research topic. My use of this material is subject to certain restrictions, which are subsumed under the right of my family and hapu to decide for themselves what should be done with their cultural and intellectual property. A point to note is that the Kahui Papers are by no means a clearly defined corpus of material, as no referencing has been done apart from what I have carried out for my own purposes. Nor does the present work constitute a complete exploration of the material contained in the Papers, or of the waiata texts themselves. It is simply a means of addressing the research question while making the existence of the waiata known to those who may wish to connect with individual texts and with further work that may arise out of the current study.

To understand Te Kahui's historical and social background and motivations a biographical sketch follows, which looks briefly at his tribal identity and political and educational interests. Throughout this chapter I draw without comment upon a masters research paper I completed in 1989 on Ngati Haupoto hapu. Other sources such as A. Smith (1993) are suitably referenced.

5.0.1. Te Kahui: a biographical sketch

Te Kahui's tribal affiliation is given incorrectly by McRae (1991:19) as Te Ati Awa, and by Percy Smith (on one occasion at least) as Ngati Ruanui. He was, in fact, half Ngati Ruanui through his mother, Ripeka Marere Awhituri of Ohangai, but saw himself as Taranaki through and through with respect to the land and the people ("ahu iho ki te whenua, ahu iho ki tenei iwi ki Taranaki") (Smith, f.163a:322). His words, as translated by Smith, were that he was not a half-caste from other tribes but the "tuturu" of Mount
Taranaki; that is, he came from and belonged to the mountain.

Te Kahui met Percy Smith in southern Taranaki in 1868, and assisted him with roading works there in the aftermath of the war. In 1874 Te Kahui and his Ngati Haupoto hapu moved back around the central Taranaki coastline to Rahotu, where he began thirty years of service to his re-established community. In the 1870s he acted as kaituhituhi (recorder) of the monthly speeches of the Parihaka leaders Te Whiti and Tohu (Broughton, 1984:152), and on 4 September 1880 was arrested as a Parihaka fencer under the West Coast Settlement (North Island) Act, three days after it came into force. This Act, which became law on 1 September 1880, contained penalty clauses which permitted the arrest without warrant of anyone guilty (or "reasonably ... suspected") of ploughing, fencing and the like, coupled with imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for up to two years. The Waitangi Tribunal (1996:229-30) writes that the passage of this and related legislation:

... being in several important respects contrary to the normal standards of law, is indicative not of the times, in our opinion, for those outside New Zealand could view these laws with abhorrence, but of the state that Parliament had got into.... The House could receive with relative equanimity the Native Minister's assertions that the Magna Carta and habeus corpus were "mere legal technicalities", "mere form[s] of English law" for lawyers, not statesmen, to fall back on....

... others felt satisfied that the Bill suspending trials indefinitely should state that such was necessary for the peace of the country and that by having said so it would then be legally true....

... When there were doubts about whether the constabulary had the power to effect arrests, they were instructed plainly, "you take the men and the government will find the law"....

I quote the Tribunal's findings at length because they give a clear indication of the hopelessness of the Taranaki situation under such legislation, and because my tupuna was directly affected (he writes of being sent to "Potikupa" - Port Cooper or Lyttelton - in his manuscript book E:70).

Released at the government's pleasure in January 1881, Te Kahui turned his attention to getting the people back on to the land by providing the land court with lists of names of the various hapu. As he wrote in 1882:

Mei kore au hei tuhi i nga ingoa e kore e kite whenua e kore e kite moni (AA:17,32).
If I hadn't collected and written their names they wouldn't have had any lands, nor would they have had any money.

In the 1890s he waged an unavailing campaign against draconian leasing restrictions imposed by the West Coast Native Reserves Act 1892 and similar Acts, which did not
provide adequate returns by way of rents, nor allow Maori the freedom to decide how their lands should be managed. An undated letter he wrote concerning his efforts to lease part of his land reads, in part:

Heoi taku kupu tuturu: Kaore he hoko tahae, 'e hoko whakariterite, kaore 'e hoko muru tahae, 'e hoko whakapatipati e iri ki runga ki tekiona 118 - 75 eka o poraka 1, Opunake - ka herea mai au mo roto i nga tau maha, tomo atu ki roto ki te kotahi miriona tau (E:150).

This is my considered opinion: What a thieving deal, a manipulative deal! What a plundering thieving deal, a deceitful deal over Section 118 (75 acres of Block 1, Opunake) which binds me throughout the years ahead, right up until a million years from now!

Although Te Kahui stood for Parliament in the 1890s his principal focus in this decade was on educational matters. From the mid-1880s until his death in 1904 he corresponded extensively with Percy Smith as one of those who contributed to "the public face of Maori academia" in the nineteenth century (Ballara, 1993:17). Percy Smith refers to him as "a very well informed man" (1910:505), and includes him amongst the Maori authorities from whom he obtained information for his monumental work, History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast.¹

During the 50th Jubilee celebrations of the Rahotu school in 1934, Te Kahui was praised for being "greatly interested in the education of his people" (Taranaki Herald, 11/7/34). The school, which opened in 1884, was built on land granted by Te Kahui on behalf of Ngati Haupoto, so their children might:

... hopu i te matauranga hei painga mo ratou ... kia noho ai i nga nohoanga rangatira, kia matau ai ki nga mahi rangatira, kia kite ai i nga kanohi i nga korero nunui o te ao ... kia kite ai i nga mahi papai o te ao e puta mai ai he ora, kia kite ai i nga huarahi o nga ture maha o nga koroni, kia kite ai i nga ture kino, i nga huarahi kino, e kaha ai te upoko ki te kimi i te ora (AB:81-84).

... seize knowledge so it might be well for them ... so they might dwell in chiefly places and know of chiefly works; so their eyes might see the world's great stories ... so they might see the world's good works from which benefits flow; so they might discover pathways to the many laws of the colony; so they might learn of bad laws and bad pathways; so their minds might be strong in seeking for goodness.

By 1903, however, Te Kahui was advocating separate schooling for Maori and Pakeha pupils because of the disruptive attitudes of the latter:

¹ Others whom Smith acknowledges as his "fellow-workers" (1910:dedication) include Watene-Taungatara and Rangipito, as well as W.H. Skinner, Elsdon Best and Alexander Shand. Smith's book was also based upon unpublished volumes of John White's Ancient History of the Maori (Sorrenson, 1992:35).
... kia whakaturia tetahi whare kura motuhake mo nga tamariki Maori o Ngatihaupoto hapu me [e]ra tamariki atu hoki o etahi hapu o tenei iwi o Taranaki ... Kaore au e pai ki te tamaiti Pakeha kia tutu kia mahi kino i roto i te kura Maori (ibid).

... to build a separate school for the Maori children of Ngati Haupoto and other children also of other hapu of this tribe of Taranaki ... I do not like Pakeha children kicking up and misbehaving in Maori schools.

The implication is that the benefits the Maori children would derive from education were too important to be jeopardised by the inconsiderate actions of their Pakeha school-mates.

5.0.2. Knowledge acquisition

Those from whom Te Kahui gained his considerable knowledge included his father Taapu Minarapa and fourteen other named kaumatua, both male and female:

Ko ahau te tamaiti i tino akona nuitia e oku tupuna, e oku matua, e oku kuia ... i tahuna te ahi turama moku (HF:6).
I was the child who was thoroughly taught by those in the generations of my grandfathers, my uncles [and] my grandmothers ... who lit the glowing fire for me.

The knowledge they taught him included, amongst much else:

... nga karakia mo nga tuahu, mo nga manea, wahi tapu ... nga korero mo nga maunga e tu mai nei, me nga korero mo nga pa, mo nga mataawaawa, o nga hapu o tenei iwi o Taranaki (ibid).
... incantations for sacred shrines and other types of sacred places ... stories about the mountain standing here, and about the fortifications, the high points of river valleys, of the hapu of this tribe of Taranaki.

According to Biggs (1960:8), sources later than about 1860 cannot contain first hand recollections of the indigenous culture, although they "may have their own value". Nevertheless, Taranaki's first encounter with Europeans - for those who had not been taken north as captives or gone south to trade - occurred relatively late in New Zealand's colonial history, when the barque Harriet was wrecked in 1834 on the coast near where the village of Rahotu now stands. Those in the same generation as Te Kahui's father, who had been taken north as a captive to Hokianga, would have been young adults at the time.

Te Kahui himself, who fought in the Taranaki wars of the 1860s at the age of eighteen, would have been ideally placed (and suitably seasoned) to carry the knowledge imparted to him by his elders across the traumatic divide of the next two decades until it was recorded in the 1890s.

Te Kahui, who was possibly tutored by his father Taapu Minarapa in a knowledge of the scriptures in his youth (Smith, 1996:509), may have gained other information in later life from the writings of Sir George Grey, and from publications of the Polynesian
Society which Smith and fellow enthusiasts founded in 1892. Snatches of karakia, the names of canoes and similar fragments contained in the Kahui Papers have apparently been copied from Grey's *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna*, which first appeared in 1854 in the original Maori edition, and from his *Ko Nga Moteatea me Nga Hakirara o Nga Maori*, published in 1853. Some waiata texts may have been copied from the *Journals of the Polynesian Society* (e.g., Songs 4, 21, 30), although these are more likely to have come from similar sources to those of Pakeha collectors, such as other interested Maori (including the composers themselves), Maori Land Court records, Maori newspapers, and the like. Waiata which appear in the first three volumes of Ngata and Te Hurinui's *Nga Moteatea* also drew on such sources, and are largely contemporaneous with the texts in the Kahui Papers.

Although it is not immediately apparent where Te Kahui's waiata texts came from, the question of why he and Taurua collected them requires an explanation. Were they, in fact, natural collectors, or were they motivated by the example of Pakeha such as Percy Smith, Skinner, and others? In order to address this question I return to the subject of formulaic phrases, the building blocks of waiata (see 2.7.2.). From the work done on the song texts presented in this thesis it becomes apparent that some of the unsourced waiata may have been composed by Te Kahui or Taurua themselves (e.g., Songs 26 and 34). Some waiata were collected from other tribal regions for no apparent reason (e.g., Songs 21 and 66, from Tuhoe and Waikato respectively). This raises the further question of whether they collected such texts to use as raw material for future compositions: a possibility I was alerted to by coming across a waiata in *JPS* 8 (1899:155), which contains the distinctive phrase "tangi amuamu". This is the opening phrase in a waiata in the Kahui Papers which I have reserved for the time being as it displays elements that need to be studied further. My impression is that Te Kahui and Taurua, as composers in their own right, collected some of their waiata for the purpose of creating others, not to save them from loss as Pakeha collectors were doing. In Te Kahui's case at least (since Taurua was apparently not married), this demonstrates a degree of faith in the continuity of their whakapapa lines that runs counter to the then-current "dying Maori" myth (see 5.1., below), and suggests that they wrote as much for the sake of writing as for more deeply-seated reasons.
5.0.3. Knowledge dissemination

Te Kahui contributed two articles to the *Journals of the Polynesian Society* in 1893 (JPS 2) and 1898 (JPS 7) respectively, concerning the Kurahaupo Canoe (referred to in Songs 6, 36, 51 and 57); and Te Tatau-o-te-Po (The Door of Night or of the Underworld, referred to, together with the ancestral names Ihenga and Rongomai, in Songs 10, 19, 41, 52 and 57). As noted above Te Kahui also contributed significant amounts of information to Percy Smith, which the latter published as a monograph in 1910 and as numerous articles in the *Polynesian Society Journals* both before and after that date.

The practice of giving information to Pakeha collectors continued until well into the twentieth century. Te Kahui's brother Taurua spoke to Smith (1920) about local efforts to recover buried mauri or sacred stones, and to Best (1927a) about other carved rocks (mauri kohatu or petroglyphs) in the area. In 1933 an Opunake settler, E. Maxwell, wrote of "a very old high-class Maori, who ... gave me much interesting information". Maxwell was unable to recollect the name of his informant, whom he met in the 1880s "near where Rahotu [i.e., Te Kahui's home] is", and whom he described as "a rather small man with ... rather finer-cut features than the general type". This may have been one of the Kahui brothers who, to continue Maxwell’s account (1933:98), was born subsequent to the northern musket raids into Taranaki in 1826. These raids, according to family sources, resulted in large numbers of Taranaki people being "driven away like herds (kahui) of animals (kararehe)". Born twenty years after the event, Te Kahui Kararehe was so named because his father was "driven away" with other captives to Waikato and Hokianga (see Song 40, and headnotes to Song 28). As noted in 4.3.3., captives taken in battle effectively became non-persons by losing their mana-tapu to tribal enemies. However, Taapu Minarapa gained a different type of mana in the following decades by becoming a lay preacher in Hokianga, and carrying the message of the gospel to his people in Wellington before they returned to Taranaki in the 1840s.

In view of the emphasis on iwi intellectual property rights today (see 4.4.), the question is why Te Kahui and his family imparted knowledge so freely. O'Regan

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2 Maori took several names during their lifetime (Smith, 1892:395-96; Taylor, 1855:156 fwd), the first of which often derived from an event that happened at the time of their birth (Williams, 1912:357-58). The reason why Te Kahui was named so long after his father's captivity is that Taapu Minarapa did not return from Hokianga for fourteen years, and spent several years in Wellington before returning to Taranaki, marrying, and bringing up a family. See also headnotes to Song 17 for the name Poukohatu which Te Kahui took in later life as a sign of mourning for the deaths of several of his children.
(1987b:143) suggests that Maori elders in the past were culturally confident in giving their knowledge to others, especially as inquiring Pakeha continued to seek them out. Two things have happened since then: first, that this knowledge in written form has become "the source", replacing those who held it; and second, that many elders ceased to pass on their knowledge according to customary practice. The hiatus that resulted was a two-way affair involving not only older Maori but the generations that followed, confused in their own ways by conflicts between Pakeha claims of modernity and superior practices, and their own strong beliefs in Maori chains of continuity with the past.

In the case of Te Kahui's family, the confidence engendered by his own quality and style of leadership, and his unquestioned authority to speak of the matters he imparted to others, continued until his generation had died out, leaving the next generation untested by the kinds of character-moulding experiences he had gone through in gaining and preserving his knowledge in an adverse social climate. Te Kahui may have realised this, and recorded his knowledge for a time when a new generation would arise who had the mental and emotional tools to use it in presenting Taranaki's case to the world.

5.1. Literacy and Recording

An "extraordinary" outpouring of Maori manuscript writings in the second half of the nineteenth century followed the enthusiastic adoption of literacy, which had accompanied Christian teachings in the 1830s (O'Regan, 1992:25; Biggs, 1968:73; Parr, 1963:211). Reasons for the adoption of writing by Maori included its initial novelty, the belief that this form of communication would bestow upon them the same benefits that Pakeha enjoyed, and the desire to acquire information for themselves rather than having to rely on Pakeha to inform them. An important reason for writing from the 1860s onwards was the need to record genealogies in support of land claims (Jackson, 1975:39). As well, Maori became great letter writers in the later nineteenth century, sending hundreds of letters and petitions to government officials in protest over land confiscations and leasing restrictions.

A further and more subjective reason for recording was to instruct future generations about the parameters within which the Maori people lived, as the processes of oral transmission that had been followed in the past broke down due to wars, epidemic diseases and the uncertain social climate of the new settler order. The "dying Maori" myth, which assumed that the Maori race would fade away in the face of a superior culture, dominated to the mid-1880s and remained strong until the 1900s (Belich,
1997:12). In Taranaki, epidemic diseases in the late 1880s killed hundreds, amongst them several of Te Kahui's children and many other people known to him (see Songs 25, 60 and 75). His reasons for recording may have been coloured by these events (see also 5.0.2.), and by the belief that committing his knowledge to writing was a sure way of preserving it in a world that had passed beyond Maori control.

5.1.1. Whakapapa books

Many families today possess manuscript books written by their tupuna, containing knowledge such as whakapapa and histories, myths, legends and traditions, songs, karakia and proverbs, all of which have been committed to writing since the 1890s. Geertz's description (1973:10) of manuscripts as "foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies [and] suspicious emendations" captures some of the essence of these books, which are deteriorating with time and in danger of being lost or destroyed (Biggs, in Ngata & Te Hurinui, 1961:v). McRae (1991:9) considers that private manuscripts comprise the largest single body of writings in Maori, although it is impossible to estimate their number.

Many books have, over the years, been destroyed accidentally or deliberately, either through ignorance of their true value or because they were regarded as tapu and therefore harmful (Biggs, 1964:25). Some have been buried with the bodies of those who wrote them, a practice which Dewes (1981:54) opposes in the interests of building up a literary capital of Maori material for further study. Sir Apirana Ngata, whose extensive collection of waiata has contributed significantly to that corpus of material, wrote (in Stirling & Salmond, 1980:251):

The time has long passed, when the heirlooms and treasures of Maori culture can be hidden in the memories of a fond few or in laboriously compiled manuscripts dedicated to descendants .... They can be forgotten, my friend, and lost. And they should not be lost. So you and I and others should have them kept, as the Pakeha keeps his records and knowledge, in print on bookshelves, that those who care may read and learn.

In the context of comments such as these I turn to an examination of the physical condition and contents of the Kahui Papers.

5.2. Description of the Kahui Papers

As at 22 January 1998, the Kahui collection of hand-written manuscript books comprised some 37 exercise books and ledgers of varying sizes, containing from approximately thirty to over one hundred pages each of manuscript material. In working with these books I coded them for reference purposes in descending order of size, with those bearing the same first letter of the alphabet being of approximately the same size,
thickness and type, thus:


Because the material in these books was recorded continuously over a period of several decades, from the early 1890s to around 1920, dating of many of the texts is practically impossible. Several different styles of handwriting are evident, although writer identification is difficult apart from Te Kahui and Taurua and one other, all of whom signed and dated their work upon starting a new book. That other, Te Kahui’s daughter-in-law, received a book in the late 1930s (Book GA), which she labelled: "Ko tenei pukapuka na W.H. Skinner i homai kia ahau hei tuhituhinga i nga korero tupuna" (This book was given to me by W.H. Skinner for writing stories in about our ancestors). The book remained blank. The time for giving had obviously passed.

5.2.1. Content of the Papers

The Kahui Papers contain a wealth of tribal and family detail, including history in the form of inter-iwi battles and land wars, founding ancestors and contemporary figures, and involvement in the Pai Marire, Parihaka and later Ratana religious movements. Much of this historical material balances the Pakeha record by giving an iwi perspective of events of the times. Some of the considerable amounts of whakapapa contained in the Papers may have come from records of the Land Courts, of which Te Kahui was an assessor from June 1885, but most of it was taught to Te Kahui by his kaumatua, or added to over the years from his own knowledge. The Papers also focus on significant names, such as those of female ancestors (Rahirimihia, Te Kiri Kakara, Ueroa, etc.), male ancestors (Kahukuramakuru, Tuwhakairikawa, Ihenga, Rongomai, etc.), placenames (tribal boundaries, cultivations, pa sites, etc), as well as on mythologies and karakia, birth and death dates, and much else. Not every part is self-contained, but may be explained or continued on another page or in another book, which makes for a degree of uncertainty in deciding whether I have discovered the full facts within these writings on any topic of study.

The most complete body of material is a collection of over eighty waiata, scattered in random fashion throughout the books. Taurua Minarapa gives a waiata index of around one hundred songs (Book F:61-68), of which the first page reads, in part:

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3 Many of these place names are now largely forgotten, or have been replaced by Pakeha names. The Kahui Papers therefore have the potential to reinstate knowledge and restore iwi identity.
He Kape mo nga Waiata e mohio ana

1.* Tenei au e tama te mahara nei
2.* tenei ka noho ka mahara e
3.* tenei nga mahau e miro ai au i hona takiri
4. tenei te toto punawerewere ko ngaru tu
5. tenei ka noho komaingo no’ ana e roto ia hau
6. tenei te ai te mawhiti nei e taurawa mai
7. tenei umanui te takoto ake nei
8.* tenei ka noho ka hewa 'no ra
9.* tenei ka noho i te whare hurimate
10.* tenei ka noho wiriwiri kau ana
11.* tenei ka noho i te pouritanga
12. tenei ka noho i tooku kainga i te tio a te huka
13. tenei ka noho i te ra o matiti kei runga
14.* tenei ka noho i tooku kainga i titipouna

Of these waiata, only those marked with an asterisk are present in the Papers I have studied. That is, this list may be more an indication of songs that were known to the Kahui family than a list of those they recorded.

The waiata may be grouped under several different headings. Some were composed by family members (e.g., Songs 19, 25, 41, 69), or were by or about well known Taranaki leaders such as Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake of Te Ati Awa, and Te Whetu Moeahu of Parihaka. Thus Song 41, written by Te Kahui for Te Whetu, could be included under either heading. Some waiata may be attributed to other Taranaki hapu, such as Nga Mahanga (e.g., Songs 7, 27, 47, 57). Most of the waiata come from within Taranaki itself, with some from its northern and southern neighbours, Te Ati Awa and Ngati Ruanui. A few can be sourced to places beyond Taranaki, suggesting that there may not have been the same reservations about borrowing from other tribal areas as is evident today.

Some of the waiata were the work of early composers such as Te Koriri and Te Ikaherengutu. Te Hurinui surmises that at least one of the waiata in Nga Moteatea was the work of the early Ngati Ruanui composer Turaukawa, who was born about 1750 (Smith, 1910:233), and who died at Otaki in 1834 (ibid:517). A copy of that waiata occurs in the Kahui Papers (Song 24), and is there attributed to Te Rangiwhatumata. An additional benefit of making the songs available, then, might be to confirm or amend the background details of waiata in Nga Moteatea which were contributed by informants such as the Taranaki personality Te Taite Te Tomo, and the Ngapuhi writer-historian Hare Hongi, who lived from 1859-1944 (Scanlan, 1961:145). As Te Hurinui wrote concerning the song he attributed to Turaukawa (Ngata & Te Hurinui, 1970:247):
A time will come for assembling these songs, when it will be possible to make comparisons, to examine the general pattern of composition, the poetic spirit of the composers, and the language used.

Biggs (1964:47) states that "none of the song types ... are still composed", although this is apparently not so in Taranaki where people still look at the sky, the sea, the land and the waters, and create their own expressions as our tupuna did before us (M Karena, pers comm, 10/6/96). Examples of twentieth century waiata compositions include the following from Taranaki kaumatua Billy Mitchell, which goes, in part:

Kua rite au ki te rau ʻrekau  
E tere nei i te waipuke [o] Okahu  
I [a] au e w'akarongo nei ki te ia o Makutikuti  
Ka kapokapo au i nga rau o te tutu...  
*I am like a raurekau leaf that is swept along*  
*By the flooded waters of Okahu*  
*As I listen to the rushing current of Makutikuti*  
*I clutch at the leaves of the tutu.*  
(transl. mine).

This waiata, composed on the death of a Parihaka kaumatua in 1960, is no less traditional than those recorded in Taranaki a century ago, and confirms that a vigorous compositional style continues as an undercurrent to more modern forms of expression.

### 5.3. Transitional Elements

*Language is like some kind of infinitely inter-fertile family of species spreading or mysteriously declining over time, shamelessly and endlessly hybridizing, changing its own rules as it goes* (Snyder, 1992:24).

As well as borrowing songs from other tribal areas, Maori borrowed selectively from languages with which they came in contact (Smith, 1974:4). These borrowings are also referred to as transliterations, loan words, or "gain words" (Duval, 1995). Writers have suggested that Maori used loan words as slang (Ryan, 1972:158); as poetic licence, to get a composition to scan better (Karetu, 1981:41); or for novel or "witty" effect, to give an air of education or sophistication (Orbell, 1991:83). The value placed upon such words may help to explain why they were often used in place of already-existent Maori words; a

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4 Bauer (1995:19) considers that "borrowing" is an inappropriate term to use since "nothing leaves the source language, and nothing will ever be returned to the source by the borrower". Such words are "imitations", in which the sound of the source word is adapted to that of the imitating language (ibid).

5 Harlow (1998:75) prefers "loan" to "transliteration" which, he points out, is "the process of transcribing a word from one writing system to another" (e.g., Greek script to English).
practice which Pakeha did not always understand or appreciate. When Wiremu Kingi refused to countenance the sale of Waitara in the tense months before the start of the Taranaki war in 1860 (see 1.3.), he used the phrase "peti ruma" to describe this ancestral block of land. Pakeha who discussed his use of the word saw it as "a corruption of the English word bedroom and devoid therefore of the remotest connexion with any Native tradition or sentiment (AJHR 1861, E-1, pp.16-17, emphasis mine). On the contrary he used a word from the lexicon of those with whom he communicated, so there would be no misunderstanding.

Other statements by Pakeha writers, that the Maori language is defective (Wade, 1842:102), inadequate (Keesing, 1928:62), or limited (Ryan, 1972:162), are disputed by Dewes (1981:47), who maintains that Maori is as capable as any other of creating new words for new objects and ideas. As Sir Apirana Ngata observed (in Ramsden, 1948:99), it was possible to express in "correspondingly good Maori" all but those things that had no counterpart in "the old Maori regime",

The expressive meanings of many loan words taken from English are very often different in Maori from those of their English counterparts, while many English words have changed their meanings since earliest European settlement in this country. Johansen (1954:270-72) advises that loan words should be approached with caution, for while they may introduce a new thought, which would make them of little worth in the present study, they may simply introduce a new meaning as an extension, perhaps, to a traditional thought. He offers as an example a reference to European trade goods such as guns, which "do not change the picture as long as the Maori thinks them into his old thoughts about honour [and] vengeance" (ibid:270). But if the texts reveal new thoughts about fundamental concerns they lose their value as indicators of traditional ways of thinking.

An example of the use of a loan word to express a traditional thought is found in Song 43, composed by the Taranaki woman poet Hurungarangi. In this waiata Hurungarangi incites her tribe to battle by urging them to "stand for New Zealand, and gain the victory" (Kia tu atu koe mo Niu Tīreni, kia mau te papa i a koe) (Smith, 1993:30-31). The reference to New Zealand can be understood if it is borne in mind that at the time this waiata was written, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, Maori were still referred to as New Zealanders by the predominantly European-born population (Sinclair, 1991:38). By applying this concept to her people Hurungarangi legitimated them as the rightful occupiers of the soil, and relegated their enemies to non-persons who belonged somewhere other than in their traditional homeland.
Some loan words may be "a pointed criticism of our [sic] slovenly methods of pronunciation" (Williams, 1912:354), and the cause of much scholarly puzzlement (Smith, 1892:411), although their derivations may be arrived at by a process of vowel and consonant substitution. An example of this kind of borrowing, which Williams (1971:xxx) refers to as "barbarous" and which exemplifies the kind of light-hearted approach that Maori delighted in, is found in a haka or pao attributed to the Taranaki composer Ngauruhina (AA:46):

Ka mihia koe e au ki te mihi Ingarihi:
"Kunaiti" te po, "morena" te ata ...
I will greet you with English greetings:
"Goodnight" at night and "good morning" at dawn.

Not all borrowings were light-hearted though. Te Kahui used them (underlined in the text below), to make a point about the need for separate education for Maori children (see 5.0.1.):

Ko nga tamariki Maori e whakatoitoi ana kia ratou i roto i to ratou ia Ari o to ratou whare kura, kaore he ritenga, ko ratou Maori ano. Ko nga tamariki Pakeha e uru mai ana ki te kura Maori, ko te tamaiti Pakeha e paiti ana ki nga tamariki Maori, ki te toru hona paaitanga, me whiu atu ia ki waho o te kura Maori.

For the Maori children who tease each other in the school yard, there's no need for a ruling, they're all Maori together. As for the Pakeha children who enter a Maori school, those that fight with the Maori children, on the third such occasion of fighting they should be expelled.

As with Te Rangitake's use of the word "bedroom" (above), Te Kahui wanted to make his point strongly, and he did this by using the language of those to whom he communicated that point; in itself, an act of courtesy that went unappreciated.

5.4. Language and Meaning in the Texts

Dewes (1981:60) defines Maori in terms of their language, which is "comprehensible amongst themselves throughout the country" despite some regional or tribal differences. Te Kahui gave an example of this when he explained in a letter to Percy Smith in 1893 (Broughton, 1984:13), that an expression of surprise in Taranaki ("hoa") was rendered "hau" by Ngati Ruanui, "hie" by Ngati Awa [sic - Te Ati Awa], and "hue" by Wanganui [or Whanganui]. This suggests that a recognisable variation in sounds existed within Taranaki in a comparatively small geographic area.

Te Kahui occasionally used words such as mohoku and nahaku, although these are not regarded as a Taranaki speciality since they are found also on the East Coast of the North Island. A feature which distinguishes the two tribal areas, however, is Taranaki's
use of the vowel "u" where eastern tribes use "i", e.g., tupuna, tipuna (Harlow MS, 1998, in Salmond, 1991:355). Another feature is the use of "o" where other tribes use "a" (Smith, 1904:201), e.g., Kurahoupo for Kurahaupo, and mounga for maunga. Te Hurinui's statement that it is "poetic license" which has rendered maunga as mounga is therefore incorrect (NM 300, note 83), as is his claim (NM 298, note 22) that haunga was "wrongly recorded" as hounga in Smith (1910:414). Dialectal differences are not simply a matter of letter changes within words, however, but involve the use of different words, constructions, interjections, particles, and "all the nuances of idiom which are only acquired by those native to each locality" (Biggs, 1952:182-83).

5.4.1. The Taranaki dialect

A feature of Taranaki's dialect is the dropping of the letter "h", especially amongst the southern Taranaki tribes, who trace back to the Aotea canoe. Te Hurinui wrote concerning this feature:

The Aotea folk sound the aspirate when singing, and in speech the aspirate intrudes in some instance, e.g., haku for aku.... With some Taranaki tribes the aspirate, which is not sounded in ordinary speech, intrudes in words commencing with a vowel (in Ngata & Te Hurinui, 1970:177,253).

Other writers refer to the dropped aspirate as "a curious stammer" or jerk of the voice (Maunsell, 1894:7; Smith, 1892:400), and "a hesitancy or catch in the voice" (Ngata & Te Hurinui, 1959:279). The dropped "h" is not shown by an apostrophe in formal writings, as with other Polynesian languages where the same characteristic occurs, although it may be shown informally for convenience. This lack of indication makes the identification of Taranaki dialectal forms difficult in considering the meanings of some words (e.g., does ware mean ignorant, or does it stand for whare [w'are], a house?).

Today, some native speakers in Taranaki appear to pronounce "wh" in the reverse order to the way it is written, so the breathed aspirate precedes the "w", thus: "hw". Other speakers treat the "h" as a glottal stop, or else gloss over it so it becomes almost indiscernible. In most cases the aspirate is still present, although in a different form to the way other tribes see it. Te Kahui exemplified this trend by dropping "h" from the word "he" (some), so that it appears as 'e. He also added "h" to personal pronouns before the plural form of the word (hona, haku, etc). In some cases the aspirate also appears before a demonstrative (henei, hetahi, haua), and especially before the nominal prefix "a", thus: "(h)a". It was occasionally omitted from its position within a word, as in the name of Ngati Haupo to's rangatira river, Punga[h]ere[h]ere. Conversely, it was sometimes added
within a word, such as w(h)ehe: to detach, divide. Percy Smith (in Hongi, 1898:38, fn) wrote concerning this feature:

The introduction of the "h" is due to the anxiety of the Taranaki and other West Coast tribes to conform to the orthodox spelling of the language as given in the Scriptures; but they often overdo it, and introduce the letter where it has no business. Originally - i.e., in 1840 - these tribes had no "h" in their dialect.

In recording his extensive range of tribal information Te Kahui's concern was not to "conform to the orthodox spelling of the language" as Percy Smith claims, but to do justice to the sounds of his own speech. Placing the aspirate in those places where it rightly belonged was his response, although other family members did not follow his lead in presenting their dialect quite so explicitly, which makes his writings all the more valuable in preserving the distinctive characteristics of the language.

5.4.2. Problems and challenges

Mark (1993:52) highlights the problem of how to tie limited detail in source documents to specific localities, and notes the paucity of local information which is often present in even "the best accounts". Although Mark was writing more specifically of early travellers' accounts this lack of detail is a feature of many waiata in the Kahui Papers, where the challenge lies in grasping the inferences behind local sayings, and in differentiating between references to people or places, and simple statements of fact. In Maori writings the personal "a" before a word or phrase usually marks it as a person's name (unless a personification is involved), which solves the problem of whether to take it literally, or leave it in untranslated form.

Difficulties associated with the meanings of words which are no longer in current use may call for the application of special strategies, if kaumatua assistance is not available and if dictionaries are unable to suggest a meaning. Taranaki texts from the nineteenth century pose particular problems, since words from this area are not well represented in Williams' Dictionary of the Maori Language (1971). Williams (ibid:xxix) notes, for instance, that his dictionary does not attempt to record all the variants caused by the omission of the aspirate in Taranaki and Whanganui. Nevertheless, an unknown word may be coped with in a text if all else around it is known and the context is clear. Instances occur in Williams' Dictionary of the use of a single occurrence of a word to postulate a meaning, which a later example may either confirm or modify. A comparative study of other texts from the same or surrounding tribal areas may turn up another
instance of that word, which can be used to suggest possible meanings. Ideally three or more texts should be used for comparative purposes, as advised by Williams (ibid:xxvi-xxvii), who gives several processes for working out the meanings of Maori words but cautions that these should be checked against each other where possible.

Additionally, a search of likely meanings in Biggs' English-Maori Dictionary (1985), which complements Maori-English dictionaries such as Williams (1971) and Tregear (1891), may turn up a word that could be a dialectal variant, e.g., "wahuta" for "wau", to scold (see Song 76, headnotes).

A further challenge encountered in the Kahui Papers was Te Kahui's use of classical or "deep" Maori - the phrase is one used by Beaglehole (1946:272) - which a native Maori speaker referred to as "a beautiful language.... It painted pictures and you could drift on it" (Takiwa Piahana, in Te Maori News, 4(14), July 1995). This "old language" (ibid) is sufficiently different from contemporary Maori to warrant a distinguishing term (Schrempp, 1992:xvii), and needs to be studied to provide a literary and cultural link with the past (Charlot, 1995:142).

5.5. Working with the Waiata Texts

Hermeneutical principles were of value in my approach to the waiata texts, in confirming how the different stages of interpretation might be handled. Before interpretation began, however, I had to be able to read the texts, which required not only a familiarity with the different styles of handwriting but also strategies for coping with the different kinds of illegibility that were encountered.

Some texts may be deciphered by studying the idiosyncratic nature of individual letters in the handwriting until they became familiar, although a recording error may be incapable of solution unless another version of the text is available for checking against (Stuart, 1980:23). This suggests that some texts are preferable to others as sources of raw data, these being in order of preference: a text which exists in translated and preferably published form (having stood the test of time); a text in multiple (untranslated) form; or an untranslated text which stands alone. Where data are drawn from stand-alone texts in this thesis the lack of corroboration from other sources is made evident in the headnotes to the text, and to the coding assigned it from the Kahui Papers.

6 The suggestion to use other passages in which a word appears forms part of Schleiermacher's second canon (see Chapter Two, 2.3.). One must, however, "remain within the same linguistic sphere" (Schleiermacher, 1985:90).
5.5.1. Transcribing the texts

The first stage in working with the Papers was to copy the source material as required. Erim (1990:61) describes this as a "technical" process, while O'Regan (1992:25) refers more generously to the "qualities" of the transcriber.

Transcribing material from photocopies of some of the books presented its own problems. Some of the writing was difficult to read at second hand, or else the edges of pages were "cut off" in the photocopying process and unavailable for closer scrutiny. This latter simply magnified a problem I found when working with the originals, that where the paper has deteriorated to the point that some of the edges are damaged or crumbling, the text can only be guessed at. All that can be hoped for is that another version of the text exists and is available for comparison.

In some cases the original writing itself was difficult to read, while some of the waiata texts were written in pencil and are now almost indecipherable. I did not attempt to recover much of this kind of material because of the inevitability of transcription error. Where parts of a text were too faint to read a reasoned interpretation could be made in terms of context, style, and (sometimes) the content of related accounts found elsewhere in the Papers. Verification of the copied material from the originals was occasionally called for due to errors in initial transcription, which made translation difficult if not impossible.

5.5.2. Editing the texts

The next stage was to edit the copied material by inserting punctuation marks to indicate direct speech, questions, sentences, and so on, so as to make the best possible sense of the transcribed text. This involved separating words that had been run together, such as where the final vowel of one word is the same as the opening vowel of the following word (e.g., "au" for "a au"). Editing also included standardising capitals and addressing idiosyncrasies such as, in Te Kahui's writings, the frequent occurrence of the word combination "i nai a nei", which appears in Williams' Dictionary as a single word, inaianei.7

The question of whether such word combinations should stand alone or be run together, or hyphenated, is part of a wider discussion concerning compound names (such as, in lines 6-7 of the sample text below, "Te Kutu-noho-uta"). Running a compound

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7 Using Williams' dictionary as the standard against which words are measured may nevertheless conflict with conventions that are observed in Taranaki, where individual words are often broken up as Te Kahui did in this case.
Maori name together can obscure its structure and meaning and make it difficult for readers to grasp the full form of the name (Davis et al., 1990:13). The problem of deciding where a compound name begins and ends in a sentence may be determined by whether it makes sense in context, after which the question of how to present it becomes largely a matter of discretion. The convention today is to attach an adjective directly to its noun, and to either hyphenate the rest or leave it unhyphenated according to the preference of the research community. In this thesis I have sometimes run longer compound names together once they have been introduced to the reader in hyphenated form, since I consider that some hyphenation practices (even those of Ngata and Te Hurinui in *Nga Moteatea*) look artificial and are often unnecessary. However, many Taranaki names are long and complex, and hyphenation seems the best option when breaking up long names in a sentence, to prevent them "unravelling" as separate entities.

By way of illustrating some of the steps detailed above I present a sample text, Song 1 (Chapter Seven). It was obviously not recorded by Te Kahui as the writer did not follow the convention noted by Thornton (1986:3), and observed by Te Kahui, of using commas to mark off each phrase. As given here it reproduces as nearly as possible the way it appears in the Papers, except that I have added line numbers for referencing purposes. It tells of the grief of the composer (Te Rota) at the death of Taihakapu:

**He Waiata Nate Rota mo Taihakapu**

1 Hau tapapa e riringi mainei kei te kupa te pakoko tuohu kauatu au e matanga noku anora hoku whakama homai te pikikore kia nave kiteringa meko kahiko

5 au ekaha te riaki ite ihu ote Waka te heke nga i aohia kakai te titiro ate kutu nohouta tako ta kinga kite Rangi Waihoe e toko anora kite ika nihoriki hei whaka iri taewa kite noho anga ei.

10 kite nohoanga i miti hau etu matanga roa mai rongo mataane, kamutu he ingoa marae ko kai mitihau (HE:149).

Editing this text along the lines suggested above resulted in the following:

**He Waiata na/Te Rota mo Taihakapu**

Me/kō kahiko [5] au, e/kaha te riaki
I/te ihu o/te waka, Te Heke-[6]nga-i-Aohia.
Ka/kai te titiro a/Te Kutu-[7]noho-uta
Taku ta_kinga ki/te rangi waihoe,
[8] E toko ano/ra ki/te ika nihoriki,

Rongo_ma_Taane, ka/mutu.
He ingoa marae ko Kai_mitihau.
Key:
/ : separates a word
_ : joins a word or indicates where a letter has been capitalised or converted to lower case
[]: indicates where the line began in the original text
, ; commas added where needed

Another feature in the opening line of this text is the abbreviated first word 'Hau, short for Ahau (I, me). Other commonly encountered abbreviations are 'Nei (for Tenei), 'Ra (for Tera), and so on (Best, 1924:II:143). Sometimes the "ironic negative" Kaore (or Ehara) may begin an opening line by emphatically denying "that which the poet most desires" (Mitcalfe, 1974:11). It may be translated by using a phrase which begins with "How ...!" or "What ...!", and which "expresses surprise, admiration or wonder" (Orbell, 1968:121) - or, as in Te Kahui's use of Kaore in the context of leasing, some other strong emotion. Colenso (1880:64) refers to this more specialised usage as "a bold emphatic denial of its true and pregnant meaning".

A further point in presenting the waiata concerns the length of vowels, which may be shown by either doubling the vowel or using macrons. I prefer macrons, as I share Oppenheim's (1983:248) concern that double vowels (particularly ee and oo, I might add) "trick the Anglophone reader's eye and ear continually". Nevertheless, the doubling of vowels was an orthographic innovation of Maori themselves from the 1840s (Ryan, 1972:145), and one which Maori writers used "when they chose to mark long vowels at all" (Metge, 1986:24). In the sample text above a double vowel occurs in the name "Rongo-ma-Taane", although Te Kahui appears to have used double vowels on an irregular basis (and Taurua less frequently so) to show where a note was held in the performance of a waiata, rather than to denote vowel length. In presenting the waiata I retain double vowels whenever they occur, in order to preserve the character of the writings in the Kahui Papers. Vowel length is not marked in any other way in this thesis for technical reasons (see Introduction, 0.2., for an explanation of this omission).
5.5.3. Interpreting the texts

In interpreting the translated material I used both internal and external approaches. In the former I examined the text and any accompanying information to determine the composer's name and the circumstances of the waiata. (In the sample text above, additional information was given by way of explanation from line 10 onwards). Sometimes this information gave an idea of when the event occurred or when the waiata was composed, which did not necessarily happen at the same time. If the composer was not named, his/her identity could sometimes be inferred by studying the compositional style and use of preferred mythological and historical references. Place names and other details located the waiata in a tribal setting.

An external approach meant searching beyond the text itself for background information on the waiata, such as whether it had been placed in the public domain, and what could be learnt from collectors' notes, observer commentaries, parallel sources such as waiata adaptations or variations, contemporary Maori newspapers, tribal histories, and the like. The gathering of external evidence was facilitated by the use of finding aids such as indexes (either my own, compiled from background reading, or one such as Fletcher's Index of Maori names), as well as Maori Land Court records, early survey maps, and other intertextual sources of information.

5.6. Summary and Conclusions

The Kahui Papers, a private collection of manuscript writings recorded by Te Kahui Kararehe from the early 1890s to 1904, and by others of his family to the 1920s and 1930s, has the potential to contribute significantly to an understanding of Taranaki Maori cultural norms and history. In this chapter the content of these writings is examined, following a biographical sketch of Te Kahui himself in terms of his post-war involvement with the founder of the Polynesian Society, Percy Smith, and with the Parihaka and Rahotu communities.

A feature of Te Kahui's environment was the perception that Maori were dying out, which may have contributed to his reasons for recording his knowledge in the form in which it survives today. That knowledge, a distillate of kaumatua wisdom and Te Kahui's own experiences, reflects both traditional and transitional views. A particular component of the Kahui Papers, the waiata texts, expresses these views in a personal way, which is

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* The composer's style and unique characteristics are the only invariable, since every composer employs language in a special, personal way (Boeckh, 1985:135-36; Gadamer, 1984:134-35).
often elaborated on elsewhere in the Papers.

Data used in this thesis were extracted from the waiata after a sequence of steps involving the transcription, editing, translation and interpretation of the texts. Strategies for dealing with the Taranaki dialect, the meanings of words which have received scant attention in Maori-English dictionaries, the deteriorating physical nature of the manuscripts themselves, and other challenges encountered in the research process, are discussed above.

In terms of the limitations of some of the sources used (see next), the background details which have emerged from this part of the research process must remain inconclusive until such time as those who may wish to claim the texts have worked with them further. A discussion of the ethnographic record upon which I drew to provide those background details, and of the characteristics of waiata in general, follows in Chapter Six.

The social context in which the waiata were composed is indicated in the headnotes to each of the waiata in Chapter Seven, while an analysis of the themes of the waiata - set out in Chapter Eight - and their links with place, is undertaken in Chapters Nine and Ten.
CHAPTER SIX: UNDERSTANDING WAIATA

6.0. Introduction

Writing in the field of environmental ethics, Strong (1994:90) points to the "profound and powerful appeal" exerted by writings and art works in presenting insights which confirm our experiences of the world around us. Songs and poetry convey an emotive force in matters of significance to human communities, or create a "patina of allusion" in referring to people, places and events (Oppenheim, 1983:247). Traditional songs provide subtle insights, local colour and details (Alagoa, 1986, in Erim, 1990:62), or leave us messages about how we should live in the world today (Bishop, 1996:103).

Merriam (1964:45) identifies as a general area of inquiry the study of song texts and "what the texts reveal in what they say". Song text language differs from ordinary discourse in revealing a society's deep-seated values, which could lead to a discernment of the prevailing ethos of a culture (ibid:46). For many Maori, the "passionate, inward subjective approach" that is a characteristic of their being is best articulated in poetry (or song) (Marsden, 1981:163). Thus the nature of Maori feelings for place may be determined by examining how those feelings were expressed in song, which exposes "the heart of the psychology of a culture" (Merriam, ibid:225).

In this chapter I discuss the nature of Maori waiata and the circumstances surrounding their collection by Pakeha ethnographers in the nineteenth century. I also examine the ethnographic record that informs much of the literature on waiata today. Some specific features of waiata tangi are identified in anticipation of the chapters that follow (i.e., the waiata texts in Chapter Seven, and the translation of selected phrases in Chapter Eight). Further insights into the translation process are taken from the literature and from my own experience of working with the waiata texts. This discussion begins with an overview of Maori literature, within which the waiata are positioned.

6.0.1. Maori literature

Maori literature is tentatively divided into poetry and prose, although some fluidity exists between the two (Dewes, 1981:55), for Maori poetry occasionally uses a "highly elliptical" style, which is as close as it gets to "straightforwardly telling a story" (Orbell, 1978:11). There is also a richer tradition of poetry than prose in Maori culture (Dewes, ibid:56), since Maori itself is "the language of poetry" (Older, 1978:83). Indeed, from a reference to Maori letters of the nineteenth century as "cryptic, oracular, allusive, poetry rather than prose" (Sinclair, 1961:195), it would seem that poetry permeated all forms of
written expression, as it did all aspects of Maori life (Colenso, 1880:57; Andersen, 1923:757).

Sir Apirana Ngata, who regarded poetry as the higher literature of the Maori people (in Ramsden, 1948:107), saw it as a special way of arranging words which were full of meaning (Mead, 1969:379). The words of poetry were as expressive of the environment as of the poet's own feelings (Copland, 1975:2358), for poetic imagery was not so much classical, or historical, as natural (Miticale, 1961a:12). Natural phenomena and landmarks often featured in the opening lines of songs (Best, 1924:II:143) while, regardless of theme, a song almost always named the places and invoked the physical environment of its subject (Copland, ibid).

6.1. Introduction to Waiata

An investigation into the nature, characteristics and functions of waiata begins with a discussion of the term itself, which cannot be translated (Orbell, 1991:103) since it is "not poetry, not music, but songs which are an intimate blending of both" (McLean & Orbell, 1990:8). In practice the term waiata is used of all songs (Karetu, 1981:37; Best, 1924:II:144), although it refers more specifically to song types such as waiata tangi and waiata aroha (McLean & Orbell, ibid:15). As a generic label, waiata is often translated as song (or sung) poetry (Royal, 1994:11; Dewes, 1981:62), or song literature (Mahuika, 1981:68). In this chapter I use the terms song, poem (or poetry) and verse interchangeably with waiata, while recognising that significant differences exist between this particular form of expression and its English counterparts.

6.1.1. Types of waiata

Biggs (1964:45) credits Sir Apirana Ngata with the first attempt at classifying Maori songs and dance chants according to the form and content of the material itself, rather than to traditional literary categories. In the past, Maori classified songs according to their use or function (as followed in the nineteenth century by Sir George Grey and William Colenso), and whether they were recited or sung (as followed, more recently, by McLean and Orbell). The classification adopted by McLean and Orbell (1990) is followed here in a brief overview of different types of waiata, which I offer by way of comparison with waiata tangi, the song type upon which this thesis is based.
6.1.1.1. Recited forms

Traditional forms of Maori verse "are not extinct [but] are much changed" (Oppenheim, 1983:248) - as indicated by descriptions of song types from the mid-nineteenth century. Andersen (1923:757) explains that the names "are not applied in any definite manner; there are several general names, but many songs included under one may equally well be included under another".

Examples of recited forms are haka, karakia, and patere. Best (1901:39) rates haka as "the most general and popular form of amusement" before the coming of Europeans, while Shortland (1856:169) describes it as being "expressive generally of some sentiment of love". As Karetu (1993:24) explains, haka is the generic name for all Maori dance, but the term also applies to the shouted chant of defiance accompanying the dance (McLean, 1971:15; Biggs, 1964:45), in which the movements are performed in unison, with the word rhythm fitting in with the steps (Buck, 1950:392).

Karakia were rapidly intoned ritual chants which owed their distinctive force to being performed word perfect, although the words could be and were often deliberately changed to fit altered circumstances (Shirres, 1986:23-24). As used today the term relates more to Christian prayer, although traditional karakia may still be used to express the spirituality that links Maori with their environment and their past.

Patere, the third form of recited waiata considered here, were songs composed by women who had been accused of marital infidelity or similar misdemeanours, and who recited important family connections to counter the unfavourable impressions that were circulating about them. Patere were often a recital of famous landmarks connected with the personages mentioned by their composers, and function today as "a gazetteer and a Who's Who" of the times (Biggs, 1964:46).

These songs do not focus on place to the same extent as the waiata texts discussed below, and so are not as suitable as source material in the current context.

6.1.1.2. Sung forms

Sung forms such as oriori, waiata tangi and waiata aroha are more personal and contemplative than recited forms. They explored emotive links between the composer and the person to whom the song was dedicated, while being directed outwards to an audience of family and social connections (McLean & Orbell, 1990:29).

Oriori, referred to most often as lullabies, or even "cradle songs" (Smith,
1892:408), were composed for children of rangatira families to instruct them about their situation in life. Best (1905:174-75) rates oriori amongst the most interesting of songs because of their references to ancient history, although they are also full of complex allusions to people, events, and "spots made famous in the history of the tribe" (Bird, 1955:16).

Waiata aroha or women's love songs (Biggs, 1964:47) and waiata tangi or songs of mourning vary considerably in length and content. Waiata aroha generally articulated the feelings of the women who composed them, rather than those of the tribal collective. They were usually short and informal with simple imagery, while the words themselves may have had less impact than the melody (Mead, 1969:383-390, passim). Waiata aroha could be modified to express the sense of irrevocable loss evidenced in waiata tangi, as with the song collection published by C.O.B. Davis in 1855. Composed on the eve of Governor Grey's departure from New Zealand in early 1854, these songs were largely adapted by tribal leaders from women's love laments, and represented Grey as an object of affection who would be mourned by the Maori people after he had gone.

6.2. Waiata Tangi

Waiata tangi, more than any other type of waiata, exemplify the kinds of texts that Bultmann (1985:244) refers to as being produced in response to "social exigencies, ... human passions, ... and ideals". They were inspired by misfortune or disaster (Bird, 1956:18), or marked "milestones in the passing generations" (Te Hurinui, 1958:165). They included laments for those killed in battle (a preferred, noble death), or by treachery (an ignoble death), or who died due to natural causes, which evoked a calmer response (Bird, 1955:23).

Waiata tangi were sung at tangihanga or funeral ceremonies, and performed a necessary function in helping the bereaved adjust to situations beyond their control. They provided a means of expressing publicly the deep feelings engendered by stress and sorrow, and drew the tribal group together in an affirmation of unity and mutual support. Waiata tangi are the most numerous of sung forms extant today, possibly because the tangihanga was the most important social institution in Maori society, and the number of songs reflect this (McLean & Orbell, 1990:15), or else they simply survived along with the tangihanga into recent times.

Some of the most beautiful examples of the language are found in waiata tangi
They use an elaborate, specialised style of language which can be allegorical, metaphorical, proverbial, or highly figurative in a number of ways, and contain a wealth of classical references and complex imagery drawn from mythology, legend and folklore, ancestral and archetypal precedents, kinship relationships and personalities. In celebrating the landscape symbols and distinctive achievements of the tribal group, they constitute a "tour de force" of ancient knowledge, traditions, geography, and tribal history (Walker, 1999:109).

Waiata tangi exhibit strong links to tribal territory. A song by an unknown composer, "He Waiata Aroha ki te Whenua Tipu" (A Song of Love for a Native Land), expresses the love of Maori towards land from which they have been parted, and towards which they feel a "powerful pull" (Mead, 1984:31). This waiata begins (NM 56):

Taku aroha ki taku whenua ...
(My love, alas, for my native land)...
and ends with the words (lines 13-14):
Wai te mea ka ruku popo ka whakamate ki tona whenua.
(For there is no one more melancholy than he who yearns for his own native land).

Sir Peter Buck (1950:381) wrote that "dirges and laments teemed with references to the love lavished upon the natural features of their home lands", and that:

It is the everlasting hills of one's own deserted territory that welcome the wanderer home and it is the ceaseless crooning of the waves against a lone shore that perpetuates the sound of voices that are still.

This captures the mood of waiata tangi and illustrates why I consider them suitable for the present endeavour.

6.3. Sources of Waiata

Many thousands of waiata texts exist in published and unpublished form, most of them awaiting cataloguing, translating, researching, editing and publishing (Dewes, 1981:54). Many are found in print sources such as Maori language newspapers, or in unpublished sources such as private manuscript collections which are largely inaccessible to researchers. A large number are known to elderly Maori, although this repository of traditional material is fast diminishing. Thanks to the dedicated efforts of Dr Mervyn McLean, working as a university student from 1958, and of the Maori people with whom he came in contact, well over a thousand waiata from kaumatua sources have been recorded on tape and stored in the Archive of Maori and Pacific Music, University of
Auckland (McLean & Curnow, 1992:3; see also note 8, this chapter). A general survey is given here of known sources of waiata, which are grouped under the headings of printed and manuscript material, and waiata indexes.

6.3.1. Printed material

Waiata collections that have been published since 1853 include those of Sir George Grey (1853); C.O.B. Davis (1855); Richard Taylor (1855, 2nd edition 1870); Edward Shortland (1854, 2nd edition 1856); John White (1887-1890); John McGregor (1893-1908); Stevenson Percy Smith (1910); and Sir Apirana Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui (1959-1990).

A second edition of Grey's *Ko Nga Moteatea me Nga Hakirara o Nga Maori* was published in untranslated form in 1853, after an initial volume in 1851. A smaller collection, *Ko nga Waiata Maori*, followed in 1857. Grey obtained these waiata from tribal sources on the East and West Coasts of the North Island, and in the Waikato. Included amongst them are songs from the West Coast tribes of Te Ati Awa, Ngati Toa and Ngati Raukawa.

In 1855, Davis published *Maori Mementos: Being a Series of Addresses presented by the Native People to His Excellency Sir George Grey*. This collection includes 54 waiata written for Governor Grey when he left New Zealand in January 1854 at the conclusion of his first term of office (see 6.1.1.2., above).

McGregor's collection of over 400 waiata was recorded in 1864 by Waikato men who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Rangiriri in 1863, and held in prison hulks in Auckland harbour (McGregor, 1893:preface; Biggs, in Ngata & Te Hurinui, 1961:v-vi). Waikato had fought with Taranaki against the government, and some of the waiata tangi and waiata aroha collected by McGregor contain Taranaki references. This collection was published as *Popular Maori Songs* in 1893, with four supplements following from 1898 to 1908.

A six-volume series containing a number of waiata, *The Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythologies and Traditions*, was published by John White between 1887 and 1890. Volumes 7 to 13 remain unpublished (McRae, 1991:15). Other publications that contain waiata include Shortland's *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (1856), Taylor's *Te Ika a Maui* (1855), and Smith's *History and Traditions of the Taranaki*
Coast (1910).

Between 1959 and 1970, Te Hurinui completed the publication of Volumes I-III of *Nga Moteatea*.¹ These volumes contain 300 translated and annotated song texts collected by Sir Apirana Ngata before his death in 1950. The texts were published between 1924 and 1951 in the *Journals of the Polynesian Society* and Maori newspaper *Te Toa Takitini*, in an attempt to elicit from knowledgeable Maori the meanings of the many archaic words and historical references they contained. A fourth volume of 93 songs was published in untranslated form in 1990. The first three volumes of *Nga Moteatea* have been reprinted several times, as follows:

(Vol. II): Published 1961, facsimile 1974, reprinted 1985...
(Vol. III): Published 1970, reprinted 1990...

In this thesis I occasionally refer to "NM [Song No.]", where the relationship of song to volume is a consistent one, as follows:

Volume I: Songs 1-90  
Volume II: Songs 91-200  
Volume III: Songs 201-300  
Volume IV: Songs 301-393 (untranslated)

Periodicals containing waiata include the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, published after the Institute was established by Parliament in 1867; *Te Waka Maori*, published from 1871; and *Te Ao Hou*, published quarterly from 1952 to 1975 by the Department of Maori Affairs.

6.3.2. Manuscript material

Collections of Maori manuscript material include those of Sir George Grey (Auckland Public Library), T.W. Downes (Auckland Institute and Museum), and Tutu (Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington). Of these, Sir George Grey's collection contains many hundreds of pages of waiata, written by Maori between 1845 and 1854 (Dewes, 1981:54). The T.W. Downes collection of Ngati Ruanui waiata, oriori, and haka takes up 90 pages of an old ledger book. There is no first line index, although I compiled a partial index for my own use on a visit to the Auckland

¹ Dewes (1981:52) explains the term moteatea by saying that "most moteatea are waiata and the nearest equivalent is song or sung-poetry".
A volume of handwritten waiata, Tutu Taranaki Tribal Songs, is held by the Manuscripts and Archives Section of the Alexander Turnbull Library. It contains some fifty songs and a partial first line index, recorded in somewhat shaky handwriting by Tutu of Ngati Ruanui. Percy Smith acquired this collection around 1911 as security for a loan, and claimed the manuscripts as his property in June 1918 when Tutu committed suicide at Warea, near Parihaka (Smith, f.163a:387).

6.3.3. Waiata indexes

An Index to Waiata in Manuscripts, compiled by David Simmons, Auckland Institute and Museum, includes references to manuscripts held by the Auckland Public Library (e.g., Grey, Shortland); the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (e.g., Best, Ngata, White); the Hocken Library, Dunedin (e.g., Shortland); and the Auckland Institute and Museum Library. Published sources include Davis, Grey, Ngata and Te Hurinui, McGregor, Shortland, Smith, Taylor, and White. Other publications from which Simmons drew his references include the *Journals of the Polynesian Society* and the Maori periodical *Te Waka Maori*. Each reference includes the name of the composer, the tribe, and any other information available about the song.

A preliminary check of some 130 Taranaki waiata that I carried out in 1995 indicated that approximately 25 per cent were recorded more than once, and that these were not necessarily repetitions from the same source. Maunsell (in Bird, 1955:14) notes that the different versions of songs which appear in more than one collection show a great deal of variation, and concludes: "In the writing down of the songs by the pakeha or the ignorant Maori, the same thing has happened [i.e., "incorrect" recording], so that it is now very difficult to get the correct version" (ibid). In working with the Kahui Papers, I used waiata indexes to see whether other versions of a song existed in order to determine the "best possible" version, rather than Maunsell's "correct version". As noted in connection with formulaic phraseology (2.7.2.), "correctness" is irrelevant in terms of the way waiata were reworked to suit different occasions. Although Pakeha scholars have objected to multiple versions of a text on the grounds that "little reliance can be placed on any of them" (Andersen, 1946:xii), it is not a criticism that Maori themselves would make.
6.4. The Ethnographic Imperative

Best, White, Buck and others believed they had a duty to collect and preserve Maori customs and beliefs, and saw the recording of details as a prime necessity in the rapidly changing culture that Maori became after European contact, since those details could be lost quickly and irretrievably (Reilly, 1990:55; Geddes, in Biggs, 1960:ix). Best felt he should simply collect data and place it on record (Firth, in Biggs, ibid), and either leave its interpretation to others or else, as advised by Gudgeon, "[not] write anything for twenty years" (Andersen, in ibid:x). Geddes (ibid:ix) expresses his and others' gratitude to Best and fellow ethnographers for the detailed information they collected, while Biggs (ibid:xv) is similarly grateful to Maori and Pakeha scribes who wrote down what they knew of "the ways of old". The work of Sir George Grey and his contemporaries in salvaging what they could from the past is acknowledged by Sir Apirana Ngata (1990:vii), since this inspired the work of Best and Smith fifty years later. Because I draw on ethnographic records such as these in interpreting the waiata used in this thesis, an awareness of the methods and motives of the producers of those records plays an important part in determining the validity of my research findings.

6.4.1. Ethnography in practice

The often unsatisfactory nature of nineteenth century ethnographic practices is demonstrated by recent studies into the methods employed by early collectors of Maori material, such as Sir George Grey, Native Secretary Edward Shortland, and Surveyor-General Stephenson Percy Smith. These men shared a common enthusiasm for "a past which lay beyond the range of their own observations" (Biggs, 1960:4), although they were "fitted neither by training nor inclination" for the ethnographic role (ibid:3). Their methodologies were an "elaboration of detail" rather than a "systematic exposition of institutions" (Firth, in ibid:ix), and they committed - as Buck said of Grey - "literary atrocities for which there is no excuse" (in Biggs, 1952:178).

In working with texts which he obtained from Maori informants,² Grey (1928:xv) admitted to "add[ing] in some places such few explanatory words as were necessary to enable a person unacquainted with the productions, customs, or religion of the country to

² Grey's principal informant was the Te Arawa leader Te Rangikaheke, who taught him to speak Maori and contributed most of the material for his Ko nga Moteatea me nga Hakirara o nga Maori (Curnow, 1990:494-95).
understand what the narrator meant"). He also rewrote his accounts before translating and making them public (ibid:xiv). H.W. Williams criticised Grey for his habit of rearranging and combining material from different sources, since "Such combination may prove misleading, for there was generally a reason for the local variation" (ibid:vii).

Nevertheless, Williams himself made changes to the texts he used on the grounds that Maori, writing in what they believed was "literary style", were influenced by faulty missionary constructions that had persisted through successive revisions of the Bible. Sorrenson (1982:12) states that Buck and Ngata "never criticised" their friend Herbert Williams, although Ngata is recorded as saying: "No matter how great Herbert Williams was as a Maori scholar, he was not a Maori, and he made mistakes that a Maori scholar, who was himself a Maori, would not make" (in Ramsden, 1948:102).

Williams was also critical of John White for the freedom with which the latter mutilated his authorities (in Grey, 1928:199). White's translations were often "fluent and appealing, if not always quite in accord with the originals, and ... often too much elaborated" (Andersen, 1946:76). By today's standards White exhibited another cardinal sin, that of ignoring tribal distinctiveness, for he believed that:

... the collector ... must not confine himself to any one portion of New Zealand, but must gather [Maori material] from every tribe, and then out of the whole set forth that which is received as the belief of the New Zealanders as a collective people, and not as divided into tribes (White, 1885:113, emphasis mine).

Portrayed by Reilly (1989:166) as an "intellectualized" enthusiast, and by Simmons as a faithful recorder (in Ray, 1982:15), White worked for a time as secretary-translator to Grey, who later accused him of plagiarism (Reilly, 1989:168,171). Nevertheless, he was praised by Tregear for his "unique power of expression and sympathy", and by an unnamed Maori scholar for his ability to render a "far clearer" translation of waiata than Hare Hongi (ibid:161).3 More recently, Biggs (1964:43) records his and others' indebtedness to White for material in the latter's "magnificent six-volume collection", the Ancient History of the Maori.

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3 Andersen (1946:vii) considers that Hare Hongi possessed a "high poetic gift", since he was able to treat a Maori theme in a Pakeha form after the style of Longfellow or Grey (of Elegy fame) (ibid:ix). In one instance Hongi contributed notes "so necessary for the Pakeha understanding", which Andersen then extended "to make all clearer for the Pakeha reader" (ibid:vii).
Another who was critical of White was Percy Smith, who had reservations about his reliability (Smithyman, 1979:391), and considered that his material "sadly wants editing and arranging on an historical basis" (ibid:376). Notwithstanding, Smith himself was guilty of "rearrangements, curtailments and high-handed disposition" of parts of White's texts (ibid:386), and was "regrettably ready" to rewrite the works of other collectors such as Skinner, Fenton and Davis (ibid:398). Like John White, Smith also "re-Maorified" (ibid:383) or "re-created" (Reilly, 1989:170) Maori histories before turning them into English, holding a "fluid regard" for the records he professed to value (Smithyman, ibid:391).

Smith was also guilty of arbitrarily judging the validity or otherwise of material he obtained from Maori authorities. In a letter he wrote to W.H. Skinner concerning material he had received from Te Kahui (Skinner MS 020/4, letter dated 8/6/1895), he commented that "his story about Te Ruaki is all wrong". Although I am personally unable to verify what Te Kahui told Smith I am prepared to state that the error was not all, or even partly, on my tupuna's side. Smith seems to have had difficulty in working with some of Te Kahui's information, as J. Strong (MS 573) indicates in his account of the wrecking of the Harriet in 1834 (see 5.0.2.). Strong's information was taken from McNab's Old Whaling Days, although Strong himself comments that "it would appear to require amplification from Te Kahui's story" (ibid, p.8), which gave "another version" (p.14), since this was "a story with two sides to it" (p.42). Te Kahui's story as told to Smith was described by the latter as "too confused to repeat" (JPS 19:109, in ibid), although Strong felt it would have helped to disentangle "some of the other rather confused evidence" (p.42).

Smith gives Te Kahui's account in 1910:524-533 (presumably, translated by Smith himself), and comments (ibid:532): "Te Kahui's account of what follows confuses the several attempts to secure Mrs Guard's escape, so it is not repeated here". It may be that Smith was confused by the lack of chronological sequencing of events in Maori accounts, in which the narrator often gave the beginning and end of a story and then went back in a series of "appositional expansions" (Thornton, 1985:156) to selected facets of the story and explored them in greater detail. This appositional style of narrative could be done

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4 McNab in turn derived his information from Sydney newspapers which were contemporaneous with the events he described (McNab, 1913:131). The spelling of the ship's name was "rather loose", being spelt either Harriett or Hariet [sic] (ibid:xii).
repeatedly and in any order, and shows in diagrammatic form as a zig-zag pattern of chronology rather than a straight line of narrative (ibid, 1987:chart 2). Such a style was difficult to follow by many Pakeha, who brought western habits of thought to bear on it. Smith, whom I draw on for much of my background information concerning nineteenth century Taranaki history, believed that dubious (e.g., mythical) elements in narrative accounts could be "easily sifted" from the "substratum of historical fact" with which they were mixed (1904:107,200). Smith employed whakapapa to date events in Maori history by averaging the number of generations back to the founding canoes,\(^5\) and settling on an arbitrary figure of twenty years to a Maori generation. This gave an estimated date of 1350 for the coming of the so-called "Great Fleet", which could equally well have arrived at some other point in the western calendar if a generational time span of twenty-five or thirty years had been used instead (Roberton, 1956:46; Gudgeon, 1893:115; Simmons, 1976).

Ngata and Buck were critical of Smith in the 1930s concerning the reliability of ancient whakapapa, which they felt could not be relied upon to give accurate dates beyond a certain distance back (Sorrenson, 1982:12). Ngata also took issue with Best over the latter's claim that cousin marriages were prohibited before Europeans came.\(^6\) Rather, he points out, the number of "almost incestuous" marriages in the whakapapa of rangatira lines were "the rule rather than the exception" (Sorrenson, ibid:13). This appears to have been so within my own family lines as recorded in the Kahui Papers, as it apparently did - since Ngata saw fit to challenge Best - amongst the East Coast tribes. Mahuika (1981:67) writes that first-cousin marriages were not uncommon in Ngati Porou in pre-European times, and that no word for incest apparently existed (ibid:77). Although Smith and others performed a valuable service in recording information from Maori authorities - including, in Smith's case, from Te Kahui himself (see 5.0.1.) - instances such as these act as a reminder that their conclusions should not be accepted uncritically but should be

\(^5\) Roberton (1969:1) points out that the number of generations varies between tribes: thus Mataatua arrived about 16 generations before 1900, Kurahaupo and Takitimu about 17 generations and Tainui about 22 generations before 1900, while Te Arawa lines are "somewhat shorter". These figures are open to question by the tribes concerned.

\(^6\) Salmond (1991:353) quotes from Best (1904:30) on this subject although the statement she makes, that marriages within three generations from a common ancestor were strictly forbidden, is apparently not in that reference.
checked against iwi sources where available.

Reilly (1995:22) refers to the positive contribution that ethnographic writings have made to the maintenance of Maori knowledge, although the legacy of this mass of information is that New Zealand's history has become "a continuing exercise in interpretation" (Holcroft, 1974:51). Smithyman's wry comment (1979:411), that the wrestling of an historical past from the subject matter of Maori texts "is not history", is borne out by the careful sifting of evidence by researchers such as Simmons (1966; 1976), Reilly (1989; 1990; 1995), and Smithyman himself, to separate what can reasonably be accepted as fact from what is justifiably suspected to be ethnographic fiction.

6.5. The Nature of Early Waiata

Sir George Grey, one of the first Pakeha collectors of Maori waiata, wrote concerning his interest in this material:

... I could not, as Governor of the country, permit so close a veil to remain drawn between myself and the aged and influential chiefs, whom it was my duty to attach to British interests and to the British race, ... and with whom it was necessary that I should hold the most unrestricted intercourse. Only one thing could, under such circumstances, be done, and that was to acquaint myself with the ancient language of the country, to collect its traditional poems and legends (1928:xiii-xiv, emphasis mine).

With Grey, collection and translation went hand-in-hand, as was also the case with collectors such as the Rev. Richard Taylor (1855), Edward Shortland (1956), William Colenso (1880), and others. Their reactions to the waiata they translated have been captured not only in their own writings but by later writers, who have in many cases added their own comments concerning the nature of those waiata.

A first impression was that these texts "did not represent ordinary speech but were more like the texts of English poetry" (Mead, 1969:379). While they contained much that was "wild and terrible", they possessed many passages of "the most singularly original poetic beauty" (Bird, 1955:13). Best (1924:II:136) could see no rhyme as in English poetry, but rather a rhythmical flow of words, while Andersen (1923:761) detected melody and metrical rhythm in inverse relationship.

Smithyman (1979) describes the work of two of the principal offenders in this respect - John White and Percy Smith - as "making history". That is, their work was deliberately "concocted" or "confected" (ibid:378) from multiple and sometimes questionable sources, and lacks credibility at the present day.

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7 Smithyman (1979) describes the work of two of the principal offenders in this respect - John White and Percy Smith - as "making history". That is, their work was deliberately "concocted" or "confected" (ibid:378) from multiple and sometimes questionable sources, and lacks credibility at the present day.
Colenso (1880:61) felt that the songs he had collected "wonderfully abounded in strong natural sentiment ... and in fit, and often beautiful, imagery", while Domett described waiata as the "pemmican of poetry" (in Pomare & Cowan, 1930:276), since the images they contained were so condensed "they remind one of the sediment left after the normal flow has dried up" (Mitcalfe, 1974:33). Similies were merely "seized, mentioned, or alluded to" (Colenso, 1880:62), while a wealth of meaning was "clothed within a word or two as delectable as a proverb in its poetical form" (Ngata & Te Hurinui, 1959:xxi). As Wilson (1874:231) wrote:

The Native ideas ... are singularly subtle in their nature; they are very severe and bald, mere half touches, yet always evincing the head and heart of a master. They contain the very essence of poetry; they are without ornament; they are almost in a state of absolute nudity. The attempt at clothing them may only serve the undesirable end of obscuring their beauties.

John White was conscious of the difficulties inherent in capturing the full meaning of such texts, and considered Maori songs "a bother" since the composers "go such a way from the ordinary way of talking" (Reilly, 1989:165). He also noted that the subject matter of waiata was only hinted at, and that listeners were expected to make out the meaning if they could. To many Pakeha, the language of waiata was cryptic, abrupt, elliptical, obscure and at times, when translated literally, "wholly unintelligible" (Harding, 1892:443).

A feature of the imagery found in waiata is its often dense nature, which requires considerable explanation to make it understandable to others. Mead (1969:385-86) identifies two categories of image in waiata, the first of which is "powerful aesthetically" and capable of being understood universally, while the second carries social as well as aesthetic values and is less likely to be understood by outsiders. Images of both kinds were rarely explicated in waiata, for the first is implicit in the words or phrases used, while the second drew on the shared experience of the group. In the latter case a cursory reference was all that was needed for the image to be "instantly appreciated" (Mitcalfe, 1974:8) for, as Mead (1984:27) exclaims, "what is the use of going into long explanations for people who already know the details!"
6.5.1. Working with early waiata

Comments made by early translators of Maori waiata suggest that they expected translation to proceed according to the rules of prose grammar. Thus Maunsell wrote that Maori poetry:

... carries its license so far as to disregard rules of grammar that are strictly observed in prose; alters words so as to make them sound more poetically; deals most arbitrarily with the length of syllables, and sometimes even inverts their order, or adds other syllables (in Grey, 1853:xiii).

Some of the features mentioned by Maunsell included the frequent omission of essential parts of speech, such as particles, pronouns, verbs and prepositions, as well as the employment of "exceedingly wild and abrupt" metaphors and "unexpected and rapid" transitions (ibid:xiv). Williams was concerned over what he considered an "erratic and undiscriminating" use of the "a" and "o" possessives, although Biggs (1952:182) considers this a problem of Maori grammar which has never been satisfactorily resolved. (I encountered this feature in some of the waiata texts taken from the Kahui Papers, but put it down at first to a transcribing error. Although it is outside the scope of this paper it will need to be addressed in the future).

Best (1924:II:139) found that word forms in the waiata were altered for the sake of euphony, and that vowels were "inserted, elided, or altered, or an extra syllable ... added to a word". As well as employing archaic expressions and obsolete words, composers also coined words or altered them through word contractions (e.g., by leaving out syllables), by word expansions (e.g., by lengthening vowels), or by eliminating words (e.g., conjunctions). Deviant grammatical structures maintained the rhythm or flow, although the absence of stops, the erratic use of capitals, and the running together of words made Maori manuscripts "a little awkward" to read (Biggs, 1952:177).

With such an array of idiosyncratic features it might be wondered how such compositions came to be translated at all. Difficulties in translating Maori texts tend to increase with the age of the material (Biggs, 1960:9), so that only the composer could give the meaning of some old waiata (Reilly, 1990:48). In Best's opinion (1924:II:136), the more a person studied waiata the stronger became his desire to leave their translation to others, although Firth (1959:274) felt that a partial translation was better than none in seeking to preserve the meanings of such texts. Geddes (in Biggs, 1960:ix) considered that speculation or "guarded theorising" had its place in anthropological research, but that Best
and others ruled out speculation altogether, while Bird (1955:14) attributes the reluctance of early collectors who did not translate their material to "not [taking] the trouble" to do so, or "[being] unable to obtain and to offer any information" on the songs they published, so that the meanings of many obscure words and references "are now entirely lost".

6.5.2. Translating early waiata

A tendency in translating waiata texts was to introduce European images and concepts and obscure the original message by commenting freely upon it in the body of the work. Wilson (1874:243) gave a "free versification" of a lament in Te Waka Maori, in which he elaborated upon the simplicity of the imagery employed by its composer, Reneti Tapa, and produced a poem that was twice as long and contained four times as many words as the original. I give one verse by way of example:

(Waka Maori):  
Takiri mai ra te ata i Tongariro,  
He ata kai taua, e.

(Wilson):  
Cold, slow, and mournful, up the eastern skies,  
The pale grey dawn on vapoury errand hies,  
Illuming [sic] with its light the mountain crest,  
Whereon mine eyes in saddest watching rest.

Writers today advocate the use of natural English rather than the "flowery language" and "misty romanticism" of the kind shown by Wilson (Dewes, 1964:47; Mitalfe, 1961b:31). Bassnett-McGuire (1991:xv,66) is critical of the Victorian pedantry that led translators to take over a text with the intention of "improving" it, for such translations were often consciously archaic to the point of obscurity (ibid:67-68), and resulted in a text which was often more inaccessible to the reader than the source text itself (ibid:10).

An example contrasts my working translation of lines 1-3 in Song 7 with the translation provided by Stowell ([1911]:156):

(Wilson):  
Cold, slow, and mournful, up the eastern skies,  
The pale grey dawn on vapoury errand hies,  
Illuming [sic] with its light the mountain crest,  
Whereon mine eyes in saddest watching rest.

(Myttranslation):  
E muri ahi ahi kia nohoia iho,  
Arohirohi ana te rere mai a te ao  	Na runga Pukawa, ei.

(Stowell's translation):

O shades of eve compose my wearied soul,  
To contemplate the circling orbs of space;
Which round the lofty throne of Sirius roll,
To whom Pukawa yields translucent grace.

Biggs (1952:177-178) refers to the "effusiveness" of early translations of Maori songs which bore little resemblance in word or thought to the originals. Colenso (1880:64) put this down to translators who thought more of themselves as poets, but who failed to translate successfully because they tried to incorporate English rhyme and metre into their work. Although Oppenheim (1983:247) considers that the translation of waiata into English should meet the expectations of readers of English verse, Colenso (1880:65) felt that the best way of dealing with such texts was to translate into "good English prose, accompanied by notes". This allowed for interpolation, since Maori "never confine themselves to the use of artificially written poetical lines" (ibid:61).

6.5.3. Presenting the waiata

Presenting the waiata in prose form obviates the problem of line length, although Best referred to the "proper line limits" (1924:II:142) in writing in one line what Ngata and Te Hurinui (NM 117) later gave in two:

(Best):  Te rongo o te tuna e hau mai ra Kai a Wharawhara-a...

(NM 117):  Te rongo o te tuna e hau mai ra
            Kai te Papuni, kai a Wharawhara, a...

In setting out the waiata in Nga Moteatea, Ngata and Te Hurinui used a recognisable line structure while annotating freely to help readers understand the many classical, local and historical references those songs contained. In this way these two scholars maintained the purity of the texts while facilitating a more considered appreciation of their worth. Despite some of the translations in this collection now sounding "dated, over romantic, and over-inclined to bow to European social and moral conventions" (Ballara, 1993:20), the model used by Ngata and Te Hurinui in setting out waiata has been followed by more recent translators of Maori texts (e.g., Orbell, 1991; Royal, 1994:13); gratefully acknowledged by writers such as Bird (1955:14), Biggs (1964:45) and O'Regan (1992:22); and used as a standard of scholarly research (Awatere, 1975:510).
6.5.4. Modern translations

Of all the waiata translations that have been undertaken in recent times, those of Ngata and Te Hurinui have an air of authority that few others possess, since they are based on the knowledge of living kaumatua rather than on ethnographic records. Maori today regard these anthologies of "living traditional sung-poetry" as "most unique" in quantity, quality and scholarship (Dewes, 1981:62), and are often critical of fresh translations being made because of the high regard in which they hold the two author-translators.

Nevertheless, translators continue to produce differing versions. Mead (1969:380), for instance, gives a translation which differs from that in *Nga Moteatea*, as follows:

(NM 57): E pari ra koia nga tai,
         Ka waahi rua mai kei te awa,
         E te roimata ki tarutua iho
         I te weherua po ia nei,
         Kei te kai whenako te ngakau
         Ki nga mahinga o taku itinga

(Ngata and Te Hurinui):
*Flow in, O rising tides,*
*And engulf the outflowing river*
*While my tears stream forth*
*In the stillness of the night,*
*There oft come stealing memories*
*Of the many escapades of my younger days.*

(Mead):
*Rise, oh incoming wave,*
*And break in two at the river mouth.*
*Oh tears, gush down!*
*During the stillness of the night*
*There comes stealing from the heart*
*Reminiscences of my youth.*

Ngata and Te Hurinui themselves produced translations which differed from those of earlier translators such as John White (1890:72):

(NM 47): Tera Tariao ka kokiri kai runga,
         Ko te rite i ahau e whakawhetu nei ...
         E tangi, e manu, kia mohio roto.
         Ma te hau tonga e whiu i ahau
         Nga puke iiri mai o Rangitoto i waho ...

White (see Song 71, selected lines):
*Tariao, the star, now mounts on high*
*As gnaws the love within my breast ...*
*Then sing, O bird! that I may learn by heart*
*That cold south wind may carry me afar*
To top of Rangitoto's distant peak...

(Ngata and Te Hurinui):

Lo, Tariao has sprung up on high,
In like case am I with the stars above....
Sing on, O bird, to give me peace of mind.
Let the wind from the south hurl me forth
To the elevated peak of Rangitoto out yonder...

Examples can be multiplied endlessly but illustrate, as discussed in 2.5., that translations can be as richly varied as the background and experience of the translators who bring them into being.

6.6. Translation Strategies

Several strategies which address the translation of poetry (Lefevere, in Bassnett-McGuire, 1991:81-82), are reminiscent of approaches taken by nineteenth century translators of waiata. These strategies include: translating poetry into prose (as advocated by Colenso, above); translating into blank verse (which, it may be argued, is a form of "lined" prose); and interpretation (divided into "versions", where the substance is retained, and "imitations", where the translator produces his/her own poem using the original title but little else). Wilson's "free versification" (above) may be considered to fall within the parameters of Lefevere's "interpretation", since Wilson adhered loosely to the theme of the waiata while adding considerably to its substance.

Lefevere's strategies also include: literal translation, which may distort the sense and syntax of the original; metrical translation, which concentrates on one aspect only of the text; and rhymed translation, which imposes a "double bondage" of metre and rhyme. With the first of these strategies, literal translation, a distortion may occur in translating a waiata where the sense of a sentence runs over a line ending, since it may be impossible to retain each part of the sentence in its corresponding line. I give lines 4-5 of Song 34 by way of example:

..........
He wawara a tai ("a murmuring tide")
I rangona e au ("was heard by me")     ..........

Since the translation must maintain a sense of continuity in its own right, this becomes (with the conversion of the verb from passive to active form):

..........
I heard
A murmuring tide     ..........

...
An additional point in connection with the literal translation of texts concerns the feature known as word play (see, for instance, headnotes to Songs 2 and 47). Some composers were more skilled than others at incorporating this feature into their waiata, while listeners were especially appreciative of the craftsmanship evident in such songs. The ability to call forth extensive vistas of meaning through the apt placement of a single word was particularly important in oral societies, who depended on visualisation for effect and impact.

6.6.1. Word play

Baker (1992:64) notes that some words or expressions may mislead the translator if their literal meaning appears to fit in with their context. As discussed in Chapter Five (5.5.2.), it is sometimes unclear whether a word or phrase in a waiata is a person's name and should therefore be left untranslated, or is meant literally and should therefore be translated. Where such a "rich set of semantic relationships" exists in a passage of text (Bassnett-McGuire, 1991:19), the various meanings of the different components may be mixed so that each contributes to a number of parallel meanings within the whole text. Colenso (1879:110) refers to this feature as "highly terse, pregnant with meaning, and abounding in paronomasia [i.e., word-play] and antithesis". Word play poses a special challenge for translators in having to decide which of several possible meanings should be brought out in translation, and which confined to an accompanying explanatory note.

Another challenge concerns the strategy identified by Lefevere (above) as rhymed translation, which is addressed in part by a consideration of the performance of traditional Maori music.

6.7. Maori Music

Maori singing was considered by early Pakeha to be tedious (Martin, 1961:23), monotonous, and tuneless (Best, 1924:II:137), with many songs being sung around the best note of the singer's register (Andersen, 1923:762). Best (ibid) comments that "Many writers have praised sentiments expressed in native songs, but few ever venture to praise native singing". Andersen (1923:743; 1969:339) felt that Maori appreciated songs because of what the words or "speech-melody" conveyed, and that the tune on its own was "altogether secondary". Ngata and Te Hurinui appeared to confirm this impression by focusing on the words of the songs they published in Nga Moteatea, and largely ignoring
their "musical and postural" elements (Awatere, 1975:511).

Sir Apirana explained this lack in his preface to the first volume of *Nga Moteatea* (translation by Pei Te Hurinui):

> There can be no proper rendering of Maori songs without capturing the air. Capture it with what? ... *[There follows a discussion of why songs were no longer being learnt as in the past]...* There are two devices the Europeans have for capturing the airs. Firstly, there might be a musical notation like that for European songs. The ancient songs of Hawaii were so recorded. So far no musical genius has been found in New Zealand to devise a similar musical notation, but one may be found later, perhaps. Secondly, they can be captured on talking machines (phonograph, gramophone). This method is under serious consideration ..., and if the airs of the songs are captured by those machines, the first question posed above will be simplified.8

To Merriam (1964:187), song texts are "language behavior rather than music sound", for the metre of a language imposes constraints which the music must follow. Oppenheim (1983:247) considers that "almost nothing" of the dimensions of sound can be conveyed in print, although McLean and Orbell (1990:8) express concern over what they see as an exclusive preoccupation with words. Ideally, the text of a song should be accompanied by a musical score to give an indication of its rangi or "air" (ibid; Ngata & Te Hurinui, 1959:xxiii), which may be used to help determine the line structure of the text as well as to clarify the meanings of unknown words (McLean & Orbell, 1990:8).

### 6.7.1. Biggs' Rule of 8

The musical rule referred to in the literature as Biggs' "Rule of 8" (Biggs, 1980; McLean, 1996:258 fwd), is the formalisation of a discovery that some waiata contain exactly eight vowels to each half line of text. This rule, which excludes hianga (see next), counts diphthongs and particles such as ai, ei, au and ra as one or two vowels, while other particles such as ka, and the possessives mo, ma, no and na, are "in accordance with the linguistic rules". Biggs suggests that the disregard for the rules of grammar which troubled Maunsell (see 6.5.1.), may have been a literary device to attain the fundamental metrical structure of eight vowels to the half line.

One use to which the Rule of 8 may be put is the determination of line length in

---

8 Dr Mervyn McLean has since achieved both of these goals articulated by Sir Apirana Ngata, in recording well over one thousand waiata by Maori singers from 1958 onwards, and devising a form of musical notation that captures the intricate nature of these songs (McLean & Orbell, 1990; McLean & Curnow, 1992).
the editing of texts of unknown construction. In an attempt to put it to use in the present situation I tested it against the sample text in Chapter Five, and obtained the following result. (The estimated number of vowels to the half line is shown as $x$, where $x$ represents the vowel count in each case. I have doubled long vowels for clarity):

\begin{verbatim}
He Waiata na Te Rota mo Taihakapu

1 'Hau taapapa /6/, e riringi mai nei /8/, 
    Kei te kupa te pakoko /9/, tuoho kau atu au /9/, 
    E maatanga nooku /8/ anoo ra hooku whakamaa /11/, 
    Homai Te Pikikore /8/, kia nawe ki te ringa /8/, 

5 Me ko kahiko au /7/, e kaha te riaki /7/ 
    I te ihu o te waka /8/, Te Hekenga-i-Aohia /9/. 
    Ka kai te titiro /7/ a Te Kutu-noho-uta /8/ 
    Taku takinga /5/ ki te rangi waihoe /8/, 
    E toko anoo raa /8/ ki te ika nihoriki /8/, 

10 Hei whakairi taewa /9/ ki te nohoanga /6/, ei.
\end{verbatim}

Without making any other adjustments to the text, which was reasonably legible in the original, it can be seen that this waiata is not one of the "high proportion" of traditional songs that conform to Biggs' rule (Biggs, 1980:48). This rule seems to depend for best effect upon the recording of a waiata in performance and its subsequent transcription in musical form, as Mervyn McLean has done (see note 8), so that individual words may be studied and amended as necessary. Since this rule seeks to relate vowel length to musical length it has limited applicability here, where the rangi of the waiata in the Kahui Papers - although possibly extant elsewhere - have not come down with the words of the texts to the present day.

6.7.2. Hianga

A further point in the performance of Maori music concerns the meaningless vowels known as hianga, which often occur at the ends or in the middle of lines (Best, 1924:II:136-37), or at the ends of sentences (Andersen, 1923:762). Andersen (ibid:758), who used the term hiangi, describes the sound as a "slurred drop" through an interval of an octave or less, while Best (ibid:143) refers to it as an "euphonious glide". As Andersen (1969:341) explains:

The Maori songs ... are apt to end their lines with an e or an i, or with both, ei, long drawn out; the e with the vowel-sound in ‘net’, prolonged, the i with the sound of ee in ‘sweet’.
Bird (1956:21) wrote that singers of Maori waiata varied the syllables and music to suit, but this only tells part of the story. Hianga are "sounds which are not words but which stand for emotions" (Oppenheim, 1983:247), and which convey an emphasis that is often impossible to reproduce in translation (McLean & Orbell, 1990:23). For this reason it would seem pointless to attempt to translate them, although their mood may be conveyed by using an English equivalent such as "alas".

In texts which are given in multiple form in the Kahui Papers these hianga may be shown in one version and not in another. This suggests that they may relate more to the performance than the message of waiata, and that it is immaterial whether they are shown in the written text or not. In general I have included them unless inconsistencies make it difficult to decide where they should go, in which case I have left them out altogether or compromised on their placement.

6.8. Summary

Maori literature includes the song types known as waiata (waiata aroha and waiata tangi), which have the potential to reveal the nature of Maori feelings for place. The term waiata includes the dimensions of "poetry" and "music", although aids to interpretation which focus on the musical elements of waiata are incapable of application in this thesis since the tunes of the songs studied are, at present, unknown.

Waiata tangi, which provide the data for my research, were the kind most sought after by early collectors. This was as much due to their complex imagery and allusive nature, which offered insights into Maori ways of thinking, as to the challenge they presented to men of letters who attempted to understand them as literature. They were also believed to offer clues to the Maori historical past.

As a result of the endeavours of early collectors such as Grey, McGregor, Shortland and others, who collected them for reasons such as these, and of Sir Apirana Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui in the twentieth century, whose efforts contributed to the corpus of written Maori literature for university study, several thousand waiata texts may now be found in the records of public archives. Private individuals and families hold many more in whakapapa books written by their tupuna from the late nineteenth century. This chapter examines the characteristics of such texts, and surveys the ethnographic record which helped to ensure their survival to the present day.
6.9. In Conclusion

Ethnographic practices in the nineteenth century, and the conclusions that emerged as a result of largely eurocentric interpretations of the material studied, have been closely scrutinised since the late 1960s. While the various recorders of early Maori information have been both praised and blamed for their efforts, the reality is that the material they left behind has been, and will continue to be, used extensively by Maori researchers. An awareness of early ethnographic shortcomings must therefore accompany such use especially where, as in this thesis, early ethnographic conclusions contribute significantly to the research findings.
CHAPTER SEVEN: THE WAIATA TEXTS

7.0. Introduction

In Chapter Five I gave an overview of material contained in the Kahui Papers, and referred to the more than eighty waiata contained in that collection, of which seventy-eight are set out below. The rest are not included for reasons of legibility (some were written in pencil), or because they pose special challenges in respect of transcription and/or other limiting features.

I begin the present chapter with an examination of these waiata in terms of their "authorship"/composition and provenance, song type and topic (where these differ from waiata tangi or laments), and selected facets of their imagery. A full analysis of this latter aspect is impossible within the parameters of the present research because of the complexity and wide-ranging nature of the imagery in many of these compositions. In line with the research question, then, the type of imagery discussed here is that relating to the physical features of the landscape in which the composers and their audiences were situated. Nevertheless, a certain admixture of other elements is inevitable because of the inability to completely isolate the physical from the metaphysical (or spiritual) in traditional Maori thought.

7.1. The Waiata: A Preliminary Survey

Of the seventy-eight waiata presented here, nine contain no readily discernible references to place apart from the occasional name for which no details have been found. These waiata are included for the purpose of identification by the descendants of the principal figures associated with them. Of the remaining sixty-nine, several defy satisfactory interpretation at this stage (e.g., songs by Te Koriri, Te Ikatere and Tarawha), and have again been included to facilitate identification by family members.

In general the historical trend of the waiata seems to be away from the specialised references of traditional whare wananga teachings and towards more descriptive imagery, which can be recognised by those who lack that more formal training. This trend could be due to the gradual dying out of tribal knowledge along with the kaumatua who held it, or to a more self-conscious awareness of the land as "scenery" (suggested by the example of Pakeha, perhaps), or to a combination of these and other factors.

The identity of the composers of the waiata is uncertain or unknown in at least fifteen cases, although male composers appear to outnumber their female counterparts by about three to one. Of those named, three contributed two waiata each and four others...
three waiata each. Te Kahui and members of his immediate family can be associated
with at least eight waiata, while more than thirty other songs were composed by named
individuals, thus assuring a wide range of preferred styles and imagery. Of those for
whom the waiata were composed, Te Whetu, the "fighting general" of Parihaka, was
named in three, and members of the Kahui family in five.

As far as can be determined, the songs derive in almost equal numbers from
central and south Taranaki, with about one third of that number again from north
Taranaki, a few from the Waikato/Thames area, several more from around Cook Strait,
and at least one from Tuhoe. One waiata is classed as a rotu moana and two as kaioraora,
but apart from obvious reworkings from waiata aroha (e.g., Songs 8, 33 and 66), the
majority of the songs are waiata tangi. Of these, two refer to the blindness of their
composers, two others (by the same composer) to contentious situations, one to the loss of
a fishhook, one to the composer's survival, and another to the workings of evil
practitioners. Most, as might be expected, deal with death, whether by treachery, in battle,
or to some other more natural cause.

7.2. Imagery Contained in the Waiata

In this thesis I use the word imagery to refer to identifiable features of the "scenic"
landscape, such as trees, clouds, hills, and other components of the environment within
which the Maori people lived and moved. An examination of the use of imagery in the
waiata shows that descriptive referencing follows no set pattern apart from a mention in
the opening lines of many songs to some aspect of the natural world in its local
manifestation. Although ostensibly setting the scene, this tendency evoked the mood of
the composition: thus the composer might present him/herself as lying on his/her bed at
night, or gazing at the stars, or watching the dawn stealing over the horizon. The point
about such settings is that they were generally times of introspection, when the pressures
of the day fell away and the composer could be alone with his/her thoughts. Composition
requires introspection, while the setting is more likely to be (although not exclusively) a
poetic convention. The fact that the setting relates to the natural landscape is simply
indicative of the importance of the environment, both physically and metaphysically, in
the lives and consciousness of the Maori people.

Some waiata contain more references to place than others, and some none at all
(or, at least, none that can be readily identifiable within the constraints of the present
work). Those references include both the names of places and scenic elements of the
landscape as mentioned above. I deal principally with the latter in the discussion that
follows.

7.2.1. Elements of the imagery

A feature of specific elements of imagery in the waiata is that they may appear in
close combination with other scenic elements, or isolated amongst other types of
references (e.g., ancestral events), or mentioned in passing, or expanded upon at length.
These different types of treatment become apparent in Chapter Eight, with an in-depth
examination of relevant phrases in translation. In preparation for that examination I note
here the range of imagery covered, although the list that follows is by no means
prescriptive or exhaustive. It does, however, give an indication of the all-encompassing
nature of Maori perceptions of their world and their situatedness within it.

Working through the waiata in turn, then, the topics that relate to the natural
landscape include: lightning, mountains and other high points of land, the stars and moon,
forests and trees, canoe images (I include these because of their connection with trees and
waterways), the ocean and tides, birds (both land and sea), winds and clouds, rivers and
lakes, paths and beaches, the sun, seasons, smoke and mists, the built environment,
vegetation (flaxes, medicinal and scented herbs, famine foods), fish and fishing, and
metaphysical and biblical references such as those to Mount Horeb or to the pantheon of
Maori gods (Rangi, Tane, Tangaroa, Tu, etc.). I address the relationship of these elements
to the research framework of whakapapa and cosmology as mentioned in the Introduction
to this thesis.

7.3. Presentation of the Waiata

As explained in Chapter Four, the waiata are presented here in untranslated form.
Each is introduced by a headnote, and shows the particular book in the Kahui Papers from
which it was taken (see codes, 5.2.). The pages of some only of those books were
numbered by their authors, and I assigned page numbers to my own copies when
transcribing from others. Some books came to me in photocopied form, although on
comparing these with the originals I found that some had been collated incorrectly, and it
has not been possible to check the order of the pages in every case. Thus page numbering
for the waiata given here is indicative only, and shows as [Code]:[page no.], or [Book X]
if no page number was noted or assigned.

The purpose of the headnotes is to give an indication of the historical background,
the composer of the waiata, the person or event that occasioned its composition, and an
explanation of some of the more frequently-occurring classical references. Themes and references taken from the texts and discussed in the headnotes are identified by line numbers, while phrases taken from the texts and included as data in Chapter Eight, or discussed elsewhere in the thesis, are underlined. The absence of such markings in some of the waiata may indicate that they contain no usable references or, being added late as the research framework became more clearly defined, that further work needs to be done on their subject matter to unlock its meaning. Abbreviations such as *DNZB*, *JPS*, *WD*, etc. are listed in the Reference section, as are archival manuscript references, prefixed in the present chapter by "f" (for "folder"; e.g., Tutu, f.189), or "MS" (for "manuscript"; e.g., Hammond MS:[page no.]).

Hyphens are occasionally used in the headnotes to separate long names, such as Tauruotekawa (Tauru-o-te-kawa) and Te Puataoterangi (Te Puata-o-te-rangi), in order to help readers understand the makeup of these names. Where several versions of a text are recorded in the Papers significant variations are shown in brackets, thus { }. Square brackets [ ] are used to enclose words or letters thought to have been omitted from the original, although this omission may have been deliberate in order to achieve the required number of vowels to the half line (see 6.7.1). I have not made a point of standardising words which exhibit the Taranaki dialect (see 5.4.1.), although where it seems necessary I have used round brackets ( ) to enclose extraneous letters.

Where the text of a waiata is available in published form, such as in Ngata and Te Hurinui’s *Nga Moteatea* (NM) and the *Journals of the Polynesian Society* (JPS), it is not reproduced here even though the two versions may differ slightly. Extracts referenced to these and other published sources may show slight differences in punctuation or changes in wording which approximate more closely to those of the edited texts from the Kahui Papers. If the need is felt for these texts to be returned to iwi in the form that Te Kahui recorded them, then I will attend to this need in the next stage of development.

Quotations from Te Kahui’s letters to S. Percy Smith (Te Kahui Kararehe, f.264) have been referenced to Broughton (1984), as this source is generally more accessible than the original letters in the Alexander Turnbull Library. The difference between the two sources is that Te Kahui used single vowels while Broughton has converted long vowels to double vowels. Where Broughton is used as the source of a waiata text I have reproduced the first line with double vowels unchanged (see, for instance, Song 69). Double vowels which occur in the Kahui Papers are retained in that form to preserve as much as possible the character of the texts as they were written, while other long vowels
have been left unmarked for the same reason. I have, however, converted all double vowels to single vowels in Chapter Eight to simplify the presentation of the data.

Some of the waiata have been fully edited and others only provisionally so. Line length is tentative at this stage, and is directed more at facilitating a flow of thought than at presenting the texts in poetic form. Any translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

THE WAIATA

Song 1: A SONG BY TE ROTA FOR TAIHAKAPU (HE:149)

No details are available concerning the persons named in the heading to this waiata. References include Te Pikikore (a paddle); Te Hekenga-i-Aohia (a canoe); nihoriki (a fish, see 8.2.5.); and Kai-mitihau (a marae). The waiata is used as a sample text in Chapters Five and Six, and may be sighted there.

Song 2: [A LAMENT FOR THE DEAD OF TE MORERE] (D:1)

The first few lines of this waiata are given by Cowan (1983:II:29), who names as his informants Te Kahupukoro and Whareaitu of Nga Ruahine and Ngati Ruanui. Te Kahupukoro was the grandson of the composer, Tamati Hone Oraukawa of Ngati Ruanui (DNZB I:323-24), and the son of Tiopira (Tio', line 5) who, with his brother Hapeta ('Peta, line 6), was killed at the battle of Te Morere (Sentry Hill) in 1864. All were followers of the religious leader Te Ua Haumene, whose Pai Marire or Hauhau faith arose during the Taranaki wars in the early 1860s. Te Kahui was present at Te Morere as a youth of eighteen, having carried Te Ua's flag at the battle of Kaitake the previous month (DNZB III:509).

The assault upon Te Morere by Te Ua's followers was provoked by the building of a redoubt there, on Maori land, by government troops. Te Ua assured his followers that if they went into battle with right hand upraised and chanting karakia the bullets of the soldiers would not harm them. Accordingly a frontal assault was made upon the heavily fortified redoubt and, in the slaughter that followed, many brave men and notable Taranaki leaders died. After the fighting the women came on to the battlefield to search for their kin, to help the wounded, and weep over the dead (Dansey, 1981:137).

"Kiingi" (line 15), the Taranaki leader Kingi Parengarenga of Oakura, wore his
"big head of reddish hair ... twisted up in a high topknot which was adorned with feathers" (Cowan, 1983:II:23). His distinctive appearance may have given rise to a play on words in the phrase "te ki marau a Rongorua" (line 15), for marau can mean either the subject of talk or a meteor or comet (WD:181). Another play on words is apparent in lines 19 and 24, for "hau" (wind) could also refer to Te Ua Haumene and his Hauhau faith. These references do not come across well in translation, and need to be studied in the original for their subtlety to be recognised.

WAIATA

1  E hiko ra e te uira i tai ra,
   Kapo taratahi ana te tara ki Turamoe.
   Nau mai Tawera e, te whetu kai marama,
   Ko te tohu o te mate i tukua ake nei.

5  E tu e Tio' i te ihu o te waka,
   Nga hoe roroa te whatu taku e Peta,
   I maunu atu ai te taniwha i te rua.
   Taku pokai tara tena tuku atu na,
   Taku tuhi mareikura e, tuku [w]ao totara.

10 Naku i kaihara nga taha marua i waho Kuritangi,
   I tu tahanga au e tama ma ki reira,
   Tere a papae ana na runga o Whakaahu'
   E te kawa e hau ana i [a] au.
   Maunga tu noa Taranaki i te uru.

15 Ka ngaro e Kiingi te upoko o te ki marau a Rongorua.
   Ki'huia iho koe kei o tamariki e koro, e.
   Tuohu rangahau te haere nga tai e huri
   I raro Te Wharau kei Tamapaiaaka, et,
   Mana e hapai nga hau i runga ra,

20 Tuku iho ki raro ra hei whakahaupurua, e.
   He kawe i [a] au nga tai e koto i raro Tatara'.
   Ka kai aku mata nga tu[papaku] e rau i runga Te Morere,
   I ripoa aku waka ki reira, na-ai.
   Kihai koutou i haere i te ara o te hau,

25 I taria koutou ki te tari a Whiro;
   I haere koutou i te ara tinihanga, i te ara whakapeka,
   I pakaru mai ai aku waka ki reira.

Song 3: A LAMENT BY TE KORIRI (F:33,91; L:2)

The Taranaki ancestor Te Koriri belonged to Ngati Tara hapu, and lived at Aonui pa (Smith, f.163:147). This lament for his son was recorded three times in the Kahui Papers, with a reworked version in Tutu (f.189). Tutu's version is described as a manu, a term referred to briefly in the headnotes to Song 26.
A theme in Te Koriri's waiata is that of Tane's separation of the primal parents Rangi and Papa, using the adzes Te Awhiorangi and Hauhau (line 7). In achieving that separation Tane raises Rangi skyward. By way of comparison or emphasis, a biblical theme of raising up is given in lines 16 and 17:

I see the offspring of God on the throne,

Sitting and raising up on [Mount] Moriah.

HE WAIATA TANGI NA TE KORIRI

1 E huri e kori e tama i roto to whare aitu, Te Puataoterangi,

Pai kau ko waho, tuurama {e tuke ana ra} e roto.

Ko whea to waka e whano ai koe?

Ko te rakau tu kia hinga iho ana,

5 Te Kawai Huara, ko Uenuku ki runga.

Kia mate mai ana te tini o Mathono ka tere, na-ai.

'Ana nga toki matangaruru, ko Te Awhiorangi, ko Hauhau,

E [ia] tama Rongomataane, naana i kotikoti nga paiaka o te rangi,

Kumea kia roa {rewa}, ka matara kei runga, na-ai.

10 Ka riro ra e nga tara ka ihi matakahi,

Koko te papaki o te nge, 'e taupuru tangata

Ka mawehe i [a] au i nga tai {tau} matemate a Tupua,

A Tawhito, i pu ai {pua} te riri, na-ai.

Herea e Rata ruatāi{tau} mauriuri,

15 W[hi]aiho {whano} kia rutu ana, motu atu ki Te Po.

Ka kite te uri o te Atua i te tarona,

E noho e hii i runga o Moeara (Moera).

Horahia iho ra nga tai {tau} tukungia, e mate iana e te hoa,

E mate iana i te harakeke tu ki Kuna Awaita,

20 Na Ruamahinikura mau ka kimi atu.

Mou te wahanga [a] nuku, mou te wahanga a rangi,

E mou ki to kaki, e tare i kona.

Iri mai e tama ki runga te pae tapu, Te Apungia o Taane, nga pua a kari

Ka tihereia iho te kaha o te kaniu o Te Karawa.

25 Ki ake to waha: "Ana ra, e te ao, ka tukutuku tenei au ki raro, kopia to maomao".

Aranaki mai te ponaihu ko Whakaruruhau te waka,

Ko Hapekituarangi i whano ai ki te wai o Tawhirimatea, te tika te haere.

Mau {nau} ka hoki [i] muri, mou a tau {atu} hapa,

Ka mate ki taua {tau} whakatikaia, na-ai.

Song 4: A LAMENT FOR TONGA AWHIKAU (L:11)

Te Rangimauri composed this waiata for Tonga Awhikau of Araukuuku and Okahu after the latter was killed by a Taranaki war party (JPS 5:116). This event may have occurred in or around 1862, since another person of that name was born in the same year (Dansey, 1981:137). A Tonga Awhikau is recorded in TMLC MB 9:28 as the son of Te Mira, a woman of Ngati Ruanui.
This waiata, which begins: "Huri te rangi i runga nei", is essentially the same as NM 300, which begins: "Uwhi mai te rangi i runga nei". For a working text see NM 300 or JPS 5:112-120. The translations differ in each case.

**Song 5: A LAMENT BY TE RANGI PUWaweawe (L:12)**

The composer of this waiata was possibly of northern Taranaki descent: see references (line 12) to the Te Ati Awa ancestor Tamarau[-te-heketanga-a-rangi] (Smith, 1910:23), and to Waitara (line 22).

'E TANGI NA TE RANGI PUWaweawe

1 E kore au e tangi i henei ngarangi,  
Kare hau e tangi ka weherua te tau.  
Ka tohu au e, ka konohi tonga  
Na runga ana mai te rae kei Kotikotihau.

5 Whakaaroaha naku ki te iwi ka topu, aue.  
Ko wai te kataina? Tenei te mamae te koromakina nei.  
Me ruru noa iho ki roto ki te moenga,  
E kore ra e puakina kei rangona e te tini,  
E kore e tuku mamae kitea e au.

10 Ka w'akairia te toto i konei,  
Te toto o Kahukura, te toto o Rongomai,  
Te toto o Tamarau', ka tuhi ki te rangi.  
Noho mai e Rangi i runga o Puniu,  
Iri mai e Ruru Te Tau o Hiroa, waka o Te Waero.

15 I kainga i te tangata.  
Ka tere Manaia, ko te hara o Rongotiki,  
E ai tana ika ko Uenukutamaroa,  
Nana i kaiwhao te takere o Tahatuna.  
Koa noa mai ra 'e wai tararu,

20 Whakakaitoa mai 'e amo ika puti.  
Tenei au e te hoa ka tu i te raru naku  
Koi poupou ki roto o Waitara.  
Ehara i te tangata 'e toroa rere uru,  
Ko 'e awe kotuku no runga i Matarua, ai.

**Song 6: A SONG BY TE NGAhue (L:48)**

This waiata appears to have been composed by a Taranaki woman of rangatira status for a captive Titahi man (line 3). Matitikura (line 4) was the name of a battle between Titahi and Taranaki, and Te Maioriori (line 4) may have been the name of another battle between Titahi and Ngati Ruanui (Smith, 1910:206). The reference to Oaoiti and Oaonui (line 12) suggests that Titahi may have spent some time in this area in
their wanderings through Taranaki.

Te Upoko-tutuki-pari (line 8), was the name of a battle which Taranaki fought and won against Te Ati Awa (Smith, 1910:215). Kahukura[-makuru] (line 5) was one of those who led the Taranaki war party (ibid:210) and, with [Tu]-Te-Aonui (line 7), "pricked the teeth of Taranaki" (line 8) to remove the tapu of battle on their return home (ibid:216,268; NM 274:61-62). Pahakahaka (line 9) was a pa in the present Barry Street area of New Plymouth (Moorhead, 1991:2), where Taranaki stayed on their way home after their victory.

Toroa (line 10) was the leading man on the Mataatua canoe (Smith, 1910:68), on which many Taranaki ancestors came to Aotearoa after the Kurahoupo (or Kurahaupo) broke up at sea. Smith says that Mataatua landed somewhere on the East Coast, but "where exactly is not known" (ibid:101). The waiata suggests that it landed at Uawa (Uua, line 10), now Tolaga Bay (NM 257A:33).

HE WAIATA NA TE NGAHUE

1  E kore roko takitaki te marama, e tatau ana au
    I aku waka, ko te kore hoa hei homai kupu.
    Kua tiketike ano au i aku tupuna, erangi ano ko koe te ngoringori,
    He toenga ehuhehunga no Matitikura, no Te Maioriori,
    I tikina atu ana e Kahukura'.

5  Maaku moe a wharetia mo konei ra, te ahi whakakitenga i matike atu ai,
    Ko Te Aonui hei ngaki i te mate.
    Ka hinga i reira ko Te Upokotutukipari, i karihitia ai te niho o Taranaki.
    Te kati i reira. Kei tua atu ko Pahakahaka, ka whakaora ko Hukurangi,
    He rangi aitu i tupokina ihu i Toroa ki Uuaa.

10  E titiroa hou kanohi kino, e rua tau ria, korero kore.
    He wai pariko hou wai Oaotiti, Oaonui, i turu (rutu) iho ki te parekura.
    Me whakairi mai ha Nene, i tikina atu na mo te umu whainga,
    Mo te whare ra o Rakelinui te kapu', kia wau kau mai Taranaki.

15  Kaore au i te riri atu ki hou hanga, 'e rorongo mai, na-o-a.

Song 7: A LAMENT BY TUKIRIKAU MOTU FOR HIS FATHER, TARATUHA
(AB:53; E:144; F:12; L:21)

The text of this waiata was published by Stowell ([1911]:154) as "A Philosophical Lament", and described as "a typical specimen" of a lament sung to pay funeral honours to the dead. It is recorded also in Tutu (f.189) and Smith (f.163a:397).

A Taranaki leader by the name of Taratuha was killed in 1818 when a combined war party of Ngapuhi, Ngati Whatua, Ngati Toa and Te Ati Awa attacked Mounu-kahawai pa at the mouth of the Kaihihi stream (Smith, 1910:288). Tukirikau Motu (or Motu
Tukirikau) was born on 8 July 1810, and died in 1903:

No te 21 o nga ra o Nowema 1903 ka mate a Motu Tukirikau, tino tangata o tenei iwi o Taranaki ... ka tu tona kainga ki te Puniho me tona hapu, me Ngamahanga katoa (HF:54; E:17).

On the 21st November 1903 Motu Tukirikau died, a great man of this Taranaki tribe ... his home was at Puniho, with all his hapu of Nga Mahanga.

For a working text of this waiata see Stowell ([1911]:155-57), which begins:

E muri ahiahi kia nohoia iho.

Song 8: A SONG ABOUT TE WHITI AND TOHU (V:2)

This waiata by an unnamed composer is a reworking of a woman's waiata aroha; see, for instance, "don't be angry with me" (line 7), a frequently used formulaic expression in songs of this type (Shortland, 1856:183). Another formulaic phrase (line 8) occurs in the Parihaka waiata, "Tangia taku ihu", which goes, in part:

Tenei ano ra to raukura ka titia,
Ma te hau o waho e tiki mai, e whawhati.
See, I have stuck your feathers in my hair,
Let the wind from outside come and break them!

HE WAIATA

1 E muri ahiahi takoto ki te moenga,
   I wawata ana roto kia w'aimuri au tira o koinaki,
Hei whiu ki te tai e hura o te rae
   Ki Ngamotu ra-ia, kei tua iti atu.
5 Ko koe nei, e Te Whiti, e kore to pai e whakaeke e au,
   Mahara iho ana punga, kei te mau tae a po au.
   Ko koe nei e Tohu, kei riri noa mai.
   Mahia ki ahau ma te hau o waho hei whiu ki Parihaka,
   Kei reira pea nga whare korero.

Song 9: A LAMENT BY NGORO FOR TE WHETU (Book Y)

Te Kahui wrote a letter in October 1897 (E:26), asking "the Governor of the Colony of New Zealand" to release two women from prison. These were Ngoro and Ngawira, who had taken part in breaking down a fence at Pungarehu. Scott (1975:179) names the two women as "Mrs Te Whetu, widow of the fighting chief, and Mrs Matikino".

In this lament it becomes clear that "Mrs Te Whetu" was Ngoro, whose husband

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1 Taurua Minarapa (f.266), letter dated 19 Noema [November] 1907.
had died six months earlier (see Song 41). She may have adapted two different
waiata aroha in composing this lament, for each verse begins with a conventional opening
line. In addition, lines 1-2 and 23-24 exhibit characteristic formulaic expressions of
waiata aroha, such as (line 2) "to be a sleeping companion".\(^2\)

Te Raukura (line 17) was Te Whiti's meeting house at Parihaka, while the phrase
"titia to raukura" (line 8) refers to the white feathers that Parihaka men wore as a mark of
distinction after their release from political exile in the South Island (Taranaki Herald,
20/5-14/11/1881, passim; see also lines from "Tangia taku ihu", in headnotes to Song 8).

Tirikawa (line 20) is the highest hill on the North Cape peninsula, situated close to
the coast, with its northern slopes "plunging almost precipitately into the sea" (TPNZI 29,
1896:359). Te Whetu's spirit would have passed over this hill on its way to Paerau (line
14), or Te Reinga, where the spirits of the dead enter the Underworld (NM 71:5).

'E TANGI NA NGORO MO TE WHETU

1 E muri ahihi takoto ki te moenga.
   Nuku mai, e Hinga, he i hoa moe ake.
   Kei whea ko te tau e awhi nei maua?
   Tena, ka riro i te tai heke nui.
5 I te ara ka tika kei o tuakana.
   Hoki mai, e Whetu, ki te iwi e takoto,
   Kia tu atu koe ki waenga i te marae.
   Titia to raukura, e anga to mata
   Nga puke tu mai i runga o Ngarongo.
10 Ko to ingoa tena, ko Rongo kia tu, ko Whakahau te toa.
   Kia whakarongo koe nga tae e huri o Waiaku,
   I runga nga ngaru ka hora i waho i Orongo.
   Maku e huri ake nga tae e wawara i raro Ketehuia,
   He tai mihi tangata mo koutou ra ka huri ki Paerau.
15 Nei ka noho i te muri awatea,
   E whakamakuru nei te roimata i ahiu,
   Whirinaki kau au nga pakitara whare i roto Te Raukura,
   I te rahi 'Ati Awa, i te nui matua,
   Hei whakahoki mai taku puna ki roto ra
20 Ki a koe, e Whetu. Tera hoki koe kei runga o Tirikawa.
   Kia whakarongo koe nga tae tangi ake i roto o Parua.
   Maku nei e titiro nga kohu e tatau ki runga o Te Iringa.
   He murimuri aroha te paanga ki ahau,
   Tae ana te wiringa ki taku tinana nei.

\(^2\) This phrase occurs also in a Ngati Porou waiata, c.1860-75, where it is translated as "to
keep me company" (Orbell, in Wedde & McQueen, 1985:86-87).
From internal evidence, the whakapapa for those mentioned in the heading to this waiata appears to be:

'Waе
/  ("E hine a 'Waе", line 17)
Te U  (Te Wharepuehu's mother)
/  ("e whae", lines 8 and 12)
Te Wharepuehu

References to karakia (lines 21 fwd; HB:34) suggest that Te Wharepuehu was male. For details of the hapu mentioned in line 11, see Smith (1910:128,293,347).

WAIATA TANGI NA TE WHAREPUEHU MO TE U

1  E noho ana au i te whare takamate i pania ai e atu,
Whakarongo rawa iho, ka rau aku mahara, to waha paa mai.
Kia whitiki koe te tau o Mirimiri,
Tu nga mania e takoto i roto Heremoa, era-ai.

5  Kia tira 'tu koe nga puke tu mai i runga o Puhara,
No Uruuanga, era-ai, e pai ana tena, 'e rakau papa nui.
Kia moe tahi atu kei ho matua i roto Te Onekura, era-ai.
E tu e whae i nga hau matakaha,
I nga tai whati kino ki waho Piritoka.

10  I pakaru rikiriki te toka ki Taumata.
Taku kiri 'Ati Tu, taku kiri 'Ati Uru, taku kiri 'Ati Tara.
Haere ra e whae, a, takahi koe i te ngaro parapara
Ka mania ka paheke ki te ara ki te po, era-ai,
Ko te ara tena o Ihenga raua ko Rongomai

15  I whano ai ki Te Tatu o te Po, era-ai;
Kia harapuka koe, e kore e hoki ake, i tahawhenua koe, era-ai,
E hine a 'Waе, e tomo e Te U ki roto Rangituhera,
Ko te kete a Maru ki roro ma te tangata ki reira, era-ai.
Marua i te tutira, hoaina tonu patu, whangaia ki a Taane,

20  Whangaia ki a Tangaroa, kai mai ano ki te tangata, era-ai.
Ko wai ra te atua e horu nei i a koe?
Ko te Puupuutaeore, ko te Wa[i]waikia i tutaia Peranui.
Ka hamama te waha o te atua Kaitangata ki a koe, era-ai.
Hoaina to tapuae ko Tuaea, ka tipia te whenua, era-ai.

25  Ko wai ra te tangata hei whakahoki ake i to wairua ora?
Kia urutomo koe nga whare heke nui i roto o Rangikapuaia,
Kei to tungaane, ka tu te tiki, era-ai.
E Rau a Tupoki, whakapikia koe te ara o Tawhaki
Hei ara moo; kia herea iho koe te kaha o Rongomai.

30  Mau e whakarongo nga manu noho awa, tangi tikapa ana
Ki nga tai w(h)ehenura, ko toku rite ia, era-ai.
Song 11: [A SONG]  (Book L)

This waiata appears to be a reworking of that given in NM 85 which is, however, almost twice as long. The reference to Te Pungarehu, which occurs in both versions, may have struck a chord because of the proximity of a village of that name to Te Kahui’s home at Rahotu.

[HE WAIATA]

1  E noho ana i te whatitoka o Te Pungarehu,
    Whakaanga tonu te kanohi ki te hihi o te ra,
    Ka koi tonu mai ki taku kiri.
    E tama, tu atu ki tahaki, ki te kore weweru, ei,

5  Huhi [i]ho mo te kiri ra, ka pau te tikaro e aitua.
    Me mihi kau atu, me tangi kau atu ki te ao ka rere mai i tawhiti.
    E tama, e arohotia nei e au, haku mate tautiini,
    Haku mate taurua ki te whare,
    Moe hurihuri ai mata nei ko tuku tau.

Song 12: A SONG OF DISPUTATION BY TE HUANENE ABOUT
RANGIWHANGO’S EVIL SPEAKING ABOUT HIM  (Book CC; L:17)

This waiata is headed “received April 4th 1915”. The circumstances of its composition are not known. The composer was possibly of southern Taranaki descent: see, for instance, references to Aotea (line 11), Tutaua-whanau-moana (line 13), and Pateanui-a-Turi (line 34).

HE WAIATA TAUITOTITO NA TE HUANENE MO NGA KORERO KINO A
RANGIWHANGO MOONA

1  E noho ana ianei au, e mahara ana ki te tito,
    Pa ana, tikina e koe ki te po, noho mai ai.
    Matua te po, matua te ao i a raua.
    Ka ata tahi i tu ai ko {a} Pupuke raua ko Mahara

5  Hei pu tito ma taua, nana-ai.
    Kia aro tautika mai ki te whenau a Matuarangi,
    Ko te iwi lena i pukai ai nga toki nei. Ka takoto Penu,
    Ka takoto Te Awhiorangi, ka takoto Te Orotuwhenua,
    Whakairia atu ki runga ki a Hinetuahoanga,

10  I koi ai he toki mo taua, nana-ai.
    Kauaka koe hei huri i a au ki raro Aotea.
    Noku te tupuna i pakaru te ewe ki roto ki te riu,
    Koia Tutaua whenau moana i pu ai te kaurehe e kiia mai e koe, nana-ai.
    Haere e Ngarue, kimi atu mo taua he tangata kau

15  No Irarakeinuiarua, ka rawe i hona tahua.
    Ka hinga Maikukutea, ka takoto ra to runga, ka takoto ra to raro,
    Ka takoto ra Te Kahuwhakatumutumu, nana-ai.
Ko Maru e tama te atua i heke iho i runga i te Aroauhi {ahu},
Naana ka kaia i te whata a Matatiniterangi, koia Whirotetupua, nana-ai.

Ko Rehua e tama to taua ariki e tohu ana ra, ko Rangawhenua tona ingoa.
Ko mimiti te wai, ka maroke nga rakau, ka maroke nga tangata.
Ka hinga te Kahui Rongo ki waahoe,
Koia ra te wharona kau na nga ngakinga, nana-ai.

Maku e ki atu kei puremu nui, kaopiko kei te taheke raumanga nui,
He pura homata i te tou mangarua e tu ki Ngararapapa na.
Kaua koe he Rangiwhango hei ki mai, mate mai he kai ki runga nei.

No nga tau i noho ai nga tamahine {tamariki},
He kikino a rangi a Tai {tau} mutu raua ko Tauwhare.
Anga ake au ki uta, kimi po nga tuhota e hau ana ra.
Kei waenganui au o nga roto nei, e hina {hinu}, he pua taaku kai.
Anga ake au ki Pateanui a Turi,

Ko te ika tena i kotikotia ai te Uru o Hawaiki.
Tu ke Kuparu, tu ke Wawauatea, whiti mai ki rawahi nei.
Ka tangi koropanga ki Te Hiku, hurihia e Raumanga, ka manga ko Te Toko,

Song 13: SONG (HE:54)
This waiata contains references to places from Patea to Raukawa Moana (Cook Strait), and to historical figures such as Te Whiwhi (line 6) and Wairaweke (line 17). Matene Te Whiwhi of Otaki helped to set up the first Maori King in 1858 (Sinclair, 1969:114-115). Colonel William Wakefield, known to the Maori as "Wideawake" or Wairaweke (Sinclair, 1981:96), "bought" land around Cook Strait and in Taranaki in 1839-40 on behalf of the New Zealand Company (see 1.4.1.).

Traditional themes include that of crossing Raukawa Moana by canoe (lines 19-20). First-time travellers were forbidden to look upon Nga Whatu, the Brothers Rocks, in case a storm arose and they drowned. To obviate the danger they were required to veil their eyes with leaves until the crossing was over (Best, 1982:541). The komakohua (line 19), or komako-huariki, was a tapu bird which guarded the groper banks in the Strait and restrained the canoe of anyone who broke the tapu concerning Nga Whatu (ibid:543).

Elvy (1957:14) surmises that this bird may have been the King Shag, found "nowhere else in the world" but Queen Charlotte Sound.
This waiata appears twice in the Kahui Papers: in CB:125 under the heading of "He mahara kei hakou ha"o", with a first line which reads: "Maringiringi noa i nga tangi a Rangi"; and in KA:15 with a first line which reads: "E Rake taku hoa, maraingiringi noa i nga tangi a Rangi". Apart from that the two versions are essentially the same.

HE WAIATA

1   (E Rake taku hoa),
Maringiringi noa i nga tangi a Rangi,
Tangihia kia nui te tangi ki te matua,
He matua whare ianei te matua tangata.

5   Ka whano ka tatare reirei te Reinga i a taua,
E te hoa, ura kei runga nei. Taku tirotiro noa
I te ngutu te pakipaki ake i te rauika e takoto.
Me aha atu koe i te rakau matak,
Tutu ki te ate, waiho kia wiri ana.

10  Kauraka hoki koe e whakawai(a) mai nga rakau to,
Me ko takahia nei, me ko tangia {tangihia} nei,
Tuhau rawa ki Tupua, tuhau rawa ki Tawhito,
Ka mama taku hauriri, e.
This waiata occurs also in Tutu (f.189) and Smith (f.163a:310,406). The composer refers to himself in the last line as Tai, a shortened form of his name.

Classical references in the waiata include the names of Rata's canoe, Punui-a-Rata (line 2), renamed Te Rangi-a-te Rngiaurere (line 3). In this canoe the Taranaki ancestor Potikiroa and his sister Hine-tuahoanga sailed in search of the latter's husband Tumuaki, who had gone to the South Island to look for greenstone (Smith, 1910:166-68). Ruarangi (line 3) was the father of Rauru, eponymous ancestor of those who accompanied Tumuaki on his quest (ibid:66). In mythology Hine-tuahoanga is personified sandstone which, when used with "rushing waters" (waihirere, line 4), wears away greenstone. This is the same kind of destructive power as that which causes humans to die.

Themes of hope include a reference to the spirit canoe Huru\[huru\]manu (line 7), which came from Hawaiki and "dispersed the night of darkness" (line 7) by lifting up the sky which, until then, had rested on the sea (Beattie, 1915:103). Another theme is that of Rupe (line 9), who approached Rehua in the tenth heaven to ask about his sister Hinauri (Grey, 1956:63-65). He found her at Motutapu ("Sacred Isle", line 11), and took her away; presumably, to a better life (see also Song 70).

HE TANGI NA KUKUTAI PAHAKE MO TANA TAMAITI, MO NGATAI

1 E tama i ahau, kaore ana nei kia whakauru iho
   Ki roto ki te moenga, toia atu ra Punui a Rata,
   Ka tere i te moana ko Te Rangi-a-te Rngiaurere, ko Ruarangi ki runga.
   Ko Hinetuahoanga, ko Hinewaihirere mangaia koe ko te mangai poto,
5 Mangaia koe ki te mangai o Whiti.
   Kapakapa tu ana te tau o taku ate. Me uta atu koe
   Ki Te Waka Hurumanu, ko te waka tena nana i hehueu te po.
   E haere e tama i te ara ka rere kore ki muri.
   Ko Rupe koia au kia tiu, kia rere ki te uru, ki te tonga,
   Ki te taketake roa i Hawaiki. Ka he te mahara.
   Tikina ki a Rehua, tohungia iho ai kei raro, kii Motutapu.
   Whakahu e tama ki te tae marangai. He uia mai koe,
10 Mau e ki ake: "Ko Kopu ki runga, ko au ki raro nei".
A, whakarongo koe nga tai e wawara i waho.
   Ti\(\)rohanga ki te hau kainga, na-ai,
   Maunga tu noa Taranaki i te uru.
   Ka rere nga kura, ka whakahawe haere.
   Ehara ano koe e tama i a maua ko te Kahui Ao,
   Na Poniho uri, na Poniho koi, na Poniho tara, na-ai.
15 E piki e tama i te pikitanga matua i a Taketake,
   Nana i tawhiri nohoia Rangiriri. Ko te mokopuna koe
A Manoa, nana i whakarewa Te Tara i whenuakura.
Ka hui nga toa ki roto Wharekura ki a Uenuku, nui ake ana ai.
Tana rakau ko Nga Huawaero, tana ika ki roto

25 Ko Tu raau ko Pae, ka takoto ki Nukumaraharaha, eī.
Ka rangona i kona ko rakau whatiwhati,
Ka rangona iho tuku nui aki horo.
Maku e whakamau nga tai e huri i waho,
Te rerenga kei a tama na Tai, na-ai.

Song 16: A LAMENT BY MAKERE (CB:41)

The composer of this waiata was Makere of Te Ati Awa, whose son Taramoana was killed and eaten by Ngati Ruanui relatives (Smith, 1910:228-29). Smith's account of this event is summarised by Ngata and Te Hurinui in NM 274, and drawn on by Mitcalfe (1974:42-47). These two latter sources follow Smith in giving the first line as:

E Tama! nga ki e!

which they translate variously as:

O son! whose fame all tongues proclaim (Smith, ibid:231)
O son! These are mere words! (NM 274)
O my son, only your name remains (Mitcalfe, ibid:45).

As the text in the Kahui Papers shows, however, the phrase is a formulaic one, "tama na Ki" (son of Ki), which is used also in the following waiata:

(15/29): "tama na Tai" (son of Tai)
(18/10): "tama na Hoe" (son of Hoe).

With references to females this phrase becomes:

(10/17): "hine a Wae" (daughter of Wae).

For a working text and translation of this waiata see NM 274 or Smith (1910:229-233).

Song 17: A LAMENT BY POUKOHATU FOR HIS DAUGHTER, PEWAIA (L:12)

Te Kahui Kararehe took the name of Poukohatu in later life as a sign of mourning for the deaths of several of his children (DNZB III:509). He composed this waiata for his daughter Pewaia (Pewa', line 17), who died in 1879 as a young child.

In NM 89:60 the phrase iwi matariki (line 16) is translated as "precious bones". Another specialised reference is that of makehu (line 16), which is given in Williams (1971:169) as young (fern) shoots. Williams also gives "nga makawe o Raukatauri" and "makawe tapairu" as types of fern, so that makehu and makawe ("hair, ringlets") would appear to be interchangeable, in Taranaki at least.

For details of the Taranaki hapu mentioned in lines 9, 10 and 21, see Smith
The prophets (poropiti, line 13) were Tohu Kakahi and Te Whiti-o-Rongomai of Parihaka.

'E TANGI NA POUKOHATU MO TANA KOTIRO, MO PEWAIA

1 E to e te ra, e whai te aroha. Mapu noa nei te wai
[I] aku kamo te iti kahurangi ka wehe i ahau.
Kei w'e ko [e] hine e ngaro i ahau?
Kia whakauru iho ki roto ki te moenga.
5 Tera pea koe kei roto i ho awa,
Kei te whakaruruku to iti ki reira.
Tera pea koe kei roto te whare kino.
Ki'titiro atu au to mata rauiti,
Taku kiri 'Ati Hine ka ngaro i ahau.
10 Marie whakarehu ki te nui 'Ati Hau,
E huri nei ra te mamee ki ahau.
Naku i whakahaere nga one kaitara o Wairua i raro e,
Tawhainga atu nga rongo poropiti, nou e Taranaki,
I ripoa iho ai taku ipo ki reira.
15 Nau mai e hine ki runga ki haku ringa, hurihuri au
O iwi matariki, ho uru makehu ka tokia e te hau.
Moe mai e Pewa'i runga i Te Kawau,
Tahuri to mata, e anga ki te tonga. I huaruatia
Kei to papa e iri noa mai ra i runga o Paparoa.
20 Ngaro noa korua i te hono e takoto,
Taku kiri 'Ati Rangi ka moe i te hau, ihi.

Song 18: THIS SONG IS BY RAKA (R:73)

No details are available concerning this waiata.

NA RAKA TENEI WAIATA

1 E to e te ra, rehurehu i aku kamo. Me whakaarongo iho,
Ka taituku haere, a, kupenga rau i tai
Te wa ki aku hoa, e ura i raro ra.
Ka wehea koe i ahau taku ruru matanui.
5 Katahi ka unuhia taku piki waiwhara, ka makoha ki te one.
Kauraka e Te Rau e whakapaua ki te korero,
Tenei ano ra te nui mahara nei.
He manu ko'anga au e kahahae i runga ra,
E kopa te haere te tihi o Munaia, ka mapu i raro ra.
10 Ko koe na i maioro na tama na Hoe,
Nahana koi taratata ki toa ukeha te hekenga i Mangakino-o.
Song 19: THIS IS A LAMENT BY TE AOMAANGI FOR POUKOHATU
(F:33; R:79)

Poukohatu Te Kahui Kararehe (Pou', lines 7 and 11) was 59 years old when he
died at Rahotu on 7 September 1904. His wife Te Aomaangi died 26 years later in
January 1931 (DNZB III:509-10).

In line 9 of this waiata Te Aomaangi mourns for their children who have died (ho
taonga, your treasures; see also Song 17). Another daughter, Te Kaea, died in May 1905
and was lamented by Te Kahui's relative, Tutahau Mahauwhero (Smith, f.163a:337), who
took his name from the family burial hill at Rahotu (ibid:327; KB:86). Pakihere (line 4)
was a defensive pa in the Okahu gorge, on the western slope of the mountain, and
Wharerenga (line 14) was the house of Te Kahui's ancestor Tuwhakairikawa at
Pungaereere (HB:19-22).

Te Wawera Arakura (line 15) was the canoe of Hine-tuahoanga (Smith,
f.163a:338; see Song 15), or of Mangohuruhuru, tohunga-chief of Mawhera (Greymouth),
whose daughter Punaterito married the Taranaki ancestor Potikiroa (Smith, 1910:170).
Tutahau Mahauwhero told Smith (f.163a:338) that some of their ancestors came here from
the ancient homeland of the Taranaki people in a canoe of that name. This is clearly
expressed in lines 15-16 of this waiata.

HE WAIATA TANGI TENEI NA TE AOMAANGI MO POUKOHATU

1  E tuku ra nga hau o te rangi, e homai aroha ki a au i konei,
   Kei te harapuka taku ngakau te tane i wehea.
   Maku nei e titiro Rahotu taone, ko ho turanga mai i to hauranga.
   Maku e whakamau te ata ka toea na runga ana mai o Pakihere ra-ia,
5  Ko ho whakapounga korero i nga rangi ra.
   Maku e komihi ki roto Kaimiru’,
   Ko ‘e turanga korero e Pou’i to hauranga.
   Maku e whakarongo, ko ‘e waraki kotoro e takahi nei.
   Ko ho taonga e Pa i kauawhitia e koe i roto i nga tau e huri ai.
10  Ko ‘e uira hiko noa ki tai o te moana, kei Kaitangata pea,
    Ko ho tohu e Pou’i haere ai koe i te ara tukutuku
    A Ihenga raua ko Rongomai ki raro ki te whenua.
    Kia tutaki atu koe to kahui kuaka e noho mai ana i runga i nga puke.
    Kia tomo atu koe ki roto Wharerenga, ko te whare hana i tu ai nga mahi.
15  Kia eke atu koe ki runga Te Wawera Arakura,
    Ko te waka tena nana ia hari mai te kura tangata ki te ao, na-ai.
Song 20: **THIS IS A LAMENT BY TARAWHA ABOUT THE COMING OF NGATI HAUMIA AND NGATI TAMAHAUROA TO ATTACK US** (CB:124; Q:5)

**THE SONG:**

This waiata was difficult to transcribe from the original, as much from the lack of clarity of the handwriting as from the complexity of the subject matter and the composer's uniqueness of expression (see also Songs 77 and 78).

Ngati Haumia and Ngati Tamaahuora were hapu living south of Opunake, and so were near neighbours of Tarawha's tribe of Ngati Ruanui (NM 89, headnotes). Ngati Tamaahuora has since been absorbed by its more northerly neighbours (Hammond MS:54,56).

**HE TANGI TENEINA NA TARAAWHA MO TE HAERENGA MAIKI TE PATU I NGATI HAUMIA ME NGATI TAMAHAUROA. TE WAIATA:**

1. E wawe ra e te whakahoro o te tonga.
   Kia tu atu matou, *ei*, ka mate takunga kore.
   Tumaku' te waha o nga wahine, *ei*.
   Hei tohatoha ia mo koutou, *ei*.

5. Whareone te whare i a Mango hei te taupuni, *ei*.
   Ka hamama koa nga waha o aku tuahine i te ranga tapu,
   Kāi noa mai e Numi, *ei*, nona (no kono) te tama tu hangarau.
   He roa te taringa, *ei*, i to tupuna i a Rangi Mohuki-i,
   Te toto ruauri, *ei*, e pai ana e te mate.

10. Ko wai ka kiite atu ki a au ianei, e uri {Uri}, *ei*.
    Me uta taua ki Papatuanuku, henei ake pea e huki, *ei*.
    E tu taua {tana} i te maro tama hei maro riri, *ei*.
    Hei maro nguha ma koutou kia ruku atu ano, *ei*.
    Nga tai timu ka taakato i waho Hibi, *ei*.

15. Kia ea ake ana, ka poo ngahuru,
    Ka rangona i {ai} te ingoa, te hara tau 'ho, *ei*.
    Te titiro ki te hoa whakamau {ka mau} atu 'ho, *ei*.
    Hei rerewhata ma Te Ngahue ki tona marae, ki 'Tahungapoto,
    Kia whakameto iho tona para whaakata'.

20. E hiakai ana au, *ei*, ki nga oranga o Ngati Haumia,
    Te tango mai 'ho, e Numi, *ei*.
    To uru makehu hei taupaki ake mo o hoa i a haku.

Song 21: **A SEER'S SONG ABOUT URUTAKE** (F:115)

This waiata was recorded by Best (JPS 6:47) under the heading of "Matakite for the Battle of Po-uru-take, at Ruatoki". A possible reason for copying a text such as this from Tuhoe is considered in Chapter Five.

For a working text and translation of this waiata see JPS 6:47, which begins:

Hurihia ki muri ki to tuara.
Song 22: [SONG] (L:20)

The type of composition of this waiata is not identified in the Kahui Papers, although it appears to be a rotu moana or karakia to calm the seas.

[WAIATA]

1  Huti ake au i taku punga nei, raparapa i rangi ra,
   Na taku hoe-nuku, na taku hoe-rangi
   Riro whakaanga ki matangi, to-hai.
   Kani horo, kani horo te rukuhia,

5  Te maiangi o Tu, rere te rangi a 'Nuku,
   Te rangaranga marere i runga.
   Komata te tapuae, tuawhiowhio i runga,
   Komata te tapuae iana, ko tapuae o Tane.
   Tu atu to kauhouora ki uta, tu patua te moana,

10 Te wai a Nuku, te wai a Rangi.
   Na te pupuke, na te marino,
   Ngarara koe i uta, tuatara koe i tai.
   Takahia e wai? Takahia e Moko, e Tiutiu.
   Ko Taane, ko Maru-awatea takoto i te uruora.

15 Haere i te ara mahaki marire, tu patua te wai
   A Rangiriri, whakaanga ki matangi, to-hai.
   Kani horo, kani horo, kani wawe, kani wawe
   Te rukuhia, te maiangi o Tu, rere marire i runga.
   Komata te tapuae iana, ko tapuae o Tane.

20 Tu atu to kauhouora ki uta, haere i te mahaki marire,
   Tu atu to kauhouora ki uta, tuku atu au kia mangi ana.

Song 23: SONG BY TE IKAHERENGUTU (Book Q)

The whakapapa of Te Ikaherengutu, the composer of this and other waiata (e.g., Songs 65 and NM 181, 367 and 368), is given in the Kahui Papers (E:130) as:

Whitiaua = Hurungarangi
Te Ikaherengutu = Puiakohu

Morohea    Te Haupupa    Taongamoko

This waiata may have been recorded from a rendition by Mahau Pahake, for a note accompanying the text in the Kahui Papers reads:

Ka mutu tenei waiata, i haere a Mahau Pahake ki te patu i Ngati Ruanui. Rongo rawa mai kua mate no muri nei i Taranaki. Ka mate hoki te ope a Mahau i Ngati Ruanui (When Mahau Pahake finished this waiata he went to fight with Ngati Ruanui, and news eventually came back that he had died in Taranaki, and that his war party had been defeated by Ngati Ruanui).
The waiata itself is in the form of a kaioraora or cursing song, and is included here so a comparison may be made with other songs by this composer.

**WAIATA NA TE IKAHERENGUTU**

1. I whakatuheratia e Hau {Hau} to ipu whakataha
   Hei kohu mo te wai roro mo Paretutu
   Hara mai ana koe ki ahau i waiho atu ai
   Te Haukopa he i piringa paua ki Owhiti.

5. E pu koia kei taku ringa kia piki atu au
   I Ngamotu, ko nga kainga riri i pewa ha ho tupuna.
   Mau ana taku rakau ki Te Rewarewa, i tu ai
   Te Whata, hokahoka ki te rae,
   Ki Te Keteiwi, au ka hurumutu.

**Song 24: A LAMENT BY TE RANGIWHATUMATA (F:15; Book L)**

Te Rangiwhatumata's name is spelt "Te Rangiwhatumota" in Simmons (1976:455), where he is credited with two waiata in "Tuta [sic] Maori Songs", held by the Polynesian Society Library. Those "two" (actually three) texts in Tutu (f.189) are the same song: "E muri ahiahi ka tatao mai te murimuri aroha", repeated twice over in part or in whole. That waiata is not included in the Kahui Papers, but others by Te Rangiwhatumata are given here as Songs 38 and 56.

The headnote to NM 252 attributes this particular waiata to an unknown composer, who was "probably ... Tu-rau-kawa, the famous Tara-naki poet-philosopher" [sic]. In the Kahui Papers this unknown composer is identified as Te Rangiwhatumata (or Te Whatumata), and the waiata itself begins:

(F:15):

Ka heke i nga huihuinga, ka heke i nga kawainga

(Book L):

Ka eke i nga huihui, ka eke i nga kawainga

The Taranaki aspirate "h", or lack of it, is an obvious factor here in determining the intended meaning, whether to "go up", or to "migrate".

For a working text and translation of this waiata see NM 252.

**Song 25: A LAMENT BY TE RUAHUIHUI FOR THE PEOPLE WHO DIED OF THE FLU (F:90)**

Te Ruahuihui was a daughter of Te Aomaangi by the latter's first husband, Nua Aperahama of Parihaka. In this waiata she laments the ravages of epidemic diseases in the late 1880s (puru, line 2, refers to 'flu or influenza). Amongst those who died were four
of her half-brothers, Te Kahui's sons, whom the Kahui Papers (E:147) name as:

- Rakauriki (died 19 February 1889, age fifteen, at Rahotu);
- Rahotu Te Tauru-o-te-rangi (died 29 June 1887, age five, at Arataha);
- Koroheaea (died 1 June 1887, age two and a half);
- Rawiri (died 9 December 1888, age two, at New Plymouth).

The Reserves Trustee, Rennell, recorded the deaths of a number of children at Rahotu, "more particularly those of a chief called Te Kahui" (AJHR, G-2, 1890:9). He added:

"Another of the children who was ill at the time was brought into town and placed under medical advice, but the child died".

In a letter to Smith (Broughton, 1984:133,139), Te Kahui wrote that these deaths all occurred in 1889, but earlier dates than this are given in the Kahui Papers (E:147) for the three younger boys. Writing fifteen years or so after his multiple bereavements, Te Kahui no doubt came to view the loss of his sons as one and the same grievous event.

Three surviving sons were Reremoana, born 4 August 1878; Puhi Riki, born 29 January 1890; and Tuiau Te Tauru-o-te-Rangi, born 7 November 1892, who died as a young man (see Song 40).

**HE WAIATA TANGI NA TE RUHUIHUI MO NGA TANGATA I MATE I TE MATE A TE PURU**

1. Kaore i riri patai te riri a te Atua, Kaore i rikarika te riri a te puru. Kotahi ano koe, he mano ki te hinganga Taku iwi e toru: Ruanui, Ati Awa, Taranaki.

5. Taku kiri ruahine matu, e hoa ma, I te tira heke nui w'aimuri atu ra kei nga matua, Kei nga whaene. Kaore roimata e whakamaroke nei. Me mihi kau ake, me kite kau ake kua rite te tangata Ki te tanu kararehe, haere kopu ki raro ki te whenua.


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4 Due to a transcribing error, the letter dated 1 Feb 1904 (Broughton, 1984:130) is possibly the same as that dated 12 Feb 1904 (ibid:135).
**Song 26: A "MANU" (CB:54)**

This waiata is addressed to several girls or young women ("e hine ma"). The composer is not known, although the waiata is set in Te Kahui’s own area and displays his style of composition. This includes references to:

i. **Proverbial sayings:**
   - karihi niho (line 2, see also Song 6);
   - he ika unahi nui (line 3);
   - te harakeke tongai nui (line 11).

ii. **Names of local houses:**

Whakamoeariki (line 17) was the house of Tamaahua, an early Taranaki ancestor (see Songs 39, 51 and 56; and Smith, 1910:158). Te Kurahoungata (line 18), is given in 50/51-52 as the house of Tuamio or, in a karakia "which the Taranaki tribe thinks a great deal of" (Smith, f.163a:393-94), as the house of Apakura:

   Me tuku kia hoki o koutou tuakana  
   Ki roto Te Kura-hou-ngata, te whare i a Apakura  
   Ko te whare ... tena o to tipuna  
   I rere te Tua-ki-te-rangi.

iii. **Names of ancestors:**

Totorewa (line 5) was an ancestor of Wiremu Kingi Matakatea, one of Te Kahui’s mentors in his early days at Opunake (HB:88). Koputangi (line 7) and Tauru-o-te-kawa (line 7) were Ngati Atua and Ngati Tamaahuroa chiefs of Ahikuku pa, Otakeho. Te Rangiwharariki (line 8) was Koputangi’s house (Smith, 1993:24).

Rakeiwera (line 7) was the father of Kahukura-makuru (Kahu) who, with Tuwhakairikawa (Kawa, line 13), defeated Te Ati Awa in the mid-eighteenth century (see Song 6). Smith (1910:212) notes that "Rakai-wero" (Rakeiwera?) was killed by Te Ati Awa around this time; if so, then Kahukura-makuru was the obvious person to avenge his father’s death. Rangipakira (line 16) was a tohunga who listened for the Taranaki war party as they moved north along the beach below his home, and turned them back to seek for reinforcements because the noise they made in crunching the gravel ("ngaehe i te kirikiri") convinced him they did not have the numbers to defeat Te Ati Awa at that time (Smith, ibid:210 fwd; Kahui Papers). "Te tamaiti waha o" (line 19) was Tarapangaio, who carried provisions for Kahukura-makuru’s war party, and who offered the karakia that ensured Taranaki’s success in battle (HB-33). Smith refers to him simply as "a young man, who for this occasion had been chosen by the gods as their mouthpiece" (Smith, ibid:214).
Smith (ibid:212) translates the phrase "te rangona te pato[to]" (line 14) as "who knows where his strength will take him?" In the context of the story in which Kahukura-makuru visits Tuwhakairikawa and persuades him to join forces with them, this should possibly be translated as "he does not hear your [repeated] knocking".

McLean (in McLean & Curnow, 1992:195, item 1137) states that the singers who recorded a song of this type for him were not told the meaning of manu, although it appears in that reference as a waiata poi (see also reference to manu in Song 3).

'E MANU

1  Kaore i titoa i henei rangi nei, no mua mai ano:
   I karihia ai e koe te ora mo te tangata;
   E kore e pou, he ika unahi nui.
   E tu e hine ma i runga i te rua a ho koutou tupuna,
5  A Turingitoto, a Totorewa, i te Tarere o Matariki.
   Titiro ra e hine ma ki te whare o ho koutou tupuna,
   O Koputangi, o Rakeiwera, o Tauruotekawa,
   Ko Te Rangiwharariki 'e whare no te rangimarie.
   Kei reira 'ho ho koutou piki e iri ana, titia.
10 Whakawaha e hine ma to koutou whakawai:
   Te harakeke tongai nui, ara, kei Takiaha.
   Haere e hine ma, e tomo ki roto ki to koutou whare,
   Ki Wharereenga, kei whea a 'Kawa?
   Kei roto kei Pungareere, te rangona te patooto.
15 Haere e hine ma, takahi atu te kirikiri
   A to koutou tupuna, a Rangipakira, katahi ra ka ngahehe.
   E tomo e hine ma ki roto ki ho koutou whare, ki Whakamoeariki,
   Ki Te Kurahoungata, i rere Te Tuanuikiterangi,
   Katahi ka whakatika te tamaiti waha o.
20 Ka hara pukai te iwi, ka pikitia Onukutaipari,
   Ka piki tatou i Te Tutu, ka tae atu ki Waitoki,
   Kei reira ano te pou whakairo o ho koutou tupuna,
   E iri ana, koia ra tena e kakapa iho nei.

Song 27: A LAMENT BY WHAKATAU FOR HIS SON, KUKUTAI
(E:83; F:10; Book L)

Whakatau and Kukutai are listed in the Kahui Papers (E:17) as members of Nga Mahanga hapu. Skinner (in White, 1891:545) gives additional information about the family:

Whakatau's father, Kiore, was the ariki of his tribe, and Whakatau's elder brother, Paora Kukutae [sic] led the tribe at the battle of Waireka, in March 1860, where he was killed; so they are a family of rank in these parts.

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5 Rawson (1990:81) explains that Paora Kukutai was shot as it was getting dark, because
The use of the word "pohe" (line 8) suggests that Whakatau was blind. Ruhi (line 7) may have been his wife. The herbs used to treat his blindness (line 7) are discussed in Chapter Eight (8.4.4).

HE TANGI NA WHAKATAU MO TANA TAMAITI, MO KUKUTAI

1 Kaore taku raru, ko au nei anake,
    Tahurihuri kau, whakaaroaro kau i roto te ngakau.
    Kaore i mua ra e manahau ana taua e peka {peke} ki te mahi tahi {kai};
    Tena ko tenei, ka tuoho au ki te whare.
5 E titi e te ra e, maene kei taku kiri.
    Me pewhea iho e kite ai au i te whenua, e.
    Ruhi ma e, tikina ki te waoriki {rimu}
    Hei rongoa ake mo te pohe, ka piri kei te kanohi.
    E taura ka motu ki te po, na Taramainuku,
10 E taura ka motu ki te po, na Tuhawaiki.
    Ko te rekereke kau o Mounu i waiho ki a au nei, ka kite au i te huhi.
    Tera nga tai e tangi haere ana kei Pitoone, e tangi haere ana kei Timaru,
    Ko te kirikiri kau o Rangipakira i waiho i te ao, na-ai.
    Aranga kau ana, aranga kai tangi; tiketike kau ana te pae ki Te Wharau.
15 Nga whakatauki a nga kaumatua i waiho i te ao nei,
    Kua morehutia te uri o te tangata,
    Kua rite ki te karuhiruhi e noho kotahi ana i te muriwai.

Song 28: THIS IS A LAMENT BY TE NGAHURU FOR HERA (HE:53)

The composer of this lament, Te Ngahuru Tamati Wiremu Te Tawarahi, was a recognised leader of the Taranaki people ("ko te rangatira nui tenei o Taranaki": AB:109). He was spokesperson for Taranaki in 1847, when Te Ati Awa unsuccessfully disputed their right to receive the purchase money for the Omata Block (Smith, 1910:117-119). The phrase, "nga one kaitara o Wairau" (line 4) may refer to that event, or to an ambush at Wairau beach in 1863 which began the second Taranaki war. That ambush took place at a "shingly beach" beyond Oakura, where the Wairau and Waimouku streams flow into the sea (Cowan, 1983:1:222).

Te Ngahuru’s whakapapa, given in the Kahui Papers (E:96; HD:56,62), shows that he was the brother of Hera Tunae, for whom this waiata was written:

\[ \text{Takotokawa} = \text{Tuterauihi} \]

\[ \text{Te Ngahuru Tamati Wiremu Te Tawarahi} \quad \text{Hera Tunae} \quad \text{Kerei Tuterauihi} \]

the white blanket he wore made him a conspicuous target.
Kerei Tuterauihi, their brother, was one of those taken captive after the battle of Kikiwhenua in 1826 (see Chapter One, note 6). When Te Ngahuru went north in June 1840 to attend the funeral of the missionary Bumby he saw his brother Kerei, who was still a captive ("mokai") of Ngapuhi (Minarapa MS 385; AC-109; DNZB:1:357).

'E TANGI TENEI NA TE NGAHURU MO HERA

1  Kaore te mamae {aroha} e whana i roto ra.
   Naku nei te haere i {ki'} taupurua iho
   Ki runga o Hukurangi, e whakataatae ana
   Kia takahia atu nga one kaitara o Wairau

5  I runga ki {kei} o tungaane, e whawhai atu ana
   Te {nga} runanga pahi ki nga wai e rere ki {to} Waitaha ra-ia.
   Ka hoki mai e hine, a, kite atu au too turanga mai i te hina kauruki.
   Tenei te roimata taheke i roto, e Kore ra e puakina
   Kei toonui te mamae e pa[pa]kikini nei te tau o tuku ate.

10  He mea ano hoki koe ka tauwehea atu i te hina kekeno.
    Ka mutu nga mahi, ka hoki au ki te iwi.

Song 29: SONG (L:13)

The circumstances of this waiata are not known, although it appears to be set in southern Taranaki: see reference to Whitikau (line 13 and NM 240/26).

WAIATA

1  Kaore te mamae wahi pu ana te tau o tuku ate,
   Takoto rawa iho, te au tuku moe i te ahiahi nei.
   Meherea koutou ki te whakaara i tuku moe,
   Kia whiti rere au ki runga, manawa te hanga kino.

5  E mahi au e, tonu i nga taumaha nei.
   I whakaritea koe 'e matangi hau ririki, 'e mamae [a]no kei roto i ahau.
   Huna koutou ko te huna i te moa, kei tipu ko te uri.
   Taku wao totara i wakawaia e ho tipuna, ko Te Hurutipuke.
   Haire ra e Whare i te tira whai muri kei ho matua,

10  Whakatikaa [a]tu ko Te Kapakeita,
    Ka ngaro ko Te Kapakiteao, kotahi ra pea i matea atu ai.
    Ko nga hau parua, ko te hau o runga, ko te hau o raro.
   E papaki mai nei te rae ki Whitikau,
   E wani haere te tai ki Heiawe.

15  Tu mai i kona, whakapunawaru ana te taki taumaha,
    E tai mihi tangata ka wehe i ahau.
Song 30: [SONG] (L:19; Book Q)

This waiata is recorded in JPS 11:121-22 as a Te Ati Awa lament, and in Tutu (f.189) as a lament by Rewha for Te Watene Arapata. A reference to Te Uira-i-te-rangi, common to all three versions, suggests that this was the name of the person for whom the song was originally composed.

For a working text and translation of this waiata see JPS 11:121-22, which begins:

Kaore te mamae ngau kino i roto ra.

Song 31: A LAMENT FOR TUAHUTARANGI BY HIS SON HOROPAPERA
A LAMENT BY TE RANGIMARUTUNA FOR HAPURONA (D:5; E:75; F:11)

This waiata was recorded three times in the Kahui Papers, each version differing slightly from the other two. In these versions the composer is named as either Te Rangimarutuna or Horopapera, and the dead person as either Hapurona or Tuahutarangi.

The Te Ati Awa chief Hapurona, who took the name Tuahutarangi during his fighting career as Wiremu King Te Rangitake's "war-leader" (Cowan, 1983:1:164), died on 26 February 1874 at Te Arei block-house, Pukerangi (Waka Maori 10, 1874:67,92). His only son Horopapera ("Zerubabbel", a baptismal name) must have been known also as Te Rangimarutuna, for the waiata links these names together in a specific father-son relationship.

For an annotated text and translation of this waiata, which begins:

Kaore te aroha ngau kino i roto ra ki taku matua ia -

see Smith (1993:55-57), where it is examined in detail.

Song 32: THIS LAMENT IS ABOUT TE WAITERE WHO WAS MURDERED BY NGATI RAHIRI (HE:69)

The text in the Kahui Papers identifies this song as a kaioraora or cursing song. A note accompanying the text reads:

Na Kirikumara i patu tenei tangata a Te Waitere, moona tenei tangi, na tona tuahine.

It was Kirikumara who killed this man Te Waitere, for whom this lament was composed, by his sister.

The name of the woman composer is not known, but Katatore Te Waitere was a well known figure during the Puketapu feuds in Taranaki in the 1850s. On 3 August 1854 he killed Rawiri Waiaua of Puketapu for selling land to the government which Te Waitere claimed. In January 1858 he himself was killed by Tamati Tiraurau (line 6), the brother of
Ihaia Kirikumara who planned the deed (DNZB 1:462). Waitaha-hara (line 3) is a play on the name Waitaha, the eastern boundary of Bell Block which Waiaua sold and upon which Te Waitere was killed (Wells, 1878:161).

Te Ikamoana (line 15) was land which Waiaua’s relatives had given to Kirikumara and which he, together with Nikorima (line 9) and Ngoungou Mahau (line 14), offered to the government in a climate of disputation in 1857 (ibid). Kareponia ("California", line 12), was the name of Kirikumara’s pa at Waitara (Cowan, 1983:1:157). ‘Rahiri (line 13) was Ngati Rahiri, linked in the heading to this waiata with Te Waitere’s death.

**TENEI TANGI MO TE WAITERE I KOHURUTIA E NGATI RAHIRI**
Koa tenei kaioraora:

   Ka hiko te uira i te tahora ki te mate kohuru,  
   Ka taupoki nei te riu ki Waitahahara.  
   E hiakai ana au ka tapore nei taku poho ki te wairoro piro,
2. Kiri taewa, horia i to peha hei kete kai mahaku,  
   Ka mangungu i aku niho. Ko Tiraurau, kare ka kuti’  
   Ho iwi hei wero manu mahaku, ka tuhera i to riu  
   He paata kai poaka kia kai noa mai te tini o aku kuri.  
   E kore Nikorima e waiho e au. Me tango mai hei pae
3. Mo taaku umu e tuhera kau nei, ‘e toenga hoki koe na Pukere,  
   ‘E waka ora koe naaku i a Manurau. Te whakamutunga,  
   Ko te rohe Ngati Ruanui ki Kareponia, e noho, e rihi,  
   Hei kai roro mo te tini o ‘Rahiri, ka tu tonu nei te huinga.  
   Etia i aku rau huruhuru ko to Ngoungou Mahau,
4. Tenei rawa taku waiwhero hei heu pahau mohou ki Te Ikamoana, *ihi.*

**Song 33: A "DREAMED" SONG** (E:9, F:14)

A note accompanying this waiata describes it as "he waiata moemoea, ara, i puta moemoea mai ki te tangata naana i waiata". That is, it was revealed during sleep to the person who sang it. From the sentiments expressed it would appear to be a waiata aroha or woman’s song (see, for instance, lines 3 and 15). Waina (line 21) is "wine", which the composer will turn to for support (whakapiri) if the man she loves does not satisfy her longing.

**HE WAIATA MOEMOEA**

1. Kaore te po nei. I nga whenua au e hahau no’ana.  
   Kati te whakawehi, ko te ahu (hau) karamu i konei maua.  
   Kei riri, e whae. Ko ta te ngutu hanga  
   He kai mawhera noa te tau tata mai
Te puke i a Wai-kiwakiwa, ka ta iho,
Kia ata tirohia te wiringa i hona wae,
I kino ki te wawata. Kaore ano ra
Iri tauhou mai he waka tangata ke.
Ma koutou ra nga mahi tiritiri,
Tau ake ko te tini. Tena ko tenei,
Heoi te turupou kei kootara whare
Ma Pehi ra e ki nga whakahoki.
Kauraka, e te rau {iwi}, e tarawau
Kia nui tukua taki tinana, kia ako keukeu.
Ka eke tenei te puke ki Ruahine, heoi nei
Te tara i waiho i te ngutu hei paki ki te whare.
E hira hau e, te rongo Pakeha
He tipi ra i te whenua, haku rongo rere ure
Hau ana ki te muri. Ko wai te pai e,
I reia e au? ko koe. Whetae,
Kei whakapiri ahau ki te waina, hai.

Song 34: [SONG] (CB:118,123)

This may have been a waiata "in the making", as two slightly different versions are
recorded in the Kahui Papers within a few pages of each other. The first version is dated
Mei 28, 1909, five years after Te Kahui's death (see Song 19). Both versions are given
here for comparison.

The setting is possibly the beach at Opunake, as the note accompanying Version 2
mentions Te Umuroa, Wiremu Kingi Matakatea's village there. Explanatory notes in the
original text, naming certain prestigious cloaks ("kakahu"), are given here in italics.

[WAIATA, Version 1]

1 Ka rongo atu au i te tai e haruru mai ana,
Ka rongo atu au i te reo e whai mai ana
I roto i te tai e ngahe mai ra.
Ka waiatatia mai te waiata: He wawara a tai
I rangona e au, e aki kau ana ki te whanga,
Ko te rite i a au e whakamakuru nei, e.
Taku kakahu ko Te Repa o Tu ka pou te haehae
E te kino ia te hine i ngaro, e.

Ko Te Kotuku o Rangi 'e kakahu,
Ko Te Kotuku Raeroa 'e kakahu,
Ko Te Kiri o Mere 'e kakahu.

6 A note in the Kahui Papers (HD-99) identifies Te Kiri o Mere as:
... he ingoa Topuni Hurukuri, no Putara [Rangatira o Taranaki] tenei Hurukuri, i utaina e Putara ki
runga kia Takarangi i te matenga o Takarangi me tona iwi i te whawhai i Otahu.
... the name of a dogskin war cloak belonging to Putara [a Taranaki chief], which Putara placed
Ko Te Hau ka Rere 'e kakahu ano.
Tenei no Ngati Ruanui, he topuni.
Ko Te Kotuku o Rangi he kakahu, 'e huru,
Ko Te Repa o Tu he kakahu, 'e huru.

[WAIA TA, Version 2]

1  Ka rongo atu au i te tai e wawa mai ana,
Ka whai mai te reo tangata i roto i te wawa o te tai
E ngahe mai ra. Nga kupu ka tuhia:
He wawara a tai, he aki kau ana ki te whanga.

5  Ko te rite i aku kamo e whakamakuru nei, e.
Taku kakahu ko Te Repa o Tu kua pou te haehae
E te kino o roto ia te hine i ngaro, e.
Ko Te Kotuku Raeroa, no Te Umuroa tenei taonga.
He kakahu henei e rua:
1. Ko Te Kootuku o Rangi, 2. Ko Te Repa o Tu.

Song 35: THIS SONG IS BY TAMARAPA (L:25)

This waiata is a kaioraora (see also Song 32). The composer, Tamarapa, lived at
Mokoia in southern Taranaki (see Song 53).

NA TAMARAPA TENEI WAIATA

1  Kia kapewhiti ana ki te hinu
I tupu mai ki te oi.
Me kawe taku hiakai nga roro rua
Ki Kete-piua, ki Kai-a-te-namu

5  Kia kai iho au i te tahuhu
Ka eke ki te takapu ka whiu,
Ka makona e taku kaki.

Song 36: A LAMENT BY TE RANGITAKORU (HC:138)

This lament is given in greater detail in NM 282, "A Lullaby for Wharau-Rangi",
which contains a discussion of sources. In the Kahui Papers the lament is attributed to Te
Rangitakorou, and in Nga Moteatea to Ngati Apa of Rangitikei who, like Taranaki, claim
descent from the Kurahoupo canoe (Smith, 1910:210). Te Rangitakorou may have been of
Ngati Apa descent.

As well as being a lament this waiata contains a recital of place names from
Whanganui to Waikanae. For a working text and translation of the shortened version

over Takarangi at his death and that of his people at the battle at Otahu.
contained in the Kahui Papers see NM 282, beginning line 21:

Kimikimi noa ana ahau, e hine.

Song 37: SONG FOR KIORE (L:20; Book Q)

The composer of this waiata is given in Tutu (f.189) as Te Hinemoa. It was composed for Kiore, a warrior ("he toa": see sub-title below). For a reference to Kiore of Nga Mahanga, who may have been the same person, see Song 27.

WAIATA MO KIORE
Te tangi mo Kiore, he toa tenei tangata:

1  Kiore, Kiore, taku tane ra-i, ko wai ra e Kiore,
    Te toa i pou'ai te wai pa[i], he toa taua hoki taku tane ra-i.
    He aha ra taku tane i kawei ai ki te wai reporepo te kauri tutu mata.
    Taku pokai arawaru, taku pitopito henga.

5  Te ika [a] Mania ko Nukutemaroro,
    Utaina ki runga Te Whatara, kaore e whiti taku tane ra-i.
    Te uru e, te uru ki taku whenua, te uru, era-i.
    Te uru e, te uru ki taku kainga, te uru, era-i.
    Huna houpunitia iho ra Taranaki ki roto te kete whara',

10  Tana kete ko Ruatamahine. Taku ra houpuni, era-i,
    Taku ra houpuni, taku ra to atu ki tae o te moana.
    E kia atu ana: Kauraka e whaia te ara o Rongomai e te matua.
    Ha ihi, ha ihi[i]a i runga Te Kauwhakatere, era-i,
    Nana i whatiwhati te pakikau o Houmea,

15  Tukua kia marepa te kaha o Tokomaru.
    Taku manu tu roa ki te huka o te tai,
    Ka rutua koa te iwi, era-ii.

Song 38: A LAMENT BY TE RANGIWATUMATA OF TARANAKI
(E:82; F:9,16; Book L)

See Songs 24 and 56 for other waiata by this composer. One version of the waiata given here (Book L) begins midway through the second line:

Ka koha ra e, te tangata i a au.

HE WAIATA TANGI NA TE RANGIWATUMATA, NO TARANAKI

1  Me moe, me huri, me kori ki te hoa tu tahi.
    Kaore ana nei ka kohra ra e te tangata i a au,
    Ka tu raungaiti, ka kauanuanu. Kaore ana ra
    Te tira tua paenga kia kokiri ake i te nohoanga i a tatou, ei.

5  Ka whano tenei ki te hua kuku, ko te tohu tena o te tau kore kai.
    Na nga potiki nana i huri ke, na raua ka anga mai,
    Ka wehe i te pua rakau, ka wehe i te tau.
10 Me tuai (tu ai) atu hoki he tangata i muri nei, ou-ei.  
Mate mai ano, e tama, i nga tau matemate a Tupaia, a Tawhito,  
I Waikapunuku, i Waikapurang, i Wainukumamata.  
Ko whea to awa e haere ai koe ki te pouriuri?  
Ka whati to hoe, ko Whatutauika, ka taka i to ringa, et.

Song 39: A SONG (Book R)

This waiata is addressed to the composer's father (line 15). References to Tama' (line 4) and Hua (line 3) relate to the Taranaki ancestor Tamaahua (see Songs 26, 51, and 56). Whare-totoka (line 2) and [Whaka]moeariki (line 3) were ancestral houses. Te Iringa (line 6) is the southernmost peak of the Patuha or Kaitake range, north-west of Mount Taranaki (Smith, 1910:159).

HE WAIATA

1 Moea ki te poo, poupourere ake, kaore ana nei koe  
E tomo e koro ki roto Wharetotoka, a, tomo atu koe  
Ki roto 'Moeariki, te whare o 'Hua i rere ki tai ra.  
Toea i reira ko te ata na Tama', huakina te taharangi, na-ai.  

5 Kaati i te awaiho ko te toka Iorenga.  
Me kawe ho iwi ki runga o Te Iringaa, noho iho,  
Ko 'e maunga tiketike. Ta Rehua koe, te puukohu rangi.  
Kauaka ianei e whakawaia mai he rakau komahi {komae},  
He rata wharara, he koutu whenua e kore ra e whenuku e tama.

10 Na taku mana e ho' ma ka kite iho au te hinganga ki raro, na-ai.  
Whakatiina, whakatiina iho au i to manawa, he manawa tina e,  
He manawa toka, he manawa kongaengae, he manawa inuhia  
Kei te tuukutata tai o te patunga.  
Kei te warawara te tai o Wairau,  
15 He tai mihinga nui te matua i [a] au, na-ai.

Song 40: THIS LAMENT IS BY TE AOMAANGI, FOR TUIAU (F:34)

Te Aomaangi composed this lament in 1916 when her son, Tuiau Te Tauru-o-te-rangi Te Kahui, died of infectious endocarditis at the age of 24. By that time she and Te Kahui had lost at least six other children (DNZB III:509). In line 13, Te Aomaangi refers to Tuiau as Rau-a-te-awhi ("a hundred embraces"), a term which Smith (f.163a:337) incorrectly interprets as "Te Kahui's wife". For similar terms of endearment see Songs 10/28 (Rau-a-Tupoki); 46/16 (Rau-a-Taumata {Tamato}); and 51/14 (Rau-a-'Wau).

"Your child" (to tamaiti, line 13) was Tuiau's daughter, my mother Loris Annie Te Kahui, who was three years old when her father died. Rahirimihia (line 21) was a female ancestor, the daughter of Haupoto who gave his name to the Ngati Haupoto hapu ('Ati
Hau', line 9), of which Te Kahui was the last chief of note. "A slave's weapon" (e rakau ngoringori, line 3) may refer to Tuiau's paternal grandfather, Taapu Minarapa, who was taken captive during the battle of Kikiwhenua in 1826 (see Song 28).

Panitahi (line 15) is Fantham's Peak (Scanlan, 1961:62), and Te Ahukawakawa (line 20) is the spagnum moss swamp between Mount Taranaki and the Pouakai range. Onukutaipari (line 24), a "sandy descent to the beach on the south side of Paritutu" (Smith, 1910:235), marked the boundary between Taranaki and Te Ati Awa. Okurukuru (line 23), a stream several kilometres south-west of Paritutu, separated the Omata Block from land to the south of it, which Taranaki refused to sell (Sinclair, 1969:112). These places were possibly marked by ancestral boundary posts (pou whakairo, line 25).

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NA TE AOMAANGI TENEI TANGI, MO TUIAU

1 Moe mai e tama te moenga e kore e hoki mai ki te ao marama.
   Kia moe atu au te moenga i matau mo koutou ra kei ho tuakana.
   Tae tao i wehia, 'e rakau ngoringori, te riri a te kuri.
   Taku ate hoki ra e kakapa tonu nei i te ra, i te po,
   Ko te rite i te tinana kei te ngaru e hora ki te aria
   Kii Matawhero raia. Tenei te mame e kai huaki ana,
   Me he ika mate au e hora ki te one ki Wairua raia.
   Taku tamaiti e, ka ngaio i [a] au i te hono e takoto,
   I te rahi 'Ati Hau, i te nui 'Ati Rangi,
   I te tira haerenga i o taina ra.
   Kia huihia koutou ki te kahu o te aroha,
   Ka hoki mai ai koe ki a au, e tama.
   E Rau a te awhi, tirohia mai ra kei to tamaiti,
   Ehara i te puarere noa, ko 'e mahuri totara
   E piki ki te hiw(h)i ki Panitahi rai[a].
   Kao re te aroha e hawe a mai nei ki taku marae,
   Ki o pou, ko nga nohoanga mai o haku tamariki.
   Kia tangi aurere au, kia tangi hotuhotu.
   No whea te roimata e hua maringi nei?

5 20 No nga roto e, ki Te Ahukawakawa,
   Ko te ahu tena a to kuia, a Rahirimihia.
   Korikori, e tu i te rangi o te haere,
   Kia piki atu koe i Okurukuru,
   Ka huri atu ki tua ki Onukutaipari,

10 25 Ko nga pou whakairo tena na ho tupuna.
   Ka puta nga iwi ki te marama, et.

---

Footnote 6: Taapu Minarapa is often confused with Kahu Minarapa of Nga Mahanga, although the two men have different death dates and were buried in different locations. Taapu Minarapa died 14 November 1893 at Rahotu (Whanganui MB 36, 15/10/1897), and was buried on Mahauwhero (Kahui Papers). Kahu Minarapa died 24 September 1900 (Taranaki MB 8, p.265), and was buried at Pukemanu Pa, Minarapa Road (Scanlan, 1985:42).
Song 41: A LAMENT BY TE KAHUI KARAREHE FOR TE WHETU, FIGHTING GENERAL OF TARANAKI (E:115; F:13)

The death of Te Whiti's "fighting general", Pera Te Rangituawaru Te Whetu (Smith, 1990:53), caused great sorrow throughout Taranaki. In a letter to Percy Smith dated 28 Mei 1897 (Broughton, 1984:68), Te Kahui explained that he and Te Whetu shared a common birth date (ibid:72):

... no te tau 1846 ka whanau maua ko Te Whetu i o maua whaene.... No te ata ha ia i whanau ai, no te ahiahi ahau i whanau ai i te ra kotahi; kei te rite ho maua tau, 51. ... in 1846 our mothers gave birth to Te Whetu and me.... He was born in the morning and I was born in the afternoon of the same day; our ages are the same, 51.

Te Kahui also recorded a short obituary (E:24):

Parihaka, Aperira 19th, 1897:

Ko te marama me te ra me te tau i mate ai a Te Whetu, te Tianara o tenei iwi o Taranaki. No te ata o te wiki, i te 10 o nga haora, i kimo iho ai tona kanohi....

Parihaka, April 19, 1897:
This is the month and the day and the year that Te Whetu, the General a/this Taranaki tribe, died. On Sunday morning at 10 o'clock his eyes closed ...

The "fish" (line 34) was a military settler named Brady whom Te Whetu killed in March 1867 at Moukoro (line 35), north of Opunake (Taranaki Herald, 16/3/1867). The "map" (line 34) possibly refers to initial reports which placed Brady's death somewhere east of Opunake (New Zealand Advertiser, 11-15/3/1867; Wanganui Chronicle, 6-13/3/1867).

Turiri, Tunguha and Tukaitaua (lines 31-32) are aspects of Tu, god of war.

For the story of Ihenga and Rongomai (lines 8-12), see Te Kahui Kararehe (1898:55-63) and Broughton (1984:74-80). The Taranaki ancestor Tahurangi (line 15) climbed Mount Taranaki and lit a fire at the top to claim it for his descendants (Smith, 1910:118; Rawson, 1990:16). He lived at Karaka-tonga pa on the northern slopes of the mountain. Kaimirumiru (line 16), the wharenui at Karaka-tonga (ibid:186), gave its name to Te Kahui's homestead at Rahotu. The site of Karaka-tonga is now conjectural, being either overwhelmed by volcanic debris or succumbing to the action of water or earth movement over time (Scanlan, 1961:145; Rawson, 1990:17-19).

HE TANGI NA TE KAHUI KARAREHE MO TE WHETU, TIANARA WHAWHAI O TARANAKI
1 Moe mai e Whetu te moenga hohonu,  
Te moenga e kore e hoki mai ki te ao.

---

8 Te Wiki was Sunday, "most probably because the week commences with that day" (Taylor, 1855:176).
Ma wai e roiroi ho iwi e takoto nei?
Ma wai to ingoa e karanga i muri [i] a koe?
5
Me awhitu kau ki ho turanga, i to hauoranga.
Haere ra e Whetu, te pou o te pakanga,
Te pou herenga o ho waka e tau nei. I tu mai ano
Te pou i ho tupuna, i a Ihenga raua ko Rongomai,
I tahuna iho ai Te Tatau o te Po, i tahawhenua ai ki a Hahuia
10
Raua ko Mata, ko te ara tuawhenua tenei. Ka tu te pou.
Na [A]lorangi i hoe te moana, ka eke ki te tuawhenua.
Ko nga uru waka tenei. Ka tu te pou.
Ka rere i runga i nga whakatupuranga:
Na to tupuna, na Maruwhakatare, i pou te maunga e tu mai nei.
15
Ka tu te pou. Na to tupuna, na Tahurangi, i tahu te ahi e ka iho nei,
He pahuretanga mai i te tonga ra, tutiratia ake,
Ka ngaro ki kona ko Maketuhi, ko Makehana, ko Maketaua,
Ko Te Kahui Po. Ka rere i runga i nga whakatupuranga:
Na o tupuna, na 'Kawa raua ko Kahu', i karihi te niho [o] Taranaki.
20
Ka tu te pou. Ka rere i runga i nga whakatupuranga:
E ngangana mai i te tonga ra, tutiratia ake,
Ka mau te manu rererangi, ka whati te parirau o te hokio,
Ka mau te whenua, ka mau te tangata. Ka tu te pou.
Ka rere i runga i nga whakatupuranga:
Pikitia te maunga e tu mai nei, whakanohoia te pou ki runga.
25
Ka tu te pou. Ka rere i runga i nga whakatupuranga, ko Waitara tenei.
Ko te ohaki a o tupuna, a o matua, i tahuna iho ai
Te ahi a te tangata, te ahi a te Atua.
Ka mate te whenua, ka mate te tangata. Ka tu te pou.
30
Tu mai e Whetu i te mura o te ahi, kakahuria to kahu,
I a Tukaitaua, ka iri te toa taua ki runga ki a koe.
Hapainga to patu, he patu whakamutunga,
Ana to ika te takoto mai i te muriwai o Moukoro na,
35
Mo te maapi a to atua kia tika ai te horanga ki te ao.
I herea ho kaha, ho uaua ki kona, ko he whakamutunga.
Ka hoki tu koe ki to marae, ki Toroanui,
Whakaturia to whare ko Te Rangimarie, whakanohoia ki roto,
Te rongo mau ki te ao. Ka tu te pou.
40
Na o tuakana nana i ruku te kura i huna, ka mau te kura,
Ka puta koe ki te whaiao, ki te ao marama, e i.
Takahia e koe te moana e takoto mai nei.
Horahia e koe ko te pono ki runga ki te whenua, ki runga ki te tangata.
E titi nei ra ha Tamanuitera ki runga ki te whenua.
45
Ka pakapaka te whenua, ka pakapaka te moana,
Ka totoro te mokomoko, ko rangirangi i a ia. Nau ra, e te hoa.
Ma ho tuakana, mana e apoapo te ao i muri i a koe. Ka tu te pou.
E aha ra te hau mana e tiki mai, e unuhi?
E aha ra te hau mana e tiki mai, e turaki?
50
E kore ra e taea te turaki, he pou Tangaroa ka tu.
Song 42: A SONG BY TE KORIRI ABOUT HIS FISHHOOK WHICH WAS STOLEN BY TE KAWHAKI (Book L)

Song 3 gives some background information on Te Koriri, and Song 58 names Te Kawhaka [sic] as his brother-in-law. Tonganui (line 14) was a house at the bottom of the sea which Maui hooked by the gable when he fished up the North Island (NM 65:15, 102:30).

HE WAIATA NA TE KORIRI MO TANA MATAU I KAIATIA E TE KAWHAKI

1 Muri awatea kia haere a atu nga mairo mutu i roto te rehurehu,
Kei reira ano te tiraunga ake, na Whiro te tipua i tango tuku piko.
Ka puta te hau tonga, ka tawhiri haere, te mea ra nei kia po ataata
He ngaki takatai au. Tenei te riri ui, e koro ma-a,

5 Kaore nei e hanga o roto i te ketete
Kati ha matau maaku ko to kapwhititi na, ko to kauae raro
Mo tuku kuu hei haerenga atu nga taumanu waka o Pukekura i tai.
He tira tohu ki te tatau i te papa o Ruakipouri
Horua ki Potango, ko te whare tena o Tangaroa ika,

10 Kei te tu heuheu ki roto Wharerimu, ki roto Wharepapa, ki Wharepatoka.
Te nawe to ringa ki to te kaipuke, tangohia atu ra
Ko hihi ki Tongahake, ko 'ihi ki Porapora,
Ko Raroaitu, ko Pikirawe, ko te Matautinaihwia.
Ki ai te uru o Tonganui kia rewa ki runga ra.

15 Kaura i wehiwehi, kaura hei matuku, ka puta i uta,
E angina mai ana ko te rapa whatuw, ko te pa tiotio.
Me ka hurihia koe kia ui mai: Kei a wai te hara i a tatou?
Ko Rakurutekaia i mairehua kai, tangohia atu ra
E te au kume, e te au rona, e te au hirehire atu ki te po-o.

20 Ka pako a tai, kia urei atu au e tu mai ana.
Ka ngoa nga mota, ka mawhe nga uru e whai ana koe i taua tuu na,
Kia kapo kau ake. Kei whea nei he oranga?

Song 43: "THIS SONG, WRITTEN BELOW, IS BY HURUNGARANGI" (F:17)

The opening sentiments of this song are the same as those in NM 188. The expression Niu Tireni ("New Zealand", line 13) is discussed in Chapter Five (5.3.).

For an annotated text and translation of this waiata, which begins:

Takiri ko te ata, ka ngau Tawera -

see Smith (1993:30-31), where it is examined in detail.

Song 44: SONG BY RENAU PAHAKE (CB:88; HE:136)

The versions of this waiata in the Kahui Papers are the same as that composed by Turangakino (NM 332), with the exception of the first two lines which read:

Taaku taamaiti e, kaore ana ra koe
The waiata was perhaps given by ("na") Renau Pahake, rather than being composed by him. For a working text see NM 332, which begins:

Taku mokopuna, e!

**Song 45: SONG BY TE IKATERE** (CB:90)

Other waiata by Te Ikaterere include Song 50 and NM 337. "Te kakano i ruruia mai i roto i Rangiatea" (line 5) is a proverbial saying brought from Hawaiki by Turi of the Aotea canoe (Smith, 1910:85). Lines 14 fwd are a recital of the lunar months of the Maori year, commencing in mid-winter (Te Tahi o Pipiri).

**WAIATA NA TE IKATERE**

1. Taku tamaiti e, ka whano ka wareware i a au koe ra, _ai_.
   Ka whano ka wareware te mapu nou i to wairua ora ki te ao, _na-ai_.
   Haere e tama, koutou ko ho matua,
   Haere ra te ki o te whenua, te mana o te tangata,
   Te kakano i ruruia mai i roto i Rangiatea, _ei_.

5. Ko au i wareware te whakanoho ai i to mouri, [k]i’i tawhi,
   Ki’ whakarongo, tena te mouri, ki’ whakaheke au
   Ki a tama i waho, ki a tama i te aweaweia, _ei_.
   Ka eke kia tama i te ao marama, he ika tukua koe, _ei_

10. Ki a au e tama. Me noho mai koe i te po tuatahi,
    I te po tuarua, kia rehua iho au, ka moe taua, _ei_.
    Kaua e tuku atu tena te rangi morere e pupuru mai ana
     Te pukai ki waho mo Haepoike hei kawe i a koe, _ei_
    Taku tamaiti, i haere i te Tahi o Pipiri,

15. E rua ko Unuunu, e toru ko Aroamanu,
    E wha ko Hiringa, Hiringa atamai,
    E rima ko Hiringa, Hiringa tahitahi,
    E ono ko Hiringa, Hiringa ketuketu,
    E whitu ko Hiringa, Hiringa kerekere

20. Kerekere te patu, kerekere ki te Paroa i Hawaiki.
    Ka noho, ka puru i te whitu, _ei_.
    E iri e tama i runga o Tamahorua, te waka o Kupe
     I hoaina mai ai ko Maru, kei te tutira horahia mai ai.
     Horahora tu taku epa tangihia mai ai, kei Taranaki te ipo, _ei_.

25. Whakahekeia i roto e Rora, ki’ tangohia koe ki te tama whaurua,
    Ki’ whariki koe i te parapara turia toko waho e Rangituruturua,
    He rangi takahia e Rangihokuaia.
    Kia ruku atu koe nga wai e re re i roto i Okare, ia ea ake ana
    He taniwaha horo waka ka tirepa te waka ruanui ki runga, _ei_.

30. Ka ngika tai hora, kia poipo au i te umu huringa ka mama tuturi,
    Pepeke tumata pouri, tumata potango, ka iri te tai hurahurahia,
    Hurahi’rawatia te mata o te huata ki runga Motiwhatiwha, _ei_.

Awe {awhea} ana mai i te 'au kainga, _ei_.

The waiata was perhaps given by ("na") Renau Pahake, rather than being composed by him. For a working text see NM 332, which begins:

Taku mokopuna, _ei!_
Nau i kawhakii e haere te awaiho ai e tuhi e toto ki te rangi, *ei.*
Te toto o Maputu, te toto o Te Ohonga, te toto o Takiaho,
35 Whaitiri Matakataka, o Whangai a te Marama, *ei.*
Ki' rongo mai koe Pukawanui a te wai whakaata
Ki' purere tautau ki' wai nuku mai ware koe, *ei.*
Ka huarangi, ka rewa ngariki i te pae, *ei.*
E piki e tama i te ara atiati, ko te ara o Mahuru i eke ake ki runga ra,
40 Teetoe a nga harakeke ki runga o Huarau, atua manganui,
Tihaoa a te kauaka kopuni, ka pahure ki reira te Kahui kura:
Te kura i pupuri ki runga ki a Rehua,
Te kura i riro ki Tapono o te rangi,
Te kura i riro ki te anu matao, te kura i tuhi,
50 Te kura i hana, te kura i rapa, te kura i uira
Ko Rongokopu, ko Rongokohana, ko Rongo i piere,
Ko Rongo i matoe, ko Rongo i whakaara, *ei.*
E tomo e tama ki *Arikiauho, whare o Matariki*
I tu ki Arikiautu, e tu ki roto atu,
55 Ko Te Nauhea te whare, ko Matariki te ariki ki runga, *ei.*
Te noho mai koe i te wao nui a Taane,
Ki' whakarongo koe nga tai e tangi i waho o Heiawe.
Tahuri to mata, eanga ki te tonga,
Ki' whakarongo koe nga tai e tangi i roto Waitaha,
60 He tai mihi tangata ka hinga, ka ngaro ki te kore, *ei.*
Taku tamaiti *ei,* taku pute rei ka pakaru rikiriki
Te toka i Kaiwaka, e tu, kau mai ra, *ei.*
Ka ngaro ra e aku whakaweihuhi, haku heru ki runga o nga iwi,
Katahi ka unuhia kei apua a te hoa hana te harama',
65 He waka tahuri kino ka moe i te hau, *e-et.*

**Song 46: A LAMENT BY TUTARA FOR HIS CHILDREN** (Book Q, L:50)

This waiata makes use of the same formulaic opening line as Song 45. References to Toroanui and Rangikapuia (lines 2 and 3) suggest that Tutara was a follower of Tohu Kakahi of Parihaka, whose marae and house these were.

**HE TANGI NA TUTARA MO HANA TAMARIKI**

1 Taku tamaiti, ka whano ka wareware i a au koe. Kei whea koe [e] hine?
Kia whakauru mai ki roto Toroanui e te iwi raia.
Waiho ra e hine. Maku e whakarongo, ko 'e waraki tangata ki roto Rangikapuia,
Ko te whare tena i ahua nuitia e ho tipuna, hei tohu ki te ao.
5 Waiho kau ake kia tu ana, ka riro i a koe ki te mate
Ha taku kete rikiriki, taku nohoanga whaka, taku puni wahine,
Taku pawa auahi turoa ka ngaro ki te kore.
Ki te Kore-i te whiwhia, te Kore-i te rawea,
Te Kore-i whai oti atu ki te mate, *na-ai.*
10 E piki ake, e moe mai ra i tai o nga muri,
Ka pou te huirua kei to taina e reti aku
E moe nga kahurangi i te ipo wahine i [a] au.
Waiho ra e hine. Mau e whakarongo nga tai e koto i roto Omanga,
Kei te huri kino te tai Orapa, kei te warawara te tai o Raukawa.

' E tai mihinga nui mo koutou. E anga to mata ki uta ra,
Ko 'e kainga nui. E Rau a Taumata {Tamato}, hei rawhi mai
I to hau oranga, e tu ana te maru o te tangata e pango aku,
E moe nei i uta o Tireka, ko 'e rua wehewehe
I te ipo wahine i [a] au. Whatu {whakatu} to ara,

E anga ki uta ra, ko 'e maunga teitei i runga
O 'Taranaki, i taarehua koe e to pukohurangi.
E huri to taringa nga wai e rere i roto i Okahu,
'E tai huringa {mihinga} nui mo koutou ki te mate, na-ai.

Song 47: A LAMENT BY TE WHAREPOURI FOR RUKUWAI (E:72)

Te Wharepouri and his son Rukuwai are listed in the Kahui Papers (E:17) as Nga
Mahanga, the literal meaning of which ("the twins") may have given rise to a play on
words in line 31:

Kaore i huna e au ho ingoa e rua, koia nga rongo e rua.
I did not conceal your two names, from whence came double fame.

The phrase whare punanga korero (line 3) occurs in NM 274:33, where it is translated as
"house where speech is free". Tane-maene (line 43) personifies "Rongo-marae-roa, the
marae of peace" (Broughton, 1979:8).

'E TANGI NA TE WHAREPOURI MO RUKUWAI

1 Taku tamaiti e, kei whea koe e tama?
Kia whakauru mai ki roto Toroanui,
Ko 'e whare punanga korero kei o matua, kei o tuakana,
Koia nohoanga nui i te nui 'Ati Ahu, ei.

5 Taku tauranga kawau ki te muriwai o Te Paruahau ka ngaro i a au, ei.
Haere e tama i te tira whai muri kei o matua.
Kihei i tahuri iho ki te iwi e takoto.
Ma wai e roiroi i muri i a koe? Haea, ma te kawa e hau ana, ei.
Kia tu atu koe i te ihu o te waka, a, tuku mai ana nga hau o te rangi.

10 O te hau o runga, o te hau o raro, o te hau o uta,
O te hau a tai, ki a koe e tama, ei.
Taku piki kotuku ka rere i te hau,
Taku whakamarumaru i te iwi e takoto, taku pu rakau maru, ei.
He uri ano koe no to tipuna, no Rangiteihinga,

15 Nana te pu rakau maru ai. Takahia mai te a'au.
Ka rangona Patotara, ka tu te tou ki Okare.
Ka ruru te whenua, ka ruru te tangata,
Ka hauora te iwi i a koe, e tama, ei.
Kia tuku atu koe ki roto Orimupiko, kei te tuwhera mai

20 Ko Raupuka te whare, ka puta te tangata ki te ao, ei.
Tahuri ho taringa nga tai e koto i roto Herekino,
Kei o tupuna, kei a Tama na Rakei, na-ai.
Kia noho mai koe i roto Taiwheoro,
Kia whariki koe i te takapou kura,
25     Kia whariki koe i te whariki aute,
Ka puta te tangata ki te ao marama, ei.
E whai ana au i taua tu na.
Kia tu mai koe i te riu o te waka,
Te waka i Aotea, te waka i Tokomaru, te waka i Kurahaupo,
30     He waka pakaru kino i te niho o te tipua, ei.
Kaore i huna e au ho ingoa e rua, koia nga rongo e rua.
E tutai na i roto Mangaone, te wai kaore i puehu.
No kona te whakawai: Ko Whakahau te toa, ei,
Ko Rongo ano. Kia rongo ko Tu ano, kia tuhana (h)atu.
35     Nau i kawe atu ki roto te rehia ki to tipuna ra,
Ki Te Ika i te niho, mana e kawe atu ki waho nga rae;
Ka hinga i reira ko Huirarapaiti, ko Huirarapanui.
Ka hoki tu mai koe ki te iwi, ei.
Ka tu te pou ki Te Ruataku, ko te ahu tena o to tipuna
A Hau, koia Haunui, koia Hauora, koia Hautipapa,
40     Koia Haumatawera, koia Hautokia, e takoto i tai na,
Koia nga taotao roa a Hau, ei.
Kaore e tama he pakanga i toe i a koe te patu, kia Tahumaene.
Ka moroki te hau, kia aoe te moana, ka apu te toine,
45     Ka tau te mouri o te iwi i a koe, e tama, ei.

Song 48: [SONG] (JA:39)

This fragment of waiata is similar to lines 1-11 of NM 63. It was repeated three times in the Kahui Papers, and is given here so that minor variations from NM 63 may be noted. For a full text and translation see NM 63.

[WAIATA]

1   Taku tirotiro noa i te hono tatai, ka wehe koe i ahau.
     Te murau a te tini, te wenerau a te mano,
     Taku manu tioriori mo nga hau kopanga nui ki te tonga,
     Ko Te Tupe-o-Tu, ko Hau-te-horo ka whakairia te toa.
     Rangahau atu ra nga titahatanga ki’ pahure
     He kauterenga nui no koutou ...

Song 49: THIS LAMENT IS BY TURANGAKINO FOR HIS OLDER BROTHER,
TAREPA  (F:93; HC:96)

The event which this song commemorates possibly occurred in the early nineteenth century, since explanatory notes to the waiata mention Te Ikaherengutu (see Song 23), whose children were killed in 1822 by the Amiowhenua expedition from the
The theme of the waiata is anthropophagy (see also Song 16), which included the "common custom" of preserving in a calabash the flesh of an enemy killed in battle (Best, 1996:544; Smith, 1910:263).

For an annotated text and translation of this waiata, which begins:

Te kakara o te hoa e konaki ake nei, na-ai!

see Smith (1993:53-55), where it is examined in detail.

**Song 50: A LAMENT BY TE IKATERE, ANCESTOR OF ANCIENT TIMES**

*(E:117; F:8; L:24; MK:127)*

In the versions given in the Kahui Papers the second and third lines of this waiata vary, thus:

(E:117):  
Me tiki ranei ki te pu, ki te weu, ki te aka.

(MK:127):  
Me tiki ranei ki te pu, ki te hunga,  
Ki te weu, ki te aka, ki te tamorehe.

(F:8, L:24):  
Me tiki ranei ki te hunga, ki te weu, ki te aka,  
Ki te tamore.

This waiata was also recorded by Tutu (f.189) and Smith (f.163a:408), who give these lines as in F:8 and L:24. Some formulaic phrases are the same as in Song 26 (e.g., lines 51-52), while line 9 is similar in wording to lines 8-9 of Song 3, by Te Koriri. Rangi-te-whaihau (line 17) was a Kahui ancestor.

**HE WAIATA TANGI NA TE IKATERE, TUPUNA O NAMATA**

1 Tenei ano au, e tama, te mahara nei.  
Me tiki ranei ki te hunga, ki te weu, ki te aka,  
Ki te tamore, hei korero i a koe, kia rongo ai,  
Tikina atu ki te are o te po, ki te papapuni o te po,  
Kia kere i a Whenuamea, nona Hinenuitepo,  
Tana ika ko Tikiahuia, no te paepae o tona whare,  
O Reretepo, ka aranga tana rakau, Te Pere, ei.  
Waiho Maui, ka apanui i a Tahumari te tangata ra e,  
Nana i kotikoti nga paiaka o te rangi, kumea kia roa.

5 Kei nga hawenga {whenga} i rangi, i paki[hi] roa,  
Tangohia mai te kauae, kawea ki a Rupe,  
Kia taia ko e tohunga ki Hawaiki.  
Ka aranga Pikirawea, maka ki te moana,  
Mau ake he repe, te ika matua huia whakatoto

10 Hutia ai, muri iho ko Te Kahui Noke, ei,  
Muri iho ko te Ikaroa e takoto nei, nona Hahauru, Hahatonga,  
Ka tatawhiti, ki tatatonga, e Rangitewhaiao.  
E hou ana au te mouri o Ru, o Uoko, o Tikimarua,  
Kua noho ake Tuiho, Tuwero. Kaore ra e,

15 Ko te tute o te puka ka riro. Ki atu ana au
E anga mai, ka mate, ka kītea ki te po,
E ope ana au i nga roto o Ranginui e tu nei.
E tomo, e Rua, ki roto Pouono, te whare tena
I tanumia a Rangi, i hinga Toarautangi,
A, tipu ki runga ra nga rakau kīria {karia},
E haua e te aitanga {rakau} a Te Popororoa,
E Te Kahui Whata: i a Whatautu, i a Whatarere,
I a Whatautaupeka, kawe a ki tautia ki Te Kahui Kore,
Ki tou tupuna e toa mai ra: E kore e pou, he ika unahi nui.

30
Ko Pokikiwa, ko Kakeurutangi te tao a Tangaroa,
I werohia ai Te Mangoroa i te rangi, ka rere Tapiritu,
Tikina mai e te namu, kakati kau,
Tikina mai e te waeroa, tamumu kau.
Hohoke {hoake} Tawhao, ka rongo te ao marama.

35
Tauria mai ra te papa o taku whare,
Ko Te Rangikiharuru, ko te papa kia ngatata,
Hotua atu ai e te whanaunui a Hinukuku,
Te taua ki whano poroporoaki iho, waiho ano
Ko Motatau ki Opua, kia tau ai raro, ha eke raro,

40
Ka kapu rokohanga atu tau, ka riro ki hona kainga,
Ki Tutunutonu, ki Maraekopa. Hoki rawa mai,
Ka oti te tope te whiri ki toetoe tu hei ara ki Te Po.
Tana ika ko Te Kahumiru, tana ika ko Te Ate o Hina,
Waiho te po kia tawiri {tawari}, ka mate ki Whataumuimi, ei.

45
Whaoa mai te manawa ki Piupiutekura,
Whaoa mai ki te w'ara kura tapu, te akiaki o Hawaiki,
Te kete i whaoa ake ai te tutahi ki roto.

50
Ka mate Tamaterenga, ngakia ki te mara,
Wehenga, ka kite Tuhotete, tangohia na Panitahi
Hei kai hapai ngi mo Manuhiakai.
E tomo e tama ki roto Te Kurahoungata,

55
Ko te whare tena o to tupuna o Tuamio,
I rere Te Tuakiterangi, a, tomo atu koe
I roto 'Moeiriki, ko te whare o 'Hua i rere ki tai ra.
A, rongo ano au e Weta {Wheta}, ko Te Rangimakinokino,
Te waka o Tamatearongokahi i tikina ai
Te unahi o te rangi. Ko te putake tena o nga toki
I hutia ai nga kura, i puhia humea ko Makouri.
Riaki ano au e tama i te tapuae i tu aea,
I tipia ai te whenua, tukitukia iho Kurahaupo

60
E te tini o Mata, koia ka pakaru rikiri, nei-i.

**Song 51: A LAMENT BY TE TAURU FOR TE WHETU** (No ref.)

This waiata laments the death of Te Whetu, Te Whiti's "trusted right-hand-man" (Scott, 1975:154; see Songs 9 and 41). Tutu (f.189) attributes it to Te Tauru and Tamaki. Smith (f.163a:393), who writes: "Tutu's writing is so bad I may have mistaken some of the words", gives the dead man's name as Te Matewhitu (ibid:405).
In the phrase Rau-a-Wau (line 14), 'Wau is possibly a shortened form of Rangikawau, the name of Te Whiti's mother (Smith, 1910:247, Table XLIX). This phrase is similar to Rau-a-te-ao ("Hundreds-of-the-world", NM 300:53), and may refer to the people of Parihaka. Te Whetu's iwi are given in lines 3, 6 and 9.

Tamaahua (line 20) is referred to in Songs 26, 39 and 56. On his return to Hawaiki he caused a sign to appear in the dawn sky to let his sister Taupea (line 21) know he had arrived safely. She returned the sign to let him know it had been received and understood (Smith, 1910:160). Raumatinui-o-tau (line 22) was Tamaahua's son by his wife Tauranga (ibid:159; see also Song 56).

'E TANGI NA TE TAURU MO TE WHETU

1 Tenei ka huri ki te pakitara o toku whare, 'E aha te ketea e aku ngutu nei? Ko te rahi 'Ati Rua, ko te nui 'Ati Moe Ka ngaro i te hono e takoto nei.

5 Taku kaka waha nui, taku manu tikapa Ki runga o Mitimaj', ki te rahi 'Ati Awa. Me ko wai nga tai i haere ai koe? Ko Mahututerangi, 'e tohu aitua no Ngati Wetenga, No Ngati Tu, no Ngati Rangi. Maku e whakarongo

10 Nga tai e paku i roto o Hopuhopu, tu kau Paroa i uta ra. Na te tangata koe i ki ai he koutu whenua. Me i tangohia koe i te mata i a Tu, E kore taku manawa e hotu ki a koe. Ma Rau a 'Wau, mana e rawhi kei o tamariki.

15 Whakahaahu to mata ki runga o Pouakai, Ko te pou tena a o tipuna, a Te Kahui Pou. Utaina (uruhina) ki runga o Patuha te rakau a Mahirua. A Mahikeke, nana i huna Te Kahui Atua, Whakamau (Whakarau) katia koia (ki runga o) Pirongia.

20 Haea i tai ra ko te ata a to tipuna, a Tamaahua, Toea i utu ra ko te ata a to kuia, a Taupea. Me i pera koe me to tipuna, me Raumatinuiotau, E hoki Te Rere a Kurahoupo ki reira, Whakatiputipu mai ai ko Te Kahui Manu, Mau e kape'ake e nga tohunga nei. Takahia e Whetu ki raro ra, ka haruru ko Wharetotoka, Ka paku ki runga. Ko te papa i Te Apai Hei ara mou ki Te Tatau o te Po, oti atu-u.
Song 52: A LAMENT FOR NGA WHAKAWAWE BY TE RONGOPUTUPUTU  
(F-24)
No details are available concerning the persons named in the heading to this waiata.

HE TANGI TENEI MO NGA WHAKAWAWE NA TE RONGOPUTUPUTU

1 Tenei ka noho i Kaihikataramamanga, te whare o Tinirau. 
   Me te huri korero, akina iho ai nga matau eue opeope 
   No ana tu kauawa, he marama ka kewa i te pae. 
   Maku e kete a manu, maku e hoto a kiore, 
   Maku whaka mounga koutu e rau i waho Pukawa, kei a Tamaateao. 
   Kaore i titoa inaianei te whati o te matau i whati mai ano 
   I a Ikaporapora, i a Ikatongaake, i a Roroiitu, 
   Ngaringari a lhenga raua ko Rongomai, he waewa’ kino i te repo. 
   Ka mutu e koro te kaha taua i a koe, ko hea ianei te putake o te wai?

5 E ai rau ko te hunga, ko te weu, ko te aka, ko te urerua, 
   Ko Tuwhenua, ko Tumounga, ka tere Kaihikapapa, 
   Tutakitakina te ihu o Kuraho’, nona waka pakaru, 
   Ka rongo toru raua ko [o] hoa hoia nga kapua, 
   Ko te rangi tautorarua no te pu i te para. 
   Ka ru, ka ru i te Ikamoana, ka puta ha Matuhoea, 
   E tuku ra, nona Whakaanga, ka nohoia ha Roto, nona Whareatu ai. 
   Ko hea ianei te whare nga kia mate o to tupuna, o Uenuku? 
   E ai ra e ko te kave atu, whaiao huri tini, huri mano, 
   Ka tamutamu runa mai ra ki te runanga o nga iwi o Ranginui e tu nei.

10 Whakauruhia ki te kave ko Matiketika mai, 
   Ka whano, ka taituku i te roa, i Kaingaroa e whano ana ra 
   Ki roto Nukutihi, ki rotoo Nukurae, ki roto Nukutautau, 
   Kia taumahaktitia mai e Rorohuape raua ko Takaimanawa. 
   Ka ma[ma] koe Aonui, ka mama koe Aoroa, ka mama koe Ao te tipua, 
   Mata whare te uiai riakina toko k[o] nga uteute, 
   Te whenua ko nga teriteri, te whenua ko te ko i werohia ai Nukutihi, 
   Ka rewa i reira, nona Tawhao, ka Kai a ia, nona Kaitangata, 
   Ka noho ki te puke o te hika, nona Piua, ka tangi ki te upoko, nona Pitowai. 
   E huri, ka whakarongo nga tia o Ngarue, manawa te ti, ttiti uha, 

15 Manawa te ti, ttiti toa, manawa te ua makeke, manawa te puhu tangi roa. 
   E waha karo ki te wai, ki wai ariari, ki wai ra kaha, 
   Ki wai roria, kia ukuhia te mate i a koe. 
   Kia waia o mata ki te wai, i waia rangi, 
   Kia whakatauki Tuhawaiki ratou ko hona taina, ko Muhukawa, ko Nohokawa. 

20 Ka eke au ki Oturongo, ko hea ianei te toka 
   I tutuki ai te waewa o to tupuna, o Hoimatua? 
   E ai rai e, ko Kaweu toto haua tona waka ko Ninhiroa, 
   Taia tana matau ko Wheriko, ko Whekaro, 
   Hutia mai ai te mango urunui, te mango ururoa, 

25 Hei kai whakawhiu ki te aroaro o [o] tupuna Uenuku, 
   Ka mate i nga tama mate, na-ai.
Song 53: A LAMENT BY TIOPIRA (AB:116; HE:137)

This waiata is given also in NM 346, where it is entitled "He Waiata Tautitotito" (Song 12 is similarly labelled). An explanation accompanying the version in AB:116 reads:

Ko te take o tenei waiata he pohe no hona kanohi na Tiopira o Ngati Hine, tona kainga i Wairere, Mokoia, Hawera, t e tohunga nui tenei tangata. Na Tamarapa i ako tenei waiata, ki Mokoia ano, ko Tiopira hoki, tona hoa noho tahi ko Tamarapa, te kai tunu kai ma taea korohahe. Na Tamarapa i homai tenei waiata ki roto ki tenei pukapuka, hei ako ma nga tamariki mehemea ka kaha ki te ako.

That is, the theme of this song concerns the blindness of the composer, Tiopira of Ngati Hine, an elderly man of tohunga status who lived at Mokoia. He was cared for by Tamarapa, who gave this song to Te Kahui for those of his children who wished to learn it. For a working text of this waiata see NM 346, which begins:

Nei ka noho i te pouritanga,
and for a working text and translation see JPS 21:34-35.

Song 54: [SONG] (Book D)

This waiata was written by a woman for her son. The loanword rori ("road", line 9), indicates its transitional nature, as does the appeal in line 12 to Io i te Rangi ("Io in Heaven"), which reveals the Christian influence that came into Taranaki from the early 1840s. Here, Io is a reference to the Christian God rather than to the Supreme Being who in some cosmologies heads the Maori pantheon, since the reference to "hid[ing] in your shelter" (line 12) is a Christian image rather than a traditional Maori one.

TIRA

1 Tenei e tama kia nohoia kei te muri ahiahi,
   Arohirohi ana te rere [al te marama.
   Kei hea ko' e tama? Kia whakauru iho ki roto ki te moenga,
   Kia awhi mai au ko to tinana rawa, kia titiro iho au ki to mata raunui.

5 Nuku mai e Kau, kia piri mai ra.
Tenei te mamae e kai i a au, e maringi noa nei te wai i aku kamo.
Kia whea taku ipo e nga ro i ahau? Kei roto i Wharekura - noou e Tauriwi
Ka nga ro ra kohe i te hono e takoto, i te nui 'Ati Hau, i te nui 'Ati Rangi.
Maaku e komih, ko 'e rori e takoto - to ara e tama e haere ai ko.

10 Moe mai e koro i runga o Kapurau, kia moe atu taku ipo i te take o Taranaki.
Maaku e kapo iho to ata e tama hei wha'maharatanga i roto i nga tau.
E Io i te Rangi, tirohia iho ra taku iti kahurangi, huna iho ra ki raro ki to maru, e.

Another fragment of waiata (HC, unpaged), begins at line 11 and continues:

Maaku e kapo iho to ata e tama hei whakamaharatanga i roto i nga tau.
E te Ariki, awhinatia iho taku iti kahurangi ki raro ki to maru.
Moe mai e tama i runga i nga puke, i te moenga matao,
I te moenga hohonu, i te urunga te taka i roto i nga tau.
Kia whakarongo koe ki te ia e rere, ko te rite e tama kei taku ngakau, e.

Song 55: A SONG (CB:83)
A note accompanying this waiata reads:
I whakaaturia mai e Te Po {i te po?} ki a R.H. Tahupotiki i te 16 o Aperira 1895.
This was shown to R.H. Tahupotiki by Te Po on [the night of?] 16th April 1895.

R.H. Tahupotiki was Robert Haddon Tahupotiki (or Robert Tahupotiki Haddon) of Ngati Ruanui, a Methodist minister and recognised leader in South Taranaki until his death in 1936 (DNZB III:193; Roberts, [1939]:[12]). His upbringing in a mission environment and later at Parihaka gave him a profound knowledge of the Christian religion, to add to what he already possessed of Te Ao Tawhito, the ancient Maori world.

Lines 14-17 contain extensive biblical imagery:
So that Babylon and { Shinar?} may be encircled.
It was near here that the hosts of the {Amorites?} fell.
I will climb Mount Horeb and fetch the engraved tablets
From Moses, and bring forth Maihirangi, the long-standing staff.

HE WAIATA

1 Tenei ka noho i te pakitara o toku whare, whakamau te titiro
Te takiritinga o atutahi, te whetu whakataha i te Mangoroa,
Ko te rite i te iwi ka taka ki te raru, e-i.
Me whakarongo ki te tangi horuhoru a Uenuku i te roro o tona whare,

5 O Rangipakini, e tangi ana ki a Hawepotiki, ka ngaro i te kainga a Kai, e-ii.
E piki e te iwi ki runga o Hikurangi, whakamau te titiro
Nga waka urumate e tau mai i waho o Papua, o Nukutawhiti, e-ii.
Wherawhera mai ra nga hara i Awarua, kia matakitaki
Te wao nui o Tane, kia matakitaki Tangaroa i ro’te wai.

10 Matariki, Taurorutawa te whetu taki ata, nga kanohi o te rangi, e-ii.
Me ruku e au te moana waiwai, te moana ururui, te ara tapokopoko o Tawhaki,
Kia ea atu au nga takutai o Te Awaroa, i Pikopiko i whiti, e-ii.
Kia turia atu i Oropi, i Hawaikinui, i te Paparoa i Angina,
Kia tiaawhiotia i Papurona, i Kihona i reira.

15 Ko te taha tena i hinga ai te tini o nga Amou’, e-ii.
Me piki ake au ki Maunga Horepa, kia tikina atu nga papa whakairo i a Mohi,
Kia mauria mai ko Maihirangi, ko te tokotoko tuaroa, e-ii.
Kia tomokia atu Wharekura, ko te whare tena o Maru.
I [t]itaria ai nga uri o Toa [Turi] ki te ao, e-ii.

20 Kia tangohia mai ko Te Aurara hei whakahoki mai i a Te Rokowhiti,
I Anawa i te rangi, i Aotearoa, ki te iwi, e-ii.
Song 56: A SONG BY TE RANGIWHATUMATA (F-16; Book L)

This is the third of Te Rangiwhatumata's waiata recorded in the Kahui Papers (see also Songs 24 and 38). Te Ronawaiwai (line 16) was the name of Tamaahua's canoe, in which he returned to Hawaiki (see Song 51). Te Motu-[motu]-ahi (line 24) was a canoe which brought southern Taranaki ancestors to Aotearoa (Smith, 1910:130). Rakeinui-te-kapua (line 24) was Tamaahua's son by his wife Kauhangaroa (ibid:159; see also Song 51).

White (1887:141) gives Whakamoe-toka (toka, rock; moe, sleep) as a name in a song. This may have been a transmission error for Whakamou-toka (line 9), which means "rock made firm or fixed".

HE WAIATA NA TE RANGIWHATUMATA

1 Tenei ka noho i te whare hurimate. Iri mai e whaene,
I runga o Haumiri, a, hei mai koe nga hei manganua,
Whakaturia ra te wharau o Whiro.
Whano, ka waea te kawa whatu, te ihi i tuku iho i runga

5 Te mea rongo reti, nana i pairu te roro o taku whare.
E Kahu, tu kino ki o te moana, kaore koe
I whakaaro kei a Manu, to tamaiti, i runga o Patotara.
Ka mahaki te rangi, ka tuku ki tai te hukahuka,
Kia rokahanga atu ko te aitanga a Whakamoutoka,

10 Kotia e Motiwha, paoa te roro, ruia ki te moana.
Ka rere 'tu weta, ka rere ki te rakau,
Ka rere 'tu koura, ka rere ki te wai.
Na Tutawa whanau moana [a] Tupanepane, Tupariko(u),
Maonge, Mapupu, Makarikawa, ka pae ki te kohatu,

15 Kati, 'e ika nui. Iri mai e tama ma,
I runga Te Ronawaiwai, ko te waka tena
I taka ai te wekukura o to tupuna, koia Te Taupukoro.
Tukua to puna ko Maitakina, riakina to aho
Ko Mataaho nui ohu, herea to paua, Te Upoko i Ripuwai,
Kukakuka nga w'akatawhito, ko Wairaka, ko Angeau.

20 E haere i te Mango hurinuku, te Mango hurirangi,
Te mokopu' a Ikaroa, ko te ika tena nana i taka runga
Wharetotoka, ka tapui a Tane. Iri mai e tama ma
I runga Te Motuahi, te waka o Rakeinuitekapua,

25 Tana ika ko Te Atihau rakei hiori,
Te whakatai a reke ko Te Taihua, kumea ki uta ra,
Whakatutu ai te kapua ki Tawhitinui;
Ko te whare tena i tihao ai to kakahu pouriuri.
I ruia mai ai te awe, ka puh i Paritutu.

30 Kia tauna tapu te rawaho o te rangi,
Ka aranga, tu whakakoria tana whakapaenga,
Koa huka a tai ka mou ki te kare o te wai.
Pakia iho ai ko te mata whakawai o te hoa i a au, e-i.

Song 57: SONG BY MOTU TUKIRIKAU FOR NGAWERA  (CB:117)
This waiata was recorded also by Tutu (f.189) and Smith (f.163a:407). Motu and Ngawera ("Wera, line 21) are included in the Kahui Papers (E:17) with other Nga Mahanga names (see also Songs 7, 27 and 47). Whakapapa (F:25,97) show them to be man and wife:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tukirikau} & = \text{Ngawera} \\
\text{Taratuterangi Motu} & \quad \text{Pakanga Motu} \quad \text{Te Rakuamatu Motu} \quad \text{Te Aha Motu}
\end{align*}
\]

Ngawera died in 1901 after eating a fish that was cast up on shore (Broughton, 1984:124).

In the Kahui Papers (E:36), the names Kau-nga-uh and Karu-te-whenua (line 6) are added at the beginning of the whakapapa of Awhipapa, who married Kamate, the son of Raumatinui-o-tau (see Song 51). Turu, Maru-tawhiti and Rongomai-tu (lines 11-12) accompanied Te Moungaroa (line 12) on board the Kurahoupo canoe (line 10) to Aotearoa (Smith, 1910:103).

WAIATA NA MOTU TUKIRIKAU MO NGAWERA

1 Tenei ka noho, i whakapou mahara pehea ka u ra taku tuunga ake ki runga. 
   Ka titiro kau atu ki te rangi, waihoe i a koutou ra kei o tuakana. 
   Kia takahia atu te one i Te Apai, kia tomo atu koe te whare i a Tahu, 
   I a Ari, a Motuhari', a Tiki ki Hawaiki.
5 Ko Taarawainuku te marae o Taneruanuku, no Hapainuku, 
   No Hapairangi, no Kaunguha, no Kaungohe, no Karutewhenua, 
   Ko ho whare pea i tahawhenua nei koe, 
   I ara ai ki runga nga ihu o nga waka nei. 
   Hoaia te tapuae o to waka, ko Aturanganuku, 
10 Kia noho mai koe i runga te taumanu no Kurahoupo, 
   Te waka i a Turu, i a Marutawhiti, i a Ruawhatikare, 
   I a Rongomaitu, i a Mahutarangi, i a Te Moungaroa. 
   Ka tu mai te ora, koia te ra e tu iho nei. 
   Hukia iho to piki, ko Tokaihikiterangi, 
15 Te piki o Ihenga, [o] Rongomai, i haere ai ki te poo, 
   Ka hinga ki raro ra ko te Kahui Miru. 
   I tarehua kai koe ki te ate {ata} o Hina 
   I maua mai nei e o tipuna hei kura ki te ao, koia te Kurairangi. 
   Takoto ki te paepae tapu o Uenuku, a Araiteahu. 
20 Ka tu to pou ko Rangihouanuku, ka keria, 
   Ka mau e Wera te mamae i te tinana, ka waiho ake ai. 
   Te ai te mamae ki tenei o rau, a, mutunga kore.
Song 58: A lament by Te Koriri for his brother-in-law, for Te Kawhaka (L:11)

See Song 3 for details concerning Te Koriri, and Song 42 for mention of Te Kawhaki [sic]. This waiata is given also in Smith (f.163:147) and in Broughton (1984:164). For a working text see Broughton (ibid:164-65), which begins:

Nei ka noho ka hewa anoo ra.

Song 59: [SONG] (AC:147; CB:14)

A note accompanying the text of this waiata in AC:147 reads:

He tangi na Takarakau mo Mouri Pororaiti i te tau 1856. I mate a Mouri Pororaiti ki te Arei-o-Matuku-Takotako ki Waitara, i haere ki te whawhai ki a Kirikumara. This lament was composed by Takarakau for Mouri Pororaiti in 1856. Mouri Pororaiti died at Te Arei o Matuku Takotako, Waitara, when he went to fight with Kirikumara [see Song 32].

An accompanying note in CB:14 reads:

He tangi tenei na Ngawhakaea mo toona matua, mo Mouriorangi. This lament was composed by Ngawhakaea for his father, Mouriorangi.

Whakapapa in the Kahui Papers show that Takarakau, Te Kahui's maternal uncle, was known also as Ngawhakaea. Mouri Pororaiti or Mouriorangi was Te Kahui's grandfather:

Te Kaea Katua = Pororaiti Mouriorangi

Ngawhakaea or Takarakau | Marere Awhituri = Taapu Minarapa

Te Kahui Kararehe

[WAIATA]

1 Tenei ka noho, ka hewa te aroha e peehi noa ana i runga i aku kamo. Kei whea te matua e ngaro i a au? Tera pea koe kei roto Te Arei. Maku e kapo iho te ata (ate) o Nukuake, ei. He whakaritenga atu maku ki a koe e mohi i te tonga.
2 Tirohia mai ra. Ehara i te tangata he toroa taupua no te one i Okahu. He aha koe e te mate te hopu wawe i nga rangi i mua ra? Ki' whakatakotoria ki roto Wharerenga, ko te whare tena I tahuha iho ai te ahi whakakitenga na 'Kawa, Kia katutaua komotua te kawa ko Tuahipa, ka aranga te ihu o Raupo kei runga.
10 E kore au e mamae (mate), mei a waiho koe i te riri kai hoko I roto Rangorango, i te nui 'Ati Rua, he rau a Hinetua. Tirohia iho ra taku kiri 'Ati Hau, taku kiri 'Ati Rangi, Huna iho ra ki roto Te Arei. Ko te uri tena o Iwiatau, Ko te uri tena o Kahuiemate, ko te niho tena o Kawa, 15 I karihita ai e Tuteaonui, ka tipu te tangata,
Ka whano, ka whakahemo e koro ki a koe, eī.

Song 60: [LAMENT] (CA:2)

This waiata was recorded also by Smith (f.163:280) and Broughton (1984:167-68). The latter gives it as a lament by Te Kahui Kararehe for his children, Te Tauru-o-te-rangi and Korohahea, who were killed by makutu9 ("He waiata tangi tenei na Te Kahui Kararehe mo ana tamariki i makuturia"). The waiata itself is part tangi, part kaioraora and part ancestral line of descent ("Ko tenei waiata, (h)e tangi tetahi wahi, (h)e kaioraora tetahi wahi. (H)e whakaheke i runga i nga tipuna te(tahi) wahi"). For a working text of this waiata see Broughton (ibid:167-68), which begins:

Teenei ka noho ka hihiri te mahara.

Song 61: A LAMENT BY TE WHAREAITU (F:31; Book R)

Although this is a lament an accompanying note states that it is also a song in praise of Turi and his canoe, Aotea:

Erangi ia he waiata whakatiketike i a Turi me toona waka, me Aotea.

In lines 51-52, the name Houtaepo appears in connection with Turi's ancestral line, Ngati Rongotea, as a forebear of the Taranaki female ancestor Ruaputahanga. A whakapapa in NM 254:40 does not include Kewa's name, which fits in with Broughton's belief (1979:37) that this genealogy has been "meddled with", since "In Te Hurinui's genealogies [i.e., in Nga Moteatea], Hautaepo [sic] is not an issue of Kewa's" (as other Aotea genealogies and indeed this waiata show him to be).

A waiata contributed by Hare Hongi (JPS 21:32, see Song 53) gives the names [Te] Ao-kapua-rangi, Te Muri-whakaroto and Niu-wananga (lines 11-12) as three of the four whare takamate ("houses of death") of Apakura. Smith (1904:150) describes Apakura as a "champion mourner", and Best (1905:182) as a kind of "parent" or teacher of the art of mourning for the dead.

Extensive references to stars and seasons (lines 28 fwd) are discussed in Chapter Eight.

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9 An account of several of these deaths is given by W. Rennell, Reserves Trustee, in a letter to the Under-Secretary, Native Department (AJHR 1890, G-2, p.9, letter dated 30 May 1890).
HE WAIATA TANGI NA TE WHAREAITU


5. O Pupuke raua ko Mahara, e ai *taana ika ko Te Mangoroa* I ata wahia tahatu, koia ha kani takatakahia e Pupuke, Hei waka urumate mo Uru, mo Ngangana, *ei*, Hei ara ki Te Po. Hapainga e Maru to kete ko Rangituhera E tuhera tonu nei. Ma wai e ruru unuhia Houmea?


15. Taku taina ma tama. Waiho ra e koro. Maku e kimi ake Te wahine i Te Peputaeore, taia te Peputaeore, Hotu o Hotumatiketike, hotu o Hotumarangaranga, Wawahia e Kurumawhiowhio te awa Puainuku, Puairangi, He tangata kei a. Hangaia ki te Whakatupua,


25. Tenei hoki te taketake rongo marua a Whatumaa, Whakaeeke *waiketia* ki runga o te moana waiwai, Te moana tuatua, te moana oruoru, kai whakatupuria He kawa ora, *ei*, kawa kei te apiti o te rangi.

30. E tu e Puanga i te Tahi o Pipiri. Huainatou whare Ko Te Maruaonui, ki ‘noho mai koe i runga o Rarotonga, Na Te Kahui Ua nana i hooake. *Ka wehe te tau ruru, ei*, Ka noho te takurua. E tu e Whakaahu', he rua koo Unuunu. Huainatou whare me ko Rangiaio, ki ‘noho mai koe I runga o Hawaiki. *Na te Takuruanuku, nana i hooake*

35. No muri ko nga whetou riki, *ei*, koia Whetukura.

E tu e Taururu i Hiringanuku. Huainatou whare Te Arhitaumu, ki ‘noho mai koe i Hiringatema[hara], Na Rongopinea, nana i hooake. *E tu e raekihi* Ki Hiringaarangi. Huainatou whare me ko Matanginui, Ki ‘noho mai koe i Matangi o Rupe, na Rongotokona,

40. Nana i hooake. Ka wehe ki a Rangi, *ei*, koia Te Marupou. Me whakahoeke au i Te Kahui Tari: Tavinuku, Tariangi, Tarihe, Tariwhanaupa, ka puta ko Te Mangemangarau, Nana Te Kahui Ao. Ka puta ki waho ra ko Mahanakaitu, Nana Te Kahui Whata, ko Te Rangitautahi ki a Apamoihehu,

Song 62: A LAMENT (Book U)

The composer of this waiata is not known. It may have been a waiata "in the making" (see also Song 34), as some of the lines appear unfinished.

HE WAIATA

1. Tenei ano e Rorangi te titiro nei
   Nga mata ki te hurunga mai o te ra.
   Kaore i te mahara i hoki te hoa,
   Kaore i a koe ...

2. Kei whea ho tuakana me ho taina
   Hei whakahe te nohoanga ...
   Ko te moe a te manu ...
   Kei te wareware taku ngakau.

Song 63: SONG (HE:151,152)

This waiata is repeated on consecutive pages in the Kahui Papers in two different handwritings. The references are at present unknown.

WAIATA

1. Tenei ka noho i toooka kainga i Titipounga
   Korekore 'e toenga e iri.
   Ko wai te tangata e taka mai i te kahu waero?
   Tenei, me tatari ake ki nga mongamonga o Tutaha i raro,

2. He etiatia {ehetiatia}-a-kirikiri mahaku ki tuku tauranga
   Ki're te whakaitua {whakaaitua} he {hei} paremata ma Te Kootuku
   Tango wareware e Matena, e tango atu. Taku kura motu,
   Taku whakamou {moe} mai, waihotanga a te tipuna-a,
   'E tamitami ma te wahine kauae puku o Whakarewa,

5. Ki'whakaaio {whakaaho} ra e, kia iri te ingoa o to kete,
E ai ko Muriwai, ko Wherekino te wai ngaki kai, kia iri
Aku rongo ko Haowhenua, te kete ko Pokai korōa ma (kereama),
Te hoki mai Te Weu, e-i.

**Song 64: [SONG] (L:23)**

This song is broken on consecutive pages in the Kahui Papers at lines 20 and 21, but nevertheless appears to be a single composition. It is apparently addressed to the composer's son (line 13).

**[WAIATA]**

1 Tenei ka noho, ka mahara e roto
    I konei 'no au i te whitiki atu
    I te hou a rongo, a ea, e anga mai.
    Ka puta te tini o te Akituri-poporo-arokewa,

5 I te whakawarena i te ahi i mate ai a Matuku
    Maku au e haere nga raukau tu mai i waho,
    Tangi maoa kia urei atu au.
    Kei whea 'nei rongo kune i te Puke-i-Ahua?
    Ka riro pea e te ahi a Te Pupu, e1.

10 Ki taku i rongo ake, 'e pani hoki koe
    I te parekura i kaukau-a-wai,
    Pupuni ai Mahuika ki te raukau,
    Tu te oranga, e tama. E noho,
    Nukunuku mai ra kia whiti atu au

15 Te whiti a Te Tawhiti.
    Whakapakina iho taku rangi ki te nui
    Ka koi ki te uru o te rangi
    'E koha tukunga atu nuku i taku ngakinga.
    Ka riro taku marae i te paka nui o Rehua

20 Naku koe i tuku atu i te uhi a Mataaho,
    I te unuhanga a Raumanu e whano
    Taku kaki kei hoki mai ki te ao.
    Tapa iho ai nga waka o te rangi,
    A Teretere-ki-ao, a Te Rangi-aurlara nei pea

25 I uta i a tatou kia whano, kia whai
    I te kai ka ngaro ki Mumu-raki
    Ki Wai-[rua]-nganga ki tawhiti,
    Oti atu, kei noho au i konei,
    Whakarongo ake ai ki te korero kau

30 A te iwi e noho ma te ranga-awatea.
    Me whano me hongihongi haere te kakara
    Umu kai kei ho whaene kij a Uenuku ra,
    'E nui te whakama i [a] au ki te whare, ihi,
Song 65: THIS LAMENT IS BY TE IKAHERENGUTU (E:82; F:9; Book L)

The text of this waiata is given in Tutu (f.189) and NM 181, and examined in detail in Orbell (1991:11-18). For a working text and translation see NM 181, which begins:

Nei ka noho, kapakapa tu ana;
and for details of the composer see Song 23.

Song 66: A LAMENT BY REWI OF MANIAPOTO FOR HIMSELF, AT HIS SURVIVAL; A GREETING TO THE PEOPLE, TO WAIKATO (E:145; F:11)

This waiata is similar to a waiata aroha recorded by McGregor (1893: 12), although the verses are in the reverse order. The version in the Kahui Papers is attributed to Rewi Maniapoto, who may have composed it after his tribal lands went before the Native Land Court in 1885. For an annotated text and translation of this waiata, which begins:

Tenei ka noho, ka wai-rurutu i te awatea
see Smith (1993:63-64), where it is examined in detail.

Song 67: [SONG] (HE:144)

An accompanying note to this waiata aroha reads:

Tenei waiata na Kauanga i waiata mai ki au, 20 Hepe tema 1914.  
This song is by Kauanga, who sang it to me on the 20th of September 1914.

A whakapapa in the Kahui Papers (F:3) shows Kauanga's relationship to Te Va Haumene (see Song 2):

Taniwha = Te Ata-ao

Te Ua Haumeene = Tonganui = Marino

Te Ata-ao = Kauanga

Place names included in the waiata include Whitikau, Whareroa, Hauraki and Tokaanu, which suggests that this song may have come from the Waikato/Thames area.

[WAIATA]

1  Tenei te tinana kei te nohohia  
    Tera aku paki kei nga hihi whare  
    Kei Whitikau, taku turanga ake.  
    Kei te maiangi nga kahu Pakeha,

5  Otia ki' hete a te awhi-a-kiri.  
    Me maka te titiro nga mataao hawhenga  
    Kei Whareroa. Ka whano ka korero
Song 68: "BY TURANGAKINO" (AB:65,69)

See Songs 44 and 49 for other waiata by this composer.

Song 69: A LAMENT BY POUKOHATU FOR RIKI (CA:1, Book Q)

This lament was written by Te Kahui (Poukohatu) for his son Rakauariki. It is given twice in Broughton (1984:131,137), where the two references are a repetition from the same source document. For a working text see Broughton (ibid:131-32 or 137), which begins: Teeraa ngaa tai ka tangi mai ki te awa.
No details are available concerning the composer of this waiata. Rangiroa (line 11) was an ancestor in the line of the Te Ati Awa chief Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake (Smith, 1910:98-99, Table XXXI).

Ruamano (line 10) was a taniwha or sea creature who accompanied Aotea on its voyage from Hawaiki to Aotearoa (JPS 9:220). In JPS 14:139, Ruamano was forced ashore by karakia on to land that Maui had just hauled up (see line 20).¹⁰ Rakatu-whenua (line 20) is land as opposed to sea (WD:321). Here it refers to Maui's "fish", the North Island, another name for which (line 5) was Hukurangi (Smith, 1904:220; JPS 7:63).

The story of Rupe and his sister Hinauri (lines 12-15) is told in Grey (1956:62-68). Ihu-wareware and Ihu-atamai found Hinauri cast up on shore, and took her to wife. They gave her up to Tinirau, son of Tangaroa, but not before she had become pregnant to Ihu-atamai. Hinauri and her baby son Tuhuruahuwere were carried off by Rupe after an intensive search (see also Song 15).

Takere-o-Toitaha and Pahitonoa (line 19) were the canoes of [Nga]-Ruaraangi and of Rauru, the eponymous ancestor of Nga Rauru (JPS 9:212-213). In line 18, Tawhaki's canoe is given as Te Hukitoto, a name which does not appear to be recorded elsewhere. The nearest equivalent is Hikutoto, the canoe of Whakatau who, like Tawhaki, avenged the death of his father (Johansen, 1954:156; Orbell, 1995:193,245). Hare Hongi (1898:39) gives Punui-a-Rata (line 29) as the canoe of Rata, who also avenged his father's death. Here it is the name of a house.

TENEI TANGI NA HAERETUUTERANGI

1 Tera ia nga tai ahu ki te awa, e tai tangata kore, ei.
   Pipiri te tangata, haua atu ko Tawhaiti (Tawhaitu),
   Ka riro te tangata ki Wainukumamao, huna iho ra ki te hunanga i te moa.
   Ko Te Nganateirihia i ngaro ki te marama[ra] o Whatuteihi.

5 Maunu whakarewa, toia te whenua te ra ki Hukurangi, whatiai.
   E tuhera kau nei te rua o te taniwha, koia ra
   Nga mate e takoto mai nei, waiho kia takotoo.
   I haere korua i te ara kohuru mo Rakaupawawe, mo Rangataupoki.
   Kihei koe i whakaaro ko e hau papa roa i te iwi

10 Tuku te ngai nao tahuhu. Ka tere Ruamano, ka paea kei uta.

¹⁰ Other sources (JPS 16:90; Smith, 1910:137) tell of an island named Ruamano (or Rauman) which was transported from Patea across Cook Strait by the power of karakia. The common theme of these accounts is of a large mammalian body or land mass travelling by sea and being cast up on shore.
Tomokia atu ra te ara o Rangiroa, i tere kumutia. 
E piki e koro i te ara o Rupe, i haere ai ra ki te kimi i a Hinauri, 
Tena ka irio i a Ihuwareware, i a Ihuatamai. Ka rongo Tinirau, 
Tikina atu, rokohanga atu ano e noho ana i roto i tona whare, 
Whakatapuhi ki Tuwhuruhuru, maringi nui ra. 
Ehara tau i te manuhiri matemate mai i tawhiti, i a Tikimaero', 
Mate mai i te rangi i a Maui i komia e Hinenuitepo, waiho i te ao. 
Koia ra tenei, noho mai hoki koē i runga Te Hukitoto, waka o Tawhaki. 
Tenei nga waka no Ruarangi ma: Pahitona, Takere o Toitaha, 
Rakaturhenua, te ika a Maui i mau ki te matau, ko Hahawhenua. 
Okeoke to uru ki roto Wharekura - i te huihuhi torea, i te waewae ripeka - 
Ko te whare tena i tuu ki Hakutika, i tuu ki Tahatika, 
Taku whare puunanga korero i pu āi te riri, eī. 
Nau i whakarongo, ko ‘e waka hinau rara matai te waka o Turi. 
I waiho atu ‘ho i reira, ka he no hera tawhiti. 
Tomokia e Toto ki te wao, turakina, ka hinga Aotea, 
Ka tau ki Rongorongo i haere mai ai i te po, nohoia 
Ki te whara ahiahi, kaore ra e mo nga mate, mo nga hara o Rongotea. 
Taku whare Punuiarata tena, keu atu na nga taha marere 
Ki te Tawatutahi (Atutahi), te heketanga a Rangitearuhe. 
Na Pitopitomarie i tu ki raro, hana tuu tai ana. 
Ko Whitianga tera i tahuna iho ai e Te Aotoruutu. 
Ka tipu, ka rangahauumia, ka waiho hei whangai 
I te takapu o Hine, i te makinokino, i te puukeko, oii.

Song 71: A SONG OF LAMENT (E:74)

The composer of this waiata is not named in the Kahui Papers, but is identified in 
NM 47 as Te Wharepouri of Te Ati Awa, one of those involved in negotiations with the 
New Zealand Company at Wellington in 1839. The dead person was Nukupewapewa of 
Wairarapa, who drowned at Napier. For a working text and translation see NM 47, which 
begins:

Tera Tariao ka kokiri kai runga.

John White (1890:72) gives a translation only, entitled "Dirge sung by the dying".

Song 72: SONG (V:3)

This waiata is given also in NM 156, where the composer is identified as Te Hau- 
korahi, and the dead person as Te Hiko-o-te-rangi of Ngati Raukawa. Te Hiko-o-te-rangi 
was a contemporary of Te Kahui’s father, Taapu Minarapa, during his ministry at Te Aro 
and Waikanae (Smith, 1910:554). In the Kahui Papers, "Taranaki" replaces "Tarahanga" 
in NM 156 (line 12), and "whenua" replaces "matua" (line 14), while line 16 in NM 156 is 
missing from the Kahui version.
From the typical sentiments expressed in this waiata it appears to be a reworking of a waiata aroha. For a working text and translation see NM 156, which begins:

Tera Te Kakau, e!

Song 73: SONG BY TE ATAMAARI (Book R)

The composer of this waiata aroha, Te Atamaari, was the eldest daughter of Te Kahui’s wife Te Aomaangi by her first husband, Aperahama Nua (see also Song 25 for another daughter of this marriage, Te Ruahuihui).

WAIATA NA TE ATAMAARI

1 Ra te kotiu ka ea a taha ki uta,
   He po taua e tu ana ra i te iwi,
   Haramai ki te ngutu, me awhitu haere.
   Kati te wairua, e kori taua kei te po, e au.

5 Wareware kihie rawa i mohio ki te huki,
   Tae mai ko au kei te pakia wai hoki a Tara,
   Ehara i te tinana ma Haerongotetahuri ka oti atu,
   Mau e mahi atu ki te whakaraunui, koia te hoa.
   Me ruru au ki te whare, kia tu i te tohu

10 Kia wiri a iho te kahapatapau e,
   Ko te wai reirei tokorau tu moana.

Song 74: A SONG FROM WHANGAPARA RIVER

A note appended to this waiata in the Kahui Papers reads:

I haere nga tangata nana tenei waiata ki te whahai, rokokanga nga tangata o tera waahi e noho mai ana. Te whawhatanga ma[i], ko te ope nei mutu tonu, kaore he hokinga ki te kainga. Ko nga tangata nana te waiata nei i hoki wairua mate ki to ratou whenua, ara, ki to ratou kainga. Te putanga mai o te tamaiti a tetehi o ratou ki wahio o te whare, te tirohanga [a]tu, ko hona matua e haere ana. Ka haere te tamaiti nei ki te whai, kei te hua atu kei te haere ora. Ka tata atu te tamaiti nei ki hona matua, ka huri mai te araro o te matua, ka waiata mai i ta ratou waiata. Te mutunga o te waiata, ka ki mai, "Haere, e hoki ki te iwi, ki ho whaene". Ka hoki mai te tamaiti nei, a, nana i wha’atu te waiata ki te iwi.

Briefly, the story relates to a group of men who went off to fight, and were wiped out. They returned in spirit to their village and were seen by the son of one of them, who thought they were coming home alive. When he got near, the father turned to him and sang this song, after which he told his son to return home. The boy did this, and made the song known to the people.
HE WAIATA NO WHANGAPARA AWA

1  Tera te marama ka mahuta i te pae ra.
I haramai koe na i te maru kainga, e.
Taku tira kahurangi, naku ia waihoe
Nga kohatu mauri i tua o Raukura, e;

5  Kia rokohanga atu nga tai o te whanga, e,
E tau papatu ana i te matarae ra.
Ka tua taku kiri ki te kohai tarama, e.
E tama nahaku, he kore pea koe ra kohera nga hau atu
I te riri kaihu ra, i te rarangi whanaunga, e.

Song 75: A SONG ABOUT TOHUNGA MAUI (Book L)

Seventeen years after Te Kahui's death, Percy Smith quotes from him concerning makutu and states: "All tribes of these islands possess this evil practice, [but] ... The tribe of our informant are notorious for it" (1921:172-73,176; see also mention of makutu in Song 60). At a time of recurring waves of introduced diseases the ancient beliefs provided the only explanation that made sense to many Maori for the deaths of family members and indeed of whole communities.

The numbers (in bold) in lines 16, 19, 21 and 23 of this waiata are in the original text.

HE WAIATA MO NGA TOHUNGA MAUI

1  Tera te uira e hiko i te rangi, e whawahi rua ana
Na runga o Tawhare. Kaore ianei ko te tohu o te mate,
Unuhia noatia te ata o Haroia i haere wareware ko te hoa i 'hau.
Te whakaaro koe ka nui te hara, takiri whakarere te puia

5  To ringa rongomai haranui Uenuku wareware.
E ui ana koe kei hea te marama e Tangaroa mua,
E pounga korekore, ka nunumi atu koe ki tua o Raukawa.
Ka rere whakawahine te tongo o te ra,
E tangi haere ana nga tao o te uru.

10 Te papa o Whareone to ara haerenga,
Tahuku kau ana nga puke i te tongo.
Ka hutia te tohunga ki runga, kia roua ka wakairia nei
Ko 'uakina ake ra te tatau o te rangi. Kia piki atu koe
I te rangi tuatahi, i te rangi tuarua, e tae ki raro ra.

15 E uia mai koe, "Ko te aha tenei?" ko te poki piki o te ao
I maunu mai nei ko te taroi o te riri, e (6).
Ko te tao o te ata o te rangi i mahue ake nei,
Ka wakapiria raau, rauia te whatu i te tongo
A Tutahi marehua, e (7). Ehara e te hoa e utanga kupuau,

20 Na Rauoiwi, na Rauotangata ka ruhi nga iwi,
Ka raru te whenua, e (8). Ka poua taua nga pou tu noa
Irota Waimako'. Ka tokia to kiri e te to'mairangi whenua
Irota Hokiang. Ka timu nga tai ki Mokoia hoki, e (6).
E titiro ana au te puia tu noa i rung ia nga iwi,

Tineia kia mate, kia mate rawa hoki kei tae hoki ake,
E mahara ana roto ki te kino ra hoki, ka tauwehea nei, hi.

Song 76: A SONG BY TUAHUTARANGI (L:45)
Tuahutarangi, known also as Hapurona, Ngawhakawawe, and Iwimaire, was
related to Te Kahui as follows (Kahui Papers):

Rahiripoho = Iwimaire

Moana = Marere = Tamaiwaho = Pira = Hetu = Ngahinu

Pikirangi = Wairua

Tanemihia = Iwimaire

Pororaiti = Te Kaea

Pukiwaho = Hetu

Taapu Minarapa = Ripeka Marere = Metapere = Hapurona

Te Kahui Kararehe

The name Tuahutarangi comes from wahuta, a word which is not given in Maori
dictionaries but which appears to be a variant of wau, to scold (Smith, 1993:44; WD:480).
This name was coined for the Taranaki ancestor Tuwhakairikawa after he and Kahukura-
makuru defeated Te Ati Awa in the mid-eighteenth century (HB:42,43; see also Song 26).

Tuahutarangi may have composed this waiata shortly before his death, for in it he
speaks of having grown old as a fighting man. His own death was lamented by his son in
Song 31.

HE WAIATA NA TUAHUTARANGI
1 Turua waipo kia moe huri ko au anake
No mua ra, e te tau, te kauawhitanga mai
Mano tini haku tau e mau ana i te pakanga
Kua kino haku mahi, kua taitauheke au

5 Kua taiahoaho ki nga roro whare ki Omurangi,
Kua taiahoaho ki nga roro whare ki Te Arei
Kei reira e tuu an, he reo tangata, te w'akakininga
E wairua reinga tuutaki ake, kete ai, ei.
Song 77: THIS SONG IS BY TARAWHA (Book Q)

This waiata is by Tarawha of Ngati Ruanui (Smith, f.163:149), who composed several other songs with the same opening lines (e.g., Smith, f.163:148; Broughton, 1984:166; see also Song 78):

Turua waipo takoto ki te moenga
I rehu kau aku mata ki te whakarongo ake
Ki te putanga mai ki runga i aku ringa.

NA TARAWHA TENEI WAIATA

1 Tua waipo takoto ki te moenga
Turama e ro'ki te waka kato e Mimi.
Ko Rehua ki runga ra, ko au ki raro nei
Whakamau ai ki aku taina ra,
5 E haerenga kawata, ka tauwehe i [a] au.
Maku aku taina, ko 'e whawhai atu
Nga takono'tanga i roto Maraekura i te kau hore ai
Ka titiro ai au he pu takataka, i.

Song 78: BY TARAWHA (L:26)

For other waiata by Tarawha see Songs 20 and 77. He may have composed this waiata for his wife, since the reference in line 19 to tataramoa (bush lawyer, Rubus species) suggests a ritual used to separate husband and wife, or to relieve the grief of one on the death of the other (see also 8.4.3).

NA TARAWHA

1 Turua waipo takoto ki te moenga, i rehu kau
Aku mata turama i roto ki te rongo o te waka.
Ka tomeni oho te ao ina hikohiko takawawe
Ki o tiketikenga, kia whakamau koe ki runga
5 O unuhia, ki waho o tohu. Kauraka ko te hoa
E arumia ki te korero, ka arei pokaia kia maua, e,
No nga rangi ki tua no hakui ma, no hakoro, ei.
Ko te whatitoka hoki ki raro ra, te roto moe kapua,
Pou o Whiti, patate nui tenei to kiri kohai.
10 Naku i moumou ki runga ki aku ringa to kiri
Whakaeke ki te renga 'oru, te ata o Poutini,
Te kaka’o Hirawaru, o wehi e koro
Ki o whakawhitinga ki Okare ra, ki Whakaahu’ra, ei.
Naku koe i ropi ki te raraue tu Taranaki.
15 Ka hemo atu ano nga kete tuawhita a te hoa
I te tane (tua) e huru maku 'e kete whakahemonga,
I heke atu i nga ihonga ki o tangi waka ra.
Waiho kau ake ai o rakau kau kia roro i [a] au
'E tataramoa i tu ki te ngahere ko te kiri o te hoa, ei.

This concludes the presentation of the waiata. An examination of the imagery contained in the waiata texts follows in Chapter Eight. Further elements of the research framework, the related themes of Maori cosmology and whakapapa, are discussed in Chapter Nine.
CHAPTER EIGHT: IMAGERY OF THE WAIATA

8.0. Introduction

In Chapter Seven I identified a range of images relating to the natural landscape, which I present here in narrative form. In drawing these threads of imagery together my aim is to illustrate the holistic nature of Maori thought, and to highlight the preoccupation with the environment of those who were undergoing crisis, such as that associated with death. One would expect that compositions which resulted from such times of crisis would dwell on topics of enduring significance, and since the landscape element is a recurring theme in many waiata tangi it can readily be seen that landscape (or "place") had enduring significance in the minds of the composers and their audiences.

In presenting landscape images from the waiata I group them under the additional headings of seascapes and skyscapes, as extensions of the term landscape. In Chapter Three I discussed ways in which landscape is regarded, which illustrate the appropriateness of this term in the context of Taranaki Maori lifeways in the past, and as they still pertain today. Taranaki kaumatua Huirangi Waikerepuru emphasised the connectedness between sea, sky, land and people in an oral submission to the Waitangi Tribunal in September 1990, when he explained:

The land is part of the sea, the sea is part of the land, the sky is part of the sea. Maori thinking in terms of their ihi, their tapu, spiritual wellbeing that links people to the sky, inseparable in total .... The sky and air we breathe is part of the earth, and the earth is part of the sky. This is Maori thinking in terms of mana, ihi, tapu, spiritual wellbeing that links sky, earth, humans, intact, indivisible. Without one, we cannot survive.

8.1. Landscape and Environment

In this thesis I use landscape interchangeably with environment (see Chapter Three), since I regard these terms as parts of the same whole, determined either by perception or situation. That is, what I view objectively as landscape is someone else's lived environment. Perkins (1988:287) makes a similar statement when he amends Eyles' "environmental" sense of place to "landscape" sense of place: the one having social, familial, and traditional meanings, the other being perceived aesthetically and experientially.

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1 Notes taken verbatim by Ann Parsonson at Owae Marae, Waitara, during Tribunal hearings from 3-7 September 1990. I am grateful to Ann for permission to quote from those notes, and to Huirangi for the inspiration that led him to articulate these thoughts.
Some writers broaden the concept of landscape to include seascapes, waterscapes, sunscapes, ethnoscapes and other types of -scape as collective aspects of the environment. In such contexts the suffix -scape "posits the presence of a unifying principle which enables us to consider part of the countryside or sea as a unit" (Peters, 1948:2, in Cosgrove, 1998:13).

As illustrated in Chapter Ten, I could have used other headings such as "ancestral", "biblical", "metaphorical", "metaphysical", "proverbial", "symbolic", and associated categories of landscape, since these themes run throughout the broader categories of sea, sky, and land. Other themes include the many and varied reflections from the waiata of emotional, mental, social and spiritual attitudes that underpinned reality in Taranaki in earlier times. I discuss these themes further in Chapters Nine and Ten, in considering the implications that arise from the data presented here.

8.1.1. Names and places

In seeking to understand the physical background of the waiata it should be borne in mind that the location of many of the places named is no longer known, or else the same name was given to more than one place within the tribal territories to which the waiata refer. For this reason I have not attempted to map the whereabouts of any of the places mentioned in this chapter, nor is it my intention to explore the geographical settings of the waiata beyond placing them in a Taranaki or related context.

8.2. Seascapes

The hapu of central Taranaki were bounded on three sides by the sea, so it is not surprising that the sea and tides should be regarded as a significant feature of their physical and metaphysical environment. The waiata reflect this significance for, of the 78 waiata analysed, 27 contain some 56 references to the tide ("tai"), an average of two references apiece for these waiata. Occasional references to the sea (moana) and waves (ngaru) bring the total figure to about sixty, which stands in marked contrast to the less than ten references to Mount Taranaki itself, the dominant feature of the coastal ringplain.

I discuss this latter point in Chapter Nine in connection with the attitudes of the

Taranaki people towards their ancestral mountain, and conclude there that a particular ethos prevailed to render the articulation of such references unnecessary.

8.2.1. The sea and tides

In the sixty or so references to the sea, mentioned above, its many moods are characterised; sometimes unfavourably because of its destructive force, or because it epitomised the negative feelings associated with death. The use of the word kino\(^3\) emphasises this latter aspect:

... nga tai whati kino ki waho Piritoka, i pakaru rikiriki te toka ki Taumata (*the raging seas beyond Piritoka, that broke in pieces the rock at Taumata*) (10/9-10; NM 165/2);
... kei te huri kino te tai Orapa (*the tide at Orapa turns suddenly*) (46/14);
... nga tai kino (*the flood tides*) (12/28; NM 130/9);

and, indirectly:

... tu kino ki tai o te moana (*gone abruptly beyond the sea*) (56/6).

The destructive nature of the sea is evident in phrases such as:

... te tai marangai (*the stormy [or northerly] tide*) (15/12);
... huka a tai (*the foam of the sea*) (56/32);
... te moana waiwai, te moana tuatua, te moana oruoru (*the open sea, the boisterous sea, the rough sea*) (61/25-26);

while its gentler moods are depicted by phrases such as:

... ka mahaki te rangi, ka tuku ki tai te hukahuka (*the weather is calm, the sea foam drifts out*) (56/8); and:
... te kare o te wai (*the ripples of the water*) (68/15).

Personification was a feature of many representations, with the tide depicted as lamenting (tangi) or sobbing (koto) in sympathy with the living who mourned for their dead:

... nga tai tangi ake i roto o Parua (*the tides that weep within Parua*) (9/21);
... tera nga tai e tangi haere ana kei Pitoone, e tangi haere ana kei Timaru (*there go the tides, crying on their way at Pitone, ... at Timaru*) (27/12);
... nga tai e tangi i waho o Heiawe ... i roto Waitaha (*the tides that weep beyond Heiawe ... within Waitaha*) (45/57,59);
... tangi haere ai te tai o Matawhero (*the tide at Matawhero goes crying on its way*) (Song 60-Broughton, 1984:167);
... e tangi haere ana nga tai o te uru (*the western tides are lamenting as they go*) (75/9);
... tera nga tai ka tangi mai ki te awa (*there the tides come crying to the river*)

\(^3\) Ngata and Te Hurinui give a range of meanings for this word, which occurs 89 times in *Nga Moteatea*. These include, but are not limited to: flood (tide), raging (seas); steep, wild (of the countryside); abrupt, sudden (of departure); agonising, bitter, grievous, painful, etc. (of death or disaster); comfortless, fretful, stricken, woeful, etc. (of reactions to death or disaster).
The tides off the Taranaki coast greeted the spirits of the dead, who travelled westward on the outgoing tide to Hawaiki, the mythical homeland of the Maori people:

- he tai mihi tangata (a "people-greeting" tide) (9/14; 29/16; 60/22);
- he tai mihi tangata ka hinga (a tide that greets those who have fallen) (45/60);
- 'e tai mihinga nui mo koutou/ kī te mate (a tide that mourns deeply for you/ who have gone to death) (46/15,23);
- he tai mihinga nui te matua i [a] au (a tide that mourns deeply for my father) (39/15);

while a tide devoid of such ghostly freight was:

- 'e tai tangata kore (a tide without people) (70/1).

Other phrases depict the tides as ebbing:

- te tai heke nui (the greatly ebbing tide) (9/4; Song 65-NM 181/12);
- ka timu nga tai ki Mokoia hoki (the tides ebb also at Mokoia) (75/123);

or turning:

- nga tai e hurī i raro Te Wharau/ o Waiaku/ i waho (the tides that turn below Te Wharau/ Waiaku/ out yonder) (2/17-18; 9/11; 15/28);

or beginning to flow:

- te tai e hura (the rushing current) (54/15);

Tidal elements include the currents:

- te au kume, ... te au rona, ... te au hirehire (the strong current, the rapid current, the swift-running current) (42/19; Grey, 1928:95; 1956:169);
- haere rua te tai kei Oaoiti (the cross-flowing tide at Oaoiti) (Song 58-Broughton, 1984:164);
- te ia e rere (the rushing current) (54/15);

and the waves (or tides), which are depicted as spreading:

- nga ngaru ka hora i waho i Orongo (the waves that spread beyond Orongo) (9/12);
- te ngaru e hora ki te ariki ki Matawhero (the wave that spreads out over the rock pool at Matawhero) (40/5-6);

or breaking:

- ngaru tuatea (the broken crested wave) (68/1);
- whakahorohoro ai te tai o Kapukapu (Kapukapu’s tide breaks) (Song 60-Broughton, 1984:167);

or moving towards the land:

- tera ia nga tai ahu ki te awa (see there, where the tides move towards the river) (70/1);
or dashing against the rocky coast:

... [h]e aki kau ana ki te whanga \((\text{beating incessantly in the bay})\) \((\text{S.34: v.1/5, v.2/4})\);
... nga tai o te whanga, e tau papatu ana i te matarae ra \((\text{the tides in the bay, clashing together there at the headland})\) \((\text{74/5-6})\);

or running up the gravel beaches:

... te tai e ngaehe mai ra \((\text{the tide that washes up the beach})\) \((\text{S.34: v.1/3, v.2}/2-3)\).

Coastal elements include the beaches:

... nga one kaitara o Wairua/ o Wairau \((\text{the coarse sands of Wairua/ of Wairau})\) \((\text{17/12; 28}/4)\);

or named places along the coastline:

... te tai ki Heiawe \((\text{the tide at Heiawe})\) \((\text{29/14})\);
... nga tai o Ngarue \((\text{the tides of Ngarue})\) \((\text{52}/29)\);
... te tai o Wairua ... o Papanui \((\text{the tide of Wairua ... of Papanui})\) \((\text{Song 60- Broughton, 1984:167})\);

while people are depicted as treading the coastline:

... takahia mai te akau \((\text{tread the rocky shore})\) \((\text{47}/15)\);
... kia takahia atu te one i Te Apai \((\text{then tread the beach at Te Apai})\) \((\text{57}/3)\);

or diving into the sea:

... me ruku e au te moana waiwai, te moana uriuri ... kia ea atu au nga takutai o Te Awaroa \((\text{I will dive into the open sea, the deep green sea ... and surface against the coasts of Te Awaroa})\) \((\text{55}/11-12)\);
... kia ruku atu ano nga tai timu ka takato i waho Hihi \((\text{so then dive into the ebbing tides that lie beyond Hihi})\) \((\text{20}/13-14)\);

to catch the tide that took them westward to Hawaiki:

... ko wai nga tai i haere ai koe? \((\text{by which tide do you go?})\) \((\text{51}/7)\);
... te ara tapokopoko o Tawhaki \((\text{the billowy path of Tawhaki})\) \((\text{55}/11)\), i.e., the Tasman Sea \((\text{WD:384})\).

8.2.2. The sounds of the sea

Of all the waiata presented, Song 34 appears to have been inspired completely by the sounds of the sea (or tides). The meaning of the word wawa in verse 2 of that waiata (lines 1 and 2) was initially in doubt, as the vowel length is given inconsistently in \(\text{WD:472,483}\) with either a lengthened final vowel, or with both vowels lengthened. The form is apparently that of the former, which means to make a loud rumbling, roaring, or other indistinct noise \((\text{WD:472})\), since Shortland \((\text{1856:174})\) interprets wawa and its word pair wiwi as "intended to represent, by their sound, the noise of the flood-tide on the beach". Pomare and Cowan \((\text{1930:276})\) translate wawa in similar fashion:
In Song 34, relevant phrases are:

- ... te tai e wawa mai ana (the tide that roars towards me) (v.2/1);
- ... te wawa o te tai (the roaring of the tide) (v.2/2).

Loud sounds are also indicated by phrases such as:

- ... te tai e haruru mai ana (the tide that thunders towards me) (S.34: v.1/1);
- ... nga tai e paku i roto o Hopuhopu (the tides that resound within Hopuhopu) (51/10);
- ... ka pako a tai (the tide sounds suddenly) (42/20); apparently, the sign of a south wind (he tohu hau tanga) (WD:254).

Similar in appearance to wawa, the word wawara is almost opposite in meaning, being to make an indistinct sound, murmur or rustle (WD:479). It occurs in the phrases:

- ... he wawara a tai (a murmuring tide) (S.34: v.1/4; v.2/4);
- ... nga tai e wawara i raro Ketehuial i waho (the tides that murmur below Ketehuial out yonder) (9/13; 15/14);

while its derivative warawara is found in the phrase:

- ... kei te warawara te tai o Wairau/ o Raukawa (Wairau’s/ Raukawa’s tide murmurs) (39/14; 46/14).

8.2.3. Sea breezes, wind

The wind was a constant factor in the interaction of sea and shore:

- ... ko nga hau parua, ko te hau o runga, ko te hau o raro, e papaki mai nei te rae ki Whitikau, e wani haere te tai ki Heiawe (cross cutting winds, from the south and the north, beat upon the headland at Whitikau and skim the waves at Heiawe) (29/12-14);
- ... e tuku ra nga hau o te rangi (sending forth the winds of heaven) (19/1);
- ... tuku mai ana nga hau o te rangi, o te hau o runga, o te hau o raro, o te hau o uta, o te hau a tai (sending forth the winds of heaven, from the south and the north, from the land and the sea) (47/9-11);
- ... kia tauna tapu te rawaho o te rangi, ka aranga, tu whakakoria tana whakapaenga, koia huka a tai ka mou ki te kare o te wai (oh, that the wind from the sea might be restrained. It rises and drives persistently on shore, lashing seafoam which clings to the ripples of the water) (56/30-32);
- ... ya te kotiu ka ea a taha ki uta (there, the north wind veers towards the land) (73/1);
- ... e pa ki te uru ka haramai (the wind comes blowing from the west) (13/1);

until, finally, peace prevailed (personified as Aio-rangi, "Calm Day") (41/11; 58/34):

- ... ka moroki te hau, ka aio te moana (the wind dies down, the sea grows calm) (47/44).
8.2.4. Seabirds

References to seabirds in the waiata show a keen awareness of their individual characteristics:

... i te huhihi torea, i te waewae ripeka (a flock of oyster catchers (or stilts), cross legged) (70/21):

torea: Haematopus or Himantopus (WD:438). (Anyone watching the rapid movements of these birds will be struck, as I was at Farewell Spit in Nelson, by how their legs appear to "criss-cross" as they run);

... he toroa taupua no te one i Okahu (an albatross as sentry on the beach at Okahu) (59/5):

manu taupua: a male bird which acts as sentry while the others are feeding (WD:401);

toroa: a generic name for seabirds such as the albatross, Diomedea, the gannet, Morus, and others (WD:439);

... te karuhiruhi e noho kotahi ana i te muriwai (the cormorant dwelling alone in the lagoon) (27/17);

... he kawau whakatopa (whakateka) ki roto o Mangaiti, he takapu (takupu) horo ika (a shag darting (flying headlong) within Mangaiti, a gannet swallowing fish) (Song 16-NM 274/53-55):

karuhiruhi, kawau: names of several varieties of shag, Phalacrocorax varius (WD:102,110), sometimes referred to in the literature as cormorants (Orbell, 1996:84; WD:ibid); takapu, takupu: other names for the gannet, Morus (WD:369).

Parallels were occasionally drawn between birds and the human condition:

... ehara i te tangata 'e toroa rere uru, ko 'e awe kotuku no runga i Matarua (man is not an albatross flying south, but a white feathered heron up on Matarua) (5/23-24);

... kia ruku atu koe te ruku a te kawau, ka ea to ika, he haku no te moana uri (then dive as the shag dives, and emerge with your fish, a kingfish from the dark green sea) (Song 65-NM 181/57-60);

or else the deceased was likened to a bird, which represented the ultimate in freedom and unattainability:

... taku manu tu roa ki te huka o te tai (my bird, long standing in the foam of the tide) (37/16).

8.2.5. Fish and shellfish

Honorific references to shellfish, which indicate their importance as food items, are found in Song 44; NM 332/35-38; and Smith, 1910:139:

... naku koe i whangai ki te aitanga a Tarionge, te kai whakaota e piri i te toka ki te aitanga a Rangahore (I fed you with the offspring of Tarionge, the uncooked food that clings to the rocks with the offspring of Rangahore):
te aitanga a Tarionge: the univalve mollusc, *Lunella smaragda*, known also as pupu korama (NM 332/36; WD:140) and other names; te aitanga a Rangahore: the paua, *Haliotis* (WD:273).

Specific references to shellfish include:

... **Ma-onge, Ma-pupu, Ma-karikawa** (56/14):

pupu: the common name for univalve molluscs of the winkle type (WD:300), including pupu-karikawa or karekawa, *Cookia sulcata* or Cook's Turban, which has a large spotted volute or spiral shell (ibid; Strickland, 1990).4 Ma-onge may be a shortened form of Tarionge (see above), with the prefix "Ma" apparently denoting shellfish;

... nga rori e takoto, ko nga kai raunga o aku kahurangi (*the cockles lying there, the gathered foods of my precious ones*) (Song 60-Broughton, 1984:167);

rori: a univalve mollusc; rori: the act of gathering cockles and the basket in which they were gathered (WD:347).

References to fish ("ika") include:

... **te ika nihoriki** (1/8):

nihoriki: a small reddish fish, possibly *Pseudolabrus celidotus* (WD:221,270; Strickland, 1990);

... *'e kakawai {kahawai}* maka ki tai (*a kakawai {kahawai} cast into the sea*) (Song 4-NM 300/38):

kakawai: a dark coloured variety of kokopu, *Galaxias fasciatus* (WD:92); kahawai: the fish *Arripis trutta* (WD:83);

... he *aua* matawhero, he ika moe kopua (*a red eyed mullet, that sleeps in deep pools*) (Song 16-NM 274/68-69):

aua: the "yellowed-eyed" mullet, *Agonostomus forsteri* (WD:21);

... **Tu-panepane, Tu-parikou** (56/13):

panepane, parikou: two of several names for the sucker fish, *Cheimarrichthys forsteri*;

pariko: a small minnow-like fish (WD:257,268). The prefix "Tu", as used here, apparently denotes small fish.

Non-specific references to fish often draw on the theme of the deceased as "fish" or victim, although sometimes it was the composer him/herself who was so depicted:

... me he ika mate au, e hora ki te one ki Wairua raia (*I am like dead fish, spread out on the beach at Wairua*) (40/7).

The importance of fishing is implied in references to fishhooks and lines:

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4 In WD:100, however, *Cookia sulcata* is given under "karekawa" as a bivalve mollusc.
... riakina to aho, ko Mataahonuiohu; herea to paua, Te Upoko i Ripuwai (drop your line, Mataaho-nui-ohu; tie your hook, Te Upoko-i-Ripuwai) (56/18-19);
... taia tana matau ko Wheriko, ko Whekaro, hutia mai at te mango urunui, te mango ururoa (his hook[s] Wheriko and Whekaro strike, and haul up the great-headed shark, the long-headed shark) (52/38-39):

mango ururoa: the man-eating white shark or white pointer, *Carcharodon carcharias* (WD:178). Mango urunui has not been identified, but forms a word pair which balances and lends emphasis to this statement.

The most famous fishing exploit of all was, arguably, Maui’s hauling up of the North Island, using his fishhook Haha-whenua ("Seek for the land") (White, 1887:113):

... Rakatuwhenua, te ika a Maui, i mau ki te matau, ko Hahawhenua (Rakatuwhenua, Maui’s fish, which took the hook Haha-whenua) (70/20).

In Song 42/13, the names Raro-aitu, Piki-rawe and Matau-tina-ihiwia (ko Raroaitu, ko Pikirawe, ko te Matautinaihiwhia) may have been other fishhooks used by Maui to land his giant fish - certainly the last named could be so regarded - or perhaps they were different stages in this epic feat.

### 8.3. Skyscapes

This section details some of the natural phenomena that made up the skyscapes of the Taranaki people. These included the stars, moon, and sun; clouds and wind, rain and storms; and a general section on land birds as distinct from sea birds (for which see 8.2.4).

#### 8.3.1. The stars

A further significant group of references concerns the stars and (occasionally) the planets. Although not as numerous as references to the tide, they are more complex in their associations with each other, with the seasons, and with other natural phenomena.

Of the sixteen or so waiata from which references have been taken, Song 61 contains seven examples of verifiable details relating to stars. These and other examples point to the retention of a consistent and reliable body of astronomical knowledge, at least until the latter half of the nineteenth century when these waiata were composed. Best (1922:4-5) comments on the association between stars and waiata tangi:

But ever in the native mind ... was the idea of associating the star or planet with the past, ... with friends who had passed away to the spirit-world while, or before, the star was invisible [sic - visible]. Thus we often note a reference to the stars in song, particularly in such as partake of the character of laments.
8.3.1.1. Tariao, Kopu, Te Kakau

Stars were sometimes mentioned in the opening lines of waiata tangi:

... tera Tariao ka kokiri kei runga (see there, where Tariao springs up on high) (Song 71-NM 47/1).

Tariao: an unidentified star in the Milky Way (WD:391). In the Waikato, the name was given to "the forerunner or herald star of the dawn star", probably Mercury (Elsmore, 1985:130);

... tera ia Te Kakau, whakangaro atu ana ia ki te rua (look there at Te Kakau, disappearing into the abyss) (Song 72-NM 156/1-2):

Te Kakau: one of the star-groups that warned of the approach of dawn (Best, 1922:38).

This is expressed in Williams (1971:105) as: "Ko Te Kakau, me Kopu ma, e whakaatu ana i te awatea" (Te Kakau, the Morning Star and others, point to the coming of day). Known also as Te Kakau-a-Maui (The Handle of Maui), Te Tuke-a-Maui (Maui's Elbow) or Te Tuke-a-Tautoru, Te Kakau forms part of the constellation of Orion's Belt (WD:105,450; Stowell, [1911]:200). Best (1922:38) explains the significance of the names in this way:

The Belt of Orion seems to be known by two names. That of Tautoru includes the three bright stars in the Belt, while that of Te Kakau (The Handle) includes the same three and another row extending out from them at an angle that suggested the name Te Kakau to the Maori. These rows of stars are thought to resemble in form the handle of an adze.

References to this constellation occur also in Song 24 and NM 252 (line 37: "nga tuke a Maui", and line 54: "nga kakau").

Other references include:

... tera Kopu hikitia i Paerau (there is Kopu, rising over Paerau) (13/8):
... ko Kopu ki runga, ko au ki raro nei (Venus is above, and I am below here) (15/13).

Kopu: Venus as the morning star in winter (Best, 1922:41).

8.3.1.2. Tautoru, Matariki, Whetukura

In Song 61/35, Tautoru is associated with the eighth month, Hiringa[-a]-nuku (WD:53).

... e tu e Tautoru i Hiringanuku (be upstanding, Tautoru, in the eighth month).

It was also associated with other stars, as noted in Song 55/10:

... Matariki, Tautoru, Tawera te whetu taki ata, nga kanohi o te rangi (Matariki, Tautoru, Tawera, the star[s] that usher in the dawn; the eyes of the sky).

Matariki or the Pleiades, which Shortland (1856:220) describes as the conspicuously "close and brilliant cluster in the midst of an almost starless space", marked the beginning of the Maori year when it first appeared before sunrise on the eastern horizon (Orbell,
1978:100-101; Dansey, [1968]).

The year began in mid winter, as noted in Song 61/57:

... e tu e Matariki i Takuruaiao (stand, Pleiades, in calm-Winter);

and, perhaps, in lines 33-34 of the same song:

... na te Takruanuku, nana i hoake no muri ko nga whetu riki (it was widespread-Winter that sent ahead the little stars).

Since the literal meaning of Matariki is "small-eyed" (Best, 1922:44), that star cluster could be the little stars that are referred to here.

8.3.1.3. Tawera, Puanga, Whakaahu, Taingarue

As the morning star in winter, Kopu or Venus was known also as Tawera. Other references to Venus as Tawera introduce an additional aspect for which this star was known:

... nau mai Tawera e, te whetu kai marama, ko te tohu o te mate i tukua ake nei (come, Venus, star that eats the moon, it is a sign of death you grant us here) (2/3-4).

When the morning star appeared near the cusp of the crescent moon it was said to be "biting" or "eating" the moon: to Maori, a sign of disaster (NM 188/2; Best, 1922:26-27).

In Song 43 (Smith, 1993:30), Tawera is associated with the great stars Puanga (Rigel, in Orion) and Whakaahu (Castor, in Gemini):

Takiri ko te ata, ka ngau Tawera,
Ko te tohu o te mate i nunumi ake nei.
Me ko Whakaahu, me ko Puanga,
Ko nga whetu nui o te rangi e tautohe nei.
The dawn springs up, and Venus bites [the moon],
A sign of the dead who went in haste.
As for Castor, as for Rigel, these are
The great stars of the sky which now contend.

Puanga and Whakaahu occurred together as sign-giving stars in connection with the planting of the kumara crop in spring (Best, 1922:39). Stowell ([1911]:196) gives the date of the heliacal rising of Puanga as 1 June in the modern calendar:

... e tu e Puanga i te Tahi o Pipiri (be upstanding, Rigel, in [the month of] June) (61/28),

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5 Matariki was an appropriate reference in waiata tangi since it signalled the return of light and warmth after the cold of winter.

6 Best (1922:41). Shortland’s comment (1856:219) that "Tawera is their Lucifer" refers to the English name for Venus as the morning star (i.e., Lucifer), which derives from the Latin for "light-bringing" or "light-bearing" (New Oxford Dictionary of English).
and of Whakaahu as 3 August. When they came together in the sky they appeared to
be "contending" for the dominant position.

Puanga denotes either "the season of scarcity" (NM 252/41), or "the season of
plenty" (WD:302), there being little difference between the two in the transition from
winter to spring. As Puanganui-a-rangi (Song 7-Stowell, [1911]:155), Puanga was the
ariki or "chief" star from which the nature of the coming spring and summer was foretold
(Stowell, ibid:201), while Whakaahu was "essentially a summer star" (Best, 1922:51).

This distinction is noted in Song 24 (NM 252/40-42):

Ko nga whare tena o nga mata whetu,
Puanga mai takurua, Whakaahu ahu noa,
Tukura me whero, nga mahanga o te rangi.
Those are the dwellings of the "starry eyed",
Rigel emerging from winter, and Castor receding,
Glowing red, and dull orange, the twins of heaven.

Puanga and Whakaahu are the two stars referred to in Song 44 (NM 332/44-46; Stowell,
ibid) that are credited with bringing about the abundance of wildlife (birds and fish) in the
food gathering places of the Maori people:

... nga tokorua a Taingarue, nana i whakarewa te manu i te ngahere, te ika i te
moana (the two stars of Taingarue, who launched the birds in the forest, the fish
in the ocean).

8.3.1.4. The Milky Way

Names for the Milky Way include Te Mangoroa ("long shark") and Te Ikaroa ("long
fish") (Best, 1922:36-37):

... tana ika ko Te Mangoroa, i ata wahia tahatu (his "fish", the Milky Way, which
splits the sky from horizon to horizon) (61/5-6);
... e haere i te Mango hurinuku, te Mango hurirangi, te mokopu’ a Ikaroa (go
amongst the Mango-huri-nuku, the Mango-huri-rangi, the clustering stars of the
Milky Way) (56/21-22);
... ko Kakeurutangi te tao a Tangaroa, i werohia ai Te Mangoroa i te rangi (Kake-
urutangi is the spear of Tangaroa, who pierced the Milky Way) (50/30-31).

Stowell ([1911]:200) gives Te Ika-matua-a-Tangaroa (the Parent-fish of Tangaroa) as an
alternative name for the Milky Way, but apart from that no details have been found
concerning this reference.

8.3.1.5. Atutahi, Mahutonga, Rehua, Rangawhenua, Uruao

The composite name Atutahi-ma-Rehua or Atutahi (Canopus) was given to a tapu
star which stayed outside the Milky Way (which was noa), by rising in the evening and so
avoided entering it (Best, 1922:34-35). This idea is contained in the lines:

... whakamau te titiro te takiritanga o Atutahi, te whetu whakataha i Te Mangoroa (I fix my gaze on the darting path of Canopus, the star which stays to one side of the Milky Way) (55/1-2).

Song 61/56 associates Atutahi with Te Kahui-[o]-Mahutonga, the Southern Cross (WD:166; Best, 1922:38):

... ka heke mai Atutahi ma Rehua, no muri Te Kahui Mahutonga (Canopus descends in the sky, followed by the Company-of-Mahutonga [the Southern Cross]).

Canopus precedes the Southern Cross by some six hours (K. Thalassoudis, pers comm, 7/6/00; www.skymaps.com), rising ahead of it in summer and setting before it in winter, as this reference indicates.

The name Rehua on its own may refer to Antares, the giant red star in the Constellation of Scorpio (Best, 1922:46; www.skymaps.com); or to Sirius, the brightest star in the sky, associated with mid-summer and mid-winter when the weak and aged die (Stowell, [1911]:201-202):

... tua waipo takoto ki te moenga ... ko Rehua ki runga ra, ko au ki raro nei (at midnight I lie on my bed ... Rehua is above and I am below here) (77/1,3).

Colenso associated Rehua with one or other of the planet Mars and Jupiter (in Best, 1922:46), which are elsewhere given the name of Rangawhenua (WD:323; Best, ibid:49). In Song 12/20-21 Rehua is equated with Rangawhenua, while it also represents the heat of summer (Best, ibid:46):

... ko Rehua e tama to taua ariki e tohu ana ra, ko Rangawhenua tona ingoa. Ka mimiti te wai, ka maroke nga rakau, ka maroke nga tangata (it is our lord Rehua, my son, who gives his sign; his name is Rangawhenua. The water dries up, the trees become parched, and people become parched).

Another star associated with summer was Uruao, the heliacal rising of which is given in Stowell ([1911]:196) as 8 January. Best (1922:51) equates Uruao with the Tail of the Scorpion, of which Aututahi was the leading star (Best, ibid:31; Stowell, ibid:203):

... ka heke mai Uruao, no muri Te Kahui Matiti (Uruao approaches, followed by the Company-of-Matiti) (61/55).

Here, Te Kahui Matiti refers to the three months of summer (Stowell, ibid:204); presumably, January to March.

8.3.2. Sun, moon, dawn
In gazing at the sky (ka titiro kau atu ki te rangi) (57/2), a composer would note other celestial phenomena such as the moon, whether rising:
... e kore roko takitaki te marama (the moon has only just appeared) (6/1);
... tera te marama ka mahuta i te pae ra (see there, where the moon rises above the horizon) (74/1);

or setting:

... arohirohi ana te rere [a] te marama (the moon quivers as it sets) (54/2; WD:17,337);
... he marama ka kewa i te pae (a moon extinguished by the horizon) (52/3);

or viewed figuratively during the dark phase of its cycle:

... te marama i mate ai (the moon that dies) (Song 65 {NM 181/27-28}).

The sun was also the focus of attention, since its effect upon people was generally positive:

... whakaanga tonu te kanohi ki te hihi o te ra, ka koi tonu mai ki taku kiri (turning my face constantly to the sun's rays, that strike sharply upon my skin) (11/2-3);
... e tītī e te ra e, maene kei taku kiri (shine pleasantly, sun, upon my skin) (27/5);
... kia tomo atu koe he ao marama (may you enter a world of light) (Song 43 {Smith, 1993:30});
... ka tu mai te ora, koia te ra e tu iho nei (health prevails, because of the sun standing here) (57/13);

although its long term effects were also acknowledged:

... e tītī nei ra ha Tamanui-tera ki runga ki te whenua; ka pakapaka te whenua, ka pakapaka te moana, ka totora te mokomoko, ka rangirangi i a ia (now Tamanui-tera shines his rays upon the land; the land dries up, the sea dries up, the lizard stretches out and basks in the heat) (41/44-46).

The sun’s rising was also noted:

... te titiro nei nga mata ki te hurunga mai o te ra (surveying the headlands at the rising of the sun) (62/1-2);

as was, more reflectively, its setting:

... he titiro i te ra e tu iho nei (I see the sun standing low) (Song 65 {NM 181/17-18});
... ka rere whakawahine te tonga o te ra (the sunset fades gently) (75/8);
... e to, e te ra (set, oh sun) (17/1; 18/1).

A loved one who had died might be likened to the sun:

... taku ra to atu ki tai o te moana (my sun, setting beyond the sea) (37/11).

Dawn marked the changeover from night to day, whether it came with the first rays of the sun:
... takiri ko te ata (the day dawns) (43/1);

or brightened the early morning sky:

... te ata ka toea na runga ana mai o Pakihere (the dawn that comes upon me over Pakihere yonder) (19/4);
... toea i reira ko te ata na Tama, huakina te taharangi (dawning out there is Tama[ahua]'s "morning", laying bare the horizon) (39/4);
... haea i tai ra ko te ata a to tipuna, a Tamaahua, toea i uta ra ko te ata a to kuia, a
Taupea (gleaming out at sea is the "morning" of your ancestor, Tamaahua, dawning ashore there is the "morning" of your ancestress, Taupea) (51/20-21).

Here, "ata" possibly refers to the effect known as the solar halo, a ring around the early morning sun (Best, 1922:15).

8.3.3. Birds
The composer sometimes saw him/herself as flying like a bird:

... kia tiu, kia rere ki te uru, ki te tonga (to soar, to fly to the west, to the south) (15/9);
... me rere a manu [au] ([I'll] fly as a bird) (Song 66 {Smith, 1993:63-64});

especially like a young bird, which represented hope and freedom:

... he manu ko'anga au e karahae7 i runga ra, e kopa te haere te tihi o Munaia (I am like a young bird that leaves its nest and flies away to Munaia's peak) (18/8-9);
... he manu, he pirere no Wharawharanui (a bird, a fledgling from Wharawharanui) (Song 44 {NM 332/24-25}).

Reference was made to birds resting:

... to kahui kuaka e noho mai ana i runga i nga puke (your flock of godwits resting on the hill tops) (19/13);
... [he] kotuku moe awa (a white heron sleeping on the river) (Song 30 {JPS 11:121});
... nga manu noho awa (the birds that dwell on the river) (10/30);
... ko te moe a te manu (the sleep of a bird) (6217);

or to the resting place itself:

... taku tauranga kawau lei te muriwai o Te Paruahau (my cormorant resting place on the lagoon at Te Paruahau) (47/5).

Dawn was associated with the singing of birds, "the sweetness of whose voices has been universally extolled" (Cooper, 1851:112). A commentator wrote enthusiastically in 1840:

Nothing could be more beautiful than the singing of the birds the whole bay seemed alive with them and when I first got up their music resembled that of thousands of little fiddles (Taylor, 1966:255).

A composer mourning the death of a loved one would comment more reflectively:

... maku e whakarongo ki te manu e korih i te takiritanga o te ata (I will listen to the birds singing at the dawning of the day) (Song 4 {NM 300/88-89});

or else the birds themselves lamented in keeping with the mood of distress:

... nga manu noho awa, tangi tikapa ana ki nga tai weherua (the birds on the river, crying mournfully to the cross running tide) (10/30-31).

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7 The word karahae is not in Williams' Dictionary. I have tried to visualise a young bird as it leaves its nest for the first time.
Sometimes the deceased was likened to a bird:

... taku manu no roto i Wharekura (my bird from within Wharekura) (Song 30 (JPS 11:121));
... taku kotuku noho awa (my white heron that dwelt on the river) (Song 16 (NM 274/47));

especially one which sang tunefully:

... taku komako' ra i te ata o Whakarewa (my bellbird there in the dawn at Whakarewa) (Song 30 (JPS 11:121));
... taku manu tioriori (my sounding bird) (48/3);

or mournfully:

... taku manu tikapa ki runga o Mitimai' (my bird which mourns above Mitimai') (51/5-6).

The deceased was likened to a bird in other respects:

... taku ruru matanui (my big eyed owl) (18/4);
... taku kaka waha nui (my kaka of powerful voice) (51/5);

said of an eloquent orator who knew how to "project his voice" (Brougham, Reed & Karehu, 1987:72). Davis (1855:75) wrote concerning this kind of image:

The New Zealanders [sic - Maori] often compare the friends they love to birds, and when a particular kind is named in their laments, it is in reference to some quality which the friends possess, and which is supposed to be inherent in the bird.

A special group of references allude to the moa, Dinornis:

... ka ngaro i te ngaro a te moa (lost, as the moa is lost) (Song 65 (NM 181/34));
... huna iho ra ki te hunanga i te moa (hidden, like the hiding of the moa) (70/3);
... te huna i te moa (the hiding of the moa) (29/7).

According to Hammond (1924:36), this Taranaki proverb derived from the ability of the bird to hide itself from pursuers, and was used when someone died, for "They are gone, hidden from sight, and it is as hopeless to search for them as it was to look for the hidden moa".

8.3.4. Clouds, wind, fog

Clouds were often the focus of the composer's attention:

... ka whaka ao kapua taku titiro ki Te Kuiti (I direct my gaze at the clouds above Te Kuiti) (Song 66 (Smith, 1993:63));

who gave a detailed commentary upon their movements:

... arohirohi ana te rere mai a te ao na runga i Pukawa (swirling clouds sail towards me from above Pukawa) (Song 7 (Stowell, [1911]:155));
... whakatutu ai te kapua ki Tawhitiuini (the cloud bank piles up over Tawhitiuini) (56/27);
... i ruia mai ai te awe, ka pahi ki Paritutu (the clouds scattered and blew towards Paritutu) (56/29);
or simply acknowledged their presence:

... te ao ka rere mai i tawhiti *(the cloud that drifts towards me from afar)* (11/6);
... ko te ao rere mai i runga i Otahuh *(the cloud that sailed here from above Otahuh)*
(Song 58 [Broughton, 1984:165]).

Clouds could be linked to the deceased:

... e hora to mata te kapua i te rangi *(extend your gaze to the clouds in the sky)*
(Song 30 [JPS 11:121]);
... ma ho tuakana, mana e apoapo te ao i muri i a koe *(your older brothers will heap up clouds behind you)* (41/47).

Here, the clouds are probably cumulus, which give the appearance of being "heaped up" in summer skies. The implication is that peace and calm will prevail, giving the best possible conditions for the spirit's onward journey to Hawaiki.

Clouds were also associated with wind, which could be gentle:

... 'e matangi hau ririki *(a little breeze)* (29/6);
... ka ranga te hau nui no Apaaparangi *(the great wind of Apaapa-rangi blows gently)* (Song 7 [Stowell, [1911]:155]);

or strong:

... ma te hau o waho hei whiu ki Parihaka *(that the winds from the sea may blow [me] to Parihaka)* (8/8);
... ma te hau tonga e whiu ai au nga puke iri mai o Rangitoto i waho *(let the south wind blow me to the hills that lift above Rangitoto out yonder)* (Song 71 [NM 47/9-10]);
... e tu te raekihi ki Hiringaarangi *(the equinoctial gales resume in the eight month)*
(61/36-37);

or persistent:

... 'E aha ra te hau mana e tiki mai, e unuhi'? 'E aha ra te hau mana e tiki mai, e turaki? *(What is the wind, that it can be withdrawn? What is the wind, that it can be subdued?)* (41/48-49);

or invigorating:

... mana e hapai nga hau i runga ra, tuku iho ki raro ra hei whakahauora *(he who will raise the winds on high and restore vitality to you below)* (2/19-20).

The chill of death was likened to that of the wind:

... moe mai ra i te hau koe *(you sleep on there in the wind)* (Song 4 [NM 300/64]);
... ka moe i te hau *(who sleeps in the wind)*
(17/21; 45/65);

sometimes indirectly:

... ka tokia e te hau *(bedewed by the wind)* (17/16);

or else the spirit was enjoined to take the path of the wind *(te ara o te hau)* (2/24) to its final resting place.
8.3.5. Rain, thunder, lightning

Wind was often followed by rain, seen metaphorically as the tears of Rangi the sky father:

... maringiringi noa i nga tangi a Rangi (spilling down with the lamenting of Rangi) (14/2);

This was followed by the prismatic effect of the sun shining upon atmospheric spray:

... nga heihei o te rangi (the rainbow colours of the sky) (Song 4 {NM 300/10});

or else it was accompanied by stormy conditions:

... no te whatitiri, no te kapo, no te ua, he mea riringi iho no runga no te rangi (of thunder, of lightning, of rain, pouring down from the sky) (Song 53 {NM 346/36-38});

or by the cold of winter:

... te ngaunga iho a te huka (the biting cold of snow [frost]) (Song 53 {NM 346/40}).

Thunder was another element which featured in the waiata:

... wahia e koe te haku o te rangi; ka rarawa to waha, Whatitiri-matakataka, e hau i runga ra (break open the vault of the sky; the voice of crashing thunder rolls, resounding on high) (Song 7 {Stowell, [1911]:155}; Best, 1922:61);

as was the lightning that preceded it:

... e te hoa, uira kei runga nei (oh friend, lightning [flashes] above) (14/6);

especially when that lightning played upon the peak of a tribal mountain:

... e hiko ra te uira i tai ra, kapo taratahi ana te tara ki Turamoe (the lightning flashes out at sea and snatches fitfully at Turamoe’s peak) (2/1,2);

... tera te uira e hiko i te rangi, e whawahi (wawahi) rua ana na runga o Tauwhare (see where the lightning flashes in the sky, splitting in two above Tauwhare) (75/1-2);

or lit up the surrounding area:

... ka hiko te uira i te tahora (lightning flashes across the open countryside) (32/2);

or flickered out at sea:

... ko ‘e uira hiko noa ki tai o te moana (lightning flashes fitfully at sea) (19/10).

There was also a suggestion that what happened in the heavens had repercussions on earth:

... huri (uwhi) te rangi i runga nei, ka keu ki raro (an overcast sky above, and shaking below) (Song 4 {NM 300/1-2});

and that this effect was passed on to the world below that of the living:

... takahia e koe, ka ru te whenua, kia whakaoioi nga kaha i raro ra, oioi te Po (tread the ground, it quakes; the ropes shake below there, shaking the Underworld) (Song 7 {Stowell, [1911]:155}).
8.4. Landscapes

Recognition of the landscape as an expanse of named and familiar features was implicit in phrases such as:

... naku i kaihora nga taha marua i waho Kuritangi, i tu tahanga au e tama ma ki reira (I wandered the valleys out from Kuritangi, and stood naked on their slopes, my sons) (2/10-11).

More explicit in its treatment of this theme, Song 36 is structured around a recital of the names of rivers from Whanganui southward, associated with the Taranaki ancestor Hau (Taylor, 1855:140-41; Best, 1982:216):

Tiehu te wai, ko Whangaehu;
Ka hinga te rakau, ko Turakina;
Tikeitia te waewae, ko [Rangi]-tikei;
Ka tatu, e hine, ko Manawatu;
Ka rorowhio nga taringa, ko Hokio;
Waiho te awa iti hei ingoa mona, ko Ohau;
Takina te tokotoko, ko Otaki;
Ka mehameha, e hine, ko Waimeha;
Ka ngahae nga pi, ko Waikanae...

The translation in NM 282/40-48 reads:

He splashed through cloudy waters, hence Whanga-ehu;
He felled a tree so he could cross, hence Turakina;
He strode across the land, hence [Rangi]-tikei;
Then he stumbled, O maiden, hence Manawa-tu;
A buzzing sound assailed his ears, hence Hokio;
A tiny stream he named his own, hence Ohau;
He held his staff as he spoke, hence Otaki;
The waters beyond were lost in the sands, hence Wai-meha;
He stood and stared in amazement, hence Wai-kanae...

This waiata, more than any other, gives evidence of a keen awareness of the significance of names as historical indicators, and of the close association of people and tribal landmarks. Names "minutely marked the landscape" (Salmond, 1985:250), for:

Few races have been so prodigal in the bestowal of local names. Every peak, saddle, knoll, and spur; every bend, rapid, and pool in a stream; every creek and bay, beach and headland, had its name, as well as every mountain-range, river, and sea (Williams, 1912:358).

References abound in the waiata to human ancestors, whose deeds in the cultural landscape were considered worthy of emulation:

... tomokia e Toto ki te wao, turakina, ka hinga Aotea (Toto entered the forest and felled a tree, and there lay Aotea) (70/26);
... tiria mai te kumara, ruia mai te karaka ki te taiao nei (plant the kumara, scatter the karaka throughout the land) (36/31-32), thus following the example set by Turi;
... utaina {uruhina} ki runga o Patuha te rakau a Mahirua (taken to the {driven in
on top of Patuha was Mahirua's wooden pole) (51/17), thus fixing the mountain in place as a landmark for the Taranaki people.

8.4.1. Rivers, water bodies

References to rivers are found throughout the waiata, sometimes as a simple mention:

... nga wai e rere i roto i Okahu (the waters that flow within Okahu) (46/22);
... nga wai e rere ki {o} Waitaha (the waters that flow at Waitaha) (28/6);

or with added significance, perhaps contained in the name itself:

... Mangaone, te wai kaore i puehu ("Sandy stream", the water that does not become clouded) (47/32);

or else reflecting the lifeways of the group associated with it:

... he wai pariko hou wai Oaoiti, Oaonui, i turu {nutu} iho ki te parekura (your rivers of Oaoiti and Oaonui are dark waters, poured out on the battlefield) (6/12);
... ko te awa tena i tuturu mou ai, te wai koukou o Ruhiaterangi (that is the river you have rights to, the bathing water[s] of Ruhi-te-rangi) (12/38);
... tara pea koe kei roto i ho awa, kei te whakaruruku to iti ki reira (then perhaps you are in your river little one, playing in and out of the water) (17/5-6)
... kia ruku atu koe nga wai e rere i roto i Okare (then dive into the waters that flow within Okare) (45/28);
... nga wai e rere, 'e wai tukunga kiri no te ipo ma ra (the flowing waters, where my loved ones jumped and swam) (Song 60 {Broughton, 1984:167}).

A body of water might reflect the composer's grief:

... no whea te roimata e hua maringi nei? No nga roto, ki Te Ahukawakawa (where do these tears come from, that flow abundantly? From the pooled waters of Te Ahu-kawakawa) (40/19-20);

or a reference might be made to the far off homeland to which the spirits returned after death:

... te muriwai o Wairuanganganahapa Hawaiki (the lagoon of Wairua-ngangana/ Hawaiki) (Song 24 {NM 252/45});

or else to their journey by water to reach that destination:

... ko whea to awa e haere ai koe ki te pouriuri? (what is your river by which you go to darkness?) (38/11).

8.4.2. High places, mountains, mist

The most visible features in the landscape were high places, whether as headlands or promontories:

... te rae kei Kotikotihau (the headland at Kotikotihau) (5/4);
... te rae ki Ngamotu/ Okawa/ Whitikau (the headland at Ngamotu/ Okawa/ Whitikau) (8/3-4; Song 16 {NM 274/27}; 29/13);
... nga matarae i Te Puke (the prominent places at Te Puke) (68/16);
... e whakangaro atu ra nga matakurae ki te po uriuri, ki te po tangotango, ki Wainukunemeha, ki te Kahui Kore (the headlands disappearing into deepest
night, into intensely dark night, to Evenescent waters, to the Company of the Void) (61/2-4);
... he koutu whenua e kore ra e whenuku (a point of land that does not slip away) (39/9);
... na te tangata koe i ki ai he koutu whenua (people called you an outstanding landmark) (51/11);

or hills:
... nga puke tu mai i rung a Ngarongo (the hills standing forth above Ngarongo) (9/9);
... nga puke tu mai i rung a Puhara (the hills standing forth above Puhara) (10/5);
... tu kau Paroa i uta ra (Paroa just standing there ashore) (51/10);

which sometimes served as a resting place for the dead:
... moe mai e koro/ tama i rung a Kapura/ i nga puke (sleep on sir/ son above Kapura/ upon the hills) (54/10,13);
... iri mai e tama i rung a nga puke (be raised up, son, upon the hills) (Song 60 {Broughton, 1984:167});
... tera hoki koe kei runga o Tirikawa (there you are, on Tirikawa) (9/20);
... kia moe atu taku ipo i te take o Taranaki (let my loved one sleep on at the base of Taranaki) (54/10).

More significant were the mountains that filled the horizon north and east of the coastal ring-plain:
... maunga tu noa Taranaki i te uru (Taranaki standing lonely in the west) (2/14; 15/16);
... ki' titiro atu korua te tihi ki Taranaki (look then, both of you, at Taranaki's peak) (Song 60 {Broughton, 1984:167});
... te maunga e tu mai ra (the mountain that stands here) (Song 65 {NM 181/19});
... maunga tu noa te pae ki Whakaahu' (the threshold to Whakaahu' is a lone standing mountain) (Song 30 {JPS 11:121});
... Te Iringa, ... ko 'e maunga tiketike (Te Iringa ... is a lofty mountain) (39/6-7);
... tiketike kau ana te pae ki Te Wharau (the threshold to Te Wharau stands tall) (27/14);
... tuhangai ana te keo i Katihei (the summit of Katihei spreads wide) (13/13).

These mountains were often depicted as "falling down" or becoming diminished in sympathy with those who mourned the death of a loved one:
... ka whati ra, e, te tihi o Taranaki, ka hinga kei raro (the peak of Taranaki breaks off, alas, and lies below) (Song 31 {Smith, 1993:56-57});
... whatia pototia te tihi o Taranaki (the peak of Taranaki is broken off short) (Song

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8 This line could have been written from one and the same position in the landscape as the following by Scanlan (1949:9):
... Egmont floating ethereal and lonely on the unbroken line of the horizon.
By comparison, this description by Marshall (1836) tends to obscure rather than clarify the image because of its exaggerated tone:
... the vast plain from whence Egmont towers in lonely grandeur, made more grand by the very solitariness of its condition (in McNaughton, 1986:151).
Mountains were often enveloped in mist and cloud:

... e anga ki uta ra, ko 'e maunga teitei i runga o Taranaki, i tarehua koe e to pukohurangi (turn inland, 'tis a mountain rising tall above Taranaki; concealed by your mist that drifts down from the sky) (46/20-21);
... nga kohu e tatao i runga o Te Iringa (the mists lying close upon Te Iringa) (9/22).

Sometimes mist resulted from the heat of summer:

... ta Rehua koe, te pukohu rangi (you are of Rehua, the mist of day) (39/7);

or was used as a pointer to other places of significance:

... pukohu horahia na runga ana mai o Taranaki ra; kei raro iti iho te wa koia ki taku whenua (misty fog spreads out up there on Taranaki yonder; just a little way below is where my land lies) (Song 72 {NM 156/11-14});

to which the deceased might be directed:

... pikitia te maunga e tu mai nei (climb the mountain standing here) (41/25);
... kia tahuri ki uta ki to hau kainga (turn inland, to your home) (Song 58 {Broughton, 1984:165}).

A special feature of mountain imagery was the inclusion in a localised metaphysical landscape of biblical mountains, since the stories of the Old Testament were blueprints for the future no less than the archetypal deeds of Maori ancestors. One composer presented himself as climbing Mount Horeb (or Sinai) for a special, solemn purpose:

... me piki ake au ki Maunga Horepa, kia tikina atu nga papa whakairo i a Mohi (I will climb Mount Horeb and fetch the inscribed tablets from Moses) (55/16);

while another inserted into a classical Maori context a reference to Moriah, the mount on which the Temple was built at Jerusalem:

... ka kite te uri o te Atua i te tarona, e noho e hi i runga o Moeara {Moera} (I see the offspring of God on the throne, sitting and raising up on Moriah) (3/16-17).

8.4.3. Forests and trees, canoes

A child might be compared affectionately to a totara sapling (Podocarpus totara), which had the potential to grow into a mighty tree:

... tirohia mai ra kei to tamaiti, ehara i te puarere noa, ko 'e mahuri totara e piki ki te hiw(h)i ki Panitahi (look here then at your child; she is not thistledown, but a totara sapling climbing to the ridge at Panitahi yonder) (40/13-15).

A dead person might be compared to a forest of totara trees:

... tuku wao totara (my totara forest) (2/9; 29/8);

or else mention was made of the forest as the domain of Tane; sometimes, in combination
with a reference to Tangaroa, god of the sea:

... te wao nui a Tane (the great forest of Tane) (45/56);
... kia matakaiti te wao nui o Tane, kia matakaiti Tangaroa i ro’ te wai (observe the great forest of Tane, observe Tangaroa in his watery domain) (55/8-9);
... ka rere ‘tu weta, ka rere ki te rakau, ka rere ‘tu koura, ka rere ki te wai (the weta raises up and rushes to the tree, the crayfish raises up and rushes to the water) (56/11-12).

This latter reference recognised the division that took place between Tane and Tangaroa in the beginning, which resulted in the separation of living creatures to their respective habitats of forest and sea. Tane was also acknowledged for his feat in separating his parents, Rangi and Papa, so that light could enter the world:

... nana i tokotoko te rangi, ka marama (he who propped up the sky, so that light appeared) (Song 4 {NM 300/17});
while Rangi was pictured as having put down roots, which had to be chopped through to separate him from Papa:

... nga paiaka o te rangi (the roots of the sky) (3/8);
... te aka whero o te whenua (the red roots of the land) (Song 16 {NM 274/50}).

In separating his parents Tane used a karakia which caused Papa to "shrink from contact with her former partner, as the skin does from the nettle [ongaonga, Urtica spp.] and bramble [tataramoa, Rubus spp.]" (Taylor, 1855:22; Best, 1924b:369), a situation which Johansen (1958:86) refers to as "the primordial divorce":

... ‘e tataramoa i tu ki te ngahere ko te kiri o te hoa (the skin of my companion is like bush lawyer standing in the forest) (78/19).

Trees exemplified the process of death and decay (Song 24 {NM 252/20-23}):

... he paiaka hoki te rakau i tu ai.
Ka whano ka komahi, ka whano ka tahumate {tahumata},
Ka mahunu nga rau, ka horo ki te whenua,
Ka hinga te kohiwi.
... a tree stands because it has roots.
Soon it is blighted, soon it withers,
The leaves scorch and drop to the ground
And the trunk falls;
or else they represented a site of significance:

... he koronga noku kia tae au ki nga uru kahika10 ki Ohuia, ki Ouama

---

9 Komahi is given in Williams (1971:131) as "dark-coloured", and komae as "shrunken, blighted, withered". These words may be dialectal variants expressing the same general idea.

10 This was possibly the kahikatea, Dacrycarpus dacrydioides (Park, 1995; Seddon, 1997:242). The flower of the rata (Metrosideros robusta) was termed kahika by the people of the Maatatua district (Best, 1942:107), where this waiata originated.
I have a desire to go to the kahika groves at Ohua and Ouama) (Song 21 (JPS 6:47));

especially when linked honorifically to the deceased:

... taku pu rakau maru/ te pu rakau maru ai (my sheltering stand of trees)

(47/13,19).

Great trees were used in canoe building:

... ko te rakau tu kia hinga iho ana (it is the standing tree that is felled) (3/4);
... kia heua (heua) e au i te pu, ka tere Aotea (if I clear away the obstructions,
Aotea will float free) (Song 4 {NM 300/27});
... ko 'e waka hinau rara matai te waka o Turi (Turi's canoe was built of hinau with
ribs of matai) (70/24).

In connection with this latter reference, Best (1925:71,72) notes that matai (Prumnopitys
 taxifolia) was used in canoe building when totara and kauri were unavailable. It was also
used for the ornamental carved work of the stern (ibid:72). Hinau (Elaeocarpus dentatus)
was “unkindly to the timber worker” because it was difficult to split, although its
heartwood was remarkably durable (Best, 1942:40).

A number of famous canoes are named in the waiata:

... Te Kawai Huarau, ko Uenuku ki runga (... with Uenuku on board) (3/5);
... Te Waka Hurumanu, ko te waka tena nana i heuheu te po (... the canoe that
dispersed the night of darkness) (15/7);
... Te Wawera Arakura, ko te waka tena nana ia hari mai te kura tangata ki te ao (... the canoe that brought precious mankind into the world) (19/15-16);
... Rangitako, ko te waka tena no Aiorangi (... the canoe of Aiorangi) (Song 58
{Broughton, 1984:165});
... Te Tau o Hiroa/Tamahorua/ Te Motuahi/ Te Arikituwharau/ Te Hukitoto, te
waka o Te Waero/ Kupe/ o Rakeinuiitakapua/ o Rahiritangiroma/ o Tawhaki (... Te
Waero's/ Kupe's/ Rakeinui-te-kapua's/ Rahiri-tangiroma's/ Tawhaki's canoe) (5/14;
45/22; 56/24; 68/11-12; 70/18);

while the deceased was sometimes referred to as a broken canoe:

... tere a papae ana na runga o Whakaahu (driven ashore at Whakaahu[ rangi])
(2/12);
... i ripoa aku waka i reira (my canoes were whirled about there) (2/23);
... i pakaru mai ai aku waka ki reira (so that my canoes lay broken there) (2/27).

8.4.4. Other flora

Several statements in the waiata have the appearance of proverbial sayings or whakatauki
- concise expressions of tribal wisdom which “epitomize the thinking of a people”

(Kohere, 1951:9). These include:

... e kore e ngaro, he puia taro nui (they will not be lost, they are a many rooted
taro (Song 16 {NM 274/65-66});
... te harakeke tongai nui [o roto o Waiwiri] (the great stands of flax [within
Waiwiri]) (26/11).
This latter saying was attributed to the Taranaki leader Rakeitakiha (Takiha, 26/11) in connection with Te Ati Awa's defeat in the mid-eighteenth century (Smith, 1910:210 fwd). Rakeitakiha compared the large numbers of warriors who contributed to that defeat to the flax growing in profusion along the central Taranaki coast which, when it was gathered, left just as much standing as before (Brougham, Reed & Karetu, 1987:78).

Other phrases which might be considered as whakatauki include:

... ka maemae te turikoka i Hawaiki, ka rere te puarere i Aotea (the grass withers in Hawaiki, the seedheads fly in Aotea) (Song 4 {NM 300/67}; 61/53-54):

Turikoka: the name of a grass, *Deyeuxia filiformis* (WD:459), or perhaps *D. forsteri* (*Lchnagrostis filiformis*), the "N.Z. wind grass, tumble grass" (Beever, 1991:20). This seems to suggest that what came to fruition in Hawaiki was perpetuated in Aotearoa-New Zealand. It also suggests, in view of the fact that Hawaiki is considered to be the spiritual homeland of the Maori people, that its influence is never far from their daily lives in this country.

Medicinal knowledge is apparent in references such as that by the blind composer, Whakatau:

... tikina ki te waoriki{rimu} hei rongoa ake mo te pohe, ka piri kei te kanohi (fetch buttercup as medication for the blind, and apply it to my eyes) (27/7-8).

Brooker et al. (1981:82-83) give *waoriki* as the native buttercup, *Ranunculus rivularis*, the juice of which has blistering properties and was used to soothe painful joints. Another plant, kopukapuka or *Ranunculus hirtus*, was used to treat inflamed eyes and is probably the plant referred to here.

Some plant references denote a season of want and hardship:

... he kai ano iara nga mouku, nga panako (the ferns Asplenium bulbiferum and A. obtusatum are other foods again) (12/29; WD:212,256);
... ka whano tenei ki te hua kuku, ko te tohu tena o te tau kore kai (I am become as withered fruit, the sign of a season without food) (38/5);
... ka wehe i te pua rakau, ka wehe i te tau (there is no flowering, no fruiting season) (38/7);
... ka wehe te tau ruru, 11 ka noho te takurua (the season of wind and storms {inclement weather} leaves off, and winter settles in) (61/3-31; WD:353).

References to flowering and fruiting trees, on the other hand, indicate a season of plenty and wellbeing:

E awhi ra koe ki te kohe e tata noa i waho,
E ngongo ra koe ki te pohutukawa ...

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11 Colenso (1879:119) gives tau ruru as "drought", and Hongi (in JPS 2:123) as "silent destruction".
Ko 'e pua tororaro, ko 'e pua rata
E tuhi ra i te whakakumu (Song 24 {NM 252/8-11}; WD:156).
Then embrace the kohe just outside,
And drink from the pohutukawa ...
The glow of the tororaro and rata flowers
Is reflected in the red skinned kumara.

Here, the emphasis is on the colour red. The kohe [kohe], *Dysoxylum spectabile*, has red covered seeds when ripe (Salmon, 1967:210), and the pohutukawa and rata, *Metrosideros exelsa* and *M. robusta* (WD:288,327), have brilliant red flowers. Tororaro is given in Williams (1971:440) as *Muehlenbeckia complexa*, a "climbing plant" (possibly, *M. astonii*), a springy bush with small heart-shaped leaves and tiny flowers with black seeds. Another possibility is that the red flowered rata vine, *Metrosideros fulgens*, was meant here); and:

... kapo mai koe nga pua konakona, a, kapo mai koe nga pua katokato (*catch at the scented flowers, catch at the plucked flowers*) (Song 24 {NM 252/30-31}).

A knowledge of scented plants is indicated by phrases such as:

... ka tuia taku kiri ki te kohai taramea (*I will tie around my neck the sweet smelling sachet*) (74/7).

Taramea is the alpine spear grass, *Aciphylla colensoi*, which exudes a fragrant gum (Colenso, 1879:143). Kohai (or kowhai) was the term for plants such as *Geum urbanum* and *Potentilla anserina* (WD:152), which were made into a perfume mix with taramea, "fixed" in bird and vegetable fats, and tied around the neck as a hei or neck band (Riley, 1994:435). Thus:

... kiri kohai (*scented skin*) (78/9).

Some plant references are concealed by personification:

... ko Paka-whiwhia, ko Paka-rawea (*Laden-branches, and Budding-twigs*) (Song 24, translation as given in NM 252/25);

or are encapsulated in cryptic utterances:

... te harakeke i tu ki Kuna-Awatea (*the flax that stood at Kuna-Awatea*) (3/19);
... te rarauhe tu Taranaki (*the bracken that stands on Taranaki*) (78/14).

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12 I query the translation of paka as "branch", unless it is perceived as a dialectal form of the word. This word occurs in a tribal saying given by Te Kahui’s uncle Tutahau to Percy Smith (163a:338):

... Ki a Pepuere, tona whakawai: Ka paka te ra, ka tuku a Tamanuitera, ka whakaruhia te tangata; which I translate as:

... *Concerning February’s saying: When the day is hot, Tamanui-te-ra descends, and men grow languid.*
8.4.5. New constructions, old themes

A number of references name the dwelling places of significant ancestors:

... Wharerenga, ko te whare tena i tu ai nga mahi (... the house where deeds took place) (19/14);
... Moeariki, ko te whare o Hua i rere ki tai ra (... the house of Hua who sailed out to sea) (39/3; 50/54);
... Potango/ Te Kurahoungata/ Wharekura, ko te whare tena o Tangaroaika/ o to tupuna, o Tuamio/ o Maru) (... the house of Tangaroa-ika/ of your ancestor, Tuamio/ of Maru) (42/9; 50/51-52; 55/18);
... Arikiuho/ Kaihikataramamanga/ Te Muriwhakaroto, te whare o Matariki/ o Tinirau/ o Apakura (... the house of Matariki/ Tinirau/ Apakura) (45/53; 52/1; 61/11).

Te Kahui wrote concerning Apakura's house (Broughton, 1984:119):

Te kupu mihi a te Maori moo hoona mate aituu, koia teenei: noho mai ia roto i te whare mate o too taatou kuia o Apakura.
The way Maori express their grief over a death is this: they sit in the house of mourning of our ancestress Apakura.

Apakura was the archetypal figure of a female mourner, whose lamenting was likened to, or could be heard in, the sound of the waves (White, 1887:149; Johansen, 1954:160).

Some phrases relate to the built environment or innovations of more recent times:

... maku e titiro Rahotu taone (I will survey Rahotu town) (19/3);
... te mata i a Tu (the bullet of Tu) (51/12), i.e., replacing traditional Maori weapons;

or to the visible presence of humans in the landscape:

... taku pawa auahi turoa ka ngaro ki te kore (my long standing plume of smoke, disappeared into nothingness) (46/7);
... ko 'e rori e takoto; to ara, e tama, e haere ai koe (a road that lies here; your path, my son, by which you travel) (54/9).

Here, the word rori is a loanword for "road", an original twist to the old theme of bidding the spirit of the deceased take the pathway to death (which, in the following references, is depicted in physical terms):

... te ara kore weu (the "rootless" path) (Song 43 {Smith, 1993:30-31});
... ko te papa i Te Apai hei ara mou (the flat land at Te Apai is the path for you) (51/27-28);
... te papa o Whareone to ara haerenga (go along the flats at Whareone) (75/10).

These paths could be straight and uncomplicated:

... te ara ka tika (the path that goes straight) (9/5);
... e piki, e tama, i te pikitanga matua (go up, son, by the main ascent path) (15/20);

especially when passing through familiar territory:

... kia piki atu koe i Okurukuru, ka huri atu ki tua ki Onukutaipari (climb up at Okurukuru, and turn away beyond that to Onukutaipari) (40/23-24).
Or else they were winding:

... te ara whakapeka (the path that turns aside) (2/26);

or dangerous and difficult:

... te ara kohuru (the path of treachery) (70/8);
... takahi koe i te ngaro parapara ka mania, ka paheke ki te ara ki te po (trample the canoe skid that slips and slides on the pathway to night) (10/12-13);

and were not without peril to the living:

... kaore i kotia te ara ki Te Reinga, i tuwhera tonu mai te poka ki te tangata (the path to Te Reinga is not cut off; the pit lies always open for mankind) (Song 69 {Broughton, 1984:131,137});
... e tuhura kau nei te rua o te taniwha (the lair of the taniwha gapes open) (70/6);

since they ran in the one direction only:

... te ara ka rere kore ki muri (the path that does not run behind) (15/8).13

Sometimes the spirit was told to follow the path taken by mythical personages such as Rupe and Tawhaki, who climbed up to heaven:

... ko te ara tena e whano ai koe ki runga ki a Rehua (that is the path by which you proceed on high, to Rehua) (Song 4 {NM 300/11-12});
... e piki e koro i te ara o Rupe (climb, sir, by Rupe's path) (70/12);
... whakapikia koe te ara o Tawhaki (climb Tawhaki's path) (10/28);
... i haere ai koe i runga te tukutuku, 'e heketanga {hekenga-a-rangi} iho (you went upon the spider's web let down from the sky) (Song 7 {Stowell, [1911]:155}).

(This latter was "Tawhaki's path") (Best, 1982:427; Taylor, [1870]).

Or they might be advised to follow the Taranaki ancestors, Ihenga and Rongomai, who went down to the Underworld:

... ko te ara tena o Ihenga raua ko Rongomai (that is the path of Ihenga and Rongomai) (10/14);
... i haere ai koe i te ara tukutuku a Ihenga raua ko Rongomai ki raro ki te whenua (you went down by the spider's path of Ihenga and Rongomai below the earth) (19/11-12);

although they were enjoined to take certain precautions:

... kia herea iho koe te kaha o Rongomai (tie Rongomai's rope below there) (10/29);
... kauraka e whaia te ara o Rongomai (do not follow Rongomai's path) (37/12).

That is, death may have been an event that could be circumvented:

... takahia e koe te moana e takoto mai nei (trample the ocean that lies here) (41/42);
... mana e kawe atu ki waho nga rae; ka hinga i reira ko Huirarapaiti, ko Huirarapanui, ka hoki tu mai koe ki te iwi (he will take you beyond the headlands

13 Dansey (1978:39) gives this as "karere kore ki muri", and translates it as "from which no messenger returns".
to where the flickering [rarapa-iti] and flashing [rarapa-nui] of lightning is seen; if it could be overcome then you might return to stand before your people) (47/36-38).

As Hammond (1924:240) explains, the flashing of lightning over certain heights within the tribal territory denoted a death. What the waiata seems to be saying is that if the lightning did not play upon those heights then perhaps that person would not die.

If death could not be overcome, then perhaps people might find some consolation in contemplating its mysteries:

... maku e whakamau nga tai e huri i waho, te rerenga kei a tama na Tai (I gaze upon the tides that turn and flow back out to sea, to where the son of Tai now is) (15/28-29);
... a, kupenga rau i tai te wa ki aku hoa, e ura i raro ra (laid out on the sea is the way to my companion, glowing there to the north) (18/2-3).

This latter was a reference to the rays of the setting sun (Best, 1922:66; see 8.3.1.); and:

... maku e kapo iho to ata, e tama, hei wha'maharatanga i roto i nga tau (I will catch your shadow, my son, as a reminder through the years) (54/11);
... no mua mai ano, no Arama mai, kaore he toa o te ao hei kuru i te mate (from the time of Adam to the present day, no man in this world has beaten death) (Song 69 (Broughton, 1984:131,137)).

8.5. In Conclusion

In Taranaki, the people were immersed in their environment. The landscapes through which they moved, the changing skyscapes that determined their daily and seasonal life patterns, and the seascapes that remained forever at the boundaries of consciousness, were as familiar and familial as their own personal and group relationships.

No one composer could contribute all the myriad facets that went to make up their world, but collectively they did so as the examples given here in some small measure show. The environment provided them with an infinite variety of images upon which they drew, extending creatively but always returning to some mutually preferred way of expressing a common viewpoint.

The data in this chapter are a representative sample of elements in the waiata that reflect a preoccupation with the environment of people who were undergoing a crisis in their lives, such as that associated with death. At such times one would expect that only those aspects of enduring significance would find a place in the compositions that resulted from such engagements with reality.
This aspect is examined in Chapter Nine in connection with a Maori research framework based on human and cosmic genealogies, and in Chapter Ten with the inferences that can be drawn concerning the feelings of Taranaki Maori for "their place".
CHAPTER NINE: COSMOLOGY, WHAKAPAPA AND PLACE

9.0. Introduction

In this chapter I analyse the data obtained from the waiata against a backdrop of Maori values and concepts. My aim in attempting to interpret the perceptions of the composers whose waiata are examined here is to provide an entry point into Maori mindsets in the past regarding place, and - to paraphrase Salmond (1985:260) - to contribute to the process of "opening Western [minds] to traditional rationalities".

Pile (1990:212) emphasises the need to understand people's lived experiences of their world, and to explain those experiences in a way which will lead to an increased understanding on the part of others. My further aim, then, is to explain the impact of the colonial experience on Taranaki Maori, so that New Zealanders in general may gain a greater understanding of the motives behind Maori land occupations such as that of Moutoa Gardens in 1995. This aim is supported by Spoonley's argument (1997:154) that an analysis of "a sense of voice, place and identity" would benefit New Zealand as a whole.

Salmond (1983:318,319) considers that those who ignore relationships - in genealogies, tribal histories and place names and "between gods, ancestors, land and living men and women" - will never understand important parts of Maori thinking and experience. We need to consider these relationships in seeking to document Maori life on particular landscapes (ibid:320), and to understand Maori feelings for place within those landscapes. We need also to develop a more precise understanding of kinship and ties to the land (ibid:324), and of the nature of "land and sea use" in our area of study (ibid:325). At the same time, we must be sure that our interpretations are "justifiable in terms of the presented evidence" (Eyles, 1985:57).

The evidence that is presented in this thesis must be capable of being verified by those who do not have a close acquaintance with te reo me ona tikanga (the Maori language and its concepts). This limits it very much to descriptive elements within the waiata, which are usually of simple construction. McKinley et al (1997:50) point to the belief that anyone who can speak Maori is capable of translation; and while there are limits to what one can do with an untranslated text, the verification of already translated phrases such as those given in Chapter Eight should be reasonably straightforward.
9.0.1. Addressing the data

To understand the world we must start with the evidence of the senses (Tuan, 1979:100), although the physical setting itself is less important than what it tells us (ibid:101). These statements capture the essence of my approach in this thesis, which is to extract from the waiata those phrases that describe the physical dimensions of the natural environment (clouds and trees; thunder; warmth and cold, sun and wind), and to extrapolate from these phrases what can be learnt about Maori feelings for place at the time the waiata were composed.

Perkins (1988:306) sees the ability to "describe the meanings people ascribe to their life-worlds" as an early stage in the research process, while Gregory (1989:87) considers that the giving of descriptions is not in itself a "purely empirical" exercise, since the act of structuring the accounts in which they are placed is "irredeemably theoretical". Most of the data in Chapter Eight are capable of standing alone as descriptors of Maori feelings for place, although further analysis and contextual amplification were required to fully develop my arguments in respect of the research question. The challenge at this point in the research, therefore, was to move beyond the description of "incredibly interesting, detailed textual data" (Opie, 1993:11), to begin formulating themes from within and across the various -scapes identified in the previous chapter.

An initial concern was that, in the search for meaningful patterns and themes, the descriptive phrases presented in Chapter Eight were not only being aggregated and considered "out of context" of the waiata in which they appear, but could have been combined under other headings than those to which I eventually assigned them. This bore an uncomfortable resemblance, I felt, to the practice of nineteenth century ethnographers who combined material from different sources in arbitrary ways in the construction of "meta-themes".

My approach in aggregating the references under the headings I had chosen seemed to find justification in statements such as McNaughton's (1986:4) that "Despite [the] central importance of landscape there are few passages describing it which can be fully appreciated in isolation". I decided upon reflection, however, that this statement applied more to the way in which, as Whorf points out, English words such as "hill, sky and swamp" tend to isolate different parts of the landscape from each other, so that "some elusive aspect of nature's endless variety" becomes a discrete object amongst a collection of others so regarded:

The real question is: what do different languages do, not with these artificially
isolated objects but with the flowing face of nature in its motion, color, and changing form; with clouds, beaches, and yonder flight of birds? For, as goes our segmentation of the face of nature, so goes our physics of the Cosmos (Whorf, in Watson & Chambers, 1989:15).

If, in the composition of waiata which addressed "the flowing face of nature" in the past, Maori were able to transport images and phrases freely between waiata, then I could feel comfortable about reassembling the data to suit my purpose in the present. This approach is strengthened by the practice in Maori research of validating conclusions drawn from the data by positioning them within a philosophical framework based on whakapapa and cosmology - which, in the present instance, measures the physical realities of the landscape against a backdrop of cultural and spiritual values.

This framework is recognised in the literature. Byrnes (1998:25) refers to an understanding of the landscape "determined by description and genealogy", while Salmond (1983:318) explains that important features of the Maori world are part of a single genealogical universe, in which cosmological and ancestral histories are expressed in "a genealogical language of description" (ibid, 1985:242). Thus it will be seen that research results must be interpreted in the light of Maori world views, the most dominant of which are those themes that tie them to the land: cosmic genealogies and whakapapa. I begin with the creation account, a cosmic genealogy that pervades Maori thought today as it did in the past.

9.1. A Maori Cosmology: Tane as "Separator"

In the Introduction to this thesis I commented that cosmology and whakapapa "inform and illumine all work that is done in a Maori context". The relationship between these two themes is most clearly expressed by Maori Marsden (1988:9), who explains that whakapapa provided the frame or skeleton which was then fleshed out by the narrative - the cosmological account - which provided the explanation.

The most widely known cosmological account is that contained in Sir George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*, a "vague" (Karetu, 1981:32) or "rather free" (Metge, 1998:3) translation of material provided by the Te Arawa chief Te Rangikaheke, which Grey published as *Nga Mahinga a Nga Tupuna*. The particular force of Te Rangikaheke's account is that it sets out "the conceptual basis for human descent from supernatural

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1 According to Schrempp (1990:158), the term cosmology has "the character of being, on the one hand, one of the most frequently invoked analytical terms, and, on the other hand, one of the least critically examined". I use it here to refer to the story of Rangi and Papa in whatever tribal version that story appears.
beings" (Durie, 1997:143). Those beings were the primal couple Ranginui-e-tu-nei (Rangi) and Papa-tu-a-nuku (Papa), who materialised in Te Kore (the Nothingness, the realm of potential being), and brought into effect the world of Te Po (the Night or Darkness, the realm of becoming) (Walker, 1989:36; Marsden, 1981:161).

In giving effect to this transition, Rangi and Papa lay together in "the close embrace of matrimony" (Buck, 1950:435), and many children were born into the dark spaces between them. These children included Tane Mahuta (Tane), who became the kaitiaki or guardian god of forests and birds; Tangaroa, of seas and fish; Tawhirimatea (Tawhiri), of winds and storms; Haumiatiketike (Haumia), associated with aruhe (edible fern root, *Pteridium aquilinum* var. *esculentum*) and other uncultivated foods; Rongo-mate-tane (Rongo), associated with kumara (sweet potato, *Ipomoea batatas*) and other cultivated foods; and Tumatauenga (Tu), god of warfare and of mankind (Buck, 1950:439; Walker, 1978:20-21). All were unhappy with their situation except Tawhiri, god of winds, who could move freely between his closely-entwined parents.

In striving for the necessary light and space in which to grow, the children of Rangi and Papa tried to force their parents apart, and this was finally achieved by Tane using "the strength of growth" of his forests and trees (Patterson, 1992:158). In the poetic imagery of Te Rangikaheke's account, Tane lay with his head on Papa's bosom and thrust Rangi upwards with his feet, propping him into position to prevent him returning to his former prone position upon the earth, and allowing light and hence knowledge to enter the world.² Rangi, who had put down roots which needed to be chopped through to separate him from Papa, may be regarded as the archetype of those who have a sense of their own "place", or of that feeling of rootedness³ which, as Weil (1955:53, in Eyles, 1985:72) argues, is "perhaps the most important and least recognised need of the human soul".

Tane's feat in separating his parents is acknowledged in the waiata (see 8.4.3.):

... he who propped up the sky, so that light appeared (4/11);

while Rangi's roots are referred to as:

... the roots of the sky (3/10), and: ... the red roots of the land (16/50).

Red was a sacred and a chiefly colour, the colour of Rangi's blood (Stack, 1879:155; Patterson, 1992:158; see also 8.4.4. and Song 50/22). Red was also the colour of the soil

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² Walker (1978:20); see also my greeting to Ngati Porou in Chapter Four (4.0.1.).

³ There is, of course, a play on words here. Dardel (1952:20, in Relph, 1976:10-11) refers to "the material intimacy of the crust of the earth, a setting down of roots", although Tuan (1980:4) questions the meaning of "roots" in the context of "sense of place".
from which Tane formed the first woman, so that human life might enter the world (see 9.3). That soil owed its colour to the blood that dripped upon it in the violence that was done to Rangi by Tane. Both Maori and Pakeha use the colour red or its synonyms\(^4\) as a descriptive category, but the associations are entirely different in each case. For Pakeha there are elements of the aesthetic connected with it; for Maori there is the story of Rangi and Papa, which is far deeper and more elemental.

I return to Tane's role in the context of kinship and whakapapa (9.3. fwd), and environment and survival (9.4. fwd), below.

9.2. A Taranaki Cosmology: Tangaroa as "Separator"

In considering traditional rationalities, "what matters" is more important than "what happened" (Patterson, 1992:156), since the significance of any knowledge system is not whether it is true or false (Mead, 1998:24), but whether it expresses important spiritual or ethical values (Patterson, ibid:157).

Different tribes may express these values in different ways, so that the possibility exists for cosmological accounts within tribes to "differ strikingly" (Salmond, 1983:326) or vary in detail from those of other tribes (Roberts et al., 1995:8). I have found this to be so in a Taranaki context, for a text in the Kahui Papers attributes the separation of Rangi and Papa to Tangaroa, kaitiaki of seas and fish, rather than to Tane of the forests. In examining the data in Chapter Eight, therefore, in which references to the sea preponderate over those of the land and its forests, what are the implications of considering this Taranaki text as a remnant of a "strikingly" different account, rather than the creation of a fertile nineteenth century mind? (I should add here that the authenticity of the text is not at issue. What is important is that a mind should fasten on the idea of "Tangaroa-as-separator" as relevant and worthy of insertion into a text which purports to give an account of the foundation of all being).

I had previously examined this text as part of a general survey of Taranaki Maori writings (A Smith, 1993), although I did not deal with it in detail there as I considered it just that - an imaginative piece of writing. I have since gained additional insights, which have contributed significantly to an understanding of its meaning. I quote from that

\(^4\) Biggs (1985) gives some twenty or so synonyms (including derivatives) for red in Maori. These include whero, the colour of blood, as well as other words which express characteristics of natural objects rather than abstract qualities (e.g., karaka, orange, refers to the colour of the berry of the karaka tree, Corynocarpus laevigata). Gladstone (in Stack, 1879:157) sees a similar tendency in English with the use of figurative expressions such as "rose-coloured" and "wine-coloured".
section of the text that focuses on Tangaroa's role in the primal separation, in considering the implications suggested by the difference between this text and Te Rangikaheke's account as given to Grey:

Ka noho nga tangata nei, ka kimi whakaaro mo Rangi raua ko Papa, mehemea me pewhea ra e wehe ai ha Rangi i a Papa. Ka ki mai ha Rongomataane, "Ko te wehe ha ia i [a] aul!" Katahi ka tu a Rongomataane, kaore ha Rangi i wehe. Katahi ha Tangaroa ka tu, ka hikirangi ake ha Ranginui e tu nei. Ka titiro atu a Tanemahuta kua wehe ha Rangi, katahi ka peke atu kia whawahai raua ko Tangaroa. Kaore i taka i komoti' toona upoko ki roto i hona waewae, ka mawehe ha Rangi i a Papa. Na Tangaroa i tauwehe ha Rangi i a Papa, ka wehe te po me te awhatae (F:1; after Smith, 1993:1-2).

There were these people who sought for a plan about Rangi and Papa; whether it was possible for them to separate Rangi from Papa. Rongo-ma-tane said, "He will be separated by me!" And Rongo-ma-tane rose, but couldn't separate Rangi. Then Tangaroa rose, and lifted Great-Rangi-that-stands-here skyward. When Tanemahuta looked and saw that Rangi had separated, he leapt across to fight with Tangaroa. It wasn't that he fell down and put his head between his feet, that Rangi was separated from Papa. It was Tangaroa who separated Rangi from Papa; who separated night and day.

9.2.1. Discussion

I mentioned above in connection with the data extracted from the waiata that references to the sea "preponderate over those of the land and its forests". This is to be expected as Taranaki is surrounded on three sides by the sea, which is never far from the tribal consciousness. Nevertheless, my initial reason for rejecting the literality of the Taranaki account is that if one looks at the sky it is indeed "up there", resting on Tane's trees. Trees and forests are an integral part of the environment in Te Rangikaheke's tribal territory of Te Arawa, in the northern heart of the North Island. If, however, one takes account of the dominant environmental feature in Taranaki - the sea - it is obvious that Tangaroa stretches out and separates the land (Papa) from the sky (Rangi) in a horizontal direction.

Tuan (1975:219 fwd) states that humans are more sensitive to vertical than horizontal cues in their environment, possibly because the effort required to overcome the forces of gravity results in a sense of greater achievement. His further statement (ibid:221): "Prone we surrender to nature, upright we assert our humanity" might have been said of Tu, who stood upright upon the earth and fought back against Tawhiri's storms (see 9.4., below). It might also have been said of Tane, who strained against gravitational forces to push Rangi skyward. Notwithstanding (to continue Tuan's analogy), horizontality, too, required an expenditure of effort on Tangaroa's part, in
stretching from "here" (the coast) to "there" (the horizon) and maintaining that position in the face of sky's "implosive tendency" (Schrempp, 1990:167) to settle back upon the face of the earth.

References in the waiata to "te ara tapokopoko o [sic] Tawhaki" (the billowy path of Tawhaki) (55/11; see 8.2.1) and, indirectly, to "te ara whanui a Tane" (the broad path of Tane) (18/2-3; see 8.4.5), hint at an awareness of Tangaroa's essential role in providing the setting for these two archetypal beings to perform the tasks for which they have been remembered in legend and whakatauki (tribal sayings). As Best (1982:431) explains, Tawhaki traversed "te moana tapokopoko a Tawhaki" - here, the word moana (sea) replaces ara (path) in the reference above - in search of his wife. Te ara whanui a Tane was "the golden path of the setting sun" (Best, 1922:17) by which, in Aotearoa as in Rarotonga, Mangaia, and Hawaii, the spirits of the dead travelled westward to their final home (ibid:17,66; 1982:91-101, passim). This home was Hawaiki:

... a far-distant land where originated the Maori race, hence the spirits of the dead are supposed to return to the primal home of the Maori, and are so farewelled by the living. Hawaiki lies to the west, towards the setting sun, and the departing place of spirits is situated on the western or north-western parts of not only New Zealand, but also the isles of Polynesia inhabited by the Maori race (Best, 1905:172).5

Buck (1950:Ch.5) discusses the relative positions of Tangaroa, Tane, Tu and Rongo in "local pantheons" throughout Polynesia (ibid:527), and suggests that Tangaroa competed with the other gods from the time the Polynesian ancestors of the Maori people entered the Pacific (see 9.5.1.). This battle for supremacy has continued in Aotearoa-New Zealand with Tangaroa (the sea) eating away at the land (represented here by Tane), as Te Rangikaheke explained:

... ka pau hoki i a Tangaroa nga tamariki a Tane, ka ngaromia nga waka i te moana e te ngaru, ka horomia hoki nga whenuaa, nga rakau, nga whare, e te waipuke: ka kai tonu nei hoki te wai i te whenua ... kia riro ai hoki nga rakau kaha i a ia ki waho i te moana, kia maroro katoa ai hoki te whenua a Tane i a ia (Grey, 1928:3).

... Tangaroa ... swallows up the offspring of Tane, overwhelming canoes with the surges of his sea, swallowing up the lands, trees, and houses that are swept off by floods, and ever wastes away, with his lapping waves, the shores that confine him, that the giants of the forests may be washed down and swept out into his boundless ocean ... (Grey, 1956:7).

Along the central Taranaki coast, the most noticeable reminder of the sea's incessant

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5 Hare Hongi suggested that Hawaiki as a land could not be found, but was a spiritual place (Sorrenson, 1992:53-54). Te Rerenga Wairua, the leaping off place of the spirits, is common to most islands in Polynesia but "as we move Northwards through the Pacific the Rerenga of each island swings Westward, homing towards mysterious and enigmatic Hawaiki [sic]" (Mitcalfe, 1961c:38).
battering is the presence of tauranga waka, ("boat races", so-called, or canoe anchorages), which allowed large canoes to lie at rest out of reach of Tangaroa's crashing waves. In southern Taranaki the effectiveness of Tangaroa's assault upon the land is evidenced by descriptions of the erosion caused by rough seas along the crumbling coastlines:

The assault of the ocean in strong westerly and south-westerly winds undermines the lofty cliffs on the coast, particularly east of the Wai-ngongoro mouth, and hedges, fences, old historic forts, and grassed land are carried away (Cowan, 1983:II:60).

At Manawapou, east of Waingongoro:

Much of the old village site has probably already gone over the cliff which, as elsewhere on this part of the Taranaki coast, is eroding, taking many old sites with it (Prickett, 1990:25).

Te Kahui himself recorded a text which told of the loss of another old village in that area (E:32; Smith, 1993:17):

Ka whenukutia tetahi taha o te kainga ki te pari, ... hurihia iho ki runga ki te haupapa io tonga, ara, ki te pari moana.

*Part of the unfortified village fell down the cliff, ... It slipped down on to the level spur to the south, that is, down the seaward side of the cliff.*

Tangaroa's defeat of Tane in this area, as shown by the ease with which land was swept away by the sea, was well recognised. My suggestion is that this recognition could have served to emphasise Tangaroa's preeminent status in Taranaki, as the above cosmological account and Song 45/56-57 suggest:

Te noho mai koe i te wao nui a Taane,
Ki' whakarongo koe nga tai e tangi i waho o Heiawe.

*Don't stay in the forest of Tane,
But listen to the tides crying beyond Heiawe.*

An acknowledgement of Tangaroa's supremacy in Taranaki may also have contributed to the Maori image of land appropriated by government as having "gone out to sea" (i.e., being irretrievably lost). Creeping confiscation on the Waimate Plains, which whittled away at south Taranaki land, may have seemed to those who opposed government surveys in this area (see 1.0.1.) to have the same effect as Tangaroa's tides, and to be just as difficult to resist.

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6 The west coasts are known for their turbulent seas and the rocky nature of their coastlines. Seagoing canoes were too heavy to carry up from the water's edge and so another means had to be found of protecting them from tidal forces. This was done by moving large rocks so as to form a channel of deeper water in which they might lie at rest beyond reach of the waves.

7 See, for instance, AJHR (1963) E-3, pp.9-11; and Smith, 1990:77.
At the same time the Taranaki people may have associated themselves with Tangaroa in seeking to hold back the settlers who were living on the land and who were therefore, in this instance, represented by Tane. A phrase in Song 41/50, "he pou Tangaroa ka tu" (... a post of Tangaroa which stands) strongly suggests a boundary or rahui post such as the FitzRoy Pole, Pou Tutaki, which marked the limit of Pakeha settlement north of New Plymouth in the 1840s (Moorhead, 1991:23-24; see Chapter One, note 8). The image is a complex one, but had the potential for unlimited application in Taranaki in contrasting Tangaroa's greater powers (invoked by the Maori people) with those of the subordinated Tane (directed at the settlers).

9.3. The Kinship Ideal

I return to the Te Rangikaheke account in which Tane takes the dominant role, which was also recognised in Taranaki. In this account Tane sought for the female principle to bring human life into being (see 9.1.), and in the process became the progenitor of all other life forms upon the earth (Buck, 1950:450). Thus, under Rangi and Papa, he stands at the head of a complex genealogical network which makes the Maori people "kin" to all those other life forms.

As the waiata demonstrate, this was a two-way relationship (Patterson, 1992:98), for Maori not only regarded the creations of the natural world as kin, but held that those creations reciprocated in like measure. Thus elements in the natural landscape, such as the tides (8.2.1.), birds (8.3.3.), or a body of water (8.4.1.), could express grief for their human kin who had died, or a mountain could "fall down" or be diminished out of the same sense of loss (8.4.2.).

John Rangihau (1981: 172) explains that Maori have an emotional tie to the land "because of the way they have been taught where they have come from - the whole mythology of creation". This story, which provides Maori with a detailed whakapapa of existence and connectedness to all other living things (Mead, 1998:22,23), is described by Johansen (1954:9) in terms of the natural landscape:

The whole cosmos of the Maori unfolds itself as a gigantic "kin", in which heaven and earth are first parents of all beings and things, such as the sea, the sand on the beach, the wood, the birds, and man.

A linguistic connection between the words nature and kin is noted by Snyder (1992:25), the one coming from Latin "natura" (birth), and the other from Indo-European "gen" or Sanskrit "jan", from which we get words such as generate, kin, and kind. Maori have always recognised the link between the natural and familial worlds and shaped their
cosmological beliefs accordingly, although it is conjectural which came first, whether "the gods that made [the] landscape" or "the ancestors who dreamed them into existence as their way of coming to terms with it" (O'Regan, 1999:15). As Peter Adds (1988:2) explains:

Maori people ... had such an intimate relationship with their landscape that it was personified in the various Atua (Gods), such as Tane and Tangaroa. These and other Atua were woven into the genealogies of the iwi (people) so that the landscape was actually part of the family ...

In the discussions that follow, the interrelationship of human beings and the natural life forms upon which they depended for survival is continually reinforced by the inability to deal with these two streams of the environmental family in isolation from each other. In general I consider the human aspect under whakapapa (next), and natural resources under 9.4., although the boundaries keep blurring as might be expected from the holistic approach that Maori take to such matters.

9.3.1. Whakapapa

The second theme of the Maori research framework outlined in 9.0.1. above is whakapapa, which underpins the cosmological account and lends support to further elements of place in the Maori landscape; more specifically, the naming of landscape features, and ancestral connections to the land. An understanding of whakapapa is therefore necessary before these elements can be discussed.

A feature of the Maori system of genealogical patterning - whakapapa - is that it was used to generate explanations for many things in the phenomenal world (Royal, 1998:2), and is "essentially a task of intellectual management" (O'Regan, 1992:24). It provides an acceptable chronology which sets the people of the past and their activities in a comprehensible order (ibid, 1987a:23), and is capable of summarising long spans of time (Schrempp, 1985:22).

Whakapapa means, literally, to place in layers, or to lay one thing upon another (Williams, 1971:259), as with successive generations of a family. Thus the word itself suggests a two-dimensional structure, which approximates to the "flatscape" (Norberg-Schultz, 1969, in Relph, 1976:79) of a conventional genealogical chart. It may even be regarded as three-dimensional if one includes time, although the reality is more multi-

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8 The phrase is used by Watson and Chambers (1989:31) to refer to systems by which indigenous Australians make sense of their world. By this they mean "ordered ways of naming and construing the relationships of natural things according to perceived ancestral or familial linkages". This has a familiar ring to Maori, whose universe is ordered along similar lines.
dimensional because of the inclusion of an ever-expanding network of family relationships. This inclusive adding on of kin takes the form of a "progressive ramification outward from a particular centre of power", as Schrempp (1985:29) puts it. That "centre of power", if Schrempp uses it the way I think he does, may be expressed by the Maori word pu, which has a range of meanings including: tribe, heap, stack (cf. "whakapapa"), heart, centre, root, origin, source, and foundation, amongst many others. These meanings are all implicit in the nature of the whakapapa bond, which expresses itself in the certainties of belonging and identity.

9.3.2. The right to name

Arohia Durie (1997:149) explains that cosmological narratives allow recognition of the interdependent relationship of Maori with their total environment. This relationship involved the right to name: whether significant ancestors, or important places in the tribal territory. In the latter case the right to name was implicit in the composition of waiata which named those places for, as a female member of Te Kahui's family wrote - in English - in the Kahui Papers, "... no Maori would compose a song or lament for any place unless they had full right to it. This is a custom of the Maoris".

The Kahui Papers and the waiata they contain are replete with place and situational names such as pa, marae, houses, marker posts, boundaries, and significant sites on the mountain. The proprietary nature of the link between "the named" and "the namer" is heavily underscored by the practice of naming in Taranaki, as elsewhere in the Maori world, whether expressed explicitly in the citing of names, or implicitly in phrases such as (see 9.4.1):

"... ko te awa tena i tuturu mou ai (the river you have rights to) (12/38);
... tera pea koe kei roto i ho awa (perhaps you are in your river) (17/5-6).

Names do not figure as a discrete section of the data extracted from the waiata, but this is a matter of pragmatics rather than oversight. A criticism by Pakeha in the nineteenth century was that Maori waiata were "too often a mere catalogue of names" (Andersen, 1946:x), and this is evident in the waiata presented in Chapter Seven. Song 60, for example, contains a partial recital of Te Kahui's "Ara Tamawahine" or female line of

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9 Massey (1994:168,261,264) argues for the conceptualisation of space and time as being "inextricably interwoven" into a physical reality of four-dimensional (or "n-dimensional") space-time, rather than existing separately as three-dimensional space and one-dimensional time. In a sense, whakapapa expresses this idea in dynamic form. Salmond (1985:247), for instance, refers to the spatial conception of Maori genealogy which is "quite unlike our [sic] own representation of descending vertical lines".
descent, beginning line 50 (Broughton, 1984:168; see my Mihi, this thesis, p.iv).
That is, it is a recital of whakapapa, which consists of "a list of names". The headnotes to
some of the other waiata give an indication of the types of names they contain, such as
those of ancestors and ancestral houses (e.g., Song 26; see also 8.4.5.), rivers (e.g., Song
36), canoe names (e.g., Songs 15 and 70; see also 8.4.3.), stars or celestial phenomena
(e.g., Song 45), and a diversity of others (mythical beings, family members, karakia,
battles, flora and fauna, and much more). In particular, the naming of ancestors, like that
of places, helped immeasurably to establish rights and confirm identity.

9.3.3. Ancestors

Notable events in the life of the tribal group were given names which served to fix
those events in the tribal consciousness, but if there was no chiefly name to connect an
event with a tribal genealogy then that event went unnamed (Buck, 1950:400). Although
names may be "the great object" of Maori scholarship, as Salmond (1983:318; 1985:250)
states, the importance of the ancestors in Maori thought is considered to be "almost
beyond the comprehension of many Pakeha" (Patterson, 1992:80).

The quoting of ancestral names in the waiata was a reminder of spiritually
sanctioned forefathers who held the tribal group together by dedicated leadership; who
performed deeds that gave their descendants the right to inhabit the tribal territory; and
who established precedents for appropriate and sustainable behaviour in the present.

The inclusion of ancestral names in waiata tangi seems to answer the question of
the motivational force behind the composition of such waiata, and the function they
performed in life crises faced by the individual and the group (see also 9.4.2., concerning
the recital of place names, which lends another dimension to the composition of waiata).
In the case of ancestral references, there had to be a function beyond the ostensible reason
for composing a waiata (i.e., someone's death), that only the song itself - or the
sentiments it expressed - could fulfil. This function, I suggest, was directed at the fact of
death, whether caused by epidemic diseases (e.g., Song 25), by tribal enemies (e.g., Song
32), in battle (e.g., Song 2), or by some other means. The mythical hero Maui had tried to
overcome death and failed, as expressed in Song 70/17 (see also Grey, 1956:43-44):

... te rangi i a Maui i komia e Hinenuitepo, waiho i te ao ...
... the day of Maui's "defeat" by Hinenui-te-po, which remains in the world ...

What satisfaction, then, could humans gain in the face of death, that would allow them to
come to terms with it?

It seems to me that the naming of significant ancestors and past triumphs in the
waiata was an act of assertion and a reminder that, although death had succeeded in the past, those present remained to perpetuate fresh generations and to demonstrate the essential indestructibility of the whakapapa lines. That is, the composers of the waiata triumphed over death by recalling the deeds of successful ancestors who had frustrated death by ensuring the survival of their descendants. In a stable world, death was like a tide which rolled behind but never caught up, although the challenge of survival in the face of land loss in the nineteenth century changed the dynamics of death so that it caught up with and swept over many families who should still be represented amongst us today.

9.4. Environmental Concerns

I return again to the Te Rangikaheke account of creation in considering a number of conflicts that occurred in the aftermath of Tane’s separation of his parents. These took place between Tane and Tangaroa (see discussion, 9.2.1.), between Tawhiri and Tu and, subsequently, between Tu and the other sons of Rangi and Papa. In particular, that between Tu and his brothers licensed the use by humans of their environmental kin for food and for other necessities of life (Patterson, 1992:160). Tawhiri’s attack on his brothers, in which Tu alone bore the brunt of the fighting, had other important consequences. Papa had tried to protect Haumia ("fernroot") and Rongo ("kumara") from the forces of the elements (Tawhiri), by hiding them within the folds of her skin (the surface of the earth). It was these two younger children of Papa’s who contributed most in the way of sustenance to the Maori people in the course of their daily lives, and her protective instincts laid the basis of the debt they owe her as their nurturing and sustaining Earth-mother. Today, they still seek to repay that debt by accepting the delegated responsibility of the kaitiaki roles of her offspring gods, although their efforts are confounded by each tract of land and natural resource that goes out of Maori control.

9.4.1. Kaitiakitanga

A consideration of Maori views on the monitoring, intervention in and utilisation of the resources on which they depended for survival demands an understanding of the traditional institutions within which such practices took place. An important institution was kaitiakitanga which, in its simplest form, entailed the delegation to individuals within the whanau or hapu of the responsibility for specific resources at specific sites within the tribal domain. In order for those individuals to carry out their duties effectively they had to be able to exert direct control over the resources in their care, to intervene actively where necessary, and to implement remedial procedures as required.
Like the kaitiaki gods whom they represented they were held accountable for those resources, including any states for which they were not directly responsible. In the past, infringements, lapses or environmental accidents resulted in physical or spiritual retribution in the form of muru, utu, sickness, or even death. For this reason Maori have always taken their kaitiaki duties seriously, for ultimately it is they who suffer when something goes wrong with their environment. Today, this places an unrealistic burden upon kaitiaki who find themselves unable to discharge their duties through no fault of their own, but rather through government actions in the past in removing from their control, through such mechanisms as confiscation, forced sales, and unjust legislation, the lands over which their duties ranged.

Today, the ability of tribal groups to uphold their reputation for providing certain kinds of foods when hosting important events on the marae is indicative of how expertly and effectively they have carried out their kaitiaki duties (Roberts et al., 1995:15). Where those duties have been compromised by externally imposed restrictions or limitations, such as the loss of ownership of the land or of direct access to the resource, added mana accrues to kaitiaki who are successful in managing the resource. This in turn leads to a renewed commitment to the welfare of that resource, however difficult the implementation of such a commitment may be.

9.4.2. Economic realities

The connection between the love of indigenous peoples for their land, and their respectful relationship with other life forms, is represented in the literature as one of economic necessity (Firth, 1959:372), and ultimate self-interest (Suzuki & Knudtson, 1992:xxxv). As Douglas (1984:73) explains:

In the Maori consciousness, land was a part of themselves in the same way that a hand or an eye was part of them.... At the same time, it was the prime economic resource in their subsistence economy.

Thus there was an immediacy of dependence upon the natural environment, since the way

10 See Patterson (1992:149-50,159) for a discussion of the responsibility for, and liability for damage done within, the domains that were under the mana of the gods (especially, but not exclusively, Tangaroa and Tane).

11 Mead (1998:26) describes mana as "prestige, meaning, purpose", and Marsden (1981:145) as "spiritual authority and power". This concept cannot be encapsulated in a simple English word or phrase, and must be studied in a Maori context for its full meaning to emerge. Metge (1986:62-73), and the Maori authorities she draws upon, may be a useful starting point from which to begin this process.
of life of the people was shaped by the resources of "the land, the sea and the coasts, and by the changing seasons" (Parsonson, 1992:169).

Sinclair (1981:113) lists those parts of the natural environment that come within the Maori definition of mahinga kai or places of food production. In the past, these included cultivations, eel weirs, groves of karaka trees (Corynocarpus laevigata), fernroot gathering areas, bird and rat hunting preserves, shellfish reefs and fishing grounds, both deep sea and coastal. Cultivations were named, as were shellfish beds (pipi or cockles, e.g., Chione stutchburyi; tuatua, Amphidesma subtriangulatum; and paua, Haliotis), as well as mussel (Mytilus) reefs, fishing grounds and rocks and birding trees, and the pataka or storehouses into which the food was gathered (Caselberg, 1975:78; Williams, 1971:270).

An emphasis upon food gathering is evident in Chapter Eight, with the naming of fish and shellfish and fishing hooks and lines (8.2.5.), and forest foods such as edible varieties of fern (8.4.4). The Kahui Papers name mahinga kai sites on the mountain (see also Broughton, 1984:183), and food storehouses which the writers have the right to name (Ko nga ingoa o nga whata e tika ana matou ki te tapa; E:25). Naming was important, for it indicated to others that a system of ownership was in place.

A strong emphasis in the waiata on stars and other celestial phenomena (see 8.3.1.) supports Firth's statements (1959:63 fwd) concerning the practical nature of astronomical lore, which was directed at regulating economic activities. The stars Puanga and Whakaahu (8.3.1.3.), in particular, were actively associated with mahinga kai activities. The likelihood is that the stars changed their function as navigational aids to the early Polynesians who came to Aotearoa, and became instead indicators of seasonal activity (Biggs, 1994:6) once the Maori people had settled into the rhythms of their own "places".

At the same time economic wellbeing was not guaranteed by the regular return of such indicators. Seasons of want alternated indiscriminately with seasons of plenty (see 8.4.4.), and called into play the utmost skills of the kaitiaki of the various resources in order to stave off famine and ensure the continuation of the tribal group. The confiscations that cut Taranaki off from the sea in the nineteenth century were a particularly bitter blow, not only because of the sacred sites that abound there but because the sea and coasts constituted a vast mahinga kai (food gathering) area. As Aila Taylor (1984:26) stated in connection with Te Ati Awa concerns over the effects of pollution on the tribal coastline in the 1980s, land confiscation in Taranaki gave the fishing reefs even greater value as the only resource of any consequence left to Maori in Taranaki. The
mountain had also been confiscated in the 1860s, even though its taking was
unwarranted and probably illegal under the NZ Settlements Act 1863, since "most of the
mountain lands could never be used for settlement as envisaged by that Act" (Waitangi
Tribunal, 1995:33). Thus the traditional emphasis in Taranaki upon Tangaroa's domain of
the sea was reinforced many times over with the coming of the settlers, and persists today
in this socially troubled and economically disadvantaged tribal region.

9.4.3. Kinship and survival

As is evident from the siting of the kinship ideal in the story of creation, the
origins of this feeling for relationships are "ancient" (Dansey, 1981:133). It lay at the
heart of the Maori ethos, and constituted an emotional tie that was not only practical and
often political, but was closely connected with survival.

Roberts et al. (1995:15) point out that four of the major environmental gods (Tane,
Tangaroa, Haumia and Rongo) were guardians of food resources. But this is not sufficient
to explain the complexity of the relationship between people and the land, for land was
more than just the provider of the material necessities of life:

One's life comes from one's ancestors, and this is the chief connection with the
lands, as the mana of the ancestors extends over their lands, and their physical
remains are buried in their lands (Patterson, 1992:50).

That is, a whakapapa dimension was involved, and once again we come back to the
linking of the generations, and to the dominant concern in the mind of individual members
of the tribal group to perpetuate that link in an ethic of survival concerning the tribal line.

The survival ethic was raised to the level of an art in Maori society, bringing in
principles such as manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, and utu.\footnote{Utu is discussed in Chapter One. A distinguishing feature of utu is its emphasis on balance, which allows for the co-existence of polar opposites (Patterson, 1992:183) rather than the preeminence of one over the other. This emphasis on balance is closely allied to a willingness to compromise which, as Patterson (ibid:164) comments, is "rather unexpected in the light of past wrongs and sufferings".} The principle of utu
pervaded all thought in the Maori world, and is plainly manifested by the "intensity of the
obligation" incurred in accepting hospitality from another tribal group (Firth, 1959:337),
which required an equal if not better reciprocity of treatment on the part of those
discharging the obligation (ibid:423). The question of whether such concerns were
egoistic or altruistic is not easily answered (Patterson, 1992:149), since Maori were
customarily involved in a dynamic network of interactions that were ultimately self­
interested (ibid:146-49; Firth, ibid:423) through being directed at group survival.
Johansen (1954:35,37) uses the phrase "kinship I" to refer to the commitment by individuals to the welfare of the group. Maori writers express a similar idea with phrases such as "I-am-we" (Rangihau, in Rangihau & Romanos, 1985:22), "I belong, therefore I am" (Henare & Kernot, 1996:207), and "the corporate self" (Marsden, 1988:18). As Johansen (1954:37) explained:

The kinship I reaches beyond the present, beyond the life of the individual. It reaches not only into the past, including all ancestors, but into the future as well.... It is the kinship I which ... sticks to its country and fights for it and which observes the customs of the ancestors...

It was the kinship I, the I-am-we, the corporate self, which caused Taranaki to fight for their lands and their very survival in the 1860s (see Chapter One), and which causes them to continue that fight by whatever means possible to ensure their continuation as a grouping of recognised tribal entities in New Zealand today.

9.5. Maori Values

The question of Maori values has occasioned some thoughtful comments, particularly those of Patterson (1992), Marsden (1988), Gray (n.d.), and Durie (1999). Chief Judge Eddie Durie (ibid:64) sees a need, in "resorting to the past to determine a future course of action in new situations", to look for the underlying values which "establish the enduring cultural norms of a society". He gives as examples of these values, defining his terms as he goes:

... whanaungatanga, the primacy of kinship bonds, manaakitanga, caring for others, rangatiratanga, the attributes of rangatira, [and] utu, the maintenance of harmony and balance.

The values he gives are identified in 9.4.3. above as essential to the kinship ideal, which is rooted in the creation story and manifests itself as "the relationships between people and gods [and] between people and everything in the universe from land to life forms" (ibid:65). That is, they remain the same today as they did in the distant past. Marsden (1988:12) signalled their unchanging nature when he stated that "despite cultural erosion and genocide" as imposed by colonialist processes tangata whenua has [sic] never totally surrendered the core beliefs and value systems of their culture".

An example of a core Maori value is that of spirituality, which the Whanganui tribes identified at Moutoa Gardens in 1995 as an important aspect of their relationship

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13 Marsden (1988:16) explains the term cultural genocide as a process which "produces spiritual and psychological insecurity manifested in negative social behaviour".
with the land (see Chapter One). Spirituality derives its peculiar force from a pervasive sense of kinship with the things of the natural world, through Tane the progenitor. Another kind of kinship is expressed through whakapapa bonds which derive from the physical reality of Maori origins in the Pacific, and which manifest themselves in Aotearoa/New Zealand as group identification with specific tribal territories.

9.5.1. "Becoming" Maori

The early history of the Maori people was one of a process of "becoming", from the first entry of their Polynesian forebears into the Pacific until some time after the descendants of those East Polynesians, as they had by then become, arrived in Aotearoa. Each of these changes of identity was conditional upon a change of mindset as they adapted to the altered circumstances of life in a new environment. The transition from one cultural state to another, from Polynesian mindset to recognisable Maori identity, took place finally when they settled into recognised tribal areas and began to build up an intimate knowledge of the characteristics and resources of those areas.

Finally, as Maori, they became site-specific guardians of these resources until the arrival of Europeans, centuries later, in this country. Now, under the impetus of claims to the Waitangi Tribunal, Maori are increasingly pushing for the recognition of traditional rights established over hundreds of years of occupancy of their lands, which have shaped not only their attitudes and values but their physical selves as well. For iwi Maori, their nurturing earth-mother Papatuanuku is the soil beneath their feet and the foods they have eaten season by season, generation by generation, from mahinga kai areas within the tribal territory. They belong to those places because, quite literally, they "are" those places.

9.6. Taranaki: The Physical Setting

A feature of the more settled lifestyle of many tribal groups, especially those in fertile areas where the cultivation of crops such as the kumara (Ipomoea batatas, sweet potato) was practised, was the building of fortified villages or pa. Leach (1974:165) considers that many of these pa were fortified kumara stores rather than defended villages, and that their occurrence was often a good indication of the desirability of that place as an

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14 The question of when these migrations occurred is still a matter for debate, although Sutton (1994:1) suggests that interdisciplinary approaches are needed to provide an answer.

15 Many whakapapa lines begin at the point of transition to a recognisable Maori identity, as if the canoe ancestors who had come from the mythical homeland of Hawaiki had just landed and claimed the land in Maori-specific ways.
area where food supplies were plentiful.

Skinner (1911:71) describes the Taranaki coastal district as "pre-eminently the centre or home of the ancient New Zealand pa". Today, the remains of several hundred pa may be found along the central coastal belt, in river valleys to the south, and along the northern Taranaki coastline (Prickett, 1990:7; Best, 1927b:223,238). Skinner (ibid) explains the emphasis on coastal settings:

The Polynesians loved the sea, and the local branch of the race remained true to its old love. Every suitable headland, island, or projection ... was adopted at some time or other in the tribal history as a site for a pa, or village. At all times the pipi (cockles) [sic] or mussel-beds were available, and provided a never-failing supply of food, whilst in the season the fishing fleets were launched forth with great ceremony to the tribal fishing grounds.

Thus where the Taranaki tribes had a coastal boundary they showed a strong preference for living close to the sea (Prickett, 1990:6). There was another reason for choosing this kind of setting for, as Best (ibid:199) writes concerning Urenui pa in northern Taranaki: "The inhabitants of this and other forts of the district possessed very fine lands for cropping purposes and must have grown large quantities of sweet potatoes.... The sea and tidal river would also yield abundant food supplies".

Prickett (1990:6) makes it clear that when the settlers came to Taranaki these valuable coastal lands were already largely cleared of forests. Those coastal lands were the most fertile, and gardens that Maori had cultivated there for generations were all named (Caselberg, 1975:78) Thus, in living on and cultivating the land, two important conditions of Maori ownership were fulfilled (Sinclair, 1981:90-91). These cleared and fertile lands, particularly those north of New Plymouth (Best's "very fine lands for cropping purposes"), were the lands that Pakeha coveted, and which the government took by confiscation.

9.7. Taranaki: The Mountain

From the 1860s onwards the land over which the people gazed seaward was no longer theirs. If the emphasis on the sea in the waiata texts was a response to loss, because they had been cut off from it, there should have been a comparable emphasis on the mountain, which was also confiscated, although this does not appear to be so. In answering the question, then, of why there should have been comparatively fewer

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16 Similarly, Ben White (1994:42), who undertook "an extensive research project" on Ngai Tahu attitudes to land in the South Island, wrote: "In my examination of early nineteenth century sources I came across no references to Aoraki" (i.e., the ancestral mountain of the Ngai Tahu people).
references to the mountain in the waiata in comparison to the sea, I offer the following as a suggestion only, based on relevant phrases as discussed in 8.4.2. These include:

... maunga tu noa Taranaki i te uru (Taranaki standing solitary in the west) (2/14; 15/16);
... te maunga e tu mai ra (the mountain that stands here) (Song 65, NM 181/19);
... ka whati ra, e, te tihi o Taranaki, ka hinga kei raro (the peak of Taranaki breaks off, alas, and lies below) (Song 31 {Smith, 1993:56/9-10});
... whatia pototia te tihi o Taranaki (the peak of Taranaki is broken off short) (Song 43 {Smith, 1993:30/9}).

The emphasis here is on the mountain in quiescent mood. In references to the sea, the emphasis is on movement and the prospect of action, since the sea and coasts constituted an important food gathering area. There were risks involved in harvesting the sea, and so the people needed to be able to judge its moods by constant monitoring. By comparison there were few risks in going about the mountain's lower slopes; and, besides, they could always depend upon its being there ("tu noa"), whether hidden in clouds and mist or standing forth clearly as a reassuring presence on the inland horizon. They relied upon and drew comfort from that presence, since the mountain was their refuge from tribal enemies, their foraging place for resources that the sea could not provide, and their unchanging ancestral source of identity. There was almost no need to refer to it since it was such an integral part of their being and their daily lives, but when they did so it was with a quiet confidence that matched the mood engendered by its looming bulk and lofty height.

This tacit acceptance of their mountain's personality could explain away the comment made by Dieffenbach (1843:158), that local Maori had "no historical account of any eruption of Mount Egmont", and by Buist (1976:72), that "The most surprising thing about Maori tradition of Mt. Egmont is that there is none":

... there is no recorded tradition of the eruptions and volcanic activity of Egmont ... or even of the great debris flow on the western slopes of 100 years ago (ibid).

Buist then gives as "The only legend recorded [which] does not help to fill this gap", the story of Taranaki's journey from the centre of the North Island, where he had been defeated by Mount Tongariro and sent into exile to his present position on the western seaboard. This story was told to Skinner (MS 020/4) by Kahu Minarapa of Nga Mahanga in 1896, and summarises, in a way that is perfectly comprehensible to Maori, Taranaki's volcanic history from beginning to end.

According to volcanologists, Taranaki and its near neighbours Pouakai and
Kaitake exist along a fault line running in a NNW to SSE direction from the direction of present day New Plymouth (Neall, 1974:2). Kaitake, the northernmost of the three mainly andesitic volcanoes, is considerably eroded, while Taranaki at the southern end is the youngest and is quiescent rather than extinct. (How did the Taranaki people know that their ancestral mountain was a comparative "newcomer"?)

An eruption occurred about 35,000 years ago at the "Egmont centre", where Taranaki stands today, leading to the large scale collapse of an older cone there. About 20,000 years ago a new cone began to build, with what remains of the present upper cone forming about 16,000 years ago (ibid:8-9). Kahu Minarapa’s account, as told to Skinner, says that when Taranaki came to rest after his flight into exile he obliterated a large house named Kaimiromiro [sic - Kaimirimiru, in the village of Karaka-tonga], which some traditions locate on Taranaki’s present northern slopes. (What did the Taranaki people know about the “stump” of the old volcano, over which Taranaki settled into place?)

The first European to climb Taranaki was Dieffenbach, who was accompanied by Te Ati Awa guides in 1839. He was followed by Gillingham’s party, who made the climb in 1847 and were confronted by members of the Taranaki tribe when they came back down carrying specimens of rocks and plants. These were, in metaphorical terms, the sacred skull and hair of the mountain, which they were made to return. A moderating figure on that occasion was Kahu Minarapa, who gave Skinner the story of the mountain.

And finally, returning to Buist’s comment that there was no recorded tradition of the great debris flow on the western slopes of "100 years ago" (i.e., in the 1870s), I return to the phrase discussed in 2.3.2: "Te parua whaka te whakarua o Taranaki", which I had been unable to translate until I learnt of the gap in the western rim of Taranaki’s crater. That gap had been formed by a gas eruption, my tupuna knew of it, and in recording it had belied Buist’s words about the absence of "recorded traditions" of the event. I cannot emphasise too strongly that Taranaki’s history has been continually undervalued and misrepresented, and that eurocentric interpretations of indigenous accounts are too often formed on the basis of insufficient details and immoderate surmise. As Te Miringa Hohaia of Parihaka said (pers comm, 1991): "Perhaps if the confiscations had not destroyed the Maori institutions to the point they have, much more could be said now without hypothesis, or the regurgitating of myths created by Pakeha".
9.8. Taranaki: The Land and "Place"

The literature makes it clear that groups with their own sense of identity may have a history of struggle and conquest that is important to represent (Said, 1993, in Massey, 1994:6). Deep psychological links with place may only become apparent under conditions of stress (Relph, 1976:65), while a sense of place can be intensified by the threat of, or actual, loss (Tuan, 1975:243; Relph, ibid). The search for the real meaning of places may accompany a search for identity following the "dislocation" of the colonial experience (Massey, 1994:147), while the "sense" of the place we call home is recognised as being "different for those who have been colonized" (b hooks, 1991, in Massey, 1994:166). The theme of colonisation is powerfully addressed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), who writes of practices stemming from past centuries which are used to deny the validity of "indigenous peoples' claims to existence, to land and territories, to the right of self-determination [and] to our natural resources and systems for living within our environments" (ibid:1).

A statement by the Rev. Maurice Gray (n.d.) links the theme of cultural dispossession with other themes of relevance to this thesis:

... we must go back to the cultural blitz of colonisation in order to recover what we now call the prized treasures of our origins and our kinship ties, our place and purpose in life. But in order to have place in this world, it first has to be found. The origin stories testify to the creation of the world and this place in which we live. Once we have discovered place, we then have to find out what the purpose is for being in that place....

... Within traditional Maori society, purpose was described as "kaitiakitaka", or guardianship and stewardship of all that was in that place - the natural resources, the environment, and people.... Through kaitiakitaka, one was able to work out the relationships between people, society, the environment and the spiritual forces. Relationships were a necessary part of one's purpose. If you do not have a relationship with these elements, you cease to exist spiritually.

This encapsulates much of what has been written in the foregoing chapters.

9.9. Summary

In this chapter I set out a Maori research framework based on cosmic genealogies and whakapapa, against which to measure the descriptive data contained in Chapter Eight. This research framework is not readily separable into "cosmology" on the one hand and "whakapapa" on the other, as the holistic conception by Maori of their universe militates

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17 The underlined k in the Ngai Tahu dialect replaces the ng of most other tribes; thus: kaitiakitaka is the Ngai Tahu form of kaitiakitanga.
against such an artificial division. Rather, it links all parts of the discussion together and ensures that those parts correspond with Maori world views.

The most widely known cosmic account is that in which Tane, kaitiaki of forests and trees, separates his parents Rangi the sky father and Papa the earth mother. In this account Tane is responsible for not only actualising the conditions necessary for growth (i.e., space and light), but also for populating the earth with all forms of life, including humankind. This places Tane at the head of a far-reaching network of environmental kin, while dissension between the brothers justifies the use for food by humans of the various life forms to which they are related.

The theme of dissension carries over into a Taranaki cosmology which credits Tangaroa, kaitiaki of seas and fish, with the separation of the primal parents. This places the emphasis upon the sea which, in Taranaki, surrounds the land on three sides and is responsible for considerable amounts of coastal erosion. In respect of this conflict between the sea and the land, the image of Tangaroa (representing the Taranaki people) and Tane (representing the settlers) is a complex one which, nevertheless, emphasises Tangaroa’s role as the more powerful of the two brothers in this region.

In considering the various rights by which Maori laid claim to their lands in the past, that of the naming of ancestors and places in the tribal territory was especially important since it confirmed the identity of the person and the group. In waiata tangi the naming of ancestors was also an assertion that the whakapapa lines would continue, thanks to the success of those ancestors in ensuring the perpetuation of the generations. However, it was not only human ancestors who occasioned gratitude. Papa’s care of her children was repaid in part by their acceptance of the delegated roles and responsibilities of her kaitiaki sons, although those roles are compromised today by the lack of effective control over the lands and resources to which they apply.

Concern for the natural environment was closely connected with survival. The care of mahinga kai areas, and the naming of those places to assert ownership, was coupled with an awareness of seasonal signs which determined when particular activities would take place. Land confiscations in the nineteenth century interrupted this close connection of the people with the land and sea, and with social practices such as manaakitanga and utu which helped to insure the tribal group against adversity. The willingness of the individual to sacrifice for the good of the group was also part of the survival ethic, which carried over into a willingness to fight, as Taranaki did in the 1860s, for the lands to which they were intimately linked through ancestral succession. The
spiritual nature of these links had been forged over many generations as the ancestors became aware of and were shaped by the particular rhythms of the places they settled into in the tribal territory. Coastal lands were especially favoured for settlement, as evidenced by the heavy concentration of ancient pa sites along the Taranaki coastline. It was those coastal lands that the settlers coveted when they came, and which the government took by force.

The government also confiscated the mountain, although the emphasis in the waiata is different for the two settings. The sea constituted an important food source, but needed to be monitored carefully because of the risks it posed to those who braved Tangaroa's waves. The mountain was a place of refuge, and an ancestral presence on the edge of vision. It had been fixed in place by tribal elders when it first arrived, and this had ensured that it would remain forever rooted in that place. For this reason the people could turn their attention elsewhere, for their tupuna mountain would always be there for them. Unfortunately, fixing it in place also meant that it could not remove itself from the attention of others, and so while it is "there" in presence today, it is far removed from the Taranaki people in terms of their kaitiaki roles concerning it, and their need to protect it from the indignities of profane use.

9.10. In Conclusion

In its most basic dichotomous form, land is used for either economic gain or survival. In Taranaki, with so much of the land gone through government policies from the 1860s, the people were faced not only with the prospect of starvation but, worse, the extinction of their genealogical lines and the termination of the responsibilities that had been handed down from the past for the benefit of future generations. Nevertheless, Taranaki Maori feelings for place are more than just an abstract attachment to or love for the land. An enduring relationship persists with Papatuanuku as both whenua and whanau, despite determined and sustained efforts to destroy that relationship and to sever the ties that bind them spiritually, mentally and emotionally to the places that claim them.

In Taranaki, the people have suffered much through the process of colonisation, but their patience is not yet exhausted, and their determination is fed by ever-present reminders of their past. Grounded in a western-facing mountain-dominated circle of land surrounded by sea, they face the world of the ancestors - Hawaiki in the west - with its sombre intimations of mortality. At the same time they are invigorated by the stars and the seasons, the winds and the rivers and, above all, by the moods of the sea and tides.
Place names, the mountain in its splendour, fishing reefs and rivers, ancient rocks and hilltop sites - what more does one need to stir the memory and refresh the will? The land upon which they stand may not by theirs, nor the coastal acres across which they gaze out to sea, but they have carried the ancestral lines to this point and the land will not release them from that burden. Can anyone else who now lives on Taranaki land say the same?
CHAPTER TEN: MAORI FEELINGS FOR PLACE

10.0 Introduction

In this thesis I have set out and examined the components of a research framework for addressing the question of Maori feelings for place. This question resulted from a serendipitous coming together of several considerations at a particular point in time; namely, the Maori land occupation of Moutoa Gardens in Wanganui in 1995, the availability of a body of tupuna writings for study, and an interest in the western concept of sense of place.

These considerations are reflected in my thesis chapters. The historical context behind the land occupation at Moutoa Gardens is surveyed in Chapter One, and sets the scene for the discussions and the particular focus of the chapters that follow. Chapters Three and Six seek to provide an understanding of the two crucial themes of place and waiata, the latter necessitated by the specific nature of the texts I drew upon to provide the data for this thesis. Chapter Two examines methodological considerations of relevance to my work, and Chapter Nine adds to the research framework by contributing a Maori dimension of essential spiritual values and beliefs. The relatively late placement of this Maori research framework is intentional, for an apprenticeship of preliminary study is necessary before deeper wisdoms of Maori thought can be understood or appreciated. My own views on issues relating to research in a Maori context are explained in Chapter Four, and lead into an examination of the source texts contained in the Kahui Papers - my tupuna writings - in Chapter Five.

If the occupation of Moutoa Gardens provided the catalyst for this thesis, the waiata texts in Chapter Seven were the key that unlocked, for me, the meaning of place for Taranaki Maori. The waiata, in fact, do not say anything different from cosmic accounts and genealogical recitations; they simply say it in a more evocative fashion, and prompt a visualisation of their message that leads to a clarity of meaning that is unmistakable.

Giving the texts of the waiata in this thesis serves two purposes: first, to provide the transparency needed in a subjective study of Maori feelings for place and, second, to make the texts accessible to those with a whanau, hapu or iwi interest in their existence. In view of the fact that I do not translate these texts in their entirety their availability for perusal by those who understand the Maori language serves as a reassurance that issues of accountability to my academic colleagues have largely - if indirectly - been met, as has the
important consideration on the part of my Maori readers that iwi intellectual property
has been protected to the fullest extent possible in an academic work.

Data extracted from the waiata texts are grouped in Chapter Eight under headings
of relevance to the landscape components of sea, sky, and land, and surveyed in Chapter
Nine in relation to the Maori research framework. In view of conclusions reached in
Chapters Three (on place) and Nine (on whakapapa and cosmology), my intention to
measure Maori feelings for place against sense of place studies no longer seems an
appropriate course to take. Rather, I analyse Maori feelings for place to determine the
nature of a Maori "sense of place", in full awareness that those associated with sense of
place studies will be better able than I to evaluate their own disciplinary area in terms of
the conclusions reached in this thesis.

In the present chapter, then, in order to effect a connection between sense of place
and Maori feelings for place, I return to the expressive elements of imagery set out in
Chapter Eight: see, for instance, 8.1. where I refer to other headings of relevance to the
presentation of the data, such as ancestral, metaphorical, metaphysical, proverbial, and
other types of landscape. This approach becomes clearer as particular aspects of Maori
feelings for place are explored to give an impression of a Maori "sense of place".

10.1. Maori Feelings for Place

The clearest articulation of Maori feelings towards places in the landscape is that
expressed in the related themes of whakapapa and cosmology, the one providing a
network of names and relationships and the other a readily assimilable set of values
framed as an account of the creation of all things in the natural world. This account
depends for effect upon the conceptualisation of elemental forces as members of a
supranormal family, whose interactions mirror those of human families while at the same
time they explained the workings of the environment within which the Maori people lived
and moved.

10.1.1. Layers in the landscape

One could take up several positions in relation to Maori perceptions of their
natural environment. The most peripheral is that of observer, in which landforms and
other visual elements of the landscape appear to be regarded objectively. Details from the
waiata which describe visual aspects of the Maori world give this impression: wind-blown
trees, the sun's rays on a mountain peak, clouds radiant in the evening sky. These are all
poetic expressions of nature as might be articulated by an aesthete in the western tradition
of poetry. This is, as I said, a peripheral view of the landscape from a Maori point of view. Is it an end in itself? What more could one aspire to if one were a poet, as the composers of waiata were said to be by early ethnographic collectors of their works?

A second level, then, is the meaning Maori gave to these perceptual elements. Thunder and lightning were portents of disaster or of momentous events in the lives of the people; while clouds and mist, which drifted or scudded or lay flat upon the mountain tops, were pointers to places of significance. They served to focus the attention and fix the thoughts in moments of introspection, or to lead to deeper levels of appreciation.

The consciousness engendered by introspection took several forms. One was an awareness of a link between the object of study and the person observing it. This link resulted from familiarity with a place and its features, born of close acquaintance with the physical realities of that place: the lagoon at the mouth of the river, the track that led over the hill, the name of a fishing rock out at sea. Beyond that again was a more personal association with the places studied: the river in which children played, the site of a battle nobly fought, after which you were named. The memories engendered by your own experiences begin to stir, but these are, as yet, connected only with the present. What could be more satisfying from the perspective of the most recent generation than an awareness of your own place at the end of a long line of ancestry?

The rush of thoughts prompted by turning one’s attention to intergenerational links with a place, and to ancestral deeds, is almost overwhelming. Places in the landscape dump their history upon you at the mention of their names: the coastal pool of Kapukapuariki, which begins the recital of Ngati Haupoto’s southern boundary and is followed by references to the Waiwhero swamp, the pa of Otamapanui at Rahotu, the ancestral sites of Puketapu, Wharekakaho, Takapukoko and Pukematia, the kiekie swamp at Ponatahuna, further ancestral sites at Taringati, Paroa, Te Piripiri and Okoari, and at Te He and Rangomaimateora, Puponga and Waimahana until, finally, you draw breath at Te Ahukawakawa, which fills the floor of the Pouakai basin north of Mount Taranaki.

Reacquainting yourself with places associated with the ancestors, and with the exploits that gave rise to the names of those places, is a reflective yet exhilarating experience. It forms part of your own history, which you will impart in turn to descendants whose lives you are able to touch.

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1 In central Taranaki and southwards around the coast, the "hills" are most often lahars, caused by volcanic activity from the mountain over thousands of years.
At this more kin-centred level of involvement, sites of significance are inescapable. The tops of hills upon which you gazed disinterestedly as an observer were themselves places of habitation for ancestors many times removed from the present. If they had not conducted their lives well and carefully you might not be here. The kaitiaki responsibilities they left you are burdensome, but how can you evade them? Future generations will think the same thoughts and feel the same gratitude to you as you are now feeling for those who lived up there on the hill, now given over to the sun and wind and flocks of birds.

High places stand out and draw the eye, as a leader of people might do. Highest of all, the mountains could express sympathy for the human condition, and be brought down in imagination as a sign of mourning. But this is mythopoetic imaging, for how else can a mountain be reduced to a size that human minds can encompass and so comprehend?

Trees also stand tall and act as markers in the visual landscape. They are a recognised part of Tane's domain, but were also appraised for their potential as sites of supply (of food and rongoa - medicine - for instance) or, appropriately acknowledged, as the raw material for large constructions like houses and fishing canoes. Many of these latter were associated with the ancestors and were therefore a fitting use of this valued resource.

Types of vegetation along the coastal belt bring further states and attributes to mind. This is the proverbial landscape, in which flax springs up, constantly renewed, like the Taranaki people themselves. The glow of red catches the eye and casts the mind back to prior causes. This is the mythical landscape of Rangi and Papa, the first parents. It is also the familial landscape of people whose lives are inextricably linked through threads of ancestry, and whose presence is revealed by signs of domestic activity; smoke rising, dwellings and cultivations, and a path leading purposely homeward.

10.1.2. Seascapes

The footsteps of the ancestors consolidated the dirt of the tracks you walk, and negotiated the same rocky incline to the beach. This is ancestral landscape throughout: how does one describe it in sense of place terms? More than memory is involved, for reminders of their prior presence are all around you.

You gaze out to sea, to quieter regions of water beyond the breaking waves. The sea acts as a barrier, stretching past the horizon to Hawaiki and separating you from your kindred dead who, in life, gathered kaimoana - seafood - from the rock pools at your feet.
You are conscious of the sea as a source of food, ranging from shellfish beds and mussel reefs to fishing grounds far offshore. Fish are the children of Tangaroa, and when you catch them you become, temporarily and somewhat contradictorily (see 9.2.1), Tane. Fish are helpless when caught, like people when death claims them.

The sea is a comforting presence when calm and an uncontrollable force in rough weather, engendering moods in you to match its own, or reflecting yours in times of distress. An outsider might see the sea as an impersonal presence, going its own way with its ebbs and flows, but you are aware of its reassuring background sounds wherever you go in the tribal landscape. The ancestral presence is strong along the Taranaki coastline, and the sea invokes it most of all.

As you stand on the beach, absorbed in ceaseless sound and motion, a further element is added by the wind. Even a disinterested observer would be drawn into the experiential landscape by the feel of wind gusts, and you cannot remain oblivious to it. Your eye is caught by the activity of birds, whose appearance and habits you know from lifelong observation and inherited knowledge. They draw your attention upwards towards their flight paths, or downwards to where they settle on water or sand, alternately unsettled and still. Bird song adds another dimension to your awareness of their characteristics, which a perceptive observer would associate with those of family members and friends.

10.1.3. Skyscapes

If you step back from the coastal landscape and look at the sky, what impressions do you get? Is it merely the setting for stars and thunderstorms and wind and rain? Being caught in a rainstorm might be experiential only, or it could remind you of Rangi's tears on being separated from Papatuanuku, who is the ground beneath your feet and the landscape you walk through.

You observe the night sky, wakeful at a time when others are asleep. Tane placed stars on the bosom of Rangi to make up for the hurt he had inflicted. Stars are also likened to ancestral eyes on high, in a direction that one's spirit might aspire to go. This is a biblical as well as a symbolic landscape, for "up there" has significance in both Christian and traditional thought. The godlike ancestors Tawhaki and Rupe climbed to the heavens in physical form, but mortality keeps the rest of us earthbound.

The moon is larger and more visible than the stars and yet, although we know it affects the tides and our planting and fishing schedules, its influence is so much a part of
our daily lives - like the mountain - that we almost take it for granted. More notice is given to the sun for its association with light and wellbeing, and for its effect upon all forms of life including our own.

The stars fade from sight as the sky lightens, causing us to turn our minds to the coming day. Stars acted as daily and seasonal guides to economic activities, and were looked on as indicators of good or ill in human terms. Like the sea they could assume an impersonal detachment, or take an active interest in human affairs. Even today they cannot be regarded dispassionately as they have a message to impart which may still be read, and which contributed to the effectiveness of ancestral kaitiakitanga and so to our existence in the present.

If one invests the stars with personality, as is done here, one could do the same for all other aspects of the natural environment. The most significant components of that environment, the sky and earth, lie at the upper and lower edges of vision and frame our gaze horizontally. I referred to the sky as the setting for elemental phenomena such as the stars, wind and storms, but there is more to this particular dimension of the landscape from a Maori point of view than the impression it gives of an empty vault arching above us.

10.2. Maori Cosmology and Feelings for Place

The most significant aspect of Maori feelings for place is the emotional and spiritual mood engendered by an awareness of the sky and earth as the first parents of all created forms of life. The story of Rangi the sky father and Papa the earth mother is first and foremost a visual one, drawing upon conventional aspects of the physical environment. It is also anthropomorphically conceived, basing its appeal upon its likeness to human families and their likely interactions in everyday settings. These facets of the creation account ensured that it would be transmitted through the generations in easily remembered form. However pragmatic this might appear in considering how that account came into being, the story is in itself a composition of infinite subtlety and discernment. The incorporation of its beliefs and value systems as the basis of Maori worldviews was an inevitable outcome of the way those worldviews were restructured in Aotearoa/New Zealand by the ancestors of the Maori people on first arrival, according to the conditions that prevailed in this country as compared with those in their Pacific homelands.

Taking up the viewpoint of an observer, then, how might one perceive the landscape in terms of the story of Rangi and Papa? Again, a first impression is that of the
senses. As discussed in Chapter Nine in connection with the differing versions of the cosmology account in Taranaki and Te Arawa, one might consider how, and why, the sky and earth meet only at the horizon and nowhere else. In the most widely known version of the story (Te Arawa, recognised also in Taranaki), the trees are regarded as propping up the sky. In the other version discussed in this thesis (Taranaki alone), the sea pushes the sky out to the horizon. Allowing for these differing themes the other perceptual elements follow along similar lines.

An important consideration when viewing the landscape was the reason for elemental conflict. Waves that pounded the coastline, and trees felled by the wind, were sights which could be seen on a periodic basis but which - given the emphasis on the primal family - required explanation. That explanation was provided through the inclusion of concepts such as utu and mana in the creation story, which brought environmental values into line with those pursued by the Maori people themselves, for whom these values were important considerations in their relationship with others.

Beyond the impression of the senses was an awareness of the interrelatedness of humans with the myriad objects of the natural world. One could not cut down a mighty tree without being conscious of the pervading presence of Tane, who had brought it into being. One could take one's environmental kin (birds, plants, fish, and rocks) for food and other necessities of life, but only with the realisation that values such as tapu, mauri, kaitiakitanga, and whanaungatanga, were involved and must be respected. At all times an extra dimension pervaded the consciousness and reinforced the awareness of considerations that went beyond the mundane and the practical.

10.3. Feelings for Place and Sense of Place

Sense of place literature recognises a number of the aspects discussed above in connection with Maori feelings for place, beginning with a visual or aesthetic appeal to the senses. The literature also acknowledges that intangible phenomena, which are perceived by senses other than sight, may be involved. The possibility that natural life forms may reflect human moods and emotions may be treated more cautiously, since the dimension of spirituality that contributes significantly to Maori feelings for place may require a reconceptualisation of thought in order to accommodate it more fully.

The literature sets out the connections between landscapes and the meanings invested in them by people with long or close associations with particular places. Those meanings may come from the physical features of the landscape, or from the events experienced by
people during their stay or in the course of their lifetimes in specific settings. Mental and emotional states are also recognised in the literature, particularly those associated positively with identity and wellbeing, or negatively with the breaking of bonds between people and the places with which they associate strongly.

Involvement in the life of a community contributes to a sense of place, as does a feeling of continuity with the past. Memory plays a part in the development of a "sense" or awareness of place, which may be actualised by full involvement in the affairs of that place. Feelings of attachment may develop as a result of such involvement, as with the change from outsider or observer to insider or participant.

The literature also acknowledges the role that language can play in evoking a sense of place, or reflecting it outwards to others. The robustness of Maori feelings for place is especially well served by this medium of expression, as is the confidence of Maori assertions in speaking of the emotional significance of those places and of the land that binds people and places together.

10.4. Sense of Place: An Indigenous Perspective

Similarities may be seen between Maori feelings for place and a western sense of place, although the latter, being insufficiently clearly defined in the literature, does not present itself as sufficiently attuned to gauge whether, or how strongly, Maori feel towards places in the tribal landscape. Those feelings are most adequately expressed when viewed against a cultural backdrop of cosmology and whakapapa, which renders them explicit. The difference between the concept of sense of place and Maori feelings for place, then, appears to be that, while sense of place literature can impart an awareness or "sense" of why people have (or develop) a sense of place, the Maori research framework of cosmology and whakapapa creates a mood or "feel" for the attachment that Maori have towards their environment, and so has the potential to contribute important insights to western sense of place studies.

From conclusions drawn in this thesis it can be seen that research into a Maori sense of place must be able to handle visualisation and to do it in terms of the history and culture of the Maori people. Anyone contemplating such a study from outside the culture would need to be closely acquainted with the language and its tikanga in order to enter into Maori states of mind. Since Maori are still very much an oral people that study would also be required to apply hermeneutic principles of understanding to texts which express Maori views on their relationships with land, including "spoken texts" such as
verbal utterances on the marae. In such venues the effectiveness of particular words and phrases is predicated upon the collective background of the people, which contributes in unique ways to the meanings accorded to those utterances.

Finally and most importantly, an external approach would need to accommodate the non-tangible dimension of wairuatanga implicit in the whakapapa lines, which link the present to the past in structured hierarchies of order and succession. It would need to address the significance of Maori creation accounts, which explain the origins of the world in mythopoetic imagery, and be capable of comprehending the values that adhere to those accounts. It must be able, as Penning-Rowsell puts it (see 3.4.), to analyse the unanalysable.

10.5. Summary

The purpose of this thesis has been to examine Taranaki Maori feelings for the environment in terms of their "place" within it. My principal focus has been on the relationship of my iwi of Taranaki tuturu with their tribal lands, although I do not claim to represent their views except where those views are reflected in Waitangi Tribunal reports (e.g., 1995, 1996) which summarise the findings of Tribunal hearings in Taranaki. Rather, the conclusions I have derived from the waiata texts used in this study are my own interpretations based on available writings from within and outside my area of interest. Those writings include the waiata texts from which my primary data were drawn, and the Kahui Papers from which the texts were taken, as well as intertextual writings which touch more generally upon the points examined here.

In the opening chapter I looked critically at the interface between Maori and Pakeha in Taranaki. My interest in that region by virtue of my family and iwi links provided me with the motivation to probe the meaning of land for Taranaki Maori, in order to show that Maori worldviews of their place in relation to the land are necessarily different from Pakeha views of the same piece of soil.

In Taranaki, the position of Maori in relation to their land is one of continuing protest at the abrogation of their rights by the British who colonised their country from 1840. A modern day manifestation of dissatisfaction with the slow progress on land issues is that of land occupation or settling on disputed land to assert ownership according to Maori customary rights, which expresses that protest in unequivocal terms. The occupation in 1995 of Moutoa Gardens at Wanganui, south of Taranaki, is one such manifestation of this phenomenon. That occupation drew its inspiration from the earlier
Parihaka movement, which remains today as a potent force in the tribal consciousness.

There have been no land occupations to date in Taranaki as in other parts of the country, but Parihaka itself functions as a constant reminder of government policies in the past which ranged from active discrimination to studied neglect. Taranaki's claims for redress will be addressed at some stage in the future, and its present precarious situation on the edge of tribal economic decline remedied. Pragmatism on the part of the majority, no less than the requirements of natural justice, will ensure that this is done.

10.6. In Conclusion

The overwhelming evidence from an examination of Maori feelings for place is that the relationship between people and the land is predicated upon a set of mutually agreed-upon premises, which have their roots in the enduring nature and distinctiveness of Maori world views. Commonalities forged over generations of interaction in the tribal territory resulted in iwi-specific ways of accounting for the landforms of that territory, according to the particular characteristics of the New Zealand landscape. This led to the formulation of cosmological beliefs which were framed in the light of a holistic conceptualisation of kinship bonds. Those beliefs were transmitted intergenerationally through the evocative power of the spoken word, and through the visualisation it necessarily engendered. Interwoven with the substance of those beliefs were the value systems of the Maori people, which interpenetrated every aspect of their relations with each other and with the environment. In particular, the encapsulation in oral forms of expression of the mental, emotional and spiritual states that made life meaningful resulted in tightly packaged and coherent systems of knowledge which regulated behaviour and perpetuated the norms of Maori society. At all times there was a reinforcing of the fundamental concepts that underpinned that society and led to its unchanging nature in tribal form. Thus meanings which adhere to the land may not lightly be changed without threatening the identity and thus the very existence of the tribal group. An awareness of this point will go a long way towards explaining why Taranaki Maori have fought for the land and will continue to fight for as long as they remain as a recognised presence in the tribal landscape.
10.7. *He Whakakapinga*

As this thesis neared its completion date, on the evening of 28 February 2001, an agreement was signed at Wanganui between Whanganui River iwi, the Crown, and the Wanganui District Council. This agreement, which "cement[ed] the future of one of New Zealand's most controversial pieces of land" (*The (Christchurch) Press*, 1/3/01), resolved the ownership and management of Moutoa Gardens - Pakaitore marae - which Whanganui iwi had disputed and subsequently occupied for 79 days in 1995. According to the agreement, Moutoa Gardens will now be owned by the Crown and jointly managed by the three signatories to the agreement. Thus the rangatiratanga of Whanganui River iwi, and their spiritual relationship with this particular piece of ancestral land, have at last been recognised by the Treaty partner.

It seems fitting that a satisfactory conclusion to the concerns of Whanganui River iwi in respect of Moutoa Gardens, the occupation of which provided the theme that motivated my research, should form the subject of the statement that brings this thesis to a close.
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Abbreviations:

AJHR  Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives
ATL  Alexander Turnbull Library
DNZB  Dictionary of New Zealand Biography
JPS  Journal of the Polynesian Society
MB  Minute book
NM  Nga Moteatea
NZGB  New Zealand Geographic Board
NZJES  New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies
NZJH  New Zealand Journal of History
P-P  British House of Commons Parliamentary Papers relating to New Zealand
TMLC  Taranaki Maori Land Court
TPNZI  Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute
WD  Williams' Dictionary of the Maori Language (1971)

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