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**TE TOHU-A-TUU  
(THE SIGN OF TUU)**

**A STUDY  
OF THE  
WARRIOR ARTS  
OF  
THE MAORI**

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree

of

Master of Philosophy  
in Maori Studies  
at Massey University

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## ABSTRACT

The title “Te Tohu-a-Tuu (The Sign of Tuu)” is the name of a taiaha on-guard position that invokes Tuu, the Maori god of war. It has been chosen to reflect the subject of Maori warfare in the pre-European period. Maori warfare during this period was very much influenced by the cosmological and environmental beliefs of the Maori. These beliefs were mainly articulated through the oral histories of the Maori.

Accounts of pre-European Maori warfare has mainly been written by early European historians who were greatly influenced by the prevailing social customs and intellectual thinking of the time. No linkage was made between the Maori protocols and processes of warfare with the cosmological and environmental beliefs practiced by the Maori. As a result the current understanding of Maori warfare has largely stemmed from written accounts by non-Maori.

This thesis explores Maori warfare through the institution of Tuumatauenga, the ugly faced Maori god of war. It will show the processes and the protocols that the Maori warrior used to prepare the mind and body for war and battle in the pre-European period. This preparation often started in the womb and progressed from early childhood through to initiation, as a youth, into the schools of war. From here the student graduated on to the battle-field as a toa taua or warrior. Through personal prowess and skill at arms, the toa taua gained Ika-a-Whiro or war leadership status. The institution of Tuumatauenga is then linked with other Maori gods to show that Maori warfare and warrior arts were greatly influenced by cosmological and environmental beliefs.

## NGA KUPU WHAKATAU

Ko nga kupu e whai ake nei he mihi ki nga mea e awahina mai.

Tuatahi, ka mihi ki nga koroua me nga kuia kua ngaro atu ki te po. E hika ma, moe mai koutou i roto te ringa matua o Tuumatauenga, i runga i te takapau hurihanga hei korowai tangata. Ka mihi ki nga tipuna tane o Te Kooanga Uetuhiao, ara ko Hanara Tangiawha Rire me Arapeta Marukitipua Awatere, ko raua tonu nga tauira whakamutunga o nga wananga o Kokai, o Purapuraare hoki. Ahakoa kua ngaro raua kei te rere tonu nga wai o Hotohoto, o Waitetoki hoki.

Tuarua, ki nga mea o te Whare Wananga o Manawatu. Ki te tumu whakarae o te tari Maori, ki a Meihana Durie ka mihi ana au mo ana whakaaro rangatira. Nana nei i whakato te whakaaro kia mahia, kia whakaotinga i te mahi rangahau nei. Ki nga kaiwhakarite, ko Monty Soutar me Taiarahia Black, tena ra korua mo nga manaakitanga i runga i te kaupapa nei. Ka nui ta korua tohutohu mai ki a au. Mai i te timatanga tae noa ki te mutunga kei te kapakapa mai na nga arero o te tokorua nei.

Tuatoru, ki nga mea e korerohia ki a au nga maramara korero tuu taua. Ki a Paki Harrison, Api Mahuika, Tamati Reedy, Tame Te Maro, Tame Winitana, Mita Mohi, Peta Sharples, Rangi Kereama, Pou Te Mara, John Te Mara, Tamarau Te Mara, Karaitiana Koroheke, Moetahi Jones, Tauhu Mitai-Ngatai, Anaru Totorewa Reedy, New Amsterdam Reedy, Dr Roger Neich o te Whare Taonga o Tamaki, Moana Davies me Moana Parata o te Whare Taonga o Poneke me etahi atu. Ka nui aku mihi ki a ratou.

Tuawha, ki taku hoa a Hinemoa Ruataupare Awatere me ta maua tamahine a Te Kooanga . Ka nui te aroha ki a raua.

Ka huri.

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# CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background

*"Ko te umanga nui o nehera he whawhai"*

*The chief pre-occupation of olden times was fighting<sup>1</sup>*

Sir Apirana Ngata, the well-known 19th century Maori statesman wrote in his commemorative booklet "The Price of Citizenship", the following words, " War was the pre-occupation of the old time Maori and would fain be that of many of his descendants<sup>2</sup>". The booklet was written to commemorate and celebrate the posthumous award of the Victoria Cross to Second-Lieutenant Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa Ngarimu, a tribal kinsman and soldier, who died fighting in Tunisia during the Second World War. The award was significant in that it was the first time that the highest British decoration for valour was awarded to a Maori soldier. To the Maori people back in New Zealand at the time, the award represented the official recognition of the fighting abilities of the Maori soldier as well as a re-affirmation of their warrior heritage.

During the New Zealand Wars the fighting skills of the Maori gained international military attention when Maori warriors, armed with a mix of traditional and modern weapons, defeated technologically and numerically superior British Colonial Forces armed with bayonet, musket and cannon<sup>3</sup>. This caused much embarrassment as these proponents of stone-age weaponry, a sub-species of humanity<sup>4</sup> were able to defeat the armies of the superior civilisations who had invented technologically more advanced weaponry and military prowess.

From the New Zealand Wars period through to current day, Maori soldiers have served in the Armed Forces of New Zealand. They have fought in the Boer War, World War One, World War Two, Korea, Malaya, Borneo, Vietnam and have served on numerous peacekeeping missions with the United Nations. Maori soldiers have contributed much to the reputation of the New Zealand Army.

As a New Zealand Army officer who has been educated at the Royal Military College of Australia and was on operational mine-clearing duties in Cambodia when starting this thesis, I have greatly admired the reputation of the Maori warrior-cum-soldier as a fierce fighter who equalled any of his indigenous peers<sup>5</sup> in terms of tactics and battle prowess during the Colonisation contact period. Yet very little information has been written about the warrior traditions and practices of the Maori prior to this period.



As a professional soldier I have often wondered about the training and conditioning the warriors used in the pre-European period in order to prepare themselves for battle and war. What tactics, formations and weaponry did they use? How did they select their warriors?

As a result of this professional interest, the following three questions will form the basis of the research for this thesis:

1. How did the cosmological beliefs of the Maori affect the combat aspect of Maori warfare in the pre-European period?
2. What customary practices, protocols and processes did the Maori employ for the preparation and conduct of combat in the pre-European period?
3. How did the natural environment impact upon the combat aspect of Maori warfare during the pre-European period?

## 1.2 Mission Statement

The mission statement of this thesis is to demonstrate that all combat aspects of pre-European Maori warfare were greatly influenced by the cosmological and environmental beliefs of the Maori. This mission statement can be expressed in the following comment by the author:

*“ To the Maori, the human world is a microcosm of the natural world and is subject to the same forces and energies. The natural world has numerous scenarios of conflict which portray the struggle to survive as well as the turbulent interaction of natural phenomena. These conflicts will also be manifest in the human world. Nature is the ultimate master and mentor of conflict, humans are but servants”.*

## 1.3 Definitions

For the purpose of this study the following definitions will be used within a Maori context.

**Warfare.** A state of conflict which includes physical, psychological and spiritual forms of aggression<sup>6</sup>.

**War.** A series of hostile engagements occurring between two or more dissenting groups<sup>7</sup> in order to achieve desired outcomes<sup>8</sup>.

<b>Battle.</b>	A discrete engagement of combat force within a series of hostile engagements.
<b>Combat.</b>	An armed encounter with lethal intent between antagonists.
<b>Strategy.</b>	The design and employment of all resources required to win a war.
<b>Tactics.</b>	The design and employment of combat forces required to win a battle.

#### 1.4 Scope and Order of Presentation

In order to achieve this mission statement, the scope and order of presentation is as follows:

1. **Chapter One - Introduction.** Chapter One outlines the background and the intended outcomes of this study.
2. **Chapter 2 - Methodology.** Chapter Two will provide the theoretical framework used to answer the three main research questions. The theoretical framework will be based on the protocols of Tuu, the Maori god of war and the interconnectedness of war with the other key Maori gods of Tane, Tangaroa, Tawhirimatea, Whiro and Rongo. The analysis will be based on a synthesis of Maori oral traditions, Maori weaponry wananga, terrain reconnaissance and western military doctrine.
3. **Chapter 3 - Literature Review.** Chapter Three will summarise the key literature sources which contain treatment of Maori warfare. Critical evaluation of these key literature sources will show that Maori warfare has been mainly confined to the social sciences of archaeology, anthropology and ethnography written by Pakeha writers. Maori contributors will be explored to provide a Maori perspective on warfare. Key literature characteristics will be evaluated to reveal both strengths and weaknesses on the treatment of Maori warfare. General comment on the subject of Maori warfare literature will be made.
4. **Chapter 4 - The Cosmology of Maori Warfare.** Chapter Four addresses the first research question which is the cosmological origins of warfare as defined by Maori oral traditions. This chapter covers the trail of war from within the ira atua (the divine realm) through to its multiple manifestations within the ira tangata (the human realm).

5. **Chapter 5 - The Protocols of Tuu.** Chapter Five addresses the second research question, namely how did the Maori prepare for and participate in the combat aspects of war. This will examine the institution of Tuu, the Maori god of war. It will reveal the customary processes and practices that the Maori employed to prepare the mind and body for combat. In doing so a profile of a Maori warrior from birth through to war leadership will be developed.
6. **Chapter 6 - Warrior Arts of Nature .** Chapter Six will address the third research question which is to examine what impact the environment had on the combat aspects of Maori warfare. The martial teachings of nature will be addressed through the wananga (bodies of knowledge) of Tane, Tangaroa, Tawhirimatea, Whiro and Rongo.
7. **Chapter 7 - Conclusions.** Chapter Seven will present the main conclusions drawn from addressing the three research questions. These conclusions will be used to evaluate how successful the mission statement has been accomplished. Finally recommendations for further research will be made.

### **1.5 Limitations and Freedoms**

A first limitation on the treatment of Maori warfare in this study will be to focus primarily on the combat aspects. This allows greater emphasis to be on the combat aspects of Maori warfare without having to explore the non-combat aspects which were expressed through oratory, compositions and other social mechanisms employed by the Maori such as taua muru (confiscation) and rahui (prohibition). These form an important part of the continuum of Maori warfare but require their own separate studies.

A second limitation is that this study will not portray a fully representative view of Maori warfare as it cannot adequately portray the tribal variations in the Maori customs of war. The writer acknowledges his own Ngati-Porou background and so will use the oral histories of his own area to illustrate key points. However the freedom exists to use examples from other iwi where possible. This could be misconstrued as mixing tribal tikanga or protocols and so the writer acknowledges any criticism of this fact.

A third limitation is that the primary focus of this study is on the pre-European period. It will not explore Maori warfare practices in detail during the Colonisation period but it does allow the freedom to take examples which uniquely portray a Maori concept of battle.

### 1.6 Historical Interpretation of Maori Warfare

The historical analysis of Maori warfare has largely been interpreted in the context of Maori society and customs rather than being a separate field of military study. In the reconstruction of Maori society and customs prior to European contact in 1769, the study of archaeology has provided most knowledge of the 'prehistory period'<sup>9</sup> and the peopling of this land. Much debate still exists over Maori stages of settlement and the question of ethnic definition as to indigenous Maori versus migratory Maori. Archaeologists are still puzzled over the growth of warfare in Maori society prior to contact with the European in the 17th century, particularly the spread of paa fortifications<sup>10</sup>.

Early European ethnographers such as Elsdon Best, Percy Smith and others have contributed greatly to the body of knowledge concerning Maori society including warfare practices. Other contributors include early surveyors, soldiers and missionaries whose written narratives of experiences with the New Zealand native give some shape and form to Maori war practices. However most of these records were written by non-Maori.

Much debate has ensued between Maori and non-Maori scholars over the historical interpretation of Maori custom including warfare. Sir Apirana Ngata in his address to the Wellington Branch of the Historical Society in 1928 questioned the objectivity of early European writers in recording Maori history. Their observations do "*not carry conviction to the descendants of the people they passed in review*"<sup>11</sup>. Ngata felt that many Maori compositions and literary pieces were not recorded in their original unadulterated form as they were expurgated and bowdlerised to conform with the delicate social manners of the time. This argument has been echoed by more contemporary historians. James Belich in his book "*The New Zealand Wars: A Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*" questions the objectivity of the recording of New Zealand war history in the 19th century. He argues that the interpretation of historical war events was subjective and unfairly prejudiced against the Maori due to the prevailing Victorian attitudes of the time. Objectivity in the recording of historical fact was subsumed by the Anglo-Saxon view of racial superiority and the need to maintain this stereotype. Jeffrey Sissons in his book "*Te*

*Waimana: Tuhoe History and the Colonial Encounter*” comments on Elsdon Best’s work by saying “*Elsdon Best...sought to force Tuhoe traditional history into the mould of Western historical history*<sup>12</sup>”. Sissons challenges Western trained historians to decolonise their sources of primary information and re-think the recording of Maori history. This view has continued into the analysis of Maori warfare based on written records. Vayda in his monologue “*Maori Warfare*<sup>13</sup>” has been criticised as being culturally myopic and lacking any real understanding of Maori thinking and social norms. Contemporary Maori academics have decried the monocultural treatment of Maori knowledge and have championed the need for a bicultural approach which clearly recognises Maori epistemological knowledge. This conceptualisation of Maori knowledge has been realised through the Kaupapa Maori educational approach. Tuki Nepe articulated the Kaupapa Maori approach as being built on the oral traditions of the Maori<sup>14</sup>. Makareti succinctly expressed the need for indigenous understanding in the following statement:

*“ A person has to...understand all the Maori customs, knowing why he does certain things and not others, before he can sit down and write about the Maori. Otherwise his criticisms lack understanding”<sup>15</sup>*

This monocultural approach to recording Maori war history has also been compounded by the lack of military analysis. Very little work has been done on analysing Maori war practices using any military methodology such as wargaming, tactical appreciations and even close-quarter battle analysis of Maori weaponry techniques. All forms of Maori war analysis has been mainly confined to the social science disciplines of archaeology<sup>16</sup>, anthropology and ethnography

In order to compensate for the inherent weaknesses existing in current works to date, it is proposed that a multi-disciplinary approach using Maori oral traditions, Maori weaponry practices, terrain reconnaissance and western military doctrine be explored to reconstruct Maori war practices.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Ngata A.T. Sir, The Price of Citizenship, Whitcombe and Tombs, Wellington, 1943 p15

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p15

<sup>3</sup> Belich James, The New Zealand Wars: A Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1986, pp319-323

<sup>4</sup> Comment by Despard in Parham. B and Ryan. T, The New Zealand Colonial Wars, Wellington, New Zealand, Grantham House, 1986, p22

<sup>5</sup> Cowan James, The Maoris in the Great War, Maori Regimental Committee, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, Auckland, 1926, p2. Cowan reports 'a distinguished General said that the famous Gurkhas were but children as compared with the Maoris'

<sup>6</sup> This definition of warfare is based on a synthesis of definitions based on the Oxford Dictionary, Clausewitz, Sun Tzu and my own opinions of Maori warfare.

<sup>7</sup> Groups in this context can range from small whanau groups of 20 family members through to a 1000 strong tribal army based on alliances of hapu.

<sup>8</sup> This definition of war is based on a synthesis of definitions taken from two key military strategists, the Prussian officer Carl von Clausewitz and the Chinese scholar Sun Tzu. See Carl von Clausewitz, On War, trans and ed M. Howard and P. Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984) and Sun Tzu, The Art of War, trans Thomas Cleary (Shambhala, Massachusetts, 1988)

<sup>9</sup> Davidson Janet, Maori Prehistory: The State of the Art, Journal of the Polynesian Society, Volume 92, Number 3, 1983, pp291-307

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp300-301

<sup>11</sup> Ngata Sir A.T. The Genealogical Method as Applied to the Early History of New Zealand, (An address delivered to the Wellington Branch of the Historical Society) 1988, p3

<sup>12</sup> Sissons Jeffrey, Te Waimana, The Spring of Mana: Tuhoe History and Colonial Encounters, University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 1991 p288

<sup>13</sup> Vayda A.P. Maori Warfare, Polynesian Society, Maori Monographs No 2, Wellington, 1960

<sup>14</sup> Nepe T.M. Te Toi Huarewa Tipuna: Kaupapa Maori: An Education Intervention System, Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1991, p15

<sup>15</sup> Makareti, Old Time Maori, New Woman's Press, 1987, (first published (posthumously) by Victor Gollancz Ltd 1938), p76

## CHAPTER 2 - METHODOLOGY

### 2.1 Intent

The intent of this chapter is to outline the theoretical framework and the research design used in the undertaking of this thesis.

### 2.2 The Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework used is based on the Maori concepts of cosmology. The guiding hypothesis held by the author is that the cosmological beliefs of the Maori contained scientific truths based on generations of empirical observation and environmental awareness. As the main subject of this thesis focuses on the combat aspects of war, Maori gods have been selected on their relevance to the art and science of warfare.

#### 2.2.1 Defining Maori Gods

Within Maori cosmology, the Maori gods can be associated with particular human attributes as well as possessing physical world manifestations<sup>1</sup>. However some gods have more clearly definable characteristics whereas for others this information has been lost. Within the context of this theoretical framework, the Maori gods that the author has selected for this study of warfare are as follows:

ATUA	PHYSICAL MANIFESTATIONS	HUMAN ATTRIBUTE(S)
TUU	Human	Conflict and aggression
RONGO	Cultivation	Peace and healing
TANE	Terrestrial	Knowledge and well-being
WHIRO	Destruction	Hatred and negativity
TANGAROA	Aquatic	Potential <sup>2</sup>
TAWHIRIMATEA	Meteorological	Variability and Change <sup>3</sup>

The wananga or bodies of knowledge relating to these selected atua were explored to distil the relevant information and inter-relationships that impacted on the art and science of warfare.

In summary the following aspects of warfare knowledge were attributed to the selected Maori gods:

- Tuu.** The wananga of Tuu contained the protocols and practices involved in preparing the human mind and body for battle and war.
- Rongo.** The wananga of Rongo contained the protocols and practices relating to the brokering of peace and the art of healing.
- Tane.** The wananga of Tane contained the protocols and practices that reflected the impact of the land and land-creatures on war.
- Tangaroa.** The wananga of Tangaroa contained the protocols and practices that reflected the impact of the sea and sea-creatures on war.
- Tawhiri.** The wananga of Tawhirimatea contained the protocols and practices that reflected the impact of the weather and meteorological phenomena on war.
- Whiro.** The wananga of Whiro contained the protocols and practices that reflected the predatory behaviour of humans and the negative, scavenger aspects of nature.

### 2.3 The Research Design

The following summary briefly describes the process that the author used to apply the theoretical framework:

- Literature Review.** A wide selection of primary and secondary literature sources were used to obtain information that could be used to develop my theoretical framework.
- Oral Histories.** The use of Maori oral histories and traditions to illustrate key points.
- Maori Close Quarter Fighting.** The use of taiaha and patu wananga to assist in the reconstruction of Maori war practices.



Terrain Reconnaissance. The use of terrain reconnaissance and the reconstruction of battle scenarios using paa sites and battlefields.

Military Doctrine. The use of military doctrine to assist in the reconstruction of war practices and strategies.

## 2.4 Use of Oral Histories

An oral history methodology offered a number of approaches that was used to elicit information on the bodies of knowledge subscribed by the aforementioned Maori gods. Oral compositions from the pre-contact period were used to recreate the emotional, intellectual and physical state of the composers at the time of composition. Many compositions were written for many reasons. The content of such compositions give valuable insight into the Maori viewpoint of the world including warfare. The many categories of compositions contain allusion to warfare in a number of ways and provide evidence of how war was fought. Compositions were written to express the emotional responses to victory or defeat in battle, to lament the death of a warrior, to raise the passions of a war-party prior to battle, to curse the enemy and to simply act as an outlet for the passions of human nature. Ngata says the following:

*“ with regard to the laments they also have a pattern of their own; the pain of sorrow agitates the mind, and this finds expression in intense longing, complaining words, mournful lamentation and cries of anguish. This is accompanied by the scourging and lacerating of one's flesh, the gods are called upon, and farewell tribute is paid to the dead; following this comes the cursing of the men or people who did the killing, and then the call is made to the warrior relatives to go forth and seek revenge ”<sup>4</sup>*

The oratory on the marae, the communal gathering area of Maori, provide another forum for the conduct of war but using the thrust and parry of words. *Whana korero* referred to the thrust, the parry, the withdrawal and attack as a means of eliciting information in the subtle game of ritual encounter. It invites in terms of classic oratory the second party to respond orally or physically to the taunts of the tormentors<sup>5</sup>. These verbal battles were very real and marae tikanga or protocol reflected the precautionary measures such as the now defunct waerea (protective charms) and the sitting of the women behind the men on the paepae as a form of protection against makutu or psychic attack.

The whole gamut of Maori compositions such as *whaikorero*, *pepeha*, the naming of places and people, *haka*, *waiata*, *moteatea* and ritual *karakia* are explored to obtain insights into Maori war practices and concepts.

### **2.4.1 Key Sources of Oral Histories**

The primary source of oral histories was the Nga Moteatea series compiled by the late Sir Apirana Ngata. The gamut of oral compositions ranging from the sacred ritualistic laments through to the disparaging kaioraora showed the volatile mix of emotions invoked by war and grief. The accompanying notes to these compositions were an invaluable source of information that gave much insight into the Maori psychology of war.

Terminology and tribal sayings were again used to illustrate certain aspects of war. Even in dire circumstances the Maori displayed a remarkable ability to play on words. Unpublished manuscripts, oral recordings of elders, land court minutes and oral communication with knowledgeable persons still living all provided oral examples that were used to illustrate aspects of Maori warfare. These examples were also synthesised with relevant information gleaned from the review of existing literature written on the subject. Appendix One is a list of Maori war and weaponry terminology compiled during this study.

### **2.5 Use of Maori Close-Quarter Fighting Methodologies**

Tribal wananga still practice close-quarter fighting systems based on the traditional Maori hand-held weapons, mainly the short club (patu), the long staff (taiaha) and variations. The practice of these weapons provides an insight into the warfare customs of the Maori. The training, the weaponry techniques, the tactical manoeuvres and the accompanying oral histories associated with such practice can assist greatly in reconstructing the Maori view of warfare. The other major consideration to note is that the close-quarter fighting methodologies varied from tribe to tribe. Weaponry protocols varied significantly. This aspect of research relied on unpublished manuscripts from knowledgeable persons on Maori war protocols, oral interviews with practicing exponents and the author's own experiences with the art.

Taiaha and patu wananga are held in various iwi locations. Some are short two-day weekend marae sessions while others are part of a more comprehensive training curriculum comprising different stages of skill undertaken at different geographical locations. Some tribes are quite guarded as to the content of the knowledge imparted.

All wananga have generic components that are common. These include a basic weapon description, protocols on handling and conduct, onguard positions, weapon and foot drills, weapon strikes and parries, battle formations and procedures. In addition other forms of knowledge such as karakia (rituals), haka

(war dances), kori tinana (physical fitness), moteatea (chants), reo (language), rongoa (healing), waka taua (war canoe skills), whakairo (carving), whakapapa (genealogies) and tribal tikanga (tribal customs) are practiced.

It is in the tribal customs that variations occur. Some have different approaches towards women. Also one weapon movement can have many different names depending on the tribe or the chief instructor. For example the diagonal on-guard position with the taiaha can be called Whakapae (Te Arawa), Popotahi (Te Arawa), Otaki (Tuhoe), Tumatauenga (Takitimu) and Tauwhiro (Ngati Porou)<sup>6</sup>.

Much information has been gained from participating in and observing taiaha and patu wananga. To this end the author has in the past organised joint-venture wananga between the New Zealand Army and tribal taiaha experts. In addition the author has also battle-tested taiaha moves against sword attack, pickhandle and spade as part of New Zealand Army training aimed at synthesising traditional taiaha movements with contemporary battlefield applications.

## **2.6 Use of Terrain Reconnaissance and Battle Reconstruction**

The author has conducted terrain reconnaissance of 24 paa site and training areas on the East Coast (See Appendix Two). Other tribal battle areas outside the East Coast that the author has visited include the Wanganui river, Mokoia island, Waiouru and Taranaki. The terrain reconnaissance of East Coast paa sites, battlefields and training grounds has provided much information on the influence of terrain on battle tactics and war strategy. Many paa sites were located on high ground with steep cliffs protecting various flanks. In one case a paa site was located on top of a mountain. The key factors examined when conducting reconnaissance were the approaches to the paa, ambush sites, terrain vulnerabilities, signs of man-made obstacles, sentry locations, water sources and possible withdrawal routes. The prevailing wind direction and vegetation was also noted particularly if fire had been used to flush out paa occupants.

A battle reconstruction exercise was practiced on the East Coast using a selected group of local secondary school students from Ngata Memorial College<sup>7</sup>. A local paa site located near Ruatoria called Te Taumata Hekeroa was used for this exercise. The students had to devise plans of defence and attack according to pre-arranged rules of conduct. Another battle exercise involved the group moving as a formation along a war trail to a local paa site called Tokaanu, near Tuuparua. Male students were selected for advance and rear-scout groups while the female students formed the main body. The

outcomes of these exercises was that much valuable information was gained about the tactical disposition of forces, the difficulty of communication, the idiosyncrasies of individual personalities, and the need for great physical stamina and strong leadership. The collective experiences shared by the students gave a better appreciation of the factors affecting battle planning.

## **2.7 Use of Military Doctrine**

Military doctrine contains the “*fundamental principles which guide an Army*<sup>8</sup>”. New Zealand Army military doctrine can be used in the reconstruction of the battle tactics and war strategies of the Maori. Critical factors such as the strengths and weaknesses of opposing forces, fighting capabilities, terrain and climate analysis, logistics, leadership and morale are universal and apply to warfare regardless of the ethnicity or cultural make-up of the combatants. The major differences are the cultural, political and technological contexts in which these universal military factors are taught and practiced.

The New Zealand Army has just recently moved from an attrition warfare doctrine to a manoeuvre warfare doctrine. Attrition warfare was characterised by the raw application of frontal force against an enemy, using incremental physical destruction, until basically the stronger side won. It relied on the presence of superior combat power and an overwhelming numerical advantage. Attrition warfare is the ‘strong-arm’ approach to war that attrites the enemy’s forces. Manoeuvre warfare is the destruction of the enemy’s forces by striking at vulnerabilities, while avoiding strengths, in order to inflict defeat. Manoeuvre warfare is the ‘cunning’ approach to war that focuses on enemy weaknesses. The Maori practiced both attrition and manoeuvre warfare during the pre-European period but resorted almost exclusively to manoeuvre warfare tactics when confronted with the musket and cannon of the British forces during the New Zealand Wars.

Military doctrine can be used particularly to elucidate training, tactics, strategy and peace-making protocols. In this respect the author has called on his own military training and experiences as a New Zealand Army officer during the course of this study.

## **2.8 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Theoretical Framework**

The main strength of the theoretical framework is that it is built on an unique Maori concept of cosmological thinking that underpins all Maori expressions of art and science. An example of this holistic balancing of roles is shown in the marae ceremony. The marae ceremony begins first with the wero

ceremony which comes under Tuu, then the karanga under Rongo, then the whaikorero under Tane-te-wananga, then the hongiri under Tane-whakapiri followed by the hakari under Rongo<sup>9</sup>. Each ritual or institution is a microcosm of the wider universal whole. This balance is replicated in the construction of the whare-nui, in the carvings, in the tukutuku and in the kowhaiwhai. This balance also illustrated in the construction of the war canoe with the various carvings and the trail of feathers representing the gods of land, sea, and air.

By examining each Maori god separately it is possible to identify aspects which have a primary and secondary influence on the subject under study. In this case the study is human warfare therefore Tuu takes the primary position as the Maori god of war. However to neglect the influence of the other gods is to look at warfare as being a discrete, separate event rather than being part of the continuum of human existence.

Another strength of the theoretical framework is that it can be used in any area of study employing any of the five human senses of sight, hearing, touch, smell and taste. Each Maori atua has visual symbols, certain sounds, particular smells, tastes<sup>10</sup> and forms of touch<sup>11</sup> that reflect the essence and energy of the particular god. This theoretical framework can be used in health, the visual and aural arts, the business arts and even in understanding the scientific laws of cause and effect. This is an attempt to validate Maori cosmology as containing scientific principles of human understanding and universal awareness rather than the puerile myth interpretation that was expressed by earlier European writers.

A weakness in the theoretical framework is that it is not fully inclusive of all the physical and human attributes of the Maori gods. A lot of this information has been lost. Therefore these manifestations and attributes need to be re-explored and re-discovered in order to develop this theoretical framework further. For example what taste, what sound(s) or even emotions can be linked with a particular god? What are the variations and permutations that exist? Also the influence of lesser-known tribal war-gods such as Uenuku, Maru, Aitupawa, Te Rehu-o-Tainui and others need to be researched more fully.

The role of women particularly in the creation myth needs to be explored. The author is aware that the content of this thesis may seem too male-oriented and so acknowledges this weakness. Women played an equally important role in the Maori society and so their contribution to war is a separate study of its own.

## 2.9 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Research Design

The major strengths of the research design is that it synthesises four separate methodologies into one collective methodology. The collective use of oral histories, Maori close quarter fighting methodologies, terrain reconnaissance and battle reconstruction, and military doctrine provide a greater insight into Maori warfare practices than if each one was used separately. The research design is mirroring the theoretical framework by attempting to use a holistic approach. This research will complement the archaeological, anthropological and ethnological literature that has been written about Maori warfare. In addition it will provide a Maori perspective into the description of customary Maori warfare practices that is lacking.

This research design can also be used to explore other areas of study such as reconstructing aspects of customary Maori life. It is flexible and can be adapted to meet other research requirements.

A number of weaknesses in the research design are evident. This thesis is a written record of a subject that is oral in its nature. It is written in English rather than in Maori and so some meaning and integrity is lost in this approach. The author apologises to Maori-speaking readers for this gross failing.

*“No reira, e hoa ma, ka nui taku whakamaa i runga i tenei ahuatanga. Na te mangere hoki”*

Also some difficulty was experienced in writing down some aspects of Maori culture that could be gazed on and ridiculed by the ‘uninitiated and ignorant’. Some things were written down than later removed from the text. For example, some aspects of Whiro were removed for the sole reason that some things are best left unwritten. The author is aware that there is a strong Ngati Porou emphasis on the oral histories used and so more research is required to highlight other tribal variations. Also the author acknowledges that due to lack of time and resources, insufficient use was made of the Maori land court records, Maori newspapers and other manuscripts housed publicly and privately. These invaluable sources of oral history need to be explored further.

However the most notable weakness of this study is that it is a written medium describing a subject which involves human relationships with the land and each other. This relationship cannot be explored using only objective analysis and logical thinking. The emotional dimension of this relationship must be acknowledged equally otherwise this thesis is most incomplete. This thesis cannot impart the sense of awe and feeling that comes from standing on an ancient paa site on top of a mountain looking towards the rising sun<sup>12</sup> (See Photo 1).

This thesis cannot describe the thrill and exhilaration that comes from hearing a peruperu war haka coming through the early morning mist on Mokoia island. This thesis cannot impart the sense of timelessness as one stands on the training ground, Kirikiritatangi, where the warrior ghosts of the past are as real as the sand and the wind. To fully understand Maori oral history one must return to the wide, open spaces where this history was first communicated. One must not reach conclusions based solely on the written word otherwise only an intellectual understanding of the mind is gained. The following lines in Maori perhaps express these emotional sentiments of the author.

*“..Ka tau koe ki Whareponga ki te wahi tu taua  
Whakarongo ki te whiu o te rakau  
Whakarongo ki te kirikiri e tatangi ee....”*  
*(“Return to Whareponga to where the warriors once stood  
and listen for the whistling blade,  
listen to the sands whisper....<sup>13</sup>”)*



Photo 1. Taitai Mountain near Ruatoria. An old pa site.

(Source: Hirini Reedy)

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Reedy, Arnold, Genesis and Creation Traditions, Tape 200, VUW, 1967

<sup>2</sup> The author has attributed this human quality based on the nature of water to change form, to flow according to terrain and force as well as its life-giving properties. The author believes that water has all the qualities necessary to demonstrate the fundamentals of strategy.

<sup>3</sup> The author has attributed these human qualities based on the turbulent, variable nature of the weather.

<sup>4</sup> Ngata A.T. Nga Motiatea Part 2, The Polynesian Society Inc, Wellington, 1961, p xvii

<sup>5</sup> Philips, F.L. Nga Tohu a Tainui Vol 2, Tohu Publishers, Otorohanga, 1995, p257

<sup>6</sup> Information gained from attending several mau taiaha wananga and talking to taiaha exponents

<sup>7</sup> The author conducted a leadership challenge programme with Ngata Memorial College students in Ruatoria, East Coast over period 2-5 Dec 96.

<sup>8</sup> New Zealand Army, NZP12-Doctrine, Part One, para 1

<sup>9</sup> Awatere, A.M., ND

<sup>10</sup> He puukai a Rongo, he puukai a Tuu refer to "the heap of kumara, the heap of bodies". The taste of kumara compared to the taste of human flesh.

<sup>11</sup> Mirimiri or massage can be associated with Rongo whereas the clenched fist can be associated with Tuu.

<sup>12</sup> On 27 Dec 95, the author stood on Taitai mountain near Ruatoria at the site of an old paa.

<sup>13</sup> An extract from a composition written by the author in August 1994 for his daughter Te Kooanga.



## CHAPTER 3 - LITERATURE REVIEW

### 3.1 Intent

The intent of this chapter is to review existing literature that cover aspects of Maori warfare. The review will cover the historical recording of Maori warfare by early Pakeha writers through to the development of later works by more contemporary writers. Maori writers will also be covered in order to provide a Maori perspective. Finally comment will be made on Maori warfare as a literature subject.

### 3.2 Early Recordings of Maori Warfare by Pakeha Writers

The first written records of Maori warfare incidents began with Cook's first landfall at Young Nicks Head on 6 October 1769. This first encounter between Maori and European ended in bloodshed when Cook's sailors misinterpreted the Maori's ceremonial welcome<sup>1</sup> as recorded in the journals of Captain Cook and officers of the Endeavour<sup>2</sup>. The journals describes the haka and weaponry demonstrations as performed by the Rongowhakaata people of the East Coast during this first meeting. The narrative of the journals provide the earliest written records of Maori warfare.

Subsequent European settlers recorded their experiences and analysis of the Maori during the initial contact century of 1769-1869. Early New Zealand writers such as Joel Polack (*Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders 1840*), Edward Shortland (*Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders 1854*), Richard Taylor (*Te Ika a Maui 1855*), Judge Maning (*Old New Zealand 1863*) and others contributed to the recording of Maori warfare in their writings. The treatment of the subject of warfare within these earliest writings was done within the framework of the Maori as a new social and racial phenomenon. Warfare narrative was interspersed with the recording of cosmological tradition, song and dance and other social behaviour.

Sir George Grey was one of the earliest writers of Maori warfare, both as an academic and as a protagonist, during his role as Governor of New Zealand from 1845 to 1853. In 1851 he founded the New Zealand Society which was the forefather of the New Zealand Institute, a scientific body that did early research on Maori custom including warfare practices<sup>3</sup>. Grey used the services of his Maori advisor, Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke of Ngati Rangiwewehi, to produce his publications *Ko Nga Moteatea me Nga Hakihara o Nga Maori (1853)*, *Ko Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna (1854)* and *Polynesian Mythology*

(1855). These works were recognised as great contributions to the recording of Maori custom and traditions although Grey did not fully acknowledge Te Rangikaheke's work and made alterations to it.<sup>4</sup> In his preface to *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna*, Grey articulates to the European reader his own view of Maori "traditions as puerile" however he does contain useful excerpts of oral tradition such as karakia, moteatea and other compositions.

Other writers such as John White followed on from Grey and earlier writers. In 1879 White was appointed as the compiler and writer of an official Maori history where he produced six volumes of *The Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythology and Religions*. This work was favourably reviewed by Pakeha scholars such as Edward Tregear and others who were all impressed with White's translations of Maori song and chant. However it is not known what Maori opinion was at the time. Recent scholars have criticised White's collecting, recording and preparation of tradition for publication<sup>5</sup>. Some have suggested he falsified sources and took information without acknowledgement. Others have questioned his competence in the Maori language. Criticisms aside, as a historical novelist and a collector of traditions, he made a distinctive contribution to the literature on the Maori.

Other early historians and ethnologists that contributed greatly to the recording of Maori warfare practices included Percy Smith, Edward Tregear, Judge Gudgeon and Elsdon Best.

Percy Smith co-founded the Polynesian Society in 1892. This was in response to the widespread belief that the Maori was a dying race and that the Society would protect and preserve traditional Maori knowledge before it disappeared. During his time Smith produced a number of works including *Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes of New Zealand in the Nineteenth Century*(1904), *Maori Wars of the Nineteenth Century*(1910) and *The Lore of the Whare Wananga* (1915). This latter work *The Lore of The Whare Wananga*, although acknowledged as a great contribution to Maori oral traditions, has been criticised as been Smith's re-interpretation of the writings of Hoani Whatahoro. Whatahoro had scribed for two Maori tohunga, Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu, 48 years prior to the publication of Smith's work. Little acknowledgement was given to Whatahoro.

Edward Tregear was a co-founder of the Polynesian Society with Percy Smith. His work *The Maori Race* (1904) attempted to correlate the writings and views of earlier writers into the one publication. He

provides a very good description of Maori war practices and comments on the physical endurance of the Maori<sup>6</sup>.

Elsdon Best is perhaps the best known of all early New Zealand ethnographers. In the 1890s Best was sent by the Government to the Ureweras as a mediator for the surveying of lands. During this time he formed a relationship with Tutakangahau and Paitini Tapeka of Maungapohatu. Between 1904 and 1910 Best wrote his major work *Tuhoe, The Children of the Mist* based on the oral narratives of his Tuhoe informants. His many works were characterised by rich detail, the use of personal anecdote and poetic comparison. In 1910 Best was appointed to the Dominion Museum in Wellington where he published his first Dominion Museum bulletin "*The Stone Implements of the Maori*" in 1912. Over the next 16 years he would produce 10 substantial bulletins and numerous articles for the Polynesian Society thus establishing himself as New Zealand's foremost ethnographer. His works remain a valuable record. Of particular interest to this study is his work, *Notes on the Art of War as conducted by the Maori of New Zealand*, written for the Polynesian Society and the *Paa Maori* which was later published by the Dominion Museum. Although Best's work serve as a valuable record of pre-European Maori society he does seem to have been writing for an European audience. At times he was prone to making evolutionary and racial assumptions about the Maori that detracted from the ethnological value of his writings. Nevertheless his work still stands out for its breadth, detail and sheer volume.

Other Pakeha writers of the time such as Colenso and Wilson also contributed to the recording of Maori warfare history. Augustus Hamilton in his work, *Maori Art (1901)* has probably the best description and photographic record of Maori weaponry available in written literature of the time.

### **3.3 Further Developments by Pakeha Writers**

Further writing continued with James Cowan, Captain Gilbert Mair and others who provided narrative accounts of their experiences of the New Zealand Wars. Of particular note is James Cowan's *The New Zealand Wars Vols 1 and 2 (1922-23)* and Gilbert Mair's *Reminiscences and Maori Stories (1923)* which contain much interesting information on the Colonial war period, particularly the impact of new weapon technology and religious concepts on the Maori.

More recent Pakeha writers such as A.P. Vayda in 1960 added their theories on Maori warfare. Vayda wrote his much referred-to monograph "*Maori Warfare*"<sup>7</sup> where he attempted to define Maori warfare

using a hybrid framework based on his theory of evolutionary warfare derived from Papua New Guinea studies and loose military analysis. Vayda's work is largely based on early historical literature and lacks any real understanding of Maori culture and protocols of behaviour. He later develops his own theories on the impact of the musket and other forms of introduced technology on Maori warfare. Other academics such as Ballara<sup>8</sup> have written on the role of warfare in Maori society using the written records of earlier historical writers. Writers such as Vayda and Ballara tend to make the mistake of using Maori terms such as taua muru and taua toto in very loose terms without fully explaining their meanings in the right cultural context. This use of Maori terminology in this ad-hoc manner tends to be a flaw among more contemporary writers. Another question arising is that their arguments lose validity particularly if the earlier written evidence was prejudiced and heavily biased in favour of prevailing Pakeha attitudes.

This Victorian interpretation of early New Zealand war history has been articulated by Jamie Belich in *The New Zealand Wars and The Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict (1986)*. Belich argues that the recording of the New Zealand Wars was subjective and did not fully acknowledge the successes of the Maori during last century. His revisionist study has prompted much debate and review of the earlier historical records however Belich's work is not flawless. He focuses too much on his own modern paa theory as been the pillar of Maori military successes without exploring other Maori offensive strategies that were as equally effective. Surprisingly he questions the validity of written historical records yet he does not use any other methodology such as oral histories to provide any alternative views to what has been written. This question of historiography concerning the writing of New Zealand military history has been raised by Sissons<sup>9</sup> and Keenan<sup>10</sup> who challenge scholars to critically re-examine the writing of New Zealand war history.

### 3.4 Social Sciences Perspectives

Other social sciences such as archaeology and anthropology have contributed to the reconstruction of Maori war practices, particularly in the area of paa fortification. Archaeologists such as Janet Davidson have attempted to provide a profile on Maori settlement but fall into self-inflicted quandaries over the definition of archaic Maori versus classic Maori. Although archaeology can provide insight into Maori warfare practices and behaviour there is an inclination to use parallel experiences of other researched indigenous people to try to reconstruct pre-historic Maori society. In the field of anthropology Sir Peter Buck, a well known Maori anthropologist, makes a most important contribution to the recording of Maori warfare and weaponry as separate chapters in his much celebrated work "*The Coming of the*

*Maori*<sup>11</sup>". Sir Peter Buck also served as the Second-in-Command of the Maori Pioneer Battalion during World War 1 which gave him first-hand experience of the rigours of war.

### 3.5 Contributions by Maori Scholars

In early last century Maori were quickly learning the skills of literacy such that men like Te Rangikaheke were producing voluminous amounts of manuscript that were quickly used by Pakeha writers. Prior to 1854, Te Rangikaheke had written 21 manuscripts as a sole author and 17 as a contributor for Sir George Grey. This amounted to nearly 800 pages of manuscript. Other scribes of the time included Hoani Whatahoro, Henare Potae and Mohi Turei who wrote down the works of learned men such as Matorohanga, Nepia Pohuhu, Mohi Ruatapu and Pita Kapiti to name a few. The remnants of these manuscripts are invaluable sources of information on Maori custom and tradition including warfare.

This passion for writing continued into the publication of local Maori newspapers as early as the 1850s. Early Maori newspapers such as *Matariki*, *Te Hokioi*, *Te Pipiwharacuroa* and others provided a forum for Maori scholars to comment on aspects of Maori culture. Scholars such as Mohi Turei, Henare Tomoana, Ropata Wahawaha, Tuta Nihoniho and others were active contributors to these newspapers. In addition Maori scholars such Tarakawa Takanui, Hare Hongi, Tuta Tamati and others were writing articles for professional societies such as The New Zealand Institute and The Polynesian Society. These articles are another important source of Maori information that give insight into Maori custom and tradition.

The Maori Land Court minutes provide another source of information on Maori warfare. In many cases the history of land blocks involved conquest and so provide a record of Maori war history. In the course of this study the Waiapu Land Court minutes relating to the Ngamoe Block at Whareponga were used as a source of information<sup>12</sup>.

Maori scholars continued to write on aspects of Maori life including warfare. Tuta Nihoniho wrote his monologue "*Bush Fighting on the East Coast*<sup>13</sup>" which included a section on Maori warfare under the title "*Nga Tohu a Uemuku*". This work was invaluable in reconstructing the Maori approach to war. It provided a description of the spiritual aspects which made up a large part of customary Maori warfare. This recording of Maori culture gained impetus under the efforts of Sir Apirana Ngata, Sir Peter Buck, Reweti Kohere and others. Sir Apirana Ngata's works are perhaps the most important because he recorded the oral compositions of the Maori in the *Moteatea* series. In his work "*The Price of*

*Citizenship*” he gives an exciting description of the Maori warrior and the relevance of this heritage to the men of the 28 Maori Battalion. Other works by Makareti, Pei Te Hurunui, Mitchell, Grace, Soutar and others have written tribal histories which invariably include descriptions of battles and warfare. Published and unpublished works by taiaha and patu exponents such as LtCol Peta Awatere, Whio Motu and Irirangi Tiakiawa have imparted information that is invaluable in the reconstructing of Maori warrior practices. Awatere’s description of the peruperu war-dance provides an unique perspective on the haka that is missing from all the Pakeha treatment of Maori warfare<sup>14</sup>.

### 3.6 Critical Comment

It is fair to say that all early writers, both Pakeha and Maori, have contributed to the recording of Maori war history. In the early works much ritual and narrative of war was captured as well as the recording of various battles and key warriors. Best’s treatise “*Notes of the Art of War*” is one of the most comprehensive written sources on the art of Maori warfare, subject to general criticism as articulated earlier.

Deficiencies in the early Pakeha recordings is that very little explanation of weaponry movements, weapon names, symbolism and ornamentation was given. The specific details of training and battle conduct is light with emphasis being on the recording of events in a logical, unemotive manner. Early Pakeha writers perhaps expressed the prevailing attitude of the time that the Maori were very much a revenge driven people who just seethed to destroy their enemies. Cannibalism and other so-called barbaric acts of war were interpreted through European custom rather than trying to explore the Maori concepts of spirituality which may have underlain such actions. The ideas of chivalry were not greatly expressed and were subsumed by the feuding theory which was a most common one of the time. Maori spiritual concepts that perhaps were manifested from the vast body of empirical knowledge gained from generations of experience were not given full credit as valid principles of thinking and reasoning. They were in many cases dismissed as puerile tales of the native mind rather than as expressions of universal understanding of the human and natural worlds.

The Maori contributions need to be explored further, particularly the unpublished manuscripts held privately and publicly, the early Maori newspapers, the Maori Land Court minutes and the Waitangi Tribunal claims. During the course of this thesis the author is only now becoming aware of the full extent of the amount of unpublished Maori history available on Maori warfare and other aspects of Maori life.

The status of Maori warfare as a literature subject is that it has very much been written by Pakeha writers starting with the early 1769 Journals of the Endeavour through to the writings of Belich, Salmond and others in the 1990s. There still needs to be literature written on Maori warfare that challenges the feuding theories and revenge-driven ideologies offered by earlier Pakeha writers. There still needs to be analysis of Maori warfare that is based on Maori concepts of understanding and protocol. The need for a Maori contribution to the writing of Maori war history was initiated 53 years ago by Sir Apirana Ngata at the end of World War 2. Sir Apirana desired that the Maori write their own unit war history based on the experiences of the Maori soldiers of the 28 Maori Battalion. In a letter written 18 March 1946<sup>15</sup> to a Maori Land Court Judge, Judge Carr, Apirana said “ the official unit history cannot hope to capture the feeling that comes from recording the first-hand experiences of the soldiers themselves...”. Ngata’s prophetic words were lost on the New Zealand historians of the time. The official history of the 28 (NZ) Maori Battalion was written by a former Pakeha Army officer by the name of J.F. Cody.

*“No reira e koro Api, kei te tarai ana matou, nga mokopuna, ki te whakatutuki  
i nga wawata i waihotia e koe i nga tau kua taha”*

## NOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> Salmond A. Two Worlds, Penguin Books, Auckland, 1991, p125
  - <sup>2</sup> Beaglehole J.C(Ed), The Journals of Captain James Cook on his voyages of discovery Vols 1. The Voyage of the Endeavour 1768-1771, At the University Press Cambridge for the Hakluyt Society, 1963.
  - <sup>3</sup> William Colenso describes the Maori propensity for war as part of his scientific analysis "On the Maori Races of New Zealand" in the Transactions of Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute (TPNZI) Vol1 1868
  - <sup>4</sup> Curmow J. 'Wiremu Mahi Te Rangikaheke: His Life and Work,' in JPS, 94, No 2, Jun 1985 ,pp97-147
  - <sup>5</sup> Reilly M.P.J., "John White: an examination of his use of Maori oral tradition and the role of authenticity " MA thesis ,Victoria, 1985
  - <sup>6</sup> Tregear E., Physical Endurance in JPS, 2, 1893,pp71-73
  - <sup>7</sup> Vayda A.P.,1960
  - <sup>8</sup> Ballara Angela, 'The Role of Warfare in Maori Society in the Early Contact Period' in JPS 85 ,1976,pp487-500,
  - <sup>9</sup> Sissons J., 1991, p288
  - <sup>10</sup> Keenan D., The New Zealand Wars Lecture Notes, Vol 3, Massey University, 1995
  - <sup>11</sup> Buck Sir Peter, The Coming of the Maori, Maori Purpose s Fund Board, Whitcoulls, Wellington, 1950
  - <sup>12</sup> The author's great-great-great grandmother, Hana Maraea, was a claimant and a guide for the Ngamoe Block at the time of surveying in 1885
  - <sup>13</sup> Nihoniho Tuta, Narrative of the Fighting on the East Coast, 1865-1871 with a Monograph on Bush Fighting, [Annotated by Elsdon Best], Government Printer, Wellington, 1913
  - <sup>14</sup> Awatere A.M.,Book Review in JPS, 84,4, Dec 1975, p:34
  - <sup>15</sup> C-Company, 28 Maori Battalion Oral History Project 1994



## CHAPTER 4-THE COSMOLOGY OF MAORI WARFARE

### 4.1 Intent

The intent of this chapter is to determine the cosmological origins of war as defined by Maori oral traditions. In order to understand Maori war practices and behaviour it is necessary to explore Maori cosmological concepts that underpinned Maori thinking and behaviour. The Maori concept of the universe was that all things were related through the genesis of creation. The Maori was born of the universal parents, Rangi(the Sky father) and Papatuanuku(the Earth Mother) and was brother and sister to all things<sup>1</sup>.

### 4.2 Te Kore and Io Matua - The Maori Genesis

The most common Maori concept of genesis is based on Te Kore (The Void), a state of primeval energy that pre-existed everything else<sup>2</sup>. Te Kore was the seedbed of the universe in which all created things gestated. It was the womb from which all things were born. Within the realm of Te Kore there existed Io Matua, the Supreme Being of Maori divinity. Io Matua was the genesis of all things, the original consciousness, the original form. Marsden said that during the dormant phase of this pre-existence, the androgynous Io Matua held intercourse within himself, between the iho matua (his active, masculine aspect) and the iho mariri (his passive, feminine aspect). From this fertilisation the growth within Te Kore began. The cosmic genesis was represented by the evolutionary shifts in the primeval energy to produce form and order. The metaphysical begat the physical, the physical begat inanimate, the inanimate begat the animate, the animate begat the many life forms, the many life forms begat the human form (te ira tangata)<sup>3</sup>. This genealogy of creation is recited in the many karakia and moteatea relating to the Kauae Runga (celestial) knowledge as shown below.

*Ko te Kore  
Te Kore nui  
Te Kore roa  
Te Kore kimi-kimi  
Te Kore te kitea  
Te Kore te whaia  
Te Kore te whiwhia  
Ko Rawea  
Ko Hou-tupu  
Ko Hou-roa  
Ko te Ora*

*From the Void  
the widespread Void  
the prolonged Void  
the seeking Void  
the invisible Void  
the elusive Void  
the destitute Void  
harmony then  
new growth  
extended growth  
Tis life<sup>4</sup>*

### 4.3 Te Ira Atua - The Maori Gods

From the cosmic fertilisation the cosmological concept of Ranginui and Papatuanuku evolved to represent Sky and Earth, the male and female, the positive and negative aspects that make up all things. This Maori interpretation of the law of polarity can be applied from the infinitesimal through to the infinite. The coupling of Ranginui and Papatuanuku was split open by Tane in order to bring about the emergence of light and energy “*ka puta ki te whaiao, ki te ao marama (come into the world of light, into the light of day)*”<sup>5</sup>.

The children of Ranginui and Papatuanuku numbered seventy in total<sup>6</sup>. Collectively they were known as te Ira atua, the Maori gods. The cosmological concept of the Ira atua was that these Maori gods had dominion over the natural world. The Ira atua also governed human behaviour. The better known Maori gods were Tane (terrestrial realm), Tangaroa (aquatic realm), Tawhirimatea (meteorological realm), Rongo (cultivation), Haumiatiketike (uncultivated food), Whiro (realm of death) and Tuu (warfare). Maori gods had many names to represent their functions and realms within the natural and human worlds. The characters of the gods passed through many gradations from Tane Te Waiora (Tane the procreator) to Whiro Tipua (Whiro the evil one)<sup>7</sup>.

There was no department of human activity, no operation of nature that was not under a presiding god or gods. The smallest detail of life was ordered by the ancient Maori according to ritual or observance ascribed to an appropriate god. These observances included protocols based on cosmogenic beliefs as well as the empirical knowledge of bush-lore, sea-lore, navigation, astronomy and agriculture gained through centuries of observation and experience with the natural environment<sup>8</sup>.

### 4.4 War between the Maori Gods

Contained within the Ira atua concept is the genesis of conflict. Firstly the children of Ranginui and Papatuanuku dissented over Tane’s separation of their parents. Tawhirimatea became hostile and attacked his brothers. Tawhirimatea attacked the forests of Tane, wreaking havoc on the trees and the forest life. Tawhirimatea then attacked Tangaroa and his offspring of the sea. Rongo, the kumara and Haumiatiketike, the fern-root, sought protection within the earthly bosom of Papatuanuku. Tuu, the Maori god of war who in the form of man, was the only one who withstood Tawhirimatea. Tuu then took utu (revenge) on his brothers cowardice by eating their offspring and using them for tools.

There are many accounts of conflict between the Maori gods and their offspring. From the mau rakau (weaponry) traditions, Tuu and Rongo warred with each other for control of a maara or garden called *Pohutukawa* which symbolised the physical world. Tuu in his conflict with Rongo sought assistance from *Rurutangiakau*, one of the lesser deities of the forest. A son, *Akerautangi*, a tree with two faces and four eyes, was given as a weapon for Tuu. This is one version of the cosmogenic origin of the taiaha - the long fighting staff used by the Maori warrior<sup>9</sup>.

The universal battle between the forces of light and darkness was fought between Tane and Whiro at the battle of Paerangi. Tane was chosen by Io Matua to enter the highest heaven to collect the three baskets of knowledge to give to humankind. Tane was challenged by Whiro who wanted the baskets. This event is contained in the composition by Tuhotoariki<sup>10</sup>:

*Haere mai e Tama, i te ara ka takoto ia Tane-matua  
Kia whakangungua koe nga rakau matarua na Tuu-mata-uenga  
Ko nga rakau tena i patua ai Tini o Whiro i te Paerangi*

The three baskets of knowledge contained all the esoteric and exoteric knowledge known to mankind<sup>11</sup>. One of the baskets, the Kete Tuatea, contained the knowledge of war. It was given to the Ira tangata.

#### 4.5 Te Ira Tangata - The Human Form

Te Ira Tangata concept was based on the Maori cosmological belief that the first human created was female. She was called Hine-ahu-one (Maid from the earth) and was created from sacred earth taken from the mons pubis<sup>12</sup> of Papatuanuku (Mother earth). Tane was responsible for the creation of Hine-ahu-one and so was given the name Tane te Waiora (Tane the procreator).<sup>13</sup> According to Best<sup>14</sup> Tane called on the other gods to contribute to the creation of Hine-ahu-one. However it was Tane te Waiora who breathed life into the mouth and nostrils of the molded form. This heralded the beginning of the first human.

*Ka oho, ka oreore, ka tu, tihei mauriora  
It awakened, it stirred, it stood, it sneezed the first breath<sup>15</sup>*

The forming of Hine-ahu-one is also celebrated in Rangiuiua's lament.

*He uri au no Tane, i hangahanga noa ra  
i a Hine-ahu-one; Ka tu te ringaringa  
Ka tu te waewae, Ka tu te mahuna..  
I am a descendent of Tane, who created  
Hine-ahu-one; the hands were formed,  
the feet, then the head<sup>16</sup> .....*

Although the human body was made from earth through Hine-ahu-one, the life-force and the faculties of the mind came from the heavens through Tane. In death the body returns to the earth but the life-force returns to the cosmos.

The Ira tangata concept also contains the seeds of conflict that manifests itself in human behaviour. Tane cohabited with Hine-ahu-one and produced a daughter, Hinetitama (Dawn Maid). Tane later cohabited with Hinetitama which led to the shame of incest. The shamed Hinetitama then became Hine-nui-te-po, the goddess of death.

Contained within the Ira tangata concept is the Maui Complex of Myths<sup>17</sup>. The demi-god Maui demonstrated human attributes that can lead to conflict situations such as being born the youngest sibling, brotherly rivalry, deceit, adventure and a disdain for death and the unknown.

#### 4.6 War within Maori Society

The Ira atua and the Ira tangata concepts can be used to explain the causes of conflict that affect human kind. The continuum of conflict within Maori society was expressed in varying degrees of intensity and violence. It started with the war of words, the oratorical encounters that were part of the marae intercourse. These engagements of words were fought in deadly earnest and were often the precursors to physical confrontation. The following saying adds testimony to these verbal encounters:

*“He tao kii e kore e taea te karo, he tao rakau ka taea ano te karo”*  
*(The spoken word cannot be parried, but the wooden spear can)<sup>18</sup>*

Defeats and victories were retold through whaikorero and were vehemently expressed in the waiata kaioraora. These songs were uncensored, explicit expressions of revenge and unbridled loathing towards ancient enemy<sup>19</sup>. These marae encounters could result in the performance of haka and song as each group tried to out-perform the other. Sometimes duels were fought in front of the people as protagonists settled differences on the marae. The tao or spear was frequently used in duels to settle private quarrels for some affront such as the abduction of a woman, a curse or some other form of insult. Fierce encounters took place on such occasions but were seldom attended with fatalities<sup>20</sup>. Generally antagonists used weapons in accordance with prior agreement such as tao or taiaha. Only flesh-wounds were inflicted and no more blood was drawn than could be spared. The term *“To taua ata (we meet in the morning)”* was used to initiate a challenge. At the appointed time and place, the principals would meet and duel in the presence of friends and relatives who would attend to see fair play. It was generally understood that a mortal thrust was not to be given and a flesh wound received by either combatant would end the affair.

Other forms of conflict resolution was the use of the taua muru, the confiscation of land and chattels in order to right any wrongs and misdoings and the use of rahui (prohibition) to prevent the use of resources under conflict.

The continuum of conflict escalated into the declaration of war and the use of warrior force in the pursuit of emotional, territorial and political objectives. "*For land and for women men die*" was a traditional saying that the Maori used to define the primary reasons for the causes of war and battle. The use of war and battle to achieve desired outcomes was an integral part of Maori society. The simplicity and the ease with which the old Maori mobilised for war and to do battle was proof of this fact.

The continuum of conflict was dynamic with social mechanisms at each stage to offer peaceful resolutions to conflict situations. However the rapid deployment of a warrior force under the protection of Tuu to resolve an escalating threat was an ever-present reality within pre-European Maori society.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Reedy H.T., 1969

<sup>2</sup> Harrison Paki, personal communication, November 1995. This view is also supported by Marsden in "God, Man and Universe" in Te Ao Hurihuri -Aspects of Maori Tanga, King M (Ed), Reed, Auckland, 1975, pp 134-135

<sup>3</sup> Harrison P., 1995

<sup>4</sup> Ngata Sir A.T., "Waiata No 240, Explanatory Note 1" in Nga Moteatea Part 3, The Polynesian Society Inc, Wellington, 1970, p 203

<sup>5</sup> Harrison Paki, personal communication, 1992

<sup>6</sup> Best E., Maori Religion and Mythology Part 1, Dominion Museum Bulletin No 11 (Reprint), 1975, p75

<sup>7</sup> Ngata Sir A.T. "The Religious Mind of the Maori", unpublished manuscript, ND

<sup>8</sup> ibid

<sup>9</sup> The oral traditions of Te Arawa as told through the Mokoia taiaha wananga

<sup>10</sup> Ngata Sir A.T., 1970, p203

<sup>11</sup> Smith 1913, Best 1975, Ngata Sir A.T., ND

<sup>12</sup> Information contained in the Tuhotoariki lament. See Ngata Sir A.T., 1970, p201-205

<sup>13</sup> Ngata H.M., ND

<sup>14</sup> Best E., 1975, pp 121-124

<sup>15</sup> Kereama Rangi, personal communication, 1992

<sup>16</sup> Ngata, Sir A.T., He Tangi na Rangiua in Te Wananga, 2, 1930, pp21-35

<sup>17</sup> Walker R.J., 'The Relevance of Maori Myth and Tradition' in Te Ao Hurihuri Aspects of Maoritanga, King M(ed), Reed, Auckland, 1975, pp170-182

<sup>18</sup> Hamilton Augustus, Maori Art, Dunedin, 1901, pp180-181

<sup>19</sup> Ngata, Sir A.T., 1959, ppi-xxi

<sup>20</sup> Hamilton Augustus, 1901, p170

## CHAPTER 5 - TE KAWA O TUU

### (THE PROTOCOLS OF TUU)

#### 5.1 Intent

The intent of this chapter is to determine how did the Maori prepare for and participate in the combat aspects of war. This chapter will explore the protocols of Tuu, the Maori god of war.

#### 5.2 Tuu - the Maori God of War

Tuu was the Maori god of war who was held in the utmost esteem by the ancient Maori. Although his parents were not of human form, Tuu was created in the likeness of man<sup>1</sup>. Reedy and Awatere<sup>2</sup> said that Tuu had many names which described the warlike characteristics of his being. These names were compound words built around his first name, Tuu. George Grey in his work, *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna*, contains a karakia or invocation that calls on the many names of Tuu<sup>3</sup>. Some names of Tuu are as follows:

<b>Tuu-mata-uenga.</b>	Tuu the ugly faced war god.
<b>Tuu-matau-enga.</b>	Tuu the knowledgeable one of war.
<b>Tuu-mata-kakaa.</b>	Tuu of the flashing eyes.
<b>Tuu-mata-huki.</b>	Tuu of the twitching face.
<b>Tuu-mata-taawera.</b>	Tuu of the burning face.
<b>Tuu-ka-nguha.</b>	Tuu of the flared nostrils.
<b>Tuu-ka-riri.</b>	Tuu the furious one.
<b>Tuu-ka-korikori.</b>	Tuu the energetic one.
<b>Tuu-ka-mahuta.</b>	Tuu the agile one.
<b>Tuu-ka-maranga.</b>	Tuu the rising one.
<b>Tuu-marō.</b>	Tuu of the war apron.
<b>Tuu-mata-rau-wiri.</b>	Tuu of the quivering blade.
<b>Tuu-hapainga.</b>	Tuu the uplifting one.
<b>Tuu-hikitia.</b>	Tuu the inspiring one.
<b>Tuu-te-ihi.</b>	Tuu the impassioned one.
<b>Tuu-te-wehi.</b>	Tuu the fearsome one.
<b>Tuu-te-wana.</b>	Tuu the awesome one.
<b>Tuu-whakamana-ariki.</b>	Tuu the maker of heroes
<b>Tuu-kai-otaota.</b>	Tuu the eater of unripe fruits <sup>4</sup> .
<b>Tuu-kai-taua.</b>	Tuu the devourer of warriors.

The following is an extract taken from the oriori<sup>5</sup> for Tuuteremoana, by Tuuhotoariki, that calls on the faces of Tuu<sup>6</sup> to guide his son:

*I konei, e tama  
ka whakanao atu  
ki Pitoururangi  
ki a Tuumatakakaa*

*From here, son  
make your way  
to Pitoururangi  
to Tuu of the flashing eyes*

*ki a Tuumatahuki  
ki a Tuumatataawera  
ki a Tuumatarauwiri*

*to Tuu of the twitching face  
to Tuu of the burning face  
to Tuu of the quivering blade*

According to Tuhoë traditions, the patu (cudgel) weapon of Tuu was called *Te Roroku o te Rangi*<sup>7</sup>. A Te Arawa version of the origin of the *pouwhenua* weapon was when Tuu defeated another Maori god Tuhapairangi in battle. Tuu took his spear and thrust it through the back of the skull of his defeated opponent and out through the mouth. The protruding point was the basic design for the smooth spear point of the pouwhenua. When Tuu fought against Rongo his older brother he used the *akerautangi* which was perceived as the first taiaha weapon<sup>8</sup>.

The names of Tuu define the key qualities required by a warrior to be successful in battle and war. Aggression, a killer instinct, technical skill at arms, battle leadership, tactical knowledge, strategy and combat survival are all combat multipliers which win wars and battles<sup>9</sup>. The primary influence of Tuu on the Maori way of life was to shape the human mind and body for war and battle. The warrior rituals such as the dedications to Tuu, the training regimes and the inculcation of the warrior ethos all served to physically and psychologically prepare the warriors for the pain of battle and death. Ngata succinctly describes this aspect of warriorhood.

*"..The men were enured to hardship of all kinds; sleeping on the ground in heat or cold; fasting long periods then feasting; waiting patiently along forest tracks or dashing furiously in the face of physical obstructions. And their minds and spirits were tuned to the vagaries of Nature, to good fortune and adversity alike and to the caprices of their chiefs and womenkind. This ancient regime was an excellent school for the soldier, so that his accomplishments almost amounted to intuition or the unconscious responses of instinct. In taking cover on the exposed ground, tracking through the forest or finding their way home from any point of the compass the warriors of pre-Pakeha days were unsurpassed<sup>10</sup>".*

### 5.3 Te Whare Tangata (The Womb)

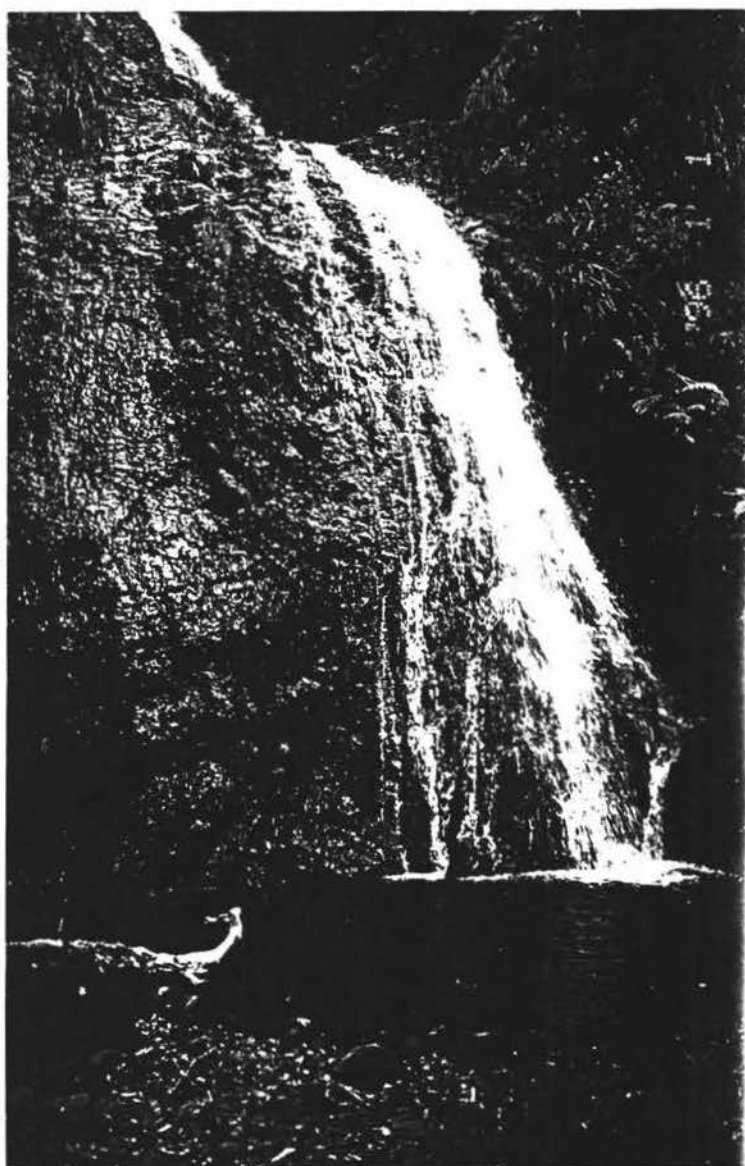
The first implanting of the warrior spirit began in the womb of the mother. The future of the unborn child could be pre-determined or navigated by the continual recitation of oriori (lullaby) by the mother during the period of pregnancy. Dedication to Tuu, the war god while the child was still in the womb was practiced by the mothers who sought to mentally influence the destiny of the unborn child. In Ngati Porou history, the prophetic words of Te Ataakura, an aggrieved mother, to her unborn son illustrated the maternal power of the mother to shape the future of her unborn child<sup>11</sup>:

*"Ko koe e takatakahi i roto i a au he tane  
E ai koe te mate o toku papa a Poroumata  
Let you who stirs within me be a boy-child  
so that you may avenge the death of my father, Poroumata<sup>12</sup>"*

The young boy grew to become Tuwhakairiora, arguably the greatest warrior in the history of Ngati Porou. He later fulfilled the prophecy of his mother by annihilating the tribe of his grandfather's murderers and establishing his mana in the history of the Ngati Porou. In Te Taitokerau, the story of Riria is another example of the maternal influence. Riria from Te Uri o Tai of Hokianga gave birth to twin sons on a deserted island after she had been abandoned at sea by a treacherous husband. She cared and trained her sons to avenge the wrongdoing done to her<sup>13</sup>. Certain signs at birth were interpreted as foretelling a great warrior. These signs included noho kahu (covered in membrane) or showing signs of teeth<sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup>. At birth the new-born child was dedicated to various gods who would shape and navigate his future destiny. The main ceremony of dedication was the Tua ceremony performed when the tangaengae (umbilical cord) fell away about seven days after birth<sup>16</sup>. The Tua ceremony was accompanied with the tohi or sprinkling of water (Photo 2). The following abbreviated invocation is called the Te Tohi no Tuu<sup>17</sup> and was intoned by the tohunga as he dedicated the child to Tuu:

<i>Tohi ki te wai no Tuu.</i>	<i>Sprinkle with the water of</i>
<i>Whano koe kia riri ai</i>	<i>Tuu. To make you enraged</i>
<i>kia niwha ai</i>	<i>To make you furious</i>
<i>ki te patu tangata</i>	<i>to destroy the enemy</i>
<i>ki te tomo paa</i>	<i>to scale fortresses</i>
<i>ki te patu whakaara</i>	<i>to eliminate sentries</i>
<i>ki te tu parekura</i>	<i>to be skilled at arms</i>
<i>Me homai hei</i>	<i>Give these qualities</i>
<i>whakatapu mo</i>	<i>as gifts</i>
<i>te tama nei</i>	<i>to this child<sup>18</sup></i>

Photo 2. Wahirere Falls at Hicks Bay. The tohi rite was performed here by Te Aotakii over Tuuwhakairiora before the battle of Hikutawatawa.  
(Source: Hirini Reedy)





#### 5.4 Akonga Tamariki (Childhood Training)

The young baby was part of a whanau unit which included parents, siblings and grandparents. The baby was exposed to the oral traditions through listening to oriori and other oral compositions which contained the histories and beliefs of his people<sup>19</sup>. Ngata poignantly describes this teaching in the following passage:

*"The crooning lullaby puts words and pathos into the voice of the gaunt grandmother who welcomes the newcomer into this world of trouble as an extension of an illustrious line and the avenger of some foul deed of the enemy. As she visualises the grim consummation of this dedication from birth the note of pathos gives way to the strident call to strike, to the shrill scream of victory, ending with the gloating gurgle of satisfaction that vengeance is achieved."*<sup>20</sup>

The recitation of whakapapa and tribal histories was part of the child's education<sup>21</sup>. Babies were massaged by their mothers and anointed with natural oils made from native plants. Boys were massaged on the head, face and limbs in order to build supple joints and strong limbs for manhood<sup>22</sup>.

Reedy<sup>23</sup> said that many childhood teachings were designed to inculcate qualities of alertness and reflex. At night the elders would narrate stories of tribal battles and warrior exploits to the young boys around the hearth fire. Naturally the boys would soon fall asleep. The elders would then begin to poke the boys with sharpened flax stems. The boys soon learnt to awaken quickly and avoid these attacks. The old men graduated to using manuka sticks heated in the fire and laid against the bare skin of the boys. The boys were being educated and prepared for the rigours of war<sup>24</sup>.

Maori children normally went without clothes until they were 6-8 years of age<sup>25</sup>. The Maori saying "tama tu, tama ora, tama noho tama mate" reflected the value the Maori placed on a strong physical constitution<sup>26</sup>. Children developed an awareness of their environment from an early age. Swimming in the local waterways, playing in the bush, traversing ridgetops and exploring the coastlines created a familiarity with the local environment. The children learnt about tidal movements, food gathering cycles, the growing seasons, the uses of local flora and fauna and the celestial bodies. This intimacy with the environment was commemorated in many tribal pepeha or sayings. The people of the Wanganui River say "Ko au te awa, te awa ko au (I am the river, the river is me)"<sup>27</sup> and is reaffirming their spiritual connection to the river.

Maori children also participated in games and recreation that developed eye-hand coordination and dexterity. Stick games such as ti rakau and titi torea developed the dexterity essential to the handling of weapons<sup>28</sup>. The handling of the poi was used to build wrist suppleness<sup>29</sup>. Hand games such as koruru

(knucklebones) and whai (string games) exercised the muscles of the fingers and hands for the handling of weapons. Military games such as dart evasion and mock battles using korari flax<sup>30</sup> stems allowed the children to understand the rudiments of tactics and strategy. Wrestling (mamau), boxing (mekemeke) and rock-carrying contests were all activities that built strong physiques and healthy constitutions.

### 5.5 Nga Whare Tu Taua (Schools of War)

Each iwi or hapu had schools where the fighting arts of Tuu were taught. The whare tu taua<sup>31</sup> was more than a physical house of learning but an institution of knowledge relating to the art of warfare and weaponry. Ngata describes these schools of war as follows:

*“...Among their institutions were schools where the art of war was taught by experts. We are told that there was such a one in the fighting pa on Kokai hill above Whareponga, the village where Te Moana Ngarimu was born. Young men seeking knowledge of the use of weapons flocked in from all parts of the East Coast. The guard, the feint, the thrust, the parry with the taiaha were all taught there. Quickness of eye and hand, the intelligence to anticipate a rival's attack or to spy out his weaknesses and the graces of style and deportment were all acquired in such training schools...”<sup>32</sup>*



Photo 3. Kirikiritangi training ground at Whareponga. Kokai hill is to the rear and was once the site of a school of war. The boys are mokopuna of this area (Source: Hirini Reedy)

Under the tutelage of a *tohunga mau rakau* or chief instructor these schools had *para whakawai* or parade grounds<sup>33</sup> located in riverbeds, beach fronts and in the bush. The names of Ngati Porou *para whakawai* such as *Kirikiritatangi* (*whispering sands*) and *Keke Pohatu* (*rattling stones*) allude to the martial exercises that were practiced (See Photo 3). Students were made to train in different terrain, night and day and under inclement weather conditions<sup>34</sup>. Fighting techniques and tactics were adapted to meet the variable nature of war. Movement drills and terrain familiarisation was practiced such that they were quickly able to move over deadfall, duck through undergrowth, scamper over wet rocks and climb out of gullies. Students practiced bushcraft such that they became attuned to the alarm calls of birds and insects<sup>35</sup>. They could detect body odours and had acute powers of observation that could pick up tracking sign. The bush was a teacher, an ally, a first-aid kit as well as a provider of food and shelter.

When the young boys were ready for formal instruction in the fighting arts of war they were tested to determine suitability for instruction. Selection tests were designed to identify the necessary qualities of warriorhood and leadership. The student could be left standing in one place for hours as a test of self-control<sup>36</sup>. He could be stripped naked and his body prodded with a stick to test his reflexes<sup>37</sup>. He could be required to stand unflinching while a *taiaha* or *patu* was swung inches from his face<sup>38</sup>. He could be made to stand in the snow or icy water naked for a period of time in order to test ability to endure the cold<sup>39</sup>. He could be asked to block a strike given by the instructor. If successful he was considered for entry. If not he received a painful blow and was rejected<sup>40</sup>. The selection method was deliberately rigorous as the *mana* and survival of the *hapu* depended on the quality of its warriors<sup>41</sup>.

## 5.6 Nga Rakau Maori (Maori Weaponry)

*“Kauwhangatia, ko te akerautangi, ko te paraoa, ko te pounamu”*

*(Instruct me in the use of the weapons, the akerautangi, the whalebone and the greenstone)*<sup>42</sup>

The training in the use of Maori weaponry was a core subject in the *whare tu taua*. Based on descriptions by Awatere, Best and Buck<sup>43</sup>, Maori weaponry can be broken into four main functional groups:

- a. **Rakau Taa (Single grip short cudgel type).** Rakau taa were the short cudgel type weapons of approximately 30cm. They were gripped in the *ringa matua* (master hand) and were used for close in-fighting. Generally constructed out of *pounamu* (greenstone), *onewa* (blackstone), *paraoa* (whalebone) and *rakau maro* (hardwood). Weapon design varied from the double-lobed splatulate

kotiate through to the dagger-like tete<sup>44</sup>. The rakau taa were functionally designed with centres of mass located at the contact points for maximum damage. The weapons were well-balanced and incorporated well-grounded edges and points for thrusting and ripping. Grooves in the handles allowed blood to run off. Notches in the blades of the kotiate and wahaika allowed the Maori warrior to drive the blade into the bowels of the enemy and then complete disembowling by withdrawing the weapon entangled with the intestines. These weapons could also be thrust into the temple of the enemy and the cranial cavity opened with a quick twist of the wrist. Potatau Te Wherowhero killed 150 prisoners in this way after the fall of the paa Pukerangiora<sup>45</sup>. The tau or thong of the weapon was important as it secured the weapon to the users hand. It also increased the lethal arc of the weapon by allowing it to be swung or used to trap and entangle an opponent's weapon.

- b. **Rakau Wero(Double grip spear type).** Rakau wero were the long spear-like weapons that were gripped in both hands. Rakau wero were generally made out of hard wood tempered in water and fire<sup>46</sup>. Weapon design varied from the 3m pike-like huata to the 1.8m three pronged matarau. The rakau wero were used mainly to defend attacks on paa palisades and to provide greater range.
- c. **Rakau Taa-wero(Double grip halberd type).** Rakau taa-wero were a family of halberd type weapons that combined both the striking cudgel blade and thrusting spear point into the one weapon. Weapon varied from 1 to 2m in length and consisted of the pouwhenua, the taiaha and the axe-like tewhatewha. Generally rakau taa-wero were constructed out of hardwood tempered with water and fire although there have been records of taiaha made out of whalebone and greenstone<sup>47</sup>. The rakau taa-wero were used in various attack and defence combinations as developed by their warrior owners.
- d. **Rakau Whiua(Projectile weapons).** Rakau whiua were projectile weapons that were designed to be swung or thrown<sup>48</sup>. These included the hoeroa(whalebone rib),the kotaha(the throwing stick), kopere(darts), the rorohu(a type of mace) and even the throwing of stones in battle. It has been suggested that hand-held weapons such as the mere were designed to be thrown and then retrieved<sup>49</sup>.

Ngata said that Maori weapons had their own spiritual significance and were “meticulously fashioned for utility and balance”<sup>50</sup>. These treasured weapons were handed down from generation to generation and often laid beside the bones of their former masters. New feathers, thongs and hafts (*kakau*) were then added to signify that the weapon had been passed on to a new generation<sup>51</sup>. Names were given to hint at their martial nature such as *Arerokapakapa* (quivering tongue)<sup>52</sup>, or *Te-Karere-o-Hinetamatea* (the messenger of Hinetamatea)<sup>53</sup>. Harrison says that the carving and the construction of the weapons reinforced the spiritual forces that were called on in war<sup>54</sup>. Special carving symbols were put on to the weapons in order to activate these forces and protect the user.

### 5.7 Te Mau Rakau (Skill at Arms)

Awatere said that the three main attributes required to master the use of Maori weapons was physical conditioning, mental quickness and instinctive reflexes. In weaponry classes, beginners or *pia* practiced with simple sticks learning the principles of balance, economy of effort, focussed aggression, explosive reaction and reflexes<sup>55</sup>. They later progressed to the use of the various weapons under the watchful eye of experienced warriors<sup>56</sup> where they learnt the thrusts, strikes, feints and parries applicable to each. Many hours of weapon drilling, using trial and error, allowed the students to analyse their own strengths and weaknesses and to fine-tune their bodies. Once having mastered these core skills the students then learnt the relative strengths and weaknesses of each type of weapon. Experienced students or *taura* then focussed on selecting a particular weapon that suited their body type and personality. They began to develop their own style. At this point their weapon became an extension of their mind and an elongation of their body<sup>57</sup>.

As part of the training the students also studied the human anatomy. Names were given to each body part as well as the internal organs. Actual bodies that had been killed in battle were used to show the location of the inner organs and the impact of weapon strikes on the body<sup>58</sup>. Other teaching aids such as *tahaa* (calabashes) were used to simulate the effects of a weapon strike on the human skull<sup>59</sup>. By understanding the anatomy the student learnt which parts of his own body to protect and which parts of the enemy to strike. This led to a knowledge of the vulnerable points of the body. Muscular motion and human movement was analysed into its constituent parts so that enemy movement could be anticipated. The warrior looked for subtle muscle movements such as the twitching of shoulder muscles, the gripping of the toes and the orientation of the total body to foretell the direction of an incoming blow<sup>60</sup>. Some

warriors had the ability of matakite (sixth sense) and were able to sense movement in the aia or auric energy fields that surrounded the human body<sup>61</sup>.

Whakatau waewae, the footdrills played a major part in the training for war<sup>62</sup>. The saying "waewae taumaha, kiri maaku (heavy feet, skin wet with blood)" was testimony to this fact. The Maori warrior depended on his legs and feet for survival and success in battle more so than strong arms and shoulders<sup>63</sup>. Leg conditioning supplied the explosive agility for close in-fighting, the ability to evade blows as well as the endurance to run long distances if pursued by the enemy. The student had to demonstrate the footdrills that replicated the innumerable fighting situations and ground conditions that were encountered in battle. The physical conditioning and preparedness of a war party was demonstrated in war haka and footdrills prior to leaving for battle<sup>64</sup>. Awatere describes the purpose of the peruperu, the war haka:

*"..The peruperu is the true war dance and is performed with weapons when the warriors come face to face with the enemy in battle. Because it is the true war dance its purpose ought to be explained. Hard conditioning makes the warriors physically and mentally fit to perform this dance which has the psychological purpose of demoralising the enemy by gestures, by posture, by controlled chanting, by conditioning to look ugly, furious to roll the fiery eye, to glare the light of battle therein, to spew the defiant tongue, to control, to distort, to snort, to fart the thunder of the war god upon the enemy, to stamp furiously, to yell raucous, hideous, blood-curdling sounds, to carry the anger, the peru of Tuumatauenga, the ugly faced war-god, throughout the heat of battle. Peruperu is the intensive form of peru 'anger' and this is how the war dance got its name, and that is its psychological purpose which no other form of haka could match in the past, can match now nor ever will. The peruperu ever took pride of place in the warrior-armour of the tamataane of yore..."*<sup>65</sup>

If the performance was lack-lustre and fault-ridden then this was a bad sign. The warriors were considered not ready for battle<sup>66</sup>. More training and preparation was required.

Whakatau rakau or the weapon drills were developed for each weapon. Each weapon had attack and defence drills that suited the design and utility of each one. The guards (ahai), strokes (taa), parries (karo) and feints (whakahoka) were assiduously practiced with both long and short weapons. Sequences of weapon and foot drills were grouped into weaponry forms that replicated Japanese kata sequences. These were sometimes modeled on the native birds and animals such as the hokioi (extinct hawk), the kuri (dog) or the torokaha (the lead rat)<sup>67</sup>. The names of these movements were poetic expressions such as "*Tauri mai e Koro ki te Pucui*" (*Immerse yourself my elder in the rippling waters*). This was a six movement taiaha form that was said to have been a part of a series of taiaha forms belonging to Te Rauparaha<sup>68</sup>.

Again students were taught to select a kaitiaki (guardian animal or phenomena) and to channel its energy into the weapon forms<sup>69</sup>. Students were also taught karakia or invocations to call on these energies during battle. There were karakia used to render weapons effective or those of the enemy ineffective, to speed one's feet or to hinder a pursuer. There were karakia to endow a person with strength or to weaken the enemy, to demoralise the enemy, to effect concealment and to render persons invisible to the enemy<sup>70</sup>.

Individual styles and blows were developed and mastered by the various warriors. Some mastered all weapons, some mastered ambidexterity while some developed new weapon movements. A left-handed fighter was sometimes called "*Maui-kai-tangata (Maui-devourer-of-men)*" in acknowledgement of the difficulty associated in parrying blows from a left-handed fighter<sup>71</sup>. In Ngati Porou history Pakanui was a renowned warrior who employed the topekura blow with the taiaha to cleave his opponent's forehead. When using the mere he preferred to crush the enemy's windpipe<sup>72</sup>. Te Otane of Ngati Kahungunu adopted the reverse horizontal low guard with the taiaha which became his trademark<sup>73</sup>. Sometimes a warrior would visit other whare tu taua of other iwi in order to seek out instruction from a noted master. Herea Te Heuheu of Tuwharetoa visited the famed Huahua of Ngati Maniapoto who was a noted master in the arts of weaponry. Under the teachings of Hua, he was able to extend his skill in the mastery of the pouwhenua and use it to defeat his rival Te Wakaiti and so establish the mana of the Te Heuheu line. Similarly Tamahae the great Te Whanau a Apanui warrior learnt weaponry from various masters including his own grandfather, Apanui Ringamutu, who encouraged him to master ambidexterity<sup>74</sup>. Some tribes had no distinguishing weaponry style such as Tuhoe whose style was said to be "no style"<sup>75</sup>. Each warrior adopted a personal style that suited them.

Students graduated from the whare tu taua after 5-7 years of training<sup>76</sup> subject to the urgency to bear arms. Their graduation ceremony was on the battlefield.

### **5.8 Te Mura o te Ahi<sup>77</sup> (Battle Experience)**

The young untried warriors sometimes encountered war at an early age. Boys as young as twelve were considered to be old enough to participate in battle<sup>78</sup>. The onset of pubic hair was another sign of readiness<sup>79</sup>. Kohere refers to how Te Whanau a Apanui brought a boy of chiefly descent called Maaka Te Ehutu with them on their war expedition to feast on the hearts of Ngati Porou chiefs<sup>80</sup>. The term, *Ati-a-toa* referred to youths who had not been blooded in battle and their hands had not yet been soiled with blood<sup>81</sup>. The youths graduated on the battlefield as toa taua or warriors and then progressed in experience

until they were termed “*he toa taua kua puukengatia (well-experienced warriors)*”, or “*arero-whereo (fully blooded warriors)*”<sup>82</sup>. A warrior whose fame was known to many was called “*he toa taumata rau*”<sup>83</sup>. This battle-experience combined with weaponry skills, personal presence and leadership qualities led to the recognition of Ika-a-whiro rank which denoted a much experienced and accomplished warrior. Such warriors could be distinguished by the emblems of their rank such as the white crane plumes, the hawk feathers, the dog-skin cape and the taiaha-a-kura<sup>84</sup>. The other indication of rank would be the scars of battle and the evidence of wounds gained in combat.

The Maori was always prepared for battle<sup>85</sup>. He was armed whether he was harvesting food, snaring wildlife, fishing or traveling afoot. Weapons were hung near doorways so that they could be found easily in the dark<sup>86</sup>. The term “*urunga tapu, urunga paraoa (sacred greenstone pillow, whalebone pillow)*” referred to the act of sleeping with the patu pounamu and the patu paraoa as pillows so that they could be drawn instinctively if attacked while asleep<sup>87</sup>. Preparation for battle depended on the immediacy of the conflict situation. If under surprise attack then preparation time was minimal. The following extract highlights this:

*“..Messengers were running like mad in all directions to call in stragglers;the women were carrying fuel and provisions into the paa...all men were working like furies putting this fort to rights,getting it into fighting order,mending the fences,clearing the ditches...The repairing of the stockade went on all one day and all one night by torchlight and by the light of huge fires lit in the inside. No one thought of sleep”*<sup>88</sup>.

The main battle clothing worn by a warrior was his maro (war apron) and sometimes the pukupuku (flax armour). The pukupuku was a thick woven band about 15 cm wide and 5m long, that was soaked in water, and wrapped around the upper body like body armour<sup>89</sup> to protect against spears. The whakapuru-tao was a protective covering wrapped around the non-weapon hand and used like a shield to absorb blows when fighting with a patu. The war belts or tu taua to which the maro was attached were sometimes 20cm wide sufficient to afford protection to the vulnerable stomach. They were also used to secure the short handled weapons as well as hold the spoils of war such as the top knots of defeated warriors<sup>90</sup>. Warriors normally carried two weapons into battle. A long weapon for middle range fighting and a short weapon for close-infighting. Sometimes a warrior would have a slave who carried spare weapons, food, his cape and sometimes would come to his master’s assistance if needed.



Sometimes warriors prepared themselves for battle by mentally rehearsing in their minds a successful outcome in battle. They would affirm by words and by action the fighting techniques they would use to defeat an enemy warrior in battle. Rongoitekai, the Aitanga-a-Mate warrior who avenged the death of his tipuna, prepared himself mentally for the fight with their killer, Tutawhiwhirangi. In training he happened to strike a small winged insect with his taiaha and he apostrophised to himself as he buried the insect “*Na Tutawhiwhirangi tonu te taiaha ki au, haere tomu taku hiki, a ko ia*” (*Tutawhiwhirangi will make the first move, I will bring my taiaha up and he will be mine*)<sup>91</sup>. He killed Tutawhiwhirangi with the same movement that he had practiced with the insect. Tamahae, the Whanau-a-Apanui warrior, defeated the Rongowhakaata warrior, Kuriteko, in his mind before he defeated him in battle. He prophesied this outcome when he destroyed a clump of tutu at Maramarama-te-rangi waterfall during training. He affirmed these words “*E Kuriteko, Naku ano te taiaha kotahi atu, taku taiaha ra hoki i whakaheia i runga o Maramarama-te-rangi*” (*Kuriteko, my taiaha is the only one, my taiaha that is been prepared for you here on Maramarama-te-rangi*). Tamahae fulfilled his own promise and killed Kuriteko<sup>92</sup>.

The Maori loved the thrill of hand-to-hand combat<sup>93</sup> and the opportunity it presented for them to demonstrate their strength<sup>94</sup>, skill and ability in a time-honoured way<sup>95</sup>. The battles of the Maori were dynamic affairs with rapidly changing situations from bush skirmishes by scouting parties through to full frontal confrontations between opposing armies. The excitement of battle is conveyed in the following war cry:

<i>“E tama na Rangi! Kati ra te moe e</i>	<i>O son of Rangi, cease thy slumber</i>
<i>Maranga mai ki runga, e mau ki to patu</i>	<i>Arise, stand forth and take thy battleaxe</i>
<i>Korero i o tohu, te kura takai puni</i>	<i>Speak of what portends, is it the onward charge</i>
<i>te toka tu moana, i te tukutahi whakarere.</i>	<i>The searock formation, the tumultuous headlong rush</i>
<i>Waiho i Tai-whakaea, i te Hawaiki-pepeke</i> <sup>96</sup>	<i>to victory through storm, rain and snow</i>

Each warrior had their part to play. In many cases war parties were whanau units comprising grandfathers, fathers, brothers, cousins and other relatives. Names such as *Te Tokotoru a Kokamutu* (*The Triad of Kokamutu*) referred to the three sons of Kokamutu who were great warriors of Tuhoe and always fought together<sup>97</sup>. *Nga Kuri Paaka a Uetuhiao* (*The Brown Dogs of Uetuhiao*) were the three warrior sons of Uetuhiao from Aitanga a Mate hapu of Ngati Porou. At the battle of Te Maniaroa on the East Coast, Apanui Ringamutu, was the overall battle commander for Te Whanau a Apanui with his grandson, Tamahae, being a subordinate commander.

The typical action sequence of a warrior engaged in close combat could be broken into the following stages<sup>98</sup>.

- a. **Advancing to Engage.** The warrior has identified and selected his immediate opponent. He advances to engage his opponent. Much posturing and foreplay is undertaken as each warrior advances towards the other issuing grimaces of defiance and intimidation. Quivering weapons are held in various guards ranging from the crucifix-like marangaiareare guard<sup>99</sup> through to the stooping awhipapa guard where the weapon is dragged behind.
  
- b. **Engage.** (See Photo 4). The warriors engage each other by entering the lethal zones as determined by the arcs of their weapons. The first warrior to get in three blows normally gained the advantage and won the encounter. This zone could be broken further into two ranges<sup>100</sup>, *whawhai areare* (long halberd range) and *whawhai apitu* (short cudgel range). If fighting with a taiaha much feinting (*whakahoka*) preceded a whitiapu blow with the blade or a whakarehu thrust with the point. If fighting with the short patu or kotiate the emphasis was on getting to within arms reach as the taiaha lost its effectiveness at close range. The mode of fighting with the patu or kotiate was to spar with the enemy until an opportunity presented itself, to step in (*urutomo*) and give a sharp jab (*tipi*) with the blade edge towards a vulnerable point such as the temple area or the belly<sup>101</sup>. A quick twist of the wrist would open up the top of the cranial cavity or snag the intestines. A reverse strike with the handle end (*reke*) could further disable the enemy. The patu fighter relied on quick footwork and agility to evade blows and so the Maori had terminology to describe these evasive actions. To evade a blow was called *tuku*<sup>102</sup>. To catch a spear in the crook of the arms was called *okooko*<sup>103</sup>. To parry a weapon with the arms was called *tui*<sup>104</sup>. To avoid a weapon by bending the body was called *tohi*<sup>105</sup>. Sometimes a thick war cloak called a *whakapuru-tao*<sup>106</sup> was wrapped around the non-weapon arm and used like a shield to parry blows.
  
- c. **Break Contact.** The engagement period could be very quick, lasting a period of one to four breaths<sup>107</sup>. In this time one warrior may have been successful and has defeated his opponent so he seeks a new opponent. Alternatively neither opponent has gained any advantage and they break contact in order to seek another opening. If evenly matched both warriors may seek lesser opponents within the battle<sup>108</sup>.

- d. **Reorient.** The warrior is now seeking a new opponent. In many cases a great warrior may be double-banked (poke) by several opponents<sup>109</sup> and so he will need to be moving through these stages of combat instinctively.



Photo 4. A Close Quarter Engagement between Taiaha and Tao (spear).  
(Source: National Museum)

Extraordinary feats of arms exist within tribal traditions about the prowess of champions in battle. Great warriors such as Tuwhakairiora of Ngati Porou and Potatau Te Wherowhero of Waikato demonstrate the hallmarks of greatness by combining their technical mastery of weaponry with the instinctive use of terrain to single-handedly defeat attacking war parties. Some warriors gained the distinction of ika huiarua<sup>110</sup> status whereby they killed two warriors simultaneously using both ends of their taiaha. One warrior ancestor Te Aowera of the East Coast has been credited with killing seven warriors with one continuous

taiaha manoeuvre<sup>111</sup>. Warriors were given names that suggested their greatness. Te Purewa of Tuhoe was called "*Te pakihwi kaha o te huatahi o Kokamutu (The strong shoulder of the lone son of Kokamutu)*"<sup>112</sup>.

On the battlefield when opposing armies confronted each other champion warriors sometimes challenged other to a contest of arms, tau-mataki-tahi<sup>113</sup>. The principals were sometimes accompanied by one or two seconds called piki. These contests of arms could either be one-on-one fights to the death (matataki-a-Whiro)<sup>114</sup> or contests of skill. In the fights to the death the side which won augured well for the ensuing battle as the first slain in battle was called the fish of Tuu. The Maori considered it a propitious sign to catch the first fish of Tuu. In the contests of skill, certain korapa or faults were noted by the spectating armies. When Te Piariari of Ngati Pukeko and Te Ika Poto of Tuhoe engaged in single combat Te Piariari made a quick sweep of his taiaha at Te Ika Poto. Te Ika Poto started and stepped back. The Ngati Pukeko spectators applauded Te Piariari and cried "Kua korapa, kua korapa a Te Ika Poto" (Te Ika Poto has flinched, he has faulted)<sup>115</sup>.

The course of the ensuing battle depended on the outcome of these single contests of arms. A noted warrior could vanquish in quick succession several of the enemy. The main bodies of both armies may then withdraw from the battlefield under mutual consent without having fought. Alternatively the single contests could precipitate a full scale battle where both armies fought head to toe against each other until one side was defeated. In the event of a rout, fleet footed warriors would pursue the fleeing enemy and dispose of them on the run. Warriors would keep tallies by keeping the koukou or topknots of their victims as confirmation of their kills<sup>116</sup>. Slaves would be taken, chattels confiscated and executions performed as necessary. Battles would be named after the terrain on which the battle was fought<sup>117</sup> or after some notable aspect associated with the battle<sup>118</sup>.

Warriors would return to their homes and families complete with the booty of battle including slaves, possession and bodies to be savoured in the victory celebrations. The war tapu was removed in the whakanoa and takapau hurihanga ceremonies<sup>119</sup>. This allowed the warriors to return back into their homes and families. Weapons were neutralised and washed clean of the blood of war.

## 5.9 Te Ika a Whiro (War Leadership)

Ika-a-Whiro denotes a proven, well experienced warrior who has fought many battles<sup>120</sup>. The expression Ika-a-Whiro carries overtones of skill at arms, efficiency in the use of strategy, excellence in the use of tactics and assets of character that come by long, fighting experience as judged by well-trying warriors themselves. An Ika-a-Whiro was respected by his elders and peers in matters of war and was normally chosen to command the hapu or iwi forces in battle. A Maori war leader needed to possess the technical and tactical skills as well as the personal presence to inspire confidence in his followers. Leadership was by personal example in battle rather than by formal rank<sup>121</sup>. Warriors would give their support depending on the performance and competence of their leaders.

### 5.9.1 Mobilisation for War

Once war had been declared then mobilisation began<sup>122</sup>. A war council was formed from the leading Ika-a-Whiro warriors of the allied hapu and iwi who had assembled to fight against a common enemy. Initial battle planning would occur. Various options of attack would be considered. A taua toto<sup>123</sup> was a war party that was immediately raised and deployed to avenge a disaster. A taua ngaki mate<sup>124</sup> was the more deliberate mobilisation of a war party with emphasis being on the planning and making of strategy. A taua muru was a war party sent to recover material possessions as a means of redress<sup>125</sup>.

As part of the mobilisation, a paa was selected as the concentration point where the contributing hapu met to train and prepare as an army prior to deploying<sup>126</sup>. Tamahae the Te Whanau-a-Apanui warrior prepared his warriors by making them run up a steep hill, Te Ahikaa, near Raukokore. Tamahae would place selected warriors at various points up the hill to test the warriors on their way up. Finally Tamahae would wait at the top where he would give the final weaponry test and select those warriors who passed<sup>127</sup>. Similarly Tiitokowaru used his sacred taiaha, *porohanga*, to select those warriors most suitable for the ensuing battle. During this mobilisation phase the war council would identify possible battlefields and key terrain that would impact on the ensuing conflict. An appreciation of all the key planning aspects were debated and discussed on the marae as how best to fight the battles and win the war. Sand diagrams and dirt models constructed of fern and earth were used to war-game the battle strategies as well as divine which battle groups would be victorious<sup>128</sup>. Rehearsals of battle formations and counters were practiced. Instructions were given to each group as to what their roles in battle were. Control measures<sup>129</sup> such as command signals, routes to be taken and logistical support were all finalised.

In moving from the concentration area towards the selected battlefields the Maori adopted several modes of movement. Typical sizes of battle groups were based on the Hokowhitu-a-Tuu (140 warriors) grouping<sup>130</sup>. These groups would aggregate to form one large army or operate as smaller groups in accordance with the prearranged battle plan<sup>131</sup>. The terrain and the enemy threat determined the mode of movement employed. The *kaikape*<sup>132</sup> single file mode was adopted in close country where the main body of warriors had an advance element forward to uncover any ambushes. A further variation was the four pointed, *Te Hei o Tahoka*<sup>133</sup>, mode where the main body had security elements covering all four flanks. Sometimes battle groups moved along in single files on parallel axes towards the enemy.

The army might meet at a puni or predesignated rendezvous point<sup>134</sup> where final battle preparations might take place. Scouting parties<sup>135</sup> would be sent forward to gain information on the enemy and to infiltrate their positions if possible. Final instructions were then given to subordinate chiefs<sup>136</sup> and their roles confirmed. Most planned attacks were carried out at an appointed time with probing attacks prior to the main attacks. A common attacking time was at first light, *te tuki-ata*<sup>137</sup>.

The appearance of a certain heavenly body such as *Kopu* (Venus) or the use of *haka* were means of initiating battle. The *Nga Puhi* *haka* “*Ka eke i te wiwi*” was performed by *Nga Puhi* before they charged a *paa* and it was the signal to start the attack:

<i>Ka eke i te wiwi</i>	<i>Reach the outer defence</i>
<i>Ka eke i te wawa</i>	<i>Capture the inner palisade</i>
<i>Ka eke i te papara huai</i>	<i>Storm the citadel</i>
<i>Rangi tumu huia</i>	<i>and the chiefs shall fall</i>
<i>A ka eke a ka eke</i>	<i>Onward, onward</i> <sup>138</sup>

### 5.9.2 Battle Tactics

Each battle was a unique situation that demanded appropriate tactical responses as the battle developed. Each side in battle explored various options depending on whether they were meeting on a prearranged battlefield or defending their *paa* against an unexpected enemy attack. Sometimes enemy leaders met to discuss the ensuing battle and openly explained the disposition of their own forces and their battle-plans to each other. It seems that much *mana* was gained from having told the enemy your battle-plans and then still defeating him in battle. The number of acceptable casualties were also discussed thus challenging the common misconception of earlier writers that Maori were ruthless fighters who spared no quarter. This aspect is portrayed in *Ngati Porou* history at the battle of *Te Maniaroa* where *Kauwhakatuakina*, a

warrior of the Ngati Porou entered the camp of Apanui Ringamutu of Whanau a Apanui and disclosed the disposition of his own side. From the heights of Te Koau overlooking the battlefield (See Photo 5) he said *“Ara to hoariri e haramai i te taha o te tai, ko nga mea kei uta nei na to waewae ena e whana atu”* (Your threat is the group approaching along the beach, as for those ones inland you can kick them out of your way).

Kauwhakatuakina then returned to his own side.



Photo 5. Te Maniaroa. A famous battlefield where Ngati Porou and Te Whanau-a-Apanui fought  
From this vantage point Kauwhakatuakina discussed the army dispositions with Apanui-Ringa-Mutu.  
(Source: Hirini Reedy)

The Maori employed a number of war strategies ranging from infiltration and subterfuge<sup>139</sup> through to attrition warfare where warriors faced each other and fought to the last man. Six battle tactics<sup>140</sup> that the Maori used combined a mix of manoeuvre and attrition warfare:

**Manu Kahaki.** Used to entice an enemy into pre-arranged ambushes.

**Ruatapuke.** Drawing an enemy on to a battlefield where he is completely trapped.

**Parera Nekeneke.** A running battle as part of a delaying defence to slow a pursuing enemy or disperse a bigger force.

**Ruahine.** Fighting in close formation at short range.

**Toka Tu Moana.** A favoured tactic where the enemy is engaged at short range and everyone takes part.

**Kawau Maro.** A tactic used where a solid wedge formation is used to penetrate and destroy the enemy.

The Maori adopted battle formations that best suited the overall battle-plan. Battle formations<sup>141</sup> included *poupoutahi* or *takituu* (column), *whakapae* or *taparahi* (extended line), *porotaka* or *porowhita* (circle), *tapawha* (square) and *kurutao* (arrowhead). Many variations of these battle tactics and formations were adopted depending on the terrain, the enemy threat and the overall battle-plan. The *whana tukutahi* was described by Ngata<sup>142</sup> as a tumultuous headlong charge into the enemy ranks and was seen as a precursor to the famous bayonet charges of the 28 Maori Battalion. The *kura-takahi-puni* was a crushing frontal attack on the enemy while the *kura-takai-puni*<sup>143</sup> was an encirclement manoeuvre with secondary attacks aimed at penetrating the enemy's outer defences. The Maori sometimes combined the two by fixing the enemy with a frontal attack and then performing encircling pincer attacks to the flanks and rear. The Maori style of warfare was fluid by nature and flexible by command.

### 5.9.3 The Battle Commander

During the battle the overall battle commander would locate himself and his party in a position where he had clear observation of the battle<sup>144</sup>. His party would comprise his *tohunga*, the bearer of the *amorangi* or the standard of the tribal war-god, one or two personal bodyguards called "*awaroa*"<sup>145</sup> and a select group of slaves who carried spare weapons<sup>146</sup>, food, water and acted as messengers if required. The battle commander would then control the battle by deploying his battle groups under the command of selected warriors. Battle signals would be communicated using pre-arranged movements of the *tewhatewha* or *taiaha*, blowing the *putaatara* (conch) or deploying messengers. Sometimes the battle commander may be involved in the actual fighting as was the case of Tuuwhakairiora at Hikutawatawa.

Sometimes special groups were given key roles to play in the battle such as cutting off withdrawing enemy, attacking the *whare-o-te riri* (the main enemy threat) or being a reserve shock force<sup>147</sup>. Rangamaro was a group of warriors dedicated to destroying the enemy or being destroyed in the process<sup>148</sup>. Puumanawa was a group of rearguard warriors who halted and attacked pursuing enemy in



order to allow their own forces time to escape<sup>149</sup>. Pokaitara or kairakau was a group of elite warriors that were used to shock and rout the enemy forces<sup>150</sup>. Toa maneanea were warriors or slaves<sup>151</sup> chosen to eliminate certain enemy chiefs<sup>152</sup>.

Battles would be won or lost depending on the leadership. Many a battle has been snatched from the jaws of defeat by a chief declaring that he would be prepared to die where he stood and not yield a further step. Rangitihī, the Te Arawa chief, rallied his flagging warriors through personal example when he continued to fight on after having had his skull split open and later bound with akatea vine<sup>153</sup>.

Many great leaders also exerted strategic political leadership gained through battle conquest by creating alliances within their areas of influence. Tuwhakairiora cemented his military leadership and control by placing his sons and close relatives at key geographic points along the East Coast. Alliances formed around these family links were called on in times of war. Similar examples exist with Rangitihī and his pumanawa e waru (his eight children) who later formed the eight major hapu groupings of Te Arawa<sup>154</sup>. *Te Kupenga a Te Huki* is a Ngati Kahungunu saying meaning “*the far thrown net of Te Huki*”. Te Huki, a Ngati Kahungunu chief, ensured safety and peace for his people from attacks by strategically placing his children from several different marriages in various tribal locations. Each one was, symbolically, an important float in the net<sup>155</sup>.

#### 5.9.4 The Death of an Ika-a-Whiro

The death of an Ika-a-Whiro in battle was an event that evoked much grief among his people. Many compositions and oral histories describe the courage in which great warriors met their death sometimes under cruel and painful circumstances if they were captured. In the thirst for vengeance for fallen kin the old time Maori was absolutely cruel and exacted every drop of pain and humiliation from their unfortunate victims before killing them. They drank their blood, skinned them alive, roasted them alive, disemboweled and ate them alive or force-fed them faeces and urine. Even in such dire circumstances the Maori displayed a state of mental control and wit that sometimes exceeded their physical situation. Tamakitekapua, the Te Whanau-a-Apanui chief, was taken prisoner by Tuhorouta, the Ngati-Porou warrior, who tortured him and fed him kumara mixed with urine while buried in a hole. Before being executed Tamakitekapua remarked on the quality of Tuhorouta’s hospitality who then killed him in a fit of frustration<sup>156</sup>. Another chief killed one of his captor chiefs and covered himself with the tapu blood so that he would not be eaten after he was killed. In another case a baby chief was killed by his failing protectors

in order to prevent him being raised as a slave by the conquering enemy. Warriors sometimes ate the parts of the anatomy associated with the key attributes of a defeated warrior. Hongi Hika and his men ate the thighs of Te Houtaewa, the fleet footed Te Aupouri warrior who was a famous warrior in his time. Nga Puhi warriors were also known to eat the genitals of the fallen enemy as a symbolic gesture of eating the victim's offspring and eliminating his seed from the face of the earth<sup>157</sup>. Key weapons were also taken. Sometimes the death of a great leader and the desecration of his body demanded utu or revenge

Some great warriors such as Tuwhakairiora were undefeated in battle and died of old age. In their twilight years they played more of a strategic role in war, leaving the actual fighting to their sons or grandsons as was the case with Apanui-ringamutu and his grandson, Tamahae of Te Whanau-a-Apanui<sup>158</sup>.

#### 5.10 Nga Wahine Toa (Female Warriors)

The roles of woman in the preparation and the conduct of battle cannot be understated. As shown previously the efforts of Te Ataakura and Riria in shaping the destinies of the warrior sons right from birth highlights one of the warrior roles of woman. This educative role was taken even further when one East Coast ancestress, Tamateaupoko, trained her warrior sons, Uetaha, Tahania, Raramatai and others in the art of war and weaponry so that they could avenge the death of her father and reclaim lost land<sup>159</sup>. In many cases warrior sons were known by the names of their mothers such as Nga Kuri Paaka a Uetuhiao (The Brown Dogs of Uetuhiao), Te Tokotoru a Kokamutu (The Triad of Kokamutu) and Te Koau Tono Hau a Te Ataakura (The wind-soaring cormorant of Te Ataakura<sup>160</sup>). Sometimes warriors named their weapons after their mothers such as Tuterangikatipu, a great Ngatiporou warrior who named his axe, *Te Karere o Hinetamatea (Messenger of Hinetamatea)* after his mother, Hinetamatea. Te Otane, the famous Ngati Kahungunu warrior named his taiaha and his mere after his mother and grandmother.

Women also served as priestesses of war. One woman tohunga, Hinehau of Nga Puhi from Whangarei was famous for her prophecies of war. Even in death she decreed "*Place my bones in the wahitapu, in the cave at the foot of the hill. On the eve of any battle the chief must sleep beside them and my mana will ensure success. Disobey my command and you will suffer defeat*<sup>161</sup>". Hinekou of Ngati-Manawa was another celebrated kuia matakite who recited ancient incantations, read the signs of earth and sky, interpreted dreams and performed ceremonies to defeat the enemy<sup>162</sup>.

Women often accompanied war parties and took part in the fighting. Cases have been observed in which women fought alone and defeated the enemy. Best describes how a band of Ngati Pukeko women defeated the Ngati-Manawa tribe in battle at Manga-tara “ *the Amazons displayed wonderful courage and knowledge of the art of war. With hair cropped short and bodies nude they charged into the enemy with such force as to throw them into confusion. Moenga specially distinguished herself, she fought with paiaka, hewing down the enemy on all sides*<sup>163</sup>. ” Many women were also adept at wrestling and were able to carry great loads on their backs to resupply the warriors on the war path. During the New Zealand Wars, Maori women participated as combatants such as Takiora, a scout for Von Tempsky of the Forest Rangers, Hine Herewaka, the mother of Captain Tuta Nihoniho and Heni te Kirikaramu, the woman defender at Gate Paa who gave water to the British wounded.<sup>164</sup> At the battle for Te Mawhai Pa at Tokomaru Bay, East Coast in 1865 when under attack by the Hauhau, the defenders comprised mainly three young women, Te Rangi-i-paea, Mere Arihi te Puna and Heni te Pahuahua who shot the attacking Hauhau. They were assisted by three old men who kept loading their guns and some of the older women who hurled rocks down on the attacking Hauhau. The women successfully defended the paa in spite of the men all being away at the time<sup>165</sup>. This showed that women had to possess skills of weaponry and war in order to protect the paa when the men were away.

Women have also used their womanly charms to multiply the battle-efforts of their menfolk by seducing and capturing the attention of the enemy. In Te Aitanga-a-Mate history on the East Coast, Raukohe a Maori woman and her twin daughters, Rautu and Raumarie, were taken captive by an enemy war party. Raukohe assisted the rescue attempt of her brother Rangirakaikura by performing an erotic haka which mesmerised her captors and allowed her brother’s rescue party to gain the tactical advantage and surprise the enemy<sup>166</sup>.

Te Aokapurangi of Te Arawa showed great initiative when her people on Mokoia Island were being besieged by Hongi Hika and his Nga Puhi forces. As she was married to the Nga Puhi chief, Te Wera Hauraki, Te Aokapurangi asked Hongi Hika to show clemency to her people. He responded by saying that all those who passed between her thighs would be saved. Te Aokapurangi then responded by sitting on the gable of the whare-nui, Tamatekapua, with her legs astride and told her people to enter inside the house. In this way she was able to save many of her people. This event is commemorated in the saying: “*Ko te whare whaowhao o Te Aokapurangi (The crammed house of Te Aokapurangi)*”<sup>167</sup>

One of the greatest contributions women made to warfare was not on the battlefield, but in the field of composition. Many of the derisive songs or *patere*, songs of defiance and curses or *kaioraora* and laments or *waiata tangi* were composed by women. Ngata said *“that women as a group predominate as composers...laments composed on the death of warriors in battle were usually the composition of women; and they manifested their grief by lacerating themselves when mourning the loss of a husband in battle...The abusive or derisive songs and the songs of defiance were inspired as the result of disparaging words from among the womenfolk; or because of a severe defeat in battle, a woman would lacerate herself, utter curses, and be quite beside herself with grief. The men were often on the trail of war seeking blood revenge. The women would be at home awaiting their return, and many thoughts would come to them which found an outlet in the composition of songs.”*<sup>168</sup>. Women would sometimes sate their grief for the loss of a loved one by killing captured enemy as revenge.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Oral narrative contained in the publication, Tane-Nui-a-Rangi, Auckland University, 1990 p24
- <sup>2</sup> Awatere A. M., ND, Reedy H.T., 1967
- <sup>3</sup> See Grey Sir George, Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna, J Murray, London, 1854 pp84-86
- <sup>4</sup> This name alluded to the disciplined regime the Maori adopted when at war. He lived off the land and used natural food sources to sustain himself during war.
- <sup>5</sup> Oriori is a Maori lullaby that was sung to the children and was a means of transmitting knowledge and history
- <sup>6</sup> Ngata Sir A.T., "He oriori mo Tuuteremoana na Tuhotoariki Waiata 201" in Nga Moteatea Part III, The Polynesian Society Inc, 1970, Wellington, p4.
- <sup>7</sup> Te Mara T personal communication, Nov 1996. Te Roroku o te Rangī was also thought to be the name of Tu's House of War.
- <sup>8</sup> Mokoia Island taiaha wananga, Jan 1992
- <sup>9</sup> US Marine Corps FMFM1, Warfighting, 1989, pp41-54
- <sup>10</sup> Ngata, Sir A.T., 1943, pp15-17
- <sup>11</sup> Turei M., "Tuwhakairiora" in JPS 20, 1895, pp22-24
- <sup>12</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>13</sup> Keene F. Taitokerau, Fourth Printing Feb 1988 pp13-15
- <sup>14</sup> Best E., "Notes on the Maori Art of War" in JPS, 11, 1903, p36
- <sup>15</sup> Similar examples exist in the histories of other great warriors. Genghis Khan was born with a large blood clot on his right hand. Yueh Fei the Great Chinese General and founder of the Eight Pieces of Brocade Chi Kung was born as a great bird called a Perng landed on the roof on 15 Feb 1103AD
- <sup>16</sup> Best E., 1903, p36, Makareti i, 1987, pp129-132
- <sup>17</sup> Best E., 1903, p36, Awatere, ND
- <sup>18</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>19</sup> Makareti, 1987, pp129-132
- <sup>20</sup> Ngata Sir A.T. Nga Moteatea Part 4, Polynesian Society Inc, Auckland, 1990, pviii
- <sup>21</sup> Stirling E. Te Whare Wananga o Kirieke, oral recording, tape no 23-24, VUW, 1970
- <sup>22</sup> Makareti, 1987, pp129-132
- <sup>23</sup> Reedy H.T., unpublished manuscript, ND
- <sup>24</sup> Api Mahuika, personal communication with author, Aug 96. He termed this training with the flax and manuka te paopao maro and te paopao manuka. Similar training was done with Boy Tomona and his grandfather as recorded by Peter Buck.
- <sup>25</sup> Makareti, 1987, p143
- <sup>26</sup> Translated as "activity strengthens the constitution, inactivity weakens it"
- <sup>27</sup> Marae, TVNZ, 27 Oct 96
- <sup>28</sup> Tiakiawa Irirangi talking about Tumatauenga on Waka Huia, TVNZ, 10 Jun 1990
- <sup>29</sup> Tiakiawa Irirangi, Waka Huia, 1990
- <sup>30</sup> Best E., "Notes on the Art of War as conducted by the Maori of New Zealand" in JPS, 11, 1902, pp47-75
- <sup>31</sup> Tiakiawa Irirangi, Waka Huia, 1990
- <sup>32</sup> Ngata Sir A.T., 1943, pp14-15
- <sup>33</sup> Reedy H.T., ND
- <sup>34</sup> Winitana Tom, personal communication, April 1996
- <sup>35</sup> The kaka has three different calls when alarmed. In Ngati Kuri the puuharakeke (flax snail) cried when disturbed.
- <sup>36</sup> Tiakiawa Irirangi, 'Lethal Fighting Arts of The Maori Warrior' in Australasian Fighting Arts, 1990, p11
- <sup>37</sup> Tame Te Maro talking about Peta Awatere's training methods during the Ngata Lectures at Tuaparaoa Ruatoria 16 Sep 96
- <sup>38</sup> Koroheke C., personal communication, Mar 95
- <sup>39</sup> Haami B., personal communication, Oct 96
- <sup>40</sup> Buck Sir Peter, 1950, p147
- <sup>41</sup> Tiakiawa Irirangi, 1990, p11
- <sup>42</sup> An abbreviated form of a weaponry invocation
- <sup>43</sup> See Awatere A.M., ND, Best Eldsdon., 1902, pp127-162, 219-246, and Buck Sir Peter., 1950, pp271-282
- <sup>44</sup> Maori weaponry in storage at Auckland Museum. Guided visit with Dr Roger Neich, Jun 94
- <sup>45</sup> Hamilton Augustus, Maori Art, NZ Institute, Wellington, 1901, [Reprint 1922], p184-185
- <sup>46</sup> Awatere A.M., ND
- <sup>47</sup> Haami B., Oct 96
- <sup>48</sup> Auckland museum, Jun 94
- <sup>49</sup> Pou Te Mara talking at a Patu and Taiaha Wananga, Wellington Festival of the Arts 22 Mar 96. James Cowan in Tales of the Maori Bush describes how Te Rangitahau, Te Kooti's executioner would throw his onewa patu Te Ringu Toto with diabolical accuracy at prisoners
- <sup>50</sup> Ngata Sir A.T., 1943, pp14-15
- <sup>51</sup> Harrison Paki., personal communication, 1992
- <sup>52</sup> The name of Te Heuheu I pouwhenua in, The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Vol 1, Dept of Internal Affairs and Allen Urwin NZ Ltd, Wellington, 1990 pp446-447
- <sup>53</sup> The name of Tuterangikatipu's axe in honour of his mother Hinematea in Te Waipaina Awarau's MA thesis, Tuwhakairiora, CUC, 1956
- <sup>54</sup> Harrison Paki., 1992. He mentioned the use of the takarangi spiral, feathers, hair and the naming of certain parts to activate the mauri (life forces). He recalled Peta Awatere telling him about the significance of the blade and the tongue.
- <sup>55</sup> Core principles of unarmed combat as taught at the Australian Defence Force Academy, 1986
- <sup>56</sup> Te Mara J., personal communication, Aug 96
- <sup>57</sup> Awatere A.M., ND
- <sup>58</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>59</sup> Best E., 1903, pp145-217
- <sup>60</sup> Tiakiawa Irirangi, Australasian Fighting Arts, 1990, pp10-14

- 61 Mokoia wananga, July 1994
- 62 Awatere A.M., ND
- 63 *ibid*
- 64 Nihoniho T., Bush Fighting on the East Coast, Dominion Monograph, Wellington, 1914, p3
- 65 Awatere A.M., Book Review in JPS, 84, Dec 1975, p34
- 66 Nihoniho T., pp3-4
- 67 Haami B., Oct 1996
- 68 Haami B., Oct 1996. Personal communication about the notes of his grandfather Dr Golan Maaka. The explanation of this form was given by a WW2 veteran Alan King on Mokoia Island in Jun 1994. Alan King was taught the movements by Turei Hohepa of Tuwharetoa in 1950
- 69 Tiakiawa Irirangi, Waka Huia, 1990
- 70 *ibid*
- 71 Maning F.E., Old New Zealand, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, Christchurch, 1863, [4th Reprint 1930], p300
- 72 Reedy H.T., Pakanui Series, tape 202, VUW, 1967
- 73 Buck Sir Peter., The Coming of the Maori, Whitmore Press, 1948 p245
- 74 Stirling E., in Salmond A., 1980, pp10-40
- 75 Te Mara J., 1996
- 76 Tiakiawa Irirangi., Waka Huia, 1990
- 77 Te Mura o te Ahi is a Maori war colloquialism referring to the scorching heat of a fire. War is a baptism of fire in effect.
- 78 Cowan James, The New Zealand Wars Volume 2, Government Print, Wellington, 1923, p21. Cowan writes "Two hundred warriors were banded together... Among them some young boys already used to the scenes of war. The Maori took to the war path early; a well grown boy of twelve was considered fit to take his place in battle".
- 79 Awatere A.M., ND
- 80 Kohere RT, The Story of a Maori Chief, AH and AW Reed, Wellington, 1949, p24
- 81 Best E., 1902, p103
- 82 Awatere A.M., ND
- 83 Keene, Florence, Taitokerau, Whangare, 1988, p27
- 84 Turei M., p20
- 85 Haami B., 1996
- 86 Bennet H., 'Weapons and Warfare' in Te Ao Hou, No 17, Dec 1956, pp50-51
- 87 Haami B., 1996
- 88 Best E., Pa Maori, Government Print, 1926, p167. Best describes a scene written by Judge Maning.
- 89 Best E., 1903, op cit
- 90 Smith P., 'Like Scalp Hunting,' in JPS, 22, 1932, p45
- 91 Reedy Wi Pewhairangi., unpublished manuscript, ND
- 92 Stirling E.K. in, Erera The Teachings of a Maori Elder, Ann Salmond, University of Auckland, 1980, p52
- 93 Te Houtaewa, the great Te Aupouri warrior watched his grandfather Ihupango shoot a bird with a musket. Ihupango offered Te Houtaewa the musket or a battle axe. Houtaewa replied "That is no good to me. I do not want it. But give me the axe for I like to fight in close combat like a chief... kia pipiri te tinana o te rangatira he mate rangatira tena ( a chief fights in close combat and when defeated he dies.) His battleaxe was called Tunuiarangi and is currently in the Auckland Museum.
- 94 Tregear, E., 'Physical Endurance' in JPS, 2, 1893, pp71-73. Tregear discusses the incredible feats of physical endurance demonstrated by the Maori including the description of an old warrior with an indentation in his skull gained from a patu blow which split his skull. When it rained, water would pool in his indentation.
- 95 Address by Bishop of Waiapu HW Williams to the Tairarwhiti Maori Association May 24 May 1932
- 96 Ngata Sir A.T., 'No 60 Lament for Te Heuheu Tukino II' notes 32-34 in Nga Moteatea Vol 1, 1961, pp191-195
- 97 Dictionary of New Zealand Biographies, 1990, pp484-485
- 98 A fight sequences based on a synthesis of the operational cycle of manoeuvre warfare doctrine, unarmed combat long and close range defense and fight scenarios taken from Tiakiawa Irirangi, 'Tumatauenga' on Waka Huia, 1990.
- 99 Buck Sir Peter., 1950, p396
- 100 Awatere A.M., ND
- 101 Buck Sir Peter, op cit
- 102 William H.W., Dictionary of the Maori Language, 7 Edition, (Reprint 1991), GP Publications, Wellington, 1971, p451
- 103 *ibid*, p239
- 104 *ibid*, p449
- 105 *ibid*, p430
- 106 The whakapuru was a garment cover with tassles and wrapped around the left arm to protect and distract the opponent. The action of the whakapuru is mentioned in the Tuhoehaka "Ko te puru, ko te puru, whakatangatanga ki runga whakatangatanga ki raro (Tis the puru, tis the puru, to block upwards, to block downwards...).
- 107 Mokoia wananga, July 1994
- 108 Buck, Sir Peter., op cit
- 109 Best E., 1926, pp4-5
- 110 Williams H.W., p67
- 111 Soutar M., History of te Aitanga-a-Mate, Unpublished Manuscript, Dec 1988, p121
- 112 Melbourne Hirini writing about Te Purewa in Dictionary of NZ Biography Vol 1, Department of Internal Affairs, 1990, pp 484-485
- 113 Best E., 1926, pp46-47
- 114 Korohoke C., personal communication, Jun 96
- 115 Best E., 1926, pp50-52
- 116 Smith P., 'Very Much Like Scalp-taking' in JPS, 28, 1919, p106
- 117 Te Maniaroa was a great battle between Ngati Porou and Te Whanau a Apanui fought on the plains of Te Maniaroa near Te Araroa.
- 118 Te Rohokatai was a great battle fought along the Whareponga coastline near Ruatoria so named as the brains (roro) of the vanquished mixed in with the sea foam (hukatai) of the incoming tide.
- 119 Turei M., 1911, pp17-34
- 120 Awatere A.M., ND
- 121 Gudgeon W., 'Toa Taua or Warrior' in JPS, 13, 1904, pp238-264
- 122 Best E., 1926, pp243-245
- 123 Williams H.W., p239

- <sup>124</sup> Williams H.W., p239
- <sup>125</sup> Kawharu H., Land Tenure of the Maori, University of Auckland, 1982, pp243-244
- <sup>126</sup> Best E., 1926, pp234-235
- <sup>127</sup> Reedy R., personal communication, Nov 1995. He was told the history by Ned Waititi of Te Whanau a Apanui. The author has physically climbed the hill, Ahikaa to get an appreciation of the physical effort required to climb it.
- <sup>128</sup> The art of divination was practiced using niu sticks to determine which side would be victorious.
- <sup>129</sup> Jones M., personal communication, Aug 1996
- <sup>130</sup> Williams H.W., Dictionary of the Maori Language, p239
- <sup>131</sup> Best E., 1926, pp240-244
- <sup>132</sup> Nihoniho T., 1913, pp44-45
- <sup>133</sup> Winitana T., 1996
- <sup>134</sup> Turei M., 1911, p23-24
- <sup>135</sup> Turei M., 1911, p23-24
- <sup>136</sup> Turei M., 1911, p23-24
- <sup>137</sup> Williams H.W., Dictionary of the Maori Language p432
- <sup>138</sup> Keene F., 1988, p76
- <sup>139</sup> Battles have been won where a beleaguered side have used their women to seduce enemy chiefs and so regain the advantage. See the story of Rangirakura in Te Aitanga a Matoroa history by Monty Soutar.
- <sup>140</sup> Haami B., 1996.
- <sup>141</sup> Koroheke C., 1995
- <sup>142</sup> Ngata Sir A.T., 1943, p14
- <sup>143</sup> Mokoia Island Wananga 1992. Encirclement based on the korau spiral with the secondary shoots coming off the main shoot.
- <sup>144</sup> Jones M., 1996
- <sup>145</sup> Harrison Paki., 1992. The personal bodyguards allowed the battle commander to focus on the battle rather than his own protection. His party with the amorangi became a rallying point if the battle was turning against them.
- <sup>146</sup> Mitchell J.H., Takitimu, History of the Ngati Kahungunu People, Reed, Wellington, 1972, p45. He describes how Te Otane, the Ngati Kahungunu warrior, had two slaves who carried his taiaha and patu into battle.
- <sup>147</sup> Turei M., 1911, pp17-34
- <sup>148</sup> Ngata Sir A.T., Nga Moteatea Part 2, No 46, p68
- <sup>149</sup> Williams H.W., Dictionary of the Maori Language, p320
- <sup>150</sup> Reedy H.T., ND
- <sup>151</sup> Jones M., 1996. The use of Hokio, a slave employed by nga Kuri Paaka, to kill their elder brother Te Atua is an example of the use of an assassin.
- <sup>152</sup> Charles Davy Woodhead, unpublished manuscript, 1920?, Dominion Museum, Wellington. This manuscript describes the story of a greenstone mere named poroporohomea belonging to a Tuwharetoa chief. In a battle with Tuhoe, Tuwharetoa were defeated and the chief retired to his cave to await his execution. Tuhoe sent a tutua or lowly person to kill the chief. The chief then requested that he be killed using his own sacred greenstone mere called poroporohomea.
- <sup>153</sup> Stafford D., Te Arawa, Reed, Rotorua, 1990 pp20-30
- <sup>154</sup> *ibid*
- <sup>155</sup> Piki Kenrick in, Turning the Tide, Editor Clive Baylis, May 1996 issue, p3
- <sup>156</sup> Reedy H.T., Maniaroa and Tuhorouta's Revenge, tape 73, VUW, 1967
- <sup>157</sup> Kawiti Paraone talking at Mokoia Taiaha Wananga, Jun 94
- <sup>158</sup> Reedy H.T., tape 73, 1967
- <sup>159</sup> Reedy H.T., in, Nga Wahine Kaihautu o Ngati Porou, A.Mahuika, MA thesis, University of Sydney, 1973
- <sup>160</sup> This saying is referring to Tuwhakairiora
- <sup>161</sup> Keene F., p 36
- <sup>162</sup> Cowan James, 1922, p83
- <sup>163</sup> Best E., 1902, p75
- <sup>164</sup> Cowan James, 1922, Vol 1, pp428-432
- <sup>165</sup> Cowan, James, 1923, pp115-116
- <sup>166</sup> Soutar, Monty, Te Aitanga-a-Mate, 1988, pp105-106
- <sup>167</sup> Mokoia Island wananga, May 1992
- <sup>168</sup> Ngata, Sir A.T., 1961, pxi

## CHAPTER 6 - TE TU TAUA O NGA ATUA (WARRIOR ARTS OF THE GODS)

### 6.1 Intent

The intent of this chapter is to examine what impact the environment had on the combat aspects of Maori warfare. The impact of the environment will be explored using the wananga or bodies of knowledge of Tane, Tangaroa, Tawhirimatea, Whiro and Rongo.

The Maori philosophical viewpoint of warfare is that it had its genesis within the creation of the cosmos. Conflict originated within the Ira atua, the Maori gods, who had dominion over the realms of nature and human affairs. Essentially there has never been absolute and perfect harmony within these realms, both physically and metaphysically. Nature is in a continuous state of change. The innumerable scenarios of conflict within nature such as the struggle for survival and the turbulent interaction of the elemental forces were the primeval examples of warfare to the Maori.

### 6.2 Te Tu Taua o Tane (Warrior Arts of Tane)

Tane generally represented the land realm including plant and animal life forms although some domains within his realm came under the mana of other gods such as Rongo with the kumara, Haumietiketike with the fernroot or Whiro with the spider and lizard. Within his main dominion over the land, Tane served other functions such as the custodian of knowledge (Tane-te-wananga), the source of life (Tane-te-waiora), the guardian of the forest (Tane-mahuta) and of bird-life (Tane-matahi).

*Te Rakau a Tane* referred to the application of weaponry within the close environment of the bush<sup>1</sup>. Shorter weapons such as the patu were more easily wielded as compared to the longer taiaha weapons. Footdrills were adapted to meet the varying ground contours and vegetation such as stepping through the supple jack, the prickly bush lawyer or on dry leaves. The semi naked condition of the Maori allowed him to move through the thick undergrowth without getting snagged up on clothing. The name of Tane was expressed within weaponry terminology such as a taiaha combinations namely *O-Tane Matua*, *Te Hua a Tane Matua* or the adoption of a fighting stance called *Te Tu Tane (the stance of Tane)*<sup>2</sup>. The “*arawhaiti o Tane (The narrow path of Tane)*” has been used in oratory to invoke the imagery of death. This expression has also been interpreted as the lovemaking act where the penetrating male penis has entered



the vaginal pathway of the female. On ejaculation the male penis shrivels, goes flacid and “dies”. This act of procreation is interpreted in the taiaha movement *Te Hua a Tane Matua*. The saying “*whanau tamariki ki te wahine, whawhai puta<sup>3</sup> ki te tane*” (*To give birth for the woman, to fight battles for the man*) reinforces the role of the woman as the child-bearer and the man as the protector.

The influence of Tane on war was that land was a primary cause of war for the Maori. In addition, an intimate knowledge of the land environment, the life forms, and the resources had a great effect on the Maori’s design for battle and preparation for war.

### 6.2.1 Warrior Teachings of the Land

A traditional saying revealed the importance of the land to Maori, “*Ma te whemua, ma te wahine, ka ngaro te tangata - For land, for woman, mankind will perish*”. The protection of the land, the food-resources, the plantations, the sacred sites, homes and womenfolk were the primary causes of war to the traditional Maori. Like nature there were variations on these causes. The land environment shaped the characteristics of warfare in many ways. Offensively, the rugged terrain, dense bush, cliffs and waterways were used to maximum advantage in order to reduce the mobility of the enemy, provide natural obstacles and enhance the employment of ambush-style tactics. Tamaikoha of Tuhoe said “*The swift rivers and narrow canyons were my defenses. The huge boulders and rock cliffs were my palisades<sup>4</sup>*”. Defensively, the communal paa or village sites were situated on high ground or key terrain which afforded maximum all-round protection, had good fields of observation and were close to food and water sources. At the individual level an intimate knowledge of the bush lore was critical to the battle tactics that were fought. The rugged nature of the terrain generally reflected the nature of the people who lived in such an environment as Sir Apirana Ngata said:

*“In the primitive environment of their age the youth of the Maori race grew into manhood with great physical strength and endurance, and with a knowledge of Nature in all its moods which teachers of guerilla warfare should envy and emulate but cannot acquire<sup>5</sup>.*

The Tuhoe people of the Urewera ranges were noted for their prowess in battle. They were called the *Children of the Mist* due to their ability to navigate in the mist-shrouded, bush-clad ranges of their homelands. The nature of the terrain indirectly shaped their conduct to war. Small communal groupings were the norm as it was difficult to sustain large communities from off the land. In order to make up for their deficit in numbers and to be able to defend their lands Tuhoe warriors used the local terrain and climatic conditions as allies. It was said that Tuhoe warriors prepared and trained themselves for war such

that one Tuhoe warrior was equal to two or more enemy warriors in battle in order to make up for the lack of numbers<sup>6</sup>. This is referred to in the Tuhoe saying “*Iti noa a Tuhoe, ka kata te po - although Tuhoe are small in numbers, the night (death) laughs*”.

Natural obstacle belts such as steep escarpments, deep waterways, swamps, subterranean caves were used to hinder and trap unsuspecting enemy. The Te Arawa people, particularly the Tuhourangi people, were able to use their local geothermal hot springs and mud pools as a defensive obstacle belt and also as an ambushing ground. They were able to navigate with ease through the area while enticing the unwary enemy to follow.

As Tane Mahuta, Tane was the primary guardian of the bush. He provided the following native timbers, the maire, the akeraurangi, the totara, the kahikatea, the puriri, and the manuka, to make weapons, war canoes, palisades and other instruments of war. The versatile harakeke (flax) was used to make lines, flax capes, whakapuru-tao<sup>7</sup>, carrying apparatus and medicine. Symbolism from the bush such as the spiraling fern frond was used particularly in the tattooing of the face, buttocks and thighs of the warriors. The black and green tattooing lines provided excellent facial camouflage for the warrior when hiding in the undergrowth of the bush. Bush symbolism was used in warfare terminology. *Totara hoi* referred to the mature totara tree being surrounded by the mingimingi undergrowth<sup>8</sup> and was used to describe the protecting of the old people and children by a guard of selected warriors. Similarly the *ohu totara*<sup>9</sup> referred to the totara sapling pushing through the undergrowth to reach the canopy. It was used to describe a young warrior having to overcome the struggles and challenges of combat in order to achieve warrior status and battle recognition.

### 6.2.2 Warrior Teachings of the Land Animals

The creatures of the land such as the birds and animals demonstrated characteristics that were applied to aspects of weaponry and warfare. The movements of the kiwi, the weka, the kotuku (heron) and puukeko (swamp hen) were incorporated into the foot drills such that the warrior copied these birds as he stalked his opponents. A battle tactic called *manu kahaki* (fleeing bird)<sup>10</sup> was used when warriors feigned a withdrawal to entice the pursuing enemy into a pre-arranged ambush position. The Maori knew intimately the calls of the birds such as the alarm calls of the kaka parrot. Maori scouts when reconnoitering an enemy position at night would communicate with each other through the use of owl calls.<sup>11</sup> Feathers of

the birds such as the hawk and kaka were used on the weapons to distract the enemy, to communicate signals, to wipe the hands when wet with blood and to activate the mauri<sup>12</sup>.

**Tiwakawaka.** The tiwaiwakawaka or fantail held a special significance for in one of the primeval battles between the land and sea birds, the tiwakawaka was the bird chosen to challenge the enemy<sup>13</sup>. The distinctive movement of the fantail in flight, the flickering of its tail feathers and its cry were incorporated into the weaponry styles of the Maori warrior. The tiwaiwaka was associated with the death of Maui, the Maori demi-god, so its significance highlights the thin veil that separates the warrior from life and death. Awatere said that the Maui wero or challenge is one of welcome, one of manaakitanga and is based on the tiwakawaka. When these lands were being peopled after discovery by Maui, the fantail was one of the first birds to be seen and it would often fly ahead of people moving along bush tracks<sup>14</sup>.

**Puukeko.** The puukeko or swamp hen was associated with caution and wariness for the puukeko was said to have led Tawhaki in his ascent to the twelfth heaven. The Tawhaki wero or challenge is characterised by slow distinctive one-legged movements interspersed with backward glances and short quick weapon movements aimed at imitating the puukeko<sup>15</sup>.

**Te Kawau.** The kawau or cormorant was used in war terminology. *Te kawau moe ara* referred to the silent cormorant poised as if sleeping yet ready to pounce with lightning speed to catch the unsuspecting ika a Tangaroa, the fish of the sea. The Maori sentry or scout was of a similar style, waiting, silent, ready to catch the unsuspecting *ika a Tuu* (the fish of battle). When the cormorant moved into action to catch its prey it stretched its neck forward, stiffening the muscles in order to maximise the killing effect. This action was called *te kawau maro*, the stiff necked cormorant, and was used to describe a battle tactic where a wedge shaped formation was adopted to penetrate the ranks of the enemy<sup>16</sup>. The *kawau ruku roa*, the deep diving cormorant, was also idiom used to describe a deep, concentrated thrust into the heart of an enemy formation.

**Te Kaahu.** The kaahu or hawk family was another bird that was admired for its ferocity and speed. The feathers of the hawk were split along the stem and made into a puhipuhi bundle for the tewhatewha and was used for signalling and distraction. An extinct hawk (hokioi), said to have been the biggest bird of prey in New Zealand, was much admired by the Maori. Its distinctive wing movements were said to have been incorporated by the Tainui into their weapon forms.<sup>17</sup>.

**Te Kuri.** The kuri or dog also had its own significance to war. The dog was a form of early warning and provided companionship for warriors particularly when on reconnaissances. The aggressive growls, the snarling, the foot flicking of stones and the distinctive urinating posture were all forms adopted by warriors and expressed at appropriate times during the challenge ritual or close-quarter combat encounters. The use of dog idiom was captured in sayings such *Nga Kuri Paaka a Uetuhiao (the Brown Dogs of Uetuhiao)*, who were the three warrior sons of Uetuhiao, a Ngati Porou chieftainess from the Hikurangi area of the East Coast. A Tuhoe saying “*Kia hiki ai koe i nga Kuri a Pohokorua (Go and start the Dogs of Pohokorua)*” was applied to the warriors of Maunga Pohatu, the famed fighters of Ngati Huri who were fleet of foot and versed in magic<sup>18</sup>.

**Te Kiore.** The kiore or rat was referred to in war terminology to denote the suspicious, furtive nature of the torokaha or scout. The *Torokaha* was also the name of the lead native rat who kept watch and sounded the alarm. *Nga kiore* was used to describe the pair of scouts that were put out in advance of a war party as eyes and ears to detect and forewarn the main body of any possible enemy ambush along the bush trails. The expression *Tuhoe Kai Kiore (Tuhoe the Eaters of Rats)* was a peculiar expression associated with the Tuhoe people of the Urewera Ranges who lived on the native rat as part of their diet. It was said that the Tuhoe, on killing an enemy, would sometimes leave a small kiore in the wounds or on the body as a “trademark” to show the enemy who had been responsible for the slaying<sup>19</sup>. The tribal expression “*Hono te hono a te kiore (Join together like rats)*” was a saying attributed to a Tuhoe chief who led a breakout movement of his warriors through the encircling cordon of an enemy<sup>20</sup>.

### 6.3 Te Tu Taua o Tangaroa (Warrior Arts of Tangaroa)

Tangaroa was the Maori god who represented the sea realm and all associated marine life forms. The intrinsic power of the sea with the crashing waves pounding the sea rocks was an example of primeval conflict for the Maori. The aggressive nature of the waves was captured in war idiom as follows:

*He toka tuu moana  
no tua  
akinga aa tai ranga  
karenga aa tai whatiwhati*

*A steadfast rock  
through time immemorial  
against which the billows explode their force  
against which the breakers vent their wrath*

The saying “*he toka tu moana - the immovable sea rock*” described a war party that was resolute in attack and unyielding in defence<sup>21</sup>. The *tai ranga* literally refers to the billowing waves of great power that

explode on the rocks during a storm and figuratively means to be attacked by huge war parties. The *tai whatiwhati* refers to the smaller more frequent breakers that lash the rocks and figuratively means to be attacked more frequently by smaller war parties<sup>22</sup>. *Taiwhakaea* refers to a war party regrouping in order to re-attack a position<sup>23</sup>.

Maori warfare was primarily land-based and did not have major naval battles involving fleets or armadas. The sea was used as a main source of food and so conflict could erupt over encroachment of fishing grounds. As an asset of war, a knowledge of the sea was important to the navigation and seamanship of the *waka taua* or war canoes which were used to transport the warriors along the coast lines or riverways to battle. The skill and teamwork of the canoe crew became important when berthing the canoe on shore, particularly if it was a hot-landing with enemy forces waiting. The crew would use a combination of paddling and hauling on the anchor ropes<sup>24</sup> to manoeuvre and suddenly accelerate the canoe onto the beach amidst the waiting foe to create a shock effect. The *waka taua* was a vehicle of war which was holistic in its design and included all aspects of the Maori creation beliefs. The *tauihu* or bow and the *taurapa* or stern had carvings which symbolised the separation of Rangi and Papa, the natural Gods and their characteristics. The trailing feathers called *puhi-maroke* and *puhi-moana-ariki* floated in the air and water behind the *waka*. These represented the spiritual connection of the war canoe with the sea and the air<sup>25</sup> while the face of Tuu, the war god, at the bow represented the crossing of man through these realms.

*Te Rakau a Tangaroa* was the application of weaponry when fighting in water, mud and swampy conditions. By training in water depths below and above the knee, the Maori was able to compensate for the limited mobility afforded when fighting in water<sup>26</sup>. Warriors were made to withstand the force of breaking waves while deflecting stones thrown at them in order to test stability and reflexes. When moving over wet ground or through swamp the Maori used different foot movements to minimise sound and prevent slippage. He also tightened his grip on his weapon and avoided large, over-extended movements. The name of Tangaroa was used describe weapon movements. For example *Te Hui a Tangaroa* (*the gathering of Tangaroa*) was a series of taiaha or pouwhenua movements that involved handling the weapon above the head. Also the *wahaika* (*mouth of the fish*) was a hand-held weapon of the patu family that was shaped like a fish-hook. The *wahaika* could be used for thrusting and striking in various fashion. The hooked end was used to hook the genitals or to disembowel and remove the intestines.

**Te Paraoa.** Foremost among the sea-creatures was the paraoa or tohora, the whale, whose bones were used for the construction of the weapons such as the patu, mere, kotiate, wahaika, tokotoko, hoeroa and taiaha. The jawbones of the sperm whale could make 2 taiaha, 2 patu paraoa and 2 hoeroa. The jawbones were the most sought-after for they had better density and would not split<sup>27</sup>. The whale was admired for its power and size and it was used in warfare terminology by the Maori warrior. *Te koanga umu tohora* was a literal phrase meaning to *dissect the whale for cooking*. It was used to describe the reconnaissance on an approaching war party whereby the locations of the chiefs and reputable warriors were noted and reported back to the paa.

**Te Mango.** The mango or ururoa, the shark, also impressed the Maori with its savagery which evoked the saying "*kei mate ururoa, kore kei mate wheke*", *die like a shark, not like the octopus*. The killer instinct of the shark was directly applicable to the close-quarter-combat systems of the Maori where extreme aggression was required in battle. A number of Te Arawa taiaha stances were related to the shark species, namely *mango pare, mango pae, mango tau and mango tu*. Sharks teeth were also used on the kotini or cutting instrument which was used to cut open the bodies of the fallen enemy.

**Te Papaka.** The movement of the papaka or crab was also interpreted in the Maori art of weaponry because of its amazing mobility, both forward and laterally. It was incorporated into a stance called *tu papaka*. This weaponry form is distinctive in that the weapon is sometimes held behind the back and both lateral and anterior body movements are used to block blows from the rear.

**Te Ika.** Te ika or fish was commonly used in reference to war as illustrated in the saying "*he maroro kokoti ihu waka (the flying fish crossing the bow)*". The first victim to fall in battle was likened to the flying fish crossing the bow of the war canoe. Other terms included *he mata-ika or he ika na Tu* (the fish of Tuu). The following extract taken from a Ngati-Porou lament for Te Whetuukamokamo provides an metaphorical example of how the Maori composer used the analogy of a netted fish with the fallen warrior to convey the sorrow and poignancy.

*Kia roha mai koe  
I waenga taahuna  
Koe, he ika whakawera  
Noo roto i te kupenga*

*There prone you lie  
On the battlefield  
You, the most combative  
fish in the haul of the net<sup>28</sup>*

The combative fish was Te Whetuukamokamo, a fearless chief of Te Whanau-a-Hinetaapora of Ngati-Porou who died in battle fighting against the musket-armed Nga Puhi during the seige of Te Whetumatarau at Te Araroa. His descendents included LtCol Arapeta Awatere DSO, MC of the 28 Maori Battalion who was a renowned battalion commander during World War 2.

Other creatures such as the *aihe* (dolphin), the *toroa* (albatross), *karoro* (seagull) and *whai* (stingray) also displayed characteristics which were incorporated into the art of war. A kaitiaki or guardian for the fishing grounds around the East Cape of North Island is said to be large tailless, stingray called *Whaimutu*. Whaimutu is also a name of a Ngati Porou warrior who undertook rear-guard action against pursuing Ngati Puhi forces during the raids by the musket-wielding Nga Puhi of the 1840s. His name is commemorated in the saying “*kotia, Whaimutu, kotia (ambush, Whaimutu, ambush)*”.<sup>29</sup>

The shellfish and sea shells of Tangaroa were also used to support activities of war . The conch shell was used as a putatara or war trumpet by the sentries to sound warning particularly in the pa or fortified villages. The paua was used for its iridicence to provide the flashing eyes for the weapons such as the taiaha. The vegetation of the sea was also used for healing such as the rimu or seaweed. The East Coast family name “Ngarimu” was said to have been derived from an ancestor who was awakened from a makutu coma through the use of seaweed. He changed his name in memory of the event to Tuta Ngarimu (come out of the seaweed). His grandson, 2Lt Moana Ngarimu VC, was the first Maori soldier to win a Victoria Cross. The cycles of the sea are also reflected in the cycles of the land and the women. On the East Coast the kina or seaegg are ripe for gathering when the kowhai tree is in bloom on the land. The menstrual cycle of the women also mirrored the tidal patterns of the sea as governed by the moon.

The influence of Tangaroa was that the sea realm was an asset of war in terms of resources, food and weaponry. The respect and appreciation of the powers of the sea by the Maori showed an inner harmony and co-existence with the forces of nature.

#### **6.4 Te Tu Taua o Tawhirimatea (Warrior Arts of Tawhirimatea)**

Tawhirimatea was the Maori god who controlled the skies, winds and meteorological forces. The eddying, turbulent nature of Tawhirimatea was captured in the many art forms of the Maori. In Maori oral

mythology, Tawhirimatea assisted the ascent of Tane to collect the three baskets of knowledge from Io Matua. Tawhirimatea used his offspring, the winds, to propel Tane upwards as well as to defeat the onslaught of the hordes of Whiro-tipua<sup>30</sup> who were trying to prevent Tane from obtaining the baskets.

*Te Rakau a Tawhirimatea* referred to the application of weaponry in inclement weather and in exposed conditions such as on high ridges. The Maori choose battle positions such that the prevailing wind, rain and sun were used to his advantage. He maximised the use of dust, debris and glare in such conditions<sup>31</sup>. The rain and mist were also used as allies to cover noise and reduce visibility during an attack thus minimising detection by the enemy. A knowledge of local wind behaviour was an asset in times of war. The wind could be used to fan bush-fires to flush out paa occupants or provide smoke-screen cover. In the Raukumara Ranges of the East Coast the terrain is rugged and interlaced with steep narrow gullies and crevices due to the timeless erosion of water on rock strata<sup>32</sup>. The people of this area had a warning system which used the local wind patterns. In order to warn local people of an approaching enemy war party, human fat was burnt within the ravines and the prevailing wind currents used to convey the pungent smoke downwind and disperse the scent throughout the bush<sup>33</sup>. Fires were also lit on hills at specific points during the night to forewarn neighbouring tribes of the approach of strangers into local territory. Smoke signals were used during the day<sup>34</sup>. The Maori investigated the sound resonance of natural objects to raise the alarm. Pehi or war gongs were hung in hollow trees and the outer tree was struck to create reverberations of sound<sup>35</sup>.

Aspects of Tawhirimatea were included in the name of weaponry and body movements. The word “*awhioahio*” meaning a whirling wind gust was used to describe a circular motion of the head<sup>36</sup> while a large circular one-handed movement of the taiaha was called *awhioawhio takitahi*. *Marangai areare* (light rain)<sup>37</sup> was a long weapon movement where the blade transcribed a figure 8 pattern. *Tiipatapata* meaning the sound of rain drops was used to describe a rapid, staccato foot movement. The name of Tawhirimatea was also included in a taiaha movement called *te riu o Tawhirimatea*.

The influence of Tawhirimatea was to be able to use the elements to one's advantage when preparing for battle.



### 6.5 Te Makutu o Whiro (Black Arts of Whiro)

Whiro was associated with death and decay. His realm was the one of negativity and contained all aspects inimical to life. An old well proven warrior was called *te Ika-a-Whiro (the fish of Whiro)* however it was used at times to refer to a blood-thirsty, marauding warrior who fought for the lust of killing<sup>38</sup>. Sometimes warriors became addicted to the taste of human flesh and human bone marrow such that they developed a craving<sup>39</sup>. *Te Makutu o Whiro* is basically the art of black magic as taught in the Whare Maire or House of sorcery. These arts involved the use of the psychic powers of the mind to conjure up negative thoughts of such malignant intensity that they became real forces of darkness and soon manifested themselves against their human targets<sup>40</sup>. The rituals of makutu were highly feared and evoked the negative human emotions of hatred, anger and revulsion together with nature's own carriers of death and disease. Sometimes practitioners of makutu were consigned from the womb and were subjected to hate-building teachings such as being snatched from the mother's breast and deprived of love<sup>41</sup>. The child was treated like an animal and made to scavenge for survival. It was rewarded appropriately when it demonstrated the desired behavioural traits of killing and stealing. The child was subjected to the teachings of Whiro such that the darker emotions of hatred, distrust and negativity were nurtured and accepted as normal. Tests were given to demonstrate that the student of Whiro did not possess feelings of remorse or morality such as killing a family member<sup>42</sup>. A number of karakia whaiwhaia or bewitchment incantations call on images of flies and maggots, rotting cadavers, disembowled corpses, stagnant waters, human defecation, shadows and darkness to invoke the power of Whiro<sup>43</sup>.

Certain practices such as placing makutu or bewitched objects on pathways were used by the Maori to protect themselves and destroy the enemy<sup>44</sup>. Such supernatural objects as kumara, human hair or human body parts were buried along pathways as spiritual obstacles. Personal objects could be used for makutu as they contained the hau or remnants of a person's aura or life-force. James Cowan recounts a war ceremony performed by Major Ropata Wahawaha in 1866 while advancing towards an enemy position near Lake Waikaremoana "*..his leading men discovered a footprint in the dust of the track, no doubt that of a Hauhau scout, and passed the word back to Ropata, who called to them not to tread upon it until he came up. The advance-guard halted and watched a singular war-path rite. Ropata knelt down and carefully scooped up with both hands the earth bearing the imprint of the scout's bare foot and swallowed the whole of it. This done, he said addressing his unknown enemy, "Kati noa oti ko to tapuae e pau i au ki roto o taku puku, ko to tinana ano ia ka ngaro atu i au" ("As your footprint has been consumed by me within my stomach, so will your body be destroyed by me")*"<sup>45</sup>..

## 6.6 Te Tu Taua o Rongo (Warrior Arts of Rongo)

Rongo was the Maori god of cultivation. He was symbolic of peace and healing. The Maori word for healing is Rongo-a, a derivative of Rongo. A knowledge of healing was just as important to the Maori warrior as a knowledge of war and weaponry. A warrior had to be able to tend to his wounds and survive off the land. Native plants such as the kawakawa, the mamaku, the ponga, the koromiko, the rata, the karamu, the kumarahou and others were all used to provide rongoa or medicines as well as nutrients while on the war-path<sup>46</sup>.

Maori society was a subsistence-based society with the kumara being the primary food source. This was supplemented with other food obtained from the natural environment. In addition the spoils of war such as the victims of battle also formed part of the diet. Kumara growing was labour intensive and required a communal effort to complete the planting, weeding, and harvesting phases. Basically if the kumara crop failed then the people went hungry through the winter months. Although warriors may have been dedicated primarily to Tuumatauenga at birth, they still assisted in the labour-intensive phases of the kumara cycle for the survival of the people depended on a reliable food supply. Gathering crops and fighting battles were both forms of group activity that required adequate skills and coordinated effort in order to achieve successful outcomes. The planting of kumara was mainly done in November and harvested during March-April of the following year. Therefore war activities were confined mainly to the late autumn-winter seasons of the Maori calendar year when the manpower demand for cultivation work was not paramount. In this way the cycle of Tuumatauenga (war) was inextricably linked to the cycle of Rongo (cultivation)

*He taarukenga naa Rongo  
maa te rau maahitihiti  
He taarukenga naa Tuu  
maa te rau maipi<sup>47</sup>*

*To harvest the field of crops  
is the task of a hundred baskets  
To harvest the field of battle  
is the task of a hundred blades*

The association of the women with peace-making can also be linked with the oral traditions of the kumara. In the planting phase of the kumara the mounds of earth where the kumara seed was planted were termed puke and were shaped like the mons veneris of the female<sup>48</sup>. In Maori mythology the kumara was the offspring of Pani, a supernatural female as told through the well known Maori oriori, "Po Po". Using this as an important linkage, peace-making as symbolised by the kumara can be associated with

women. Also the imagery of feasting and joy associated with the harvesting of the kumara was an important component for promoting peace under the dominion of Rongo.

Like Tuu had many names to describe the aspects of war-making so did Rongo have many names to relating to aspects of healing and peace-making.

<b>Rongo-a</b>	Healing.
<b>Rongo-a-whare</b>	Peace brought about by the mediation of women in the home <sup>49</sup> .
<b>Rongo-tamawahine</b>	Peace initiated by women <sup>50</sup> .
<b>Rongo-a-marae-roa</b>	Peace brought about by the mediation of men on the marae <sup>51</sup> .
<b>Rongo-a-kai</b>	Peace brought about by feasting <sup>52</sup> .
<b>Rongo-tamatane</b>	Peace initiated by men <sup>53</sup> .
<b>Rongo-taketake</b>	Lasting peace between the gods of two warring tribes <sup>54</sup> .

The symbolism of Rongo can be associated with the image of an elderly cultivator content with the growing of food and working the land:

*"He toa taua mate taua, he toa piki pari mate pari, he toa ahu whenua he mate huhu"*

*"(A warrior dies in battle, a climber dies on a cliff, but a cultivator dies of old age)"*

Tuta Nihoniho said that the peace concluded in the time of war by men is not a firm lasting one however if the peace-negotiations are assumed by the women then it is more likely to endure. In many cases hostilities were terminated by the offering of peace in the form of a puhi or a high-born girl for the purposes of marriage. In Ngati-Porou history, Rerekohu of Te Araroa, when confronted by a war-party led by Konohi and Ponapatukia, gave his grand-daughters as an offering of peace. One of these grand-daughters, Ngunguruterangi, married Konohi's grandson, Tanetokorangi, and were the parents of the famous East Coast chieftainess, Hinematiaro<sup>55</sup>. Sometimes pacts were made between warriors to cement peace such as the peace agreement between Konohi and Tamahae, "*Ka tu te toka i Wahakino, ka tu te toka i Takore (my rock stands at Wahakino, my rock stands at Takore)*". Konohi later broke the pact by attacking Tamahae who responded "*Ka taka te toka i Wahakino, ka tu te toka i Takore (the rock at Wahakino has moved, the rock at Takore still stands)*"<sup>56</sup>. Sometimes weapons and taonga of great mana including land were offered as tokens of sincerity and goodwill. The saying "*he puukai a Tuu, he puukai*

*a Rongo (a heap of bodies, a heap of kumara)*” showed that the imagery of war and peace were closely-aligned.

The Maori demonstrated that they could act in the most chivalrous way to friend and foe alike during war and peace. In the establishment of peace after victory, the weapons of war were exchanged as gestures of goodwill. In 1901 Tuta Nihoniho, an East Coast chief sent General Lord Roberts VC, the Commander of the British Forces during the Boer War, a greenstone mere called Porourangi. This was in appreciation of Lord Roberts victory over the Boers in South Africa. Nihoniho wrote an accompanying note “ *This mere that I am sending you is a token of the great appreciation that I have for you, Lord Roberts the Warrior General, who has so bravely upheld the authority of our exalted Sovereign Queen.....It has been my wish that I and your Maori friends should join you in the war in which you are involved, to be attached to your feet and to have the honour of being in the jaws of death....*”<sup>57</sup>

Another example of the Maori sense of dignity and honour was when a taiaha called Te Ranga Whenua was given by a chief of Tuhourangi to the Commander of the Imperial Representative’s Corps at Rotorua in 1901. In presenting the taiaha the chief said “*For 400 years this spear has been handed from father to son, from son to grandson. But you and we alike are sons of our King. Let your Commander take this spear so that it may descend in turn to his children’s children*”<sup>58</sup>.

The influence of Rongo on war was the establishment of protocols and processes aimed at brokering and maintaining peace and healing the wounds of war.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Winitana T., 1996
- <sup>2</sup> These are names of weapon and foot drills pertaining to Maori weaponry.
- <sup>3</sup> Puta can mean vagina as well as battle.
- <sup>4</sup> Best E., 1903, p205
- <sup>5</sup> Ngata Sir A.T., 1943, p14-17
- <sup>6</sup> Kereama Rangi, Mokoia Wananga, Jan 1994
- <sup>7</sup> A protective cover that was worn on the left arm to absorb blows during close-quarter combat.
- <sup>8</sup> Wanganui mau rakau oral information
- <sup>9</sup> Koroheke C., 1995
- <sup>10</sup> Reedy H.T., 1967, tape 202.
- <sup>11</sup> Cowan James, 1923, p123
- <sup>12</sup> Harrison Paki, 1992
- <sup>13</sup> Best E., Maori Religion and Mythology, Vol 2, Dominion Museum No 10, Government Printer, Wellington, 1924
- <sup>14</sup> Harrison Paki, 1992 op cit
- <sup>15</sup> Harrison Paki, 1992
- <sup>16</sup> Saying by Te Kanawa of Ngati Maniapoto "Kia mau ki te kawau maro, hold fast to the swoop of the cormorant"
- <sup>17</sup> Koroheke C., 1995
- <sup>18</sup> Best E. Tuhoe Children of the Mist, JPS 23, Jun 1914, p97
- <sup>19</sup> Kereama Rangi, 1994
- <sup>20</sup> Haami B., 1996
- <sup>21</sup> The Toka-Tu-Moana has been described as a battleformation that allowed close engagement as well as providing all round-defence. My own interpretation is that it was similar to the fighting square of the Swiss heavy infantry of the 1300s. The Swiss formed a solid square formation of pikemen who could move very quickly into battle. However if attacked from the flanks or rear, the formation would halt and face outwards with their pikes levelled in all-round defense.
- <sup>22</sup> Awatere A.M., ND. A saying by Te Whaarau from Te Wharekahika
- <sup>23</sup> Williams H.B., 1971, p361
- <sup>24</sup> Reedy H.T.. Unpublished manuscript, ND. Anchors were thrown from both bow and stern of the canoe and were pulled on in order to move the waka forwards or backwards.
- <sup>25</sup> Harrison Paki, 1992. The author was ADC to the Governor-General at the time and was coordinating the presentation of a carved waka taua to the King of Spain during a visit by the Governor-General.
- <sup>26</sup> Winitana T., 1996
- <sup>27</sup> Haami B., 1996. This information was imparted to him by his relative Raamari Stewart a whale specialist
- <sup>28</sup> Ngata Sir A.T., "Waiata 21, He Tangi mo Te Whetukamokamo" in Nga Moteatea Part 1, The Polynesian Society Inc, Auckland, 1959, p76.
- <sup>29</sup> Campbell Dewes, personal communication, Dec 1995.
- <sup>30</sup> The hordes of Whiro referred to the mosquitos, sandflies, spiders and other insects that attacked Tane.
- <sup>31</sup> Winitana T., 1996
- <sup>32</sup> Ravines such as Tangiterau "hundred tears" was named to describe the water droplets dripping down the moss-clad walls.
- <sup>33</sup> Te Ara o Umuariki hikoi from Tuuparoa to Omaio, February 1993. Discussion with R.Reedy
- <sup>34</sup> Best E., 1903, op cit
- <sup>35</sup> Moana Davies showing the author through taonga at the National Museum, Wellington, Nov 1996
- <sup>36</sup> Upoko awhiaowhia - rotating head motion
- <sup>37</sup> Maranga-i-areare (rise and open up) varied in its interpretation as it could describe a range of weapon movements including the placement of the weapon on the shoulder.
- <sup>38</sup> Awatere A.M., ND
- <sup>39</sup> Mitai-Ngatai Tauhu, personal communication, 1996
- <sup>40</sup> Cowan, James, Tales of the Maori Bush, Coulls, Somerville, Wilkie Ltd, Dunedin, 1934 [Reprinted Southern Reprints 1995], p97
- <sup>41</sup> Smith P., 'Wars of Northern against Southern New Zealand Tribes' in JPS, 13, 1904:p57
- <sup>42</sup> Ua Te Kani, 'Spiritualism and Maori Beliefs' in Echoes of the Paa: Tairawhiti Maori Association's Research Proceedings, Gisborne Publishing Co Ltd, Gisborne, 1932:pp44-45
- <sup>43</sup> See Tuta Tamati, 'He Karakia Whaiwhaiaa na Ngati Porou' in JPS, 2, 1893, pp103-104 and Takaanui Tarakawa, 'Whakamaramatanga o te pepa o Te Hoenga Mai o Te Arawa raua ko Tainui i Hawaiki' in JPS, 3, 1894, pp169-175
- <sup>44</sup> Best, Elsdon, 1903, JPS, 12, pp47-50
- <sup>45</sup> Cowan, James, 1923, p129
- <sup>46</sup> Kereama Rangi, 1994
- <sup>47</sup> Awatere A.M., ND. A saying uttered by Tuuwhakairiora, a great Ngatiporou fighting chief prior to the battle of Hikutawatawa at Whareponga.
- <sup>48</sup> Reedy, Anaru Totorewa, personal communication, 1995. Information based on the manuscript of Pita Kapiti.

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<sup>49</sup> Hamilton Augustus, 1902, p230

<sup>50</sup> Nihoniho T., 1913, p10-15

<sup>51</sup> Hamilton Augustus, 1902, p230

<sup>52</sup> Mokoia Wananga, 1992

<sup>53</sup> Nihoniho T., 1913,p10-15

<sup>54</sup> Hamilton Augustus, 1901, p230

<sup>55</sup> Reedy Wi Pewhairangi, ND, pp67-70

<sup>56</sup> Fowler Leo, 'The Knight Errantry of Tamahae' in Te Ao Hou, 24, 1958, pp11-16

<sup>57</sup> National Army Museum Report 1974-1975, Private Hospita Road, London SW3 4HT, pp27-29

<sup>58</sup> Wellington Dominion Museum visit November 1996

## CHAPTER 7 - CONCLUSION

### 7.1 Review of Objectives

The mission statement was to demonstrate that all the combat aspects of pre-European Maori warfare were greatly influenced by the cosmological and environmental beliefs of the Maori. This mission was expressed in the following statement:

*“To the Maori, the human world is a microcosm of the natural world and is subject to the same forces and energies. The natural world has numerous scenarios of conflict which portray the struggle to survive as well as the turbulent interaction of natural phenomena. These conflicts will also be manifest in the human world. Nature is the ultimate master and mentor of conflict, humans are but servants”.*

The following research questions formed the basis of this study:

1. How did the cosmological beliefs of the Maori impact on the combat aspect of Maori warfare during the pre-European period?
2. What customary practices, protocols and processes did the Maori employ in the preparation and conduct of combat?
3. How did the natural environment impact on the combat aspect of Maori warfare during the pre-European period?

### 7.2 Conclusions in support of the Research Questions

The cosmological beliefs of the Maori were reflected in bodies of knowledge under officiating atua or gods. These bodies of knowledge contained practical scientific knowledge gained through generations of living in close contact with the natural environment. Rituals and protocols were developed within these bodies of knowledge in order to maintain the natural order and delicate harmony that existed within nature. In warfare the Maori institution which contained the rituals and processes of war was the wananga o Tumatauenga, the Maori god of war. This institution prepared the human mind and body for battle. This preparation often started in the womb and progressed from early childhood through to initiation as a youth into the whare tu taua or schools of war. From here the student graduated on the battlefield as a toa

taua or warrior and was granted the laurels of battle as denoted by the expression “*he toa taua kua puukengatia (a much experienced warrior)*”. This battle-experience when grouped with technical skills, personal presence and leadership qualities contributed to the title, Ika-a-Whiro, which identified an experienced and accomplished warrior in all affairs of warfare. Ika-a-Whiro were appointed to command the hapu or iwi forces in battle while others acted as tohunga mau rakau or chief instructors in the schools of war.

Women played a key role as mothers and educators of the warrior mentality. Some acted as instructors of weaponry, as priestesses of war, as combatants in battle and in supporting roles as suppliers, guides and tending the wounded.

The wananga of the other gods contained information applicable to warfare.

**Tane.** The wananga of Tane contained the protocols and practices that reflected the impact of the land and land creatures on warfare.

**Tangaroa.** The wananga of Tangaroa contained the protocols and practices that reflected the impact of the sea and sea-creatures on warfare.

**Tawhiri.** The wananga of Tawhirimatea contained the protocols and practices that reflected the impact of the weather and meteorological phenomena on warfare.

**Whiro.** The wananga of Whiro contained the protocols and practices that reflected the predatory behaviour of humankind and the negative, scavenger aspects of nature.

**Rongo.** The wananga of Rongo contained the protocols and practices relating to healing and the brokering of peace. The heavy dependence on the cultivation of crops and the roles that women played in the peace-making were all aspects which linked Rongo to Tuu.

All these wananga demonstrated the holistic interrelationships that existed between these Maori gods which influenced all human activity and behaviour including warfare. The pre-European Maori



appreciated this universal interrelationship and expressed it in their warfare practices, processes and protocols.

### **7.3 Conclusions in respect of Mission Statement**

The mission statement has been achieved. The applied methodology of examining the institution of war under Tuumatauenga and noting the interrelationships with the other Maori gods has highlighted the connection of war with cosmological and environmental beliefs.

### **7.4 Recommendations for Further Study**

There is much scope for further study in the area of Maori warfare using the above methodology or adaptations thereof. It is important to track the evolution of the Maori warrior from the pre-European period, through the Colonisation period, to the modern day peace-keeping Maori soldier. By focussing on key historical milestones such as the New Zealand Wars, World War 1, World War 2 and subsequent conflicts, a profile of the Maori warrior-cum-soldier can be developed. The role of Maori women in war needs to be developed more fully. Other interrelated subjects of study could be to explore the evolution of the Tuumatauenga institution using the the Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment and the Mongrel Mob as contrasting examples of contemporary Maori warrior societies.

The disparate sources of information still available such as the Maori Land Court records, Waitangi Tribunal Claims, early Maori newspapers, unpublished manuscripts housed both publically and privatey all need to be explored further in order to identify key findings. The tribal oral histories on warfare and weaponry need to be researched further to show the tribal variations that occurred within the continuum of Maori warfare.

Another area of recommended study is to compare the evolution of Maori warfare with the evolution of Western warfare starting with the ancient Roman and Greek military systems and moving through to current-day technological weapon systems. Other areas of study would be to compare the Maori warrior with other indigenous warrior societies such as the North American Indians, the Aztecs, the Zulu, the Japanese Samurai, the Mongol horsemen, the Gurkhas, the Vikings and the Celts. The results of these studies would show the global variation of warfare across time, race and continent.

## APPENDIX ONE

### Maori Terminology of War and Weaponry

The following words and expressions are a compilation of war terms taken from a number of written and oral sources used during the course of this study. The main written sources include: Nga Moteatea Series by Sir A.T. Ngata, Williams Maori Dictionary and Augustus Hamilton's 'Maori Art'. This is by no means a comprehensive list of terms.

Aha, ahaha	Sharp cutting instrument, shark-toothed knife (Same as mira tuatini).
Aitua	An ill omen; a portent, always an evil one.
Ake, akerautangi	A small tree (Dodonaea), the wood was used to make carved staffs and weapons. The male tree was used only to make weapons.
Aki	To strike suddenly and violently, to hit with a patu.
Akunga	Rank and file.
Amo	The priest-leader of a war party.
Amokapua	The priest(who recites before the fighting).
Apituu	Fight at close quarters.
Arero	The point of a taiaha carved in the form of a human tongue.
Arero-whero	Fully blooded warriors.
Aria	The physical manifestation of an atua. The auric energy field of a person.
Aroakapa	Front-rank.
Atangarau	Wily, cunning; a word describing a man skilful in stratagems of all kinds whether for peace or war, for snaring rats or birds, or catching fish, or outwitting the enemy. This person was of much value.
Ati-a-toa	Youths who have not yet had their hands bloodied in battle.
Atoato	A marshal regulating the warriors when moving in column formation.
Au-kati	"Stopping the current"; a line or boundary which may not be passed.
Au-marō	"Strong current". Means courage and bravery.
Au-ta	To attack.
Au-taua	A messenger who brings tidings of an enemy's war party approaching.
Awaroa	Personal bodyguards of a chief.
Awhiowhio	A large circular movement with the taiaha.
Awhipapa	Stooping posture dragging the taiaha behind.
Haeroa (Rua-haeroa)	A hole dug in the ground in connection with incantations against one's enemies; Also called "Rua-tupo".
Haka	Dance; song accompanied by dance.
Hana (Whakahana)	To hold up weapons in defiance.
Hani	A wooden halbert type weapon also known as maipi or taiaha.
Hao	To enclose or besiege a paa fortress.
Hapai	(1) To be armed with a weapon. (2) Advance guard.
Hapai o Tuu	The challenger(s) deployed as the first response to the hostile actions of a visiting party (Wanganui).

Hapopo	The dead body; the trunk. (A tapu word which was used only in time of war).
Haputa o te riri	The thick of battle.
Haukaiwahine	Formation in single file.
Hihinga	To fall in numbers.
Hikutoto	Revenge, similar to utu.
Hiku	The tail or rear element of an army on the march
Hingahinga	Slaughter of numbers.
Hiitengitengi	Squatting movement with toes only on ground.
Hoahoa	Aim a blow by throwing.
Hoa-riri	Enemy.
Hoeroa	A weapon made from the jaw of the sperm whale.
Hoka (Whakahoka)	To feint with weapon.
Hokai	(1) Legs extended apart. (2) The pawing and shuffling of feet in anticipation of combat.
Hokioi	A large extinct hawk whose cry "kakao, kakao" was said to have been an omen of war.
Hokowhitu-a-Tuu	"The seventy twice warriors of Tuu". A common battle group consisting of 140 warriors.
Horo	The fall and capture of a paa.
Horopu	Adept at parrying and avoiding weapons.
Huaki	Assault, charge.
Huata	A long spear of up to 3m length used in the defence of a paa.
Huiarua	Two victims at once.
Huka	Last victim killed in battle.
Hukahuka	(1) Second palisade of a paa. (2) Second dart placed in the challenge ceremony (Te Arawa).
Hukehuke	Coward.
Humanu	A cartridge belt.
Humenga maro	Tucking in the ends of the maro.
Hurikoaro	False throw of spear by challenger.
Ika	(1) A body or troop of men. (2) A fighting man.
Ika-i-te-ati	First person killed or captured in battle. Also called mata-ika, ika-kokoti-ihu-waka, matangoi, mataati.
Ika huiarua	Two victims killed simultaneously.
Ika-a-Tuu	Victim of battle
Ika-a-Whiro	An old, well experienced warrior who is accomplished in all aspects of war and weaponry.
Iri (Whakairi)	The head of a slain enemy when dried and placed on a pole as mark of derision.
Iorangi	Emblem of war. Also known as amorangi.
Kaha	Single file.
Kaakahu haehae	Feigned retreat for the purpose of drawing the enemy.
Kai-a-kiko	Wounded man.
Kaikaiwaiu	One who goes secretly to give information of the approach of an enemy.
Kaikape	(1) A mode of movement through close country with an advance-guard well forward of the main body. (2) A battle tactic where the leaders fall back to allow other warriors to take part.
Kairakau	Elite group of men skilled at arms.
Kairawaru	Spear in unfinished state.

Kakari	To fight.
Kaioraora	A cursing composition.
Kaitaua, Kaitoa	Warlike.
Kanawa	A precious war weapon which is handed down as an heirloom and used by the senior warrior.
Kaniwha	Barbed spear. Also the notches in the blade of the kotiate or wahaika.
Karo (Kakaro)	To parry or avoid a blow. Also a short stick used to parry a spear thrust.
Karokaro	A marauding party.
Katete	A piece joined on to a spear to engthen it.
Kauhoa	A litter on which a person is carried.
Kaukau	A spear.
Kautete (mata-kautete)	A weapon consisting of a sharp piece of flint or obsidian lashed firmly to a piece of wood.
Kaunuku	Centre of a battle group when formed for a rush.
Kaupapari	Spread out in open-order.
Kawau-marō	“The stiff-necked cormorant”. A wedge-shaped battle formation that is designed to penetrate the ranks of the enemy. Can also be used describe any other battle formation where the enemy is encountered at close-quarters.
Kawau-moe-ara	“The still, watchful cormorant”. Denotes the ability to move with lightning speed from a seemingly sleepful state of slumber.
Kawau-ruku-roa	“The deep-diving cormorant”. A deep, concentrated thrust into the heart of an enemy formation.
Kekeri	To fight.
Kiri-tangata	The inner palisade of a paa. Also the third dart placed in the wero challenge (Te Arawa).
Ki-tao	An invocation spoken over a spear before battle, normally accompanied with expectorate as one rubs the weapon.
Koki	Flanking angles of a paa.
Koanga-umu	Charm for depriving one’s enemies of strength.
Koikoi	A wooden spear that is sharpened at both ends.
Kokiri	To charge forward as a body of men.
Koko	Chant used to keep a guard awake at night during times of war.
Kopere	(1) To sling. (2) To throw violently. (3) A sling consisting of a string attached to a stick. (4) The spear thrown by the kotaha.
Kopere-Tane	An exclamatory phrase uttered by the leader of a war party as the signal for immediate action.
Korapa	Lapses in concentration such as turning left in the wero or flinching in combat.
Kororeke-puoho-tata	A counter-charge to repel the enemy.
Kotaha	(1) Part of a chief’s head-dress. (2) The throw-stick for a spear.
Kotaha-kurutai	A weapon consisting of a sharp stone shaped like a mere, but thrown attached to a string and recovered by the string if it missed its target.
Kotia	To cut off, to ambush.
Kotiate	“Cut-liver”. A lobed weapon of hardwood or whalebone. The lobes were called ate-runga and ate-raro. The notches were called kaniwha, the blade called the rau, the handle called the kakau and the pommel called the reke. The thong was called tau.
Kotaratarā	A dance of triumph.

Koukou	The top-knot of a warrior. Warriors would cut off the koukou of their victims as a tally.
Kura-takahi-puni	A frontal assault to destroy the enemy.
Kura-takai-puni	An encirclement of the enemy position with secondary attacks coming off the main attack.
Kuru	(1) A point of a spear. (2) To strike with a fist.
Kurutao	An arrow-head battle formation of one or more ranks.
Manea (Hau)	Remnants of the life-force or auric field of a person left in a footprint. Toa maneanea were assassins who were used to kill enemy chiefs
Maawe	A lock of hair or piece of clothing taken from the first victim of battle and offered to the tribal war-god.
Mahunu	Part of a karakia performed over pieces of kumara which were buried in the path of an approaching enemy so that their legs would be burnt and their attack would falter.
Maia	Brave and daring.
Maioro	The banks or walls of a terraced paa.
Maipi	A wooden weapon similar to a taiaha or hani.
Maka-maka-whana	To perform a wardance.
Makutu	Curses or negative thoughts that are designed to injure and kill people.
Manu-kahaki	A tactical withdrawal used to deceive an enemy into pre-arranged ambushes.
Mango-pare	Hammer-head shark. Part of a series of taiaha movements based around the shark.
Marangaiareare	(1) Crucifix-type guard where the taiaha is held horizontally across the shoulders. (2) A figure 8 movement with the taiaha rotating backwards.
Marereko	A war plume made of twelve feathers of the huia, kotuku, kaahu or other prized bird plumage.
Maroro	A flying fish. He maroro kokoti ihu waka, the flying fish that crosses the bow of the war canoe, referring to the first victim of a war party.
Matakautete	A saw-like weapon made from sharp pieces of obsidian flakes in a wooden frame.
Matakiirea	Advance guard of an army.
Matarau	Forked spear used for catching eels as well as a weapon of war.
Matarua	Two edged, double pointed weapons that can be used for striking and thrusting. Nga rakau matarua a Tuu refers to the thrusting and striking weapons of war.
Matataki	Challenger.
Matataki-atutahi	Challenge to the death.
Matataki-maunga-rongo	Challenge of peace.
Matataki-whakahoki	Challenger who returns with information to the main body.
Matataki-a-Whiro	Challenger chosen to fight a one-on-one battle to the death.
Matataua	"Eyes of a war party". Warriors chosen as scouts and trackers.
Matia	A spear.
Matua	The main body of an army.
Maui-kai-tangata	Left-handed fighter.
Mau rakau	Skill at arms.
Mere	A short cudgel type weapon normally made of pounamu, onewa or other stone.
Mira (Mira tuatini)	A saw-like weapon made of shark's teeth fastened to a piece of wood

Mohoao	Wild, uncouth fighter.
Mura o te ahi	“The scorching flames of a fire”. Used in reference to battle.
Nga Kiore	The pair of scouts who were the eyes and ears of the advance guard of a war party.
Ngaupaa	A group of resolute fighting men.
Ngarahu	“Stir the ashes”. A war dance used in preparation for battle.
Ngarara-kopae-ara	“The lizard crossing the path”. The placing of the teka or dart broadways across the path of an approaching party as a warning (Ngati Porou).
Ngohi	Troop or company of fighting men.
Ngutu	Two side entrances leading from from main entrance into the paa.
Ohu Totara	The growing totara sapling referring to a young, ambitious warrior.
Oka	A short wooden dagger made out of hardwood or whalebone comprising a blade and a grooved boss to prevent slippage. The handle was grooved to allow better grip when wet. Also known as tete.
Okewa	Stone weapon, shaped like a mere but made from melphyre, aphanite, and other fine grained rock.
Okooko	Parry spear thrusts by clasping the spear in both hands.
Onewa	A kind of dark-grey rock used for making stone weapons.
Ope	A troop or war party.
Orua marangai	A taiaha movement.
Otane-Matua	A taiaha guard
Paa	A fortress or fortified position.
Pahu	An alarm or gong used to sound the call to arms in times of war.
Paiaka	An axe-like weapon made from the root of a tree as it was less likely to split in battle. Also known as a tewhatewha.
Pakanga	Any form of hostilities but normally associated with the combat aspect of war.
Pake	A small truncheon of triangular or quadrilateral cross-section. Also called patuki or potuki.
Pakeaka	Traverses crossing the head of a war pa at intervals for protection from flanking fire.
Paopao Maro	Striking the bare skin with the stiff end of the flax. A practice designed to develop the reflexes.
Paopao Manuka	Similar to paopao maro but using the tip of a manuka stick which has been heated in a fire.
Papaara	The inner citadel of a paa.
Paraoa	Weapon made from the bone of the sperm whale.
Para whakawai	A ‘parade ground’ where weaponry was taught.
Parepare	(1) Defensive charms. (2) The bank inside the palisades of a paa.
Parekura	A battle or battlefield.
Parera nekeneke	A running battle as part of a delaying defence to slow a pursuing force or disperse a bigger force.
Parewhero	The slaughter of battle.
Patiti	Hatchet or tomahawke.
Patu	Generic name for cudgel-type weapons.
Pehi	The second person killed in battle.
Pekekiwi	Striking blows at random with no effect.
Pekepakihiwi	Performing effective strikes and blows.

Pekerangi	The outer palisade. The first dart placed down in the ceremonial challenge (Te Arawa).
Peketua	Assume command in the presence of a higher rank.
Pere	Arrow or dart thrown by the means of a dart attached to a stick.
Peruperu	War dance performed with weapons where warriors come face-to-face with the enemy in battle.
Pia	A beginner. A lower student is a taura and a more experienced student is a tauira
Pihe	Song sung over the bodies of the slain.
Pihe hikutoto	Ceremony performed on the return of an unsuccessful war party.
Pikari	The short mincing steps used when advancing to engage the enemy in combat.
Piki	A person acting as a second in a one-on-one combat challenge.
Pioi	Song sung while brandishing heads taken in battle.
Pokaitara	A group of elite warriors skilled at arms.
Poke	To double-bank an opponent.
Porotaka	A circular battle formation.
Pou-tangata	A greenstone adze used as a weapon of war
Pou-whenua	A halbert type weapon, similar to a taiaha, but with a sharp point instead of a carved tongue.
Puapua	A garment, wrapped around the arm as a form of protection against blows. Also known as puru or whakapuru-tao.
Pukupuku	A thick woven band of flax, about 15 cm wide and 5m long, that was soaked in water and wrapped around the upper body like body armour to protect against spears.
Puhi-maroke	The trail of feathers from the bow of the war canoe that float in the air. Symbolic of the connection of the canoe with Tawhirimatea, god of the winds.
Puhi-moana-ariki	The trail of feathers from the bow of the war-canoe that float in the sea. Symbolic of the connection of the canoe with Tangaroa, god of the sea.
Puhipuhi	Bundle of feathers, normally hawk, that were split along the stems and tied on to the blade of the tewhatewha for signaling and distraction purposes.
Pukaea	A long horn type instrument that was used give alarm in the times of war.
Puukai a Rongo	"A heap of kumara" referring to peaceful activities.
Puukai a Tuu	"A heap of bodies" referring to war activities.
Puumanawa	Rearquard where warriors delay enemy in order to gain more time for the fleeing main body.
Pupani	Place of encampment.
Putatara	A conch that was blown to sound the alarm in times of war.
Putā	A battle-area where warriors have fallen. Also means vagina.
Raka	Ambidexterity in the use of weapons.
Rakau	(1) Wood. (2) Generic term for weaponry.
Rakau-a-Tane	Weaponry application within bush or close-country.
Rakau-a-Tangaroa	Weaponry application within swamp or shallow waters
Rakau-a-Tawhirimatea	Weaponry application in wet or windy weather conditions.
Rakau taa	Single grip short cudgel type weapons.
Rakau taa-wero	Double grip halbert type weapons.
Rakau wero	Double grip spear type weapons.
Rakau whiua	Projectile weapons.

Rangamaro	A group of warriors dedicated to destroying the enemy or being destroyed in the process.
Rangi	A movable shield of supplejack used in assaulting the palisades of a paa.
Rere (Whakarere)	Use a weapon to strike a blow.
Reti	A spear attached to a long cord.
Ringakore	Unarmed
Ripi	To rip.
Riri	Anger.
Riripakipaki	To surround in fighting.
Rongo	The Maori god of peace and cultivation. Rongo-a means healing.
Rongo-a-kai	Peace brought about by feasting.
Rongo-a-whare	Peace brought about by the mediation of women in the home.
Rongo-a-marae-roa	Peace brought about by the mediation of men on the marae
Rongo-taketake	Lasting peace between the gods of the warring tribes.
Rongo-tamatane	Male peace.
Rongo-tamawahine	Female peace.
Rotarota	Hand signals.
Ruahine	Fighting in close formation at short range.
Ruatapuke	Drawing an enemy on to a battlefield where he is completely trapped.
Ruru	Given as a command to a war party so as to maintain closed ranks when charging.
Ta	Stroke of a taiaha.
Taiaha	A halbert type weapon having a blade at one end and a point at the other end in the shape of a tongue.
Taiapu	To assault a position and take by storm. A coup-de-main operation. Also used as a sign of war when a star is in a certain position with the moon.
Taipara	To fire a volley at.
Tai ranga	"A huge breaker wave". Refers to being attacked by a large war party.
Tai whatiwhati	"Smaller waves". Refers to being attacked by smaller war parties.
Tai whakaea	"The withdrawing surf". Withdrawing from an attack in order to rally for a fresh assault.
Takapau hurihanga	A ceremony to welcome a victorious war-party back into the paa once the tapu of war had been cleansed off the warriors.
Takituu	Column formation used for attack.
Takuahi	Centre of line of battle.
Tao.	A spear.
Taotu	Wounded.
Taparahi	Extended line battle formation.
Tapawha	Square battle formation.
Tara	A spear point or barb. Also a woman's vagina.
Tarerarera	A short spear of manuka that is barbed and notched so that it breaks off in the body. Manuka was sometimes chosen as the wood contained a resin which caused the wound to become septic.
Tarukinga	Slaughter.
Tatau-pounamu	Enduring peace.
Tau	Loop or thong on the handle of a mere or kotiate.
Taua	An army.



Taua-toto	The immediate raising of a war party to avenge a disaster. Also called a taua-whakawhati-rau-rakau
Taua-ngaki-mate	The more deliberate raising of a war-party with emphasis on the planning aspects.
Taumatatakitahi	To select a champion for each side.
Tautapatapa	Single combat between champions.
Tauri	The fillet fastening the red feathers from the underwing of the kaka parrot and doghair to the neck of the taiaha-a-kura.
Te Arawhaiti a Tane	The narrow path of Tane. Can refer to death.
Te Hei o Tahoka	A mode of movement based on a four-pointed star formation comprising a main body with security elements on all four sides.
Te Hua a Tane Matua	A taiaha sequence replicating the creation of Hine-ahu-one by Tane Matua.
Te Hui a Tangaroa	A series of taiaha movements performed above the head.
Te Tuu Tane	A fighting stance.
Teka	Dart used in challenge. Also called taki or manuka.
Tewha-tewha	An axe-like halbert weapon, also called paiaka.
Tiipatapata	A rapid, stacato foot-movement.
Tiora	A marauding party separate from the main army.
Tipi	A thrust with the edge of a patu.
Toa taua	A warrior.
Toa taua kua pukengatia	A battle experienced warrior.
Toa-taumata-rau	A warrior of much fame and accomplishment.
Too	To carry the taiaha at the trail.
Tohi	(1) To sprinkle with water . (2) An innovation to the gods (3) To avoid a weapon by bending the body.
Tohi-taua	Ceremony associated with the preparation of a war-party for battle.
Tohu	A sign.
Toka-tuu-moana	A battle strategy where the enemy was engaged at short range and allowed everyone to take part. Also referred to as the sea-rock-defence.
Totara hoi	"The mature totara tree surrounded by the mingimingi undergrowth". A guard of selected warriors protecting the old people and the children.
Tui	To parry a weapon with the arms. Also called pare.
Tuki	To strike.
Tuki-ata	To attack at first light.
Tuku	To evade a blow.
Tuu	The Maori god of war.
Tuumatohi	In close order.
Tutu-ngarahu (puehu)	An inspection based on the performance of the war-dance to determine the condition and the readiness of the warriors for battle.
Turuhi	A spear-like weapon similar to the pouwhenua.
Ukupaka	Move from close order to open order.
Umu koanga tohora	A reconnaissance term to describe the composition of a war party.
Upane	Abreast in even rank.
Urutomo	(1) To enter into close-engagement with an enemy. (2) A pig-headed fighter.
Utu	Vengeance.
Wahaika	"Mouth of the fish". A short hook-shaped cudgel weapon normally made out of hardwood or whalebone.

Wero	(1) To pierce. (2) A challenging procedure similar to the sentry challenge where warriors ascertain the intent of approaching parties.
Whaioio	Single file.
Whaitaua	A party which comes to the assistance of another in the time of war.
Whaiwhaiaa	To curse and cast negative spells
Whakariki	A war-cry.
Whakaariki	A war party.
Whakaara	(1) To sound the alarm.(2) A sentry.
Whakaaraara	Chant to keep sentries awake at night.
Whakakau	Hostile demonstration in front of a main body to engage in single combat
Whakamomori	A berserker rage where one abandons all feelings of self-preservation.
Whakapae	Extended line battle formation.
Whakatahurihuri	Ceremony performed on the return of a victorious war-party.
Whakatuu waewae	Individual and collective foot drills.
Whakatuu rakau	Weapon drills.
Whana korero	The thrust and parry of the oral encounters on the marae.
Whana tukutahi	The tumultuous head-long charge into the enemy ranks.
Whangaihau	A ceremony performed over the first victim whereby the heart is removed and offered to the tribal war-god. Sometimes it was lit and the direction of the smoke foretold the outcome of the ensuing battle.
Whare maire	(1) School of sorcery and the black arts. (2) School of war.
Whare-o-te-riri	Noted warriors who form the hard-core of a war party. They are the main threat.
Whare tuu taua	School of war.
Whawhai apituu	Fighting at close range, normally within patu striking distance or arms reach.
Whawhai areare	Fighting at a longer range when fighting with a taiaha or longer length weapons.
Wawa	The inner palisade.
Wiwi	The outer palisade.

## APPENDIX TWO

The following is a list of the East Coast paa sites, battlefields and local places that were visited as part of the methodology of this study.

Tokiwera	Paa of Tamahae	Raukokore	4 Dec 95
Ahikaa	Tamahae's training ground	Raukokore	4 Dec 95
Puruwhakamataku	Sacred spring at Kirieke	Raukokore	3 Dec 95
Te Paa-o-te-Kii	Aitanga-a-Mate	Aorangi Mt	27 Dec 95
Taitai Paa	Aitanga-a-Mate	Taitai Mt	27 Dec 95
Kahuitara Paa	Aitanga-a-Mate	Hiruharama	30 Dec 95
Pohatukura Paa	Aitanga-a-Mate	Hiruharama	30 Dec 95
Tokamapuhia Paa	Paa of Te Aotakii	Hicks Bay	1 Jan 96
Waihirere waterfall	Te Whanau-a-Te Aotakii	Hicks Bay	1 Jan 96
Okauwharetoa Paa	Paa of Tuuwhakairiora	Te Araroa	3-5 Jan 96
Keke Pohatu	Tuuwhakairiora's training ground	Te Araroa	3-5 Jan 96
Toka-a-Tuuwhakairiora	A rock where Tuu fought	Te Araroa	3-5 Jan 96
Te Hekawa	A place of local significance	Te Araroa	3-5 Jan 96
Whetumatarau Paa	A refuge paa	Te Araroa	3-5 Jan 96
Te Maniaroa	A former battlefield	Te Araroa	3-5 Jan 96
Purapuraaure	Umuariki's training ground	Tuuparoa	3-5 Jan 96
Rangiweherua Paa	Paa of Ruataupare	Tuuparoa	3-5 Jan 96
Kokai Paa	Aitanga-a-Mate	Whareponga	3-5 Jan 96
Kirikiritatangi	Rangitukua's training ground	Whareponga	3-5 Jan 96
Pukemaire Paa	Former Hauhau paa	Tikitiki	3-5 Jan 96
Kaimoho Point	Whanau-a-Ruataupare	Tuuparoa	4 Oct 96
Taumatahekeroa Paa	Whanau-a-Hinetapora	Mangahanea	3-4 Dec 96
Tokaanu Paa	Ngati Ruanuku Paa	Whareponga	3-4 Dec 96
Paepaenui	Tuuwhakairiora battlefield	Whareponga	3-4 Dec 96
Titirangi	Aitanga-a-Hauiti	Tolaga Bay	5 Dec 96

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