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HE TATAITANGA AHUA TOI

the house that Riwai built/a continuum of Maori art



Ko Taharora te tangata

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Abstract

He taitanga ahua toi

Prior to the 1950s, visual culture within tribal environments could be separated into customary and non-customary. In the early 19th century, customary visual culture maintained visual correspondence with prior painted and carved models of the pre-contact period. In the latter part of the 19th century, non-customary painted and carved imagery inspired by European naturalism informed tribal visual culture. This accommodation of European imagery and practice was trans-cultural in its translation to tribal environments.

In the 1960s, an innovative trans-customary art form evolved outside tribal environments, fusing customary visual culture and modernism. This trans-customary art form, which maintained visual empathy with customary form of the 19th century, was introduced into the tribal environment, initially, in a painted mural in 1973, and subsequently in a multimedia mural in 1975. In 1989 and 1990, this trans-customary Maori art practice informed the art of the Taharora Project at Mihikoinga marae in Ohineakai. In this Project, the 1970s trans-customary Maori art precedents were extended with non-customary form and practice.

The thesis employs *taitanga kaupapa toi* as a paradigm for Maori cultural relativity and relevance en-framing form, content and genealogy. Annexed to this paradigm are a range of methods: a *taitanga reo* method for interpreting Maori language texts; a *taitanga korero* method, conjoining a kaupapa Maori and an iconographic approach, for interpreting meaning in tribal visual culture, and a *taitanga whakairo* method, incorporating stylistic analysis as formal sequence, semiology and intrinsic perception, for analysing a continuum of stylistic development from the Rawheoro School of carving to the Taharora Project. The Taharora Project constitutes the case study where tribal visual culture and contemporary art within tribal environments are contextualised in a trans-cultural continuum.

The critical question that underpins this thesis is how do form, content and genealogy contribute to art that resonates with Maori? The thesis concludes that trans-cultural practice in contemporary art can resonate with Maori if the art maintains visual correspondence or visual empathy with customary tribal form. In their absence, cultural resonance can be achieved through a grounding of the content, informing the art, in a paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance, a *taitanga kaupapa toi*. The genealogy of the artist is a further determinant for resonance.

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Mai i te whare tawhito ki te whare hou

*Kikorangi te rangi, kikorangi te moana, kikorangi te whare
Horahia te hinapouri i tou wehenga e Riwai
Penei nga whare onamata kua ngaro
Nahau i mahue te ira tangata
Haere atu e Riwia ki te poho o Papatuanuku
Takahia e koe te ara whanui a Tane
He oha o tou tipuna a Maui
Te ara i takahia e te mano
Ahakoa, wahangu tou reo
Haruru ana i a matou ngakau
Pena nga reo i ro tou whare
He wa tangi he wa maumahara
Ka wheoro nga ngaru ki Tangitu i tou wehenga
Papaki tai pena nga kopararua o Pakanui
Wahangu nga kahawai ki Otekara
Pukupu nga mara ki Ngararanui
Koropuku te awa o Taiharakeke i nga roimata
Kei whea koe e Riwai?
Ngaro atu koe mai nga paharakeke o Ohineakai
Maringi nga roimata ki tai i te muriwai ki Waipiro
Ka rere ki raro te pouhaki ki Te Kiekie
Wahangu tou reo i a Hinenuitepo
Wheoro tonu tou reo i tou whare kikorangi
He taonga tuku iho mo nga hunga ora*

I had always assumed that a Master of Visual Arts was the terminal degree for an artist until I became a staff member in the School of Maori Studies at Massey University under Professor Mason Durie in 1991. In time, I succumbed to his advice that a doctorate in philosophy should be my ultimate goal. Convinced, I enrolled in the doctoral programme in 1998 under the supervision of Professor Mason Durie and Dr Roger Neich. Coincidentally, it was the same year that my wife enrolled, and she, like any good academic citizen, finished before me.

A Fulbright Grant in 1998 allowed me to make a start on the doctorate at the University of Hawaii where I conscientiously completed three chapters and made a start on a number of incomplete chapters. My original aim was to interpret 18th and 19th century tribal carving. My return from Hawaii in 1999 presaged an imminent completion of the thesis but art and teaching intervened. The thesis floundered, and my supervisors encouraged me to contemplate another plan of attack.

In 2001, I completed the Taharora Project, which I began in 1989. In my desire to provoke the conservative aesthetic sensibilities of Ngati Porou I decided to coat the façade of my ancestral house, commemorating the style of Riwai Pakerau, in blue paint. In 2002, I was requested to attend a Wananga at Mihikoinga marae at Ohineakai to justify my unconventional colour choice. The episode gave rise to the Ngai Taharora proverb '*Kikorangi te rangi, kikorangi te moana, kikorangi te whare*' – blue is the sky, blue is the sea, blue is the house. I was fortunate to win over the majority of the wananga attendees and the house remains blue to

this day. In a twist of fate, this episode provided a new form of attack for the thesis on ‘the house that Riwai built’.

In 2003, a Te Mata o Te Tau Postgraduate Scholarship provided the impetus to realise the new plan of attack, an opportunity to visit marae on the East Coast, respond to a tono (invitation) from Dr Pakariki Harrison, and visit a number of national museums. In the process, the original chapters fell by the wayside or were substantially rewritten to align with the new direction and new chapters evolved. While the previous plan focused on tribal carving of the 18th and 19th century, the new plan positions tribal carving within a continuum of stylistic development from the 18th century Rawheoro style to the Taharora Project completed in the new millennium. I am indebted to my supervisors for their patience and guidance.

There are many others to whom I owe a debt of gratitude, in the fruition of *Te tataitanga ahua toi: the house that Riwai built*. First and foremost is my tipuna (ancestor) Riwai Pakerau who built the ancestral house Taharora that forms the locus of the Taharora Project, and whose *tataitanga whakairo* (style) forms a critical *tahuhu* (backbone) for this thesis. I acknowledge the late Waho Tibble as the *mangai korero* (the mouthpiece of kaumatua) from Ngai Taharora whose research informs the art of the Taharora Project. To the late Wiwi Henry and Tame Te Maro, whose ritual stewardship was invaluable for the cultural safety of the Taharora Project, you will always be remembered. I am indebted to Ngai Taharora, Te Whanau a Rakairoa and Te Whanau a Iritekura whose involvement and intervention in the Taharora Project ensured cultural accountability throughout its evolution. I remember my brother William and my grandmother Merekuia McIlroy who passed away during the early phase of the Project. I also pay tribute to my grandmother who planted the seed that led to the enrichment of the house that her tipuna built. I acknowledge the subsequent passing of my grandfather, Jim McIlroy, my granduncle Hiwi Maraki and grandaunt Madeline Maraki whose frequent visits to Mihikoinga marae during the Taharora Project in 1989 and 1990 enriched the art in narratives of residence on the Ohineakai Block. To the ringa wera (chefs) whose nourishment of body enriched the mind I salute you.

Waiariki Polytechnic in Rotorua deserves special mention because they allowed me to undertake the Taharora Project with staff and students while teaching at the Polytechnic in 1989 and 1990. To all the staff and students whose contribution was immeasurable I am forever grateful as I am to the staff and students of the School of Maori Studies at Massey University in Palmerston North who contributed to the completion of the Project in 2001.

I honour the conceptual contribution to this thesis of the pioneers of the contemporary Maori art movement, particularly Arnold Wilson, Cliff Whiting, Para Matchitt, and Sandy Adsett whose influence and guidance has shaped my direction as an artist and educator, and whose trans-customary practice is foundational in this thesis. I owe special thanks to Robyn Kahukiwa whose work provides a conceptual karanga that allows the thesis to navigate a kaupapa toi approach to research. To my mentor, master carver Dr Pakariki Harrison of Ngati

Porou, who invited me to spend time with him at Kennedy's Bay during the evolution of this thesis, I am forever grateful for your knowledge, wisdom and your willingness to act as a reader for my thesis.

At the core of the thesis are the tribal carvings in national and international museums that provide the raw data for stylistic analysis and interpretation, and the matauranga Maori on which this thesis is grounded. I acknowledge the carvers of these *taonga tuku iho* (inherited treasures) and pay special tribute to Hoani Ngatai, Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto as carvers of the Iwirakau style who worked with Riwai Pakerau. Of course, I thank the respective institutions for allowing me access to the Maori collections where these significant *taonga* are housed.

Last and by no means least, I acknowledge the support of my wife and friend Dr Huia Tomlins-Jahnke whose academic rigour has been exemplary if not inimitable. And of course, there is my daughter Shelley who I hope will follow in her mother's footsteps rather than those of a procrastinating artist.

To my mother *Harata Takarure McIlroy-Jahnke* – I dedicate this thesis to you.

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Only museums outside Aotearoa New Zealand have been identified by country for accession numbers.

Chapter One

He tataitanga whakawhiti

A trans-cultural lineage: introduction

In 1978, I completed the illustrations for a children's book written by Ron Bacon entitled *The House of the People*. The book tells the story about the journey of a tohunga whakairo (master carver) seeking inspiration for the carvings, paintings and lattice work for the ancestral house. His sources of inspiration were forests, swamps, rivers and ocean. The fictional house the tohunga built contained familiar customary patterns associated with carving, painting and latticework. In illustrating *The House of the People* I was constructing a conceptual house, unaware that a decade later I would be creating a house for the people. Not just any house, but a house built by my great, great grandfather Riwai Pakerau.

In 1988 while undertaking research for the Taharora Project, a kaumatua (elder) of Te Whanau a Iritekura gifted me an amo (bargeboard support post) from the original Iritekura, a tribal house named after an ancestor.¹ The amo had been recovered from the sand bank of the Waipiro stream that flows behind the present day Iritekura whare nui.² Riwai Pakerau was responsible for carving the amo. It constitutes a critical genealogical and temporal locus for this thesis because it was carved in the Ngai Taharora carving style of the early 20th century. The Ngai Taharora style is a legacy of the Iwirakau style within the Ngati Porou tribal region of the East Coast. Its form and pattern appear on the façade of Taharora, 'the house that Riwai built', at Ohineakai. The façade was carved in 2001 to commemorate his distinctive carving style. Carvings and composite relief panels inside the house and the dining room constitute the Ngai Taharora style of the 21st century. These carvings and composite relief panels were designed by me and completed under my direction during 1989 and 1990. This style is a legacy of the innovative trans-customary practices of Cliff Whiting of Te Whanau a Apanui and Para Matchitt of Whakatōhea, Te Whanau a Apanui and Ngati Porou.

In *Whakairo Maori Tribal Art*, David Simmons discusses the Iwirakau style within the broader East Coast stylistic traditions of the Ngati Porou tribe.³ He acknowledges the Iwirakau legacy relative to the Rawheoro whare wananga established by Hingangaroa at

¹ John Harrison was the kaumatua who gifted the amo. Although he was later reprimanded by trust members of Te Whanau a Iritekura he stood by his decision to gift the carving back to a descendant of Riwai Pakerau. This amo is badly damaged with the lower half lost through decay. It is housed at Mihikoinga marae.

² Whare nui as a generic term for 'significant house' is used as a substitute for whare whakairo (embellished house), whare runanga (council house), whare hui (meeting house) and whare tipuna (ancestral house) because Taharora straddles a number of these architectural descriptors. Whare kai is used for the dining room or hall that usually incorporates the whare kauta (cookhouse) under one structure.

³ In a recent publication David Simmons introduces the 'Ruakapanga style' based on carvings completed for the Ruakapanga whare nui that stood in Tolaga Bay. Simmons, D. (2006). *Meeting-houses of Ngati Porou o te Tairāwhiti An illustrated Guide*. Auckland: Reed. p. 161.

Uawa.⁴ He identifies three prime examples as exemplary of the East Coast carving style of the 18th century, a drawing of a poupou by Frederick Miller, a drawing of a trapezoid prow, and a poupou from Whangara.⁵ Simmons also includes an illustration of poupou from Tumoana-Kotore house, which he claims was carved by Hoani [Hone] Taahu between 1860 and 1865.⁶ The East Coast style falls within Simmons's square style (as opposed to serpentine style).⁷ Simmons also cites Tamati Ngakaho, Hone Ngatoto, Hoani Taahu and Hare Tokoaka as contributors to the style.⁸

In *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori Carving*, Hirini Moko Mead substitutes the Waiapu style for the Iwirakau describing it as

'a sophisticated one rich in forms...Carvings tend to be relatively shallow with the bodies of figures so well rounded that the edges blend into the background. The manner of applying surface decoration is distinctive and readily recognised'.⁹

He also acknowledges the contributions of Tamati Ngakaho, Hone Ngatoto, Hone Taahu, Wi Tahata, Wi Haereroa and Hone Te Wehi to the Waiapu style.¹⁰ In contrast to Simmons, Hirini Moko Mead separates out the Uawa style from that of the Waiapu using the same prime examples as Simmons. He also identifies Pourewa Island as the location for the Frederick Miller poupou suggesting that 'we do not know whether Cook took the poupou from here but a drawing of the poupou exists'.¹¹ Since the Simmons and Hirini Moko Mead publications the Pourewa Island poupou has been found at Tuebingen University in Germany, and Simmons's Tumoana-Kotore poupou have been re-assigned to an uncompleted house carved for Karaitiana Takamoana, a Ngati Kahungunu chief, in the late 1870s.¹²

In this thesis I re-contextualise the stylistic contributions of Hirini Moko Mead and Simmons along with other writers to develop a *tataitanga whakairo* style lineage, in which the Waiapu style is re-named the Iwirakau style. Hirini Moko Mead's Uawa style is re-designated as the Rawheoro style that informs, not only the Iwirakau style, but also the Tukaki and Turanga styles of Te Kaha and Gisborne.¹³ I propose that Simmons's square and serpentine hypothesis for regional distribution fails to implicate architectural

⁴ Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo Maori tribal Art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p.150.

⁵ The drawing is actually an engraving. Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo Maori tribal Art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p.150.

⁶ Simmons. (1985). p.151.

⁷ Simmons. (1985). p.55.

⁸ Simmons. (1985). pp.150-1.

⁹ Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. p. 82-3. Ngarino Ellis acknowledges the Iwirakau style as synonymous with the Tapere style (named after the Whare Wananga o Tapere). In the process she identifies Hone Taahu, Hone Ngatoto, Wi Haereroa, Hone Te Wehi, Hoani Ngatai, Haare Tokoata, Tamati Ngakaho, and Kihirini Te Ao Tapunui. Ihimaera, W. & Ellis, N. (eds.). (2002). *Te Ata Maori Art from the East Coast, New Zealand*. Auckland: Reed: pp. 37-8.

¹⁰ Mead. (1986). p. 82.

¹¹ Mead. (1986). p. 70.

¹² The Frederick Miller drawing was sole form of evidence for the Pourewa Island poupou prior to its discovery in Germany. I was fortunate to be able to view the carving in January 2006. The carving is notable for its diminutive scale and shallow relief.

¹³ For Hirini Moko Mead the Tukaki style is the Te Kaha style and the Rukupo style the Turanga style. Mead. (1986). pp. 75, 86.

structures and a tribal worldview in the attribution of tribal carving style. In the process of revisiting the stylistic attributions by Simmons and Hirini Moko Mead I critique the provenance of the Maraenui pataka (storehouses) and the carved surface pattern in the Rawheoro style.

This thesis acknowledges the contributions of prior writers and extends previous knowledge with new insights and understanding. Knowledge gained through an engagement with literature, first hand experience with tribal carving in whare nui around the country, carvings in national and international museums, and the creation of the Taharora Project embracing Taharora whare nui and Hine Matakaikai whare kai. This access to knowledge, also results from a cultural process of *tono* where an invitation from master carver Pakariki Harrison resulted in a residency at his home in Kennedy's Bay discussing tribal carving and *matauranga* Maori associated with tribal carving.

In line with the Maori title for this thesis *Te Tataitanga ahua toi* aims are to create a temporal timeframe for tribal carving, the carving and painting of Riwai Pakerau and the contemporary art in the Taharora Project. Originally, Taharora was an un-carved house built by Riwai Pakerau after the severing of hapu (sub-tribal) connections with Te Whanau a Iritekura at Waipiro Bay. Hence, the subtitle for the thesis is 'the house that Riwai built'. A further aim of the thesis is to elevate Riwai Pakerau's status as carver alongside the carvers of the Iwirakau style acknowledged by Hirini Moko Mead and Simmons. For the most part Riwai Pakerau is acknowledged as a painter of naturalistic images and a range of distinctive *kowhaiwhai* designs.¹⁴

'Obviously, Riwai was a master of *kowhaiwhai* work, but he was also an accomplished figurative painter. His multicoloured trees and painted inscriptions in Iritekura and Mauitikitiki-a-Taranga share the same delicate balanced composition, while his paintings in Ruakapanga add more variation, including a tree felling scene, to his repertoire. Although his dates are uncertain, Riwai Pakerau may represent an East Coast development of naturalistic figurative painting, independent of the Gisborne area development flowing from Rongopai...Riwai Pakerau, as a carver and painter, comes closest to being a specialist figurative painter'.¹⁵

However, his contribution as a carver has been obscured through his association with Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto. As Roger Neich remarks 'Riwai Pakerau has been recorded as the carver [of Iritekura], while Ngata...mentions Hone Ngatoto', and 'Maui was a fully carved house with elaborately carved poupou, possibly by Hone Taahu. Riwai Pakerau has also been mentioned as a carver of this house'.¹⁶ Ngarino Ellis supports Apirana Ngata's ascription by listing Iritekura as one of the houses carved by Hone Ngatoto.¹⁷

'Riwai' is also acknowledged as the carver of Ruakapanga along with 'Hararia' of 'Whanau-a-Rakiroa' and 'Koroniria of Waipiro Bay'.¹⁸

¹⁴ Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. pp. 271-2.

¹⁵ Neich. (1993). p. 198.

¹⁶ Neich. (1993). pp. 271-2.

¹⁷ Ihimaera, W. and Ellis, N. (Eds.). (2002). *Te Ata Maori Art from the East Coast, New Zealand*. Reed: Auckland. p. 43.

¹⁸ Phillipps, W. J. (1944). 'Carved Maori houses of the eastern district of the North Island'. *Records of the Dominion Museum* 1: 109.

According to Keith Redstone

‘Riwai[Pakerau] was a master carver from Waipiro Bay, and was directly involved with the building, carving and kowhaiwhai painting of many older whare. While very little of his work remains, he is recorded as having been involved in the first Ruakapanga (Tolaga Bay), the original Iritekura (Waipiro Bay), and Maui Tikitiki a Taranga (Tokomaru Bay)’.¹⁹

According to Simmons

Riwai Pakerau was carving about the turn of the century. He re-erected Mauitikitiki a Taranga when it was moved to Hikuwai in 1913. A window lintel in the Auckland Museum (No, 45993) is certainly the work of Riwai Pakerau, as was Iritekura No. 1 at Waipiro Bay.²⁰

Te Tataitanga Ahua Toi seeks to separate the carving style of Riwai Pakerau from those of his contemporaries who used a two-ridged haehae surface pattern, particularly Hoani Ngatai, Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto. Allegorically, the recovery of the amo from the stream at Waipiro becomes a recovery of Riwai Pakerau’s carving style from the 19th century Iwirakau style. The latter is used in place of Hirini Moko Mead’s Waiapu style because some of its adherents, including Riwai Pakerau, ‘Hararia’ and ‘Koroniria’ were located outside the Waiapu region.

The carving style of Riwai Pakerau, like other practitioners of the Iwirakau style, appears to perpetuate 18th century customary practice. This customary practice placed subsidiary figures between the legs of primary figures denoting parent child relationships. However, emasculated ancestral carvings ensue along side the prior convention in the late 19th century as a result of Christian conversion in the Ngati Porou region. This change was a trans-cultural accommodation of the settler cultures beliefs and values.

In Rongomaianiwaniwa carved by Hone Ngatoto at Tikitiki, an accession to trans-cultural modification appears in a frieze of animals carved in a European naturalistic tradition. This change extends carved tribal form beyond customary models and experience. However, the marae context, and the relevancy of the images for the local hapu ensure that the carvings resonate with Maori despite stepping outside the customary convention of aspective representation. In a similar manner, Riwai Pakerau’s paintings of naturalistic images of trees, animals, and painted text are evidence of trans-cultural interlocutions within the conventional kowhaiwhai scheme of the whare nui.

Te Tataitanga Ahua Toi is also about the extent to which trans-cultural interlocution impacts on form and content as cultural determinants, alongside the genealogy of the carver/artist for tribal carving and contemporary marae art. This thesis proposes trans-cultural interlocutions should not be viewed as a debasement of tribal carving tradition but a natural consequence of cultures in collision and collusion. A negotiation of trans-cultural interlocutions is important as new knowledge because there has been a tendency to subsume change in tribal visual culture as appropriation or as assimilation or to ignore

¹⁹ Redstone, K. (1990), *Gisborne Museum & Arts Centre Information Sheet*, September 1990.

²⁰ Although Simmons attributes the re-erection of Mauitikitiki a Taranga to Riwai Pakerau he attributes the carving of the amo to Hone Taahu. I argue in Chapter Seven that Riwai Pakerau carved the amo because of the distinctive shoulder and hip band compositions. Simmons, D. (2006). *Meeting-houses of Ngati Porou o te Tairawhiti An illustrated Guide*. Auckland: Reed. pp. 160, 162.

these interlocutions altogether.²¹ The thesis therefore argues for a liberal art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance, a *tataitanga kaupapa toi*, that in the absence of visual correspondence or empathy, demands content to be grounded in kaupapa Maori – Maori frameworks. In addition, the genealogy of the artist is a further mediator in the process of cultural relativity and relevance.

Robyn Kahukiwa has commented,

‘I have been told that figurative painting is not part of Maori culture. Some feel I’m breaking away. I’m not. Cliff Whiting and Para Matchitt pioneered the contemporary movement 30 years ago. My artistic training has been influenced by the West. And anyway, art has to change to develop. If it’s left the way it is, it will die. There’s still a place for traditional art in the meeting house for example, but to say things about Maori now, I’ve got to use today’s medium. It’s a perfectly viable thing to do’.²²

While there have been attempts to eradicate trans-cultural interlocution as impure or foreign it is part of the reality of cultures in conjunction.²³ For much of the 20th century there remained two poles of artistic expression within the context of the marae environment – customary and non-customary. It was not until the 1970s that a distinctive trans-cultural art form, fusing customary forms with modernism, became acceptable within the whare kai. This trans-cultural art practice owes its manifestation to a collusion of a modernist aesthetic and customary tribal tradition in which customary forms were simplified anatomically and customary patterns from the woven arts and painting were reconfigured two and three dimensionally using western mediums and techniques. This is the trans-customary practice of the ‘contemporary movement’ that Robyn Kahukiwa attributes to Cliff Whiting and Para Matchitt.

Change has always been part of tribal carving even in the 18th and 19th centuries exemplified in the adaptation of the relationship between primary and subsidiary figure in the Pourewa Island poupou (1769) and the poupou in Porourangi whare nui (1888) at Waiomatatini. Here the subsidiary figure migrates from between the legs to the upper body of emasculated ancestors.

Te Tataitanga Ahua Toi also explores a continuum of change in relation to the Taharora Project completed between 1999 and 2001. As intimated previously, this is the Ngai Taharora style of the new millennium. It is part of the *tataitanga whakairo* of Riwai

²¹ ‘They [Ngata, and the experts of the Maori School of Arts and Crafts] appropriated Maori Morehu, Christian and Pakeha ideas in a way that made them part of the Morehu architectural whakapapa’. Brown, D. S. (1997). ‘Morehu Architecture’. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. p. 161.

‘Maori art might then be defined as art that looks Maori, feels Maori, is done by Maori following the styles, canons of taste and values of Maori culture. A Maori artists might be defined as a person who identifies as Maori, is Maori by whakapapa and has some proven ability in Maori art’. Mead, S. M. (1997). *Maori Art on the World Scene*. Wellington: Ahua Design and Matau Associates. p. 232.

²² Brito, T. (1981). *Pacific Way*. Auckland: Air New Zealand. p. 13. Figurative painting within the marae context may be traced back to the 1840s with a form based on kowhaiwhai appearing on the rafters of Te Hau ki Turanga in the Poverty Bay region in 1843 with western inspired naturalistic form appearing in Tamatekapua at Ohinemutu in 1872 and Te Tokaanganui a Noho at Te Kuiti in 1873.

²³ See Neich’s discussion on the imposed ‘veil of orthodoxy’ by Charles Nelson and Augustus Hamilton on the Rotorua carvers in the 19th century that led to the carving out of ‘European-style boots’. Neich, R. (2001). *Carved Histories Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Carving*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 204.

Pakerau whose legacy is the Iwirakau style, which in turn is located within a lineage of the Rawheoro style and the evolution of carved houses on the East Coast.

It was on the East Coast at Uawa that European explorers recorded the first reference to the carved house. This house was incomplete in 1769 when visited by Joseph Banks, who writes,

‘But I must not forget the ruins or rather frame of a house (for it had never been finished) which I saw at Tolaga, as it was so much superior in size to anything of the kind we have met with in any other part of the land. It was 30 feet in length,...in breadth and...high; the sides of it were ornamented with many broad carved planks of workmanship superior to any we saw upon the land; but for what purpose this was built or why deserted we could not find out’.²⁴

The ‘house that Riwai built’ sits in a relationship with the house at Pourewa Island and houses created in the 19th and 20th centuries to commemorate important tribal ancestors or tribal histories. Riwai Pakerau is a descendant of Taharora and the Taharora Project places him inside the house as a prominent ancestor alongside other prominent ancestors who descend from Hau, the eldest son of the eponymous ancestor Porourangi.

As Arapata Hakiwai contends,

‘When you look at a carving you see different patterns, motifs, icons and representations. These are all deliberate. The carver is conscious of who the ancestor is and the korero and mana associated with him/her’.²⁵

According to John Taiapa,

‘Before you carve a meeting house the tribe usually come together. You have to know the genealogy of the ancestors so that you can depict them as pillars of the meeting house. You have to know the history of the people’.²⁶

‘The house that Riwai built’ brings together the *tataitanga korero*, the ‘korero and mana’ of ancestors, ‘the genealogy of ancestors’ and ‘the history of the people’ important for Ngai Taharora. It was a *tataitanga korero* created by Waho Tibble as the mangai kaumatua (mouthpiece of elders) in consultation with Ngai Taharora elders. This is the content that, together with form and genealogy, determine whether or not art will resonate with Maori. However, there is also the content that I, as the principle designer of the Taharora Project, have invested in the house. This content can be found in the cosmo-genealogical orations, narratives and ritual incantations of the 19th century. In this sense, ‘the house that Riwai built’, not only sits in a continuum of form, but also in a continuum of content and genealogy.

Te Tataitanga Ahua Toi sets out to contextualise the art in the house within an art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance. Chapter Two, not only sets the methodology for the thesis, but also grounds the thesis in a genealogical paradigm, which subsumes a western framework for one that privileges a Maori worldview.

²⁴ Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 91. This was the house from which the Pourewa Island poupou was taken.

²⁵ Hakiwai, A. (2003). ‘Te Toi Whakairo o Ngati Kahungunu: The Carving Traditions of Ngati Kahungunu’. Unpublished master’s thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand. p. 91.

²⁶ John Taiapa in Hakiwai. (2003). p. 92.

Chapter Two begins by contextualising the thesis within the tribal landscape of Ngati Porou. This is important because the thesis is about ‘the house that Riwai built’ - a Ngati Porou house. However, it is also about an allegorical house of knowledge where Riwai’s house is located in a genealogical relationship with other houses and tribal carving outside of Ngati Porou. Contextualisation of the house within the landscape of Ngati Porou is achieved by initially substituting a sub-tribal pepeha (aphorism) for a tribal one.²⁷ This pepeha is examined against two paintings by Robyn Kahukiwa, a Maori woman artist, to establish a conceptual negotiation of the paepae (platform of ritual encounter) in which the karanga (ritual call of welcome) is intrinsic for any cultural negotiation of the marae (tribal space of ritual encounter).²⁸ In a conceptual sense, this thesis stands as a space of cultural encounter where the knowledge of previous speakers (writers, carvers, artists) provides a *tataitanga korero*, lineage narrative for a new perspective that privileges a Maori worldview and framework. Consequently, *Table 1* is introduced in Chapter Two to demonstrate the genealogical interrelationship between form, content and genealogy. Each of these strand are located within relevant traditions of scholarship.

He tataitanga kaupapa toi is proffered as an art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance. *Tataitanga kaupapa toi* is appropriate as an art paradigm because it enframes form, content and genealogy. *Tataitanga*, as a term intrinsically grounded within whakapapa, privileges the genealogical dimension in this thesis. In Maori oratory recourse is often made to an oratorical recitation in which ‘tatai hono’ acknowledges ancestors and descendants in a continuum of interconnectedness –Apiti hono, tatai hono, te hunga mate ki te hunga mate. Apiti hono, tatai hono, te hunga ora ki te hunga ora. In this respect, the thesis also promotes the notion of a continuum in which tribal visual culture is acknowledged and expressed as art in the new millennium. The critical point of the paradigm introduced in Chapter Two, the methods chapter, contends that if visual form in art is non-customary the content must be grounded in *tataitanga kaupapa toi* that can encompass take (cause) or matauranga (knowledge).

In this section *tataitanga ahua* (form), *tataitanga korero* (content) and *whakapapa* (genealogy) are indexed as interdependent indices for art that resonates with Maori because the thesis seeks to answer the question: how do form, content and genealogy contribute to art that resonates with Maori?

A key consideration for resonance is the extent to which trans-cultural interlocution can impact on form and content. It is proposed that if form has been subject to trans-cultural modification that obscures perceptual relationship with historical models, the content must be grounded in *tataitanga kaupapa toi* that can encompass take or

²⁷ In keeping with the affirmation of land as genealogically and tribally grounded this thesis will not include maps. Instead references to maps by other authors will be cited when relevant, particularly in Chapters Five to Nine.

²⁸ The rationale for placing the conceptual karanga in Chapter Two rather than at the beginning of the thesis is threefold: the karanga is a conceptual karanga; the conceptual karanga is an indispensable component of the *Tataitanga* framework expounded in Chapter Two (the methods chapter); the karanga functions as an allegorical mechanism for binding ancestors and descendants, descendant with one another, descendants with place in a thesis in which genealogy is triangulated with form and content.

matauranga. Without Maori cultural relevance at the level of content the art will no longer resonate with Maori although it might remain relevant as art or even Maori art for the artist who created it. Visual correspondence and empathy are also implicated in a paradigmatic relationship with trans-cultural interlocution.

Te tataitanga ahua toi: the house that Riwai built/a continuum of Maori art introduces the title of the thesis that aims to reveal the layers or strata of meaning and content, the *tataitanga korero*, encoded in the form and practice of tribal carving from the 18th century to the early 20th century and the intercession of late 20th century art. It is argued that the thesis is not about art history but about the genealogy of art within a tribal context. This genealogy is based on the principle of whakapapa as a genealogical platform where terms grounded in whakapapa promote an art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance, a *tataitanga kaupapa toi*.

He tataitanga reo introduces a linguistic method for Maori text analysis. This method is important for the thesis because cosmo-genealogical oration, narrative and ritual incantation written in the Maori language en-frame a worldview capable of providing an insight into the language of carving. This is the content that constitutes the *tataitanga korero* in Chapters Three and Four. Content allows for an interpretation of the tribal carving in Chapter Five and invests the Taharora Project in Chapter Eight and Nine with cosmo-genealogical and tribal significance. This linguistic method concurs with *Kaupapa Maori* as research strategy where language is perceived as a site of struggle, not only for the Maori language, but also for Maori as a people. Ideologically, *tataitanga reo* is employed to cover form, content, style, language and cultural relativity within a framework of Maori consciousness.

He tataitanga korero is used to set in order content or the subject matter in relation to the form of carving or the form of art. It is employed as a synonym for content or subject matter because the thesis is fundamentally about the mediation of form, content and genealogy. The term also encompasses cosmo-genealogical oration and narrative, ritual incantations and tribal narratives as lineage narrative. The prioritisation of Maori language in this study is about grounding the thesis in a *tataitanga kaupapa toi* that colludes with kaupapa Maori as a research strategy, not only at the level of revitalisation, but at the level of access to bodies of knowledge in the Maori language. Consequently, *tataitanga ahua* and *tataitanga whakairo* are used to capture western frameworks associated with form and style. As intimated above, *tataitanga korero* is content and lineage narrative. However, it also includes an iconographical method. Because of the conceptual nature of tribal carving there is a concentration on the synthetic level of analysis rather than pre-iconographical and the conventional that are more concerned with the descriptive and the literal rather than the interpretive.

Tataitanga ahua is used to encompass form because the term encapsulates the genealogy or lineage of form as a western art construct together with form as a generative

notion in tribal narrative.²⁹ *Tataitanga ahua* is therefore an ideological statement about the necessity to contextualise art within the culture in order to make it culturally relevant for Maori.

He tataitanga whakairo is literally about systemising or putting in order whakairo. Whakairo in this context relates to design as a generic process applicable to painting, carving and the woven arts in particular. It also captures *whakairo* as term for wood carving in contemporary language vernacular. *Tataitanga whakairo* is presented as a design lineage capable of encompassing stylistic analysis where the individual design characteristics of carvers can be identified and attributed. It is also employed to capture style as formal sequence where altered repetitions of the same trait are apparent. Semiology as tool for classifying signifiers in a commutation test, and intrinsic perception as the ability of a practising artist to perceive form, are also contextualised as significant methods for stylistic analysis under *tataitanga whakairo*.

In *He tataitanga whakawhiti* an Analytical Framework for Maori Cultural Relativity and Relevance is introduced relative to a prior framework for Maori art. The critical framework indices include whakapapa (genealogy), matauranga (knowledge), ahua (appearance), waihanga (process), wahi (site) and tikanga (protocol). It is proposed that the relative position of form and content will be determined by conservative or liberal accommodation of change in art. If the temporal index for Maori relevance is located in the mid 19th century a more conservative cultural capture is likely. If the temporal index is shifted to the late 19th century or even the early 20th century the more liberal the cultural capture. In the latter case, trans-cultural interlocutions in art will shift from the trans-cultural index to the Maori cultural index.

Under *Whakawhiti ahua* (literally the transition of form), art and visual culture are contextualised. It is proposed that the term art will be used relative to contemporary art while visual culture and tribal carving will be employed when discussing 18th, 19th and early 20th century tribal carving.

Chapter Three and Chapter Four ground the thesis in Maori consciousness where 19th century Maori texts, by both European and Maori writers, form the basis for cosmo-genealogical analysis of tribal notions related to consciousness, the assumption of corporeal form, generative essence and the critical interrelationship between the material and spiritual realms. It is argued that cosmo-genealogy is foundational for *tataitanga kaupapa toi*, an art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance. The cosmo-genealogical intent aims to invest the thesis with philosophical substance, a theoretical premise and a sense of cultural integrity; that is, to anchor some of the important tribal philosophy within tribal narrative and incantation that invest tribal visual culture of the 18th and 19th century with significance. It is the contention of this thesis that the application of a *tataitanga reo* analysis to 19th century Maori texts can lead to an

²⁹ *Tataitanga ahua* as form should not be confused with *ahua* (appearance) as an index in the Analytical Framework for Cultural Relativity and Relevance in Chapters One, Eight and Nine.

interpretation of *tataitanga korero* (content) that can ultimately lead to an interpretation of 18th and 19th century carving. Drawing on the genealogical foundation of tribal narratives, a theoretical framework is constructed that informs the analytical method applied to subsequent chapters. Critically, these chapters are about content because content is foundational for art to resonate with Maori in the absence explicit visual codes that allow Maori to see themselves in the art. As mentioned previously this content is important for a consideration of form in Chapter Five, and Chapters Eight and Nine.

Chapter Five applies the significant cosmo-genealogical concepts explored in Chapter Three and Four to an interpretation of a range of 18th and 19th century carvings. It is argued that the meaning in the carvings coincides with the *tataitanga korero* (content) found in 19th century Maori texts. In this chapter there is a collusion of *tataitanga ahua* (form) and *tataitanga korero* (content). In this respect, tribal carving will resonate with Maori because content, form and the genealogy of the carver are firmly anchored within conservative perceptions of tribal visual culture. Chapter Five also has as one its chief aims the substantiation of intrinsic perception as an analytical tool. It is argued that an accumulated aesthetic sensibility acquired through experience as a practicing artist provides an invaluable perceptual tool. As discussed above *tataitanga whakairo* is used as an overarching term to cover style as formative sequence, semiology and intrinsic perception to interpret 18th and 19th century tribal carving. This chapter is important for the Taharora Project because it establishes a theoretical platform for interpreting content in tribal carving and its applicability for the carvings in ‘the house that Riwai built’. There is also a compositional and thematic relationship that exists between the 18th and 19th century carvings and those in the Taharora project. That is, there is a lineage of form that is translated into a contemporary context where form is invested with *tataitanga korero* relevant for Ngai Taharora as a hapu.

In Chapter Six the *tataitanga whakairo* method is used to create a *tataitanga whakairo* (design lineage) of Ngati Porou carving during the 18th and 19th centuries. This chapter focuses on contextualising the Rawheoro, Iwirakau, Tukaki and Turanga styles. Riwai Pakerau’s style on the amo of Taharora sits in a stylistic lineage with these styles and hence the importance of the chapter. This chapter is also about form, *tataitanga ahua* rather than content, *tataitanga korero*. The concentration on *tataitanga ahua* in this chapter and Chapter Seven is necessary in order to establish a paradigmatic order for identifying commonalities and differences between styles and carvers.

The *tataitanga whakairo* of Riwai Pakerau is the primary focus of Chapter Seven. There is a contextualisation of the Iwirakau *tataitanga whakairo* relative to the prominent adherents whose Ngati Porou whakapapa are foundational in contributing to the *tataitanga whakairo* of Riwai Pakerau. The distinctive characteristics of *tataitanga ahua* (form) in the *tataitanga whakairo* of Riwai Pakerau that distinguish his carving his contemporaries are identified. As mentioned previously, this chapter is about

substantiating the mana (status) of Riwai Pakerau as an important Ngati Porou carver because this thesis is about the 'house that Riwai built'.

Chapter Eight and Nine are about the Taharora Project, the 'house that Riwai' built. They form the case studies for this thesis where the *tataitanga korero* of Waho Tibble is translated into visual form in the whare nui and the whare kai. In the process, these structures are contextualised against the development of other structures and the Ohineakai Block, which was awarded to Ngai Taharora in 1893. These chapters focus on my art and the ramifications of the art for Ngai Taharora and for Maori.

While Chapter Three and Four are about *tataitanga korero* (lineage, narrative, content) Chapter Five is about collusion between *tataitanga korero* (content) and *tataitanga ahua* (form) in the interpretation of tribal carving. Chapter Six and Seven are about *tataitanga whakairo* (style) in which the forms created by different carvers are distinguished. My art is contextualise in Chapter Eight and Nine within a tribal context to explain the art in the whare nui and whare kai. In these Chapters there is a convergence of *tataitanga ahua* (form), *tataitanga korero* (content) and *whakapapa* (genealogy). It is argued that art need not display visual correspondence or visual empathy with historical models in order to resonate with Maori. It is also proposed, that unless the art is informed by *kaupapa ahua toi*, through either take or matauranga, it may not resonate with Maori. However, the whakapapa of the artist, the site, protocol and shifting notions customary and non-customary form and practice can impact on whether or not the art will resonate with Maori.

Chapter Two

Karanga

The first voice heard

Recently, a relative inquired about the mountains and rivers that Ngai Taharora, a sub-tribe from a rural village of Waipiro Bay identified as significant.³⁰ I took time to ponder the question because usually I resorted to the pepeha (tribal aphorism) ‘Ko Hikurangi te maunga, ko Waiapu te awa, ko Porourangi te tangata’. This pepeha acknowledges Hikurangi the mountain and the Waiapu river as paramount indices for the tribal group of Ngati Porou, and the eponymous ancestor Porourangi, as the critical genealogical index for tribal and sub-tribal solidarity and Maori identity on the East Coast. In the past, however, I modified the pepeha by metaphorically assuming the form of a bird that perches amongst the trees cloaking the mountain, drinks the water of the river flowing beneath the mountain, follows the river on its journey eastward to the sea past the ancestral house Porourangi at Waiomatatini, and on to the river mouth. At this point the bird flies southward to alight at the former sites of our ancestral houses in and around Waipiro Bay³¹.

There are two ancestral houses in Waipiro Bay, each named after ancestors who traversed streams rather than rivers, and scaled hills rather than mountains. Despite their physical inconsequentiality in terms of scale, the hills that shelter and the streams that feed the bay are cloaked in history while ocean currents carry memories of settlement.

It dawned on me that my relative’s attempt to reconfigure and prioritise our landscape at Waipiro Bay within the vast landscape of the collective tribal territory of Ngati Porou was a significant act of sub-tribal acclamation. The act permitted the sub-tribes of Ohineakai, Waipiro and Te Kiekeie the opportunity to: contextualise their landscape, encode their history, privilege their ancestors thereby endorsing their genealogical connections.³² The recitation of pepeha is a Maori cultural paradigm that locates the individual ‘in a set of identities which have been framed geographically, politically and genealogically’.³³

In the case of the ancestral house with which we (my relative and I) are most intimately connected, the stream is Taiharakeke, the hill is Tawhiti and the ancestral

³⁰ Waipiro Bay is located on East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand. Refer to Simmons, D. (2006). *Meeting-houses of Ngati Porou o te Tairāwhiti An illustrated Guide*. Auckland: Reed. p. 8.

³¹ Koinei te manu korero e whakatau mai nei ma i nga kahikatea i tipu ake kei raro i te maru o Hikurangi maunga. Anei te manu i inumia te wai e rere ana i te taha o taua maunga tapu ra. Mai i reira ka rere te manu nei ki te taha o te Waiapu ki Waiomatatini. Kei reira te tino tipuna whare o Ngati Porou ko Porourangi. Kei reira hoki te okiokinga o nga tuteihu o Ngati Porou, ara, ko Rapata Wahawaha ma. Mai i tenei wahi tapu ka rere te haere kit e waha o te awa, a, ka tahuri te haere ki Matahu ki tonga. Kei reira te tu ake i nga ra onamata o te pouhaki o Rapata Wahawaha...

³² The sub-tribes are Ngai Taharora, Te Whanau a Iritekura and Te Whanau a Rakairoa. The relationship between these groups will be examined in later chapters.

³³ Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London/ New York: Zed Books Limited. Dunedin: University of Otago Press. p. 126.

house is Taharora. Thus, the pepeha is substituted for a sub-tribal one ‘Ko Tawhiti te maunga, ko Taiharakeke te awa, ko Taharora te tangata’. Hill is elevated to mountain, stream to river, and leader to significant temporal ancestor.

In this example identity acclamation is pervasive in an attempt by the minority group, the sub-tribe, to actively proclaim its autonomy within the larger tribal polity. At another level, there is an ideological current that privileges one tribal tributary over another, a tributary grounded in ‘alternative ideology’³⁴ of sub-tribal independence and autonomy that is also actively championed by urban and sub-tribal group interests within contemporary tribal politics³⁵.

He tataitanga karanga: the significance of the first voice

To begin the lineage narrative I return to the pepeha cited previously, reconfigured textually in a painting entitled ‘Ko Hikurangi te maunga ko Waiapu te awa ko Ngati Porou te iwi’ (1984) (*Figure 1 left*). This painting by a Maori woman artist Robyn Kahukiwa is appropriate for the cultural relativity of this thesis. This pepeha is conceptualised in the carved house panel representing a common ancestor ‘Te Aomihia’ (*Figure 1 right*) carved in 1934 for the ancestral house Te Hono ki Rarotonga at Tokomaru Bay situated south of Waipiro Bay.



Figure 1. Painting. ‘Ko Hikurangi te maunga ko Waiapu te awa ko Ngati Porou te iwi’.
Collection of Robin Scholes.
Poupou. Te Hono ki Rarotonga, Pakiriki marae, Tokomaru Bay.

Recourse to a painting by Robyn Kahukiwa and a carved image of a female ancestor (*Figure 1*) allows me the opportunity to conceptually enact the ‘ritual of pae’, the protocol of Maori social interaction between host and visitor³⁶ These images by a Maori woman of a Maori woman become a conceptual ‘karanga’ acknowledging the critical role of women in Maori society as the first voice heard on the marae (Maori ritual communal

³⁴ ‘Alternative ideologies might be either residual (formed in the past, but still active in the cultural process), or emergent (the expression of new groups, outside the dominant group); they may also be either oppositional (challenging the dominant ideology), or alternative (co-existing with it)...the conditions under which alternative ideologies may persist or arise are always a matter of historical investigation: this is to say that the extent of penetration of the dominant ideology cannot be decided *a priori*’. Wolff, J. (1993). *The Social Production of Art* (second edition). New York: New York University Press. p. 53.

³⁵ In the distribution of assets in the recent fisheries quota settlement Ngati Hine was recognised as an independent iwi (tribe) rather than a hapu (sub-tribe) of Nga Puhi, and Rongomaiwahine established their independence from Ngati Kahungunu of Hawkes Bay.

³⁶ See Jahnke. R, (1996). ‘Voices beyond the Pae’. *He Pukenga Korero*. 2 (Spring). pp. 12-19.

space).³⁷ This acknowledgement of the karanga is crucial because it anchors the thesis within a paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance, an *tataitanga kaupapa toi* in which whakapapa (genealogy) in the form of cosmo-genealogical oration and narrative, ritual incantations, and tribal histories are foundational.³⁸

The 'karanga' is a customary ritualised 'performative'³⁹ act, sanctioned in tradition and culturally empowered in cosmo-genealogy. In a tribal version of cosmo-genesis,⁴⁰ the first woman was shaped from the earth by a male deity⁴¹ who breathed life into her nostrils, which resulted in the ensuing 'sneeze of life'. The enactment is enshrined in 'karanga' and reiterated by male orators in the Maori expression announcing presence - 'Tihei mauri ora'.⁴² Historically, the 'karanga' was reserved for older women⁴³. The function of the karanga, which is initiated by the kaikaranga (caller) of the host group, is to introduce the kawa o te marae (formal marae protocol).⁴⁴ At the heart of the ritual exchange associated with the karanga is the contextualisation of tangata whenua (host) and manuhiri (visitor) relative to mana wahine, tapu and noa, and hunga mate (deceased) and hunga ora (living). These are acknowledged in a conjunction of past and present, a holistic continuum of cultural interconnectedness where space and time, people and place are implicated in the cultural context of the occasion.

In modern times, it is not uncommon to experience children and adolescents performing the 'karanga'. This is a consequence of a reconfigured Maori landscape in

³⁷ The rationale for placing the conceptual karanga in Chapter Two rather than at the beginning of the thesis is threefold: the karanga is a conceptual karanga; the conceptual karanga is an indispensable component of the *Tataitanga* framework expounded in Chapter Two (the methods chapter); the karanga functions as an allegorical mechanism for binding ancestors and descendants, descendants with one another, descendants with place in a thesis in which genealogy is triangulated with form and content.

³⁸ A distinction is made between cosmo-genealogical oration and narrative. Oration relates to the form of genealogical recitation in which names are listed sequentially to generate the *tataitanga korero*. The narrative form explicates Maori cosmology through stories of origin and development. Cosmo-genealogy is used in preference to cosmology because Maori conceived the world as a genealogically integrated universe in which all matter, animate and inanimate, was interconnected, and *tataitanga* as a genealogical term constitutes the thematic context for this thesis in which a whakapapa system regulates the dissemination of matauranga.

³⁹ I resort to Gayatri Spivak's notion of a performative *within* a cultural context in contra-distinction to performance that is *outside* the cultural context. 'When one is *in* a cultural context one is not thinking *about* a cultural context, one *is* the culture – one is doing, making and moving in it. This is a performative. Spivak, G. (2003). *Responses to one new Friends & bits from a paper*. Unpublished paper.

⁴⁰ There are tribal variations in the narrative of the origin of the first woman, ranging from her formation out of earth, sound or a consequence of reflection. In the generic version she is known alternatively as Hineahuone (woman formed of the earth) or Hinehauone (woman of resuscitated earth).

⁴¹ In the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* more that one deity was responsible for the creation of the first woman.

⁴² Translated as the breath of life

⁴³ Salmond, A. (1975). *Hui*. Auckland: Reed. p. 138.

⁴⁴ 'The ritual begins with karanga [of the host woman]... signalling the visitors to enter the marae...the first voice heard on the marae is that of a woman. She has the power of mana wahine to neutralize the tapu of strangers. The manuhiri enter the marae with an answering call from one of their women, while a kaumatua chants a waerea, a protective incantation against local demons.' Walker, R. (1977). 'Marae: A place To Stand'. In M. King (Ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri The World Moves On* (second edition). Wellington: Hicks smith & Son. p. 22. See also Karetu, (1977). 'Language and Protocol of the Marae'. In M. King. (Ed.). *Te Ao Hurihuri The World Moves On* (second edition). Wellington: Hicks Smith & Sons. pp. 29-31.

which the majority of Maori are urban dwellers⁴⁵ whose educational experiences now range across Maori language immersion, Maori-centred⁴⁶ or mainstream educational sites. In other words, the sites of ‘performance’ have increased relative to the sites of ‘performative’ action. Moreover, a generation or two of older men and women were alienated from their own language and culture.



*Figure 2. Painting. ‘Mo Irihapeti tenei karanga’.
Collection of Irihapeti Ramsden Estate*

Such is the escalation in performance sites that non-Maori women have sometimes substituted for Maori women in the ‘performance’ of the karanga. In her painting entitled ‘Karanga for Irihapeti Ramsden’ (Figure 2), Robyn Kahukiwa protests non-Maori ‘performance’ of the ‘karanga’. As sanctum of customary practice the ancestral house is a collage of Treaty text that demands respect for the articles of the Treaty of Waitangi, and Article Two in particular which promised Maori the control of their treasured possessions of which Maori language and ritual constitute inalienable cultural elements.⁴⁷ The bird like form signifying the karanga is composed in the stylised tradition of the manaia, a cultural signifier for the spiritual essence of the human forms it supports invoking communication beyond the material world.⁴⁸ In the ‘Karanga’ painting the manaia signifies the sacred (tapu) nature of the karanga while the blacked kaikaranga ‘caller’ announces Maori women as the rightful heirs and guardians of this treasured possession. This chromatic symbolism intensifies the tenor of Maori women’s angst. House, ancestors and land are blood red

⁴⁵ ‘The Maori population experienced rapid urbanisation after World War II, as Maori moved into the cities to take up new employment opportunities...In 1945 only 1 in 4 Maori was living in urban areas(1,000 people and over), but by the mid 1970s only 1 in 4 Maori was living in rural New Zealand...in 1996 the proportion of Maori living in urban areas has increased gradually and, in 1996, 83.1 % of Maori were urban dwellers...’ Statistics New Zealand. (1998). *New Zealand Now Maori*. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand.

⁴⁶ Maori language immersion and Maori-centred sites also encompass those learning environments which may be more aptly categorised as kaupapa Maori - Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa, Kura, Whare wananga and some Maori Private Training Enterprises.

⁴⁷ The Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840, and laid the foundation for relationships between the Crown and Maori with respect to citizenship, governance and issues of sovereignty within New Zealand. There are two articles covering Crown authority to govern, tribal authority over cultural, social and economic resources, and royal protection and citizenship rights. Durie, M. (1998). *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga The Politics of Maori Self-Determination*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. pp.176-7.

⁴⁸ The manaia is a figurative form normally associated with Maori carving. It has been variably interpreted as the profile of a human form, reptile, bird, and spiritual or psychic entity. The origin of the manaia has been the subject of constant debate ranging from those that associate its form with the human profile, a vestige of a distant bird cult, reptile or the mana of the tiki forms with which it is often associated.

⁴⁹ Kendall in his early writings mentioned that manaia were the protective spirits surrounding the chiefly person. Traditionally they represent the aura, charisma, prestige, mana and hereditary power of the chiefs and their antecedents. They also express the spiritual and tapu states of man’. University of Auckland. (1988). *Tanenuiarangi*. Auckland: University of Auckland. p. 19.

sanctified in cosmo-genealogical narrative through the separation of earth and sky⁴⁹. The black sky and black-clad caller mourn the infiltration of callers without genealogical sanction. The lament is made more poignant by the role of the native caller to farewell the dead and to generate a union of ancestors with the living. The painted ancestors on the porch wall of the house gesticulate under the advance of a neo-colonial invasion, the appropriation of the karanga by Pakeha women. Even the house appears to partake in the signification process. The porch wall, the roro (brain) is populated with ancestral images charged in a chromatic code of empowerment in accord with cosmo-genesis.⁵⁰ The appearance of carved ancestral images in the porch area of carved houses was exceptional for 19th century carved houses but common in 18th and 19th century pataka (storehouse).⁵¹ In this regard the images function in a similar manner, which is to confront the observer thereby engendering cognition of the sanctity of cultural taonga (precious possessions) stored within.⁵² The maihi and raparapa (bargeboard and extension) that comprise the outstretched hands of welcome are a collage of Treaty text that forewarn tangata tiriti (non-Maori signatories of the Treaty of Waitangi) to honour their part of the covenant by respecting Maori 'taonga katoa'.⁵³ The Treaty text is black and white in its emphatic statement of 'native' rights as the oppressive white cross of colonialism looms heavy in its attempt to erase the bird-like manaia, the cultural signifier of tradition.

The establishment of the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 together with the statutory moves to shift Maori identity from a blood quantum system to self-identification as Maori were watershed acts of Parliament that fed a stream of Maori consciousness and trans-customary interlocation in contemporary Maori art. Legislation and land protest in the 1970s fed a socio-political current that energised Maori art through the late 1980s and into the new millennium.

Within the context of the post-1980s consciousness, Taharora, at Mihikoinga marae at Ohineakai, was transformed from 'un-carved house' to 'carved house'. In the process, Taharora whare nui and Hine Matakaikai whare kai were enriched with the food of chief's – korero.⁵⁴ In order to understand the korero it is necessary to contextualise these whare

⁴⁹ In generic tribal narratives of cosmo-genealogy the separation of earth and sky is personified as a battle in which the embracing parents were forcibly separated with a lacerating of limbs necessary to achieve the task. The red earth signifies the spilt blood resulting from the separation.

⁵⁰ In these narratives in which natural phenomena are deified the red earth is signified as the blood spilt during the separation of earth and sky and the earth for the pubic region of the earth mother that was used to create the first woman formed of the earth (Hineahuone).

⁵¹ Ruatēpupuke (1890s) in the Field Museum in Chicago is an exception to the rule. The porch area is fully carved. This house, which belongs to Te Whanau a Ruatāupare in Tokomaru Bay is also one of Robyn Kahukiwa's ancestral houses.

⁵² Ruatēpupuke (1890) is the only example of a house with a fully carved porch wall. The function of the carved porch in this instance was to commemorate the Ngati Porou narrative in which the origin of the art of carving was located in the ocean realm of Tangaroa, the deity responsible for the waterways and the creatures within. This house consolidates the Tangaroa theme by using the mangopare (hammerhead shark) kowhaiwhai pattern on the ridgepole and the rafters.

⁵³ 'all their valued treasures'.

⁵⁴ The conjunction of un-carved and carved in relation to the 'house that Riwai built' is used allegorically to imply that the house built to commemorate a tribal ancestor was originally plain before the incorporation of relief carving, painting, lattice work and weaving in the house.

within a lineage narrative of cultural relativity in which form and content co-mingle in a current of customary, trans-customary and non-customary practice, and tribal consciousness.

He tataitanga kaupapa toi: a paradigm of Maori relativity and relevance

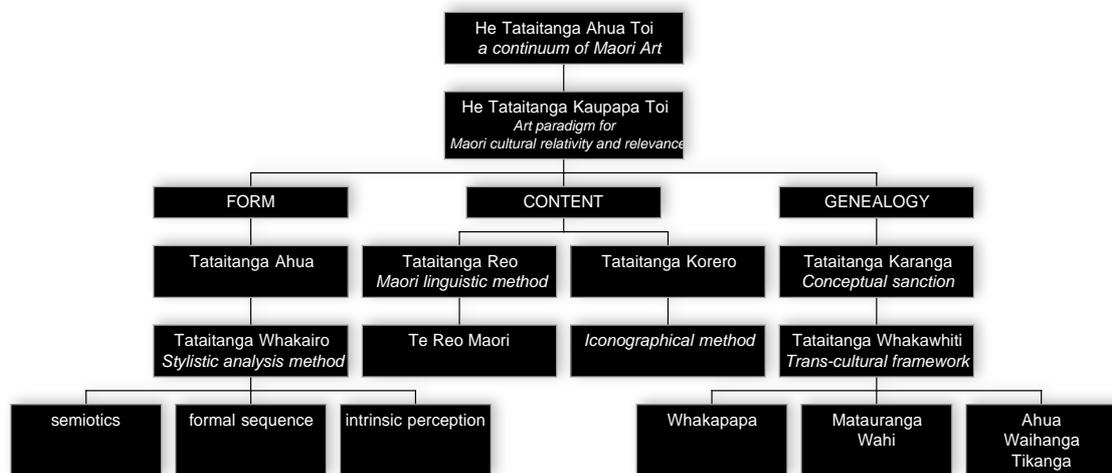
This thesis is about the ‘house that Riwai built’ (conceptually embracing the whare nui and whare kai). However, it is proposed that in order to understand the ‘house that Riwai built’ it is necessary to contextualise the house within an art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance, *a tataitanga kaupapa toi* because the thesis is also about an allegorical house of knowledge where form, content and genealogy constitute the interwoven strands.⁵⁵ As a term kaupapa infers foundation.⁵⁶ In tribal visual culture and contemporary art kaupapa is used to describe the foundation of a cloak. The interweaving of threads, the weft (aho) and warp (whenu), give rise to a range of cloaks that proclaim identity, protection and shelter. Processed harakeke (native flax) constituted the foundation of customary cloaks and pattern enrichment was affected with coloured threads. Customarily, textural enrichment relied on an incorporation of materials like feathers and dog skin into the weft and warp of the kaupapa. The lineage of cloak making was one in which, for a time, the integrity of the kaupapa of the cloak succumbed to non-customary technology and materials. Today the cloak has become a significant statement of Maori identity and even a signifier of a nationalist ideology.⁵⁷ The cloak has been reinstated as an essential element of customary reclamation, and as an acknowledgement of mana tangata (human prestige).⁵⁸ The contemporary Maori weaving fraternity offers a particularly salient example of customary reclamation in cloak making where weavers seek to retain customary techniques while incorporating non-customary materials. The extinction, or near extinction, of native species has necessitated the use of feathers of non-native birds as non-customary substitutes. Maori have adapted and continue to adapt to contexts imposed as a consequence of a colonised history. Contemporary art practice by Maori is by nature multi-faceted, multi-disciplinary and multi-dimensional. It is this

⁵⁵ Paradigm is used in Kuhn’s sense of the term. ‘...a social construct of reality...the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a given community.’ Kuhn, T. (1979). *The Structure of Scientific Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

⁵⁶ ‘Kaupapa is derived from key words and their conceptual bases. Kau is often used to describe the process of ‘coming into view or appearing for the first time, to disclose’. Taken further kau may be translated as ‘representing an inarticulate sound, breast of a female, bite, gnaw, reach, arrive, reach its limit, be firm, be fixed, strike home, place of arrival (H. W. Williams c 1844-1985:464). Papa is used to mean ‘ground, foundation base’. Together kaupapa encapsulates these concepts, and a basic foundation of it is ‘ground rules, customs, right way of doing things’’. Taki, M. (1996). *Maori and contemporary Maori resistance*. Unpublished master’s thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. p. 17.

⁵⁷ Beatrice Faumuina, the flag bearer for the New Zealand representatives at the Athens Olympics wore a Maori cloak at the opening ceremony as a signification of a New Zealand cultural identity. While the kaupapa of many contemporary cloaks use flax as the foundation material feathers of ‘exotic’ birds are often incorporated into the weave of the kaupapa because of the lack of ‘native’ material resulting from the depopulation and rarity of the native bird species.

⁵⁸ Eranora Hetet whose practice as a weaver employs both customary and non-customary materials considers her non-customary creations to be ‘rubbish’. Hetet, E. (2004 pers comm.).



adaptation and recourse to trans-cultural practice, technology and materials that informs the art paradigm of Maori relativity and relevance.

Table 1: *He Tataitanga Kaupapa Toi genealogical table*

Tataitanga kaupapa toi is appropriate as an art paradigm for Maori cultural relativity and relevance because it weaves together form, content and genealogy within a genealogical framework of interdependent threads that form the kaupapa (foundation) for analysing tribal visual culture and contemporary Maori art. *Tataitanga* as a term intrinsically grounded within whakapapa, privileges the genealogical and theoretical dimensions of this thesis, and promotes the notion of a continuum in which tribal visual culture is expressed as art in the new millennium.

At the head of the genealogical table in Table 1 is the title of the thesis minus the allegorical subtitle ‘the house that Riwai built’. The omission of the subtitle in this instance is to demonstrate that the genealogical table is a *Tataitanga* framework about the continuum of Maori art. The house allegory alludes to the necessity to locate the house within a continuum of form, content and genealogy because it can only be understood through a negotiation of tribal text, tribal carving and contemporary Maori art within the marae context over time. Consequently, the house is not only Taharora whare nui that constitutes the case study for Chapter Eight but also the whare kai in Chapter Nine built by the descendants of Riwai Pakerau and other houses on which Riwai Pakerau worked in the late 19th and early 20th century. The allegorical house also encompasses tribal carving schools that preceded him and the knowledge that invests the carvings of the Iwirakau style and those of other tribal traditions with cultural significance. The house is, therefore, both a house of Matauranga Maori (Maori knowledge) and an actual house (Taharora whare nui) that Riwai built. It is a house in which the interconnectedness of form, content and genealogy are explored as independent threads and rewoven under genealogy in a trans-cultural framework where genealogy, knowledge, appearance, process, site and protocol become the critical indices for a consideration of form, content and genealogy in Chapters Eight and Nine. This is the *Tataitanga Whakawhiti* trans-cultural framework located under whakapapa in Table 1. Although form, content and genealogy are addressed individually in this Chapter, and later chapters, this explication of the triangulation of form, content and genealogy is aimed at reviewing and acknowledging prior methodologies and frameworks within the tradition of scholarship pertinent to the development of the *Tataitanga*

framework. Each of the *Tataitanga* threads from *tataitanga ahua* to *tataitanga korero* in Table 1 will be fully explained as method later in this chapter.

Initially, the tribal concept of form (*Tataitanga Ahua*) is examined in the thesis to explicate the notion of form within cosmo-genealogy, genealogical oration and ritual incantation, and its relationship to form in a Western sense. Although there is no precedent for this approach in current literature the writings of Elsdon Best, Peter Buck George Grey, Gudgeon, Johan Johansen, Maori Marsden, Roger Neich, Anaru Reedy, Anne Salmond, Michael Shirres, Edward Shortland, Percy Smith, Richard Taylor and John White are drawn upon in the navigation of *ahua* (form) as critical Maori notion for corporeality.⁵⁹

In a Western three dimensional sense, the appreciation of form in tribal carving is generally achieved by identifying the visual traits that make one form different from another leading to a consideration of style. For example, the early appreciation of tribal carving in Aotearoa New Zealand was influenced by a colonial mindset informed by the 19th century Romanticism in which '[s]tereotypes of the noble savage gave way to those of the ignoble, the grotesque and the comic savage', and coexisted with a perception of 'a native personality with courage and great emotional depth, volatile and freedom-loving'.⁶⁰ This attitude was coloured by a prevailing Primitivist ideology in the late 19th century together with a classical ideal of beauty in which 'selective realism was the criterion by which all art was judged'.⁶¹ As a consequence, early 19th century colonial European responses to tribal carving were influenced by 'moral and religious criteria'.⁶²

By the turn of the 20th century writers like Augustus Hamilton viewed tribal carving from a natural science interest in curiosities rather than a Romanic view of tribal culture.

⁵⁹ Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 1* (third edition). Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongawera. Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 2* (second edition). Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongawera. Buck, P. (1949). *The Coming of the Maori*. Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs. Grey, G. (1854). *Ko nga Mahinga a nga Tupuna Maori*. London: George Willis. Gudgeon, W. E. (1905). 'Maori Religion', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 3:115, 125-6. Johansen, J. P. (1954). *The Maori and his Religion in its non-ritualistic aspects*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard. Marsden, M. (1977). 'God, Man and Universe: A Maori View'. In M. King (Ed.). *Te Ao Hurihuri The World Moves On* (second edition). Wellington: Hicks Smith & Sons. Neich, R. (1990). 'Maori Figurative Painting: Tradition and Innovation in the Search for Identity'. In A. and L. Hanson (Eds.). *Art and Identity in Oceania*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. Neich, R. (2001). *Carved Histories: Rotorua Ngati Tararawai Woodcarving*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. Oppenheim, R. S. (1973). *Maori Death Customs*. Auckland: A. H. & A. W. Reed. Reedy, A. (1993). *Nga korero a Mohi Ruatapu, tohunga rongonui o Ngati Porou: the writings of Mohi Ruatapu / translated, edited and annotated by Anaru Reedy*, Christchurch: Canterbury University Press. Salmond, A. (1985). 'Maori Epistemologies'. In J. Overing (Ed.). *Reason and Morality*. London: Tavistock. pp. 240-263. Shirres, M. P. (1997). *Te Tangata: the human person*. Auckland: Accent Publications. Shortland, E. (1856). *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders with Illustrations of Their Manners and Customs*. London: Longman. Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. Taylor, R. (1855). *Te Ika a Maui, New Zealand and its Inhabitants*. London: Wertheim & McKintosh. White, J. (1887). *The Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythology and Traditions. Volume 2*. Wellington: Government Printer.

⁶⁰ Neich, R. (2001). *Carved Histories Rotorua Ngati Tararawai Wood Carving*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 139.

⁶¹ Neich, R. (2001). p. 139-40.

⁶² Neich, R. (2001). p. 139.

Hamilton's record of tribal carving shows little interest in regional or temporal differences subsuming tribal carving, painting and lattice work under the rubric of ornament.⁶³

In the early 20th century a diffusionist theory was in vogue where the manaia (profile figurative form) was viewed as Eastern in origin.⁶⁴ It was not until Gilbert Archey proposed a theory of local development in the early 20th century, in opposition to diffusion from the West Pacific and Malenesia that attempts to locate tribal carving beyond Aotearoa New Zealand waned. Archey also identified a 'fundamental characteristic with its associated details, in which they differ from the carvings of other North Island Areas...' in the carvings of North Auckland and the 'related schools in Hauraki and Taranaki' that a shift to regional and temporal analysis evolved.⁶⁵ Apirana Ngata supported Archey's theory of local development naming Archey's north-western school the Ngati Awa school while emphasising the temporal nature of the north-western and eastern carvings.⁶⁶ Later, historian Jock McEwan endorsed the two-group division of Archey and Apirana Ngata but included 'part of the Waikato coast' within the north-western carving group while assigning the rest of the country within the eastern group.⁶⁷ McEwan also described a range of carving patterns based on tribal pattern names identifying their regional prominence.⁶⁸ Recently, Pakariki Harrison reviewed carved pattern in an attempt to reinvest pattern with significance.⁶⁹ David Simmons further elaborated regional style with the introduction of serpentine for north-western and square for eastern.⁷⁰ In contrast to the approach adopted by Simmons, Hirini Moko Mead placed the tribal styles within a cultural dynamic of iwi interrelationships. Whakapapa emerged as the critical principle in defining the relationship between tribal groups. Expanding on Ngata's theory of a central base for dispersal north and south from a centre located between the Bay of Plenty and the East Coast, Hirini Moko Mead suggested that

'the art tradition of Te Taitokerau is among the richest and contains the most intriguing and quite possibly the earliest regional styles in Aotearoa...As well, it has whanaungatanga (kinship) with other traditions to the degree that the northern region has to be considered a possible dispersal point for woodcarving...But the region also contains within it remnants of former art styles which are associated with tribes who are no longer in the north. Some of these tribes are Ngati Kahungunu, Ngati Awa, Te Ati Awa, Ngai Te Rangi, Nga Tamatera and Ngati Porou.'⁷¹

Hirini Moko Mead also made an important contribution to style with the introduction of bicultural chronological terms for periods of stylistic evolution based on Maori notions

⁶³ Neich, R. (2001). p. 139.

⁶⁴ Neich, R. (2001). *Carved Histories Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Wood Carving*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 143.

⁶⁵ Archey, G. (1933). 'Wood Carving in the north Auckland area'. *Records of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1, (4):215-18.

⁶⁶ Ngata, A. (1958). 'The Origin of Maori Carving'. *Te Ao Hou* 22. pp. 30-1.

⁶⁷ McEwan, J. (1966). 'Maori Art'. In A. H. McLintock (Ed.). *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. Wellington: Government Printer. p. 417

⁶⁸ McEwan. (1966). p. 408-29.

⁶⁹ University of Auckland. (1996). '*Tane-nui-a-rangi*'. Auckland: University of Auckland. pp. 18-22.

⁷⁰ Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo Maori tribal Art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. 1984. p. 55

⁷¹ Mead, S. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. p. 35.

of planting, growing, flowering and turning replacing previous Euro-centric notions such as archaic and classical.⁷²

Most of these precedents in regional classification are really descriptions of shared form rather than stylistic analysis in which the interrelationship between (the form of) pattern and (the form of) image become paramount traits for a finer distinction and analysis of style within regional schools. Although William Phillipps published a series of books identifying the varying styles in tribal meeting houses across the country references to style are descriptive rather than analytical.⁷³ Prior to Neich's unpublished thesis on Ngati Tarawhai carving style analysis was, and continues, to be based on broad commonalities of form, particularly in relation to facial and body form in figurative carving.⁷⁴ Even Kelvin Day's analysis of tribal carving from the Western district follows this pattern.⁷⁵ With Neich's recourse to semiotics and Morrellian connoisseurship, stylistic analysis entered a finer degree of style discrimination, which enabled attribution of distinctive form traits to specific Ngati Tarawhai carvers. In the analysis of form in Chapters 6 and 7 Neich's approach is acknowledged but intrinsic perception is privileged over connoisseurship in the *Tataitanga whakairo* method of stylistic analysis. Neich's analytical approach to style is further extended through a consideration of the relationship between surface pattern and form. While Neich concentrated on form, the stylistic analysis in this thesis extends to an analysis of the interrelationship between pattern and form.

Content (*Tataitanga korero*) within the context of this thesis relates to meaning in 19th century tribal texts and carving. Significantly, meaning in tribal carving during the early 20th century has generally been dismissed as absent or lost.⁷⁶ Although Phillipps offered a range of interpretations of the three-fingered hand in tribal carving and surface pattern, McEwan concluded that 'the amount of symbolism in carving has been greatly exaggerated or that it had been lost by the time Europeans came to New Zealand'.⁷⁷

⁷² Mead, S. M. (1984). 'Nga Timunga me nga Paringa o te Mana Maori The Ebb and Flow of mana Maori and the Changing Context of Maori Art'. In S. M. Mead (Ed.). *Te Maori Maori Art from New Zealand Collections*. (pp. 20-36). Auckland: Heinemann in association with the American Federation of the Arts.

⁷³ Phillipps, W. J. (1944). 'Carved Maori houses of the eastern districts of the North Island'. *Records of the Dominion Museum* 1:69-119, *Carved Maori houses and Food stores*. Dominion Museum Monograph 8. Wellington: Government Printer; 1955; *Carved Houses of the Western and Northern Areas of New Zealand*. Dominion Museum Monograph 9. Wellington: Government Printer.

⁷⁴ Neich, R. (1977). 'Historical change in Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai woodcarving art'. Unpublished master's thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand.

⁷⁵ Day, K. (1983). 'Te Taihauauru: Maori tribal Carving from the Western District'. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

⁷⁶ Hamilton, A. (1905). 'Maori Art'. *The young Man's magazine* VI (3):65. Menzies, J. (19044). *Maori Patterns Painted and Carved*. Christchurch: Hagley Press. Barrow, T. (1969). *Maori Wood Sculpture*. Wellington: Reed. Fox, A. (1983). *Carved Maori Burial Chests: A commentary and Catalogue*. Bulletin 13. Auckland Institute and Museum. p. 20.

⁷⁷ Hanson, F. A. (1983). 'Art and the Maori Construction of Reality'. In S. M. Mead & B. Kernot (Eds.). *Art and Artists of Oceania*. Palmerston North: Dunmore. p. 211. Phillipps, W. J. (1950). *Maori Carving* (second edition). Wellington: Tombs. pp. 4-15. McEwan, J. (1966). 'Maori Art'. In A. H. McLintock (Ed.). *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. Wellington: Government Printer. p. 414.

According to Allan Hanson, ‘meaning in Maori art has traditionally been sought in two quarters: esoteric symbolism and representation’.⁷⁸ While the former, which is ‘anything but self evident’, was lost the latter sought a model in nature for conventionalised form and pattern variably defining the manaia as a lizard, bird-man or human profile.⁷⁹ Hanson proposed a structuralist method for uncovering meaning in tribal visual culture proposing a theory that ‘the messages [meaning] that it [Maori art] communicates are to be found in shapes or forms understood neither as esoteric or as pictures of things in the world outside art, but as creating through their juxtaposition certain formal structures’.⁸⁰ A critical outcome of Hanson’s analysis of the formal structures in tribal visual culture is that the notion of ‘ambivalent tension’ can be applied to the other institutions (mythology, song, relationship between the sexes), which collude in a coherent Maori view of the world.⁸¹ Michael Jackson also applied a structuralist approach to meaning in Maori carving but was concerned with what was depicted.⁸² In both instances, the composition of shapes and forms in Maori visual culture were analysed, and cultural institutions were aligned to the formal structure perceived. In contrast, the *Tataitanga Kaupapa Toi* approach in the genealogical table in Figure 3 inverts the structuralist approach by maintaining a symbiotic relationship between a *Tataitanga Reo* analysis of other institutions (cosmo-genealogical narrative, oration and ritual incantation) and a *Tataitanga Korero* iconographical method with textual analysis preceding form analysis. The closest approach to this method is found in the work of Simmons who proffered two types of symbolism: genealogical and mythological.⁸³ A critical premise for Simmons’s interpretive framework was a reinterpretation of Thomas Kendall’s writings, the Lore of the Wharewananga narratives and interpretive endorsement by Te Riria.⁸⁴ In a kindred manner to Simmons’s approach the *Tataitanga* framework relies on a *Tataitanga Reo* analysis of 19th century literature written in the Maori language and the application of the *Tataitanga Korero visual analysis* to a range of 19th century carvings.

Whakapapa is foundational for any consideration of Maori culture and its institutions. As Huia Tomlins-Jahnke contends,

‘The principle of whakapapa operates on a number of levels. It is through whakapapa that ancestry is traced, links to land and place established, historical relationships with other tribes located, and pathways to whanau, hapu and iwi

⁷⁸ Hanson, F. A. (1983). ‘Art and the Maori Construction of Reality’. In S. M. Mead & B. Kernot (Eds.). *Art and Artists of Oceania*. Palmerston North: Dunmore.

⁷⁹ Hamilton, A. (1896-1900). *Maori Art: The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand*. Dunedin: Ferguson & Mitchell for the New Zealand Institute. Barrow, T. (1969). *Maori Wood Sculpture*. Wellington: Reed. Archey, G. (1933). ‘Evolution of certain Maori carving patterns’. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 42:17-90. McEwan, J. (1966). ‘Maori Art’. In A. H. McLintock (Ed.). *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. Wellington: Government Printer. p. 408-29.

⁸⁰ Hanson, F. A. (1983). ‘Art and the Maori Construction of Reality’. In S. M. Mead & B. Kernot (Eds.). *Art and Artists of Oceania*. Palmerston North: Dunmore. p. 213.

⁸¹ Hanson. (1983). p. 216.

⁸² Jackson, M. (1972). ‘Aspects of symbolism and composition in Maori Art’. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-Land, en Volkenkund* 128:33-80.

⁸³ Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo Maori Tribal Art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 17.

⁸⁴ Simmons. (1985). P. 22.

identified. These considerations have important implications for research in terms of understanding Maori society, working with kin-based groups, and the role of the researcher'.⁸⁵

For Linda Smith whakapapa may be viewed as 'the most fundamental aspect of the way we think about the world...It is inscribed in virtually every aspect of our world view'.⁸⁶ Smith also charts the principle of whakapapa for Kaupapa Maori research in terms of thinking about Maori, Maori as the subject of research and the role of Maori researchers.⁸⁷ Smith also notes the ideological nature of identity measurement and regulation as normative processes imposed on Maori.⁸⁸ In his publication *Whaiora Ora* Mason Durie traced the shifting systems of normative control in defining Maori identity from biological to cultural identification and the inadequacies of census statistics for defining Maori.⁸⁹ In *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga*, Mason Durie extended the examination of identity in light of the contestation between Maori urban and tribal identity heralded by the signing of the fisheries settlement in 1992. As a consequence, Mason Durie developed a multi-axial framework for the Te Hoe Nuku Roa longitudinal study across four interacting dimensions charting human relationships, Maori culture and identity, socio-economic circumstances and change over time to account for contemporary notions of Maori identity.⁹⁰ The results enabled the construction of four cultural identity profiles: a secure identity, a positive identity, a notional identity and a compromised identity that led Mason Durie to conclude that a diverse Maori identity characterises contemporary Maori society, and that 'Maori are as diverse as any other people-not only in socio-economic terms but also in fundamental attitudes to identity'.⁹¹ In this respect, there is collusion in the diverse realities of Maori identity with Madan Sarup's contention that 'identity is fabricated, constructed, in process' in contradiction to the traditional view that 'all the dynamics (such as class, gender, 'race') operate simultaneously to produce coherent, unified, fixed identity'.⁹² Whakapapa is not only relevant for the past but also for the future. Whakapapa is in process, changing and adapting as social contexts are reconfigured and new ideologies transplant old. Robyn Kahukiwa's journey as an artist has been one of constructing her identity as a Maori in a shift from compromised identity to secure identity.

⁸⁵ Tomlins-Jahnke, H. (2006). 'He Huarahi Motuhake The Politics of tribal Agency in provider Services'. Unpublished doctoral thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. p. 20.

⁸⁶ Smith, L. T. (1996). 'Nga Aho O Te Kakahu Matauranga: The Multiple Layers of Struggle by Maori in Education'. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. p. 210.

⁸⁷ Smith. (1996). pp. 212-3.

⁸⁸ Smith. (1996). pp. 211-2.

⁸⁹ Durie, M. (1994). *Whaiora Maori Health Development*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. pp. 125-8.

⁹⁰ Durie. (1998). *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga The politics of self Determination*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 57

⁹¹ Durie. (1998). p. 58-9.

⁹² Sarup, M. (1998 Reprint). *Identity, Culture and the Postmodern World*. Edinburgh. Edinburgh University Press. p. 14.

There are a number of assumptions associated with whakapapa in terms of identity in this thesis. The carvers of the 18th, 19th and 20th century examined in this thesis, not only have a secure identity, but also a tribal identity. The contemporary artists whose work constitute the core comparative visual data in Chapters Eight and Nine also have a tribal identity validated by their work in marae contexts and the continued acknowledgement of their tribal whakapapa in publications featuring their work. Hence, while identity construction is prevalent in contemporary politics of identity discourse such a focus within this thesis is irrelevant.

Tataianga Karanga has been annexed to whakapapa because the conceptual karanga connects ancestors with descendants, descendants with one another and descendants to place. Kahukiwa and her ancestor Te Aomihia (who is also my ancestor) are united in a visual and conceptual articulation of entry into this thesis on tribal carving and contemporary Maori art in Chapter Two. The *Tataitanga Whakawhiti* trans-cultural framework is also located under whakapapa because it considers whakapapa (genealogy), matauranga (knowledge), ahua (appearance), waihanga (process), wahi (site) and tikanga (protocol) as indices for analysing tribal visual culture and contemporary Maori art from a whakapapa perspective. More importantly, form and content are subsumed within the indices allowing for a consideration of style and meaning. In other words, each index is genealogically negotiated in relation to the period of its evolution. Form, content and genealogy have been contextualised within the tradition of scholarship pertinent to each of the *tataitanga* strands, This is further contextualised against relevant literature and elucidated later in Chapter Two, and subsequent Chapters where a *tataitanga* thread becomes relevant for weaving together text, image and meaning.

Cosmo-genealogical oration, narrative and ritual incantation are part of the continuum of tribal carving and art created by Maori thus providing a kaupapa, a cultural foundation for this thesis infused with whakapapa and matauranga. The intention is to ground the thesis in cosmo-genealogy in order to invest the content with philosophical substance, a theoretical premise and a sense of cultural integrity; that is, to anchor some of the important philosophical notions inherent in tribal oration, narrative and ritual incantation that invest tribal visual culture of the 18th and 19th century with significance. This is important because the carvings and paintings of Riwai Pakerau are part of a continuum of customary and non-customary practice where form, content and genealogy intersect as critical determinants for cultural relevancy.⁹³

The 'karanga' of Robyn Kahukiwa creates a conceptual sanction for this thesis to emphasise the importance of cosmo-genealogy for any art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance. It is especially important when applied to Taharora because it is a tribal house located in a tribal space, in spite of its prior form as a non-customary un-carved house influenced by European architecture. This thesis prioritises carving in

⁹³ Genealogy in this context refers to the genealogy of the 'artist' including the tribal carvers of the past and myself as an artist practising today.

relation to the ‘house that Riwai built’ in an attempt to recover the content that invests 19th century carving with cultural significance. This recovery of content is necessary, not because of any direct relationship to the carving of Riwai Pakerau, except tangentially. Content is necessary because the ‘carved house’ is grounded conceptually in notions of interspatial negotiation of the material and spiritual realms and figural relativity evident in 18th and 19th century carving. The house, in this sense, becomes a conduit where cosmogenealogy and hapu genealogy coalesce in a lineage narrative that explicates form, content and genealogy. In a similar manner, there is a consideration of 18th and 19th century carving developments and pertinent pattern within the Eastern seaboard because of genealogical interrelationships between carvers and the carvings they produced, and the location of the house within the tribal area of Ngati Porou. This interrelationship is examined in relation to the emergence of the Ngati Porou style. Riwai Pakerau is Ngati Porou and his carving and painting style is replicated on the façade and porch of the ‘carved house’. As a descendent of Riwai Pakerau I am also implicated through whakapapa in the lineage narrative of form, content and genealogy. It is a narrative en-framing land, tribal narrative, tribal carving and contemporary art in a paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance. Taharora is constructed within a continuum of art development relevant for Maori. Contemporary Maori art is a cultural construct capable of accommodating customary, trans-customary and non-customary form, conditional upon the relevance of content for Maori and a Maori whakapapa. That is, the content must be grounded in kaupapapa Maori that can encompass take (cause) or matauranga (knowledge), and the artist should be Maori.

Table 2: Tataitanga kaupapa Toi: Criteria of Maori resonance

Tataitanga ahua (Form)	Tataitanga korero (Content)	Whakapapa (Genealogy)
Visual correspondence with historical models <i>Customary modification is minimal or absent maintaining mimetic relationship with customary form</i>	Take or matauranga Maori <i>May be implicit</i>	Maori <i>Self identification</i>
Visual empathy with historical models <i>Trans-cultural modification retains perceptual relationship with customary form</i>	Take or matauranga Maori <i>May be implicit</i>	Maori <i>Self identification</i>
Absence of visual correspondence and empathy <i>Trans-cultural modification obscures perceptual relationship with customary form</i>	Take or matauranga Maori <i>Must be explicit</i>	Maori <i>Self identification</i>

The question that this thesis seeks to answer is how do form, content and genealogy contribute to art that resonates with Maori?

In line with *Table 2* any visual modification to form must have as its goal cultural relevance for art to resonate with Maori. In contemporary art, visual modification may be

applied to form. At one end of the art spectrum visual modification to form maintains visual correspondence with historical models where a perceptual relationship with customary form is retained. This is necessary because Maori need visual cues to see themselves in the art. At the other end of art spectrum, visual modification to form obscures any perceptual relationship with customary form. Both correspondence and visual empathy with historical models are absent. This becomes problematic for Maori because there are no visual cues that allow Maori to empathise with the art. If form has been subject to visual modification that obscures a perceptual relationship with historical models the content must be culturally relevant.

Visual correspondence relates to the conformity between historical models and the visual reiteration. In the case of visual correspondence customary modification is minimal or absent maintaining a mimetic relationship with customary form.

Visual empathy involves modification to the visual substitute relative to historical models. In its most exemplary form, prior models can be perceived through the retention of visual structures or patterns re-contextualised in an a-historical manner. Visual empathy is a product of trans-customary modification resulting from a collusion of tribal form and subject matter with modernist practice. The historical models are stylised in a minimalist design process that retain anatomical associations with prior figurative form while non-figurative form retains pattern relationships with historical models in spite of the application of non-customary materials, tools and technique.

Trans-cultural interlocution, within the context of this thesis, is used to capture the notion of change where influence from outside the culture results in either trans-customary or non-customary change to form. As stated above, trans-customary modification results in a form that has visual empathy allowing for a visual relationship between the customary model and its trans-customary modification. However, trans-cultural modification can also result in non-customary form where no visual relationship exists between the customary model and its non-customary modification. For all intents and purposes, the final product appears to have been created by an artist/carver from outside the culture.

A further prerequisite for *taitanga kaupapa toi* is whakapapa. This is a necessary precondition because artists without whakapapa Maori can also achieve visual correspondence or visual empathy with prior models as noted in Chapter Ten where several of the contributors to the Taharora Project were Pakeha. In spite of this, my role as concept designer and project manager ensured that the form created by Pakeha students was en-framed in *taitanga kaupapa toi* at the level of content and genealogy. Within the context of this thesis, although whakapapa is a prerequisite for Maori resonance biological determinism is not a prerequisite for visual correspondence or visual empathy. Rather, the thesis proposes the art produced by artists with a Maori whakapapa will more likely resonate with Maori because Maori would prefer one of their own to create the art.

Whakapapa forms a critical index in the theoretical framework of this thesis, not only in a thematic sense, but also because it constitutes a precondition for art that resonates

with Maori, and it constitutes a cultural index in an Analytical Framework for contextualising art in the Taharoa Project. Consequently, both first and surnames are used to address all those with a Maori whakapapa. The exception to the rule occurs in relation to chapter titles in which the first and last name of Riwai Pakerau is used to contextualise his use of surface pattern, carved and architectural form, and as a sub-title for the thesis. Consequently, Christianity is implicated in *tataitanga kaupapa toi* impacting on the structure of genealogical tables. That is, the imposition of a European system of naming necessitates the inclusion of both first and last name to differentiate between offspring with the same last name. Hence, it is necessary to amend a tribal cultural system in order to accommodate European naming system. In contra-distinction to this act of whakapapa affirmation for Maori subjects, a western convention of surname acknowledgement will be used when citing non-Maori writers.

Tataitanga kaupapa toi, as strategy and an art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance, maintains an ideological relationship with kaupapa Maori discourse, which acknowledges ‘the validity of Maori world views as well as the importance of a Maori critique of social structures’.⁹⁴ As Leonie Pihama has suggested

...intrinsic to Kaupapa Maori theory is an analysis of existing power structures and social inequalities. Kaupapa Maori theory therefore aligns with critical theory in the act of exposing underlying assumptions that serve to conceal power relations that exist within society and the ways in which dominant groups construct concepts of ‘common sense’ and ‘facts’ to provide ad hoc justification for the maintenance of inequalities and the continued oppression of Maori people.⁹⁵

It is not the intention of this thesis to engage in an analysis of ‘existing power structures and social inequalities’ or to examine ‘power relations’ except at the level of claiming art created by Maori as an ideological construct that sustains a position of cultural relativity and relevance for those for whom art generates a sense of cultural empowerment and continuity.

Te Tataitanga Ahua Toi: setting in order the form of art

The principle methodology in this thesis is a contextual one that seeks to organise, or to categorise, form, content and genealogy within tribal contexts from the 18th century through to the new millennium. In line with the notion of Maori cultural relativity and relevance that underpins the tribal carving and the contemporary art in this thesis, the title is a complicit construction that substantiates genealogical lineage as a critical premise for resonance with Maori of form and content.

Te Tataitanga ahua toi is the Maori title for this thesis. *Te Tataitanga ahua toi* is literally the plan that seeks to arrange, to set in order or to weave together the form

⁹⁴ International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education and Te Ropu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare (2002). *Iwi Maori Provider Success*. Wellington: Te Puni Kokiri. p. 13.

⁹⁵ Pihama, L. (1993). ‘Tungia te Ururua, Kia Tupu Whakaritorito Te Tupu o te Harakeke: a Critical analysis of Parents as First teachers’. Unpublished master’s thesis. University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. p. 57.

(ahua) of art (toi).⁹⁶ However, the intention is not to privilege the literal but to capitalize on the broader implication of *tataitanga* as a term implicated in genealogy and *ahua* as a term for a generative principle in 19th century Maori literary sources charged with creative potential. The thesis aims to reveal the layers or strata of meaning and content, the *tataitanga korero*, encoded in the form and practice of tribal carving from the 18th century to the early 20th century, and the intercession of late 20th century art, in a genealogical kinship of form in the ‘house that Riwai built’ - the sub title of the thesis. In this sense, the thesis is not about history but about the genealogy of form and content in art within a tribal context. This genealogy of art is based on the principle of whakapapa where terms are grounded in the notion of *tataitanga* to promote an art paradigm of cultural relativity and relevance, a *tataitanga kaupapa toi*.⁹⁷

It is appropriate that the term ‘toi’ has been annexed to art because it demonstrates the capacity of Maori language to assimilate non-Maori concepts for which there are no pre-colonial equivalents. There is no notion of ‘art’ in the Western sense of the term within the pre-colonised Maori language. As Roger Neich contends,

‘No one word in the Maori language seems to cover the same semantic field as the word ‘art’ in English...The third edition of William’s dictionary *Dictionary of the Maori Language* (1871) translated ‘art’ into the phrase ‘mahi tohunga’, and artist by the word ‘tohunga’...The difficulties experienced by translators illustrate some of the difficulties as the Maori language had no single word to match the European concept of art’.⁹⁸

Art as a social construct has entered into contemporary Maori discourse by a number of circuitous routes. The term ‘art’ can be found as a meaning for ‘toi’ in the 7th edition of the Williams Dictionary.⁹⁹ Prior to this edition it was not included a term of equivalence. Since the 1970s *toi* as a term alluding to art, excellence or creativity has emerged within the nomenclature of organisations, art programmes and the Maori version of the secondary school art syllabus.¹⁰⁰

He tataitanga reo: a Maori linguistic method

Benhabib writes of language,

‘Language...is the paradigmatic cultural achievement of humanity. Through language the world is constituted; languages are the primary filter through which we experience the worlds as ‘our’ world. All natural languages are thus informed by a unique worldview; it is through language that a people expresses its ‘genius’, its historical memory and sense of future identity’.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ The association of ‘toi’ with art is a recent association. There is no word in the Maori language that has the same semantic significance as the word ‘art’.

⁹⁷ *Tataitanga* encapsulates the meaning associated with *tatai* – arrange, set in order, plan. Line of ancestry. Williams, H. W. (1971). *A Dictionary of Maori Language* (seventh edition). Wellington: Government Printer. pp. 393-4.

⁹⁸ Neich, R. (2001). *Carved Histories Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. pp. 123-7.

⁹⁹ Williams. (1971). p. 431.

¹⁰⁰ Te Waka Toi, Toi Maori Aotearoa, Te Putahi a Toi, Toihoukura, Toi Oho ki Apiti, Toi Hou, Toi te Ataata.

¹⁰¹ Benhabib, S. (2002). *The Claims of Culture Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. p. 55.

This study uses language at a number of intersecting levels. At a semiological level is the language of art, more specifically, the language of tribal carving. At another level, cosmo-genealogical oration, narrative and ritual incantation written in the Maori language en-frames a worldview capable of providing an insight into the language of tribal carving. In view of the importance of language and its 'historical memory', Maori language is imperative for unveiling this 'historical memory'. Thus, the application of *tataitanga reo* as a linguistic method for the analysis of Maori texts can lead to an understanding of *tataitanga korero* (meaning) in lineage narratives and ultimately tribal carving. It also leads to a grounding of art in an art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity, a *tataitanga kaupapa toi*. In this respect I subscribe to the view that *tataitanga korero* is recoverable. A *tataitanga reo* method is used, not only to set the story in order, but also to make sense of the story, to reveal the layers of meaning in Maori texts from a Maori perspective in order to interpret tribal carving, and reveal the collusion of form and content. In this respect, my approach is diametrically opposed to the method employed by structuralists like Michael Jackson and Allan Hanson who imposed cultural meaning on the structure uncovered in art, and dismissed the representational aspect of carving as irrelevant.¹⁰² By contrast I accept that tribal carvings do represent ancestors and spiritual entities. Nor does my approach conform to Claude Levi-Strauss's structuralist approach that sought to 'reveal the universal structures of myth'.¹⁰³ The negotiation of Maori language texts that include cosmo-genealogical narratives (considered myths by Levi-Strauss) in this study is about understanding the worldview, not the 'structures of myth', and the potential of the worldview for interpretive analysis of tribal carving.

At a linguistic level Maori language has been incorporated into tribal carving and contemporary art as a linguistic referent with mnemonic or polemic intent. Maori language, as exemplary form of trans-cultural interlocution, was incorporated into tribal carving and painting in the 1840s, remained prominent through the 1920s and resurfaced as a critical dimension of Maori art in the 1980s.¹⁰⁴ In the semiology of Barthes¹⁰⁵ the juxtaposition of image and text gives rise to three messages, the linguistic, the coded

¹⁰² Jackson, M. (1972). 'Aspects of symbolism and composition in Maori Art'. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-Land, en Volkenkund* 128:58. Hanson, F. A. (1983). 'Art and the Maori Construction of Reality'. In S. M. Mead & B. Kernot (Eds.). *Art and Artists of Oceania*. Palmerston North: Dunmore.

¹⁰³ According to Adams Levi-Strauss's 'efforts failed...because he was unable to account for the multiple complex factors contained in units of culture'. Adams, L. S. (1996). *The Methodologies of Art An Introduction*. Boulder: Westview Press. p. 140.

¹⁰⁴ This trans-cultural accession to literacy retained Maori language as a critical notation of cultural relativity and relevance. However in the late 19th century this trans-cultural accession extended to incorporating passages of English language within the marae context as well. See Jahnke, R. (2003). *Maori Visual Culture on the run* - Keynote address - Nga Waka Art Education Conference, Auckland College of Education. *Nga Waka, ANZAAE Aotearoa New Zealand association of Art educators Refereed Conference Proceedings* Vol 1 (1), 2003. CD Rom.

¹⁰⁵ Barthes, Roland - (1915-1980) expanded 'Saussure's Structuralism by extending the relation between the linguistic signifier and signified to different cultural systems – including imagery' which relied on equivalence as opposed to identity. Adams, L. S. (1996). *The Methodologies of Art*. Boulder: Westview Press. p. 154.

iconic and a non-coded iconic message.¹⁰⁶ Only the linguistic message is relevant in this context. In tribal carving of the 19th century the names of ancestors were carved in relief to name ancestors in a code of Maori language. The code served two functions: ‘anchoring and relaying.’¹⁰⁷ Maori language anchors by denoting the ancestor in relation to other ancestors while relaying an ideology of whakapapa as a critical premise for survival as a people. It is this second function of the code that is particularly important for the *taitanga kaupapa toi* (art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance).

According to Linda Smith Maori language as a Kaupapa Maori principle is a site of struggle that has seen the revitalisation of Maori language.¹⁰⁸ Maori language allows access to bodies of knowledge in the Maori language. Critically, there is a co-relationship between the survival of the Maori language and Maori as a people.¹⁰⁹

At an ideological level, a *taitanga reo* method implicates visual culture within a cultural continuum of Maori language revitalisation and the survival of Maori as a people within the context of matauranga Maori as a valid dimension of Maori research.¹¹⁰ The prioritisation of Maori language in this study is about cloaking the thesis in a *taitanga kaupapa toi* (art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance) that colludes with kaupapa Maori as a research strategy, not only at the level of ‘revitalisation’, but at the level of ‘access to bodies of knowledge in the Maori language’.

This ‘access to bodies of knowledge in the Maori language’ comprises the core texts in Chapters Three and Four for interpreting tribal carving in Chapter Five while Chapters Eight and Nine rely heavily on a Maori manuscript for the content in the Taharora Project. For this reason, a glossary of Maori terms will not be included as part of the thesis.

¹⁰⁶ The second message is also called the literal or the denoted message. The third message is also called the symbolic or connoted message. Barthes, R. (1986). *The Responsibility of Forms. Critical Essays on Music, Art and Representation*. (R. Howard. Trans.). Oxford: Basil Blackwell. p. 23.

¹⁰⁷ ‘For Barthes the linguistic message is a link to the image, and it serves two functions: “anchoring and relaying.” It anchors by denoting...The relaying function is related to connotation, which constitutes Barthes’ notion of the “rhetoric of the image,” and it conveys an ideological message. “Rhetoric,” he wrote, “appears as the signifying aspect of ideology.” Adams. (1996). p. 154.

¹⁰⁸ Smith, L. T. (1996). ‘Nga Aho O Te Kakahu Matauranga: The Multiple Layers of Struggle by Maori in Education’. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. pp. 213-215.

¹⁰⁹ In the early 1980s senior artist Arnold Wilson declared that ‘without language a culture is dead’. This has resulted in Maori language being offered in 1997 as a compulsory subject for the Bachelor of Maori visual Arts degree at the School of Maori studies at Massey University in Palmerston North. In his critique of a number of early ‘commentators of the past’, Hirini Moko Mead contends, ‘None of them became proficient in Maori, and not one thought it worthwhile to meet the language requirement as a necessary preparation for more effective research and as a proper way of giving proper weight to Maori conceptions about their own art’. Mead, S. M. (1984). ‘Nga Timunga me nga Paringa o te mana Maori The Ebb and Flow of mana Maori and the Changing Context of Maori Art’. In S. M. Mead (Ed.). *Te Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand Collections*. Auckland: Heinemann in association with the American Federation of the Arts.

¹¹⁰ For Linda Smith te reo as a Kaupapa Maori principle is a site of struggle that has seen the revitalisation of Maori language as a consequence of Maori protest against a State driven education ideology that sought to ‘get rid of’ Maori language through the 1960s and 1970s. The struggle has witnessed the establishment of Te Kohanga Reo in 1982, a Waitangi tribunal claim in 1985, and the declaration of Maori language as an official language in 1987 through an act of Parliament. The act also established the Maori Language Commission (Te Taurawhiri i te Reo Maori) and gave limited rights to speak Maori in judicial proceedings. Smith. (1996). pp. 213-215.

The core texts in Chapters Three and Four are subject to interpretation. The interpretative approach assumes Hans Georg Gadamer’s hermeneutic proposition that understanding ‘is always from the point of view of the person who is understanding’, and ‘that it is impossible to eliminate the self from the act of interpretation, and that interpretation is therefore always *re*-interpretation, from the point of view of the present’.¹¹¹ It is proposed however that access to the original language of the text together with an interactive process of interpretation in line with the concept of the ‘hermeneutic circle’ allows for a modification of preconceptions leading to a satisfactory understanding. As Gadamer argues,

‘If we examine the situation more closely, however, we find that meanings cannot be understood in an arbitrary way. Just as we cannot continually misunderstand the use of a word without its affecting the meaning of the whole, so we cannot hold blindly to our own fore-meaning of the thing if we would understand the meaning of another...All that is asked is that we remain open to the meaning of the other person or the text’.¹¹²

Table 3: Nga taitanga ahua toi: taitanga terminology

Maori term	Western notions
<i>Taitanga ahua</i>	Form as an art element, form as a generative principle, form as corporeal substance, lineage of form
<i>Taitanga korero</i>	Content, subject matter, meaning, iconography, lineage narrative
<i>Taitanga reo</i>	Method for linguistic analysis
<i>Taitanga kaupapa toi</i>	Art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance
<i>Taitanga whakairo</i>	Design lineage, style as formal sequence, semiology, intrinsic perception

Many of the chapter subsections in this thesis use Maori language to capture the essence of section content. A number of Maori phrases are used consistently throughout the thesis in place of notions of cultural relevance and art, outlined in *Table 3*.

In some parts of the thesis translations of Maori terms, phrases and text are not provided because the meaning can be sensed through context.

There is a deliberate decision in this thesis to avoid the use of macrons except in those instances where macrons are critical for a *taitanga reo* analysis leading to an understanding of 19th century texts, particularly in Chapter Three. Hence, *taitanga reo* is about putting in order the use of Maori terms in cosmo-genealogy, tribal carving and contemporary art. While the avoidance of macrons appears to contradict the prioritisation of Maori language this strategy is adopted because the Maori texts that inform the *taitanga korero* (lineage narrative) of this thesis vary considerably in the use of macrons particularly in 19th century texts that comprise the major corpus of data for analysis in Chapters Three and Four.

¹¹¹ (Author’s italic emphasis). Wolff, J. (1993). *The Social Production of Art* (second edition). New York: New York University Press. pp. 99-100.

¹¹² Gadamer in Wolff, J. (1993). *The Social Production of Art* (second edition). New York: New York University Press. pp. 100–101.

He tataitanga ahua: Maori form examined

In keeping with *Te Tataitanga Ahua Toi* as a plan that seeks to arrange, to set in order or to weave together the form of art, *tataitanga* as a term en-framed in genealogy is used to en-frame form, content, style, and language within a *tataitanga kaupapa toi* (art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance). *Tataitanga ahua* is used to encompass form because the term encapsulates the genealogy or lineage of form as a western art construct together with form as a generative notion in tribal narrative.¹¹³ *Tataitanga ahua* is an ideological statement about the necessity to contextualise the art within the culture in order to make it culturally relevant for Maori.

When form is reviewed within the context of Western art and design a number of semantic interpretations are apparent. Whereas form is three-dimensional, shape is two-dimensional.

‘Form, a basic element of design, is sometimes referred to as area, mass, or shape. Three-dimensional forms with length, height, and depth measurements are solids. Two-dimensional flat forms, having only length and width, are often differentiated as shapes’.¹¹⁴

‘Form is a term easily confused with shape...a three-dimensional form can have multiple-two dimensional shapes when rendered on a flat surface. This means that shape is really only one aspect of form. When a form is rotated in space, each step of rotation reveals a slightly different shape, because a different aspect is seen by our eyes.

Form, then, is the total visual appearance of a design, although shape is its main factor. We also identify form by size, color, and texture. In other words all the visual elements are referred to collectively as form’.¹¹⁵

Generally, form, which has length, width and depth, is differentiated from shape, which has only length and width. The definition of form, as an as an element of art or design, is complicated by the use of form to describe the illusion of form on a two-dimensional surface. While the illusion of form can be created on a two-dimensional plane using line and shape, the absence of value (differentiation of light and dark) to quantify form with mass will generate form that remains ambiguously two-dimensional. Consequently, form in the two-dimensional art of painting is dependent on the manipulation of shape and value (together with other elements including colour or texture) to generate an illusion of form. By the same token illusionistic space is generated through the combining of these design or art elements. Both form and space are the outcomes of the manipulation of visual elements. This confusion in the constitution of form continues to be problematic for art at a semantic level. This is further complicated by the elevation of form at the level of expressive synthesis.

With Clive Bell form becomes significant.¹¹⁶ It is invariably tied to the aesthetic experience of art. In this scheme an appreciation of significant form is totally reliant on formalist synthesis of the visual element (line and colours) that constitute form. As Bell explains:

¹¹³ *Tataitanga ahua* as form should not be confused with *ahua* (appearance) as an index in the Analytical Framework for Cultural Relativity and Relevance in Chapters One, Eight and Nine.

¹¹⁴ Evans, H. M. (1973). *Man the Designer*. New York: The Macmillan Company. p. 24.

¹¹⁵ Wong, W. (1993). *Principles of Form and Design*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold. p. 246

¹¹⁶ Bell, C. (1928). *Art*. London: Chatto and Windus. p. 8.

There must be some one quality without which a work of art cannot exist; possessing which, in the least degree no work is altogether worthless. What is this quality?...Only one answer seems possible - significant form. In each, lines and colours are combined in a particular way, certain forms and relations of form, stir our aesthetic emotions. These relations and combinations of lines and colours, these aesthetically moving forms, I call "Significant Form"; and "Significant Form" is the one quality common to all works of visual art'.¹¹⁷

In this thesis, form in the western sense encompasses tribal carving and contemporary art both within and outside the marae context.

In the meeting of cultures a semantic shift in the terms used to define each reality is inevitable. Often the process privileges the view of the translator over the translated. An inevitable consequence of the translation process is the distillation of the conceptual depth evident in the original indigenous vocabulary in favour of a concise translation meaningful for the translator. As a consequence the subtle nuances of Maori terms are often lost in translation into English. Nowhere is this more obvious than in contemporary Maori dictionaries where once culturally specific terms are rendered as synonyms that tend to under value their original meaning. A cursory glance at contemporary dictionary terms for shape and form show that *ata* and *ahua* have become synonyms for shape.¹¹⁸ However, an indepth analysis of these terms demonstrates that insubstantial and substantial reality are peculiar to *ata* and *ahua* respectively. Also *ata*, as light or shape, is often found in cosmo-genealogy as state that follows *ahua*. Additionally these terms appear in tribal cosmo-genealogical narratives relating to the realisation of form as corporeality relevant to the generation of human form. Thus, form, as a quantitative dimension that is measurable in the western sense, is totally absent from any Maori considerations of form in 19th century literature.

This thesis proposes that *ahua* has a corporeal and generative dimension. Hence, *ahua* as a notion for form is conditioned by a *tataitanga kaupapa toi*, an art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance that privileges the interdependence of material and spiritual dimensions in a 19th century worldview. These coexisting principles were critical factors in the negotiation of a multidimensional universe that pre-empted the individual as an independent entity existing in isolation from kin, the forces of nature and a genealogy empowered by the deification of the universe. Consequently, a cultural consideration of *ahua* as corporeal substance has only tangential equivalence with form in a three-dimensional sense located in space. But, more importantly, *ahua* accounts for the generative nature of form as creative substance. That is, any consideration of form must account for its intrinsic nature within the context of *tataitanga kaupapa toi* where it is inextricably implicated in cosmo-genealogical relativity.

¹¹⁷ Bell. (1928). pp. 7-8.

¹¹⁸ Ryan, P. M. (1995). *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Maori*. Auckland: Reed. p. 433. Ngata, H. M. (1993). *English Maori Dictionary*. Wellington: Learning Media. p. 424.

In contrast the Williams Dictionary still retains a distinction between form and shape relative to *ahua* although both shape and form are associated with *ata*. However, form and shape in this instance are qualified by 'as opposed to substance. Williams, H. W. (1971). *A Dictionary of Maori Language* (seventh edition). Wellington: Government Printer. pp. 4, 18.

He tataitanga whakairo: a method for stylistic analysis

Tataitanga whakairo is literally about putting whakairo in order. Whakairo in this context relates to design as a generic process applicable to painting, carving and the woven arts in particular.¹¹⁹ It also captures the trans-customary application of the term to wood carving within contemporary language vernacular. In this respect, *tataitanga whakairo* as a design lineage is capable of en-framing stylistic analysis where the individual design characteristics of carvers can be identified and attributed. Stylistic analysis is necessary because biographical information on carvers is sketchy, incomplete or non-existent. In addition, a number of carvers in the 19th and 20th century Iwirakau style have been assigned to several architectural structures leading to problems in assignation.¹²⁰

American art historian Meyer Shapiro has defined style as ‘constant form-and sometimes constant elements, qualities and expression – in the art of an individual or group’.¹²¹ In reality the notion of ‘constant form’ is a myth because stylistic evolution of form of ‘an individual or group’ is subject to temporal evolution and change. Following Chatman’s analysis of literary style Neich explicates a normative dimension of style contingent on evaluative judgement (one of the qualities for Shapiro), and a descriptive dimension incorporating the individual manner of an individual or group, and the shared features of form and expression (expression for Shapiro).¹²² This study is not concerned with assessing the quality of a particular style or style as expression either in relation to tribal carving or the Taharora Project. Instead, it concentrates on form to access the configuration of features or elements that separate the individual carver from a group of carvers or a group of carvers from another group. In the context of this study, form, in a stylistic sense, relates specifically to carved form and pattern, their composition and execution, not as expression, but as technique.

Neich’s summation of Kubler’s theory of art as ‘formal sequence’ has some merit for this study, not because meaning is irrelevant in tribal carving, but because style analysis is used specifically to identify the traits of a carver or school of carvers in a formal sequence of ‘altered repetitions of the same trait’.¹²³ Despite the criticism levelled at Kubler’s scheme, which ignores aesthetic qualities, prioritises traits over the total work, subsumes artistic personality and describes rather than explains change it offers a valuable

¹¹⁹ Neich extends the range to include tattoo. The sources for his attribution include Best, Williams, II Chronicles 1:14, Act 17:29 and Cowan. Neich, R. (2001). *Carved Histories Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 123-25. It should be noted that the inclusion of tattoo is derived from a contextual argument between Mataora and Uetonga in which Smith assumes an association between whakairo and moko. I would argue that for Mataora whakairo is a two-dimensional process for painting the face, for Uetonga it is a three-dimensional process associated with carving and patterned boarders on cloaks. Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 70.

¹²⁰ An interview with Iranui Haig (Aunty Aida) held at Tokomaru Bay on Sunday 15 May 1987 led to the recovery of the Iritekura carvings from under ‘Tamepo’s wool shed’. However, the information regarding the birth and death of Riwai Pakerau was not remembered.

¹²¹ Meyer Shapiro in Adams, A. S. (1996). *The Methodologies of Art An Introduction*. Boulder: Westview Press. p. 24.

¹²² Neich, R. (2001). *Carved Histories Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 113.

¹²³ Neich. (2001). pp. 114-5.

descriptive framework.¹²⁴ Neich concedes that this framework ‘coupled with a semiological perspective. Can go a long way towards an explanation for change in an art tradition’.¹²⁵

As Neich explains ‘semiology’s two-level hierarchy of a social langue (language) which generates and individualised parole (speech) enables individual variations in ‘speech’ to be studied as part of a continuing but changing system’.¹²⁶ However, the ‘speech’ analogy is probably no longer necessary since Barthes (expanding on Saussure’s linguistics) extended the relationship between the signifier and the signified ‘in the form of an equivalence... but not of an identity...’ for cultural systems other than language.¹²⁷

In an analogous sense, tribal carving is a visual language in which the conventions that give rise to form and pattern in carving are sanctioned through the collective acceptance of change often disseminated through tribal networks within historical contexts. Hence, speech, which is individual and variable, may be equated with an individual carver’s application of the conventions of carving relative to a given set of customary templates. In a further analogy, the linguistic signifier is the equivalent of form and patterns in carving, and the signified the conceptual element, that is, the mental image of the carved ancestral panel. This latter notion is significant because unless one is culturally informed of the conceptual element relative to form or patterns there can be no mental image. For example, carvers in North Auckland were not exposed to the signified taratara a kae pattern, until they returned with slaves from the Bay of Plenty who carved their pataka (store houses) with the pattern. From a semiological perspective the critical benefit of the arbitrariness of language lies in the notion that ‘language evolves according its cultural context, rather than according to priori concepts...language does not reflect reality; it constitutes reality’.¹²⁸ Alternatively,

‘[R]eality’ is always encoded, or rather the only way we can perceive and make sense of reality is by the codes of our culture. There may be an objective, empiricist reality out there, but there is no universal, objective way of perceiving and making sense of it. What passes for reality in any culture is the product of a culture’s codes, so ‘reality’ is already encoded, it is never ‘raw’.¹²⁹

In this sense the reality of the North Auckland carvers was extended in the 19th century as a consequence of their incursions into southern territories.

Semiology is a useful tool for classifying signifiers to the extent that it provides an axial system enabling a commutation test to be undertaken, ‘which uses meaning not for its substance but simply as an index of the signifier’.¹³⁰ By employing Saussure’s elements

¹²⁴ Neich. (2001). pp. 115-6.

¹²⁵ Neich. (2001). p. 116.

¹²⁶ Neich. (2001). p. 259. Semiology or the science of signs owes its origin to Ferdinand Saussure who formulated a theory for structural linguistics in which the dichotomic concept of language/speech is central.

¹²⁷ Barthes, R. (1986). *The Responsibility of Forms. Critical Essays on Music, Art and Representation.* (R. Howard. Trans.). Oxford: Basil Blackwell. p. 114.

¹²⁸ Adams, L. S. (1996). *The Methodologies of Art.* Boulder: Westview Press. p. 135.

¹²⁹ Fiske 1987 in <http://www.cultsock.ndirect.co.uk/MUHome/cshtm/semiomean/semio1.htm#sign>.

¹³⁰ ‘What has to be done is to cut up the ‘endless’ message constituted by the whole of the message emitted at the level of the studied corpus, into minimal significant units by means of a commutation test...group these units into paradigmatic classes...to classify the syntagmatic relations which link these

of the syntagm and associative relationships (paradigm for Barthes) a commutation test reveals 'by degrees, the significant units which together weave the syntagm, thus preparing the classification of those units into paradigms'.¹³¹ Therefore, in applying the principle to tribal carving, the paradigm is the carving language comprising form and pattern within an architectural context while the syntagm may be viewed as the individual elements of form and pattern realised by the individual carvers. Following Neich, 'The signifiers of the significant units isolated by the commutation tests then become the gross elements used for connoisseurship analysis. Finer distinctions and more fragmentation of elements than is required by semiology will often be necessary, however, to distinguish the work of individual carvers'.¹³²

However, Neich's analogous coupling of language and parole with the spoken language of carving and its actualisation in carved objects of individual carvers who speak the carving language is valuable but further cultural intervention is necessary.

Expanding on Gotshalk's contention that 'aesthetic experience is intrinsic perception' Neich proposes,

'...since perception contains cognitive elements, the elaboration of intrinsic perception will engage the cognitive powers and will leave an imprint on thought. Thus, intrinsic perception will widen a person's sensitivity and have later effects in his metaperceptual, 'practical' activity and his subsequent artistic activity'.¹³³

I employ 'intrinsic perception' as the ability of a practising artist to perceive form that might otherwise escape the attention of a non-artist. It is proposed that 'finer distinction and more fragmentation' can be achieved through intrinsic perception as cultural intervention. An accumulated perceptual sensibility, acquired through practice in carving, sculpting and graphic design, has cultivated a keen perceptual faculty enabling in depth analysis of carving and painting. Intrinsic perception becomes an analytical tool alongside semiology for distinguishing the work of individual carvers in the place of connoisseurship analysis. Intrinsic perception is used in Chapter Six to demonstrate the ability of the artist to perceive finer distinctions in figurative painting of the 19th century in relation to the development of Te Pitau-a-Manaia.

It is proposed that a *tataitanga whakairo* framework is appropriate for 'putting whakairo in order' because it incorporates stylistic analysis as 'formal sequence', semiology and intrinsic perception informed by experience as an artist.

In keeping with the *tataitanga* concept that pervades this thesis both metaphorically and literally, carvers, whose works are significant for the development of tribal style and who are genealogically connected to Riwai Pakerau, are acknowledged in deference to whakapapa as a critical notion of kinship. Whakapapa is critical in terms of *tataitanga*

units'. Barthes, R. (1986). *The Responsibility of Forms. Critical Essays on Music, Art and Representation*. (R. Howard. Trans.). Oxford: Basil Blackwell. p. 112.

¹³¹ Barthes. (1986). p. 128.

¹³² Neich, R. (2001). *Carved Histories Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 261.

¹³³ Neich. (2001). *Carved Histories Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 102.

whakairo because carvers are linked together across time and space, to the ancestors commemorated and the Maori communities who commissioned the carved projects. In an extension of the whakapapa principle, a number of Maori terms for design units for head and eye forms and surface pattern demonstrate that a heritage of form and pattern existed and that the carver conceptualised 'the cuts between significant units in his own commutation test'.¹³⁴

He tataitanga korero: towards interpretation

For Pakariki Harrison korero is the talk associated with carving.¹³⁵ Korero, in the sense used by Pakariki Harrison, is the content that invests carving with cultural resonance. *Tataitanga korero* is the talk in tribal carving and contemporary art. However, the term is also used to capture cosmo-genealogical oration and narrative and ritual incantations that inform the tribal carving. It is also employed as a substitute for content (or subject matter) because the thesis is fundamentally about the mediation of form and content, their presence and absence.

Tataitanga korero en-frames the iconographical method, which generally prioritises content over form.¹³⁶ For Erwin Panofsky there were three levels of iconographical reading: the pre-iconographic level, which is essentially a description of the subject matter relative to image; the level of convention and precedent in which the pertinent narrative or 'text' is contextualised with image and the synthetic level aimed at uncovering the intrinsic meaning of imagery. At the synthetic level data from various sources including provenance, cultural context, cultural style, artist's style, patronage, cultural themes, contemporary texts and artistic precedents are referenced to determine meaning.¹³⁷

A pre-iconographic consideration of the tiki in tribal carving would describe the conventional nature of the carved image. It's stylised form, the size of its head relative to body, the appearance of primary and subsidiary figures and/or objects and pattern relative to form.

At the level of convention and precedent the tiki, as an ancestral image, would be acknowledged because its commemorative function has been recorded in tribal oral tradition and contemporary literary sources, which constitute the 'text' that underlies the image.

The aim of the synthetic level would be to gain an insight into the intrinsic meaning of

¹³⁴ Customary Maori terms include head and eye forms (wheku, ruru, koruru, ngututahi), surface [pattern] (rauponga, taratara a kai, whakarare, whakatarā, unaunahi) and spiral forms (maui, rauru, takarangi). Neich. (2001). p. 259.

¹³⁵ According to Dr Pakariki Harrison, 'Carving, according to its talk (korero), was discovered by Rua-te-Pupuke, who is seen as its repository and its source'. Cultural Conservation Advisory Council. (1990). *Taonga Maori Conference New Zealand 18-27 November 1990*. Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs. p. 23.

¹³⁶ Although it is possible to ignore the formal qualities associated with art the formal qualities will be considered when relevant for interpreting tribal carving. Iconography is associated with a group of scholars associated with the Warburg Institute A pioneer of the iconographical methodology in art was Erwin Panofsky who was a leading member of the Institute. Adams, L. S. (1996). *The Methodologies of Art*. Boulder: Westview Press. p. 36.

¹³⁷ Adams. (1996). pp. 36-9.

the tiki. Consequently, cognisance needs to be taken of what has been written about the tiki and the way the tiki has evolved as a figurative image through time. Consideration needs to be given to the nature of the conception of the tiki in the cultural context of the period in which it was created in order to explain the rationale behind stylisation, distortion and exaggeration of the tiki. In addition, because the tiki was, and is, a significant cultural image it is necessary to consider the significance of the tiki within the context of the period in which it evolved.

An iconographical study of the tiki would include more than a single image or text. Knowledge of the role of the artist in relation to cultural notions of humankind's place within the cultural universe and history should be considered. Knowledge of when the tiki was conceived and produced, its connection with contemporary events, its intended audience and patronage add to data enabling an iconographical interpretation.

In this study there is a reliance on a *tataitanga reo* analysis of a range of tribal narratives as *tataitanga korero* to interpret tribal carving. While it is conceded that such an interpretive approach to tribal carving may be criticised for its reliance on texts across tribal boundaries, it is the intimate and inextricable interrelationship between the material and the spiritual realm evident in pan-tribal 19th century conceptualisations of the universe that is privileged in the application of an iconographical methodology.

As Maori Marsden has argued,

'It is...obvious that the Maori does not, and never has accepted the mechanistic view of the universe which regards it as a closed system into which nothing can impinge from without. The Maori conceives it as at least a two-world system in which the material proceeds from the spiritual, and spiritual (which is the higher order) interpenetrates the material physical world of Te Ao Marama.

We may also conclude from the concepts of mana and tapu...that while the Maori thought of the physical sphere as subject to natural laws, these could be affected, modified and even changed by the application of higher laws of the spiritual order'.¹³⁸

Because of the conceptual nature of tribal carving there is a concentration on the synthetic level of analysis rather than pre-iconographical and the conventional that are more concerned with the descriptive and the literal rather than the interpretive.

He tataitanga whakawhiti: a trans-cultural framework

Whakapapa constitutes a core principle for a consideration of art. In this thesis, it is the most important index within a framework for analysing art. It annexes whakapapa with the right to identify as Maori, and the right to define personal or communal art practice as Maori. This analytical framework for art had its gestation in 1996 when it was developed as a tool for classifying art as customary or non-customary rather than reframing the people who created the art.¹³⁹ The objective was to align a finite number of

¹³⁸ Maori Marsden further suggests that 'I suspect the Maori had a three-world view, of potential being symbolized by Te Korekore, the world of becoming portrayed by Te Po, and the world of being, Te Ao Marama'. Marsden, M. (1977). 'God, Man and Universe: A Maori View', In M. King (Ed.). *Te Ao Hurihuri The World Moves On* (second edition). Wellington: Hicks Smith & Sons. p. 160.

¹³⁹ See Jahnke, R. (1998). 'Contemporary Maori Art: fact or fiction'. In D. Starzecka (Ed.). *Maori Art and culture*. London, British Museum. pp. 159-170 and Jahnke, R. (2003). 'Maori Visual Culture on

art indices that contributed to the realisation of art according to customary or non-customary confluence. The indices of the Analytical Framework included whakapapa (genealogy), matauranga (knowledge), ahua (appearance), waihanga (process), wahi (site) and wairua (ritual practice). Wairua (ritual practice) was subsequently replaced by tikanga (protocol) because wairua was unquantifiable. In addition, tikanga not only accounts for ritualised activity but also encompasses cultural values and practices associated with the contexts where art is produced. The interactive indices may be as extensive or finite as deemed necessary to establish a valid assessment of art as customary or non-customary. For example, the ahua index may be expanded to include subcategories such as form, pattern and medium while the waihanga index may include tools and technique. More often than not, the framework exposes authentic art as a confluence of varying degrees of customary and non-customary inflection.

The value of the framework was that it clearly demonstrated that there was no such thing as pure or authentic Maori art created in the modern era. The framework dispelled notions of authenticity that attempt to dismiss non-customary or trans-customary practice as unnatural or debased. In addition, its flexibility allowed for a diachronic shift that enabled an evaluation of customary and non-customary concurrence of visual culture historically, therefore supporting change in tribal art as a natural continuum of cultural adaptation.

Table 5: Analytical Framework for Maori art

<i>Cultural indices</i>	<i>Customary (traditional)</i>	<i>Non-customary (non-traditional)</i>
Whakapapa (<i>genealogy</i>)		
Matauranga (<i>knowledge</i>)		
Ahua (<i>appearance</i>)		
Waihanga (<i>process</i>)		
Wahi (<i>site</i>)		
Tikanga (<i>protocol</i>)		

Table 6: Analytical Framework for Cultural Relativity and Relevance [i]

<i>Cultural indices</i>	<i>Maori cultural relativity and relevance</i>	<i>Trans-cultural relativity and relevance</i>
Whakapapa (<i>genealogy</i>)		
Matauranga (<i>knowledge</i>)		
Ahua (<i>appearance</i>)		
Waihanga (<i>process</i>)		
Wahi (<i>site</i>)		
Tikanga (<i>protocol</i>)		

In light of the value of the Analytical framework for capturing inconsistencies in the attribution of art as authentic or inauthentic it is proposed that *Table 6: Framework for Cultural Relativity and Relevance* as an adaptation of *Table 5: Analytical Framework for Maori Art* offers an appropriate framework to contextualise form, content and genealogy in terms of their resonance with Maori.

the run'. Nga Waka Art Education Conference, Auckland College of Education. *Nga Waka, ANZAAE Aotearoa New Zealand association of Art educators Refereed Conference Proceedings Vol 1 (1)*, 2003. CD Rom.

Like the previous framework, the relative position of form and content will be conditioned by conservative or liberal accommodation of change in art. If the temporal index for Maori relevance is located in the mid 19th century the more conservative is the cultural capture. If the temporal index is shifted to the late 19th century or even the early 20th century the more liberal the cultural capture. In the latter case, trans-customary interlocutions in art will shift from the trans-cultural index into the Maori cultural index.

It is proposed that the *Analytical Framework for Cultural Relativity and Relevance* constitutes an indispensable tool for form, content and genealogy analysis in the art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance, a *tataitanga kaupapa toi*. This Framework will be used to examine form, content and genealogy in Chapters Four to Seven. In Chapters Eight and Nine the Taharora Project will be examined using the *Tataitanga Whakawhiti* transcultural framework where form and content are woven into the indices of the framework.

Whakawhiti ahua: negotiating art and visual culture

Although there has been a recent shift toward substituting visual culture for art to acknowledge the interdependency of art and culture within indigenous contexts, the terms visual culture and art depend on the temporal context.¹⁴⁰ Maori have assimilated the word ‘art’ as a significant term in the contemporary context not only within language but also within the broader Maori art community.¹⁴¹ The term art is used relative to contemporary art while visual culture, tribal carving, and visual practice will be employed when discussing 18th, 19th and early 20th century tribal carving. In this respect *Te Tataitanga ahua toi* is a trans-cultural proposition that is liberal in its accommodation of non-customary practice and form.¹⁴² Trans-cultural interlocution of form may be made culturally relevant for

¹⁴⁰ Visual culture is a ‘term which is used more and more, it refers to what we have otherwise called art, but it is more inclusive and less likely to rely upon value judgements...Certain works that a Eurocentric audience may call art not called art by the cultures that produced them can be included in discussions of visual culture, but might not be in discussions of art.

<http://www.artlex.com/ArtLex/Map.Html#anchors5714099>

Visual culture may be contrasted with material culture as a mode of cultural analysis related to the study of artefacts in anthropology and archaeology in the late 19th century. Visual culture is tied to an interest in human visibility. It is both subject matter (visual expression) and intimately associated with disciplines including, art history, aesthetics, iconography, iconology, semiotics, hermeneutics, phenomenology, and perception theory. Visual culture is accommodating in its ability to straddle multiple forms of visual expression from fine arts to material culture to populist cultural production and their aesthetic, symbolic, ritualistic, politico-ideological and practical functions. <http://www.visual-religion.co.uk/description.html>.

¹⁴¹ See a discussion on the issue in Jahnke, R. (2003). ‘Maori Visual Culture on the run’ in *Nga Waka ANZAAE Aotearoa New Zealand association of Art educators Refereed Conference Proceedings Vol 1* (1). CD Rom.

¹⁴² Trans-cultural is a term commonly used in psychology and health to accommodate another cultures beliefs, values and practices. Trans-cultural in the thesis relates to the adaptation of mainstream form or content in visual culture or art within a Maori cultural context. In the process form is made relevant because of the grounding of the subject matter or meaning within a Maori cultural context.

Maori through visual correspondence or visual empathy with prior cultural models.¹⁴³ In the absence of visual correspondence and visual empathy, cultural relevance can be achieved through a grounding of form in kaupapa Maori that embraces take (cause) or matauranga (knowledge). As intimated previously the whakapapa of the artist impacts on the acceptance of art as relevant for Maori. Therefore, the thesis embraces interlocutions in trans-cultural art practice and form as a natural consequence of cultural adaptation in a dynamic and mobile continuum of art that is relevant for Maori.

The trans-cultural subtext of the thesis is to provide a view of visual practice that negotiates various periods of tribal carving and contemporary art where the world-view prominent at the time invades the consciousness of the period, an invasion that is sometimes discreet and at times vociferous in its trans-cultural interlocution. An example of trans-cultural interlocution of content is apparent in the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* where the positional dichotomy of Io te atua nui and Whiro te tipuna is symptomatic of a cultural accommodation of good and evil relative to ascent to an upper supernatural realm and descent to an underworld.¹⁴⁴ As Te Rangihiroa contends,

‘The cosmogony of separating light from darkness, the waters from dry land, and the suspension of the firmament appears to have been post European additions made after the knowledge was acquired of the Biblical story of Creation. The separation of the spirits through the East door to ascend to supernatural realms and the sinners through the South door to the Underworld is contrary to the Maori and Polynesian concepts of the future world. It is closely allied with Christian teaching of heaven and hell to have originated in an ancestral house of learning before European contact’.¹⁴⁵

It is not the intention of this thesis to contest the integrity of trans-cultural interlocution in narrative but to ensure that Pakeha translations of Maori text maintain a cultural integrity through culturally appropriate language analysis.

Trans-cultural is used principally to contextualise change in form in which the influence of the western art has altered form in tribal carving or contemporary art.¹⁴⁶ As stated above, for art to resonate with Maori any trans-cultural modification must have cultural relevance. In art, this trans-cultural process may be applied to form or content. At one end of the art spectrum modification to form maintains visual correspondence with historical models where a perceptual relationship with customary form is retained. This is necessary because Maori need visual cues to see themselves in the form. At the other end

¹⁴³ The choice of prior cultural models is variable depending on the context that has shaped one’s worldview. For the conservatives the mid-19th century models is favoured because it excludes much of the trans-cultural form apparent in the late 19th century when European naturalism invaded the whare nui. My position is more liberal and accommodates trans-cultural practice and form of the last twenty years as customary practice. In this respect, trans-cultural encompasses both trans-customary and non-customary form.

¹⁴⁴ ‘Those spirits which by their evil conduct on earth...left the temple by the Taheke-roa (or long rapid, descent) to Rarohenga, or Hades, presided over by the evils spirits, Whiro-te-tipua...whilst others ascended the mountain Tawhiti-nui...where they entered the realm of Io the Supreme God’. Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 112.

¹⁴⁵ Buck, P. (1949). *The Coming of the Maori*. Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs. pp. 535-6.

¹⁴⁶ By far the most pervasive influence has been ‘western’, particularly that of Europe in the 19th and 20th century. However, global currents that include ‘other’ indigenous art practices, processes and procedures have influenced contemporary art by Maori.

of art spectrum modification to form obscures any perceptual relationship with customary form. Visual correspondence and empathy with historical models are absent. This becomes problematic for Maori because there are no visual cues that allow Maori to relate to the form. If form has been subject to non-customary modification that obscures perceptual relationship with historical models the content must be culturally relevant. Without Maori cultural relevance at the level of content the art will no longer resonate with Maori although it might remain relevant as art or even Maori art for the artist who created it.

This distinction is particularly important for Chapters Eight and Nine where it is argued that the art of the Taharora Project straddles visual correspondence and visual empathy with historical models contingent on the location of the temporal index. I argue in Chapter Nine that the location of the temporal index determines the accession of trans-cultural form; the greater the historicism of the temporal index, the less likely trans-cultural interlocation will be accommodated as culturally relevant for Maori. The inverse will be more inclusive in terms of cultural relativity and relevance.

Critically, it is proposed that the content in the Taharora Project makes the art resonate with Maori because it en-frames the house in whakapapa and matauranga relevant for Ngai Taharora. This resonance is further substantiated by my genealogical position as a descendant of Ngai Taharora. Consequently, the form, content and genealogy have resonance for Maori.

In returning to the question that this thesis seeks to answer: How do form, content and genealogy contribute to art that resonates with Maori?

If the form has visual correspondence or visual empathy it is more likely to resonate with Maori. This is the explicit component of resonance where visual cues assist the viewer in locating the art within a Maori worldview.

If the form does not have visual cues, the subject or content must be relevant for Maori. This is the implicit component of resonance where visual cues do not assist the viewer in locating the art within a Maori worldview.

It has also been suggested that the artist need not be Maori in order to create form in which visual correspondence and empathy are apparent. Nor does the artist need to be Maori in order to articulate the subject or content within a Maori worldview. Consequently, whakapapa Maori becomes the critical determinant alongside form and content for art to resonate with Maori.

Chapter Three

Mai i te Kore ki ahua

From the immaterial to form

The aim of this Chapter is to weave a lineage narrative for this thesis on tribal carving and contemporary art, *Te Tataitanga Ahua Toi: the house that Riwai built*. It is also about constructing an art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance, a *tataitanga kaupapa toi* that is dependant on matauranga Maori for making art culturally relevant for Maori in the absence of explicit visual cues that allow Maori to see themselves in the art.

Tataitanga korero is the talk in tribal carving and contemporary art. The term also encompasses cosmo-genealogical oration and narrative, ritual incantations and historical narratives. In this sense, *tataitanga korero* becomes a lineage narrative of a tribal worldview that can be used to interpret carving in Chapter Five and content that informs the Taharora Project in Chapters Eight and Nine. The initial grounding of the thesis in lineage narrative is aimed at investing the *tataitanga korero* with philosophical substance, a theoretical premise and a sense of cultural integrity; that is, to anchor some of the important philosophical notions that invest tribal culture of the 19th century with significance.¹⁴⁷ This is important because the carvings and paintings of Riwai Pakerau are part of a continuum of tribal and trans-cultural practice where form, content and genealogy intersect as critical determinants for cultural relevancy.

In this chapter, the corpus of texts is predominantly 19th century Maori language texts by both Maori and Pakeha writers. Recourse to early Maori language texts is necessary because it is proposed that the *tataitanga korero* (meaning) imbedded in the lineage narratives informs tribal carving. In order to gain an insight into the *tataitanga korero* in lineage narratives in the Maori language it is necessary to apply a *tataitanga reo* analysis.

In Chapter Two, it was proposed that the application of *tataitanga reo* as a linguistic method for the analysis of Maori texts can lead to an understanding of *tataitanga korero* (meaning) in lineage narratives and ultimately tribal carving. In this respect, I subscribe to the view that *tataitanga korero* (meaning) is recoverable. A *tataitanga reo* method is used, not only to set the story in order, but also to make sense of the story, to reveal the layers of meaning in Maori language texts from a Maori perspective in order to interpret tribal carving, and reveal collusions of form, content and genealogy.

The prioritisation of Maori language in this study is about en-framing the thesis in a *tataitanga kaupapa toi* (art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance) that colludes with kaupapa Maori as a research strategy, not only at the level of revitalisation, but at the level of access to bodies of knowledge in the Maori language.

This thesis proposes that 19th century lineage narratives offer a glimpse of a 19th

¹⁴⁷ While *tataitanga korero* en-frames cosmo-genealogical oration and narrative, ritual incantations and historical narratives, lineage narrative will be used in Chapters Two and Three to refer to cosmo-genealogical oration and narrative, ritual incantations and historical narratives.

century worldview despite the influence of a trans-cultural worldview introduced by the arrival of the settler population. It is accepted that much of the writing of the 19th century contains trans-cultural interlocution on a Maori worldview. It was proposed in Chapter Two that the positional dichotomy of Io te atua nui and Whiro te tipuna in the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* was symptomatic of a cultural accommodation of good and evil relative to ascent to an upper supernatural realm and descent to an underworld. As stated previously, it is not the objective of this thesis to dismiss these trans-cultural interlocutions as a sign of cultural contamination. In line with the aim of this thesis there is an attempt to interpret and to understand the 19th century worldview in a hermeneutic sense in order to unveil a *tataitanga korero* for interpreting 18th and 19th century carving in Chapter Five.

In the first part of Chapter Three, *Ko Ruaumoko e ngunguru nei, tataitanga reo* method is employed to critique Percy Smith and Elsdon Best's translation of the Mataora narrative of the origin of tattoo and weaving, to set the platform for putting in order the Maori text, and to address some of the misinterpretations that result from an uncritical acceptance of translations by early writers, and to demonstrate the necessity to revisit Maori texts in order to uncover the huna (hidden) meaning, the *tataitanga korero*. It is proposed that a *tataitanga reo* analysis is critical for 'arranging' and 'setting in order' Maori terminology associated with an ethno-aesthetic insight into 'traditional Maori concepts of art'.¹⁴⁸

Like the earlier use of the karanga as a conceptual preface, the Mataora narrative provides a metaphorical platform for informed knowledge because the narrative is constructed as a debate between two protagonists whose views on tattoo, painting and carving are conditioned by their respective realities. I would contend that a facility in Maori language and cultural relativity as a Maori offers an appropriate platform for engaging in a *tataitanga reo* analysis.¹⁴⁹

Ko Ruaumoko e ngunguru nei is a line from a Ngati Porou haka (war dance) that is translated as 'Ruaumoko (the earthquake god) rumbles'. The rumbling of Ruaumoko is a metaphor for me as an uri (descendant) of Ngati Porou challenging accepted korero (discourse) from the past and the present that influence perceptions of tribal art. The critical outcome of this textual analysis is to contest the contemporary interpretation of 'hopara makaurangi' as figurative painting, to revisit, and to re-contextualise 19th century tribal terminology relevant to carving, painting, tattoo and weaving of the 19th century.

¹⁴⁸ A prerequisite of this approach is a 'deep understanding of the Maori language'. Neich, R. (2001). *Carved Histories Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 123.

¹⁴⁹ In his critique of a number of early 'commentators of the past', Hirini Moko Mead contends, 'None of them became proficient in Maori, and not one thought it worthwhile to meet the language requirement as a necessary preparation for more effective research and as a proper way of giving proper weight to Maori conceptions about their own art'. Mead, S. M. (1984). 'Nga Timunga me nga Paringa o te mana Maori The Ebb and Flow of mana Maori and the Changing Context of Maori Art'. In S. M. Mead (Ed.). *Te Maori Maori Art from New Zealand Collections*. Auckland: Heinemann in association with the American Federation of the Arts.

Nga tataitanga rua constitutes the second part of the chapter in which a review of 19th century Maori language texts continues the *tataitanga reo* analysis to demonstrate the concurrence of evolutionary consciousness evident in lineage narratives. The rationale for this analysis is to highlight the critical interconnection of the material and immaterial realms in 19th century tribal cosmo-genealogies and narratives recorded by both Maori and Pakeha writers. A further aim is to explicate cosmo-genealogical notions of consciousness to empower the thesis with a *tataitanga kaupapa toi*, an art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance, and to invigorate it with a Maori consciousness. While this thesis is not temporally grounded in essentialism or tino rangatiratanga, Maori sovereignty, the artists and their work, that constitute the foundation for this thesis, have been ever mindful of tradition, of what has gone before, of what has preceded them, and of artistic traits inherited from ancestors. They are conscious of a cultural responsibility to invest their art with cultural relativity and relevance as part of *nga taonga tuku iho*, the inheritance from the past.

Ko Ruaaumoko e ngunguru nei: the earthquake god rumbles

In the *Lore of the Whare Wananga*, Te Matorohanga contends that it was Mataora who brought the art of moko to the world of Te Ao-tu-roa (the world of humankind, the material realm) from Rarohenga (the world of spirits, the immaterial realm).¹⁵⁰

The Mataora narrative is significant on several counts. First it places the arts of humankind within the realm of atua (deity), that is, the realm of Whakaru-au-moko and Hine-nui-te po. In the second instance the tohunga ta moko (tattooist) Uetonga is linked to the whakapapa (genealogy) of deity through marriage to the granddaughter of Whakaru-au-moko.

Whakaru-au-moko = Hine-nui-te-po
 Hine-oi =Pu-tanga
 Manu-tonga=Uetonga
 Niwareka=Mataora.¹⁵¹

In the third instance ta moko is rendered sacred through this direct connection with deity and the supernatural.

The Mataora narrative also describes the gifting of the art of weaving in the form of a cloak called Te Rangi-haupapa by Uetonga to Mataora as a consummation of his acceptance of a tattoo from the underworld to replace the painted form of the world of humans.

Te taura tuatahi o ‘Te Rangi-haupapa’ na Niwareka ano i mahi; i takoto ki a Hine-rau-wharangi, tamahine a Hine-titama. E kii ana tenei kahu, ko Rena...

The original patterns [sic] of Te Rangi-haupapa was made by Niwareka from one belonging to Hine-rau-wharangi, a daughter of Hinetitama. It is said the garment was named Rena...¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Matorohanga in Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. pp. 67-76, 182-193.

¹⁵¹ Smith. (1913). pp. 67, 187.

¹⁵² Author’s translation. Smith. (1913). pp. 73, 190.

Hine-nui-te-po in her original guise as Hine-titama had a daughter with her father Tane-mahuta. Hine-rau-wharangi, the daughter of this union was credited with the creation of the original garment that provided the taura (pattern) for the cloak created by Niwareka. Thus, both the art of weaving and facial tattoo are presented as koha (precious gifts) from beyond the world of ordinary human beings.

The unique nature of the art of facial tattoo is further heightened by the contrast that exists between painted moko (designs), kawaiwai, hopara-makaurangi or tuhi as painting and a process for delineating pattern (terms used by Uetonga) or hopara-makaurangi (the term used by Mataora) and tá moko, tattooing using the skin puncturing process. For Uetonga, hopara-makaurangi is the design found in buildings; for Mataora, it is the design used for tattoo. A further distinction between woodcarving is made in the debate between Mataora and Uetonga. While Mataora calls the painting of his tattoo whakairo, Uetonga, associates the term with taniko borders and woodcarving. It goes without saying that the pain associated with moko-whakangao is an integral part of the process as whakangao implies the cutting of grooves in the skin.¹⁵³ The process necessitated singing of waiata (song) to cope with the pain. Hence Mataora sings his waiata to Niwareka whom he has pursued to the underworld after mistreating her in the world of humankind.

‘Niwareka e ngaro nei, kei whea koe?
 Kai whakaputa mai Niwareka, Niwareka!
 Nau au i kukume iho mai ki raro nei,
 Niwareka! Niwareka! e kai nei te aroha,
 Niwareka! Niwareka! here pu rawa koe i au.
 Niwareka! Niwareka! waiho taua i te ao,
 Niwareka! Niwareka! wehea i te po i a taua,
 Niwareka! Niwareka! whakaoti rangi e i’.¹⁵⁴

On returning to Te Ao-tu-roa, Mataora continues the art of tattoo in the world of humankind. But the introduction of the process of woodcarving was accredited to Nuku-te-aio and Rua-i-te-pupuke.

‘Ko nga moko ona, ko nga poniania o te ihu, me nga pihere, me nga ngu, me nga tiwhana; ka mutu mai nga moko i riro mai i a Mataora o Rarohenga mai. Na runga nei i whakatutuki nga moko, he mea whakairo ki runga te tekoteko e Nuku-te-aio raua ko *Rua-i-te-pupuke*, i whakaputa te whakairo ki te ao’.¹⁵⁵

Roger Neich’s proposition that it is possible to detect a shift in the construction of Maori narratives to encompass contemporary practice in the arts at the time the narratives were recorded, has some merit,

¹⁵³ The emphasis given to the technique of carving the skin, ‘te tá o te kiri’, clearly demonstrates how narratives are re-constructed to incorporate the contemporary tá moko process. This does not in any way devalue the narrative but merely reinforces the ‘re-construction’ of narratives to encompass changes in practice through time.

¹⁵⁴ Mataora’s waiata is a lament for Niwareka who fled to the underworld. He laments her loss (ngaro) asking of her whereabouts. He beseeches her to appear, she who has dragged him below. He speaks of his love and his need for her support and forgiveness. The critical passages are ‘waiho taua i te ao’ and ‘wehea i te po i a taua’ in which ‘ao’ and ‘po’ are contrasted as loci for best practice. Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 71.

¹⁵⁵ Smith. (1913). p. 75.

According to the myths of origin, both carving and tattooing were not of this world, since the culture heroes either had to climb into the heaven or descend to the underworld in order to learn them. On the contrary, painting whether on the body or on house, was essentially an art of this world and required no special initiation, except in the myth of Whiro's search for the art of carving, where painting has a celestial origin, although clearly a second-rate substitute for the preferred carving. This mythical situation reflected the historical situation in the later half of the nineteenth century where untrained people could practise the art of figurative painting relatively free from the rules of tapu.¹⁵⁶

However, Neich's association of this shift in the construction of narrative with a negative evaluation of figurative painting or a shift in the prioritisation of one art form over another needs to be re-viewed. Equally his assumption that 'painting whether on the body or on the house, was essentially an art of this world' needs to re-examined in light of the Mataora narrative examined below.¹⁵⁷

A more culturally relevant interpretation would suggest that the negative evaluation of painting apparent in 19th century Maori narratives explaining the origin of tattoo, is not about the negative aspect of painting, or its inferiority, but to emphasis tá moko as a tapu (sacred), and an overtly ritualised process. In addition, the Mataora narrative acknowledges that painting has its rightful place in the art of the house but the painting of the face is not as permanent as tattoo. That is, painting of the person is practised in the underworld together with the painting and carving of houses. In other words, all the arts associated with the whare nui and with the body exist in the underworld. Anyone can use paint as a medium for adornment but the right to tá moko must be earned through deeds of valour. It was a qualification of honour and achievement. Tá moko was also a mark of genealogical pre-eminence. In this respect, the Mataora narrative emphasises character building through perseverance in the acquisition of knowledge through a contestation of mana (prestige); the mana of the immaterial and spiritual realms, tattoo and painting, and supernatural being and human.¹⁵⁸ Apart from the Rua and Tangaroa, and the Whiro narratives about the origin of carving, Neich has selected '...another parallel set of myths explaining the origin of tattooing also use painting as a negative instance and hence reflect the same negative evaluation'.¹⁵⁹

It will be not only be informative, but necessary, to reconsider the Mataora narrative of the origin of ta moko (tattoo) that forms the basis for some of Neich's Maori art terminology and to set a framework for the implication of the Te Matorohanga terms for Maori art and tribal carving in particular. Rather than repeat Percy Smith's translation used by Neich, the original Maori text, Smith's translation of the Maori text together with Best's English version, and my translation of the Maori text, are arranged for comparative linguistic analysis.¹⁶⁰ Each passage of text is numbered sequentially to allow for cross-referencing of the contentious terms apparent in Smith's and Best's English versions

¹⁵⁶ Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 21.

¹⁵⁷ Neich. (1993). p. 21.

¹⁵⁸ Neich. (1993). p. 21.

¹⁵⁹ Neich. (1993). p. 19.

¹⁶⁰ Neich. (1993). p. 19.

followed by my translation, and my textual analysis of their respective translations relative to mine.¹⁶¹ Best has been included in this analysis because he has recorded a revised version of the Mataora narrative that appears to indicate the Te Matorohanga text as the source despite his exclusion of some significant lines and reconfiguration of some passages.¹⁶²

1 Maori text

titiro atu ia [Mataora] e heke ana te toto;

Smith translation:

and saw the blood descending from the cuts in the face.

Best translation:

and the blood of that person was flowing freely,

Author's translation:

he saw the blood descending;

Textual analysis:

Smith offers a liberal translation in this line, 'the cuts of the face' do not occur in the Maori text although they are implied. In a similar manner Best's translation dramatises the event beyond the literal.

2 Maori text

Ka karanga atu ia, 'kei te hé ta koutou na tá moko! Kaore e pena ana ta runga tá moko'.

Smith translation:

He called out, 'Your system of tattooing the face is all wrong! It is not done in that manner up above.'

Best translation:

hence he called out: 'Your mode of tattooing is wrong; it is not done so in the upper world'.

Author's translation:

He called out, 'Your tattoo is wrong! Tattoo is not like that above.'

Textual analysis:

Like the previous passage 'the face' is not in the Maori text but it is implied. The use of 'tá' annexed to moko to indicate the process of tattoo in which 'tá' as a transitive verb means not only to carve or fashion but also to tattoo, and 'moko' is the outcome of the process. That is, moko is the tattoo produced or more specifically a style of design, which was dominantly cursive in nature at the time the narrative was recorded.¹⁶³ Hence, 'tá' in the latter sense and 'ta' as a definitive particle used with pronouns, nouns and proper names to indicate possession are critical to the understanding of the Maori text. While Best's translation is closer to the Maori text he, like Smith, errs in his allusion to the 'mode' (system in Smith) of tattoo. Best's translation of runga as the 'upper world' is a valid extension of the concept of 'runga' in this instance.

¹⁶¹ Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. pp. 67-76, 186-7.

¹⁶² Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 1* (third edition). Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongawera. pp. 226-30.

¹⁶³ Williams lists moko specifically as a noun for 'tattooing on the face or body'. Williams, H. W. (1971) *A Dictionary of Maori Language* (seventh edition). Wellington: Government Printer. pp. 207, 354.

In this passage, ‘tá moko’ as a term for tattoo is introduced as a contextual term for the debate between Mataora and Ue-tonga.

3 Maori text

Ka ki atu a Ue-tonga, ‘Ko ta raro nei tá moko tenei; kei te hé ano a runga. Ko tena ta moko ki raro nei ka kiia he kawaiwai.’

Smith translation:

Ue-tonga said, ‘This is the custom below here; that above is quite wrong. The system is called by us kawaiwai (i.e; painted).’

Best translation:

Ue-tonga replied: ‘This is the way we tattoo in the lower world. Your method is wrong.

Author’s translation:

Ue-tonga replied, ‘Down here this is tattoo; once more it is wrong above. That design down here is called kawaiwai.’

Textual analysis:

The assumption made by Smith that ‘kawaiwai’ (Maori text) or ‘kawaiwai’ (Smith translation) equates with ‘painted’ is misplaced in light of the critical differentiation that is made between ‘tá moko’ and ‘ta moko’ in this passage. As indicated above, ‘tá moko’, not only sets the context for the debate, but is also used as a statement of fact that ‘tá moko’ is the name for tattoo in the underworld in which ‘tá’ indicates the process of transfer and ‘moko’ describes the outcome – a distinctive cursive design. In the second sentence the change to ‘ta moko’ alters dramatically the meaning of this line, and with it, the translation of ‘kawaiwai’. If the omission of the macron in this case is not an editorial error then the line is referring to a quality that is intrinsic to ‘moko’, that is, it belongs to or is a characteristic of ‘moko’, or in this instance, a pattern on the face. In this sense, both the meaning of ‘moko’ and ‘kawaiwai’ must be viewed in relation to each other. Therefore, ‘moko’ should be translated as the pattern (associated with tattoo) while ‘kawaiwai’ is the style of pattern. That is, it is inherently cursive in nature. This point is reinforced in later passages through the use of the term ‘hopara-makaurangi’. Like ‘tá moko’, ‘hopara-makaurangi’ is a composite of an intransitive verb and a noun. It encapsulates the process of covering a surface with spirals.¹⁶⁴ This is evident in the emphasis used throughout the narrative to equate painting with ‘tuhi’, as painted designs, and subsequently, the preparatory delineation of pattern.

In this passage, an important emphasis is placed on the annexation of ‘tá moko’ with the underworld. A switch in the debate is introduced with ‘ta moko’ from one of process to one of composition or design. This is reinforced later in the narrative where tattoo is called ‘moko-whakangao’ and ‘moko-tangata’.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Williams lists hopara makaurangi as ‘a painted rafter design’. The source for this interpretation is line 5 of the Mataora narrative below. He also includes the meaning of hopara as ‘embellishing rafters of a house, covering the surface with spirals’ while makaurangi is listed as a noun meaning ‘spiral lines’ or a transitive verb meaning ‘adorn with spirals’. Williams, H. W. (1971). *A Dictionary of Maori Language* (seventh edition). Wellington: Government Printer. pp. 59, 169.

¹⁶⁵ Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 74.

While Smith speaks of ‘custom’, Best alludes to ‘way’ when the Maori text literally refers to ‘that belonging to here below (the under-world by implication) this is tattoo’. As well as omitting any reference to ‘runga’, Best omits the final sentence referring to ‘kawaiwai’.

4 Maori text

Ka ki atu a Mataora, ‘He hopara-makaurangi ki runga.’

Smith translation:

Mataora in reply said, ‘Hopara-makaurangi is the name above.’

Best translation:

Said Mataora: ‘Our method is the hopara makaurangi’.

Author’s translation:

Mataora retorted, ‘It is hopara-makaurangi above.’

Textual analysis:

There is nothing wrong with Smith’s translation apart from the fact there is no Māori word for ‘name’ in the Maori text. However, it will become obvious in the next passage that Smith assumes that ‘hopara-makaurangi’ is the equivalent for ‘tá moko’. In Best’s translation ‘our method’ does not appear in the Maori text, and ‘hopara makaurangi’ is not contextualised.

5 Maori text

Ka ki atu a Ue-tonga, ‘Ko tena moko, kia ara te whare ka kiia he hopara-makaurangi tena tuhi; ki te tukua te moko ki runga i te tangata ka kiia he tuhi tena moko.’

Smith translation:

Ue-tonga then said, ‘That kind of moko (or face-tattooing) is used in house building, and then it is called hopara-makaurangi, or painting. If the moko is done on a man it is called tuhi, or painting.’

Best translation:

‘That mode of tattooing’, said Uetonga, ‘is so termed when applied to house decoration, [Reference to hopara makaurangi has been omitted] but when devices are merely marked on a person it is known as tuhi’.

Author’s translation:

Ue-tonga responded, ‘That (style of) design is apparent when the house is erected (then) it is called hopara-makaurangi that (form of) painting, if the pattern is delineated (using pigment) on a person it is called painting that (form of) design.’

Textual analysis:

In this passage ‘tá’ and ‘ta’ have been omitted as a prefix for ‘moko’. The intention of this passage is clear. While Mataora calls his ‘moko’ (style of design) ‘hopara-makaurangi’ implying that the designs are composed of spirals, Ue-tonga assigns these designs to the house. This is reinforced by the qualification of ‘hopara-makaurangi’ with the painting process ‘tena tuhi’ at the end of the first sentence.¹⁶⁶ Therefore pattern and process are succinctly distinguished.

¹⁶⁶ Williams lists one of the meanings of *tuku*, a transitive verb, as to ‘apply pigment’. Williams, H. W. (1971). *A Dictionary of Maori Language* (seventh edition). Wellington: Government Printer. p. 451.

In this passage there is an important shift introduced in the final sentence. A return to process is indicated by 'tukua'. Explicit in the use of this term is the application of pigment to delineate the 'moko' design painted on a person as a preparatory process preceding the skin piercing process.

Both Smith and Best have erred in their translation of 'moko' as 'face tattooing' in the first line of the passage because 'moko' in this instance is the outcome of the process not the process. While Best omits the reference to 'hopara-makaurangi' Smith qualifies the latter as 'or painting'. However, the Maori text qualifies 'hopara-makaurangi' as 'tena tuhi' not 'he tuhi ranei'. That is, 'hopara-makaurangi' is 'that (form of) painting' not 'or painting' as Smith would contend.

Although Best omits the reference to 'hopara makaurangi', his use of 'devices' and 'marked' demonstrate an understanding of 'tuhi' as process.

6 Maori text

Ka ki atu a Mataora, 'He whakairo ki a matou nei.'

Smith translation:

Mataora replied, 'That is called carving with us.'

Best translation:

[Sentence has been omitted].

Author's translation:

Mataora replied, 'It is whakairo to us.'

Textual analysis:

There is an element of ambiguity in this statement by Mataora because one cannot be sure whether he is responding to painting in the house or on the person. However, since Mataora has previously contextualised hopara-makaurangi as the pattern applied to the face, in contrast to the underworld pattern called kawaiwai, it is assumed that he is referring to the painting of a person's face. Mataora calls the application of pigment to delineate the 'moko' design painted on a person 'whakairo', a two dimensional process. Thus, 'whakairo', in the sense used by Mataora, is the process used to delineate his style of tattoo design. Like Smith's previous error in the translation of 'kawaiwai' as 'painted' he again errs in translating 'whakairo' as 'carving'. The objective of the narrative is to reinforce the idea that tattoo, carving and weaving are retrieved from a supernatural realm. Consequently, carving does not exist in the world from which Mataora has come. It is not very difficult to deduce from this that 'whakairo' as used in the statement by Mataora cannot be carving. It is not until Ue-tonga responds that the term carving can be used but it can only be applied relative to specific art disciplines like wood carving and weaving. Therefore whakairo does not exist as an unqualified term for carving in this narrative. It is not until later that 'whakairo' is contextualised specifically in relation to the various art forms that Mataora takes back to the world of humankind. When Mataora was asked by Te Ku-watawata about the taonga, precious items that he had with him he explained, 'Te rua o nga taonga he moko-whakatara (he moko whakairo rakau tenei) he moko-whakangao (he moko-tangata tenei), he whakairo-paepae-roa'. What is apparent in this passage is an extension of the terms used in the debate. Carving on wood is called 'moko-whakatara' or 'moko whakairo rakau'; tattoo is called 'moko-whakangao' or 'moko-tangata' and taniko is called 'whakairo-paepae-roa'.

In this passage, there is finally a distinction established between the processes of 'moko' transfer in the two worlds. It is called 'tá moko' in the world of Ue-tonga (refer to passage 3) and 'whakairo' in the world of Mataora.

7 Maori text

Ka rere mai te ringa o Ue-tonga ki te miri i te kanohi o Mataora – kua ma nga moko! Ka katakata te iwi ra;

Smith translation:

Ue-tonga placed his hand on Mataora's face and rubbed it – and all the moko came off! The people all burst out laughing;

Best translation:

Then Uetonga put forth his hand and wiped the painted devices from the face of Mataora. All the folk laughed to see the tattooing effaced,

Author's translation:

Ue-tonga stretched out his hand to wipe the face of Mataora – the designs had been erased! Those people laughed;

Textual analysis:

Apart from over stating the response of the spectators Smith's translation is reasonably accurate. This passage is used to demonstrate the impermanence of the designs of Mataora. There is also an intention to humiliate Mataora by emphasising his lack of knowledge. Best on the other hand overstates the laughing passage.

8 Maori text

Ka karanga atu a Ue-tonga, 'E runga! E runga! Kei te hé tonu ki te whakairo.' Na, kua ma; 'He tuhi tena. Ko te whakairo ki a matou nei kei nga wahine tetahi peka o tena ingoa'.

Smith translation:

Ue-tonga called out, 'O ye above! O ye people of above! You are quite wrong in calling it carving. Behold the face is quite clean from rubbing, that is only painting. What we call carving (whakairo, also used for ornamentation of other kinds) is that practised by women' (in ornamental borders of their mats).

Best translation:

and Uetonga remarked: 'O the upper world! Ever is its adornment a farce, behold how the tattooing is effaced; it is merely a marking. Know then that there are several methods of whakairo (adornment); there is the female branch,

Author's translation:

Ue-tonga called out, '(You) above! (You) above! Whakairo is still wrong'. Since, it has been erased; 'that is painting. According to us here whakairo is that name for a certain branch (of work) that belongs to women'.

Textual analysis:

Smith once again errs in his translation of 'whakairo' as 'carving' in this passage. The statement by Ue-tonga is used merely to make the point that 'whakairo' is an inappropriate term for designs that can be erased (at least in Rarohenga). The two protagonists are using the term in

a contrasting sense. Mataora is using the term for two-dimensional design transfer while Ue-tonga is using the term for three-dimensional forms created by women. In contrast Best demonstrates an understanding of 'whakairo' as 'adornment'.

This passage is aimed at the critical notion that whakairo is more appropriately applied to three-dimensional work.

9 Maori text

Ka whakaatu mai a Ue-tonga i tona kakahu e mau ana te taniko, ka karanga atu, 'Ko te peka tenei ki nga wahine; ko te peka ki nga tane' (ka tango ia tona maipi, ka karanga atu ki a Mataora) 'koia nei te whakairo, he mea whakairo ki runga ki te rakau; ki te tae koe ki taku whare ka kite koe i te whakairo. Ko tena moko i a koe na, he tuhi'.

Smith translation:

Ue-tonga then showed the garment on which the taniko was apparent, at the same time saying, 'This is the woman's branch; whilst the man's branch is this (showing the carved head of his wooden maipi, or halbert [sic]). This is carving done on wood. If you go to my house you will see what real carving is. As for that moko on you it is only painting'.

Best translation:

'the embroidering of cloaks; and the male branch, the carving on wood; [demonstration of maipi has been omitted. Reference to the house has been omitted] that on your face is simply a marked pattern.'

Author's translation:

When Ue-tonga showed his cloak, which contained taniko, he called out, ' This is the branch (of work) that belongs to women; the branch belonging to men' (when he grabbed his maipi (taiaha) he called out to Mataora) 'here is whakairo, it is whakairo on wood: if you go to my house you will see whakairo. That (system of) design on you (over there) is painting'.

Textual analysis:

There is nothing inherently wrong with Smith's translation apart from his mention of 'the carved head of his wooden' maipi being shown to Mataora, which is not in the Maori text. However, the head is implied because a maipi is a taiaha. That is a war staff with a carved protruding tongue and head carved with pattern while the handle remains plain. As indicated previously 'moko' is used variably throughout the text. Thus 'tá moko' alludes to the process by which designs are transferred by puncturing the skin. The use of 'moko' unqualified suggests that the inherent nature of the designs implied by the reiteration of this term throughout the text is a specific reference to the cursive patterns that are intimately associated with 'tá moko'.

Best's translation maintains the essence of the narrative in spite of its truncation.

In this passage, and the previous one, Uetonga emphasises that Mataora is still wrong. In so doing he reinforces the point that 'whakairo' is a three dimensional process associated with the making of cloaks by women and the carving of wood by men. He concludes the debate by emphasising that 'moko'; the designs on Mataora are 'tuhi', painting (or preparatory pattern delineation).

It is quite possible that Best discovered the contradictions in Smith's translation and selected the passages that appeared to remove the problem. Smith's translation of line 4 through 6 of the Maori text, suggests that 'hopara-makaurangi' was the name of tattooing in the upper world, the world of Mataora. Best has sought to overcome this anomaly by selectively editing out the problematic passages (highlighted in Best's version). Despite his strategic editing Best also has problems in spite of his familiarity with the variable use of the term 'moko', which he has translated as 'mode', 'device' and 'pattern'. While he has translated 'tuhi' as 'marking' and 'marked', the term painting would be more appropriate. Like Smith, Best has assumed that 'hopara-makaurangi' equates with 'tá moko' rather than a specific style of pattern. Later in Best's version he suggests that 'The upper world invented wood carving; it was first performed by Rua-i-te-pupuke and Nuku-te-aio, who so embellished the first house'.¹⁶⁷ Best's version needs to be considered within the context of the Maori text, Smith's translation and my translation.

Maori text:¹⁶⁸

Ko nga moko ona, ko nga poniania o te ihu, me nga pihere, me nga ngu, me nga tiwhana; ka mutu mai nga moko i riro mai i a Mataora o Rarohenga mai. Na runga nei i whakatutuki nga moko, he mea whakairo ki runga ki te tekoteko e Nuku-te-aio raua ko Rua-i-te-pupuke, i whakaputa te whakairo ki te ao'.

Smith translation:

His designs were the poniania of the nose, the pihere, the ngu and the tiwhana; this was the extent of the designs brought back from by Mataora from Rarohenga. It was above that the designs were carried to completion, in the case of whakairo (applied to) the tekoteko it was (because of) Nuku-te-aio and Rua-i-te-pupuke that the whakairo appeared to the world (of light).

Best text:

The tattooing patterns acquired by Mataora in Rarohenga [spirit world] were the poniania, piheru, nga and tiwhana. [Passage about the tattoo of Niwareka]. The upper world invented woodcarving; it was first performed by Rua-i-te-pupuke and Nuku-te-aio, who so embellished the first house.

Author's liberal translation:

The designs that Mataora brought back from Rarohenga were limited to the poniania nose pattern, the pihere, the ngu and the tiwhana. It was not until he returned to this world that the design range was extended. As for the carving (of designs) on the gable figure it was Nuku-te-aio and Rua-i-te-pupuke who were responsible for its appearance in the world (of humankind).

Even a liberal translation of the Maori text does not match Best's English version. It is possible that he has inserted a passage from another version of the narrative without

¹⁶⁷ Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 1* (third edition). Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongawera. p. 230.

¹⁶⁸ Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 75.

specifying the source.¹⁶⁹ This was not an uncommon strategy employed by early writers. Not only did they freely translate from Maori to English, but often rewrote substantial Maori passages with liberal editorial additions. Herbert Williams reveals that extent of John White's 'unpardonable recklessness'.¹⁷⁰ The William's example shows that White freely appropriated from Grey's writings after Te Rangikaheke of Te Arawa omitting words and passages from the original while adding his own. In returning to the problem with Best's translation, the Maori text implies that it was not only the art of tattoo but also the art of carving, taniko (finger twining) and raranga (weaving) that were brought back from Rarohenga.¹⁷¹

Despite the liberties apparent in Best's translation, and his tendency to see in the different appearance of the beings from the under world as a sign of contact with another race, he nevertheless demonstrates an insight into tribal thinking that is absent from the writings of many early recorders of tribal narratives. His interpretation of the Mataora narrative is therefore informative:

'But the most interesting thing about this ancient myth is the picture it presents of life in the underworld of spirits. It is not a dark or gloomy realm; it is a place of all things light and all things desirable. Evil is unknown there, it pertains only to the upper world. Such was an old time Maori belief, but unfortunately for anthropologists our Maori folk adopted the myths and teachings of Christianity, hence the ideas of the spirits of evil person going to the underworld and those of good ascending to the heavens, have crept into their statements. Such beliefs were unknown to the Maori in pre-missionary days'.¹⁷²

Critically, the Mataora narrative sets up a series of interrelationships between the two worlds, the material and the spiritual. There is a contest between correct and incorrect knowledge, supernatural and human knowledge. There is also a contrast between permanent and impermanent designs, that is, designs from the spiritual realm and those from the realm of humankind. Finally, there is a contest between old and young, between spiritual being and human being, in which the wisdom and knowledge of the elder (spiritual being) is subject to contestation but prevails as superior. Explicit in these juxtapositions is the tapu nature of knowledge and creativity, knowledge that can only be gained through trial and tribulation. This is further substantiated by the final submission of Mataora who concedes to the seniority of Ue-tonga allowing him to retain his mana (prestige). The mana of Ue-tonga is also endorsed through his genealogical pre-eminence, in which he

¹⁶⁹ A selected version in Maori and translated by White also exists. However, this final episode is absent. Much of White's narrative concentrates on the interrelationship between Mataora and Niwareka although a whakatauaki is included acknowledging the art of tattoo as an inheritance from Uetonga – 'Na Mata-ora i ako Te mahi a Ue-tonga Te Mahi Ta moko. Me tenei ano hoki, - Nga Nganga a Mata-ora Nga mahi a Ue-tonga'. White, J. (1887). *The Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythology and Traditions. Volume 2*. Wellington: Government Printer. pp. 4-6.

¹⁷⁰ Williams, H. W. (1971) *A Dictionary of Maori Language* (seventh edition). Wellington: Government Printer. p. XXXI.

¹⁷¹ Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 75.

¹⁷² Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 1* (third edition). Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongawera. p. 231.

marries Manu-tionga the daughter of Hineoi who is the daughter of the union between Whakaru-au-Moko and Hine-nui-te-po.¹⁷³ Ultimately, Ue-tonga wins the debate and his wisdom is passed on to Mataora. Later in the narrative, this concession by Mataora is sealed with the gifting of ‘Te Rangi-hau-papa’, a cloak woven by Niwareka fashioned after the original called Rena by Hine-rau-wharangi, the daughter of Hine-titama and a ‘tatau’ (belt) called ‘Te Ruruku-o-te-Rangi’.¹⁷⁴ Therefore, the significant arts are an inheritance of the spiritual or immaterial realm. Mataora acknowledges this koha (gift) when he reaches the Pou-tere-rangi the house, which provides entry back to the world of humankind. It will be instructive to repeat the process of comparative text analysis to gain an understanding of this critical episode. Again the Maori text precedes the Smith translation and this is followed by my translation and textual analysis.¹⁷⁵

Maori text

Kati, ka maro te tira o Mataora raua ko Niwareka ki taiao. Ka tae ki roto ki Pou-tere-rangi, i reira a Te Kuwatawata me ona hoa e noho mai ana. Ka ui atu a Ku-watawata, ‘Mataora! He aha anake nga taonga o raro i a koe?’ Ko Mataora, ‘Ko nga mahi o runga nei kei te po e takaahu ana. Ko nga mahi o raro kei te Ao-turama e taka ana. Kotia te po ki runga nei, kotia te Ao-marama ki raro. Te rua o nga taonga he moko-whakatara (he moko whakairo rakau tenei) he moko-whakangao (he moko-tangata tenei), he whakairo-paepae-roa; me te whanau a Tiwaiwaka raua ko Patatai’.

Smith translation

Mataora, Niwareka and their company, now went towards the upper-world. When they reached Pou-tere-rangi [guard house of Hades] they found Te Ku-watawata [guardian of the entrance to Hades] there. He asked them, ‘Mataora! What are those properties beneath you?’ The latter replied, ‘The works of the world above are those done in the night; those of the underworld are done in the Ao-turama. Night has been separated off to the upper-world and daylight to the under-world. The two properties are the moko whakatara (wood carving), moko-whakanyao [sic] (face tattooing), and whakairo-paepae-roa (ornamental pattern on the border of kaitaka mats); also the family of Ti-waiwaka and Patatai, who are travelling with us’.

Author’s translation:

Enough, the party of Mataora and Niwareka set out for the natural world. [They] arrived at the interior of Pou-tere-rangi, where Te Kuwata and his friends were residing. Ku-watawata asked, ‘Mataora! What (specifically) are those treasures beneath you’. Mataora [replied], ‘The works above are developed in ignorance. The works below are developed with enlightenment. Let the ignorance above be interrupted, let the enlightenment below be interrupted. The two treasures are moko-whakatara (this is a pattern template for wood carving), moko-whakangao (this is a pattern template for people), this is a whakairo-paepae-roa; and the family of Fantail and Land rail’.

¹⁷³ Smith. (1913). p. 67. In the White version Ue-tonga is a descendant of Manu-ongaonga who is a child of Rua-ai-moko. White, J. (1887). *The Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythology and Traditions. Volume 2*. Wellington: Government printer. pp. 4-6.

¹⁷⁴ It should be noted that Hinetitama becomes Hine-nui-te-po. Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 73.

¹⁷⁵ Smith. (1913). pp. 74, 191.

Textual analysis:

As demonstrated previously, Smith continues to misinterpret the variable meaning of moko within the Maori text. Consequently, he incorrectly translates 'moko tangata' as 'face tattoo'. Smith has failed to grasp the subtle shifts in the narrative from literal to metaphorical. In the context of the narrative 'ao' as a noun meaning daytime, world, bright is qualified by an intransitive verb 'turama' meaning to light or illuminate, and by the adjective 'marama' signifying light not dark, clear, easy to understand. Therefore, 'Ao-turama' and 'Ao marama' can be read literally as the 'world of light' or the 'world of knowledge', terms which are normally associated with the world of humans. When placed in a complimentary relationship with 'po' in this narrative there is a semantic shift in the meaning of 'Ao marama'. It doubles as a metaphor for the enlightened values and precious gifts that are part of the contribution that the spiritual world of 'po' offers to humans to elevate their existence through ethical behaviour and creative enterprise. The emphasis in the contrast between 'po' and 'Ao marama' in the passage above is used by Mataora to emphasise his understanding of the consequences of receiving the taonga (invaluable item) from the spiritual realm of the underworld. It is anticipated that his return to the world of humankind will result in a change in his behaviour towards Niwareka, his spirit world wife. Wife beating is not condoned in the spiritual world therefore it should not be practised in the world of humankind. This becomes a subtext that is annexed to the gaining of the arts and knowledge from the spiritual realm. It hardly seems necessary to emphasise that the term 'Hades' used by Smith to describe 'Pou-tere-rangi' colours his perception of this important narrative that stresses the necessity for spiritual intervention in humankind's relationship with their deity or their superhuman mentors. In a similar vein, Niwareka, as a spiritual entity, perplexed Best. His contention that 'Niwareka, a being of the spirit world, ascends to this world and marries a man of the earth, hence both possess earthly bodies' merely reinforces the penchant of the west for rational tribal narratives.¹⁷⁶ The critical point in this narrative is spiritual intervention not historical veracity or biological logic. That is, a tribal world-view is presented in which a spiritual dimension impacted on all spheres of the tribal interaction with their universe. It was a world-view that was multi-layered and multi-dimensional. It was a world-view of space and time that conceptualised movement as a transition through vertical and lateral planes simultaneously with each transition through and beyond these planes qualified by intersecting indices that quantified the resolution of any transition. Entry into a pataka taonga (storehouse of precious objects) offers one example of this multi-dimensional concept. The transition between the inside and the outside of this significant architectural structure is prefaced by a conceptualisation of the inside (roto) as tapu (dangerous) relative to the outside (waho) as noa (safe). Expressed alternatively the inside of the pataka is conceptualised as Te Po (the realm of night, darkness, the under world) while the outside is Te Ao-marama (the world of day, light and the upper world). Therefore the relationship that exists for the prospective entrant is not only expressed as inside and outside but also above and below. This relationship is further conditioned by the inside being located spatially in front (ki mua) of the entrant relative to the outside which is behind (ki muri). When the entrant enters the internal space of the pataka taonga the person literally makes a transition into future time (ki te wa o mua), the time of the ancestors leaving behind the past time (te wa ki muri). In this case the physical transition across the

¹⁷⁶ Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 1* (third edition). Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongawera. p. 231.

threshold is quantified by multiple metaphysical indices of inside and outside, above and below, front and back in terms of space and time simultaneously. The transition between inside and outside in this example is infused with ritual to highlight the intimate connection between the material and spiritual world.

Nga tataitanga rua: a lineage of knowledge

Rua-te-pukenga (or Rua-i-te-pukenga) is met earlier in the *Lore of the Whare Wananga*. In the passage below, the narrative introduces the prefix 'Rua' as a notion for progressive awareness. In this context Rua is employed as a personification for consciousness.

Ka noho rawa a Tane i a Hine-hau-one ka puta a Hine-titama anake, katahi ano te ira tangata i ira tangata ai. Na Io-matangaro te toto, te hinu, na Tawhiri-matea te pukapuka, i homai ki a Paia. Na te Apa-whatukura ko te mahara. Ka kii i konei te ingoa mo tena ko *Rua-i-te- hiringa, a Rua-i-te-pukenga, a Rua-i-te-mahara, a Rua-i-te-wananga*, ka toru enei, kotahi no Te Toi-o-ngarangi, kotahi no nga Apangahuru-matahi, kua korerotia e au i nga Rangi-tu-haha ngahuru-matahi.¹⁷⁷

Rua or ruá as a prefix to hine and nuku carries with it the notion of wisdom. In the sense applied in the quote above the form of thought given to Hine-hau-one by the Apa-whatukura is one in which the sensations of awareness are nascent. Thus, she is invested with the potential for the activation of thought (hiringa), the evolution of thought (pukenga), the conscious production of thought (mahara) and active response ensuing from consciousness (wananga). Wananga signifies the wisdom attained through the consummation of knowledge that is articulated through reason, and exercised through the transmission of wisdom articulated in words. Thought became conscious when Hine-hau-one received the hau (breath of life) from Tane.

In a tribal narrative from Ngati Porou by Romio Mokena, a chief of Tokomaru Bay, Ruatepupuke and Ruatepukenga are descendants of Tangaroa. In this narrative Ruatepupuke wrests the art of carving from the realm of Tangaroa.¹⁷⁸

Ranginui=Papatuanuku
Tangaroa=Heketangawainui
Poutu – Ikatere – Punga

(Descendants of Poutu)
Ruatepupuke
Manuruhi
Ruatepukenga¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Te Matorohanga in Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 54.

¹⁷⁸ There is no intention to reiterate the Romeo Mokena narrative recorded in the 1890s within the context of this thesis. See Mead, S. M. (1984). 'Ka tupu te toi whakairo ki Aotearoa'. In S. M. Mead (Ed.). *Te Maori Maori Art from New Zealand Collections*. Auckland: Heinemann in association with the American Federation of the Arts. pp. 64-69, See also Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. p. 8.

¹⁷⁹ Mead. (1986). p. 8.

Like the Mataora narrative, the Ngati Porou narrative locates the art of carving in a realm populated by deity and supernatural entities, that is, in a world that requires transition into another extraordinary dimension that subsequently empowers the art of carving with mana atua (prestige of the gods). In this contest between humankind and deity the wresting of the art from Tangaroa results in the destruction of the house posts with the power of speech so that only the posts without the capacity for speech become templates for the art within Te Ao Marama (the world of light).¹⁸⁰ This is not a narrative about a search for knowledge but a search for kin that ultimately results in a beneficial outcome for humankind.

Nga Tataitanga Po: the interface of darkness and enlightenment

In most cosmo-genealogical narratives, Te Pó (the realm of deity - darkness) and Te Kore (the realm of psychic manifestation – void of primal negation) are located as primary evolutionary states that precede the emergence of humankind in Te Aomarama (the world of human existence).¹⁸¹

In the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* account of Te Pó and Te Kore, the sequence of Po and Kore are realigned under the cosmological construction of Io as the Supreme Being.¹⁸² Thus, Te Pó is re-configured as the dilemma faced by the offspring of Ranginui (the sky father) and Papatuanuku (the earth mother). Should their parents be killed, separated and by whom? Hence, the various pó are quantified with adjectives that describe the intensity of the dilemma faced by the children of the primal parents.

Ka noho te whanau nei, koia tera ta ratou noho i kii ake nei. Ko te ingoa o nga Pó i noho ai ratou koia enei:-

- | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Te Pó-kauru | 2. Te Pó-uriuri | 3. Te Pó-kakarauri |
| 4. Te Pó-aoao-nui | 5. Te Pó-kerekere | 6. Te Pó-tamaku |
| 7. Te Pó- tiwhatiwha | ¹⁸³ | |

Káuru is the head of a tree, river, or stream. Ka-uru is to enter or to arrive. Thus, the first stage of Te Pó is initiated at the head of the genealogical development of the dilemma, which confronts the children of Rangi and Papa. This is followed by the darkness, a night barely visible, a night bathed in promise, an intensely dark night. Támaku is a term used in the adzing of even strokes. As a qualification for this period of darkness a concord in aspiration may be implied. Alternatively, támákú with tá as a causative prefix for mákú generates the sense of a period in which moisture is implied, a period of mourning. Perhaps an inference to sorrow that will ensue or to the discord generated. The climatic stage of darkness, tiwhatiwha (darkness, gloomy in the mind, sad) is one that

¹⁸⁰ Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. p. 10.

¹⁸¹ ‘Some accounts of cosmological formation began with the original darkness [Te Po], others with a void of primal negation[Te Kore] or images of plant growth. There are several early texts which show thought as the first emergent principle in the cosmos, from which intelligible order and matter proceeds...’ Salmond, A. (1985). ‘Maori Epistemologies’. In J. Overing (Ed.). *Reason and Morality*. London: Tavistock. p. 245.

¹⁸² Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 20.

¹⁸³ Smith. (1913). p. 20.

carries the implicit notion of emotion, of sorrow and mourning. The translation of *támaku* is tentative since it is not normally associated with Te Pó. The darkness, the debate, the quarrel are not black and white but fluctuate in intensity as the dispute between the children wavers between death, separation and revolt.

In the Te Arawa version of the narrative of the separation of Rangī and Papa, Te Rangikaheke describes the dilemma faced by the children in a similar manner:

Koia enei kupu, “Te Po, te Po, te Ao, te Ao, te kimihanga, te hahaunga, i te Kore, i te Kore”.
Ko ta ratou rapunga whakaaro hoki mo o ratou matua kia tipu ai te tangata.¹⁸⁴

Hence these words, “the night, the night, the day, the day. The seeking, the searching in the nothingness, in the nothingness”. These words refer to their seeking a plan for their parents so that the human race could develop’.¹⁸⁵

In the previous passage, te Po and te Ao signal a process of consciousness in which the decision of the children vacillates between doubt and enlightenment over the enormity of the decision to separate their parents. With te Kore the deliberation reaches a state of anxiety due to the inability of the children to resolve their differences of opinion.

Te Po as a concept is alternatively applied to an epochal period of evolution preceding the primeval parents, Ranginui and Papatuanuku, a period when Ranginui and Papatuanuku mated and produced deity, a period of debate between the offspring of the primal pair, the underworld and night. With the exception of po as night what is common to all these dimensions of po is their location in a realm beyond the material world. They are synonymous with the realm in which deity evolve and exist in contradistinction to the realm in which humankind is manifest in material form. In keeping with this process of conceptualisation the pre-generative process is articulated in allegorical fashion and a supernatural distance is constructed through the initial spark of consciousness materialising as conceptual awareness.

Nga Tataitanga Kore: the interface of potential being and the search for knowledge

In the *Lore of the whare Wananga*, Te Kore is shifted from its primary or secondary location in relation to Te Po in the cosmo-genealogical sequence to describe the attempt by the gods to find the uha (female essence) from which a human line could evolve.¹⁸⁶

Na, ka wehewehe i konei te whanau [nga atua] ki te kimi i te uha...Ka huihui ratou katoa; kore rawa i kite he uha. Koia tenei ahua o te korero ka meatia penei na:-
‘Ko té kitea.’ ‘Ko té rawea.’ ‘Ko té whiwhia’.¹⁸⁷

Ka mutu ka kawea [i a Hine-hau-one] ki roto o te whare i mahia ai mo te uha i mua ake i a ratou i haere ra ki te kimi i te uha; hoki mai ra ko ‘Te Kore-té-whiwhia,’ ko ‘Te Kore-té-rawea,’ te mutunga o tera mahi o ratou.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ Grey, G. (1854). *Ko nga Mahinga a nga Tupuna Maori*. London: George Willis. p. 3.

¹⁸⁵ Author’s translation.

¹⁸⁶ Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 33.

¹⁸⁷ Smith. (1913). p. 33.

¹⁸⁸ Smith. (1913). p. 37.

The initial search was unsuccessful. It was not until they consulted at the Whare-kura with Ro-iho, Ro-ake and Hae-puru that the elder kin instructed them to procure the uha from Kura-waka.

Tikina ki te one i Kura-waka, ki reira ahu mai ai. Kei reira te uha e puhi ana, e tohu ana, he tapu hoki te uha, he Iho-tangata hoki.¹⁸⁹

A takutaku (incantation) by Tupai, an elder brother of Tane, also alludes to the fruitless search for the uha by the brothers of Tane. It is an incantation that invokes the successful marriage union of Tane and Hine-one (Hine-hau-one). In the passages referencing te kore, Tupai implores Hine-one to forget the episode of the fruitless search undertaken by 'ena tama' (those children). The objective of the initial passage implies that the memory of this fruitless search for the uha could be a distraction. What is critical in the consummation of this union is 'Poko te whiwia ko tenei tama anake E Hine-one e i!' To ensure successful sexual union, the attention of Hine-one must be consumed with the successful search of 'tenei tama' (this child), this rather than those, singular rather than plural, Tane rather than his brothers. The second reference to the kore sequence in the incantation is structured to reinforce the reason for the existence of Hine-one. The function of Hine-one as the vessel of humankind is intensified through allusions to her origin in this passage. A purpose is constructed by a series of questions that find their ultimate resolution in the union between the body of Hine-one and 'tenei tama' (this son). The plural and singular emphasis exists in this passage as well but the intention differs from the previous passage by acknowledging the communal creative process of 'era tama' (those children) that gives rise to woman, those children whose distance is reinforced by the transition from ena (those close by) to era (those beyond reach). Thus, the first sentence establishes a duality between non-being and being in the contrast between kore and tau. The second sentence introduces the virgin state before copulation with the terms mihi kore and tara[]wehi. The use of the word mihi with kore may be translated as 'without greeting' or 'a state of inaccessibility generated by the absence of acknowledgement'. This acknowledgement endeared through ritualised greeting becomes an allegory for virginity since there is encapsulated in this phrase an absence of contact. The contrast constructed through the juxtaposition of mihi kore with tara, which is translatable as both penis and to affect by incantation invokes a sense of potentiality, of challenge and response. It is a challenge that will be settled through the articulation of the waha (mouth, entrance, voice), 'tamaua i to waha'. The location of this sentence prior to 'Tamaua i to tinana ki tenei tama nahau' generates an ambiguity in the translation of waha as both the mouth for the expression of intent and the passage from which life will emerge. Thus, 'Te Kore-té-whiwia' and 'té Rawea', the unproductive search, is contextualised in this passage to intensify the fructifying power of hine (female) since the creation of women was realized through intense searching and consultation. In this sense,

¹⁸⁹ Smith. (1913). p. 34.

the conditions that will benefit humankind have been attained only after an intense search and necessary consultation. Often secrecy, distance and difficulty are constructed as barriers that must be overcome for the realisation of beneficial outcomes. Hence there is a reinforcement of a cultural predisposition towards communal effort, communal selection and affirmation and ritual intercession to ensure a successful outcome.

Wareware i te pu-wawa, wareware i te pu
 Na nga tama ki a koe, E Hine-one e i!
 Kei te pu o te kore, kei te pu o te Kore-té-whiwhia
 Kei te pu o te Kore-té-rawea ki ena tama, E Hine-one e i!
 He táuitanga, he tahirutanga, he tirohanga
 He kapiritanga no o whatu, no o mahara
 Poko te whiwhia ko tenei tama anake, E Hine-one e ij
 ...
 Nawai te kore na, nahau, nawai te tau ke, nahau,
 Nawai te mihi kore, nahau, nawai te tarawehi, nahau,
 Nawai te tara-ongaonga, nahau
 Nawai Te Kore-té-whiwhia, té Rawea
 Ki Hine-one ki era tama e, E Hine-one e i!
 He hine tamaua i roto, tamaua i te mahara
 Tamaua i o whatu, tamaua i to waha
 Tamaua i to timama ki tenei tama nahau.¹⁹⁰

In the Ruatapu version Tane-nui-a-Rangi created Hine-ahu-one from the earth who would eventually become his wife. As part of the process of investing life into the earth shaped woman he recites a karakia (ritual incantation),

Kei te kukunatanga mai [i] Hawaiki
 Kei te whakatangatanga mai [i] Hawaiki.¹⁹¹

In contrast to the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* version where the fructifying power is obtained from Kurawaka, in the Mohi Ruatapu version, Hawaiki is cited as the source of power that gives life to Hine-ahu-one. The children of the union between Tane and Hine-ahu-one included Hine-manuhiri, Rongo-marae-roa, Tiki, Tangaroa, Táw[h]iri-mátea, Hunga, Tú-mata-uenga and Haumia.¹⁹²

A Maori proverb recorded by White likewise emphasises the creative potential associated with Hawaiki, 'I kune mai i Hawaiki, i te kune kai, te kune tangata'.¹⁹³

In the Mohi Ruatapu narrative Kune-iti and Kune-rahi are listed among the descendants of Tiki. He recorded three genealogies, one in 1871 and two in 1875 that vary slightly in the list of names used to identify each of the descendents of Tiki and the order in which they are presented. What is illuminating is the incorporation of names that are usually found in the beginning of cosmo-genealogies. The three versions are presented for comparison.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. pp. 35-6.

¹⁹¹ Reedy, A. (1993). *Nga korero a Mohi Ruatapu, tohunga rongonui o Ngati Porou: the writings of Mohi Ruatapu / translated, edited and annotated by Anaru Reedy*, Christchurch: Canterbury University Press. p. 84.

¹⁹² Reedy. (1993). p. 85.

¹⁹³ White, J. (1887-1890), *The Ancient History of the Maori, his mythology and traditions, Volume II*. Wellington: Government Print. p. 192.

¹⁹⁴ Reedy. (1993). pp. 18, 75-6, 87.

1871 version	1875 version I	1875 version II
Ka haere ténei i ngá uri no Tiki	Ko Tiki	Ko Tiki
Ko Oho	Ko Oho-mata-kamokamo	Ko Oho
Ko Hine-títama	Ko Te Kitea	Ko Hine-títama
Ko Hine-rautú	Ko Te Whairo	Ko Te Kitea
Ko Te Kitea	Ko te Kune-iti	Ko te W[h]airo
Ko Te Whairo	Ko te Kune-rahi	Ko Te Kune-iti
Ko Te Kune-iti	Ko Te Kimihanga	Ko Te Kune-rahi
Ko Te Kune-rahi	Ko Te Rapanga	Ko Te Kimihanga
Ko Te Kimihanga	Ko Te Hahaunga	Ko Te Rapanga
Ko Te Rapanga	(I hahaua ki he[a]? Ki te iti mai tere.)	Ko Te Hahaunga
Ko Te Iti-mate-kore	Ko Te Kore-te-w[h]iw[h]ia	(I hahaua ke hea?)
Ko Te Kore-te-whiwhia	Ko Te Kore-te-rawea	Ko Te Kore
Ko Té Rawea	Ko Pupu	Ko Te Kore-te-w[h]iw[h]ia
		Ko Te Kore-te-rawea
Ko Pupu	Ko Te Máuatake	Ko Te Kore-te-rawea
		Ko Te Iti
Ko Te Mauatake	Ko Te Káwitiwiti	Ko Pupu
Ko Te Kanoi-o-te-uha	Ko Te Kátoatoa	Ko Mauake
Ko Te Káwitiwiti		Ko Te Kanoi-o-te-uha
Ko Te Kátoatoa		Ko Te Káwitiwiti
		Ko Te Kátoatoa

Taken as a series the genealogical oration reads like a narrative in which the sequence of procreation becomes productive. It is similar to the union between Tane and Hine-hau-one in the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* narrative that gives rise to Hine-titama. Oho may be translated as aroused. That is, the arousal of Tiki as a metaphor for the penis. ‘Te Kitea’ as ‘Té Kitea’ becomes the imperceptible. In a similar vein ‘Te Whairo’ is an equally imperceptible state indicating something dimly perceived. The introduction of the ‘Kune’ sequence emphasises the notion of swelling which is initially small but increases in size and dimension. Equally, it may refer to the potential for impregnation. This is followed by two references to searching and seeking with ‘Kimihanga’ and ‘Rapanga’. ‘Te Iti-mate-kore’ implies that although the size is insignificant an innate strength remains. ‘Te Kore-te-whiwhia’ and ‘Té Rawea’ imply an unproductive period prior to ‘Pupu’ breaking forth. Te Mauatake and Te Mauake could possibly refer to a cause being perceived or gained. ‘Te Kanoi-o-te-uha’ implies the establishment of genealogy through the ‘uha’, the life essence. This interpretation emphasises the point that genealogical oration often switches between poetic and genealogical constructions.

Referencing Te Kohuora of Rongoroa, Rev. Richard Taylor introduces a cosmogenealogy in which the initial period of evolution is constructed in a sequence akin to the development of mahara (thought) apparent in the shaping of Hine-hau-one in the Kahungunu narrative outlined above. The ‘initial emergent principle of the cosmos, from which all intelligible order and matter proceeds’, is rendered as the development of thought by Anne Salmond – ‘From the source [conception] the rising [swelling], From the rising the thought, From rising thought the memory, From memory the mind, From the mind

[spleen], the desire'.¹⁹⁵ In the lines of the cosmo-genealogy outlined below the gestation of consciousness is followed by Te Po, Te Kore, the sky and earth.

Na te kune te pupuke	From the conception the increase
Na te pupuke te hihiri	From the increase the thought
Na te hihiri te mahara	From the thought the remembrance
Na te mahara te hinengaro	From the remembrance the consciousness
Na te hinengaro te manako	From the consciousness the desire ¹⁹⁶

The key terms in this genealogical oration of consciousness are kune, pupuke, hihiri, mahara, hinengaro and manako. While kune carries with it the implication of a gestational period of growth from the initial impregnation of a seed, pupuke implies an expansion or swelling to the point of breaking beyond the boundaries of containment. Hihiri carries with it the notion of a change in state through effort, a consumption of energy. In this sense, external motivation beyond innate development or growth is implied. With the dawn of mahara there is active consciousness, which, through the hinengaro, the seat of thoughts and emotions, the mind, is activated as manako, the conscious desire to realize an objective, to make real an intention. Maori cosmological narrative is therefore structured as cause and effect through the progressive development of the act of rendering concepts intelligible.

In the sequence quoted above wananga follows manako. 'Ka hua te wananga'. Thus, knowledge finds fruition; it is transmitted by word of mouth. Thought is externalised through the materialisation of an entity conceived in the mind and translated through a response to the word. Following this process of rationalisation are the ensuing states of po; translated, not as night, but as the darkness that precedes enlightenment. This glimpse of enlightenment is encapsulated in the term rikoriko - glitter, twinkle, twilight, dusk.¹⁹⁷ The location of this passage between the consummation of knowledge and on set of darkness presages the resolution of a dilemma enunciated through the periods of po. In this respect, reason displaces the gloom of doubt as darkness is terminated as a stage that is indispensable in the process of constructing the resolution of a dilemma. It is not inconceivable that the structuring of this evolutionary process of reason coincides with the dilemma faced by the children of Rangi and Papa in the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* narrative.¹⁹⁸

The first two lines of the Te Kohuora cosmo-genealogy suggest that the onset of knowledge was sparked by the awareness of a feeble glittering light. That is, the consciousness of enlightenment and freedom from the restriction arose as ambition within the mind to accomplish a way out of the predicament of containment. In the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* this intention is expressed as 'ka kitea te maramatanga tuaiti nei, e purata

¹⁹⁵ Salmond, A. (1985). 'Maori Epistemologies'. In J. Overing (Ed.). *Reason and Morality*. London: Tavistock. p. 245.

¹⁹⁶ Taylor, R. (1855). *Te Ika a Maui, New Zealand and its Inhabitants*. London: Wertheim & McKintosh. pp. 14-5.

¹⁹⁷ Williams, H. W. (1971). *A Dictionary of Maori Language* (seventh edition). Wellington: Government Printer. p. 340.

¹⁹⁸ Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 33.

mai ana i waho i o ratou matua'.¹⁹⁹ This translation of the Te Kohuora sequence is somewhat liberal given the positioning of the kore sequence following that of te po.

<p>Ka hua te wananga Ka noho i a rikoriko Ka puta ki waho ko te po Ko te po nui, ko te po roa Ko te po tuturi, te po i pepeke, Te po uriuri, te po tangotango, Te po w[h]aw[h]a, te po te kitea, Te po te w[h]aia, Te po i oti atu ki te mate.</p>	<p>The word became fruitful; It dwelt with the feeble glimmering light; It brought forth the night: The great night, the long night, The lowest night, the loftiest night, The thick night, to be felt, The night to be touched, the night not to be seen [The night not be pursued] The night of death.</p>
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<p>Na te kore i ai, [Na] [t]e kore te w[h]iw[h]ia [Na] [t]e kore te rawea, Ko hotupu, ko hauora, Ka noho i atea, Ka puta ki waho, te rangi e tu nei,</p>	<p>From the nothing the begetting, From the nothing the increase, From the nothing the increase, The power of increasing, The living breath; It dwelt with the empty space, and produced the atmosphere which is above us,</p>
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<p>Ko te rangi e tere tere ana I runga o te whenua Ka noho te rangi nui e tu nei Ka noho i a ata tuhi, ka puta Ki waho te marama, ka noho. Te rangi i tu nei, ka noho i a Te werewero, ka puta ki waho Ko te ra, kokiritia ana Ki runga, hei pukanohi Mo te rangi, ka tau te Rangi, Te ata tuhi, te Ata rapa, te ata ka Mahina, ka mahina Te ata i [H]ikurangi.</p>	<p>The atmosphere which floats above the earth; The great firmament above us, dwelt with the early dawn, and The moon sprung forth; The atmosphere above us, dwelt with The heat, and thence proceeded the sun; they were thrown above us, as the chief eyes of the Heaven: then the Heavens became light, the early dawn, the early day, the mid-day. The blaze of day from the sky. [Created Was the dawn at [H]ikurangi].</p>
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<p>Ka noho i Hawaiki, Ka puta ki waho ko [T]apora pora,</p>	<p>The sky above dwelt with Hawaiki, and produced land. Taporpora[,] Tauwarennikau, Kuku- paru, Wawau-atea, Wiwhi-te-Rangiora.</p>
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It should be noted that the English and Maori texts, which are separated in the original, have been re-configured so that the translation of the Maori text can be compared.²⁰⁰ As Shirres has noted much of the cosmo-genealogies are about the evolution of thought rather than matter.²⁰¹

Taylor has recorded a pihī [sic] (ritual chant) that was sung 'by the side of a running stream, in which a staff was stuck', when the dead were buried.²⁰² What is particularly informative is the similarity in the po sequence in cosmo-genealogies and this karakia associated with burial.

<p>To[-]ko kai i te po, Te po nui, Te po roa,</p>	<p>Place a staff for the po or night, The great po, The long po,</p>
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¹⁹⁹ Author's translation 'A glimmer light was perceived glistening outside of their parents'. Smith translates the passage as 'until at last a faint glimmering of light, a scintillation like the light of a star was seen, or like the Will-o-the-wisp at night'. Nepia Pohuhu in Smith. (1913). pp. 21, 119.

²⁰⁰ Taylor, R. (1855). *Te Ika a Maui, New Zealand and its Inhabitants*. London: Wertheim & McKintosh. pp. 14-16. Shirres, M. P. (1997). *Te Tangata: the human person*. Auckland: Accent Publications. pp. 23-4.

²⁰¹ Shirres. (1997). p. 24.

²⁰² Taylor. (1855). p. 103.

Te po uri uri,
Te po tango tango,
Te po w[h]aw[h]a,
Te po te kitea,
Te po te w[h]aia,
Tena toko ka tu,

The dark po,
The gloomy po,
The intense po,
The unseen po,
The unsearchable po,
Behold the staff stands,

[The erection of] one [staff] for the living followed this recital. Another staff was then stuck in the water, and the priest said:

Toko kai te ao,
Te ao nui, te ao roa,
Te ao marama,
Te ao whekere,
Tena toko ka[]tu,
Ko toko Ikurangi,
Ko toko te wai ao,
Ko toko te ao marama,
Oti mai ki te ao,

Place the staff for the day,
The great day, the long day,
The bright day,
The gloomy day,
Behold the staff stands,
The staff of the end of heaven,
The staff of flowing light,
The staff of the bright light,
This is all for the day.

The cosmo-genealogies of Mohi Ruatapu of Ngati Porou differ considerably from the Te Arawa version of Te Rangikaheke and that of Te Kohuora. In the 1871 version, the children of Rangi and Papa are given as Táne-túturi, Táne-pépeke, Táne-ua-tika, Táne-uehá, Táne-te-wai-ora and Táne-nui-a-Rangi.²⁰³ In the sequence of qualifications applied to Táne it is possible to find the positions adopted by this deity when he separated his parents. With tūturi and pépeke Tane bends and draws up his knees. Ua-tika signifies the straightening of his backbone while uehá suggests the position of a prop supporting the sky parent. Táne-te-wai-ora and Táne-nui-a-Rangi signify the accomplishment of the task of separating earth and sky.

These names also appear in a narrative recorded by Shortland.²⁰⁴ In this version Tane-uehá is recorded as Tane-ua-há (strong-neck-Tane). In this narrative the names attributed to Tane arise from a confrontation between Tangaroa and Rangipotiki. After Tangaroa pierced the thigh of Rangi, Rangi named his offspring Kueo recalling his urination as he lay wounded. The second child, Mimi-ahi recalls Rangi's urination beside the fire. Next in line were the various iterations of Tane whose names recall the return to health of Rangi. Thus, Tane-tuturi indicates that Rangi could straighten his legs; Tane-pepeki indicates that he could sit with his knees bent; Tane-ua-tika that he could hold up his head; Tane-ua-ha that his neck was strong; Tane-waiora indicates his recovery and Tane-nui-a-Rangi indicates his position as the sky father. Last born in this narrative was a daughter, Paea.

In the Te Kohuora cosmo-genealogy two of the po are qualified as 'Ko te po tuturi' and 'ko te po i pepeke'. Taylor has translated these periods of po as 'the lowest night', and 'the loftiest night'. Taylor's rather liberal translation omits the intensity implied in these terms. While it is tempting to apply the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* analogy of the

²⁰³ In the Te Arawa version there is only one Tane - Tanemahuta. Reedy, A, (1993). *Nga korero a Mohi Ruatapu, tohunga rongonui o Ngati Porou: the writings of Mohi Ruatapu / translated, edited and annotated by Anaru Reedy*, Christchurch: Canterbury University Press. pp. 17, 117.

²⁰⁴ Shortland, E. (1856). *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders with Illustrations of Their Manners and Customs*. London: Longman. pp. 18-9.

dispute between the children of Rangi cramped between their parents and the role of Tane in their separation, it is probably more appropriate to suggest that these terms encapsulate the restrictive nature of the period of po. Regardless of whether one considers po as eons of night or one adopts the metaphor of the transition from ignorance to enlightenment the qualification of po as 'tuturi' and 'pepeke' describe the oppressive nature of this stage of the po sequence, its weight and its magnitude.

In the Mohi Ruatapu cosmo-genesis narrative, after Tane separated his parents and adorned his father with the sun, moon and stars, which were the perspiration of Tane, he proceeded to create a human by shaping paruparu (mud). In attempting to mate with his creation Tane made contact with the timuaki, (head) giving rise to tótá (perspiration). Contact with the whatu (eyeballs) created the whai karu (pupils). The contact between penis and ihu (nose) was responsible for kea (mucous). Contact with the mouth gave rise to (húare) saliva. Finally he penetrated her vagina. Hine-ahu-one is the name given to the women fashioned from the earth in this narrative. In the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* version she is named Hine-hau-one. An integral part of the life giving act in the latter narrative is the transmission of the hau (breath of life) from Tane to the earth formed woman hence the significance of the name. In the Ruatapu narrative, the life giving principle becomes the seed from the penis of Tane. From the union between Tane and Hine-ahu-one were born Hine-manuhiri, Tangaroa, Hunga, Tiki, Rongo-marae-roa and Tú-mata-uenga.

Tiki, in the *Lore of the Whare Wananga*, is emblematic of the procreative powers of Tane in contrast to the Ngati Porou version where Tiki was one of the children of Tane. Also absent from the Mohi Ruatapu version, but central to the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* version, is the critical link between the earth used to create the Hine-hau-one and kurawaka, the vessel of vitality secured from the pubic region of Papatuanuku. The uha, the female essence, which formed the indispensable fructifying element, was an intrinsic ingredient of the red earth from the pubic region of mother earth. As alluded to earlier, the search for the uha is referred to in the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* as the period of Te Kore, indicated alternatively as Ko té kitea, Ko té rawea, or ko té whiwhia, or ko Te Kore-té-whiwhia, ko 'Te Kore-té-rawea.

Although these terms do not appear in the pre-genesis period or the creation of Hine-ahu-one in the Mohi Ruatapu genealogy Te Kore-te-whihwia and Té Rawea appear as the eleventh and twelfth entities in the whakapapa oration of Tiki while Te Kanoi-o-te-uha appears as the fifteenth entity in this whakapapa oration. Additionally, Hine-titama appears as the great granddaughter of Tane in this version rather than the daughter as indicated in the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* and Te Rangikaheke versions.

Whakawhiti korero: a summation

This thesis is ultimately about the 'house that Riwai built' (conceptually embracing the whare nui and whare kai). It was proposed in Chapter Two that in order to understand the

'house that Riwai built' it is necessary to contextualise the house within an art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance, a *tataitanga kaupapa toi*. It was also proposed that *tataitanga kaupapa toi* was appropriate as an art paradigm for Maori cultural relativity and relevance because it en-frames form, content and genealogy. Form, content and genealogy are important for this thesis because it seeks to answer the question - How do form, content and genealogy contribute to art that resonates with Maori?

This chapter is essentially about content, that is, the *tataitanga korero* in lineage narrative that invests content with philosophical substance, a theoretical premise and a sense of cultural integrity. The aim of the chapter is to anchor the thesis within some of the important philosophical notions that invest 19th century tribal culture with significance. This is important because the carvings and paintings of Riwai Pakerau are part of a continuum of tribal and trans-cultural practice where form, content and genealogy intersect as critical determinants for cultural relevancy. The content in this chapter is, not only relevant for a theoretical perspective, but also informs Chapters Seven and Eight where the content of lineage narrative intersect with form and genealogy in the Taharora Project. The content of the lineage narratives also forms the critical substance of a worldview that is used to interpret and to understand 18th and 19th century tribal carving in Chapter Five.

As indicated above the Mataora narrative sets up a series of interventions between two worlds, the material and the spiritual and correspondingly between correct and incorrect knowledge, between permanent and impermanent designs, between old and young. Explicit in these interventions is the tapu nature of knowledge and creativity; knowledge that can only be gained through trial and tribulation. This is further substantiated by the final submission of a younger protagonist who concedes to an elder who maintains his mana. Ultimately, the elder wins the debate and his wisdom is passed on to the younger. In this respect, knowledge and wisdom are assigned to a higher order of existence and are the prerogative of the aged.

The aim of this *tataitanga reo* analysis of the Mataora narrative is two-fold. In the first instance, the narrative is about matauranga and the acquisition of knowledge through debate and sacrifice. In this respect it offers a fitting cosmo-genealogical context to this thesis, which has as its aim the intersection of matauranga and form in art. In the second, the *tataitanga reo* analysis demonstrates the necessity to critique translations of tribal lineage narratives by both Maori and non-Maori writers. The issue at stake is flawed translation, not who did the translation, since uncritical acceptance of translations can lead to un-informed knowledge. In accepting Smith's translation, Neich has been misdirected in his association of 'hopara-makaurangi' with figurative painting on houses.²⁰⁵ As the textual analysis revealed, 'hopara-makaurangi' is used by the protagonists

²⁰⁵ 'It [Matorohanga narrative] is also valuable for introducing the term 'hopara-makaurangi' for figurative painting on houses and 'kowaiwai', which seems to be an archaic form for the term kowhaiwhai'. Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 20.

according to their respective understanding of the term relative to 'runga' and 'raro' or 'Te Ao Marama' and 'Rarohenga'. Although their views are disparate the essence in meaning is similar. That is, 'hopara-makaurangi' is a design in which the spiral is prominent.²⁰⁶ Nowhere in the original Maori text is there any mention of figurative painting. There is another critical agenda in this lineage narrative; knowledge is contextual or relative.²⁰⁷

The second part of Chapter Three continues the *tataitanga reo* analysis in order to prioritise tribal cosmo-genealogical notions of evolution. Te Po and Te Kore, as foundational concepts for existence, are examined in a series of comparative reviews. The *Lore of the Whare Wananga* forms the core text in which Te Po and Te Kore as primordial notions have been transposed from cosmo-genealogical oration that preface the sequential evolution of humankind to a cosmo-genealogical tribal narrative of the birth of deity and the creation of a female entity. Te Po becomes the conscious dilemma that confronts the primeval family of deity whose impasse wavers between separation and death. In this respect the initial spark of consciousness materialises as conceptual awareness. The annexation of Te Kore with the unsuccessful search for the female generative essence necessary for the realisation of human form indicates an inability to find resolution except through consultation and cooperative enterprise. Critically, there is a reinforcement of a cultural disposition towards communal effort, communal selection and affirmation and ritual intercession to ensure successful outcomes. The critical premise is that these notions exist in a realm beyond the material physical world. In this respect, these notions coalesce to privilege supernatural distance and the process of consciousness that proceeds from self-doubt and angst to communal confidence and enlightenment.

In a 19th century cosmo-genealogical oration cause and effect are sequenced as progressive cognition in which thought is externalised as word. Te Po, in this oration, is the darkness that precedes enlightenment. Inherent in this oration, and a contemporary ritual incantation, is the notion of development in which consciousness gives rise to progressive states of transition both allegorical and physical. Even the procreative act in an East Coast narrative of the forming of woman from the earth is couched in progressive enlightenment through acts of experimentation and searching until successful coition is achieved.

While tribal variations exist in the cosmo-genealogical process of evolution from a potential for existence to human materialisation, there is, nevertheless, a positional analogy in which the order of cosmo-genealogical principles materialise as logical notations of progression. Hence, a common theme of developmental consciousness becomes paramount. Inevitably, deity and issue as offspring or genitalia are implicated in

²⁰⁶ There is an assumption by the author that the hopara-makaurangi comprises spiral designs or at least curvilinear designs because of the contexts in which the term is used. For Mataora it is the painted equivalent of tattoo in the underworld and for Uetonga it is the designs painted in a house.

²⁰⁷ Te Matorohanga emphasized in 1865 that 'There was no one universal teaching in the Whare-wananga. Each tribe had its own priests, its own college, and its own standards'. Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 84.

the evolution of a human counterpart to deity that ensures genealogical continuity in humankind.

Conditions that benefit humankind are conceptualised as an intense search for informed knowledge often consummated in consultation with elders. Informed knowledge is located beyond the human realm in another extraordinary realm that must be negotiated through trial and tribulation to render knowledge accessible for humankind. Often the achievement of positive outcomes can only be realised through outside assistance of a higher order of being, older sibling or protagonist. This often takes the form of ritualised intercession or the implanting of the capacity to think. Secrecy, distance and difficulty are constructed as barriers that must be overcome for the realisation of beneficial outcomes.

As indicated previously the rationale for this analysis is to highlight the critical interconnection of the material and immaterial realms in 19th century tribal cosmo-genealogies and narratives recorded by both Maori and Pakeha writers. This is certainly the case in lineage narratives relating to the origin of carving and the creation of the first human. However, most of the lineage narratives in the second part of the chapter are about consciousness and intelligence; structured as cause and effect. Cause includes the capacity to think, a search for informed knowledge, the right course of action, the generative essence of humankind or freedom from containment. The effect is intelligence, enlightenment, informed action, existence and freedom. Consequently, many of the lineage narratives are about the evolution of thought rather than matter. This is hardly surprising because at the heart of these cosmo-genealogical narratives and orations is the desire to make the world intelligible.

This notion of consciousness is important for this thesis because it anchors it within *tataitanga kaupapa toi*, an art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance. The *tataitanga korero* (content) apparent in cosmo-genealogical oration, narrative and ritual incantations, not only invade the carving of the 18th and 19th century but also anchor the conceptual arrangement of art in 'the house that Riwai built'. As suggested earlier, *tataitanga kaupapa toi* is appropriate as an art paradigm for Maori cultural relativity and relevance because it en-frames *tataitanga ahua* (form), *tataitanga korero* (content) and *whakapapa* (genealogy). *Tataitanga* as a term, intrinsically grounded within whakapapa, privileges a genealogical dimension in this thesis. It also promotes the notion of a continuum in which tribal visual culture is expressed as art in the new millennium. The critical point of the paradigm contends that if visual form in art is non-customary the content must be grounded in kaupapa Maori that can encompass take (cause) or matauranga (knowledge). Without visual correspondence or visual empathy at the level of form, without *tataitanga kaupapa toi* at the level of content the art will not resonate with Maori, even if created by an artist with a Maori whakapapa.

Chapter Four

Ko te ahua toi ko te ahua tiki

The form of art is the form of the Tiki

Chapter Four continues the *tataitanga korero* or lineage narrative begun in Chapter Three in which Maori notions of consciousness were analysed in lineage narratives. As stated previously, the intention is to ground the thesis in cosmo-genealogy in order to invest the *tataitanga korero* with philosophical substance, a theoretical premise and a sense of cultural integrity; that is, to anchor some of the important philosophical notions within customary oration, narrative and ritual incantation that invest tribal visual culture of the 18th and 19th century with significance. Like Chapter Three, Chapter Four is constructed on the premise that 19th century tribal cosmo-genealogical oration, narratives and ritual incantations offer a glimpse of a 19th century worldview despite trans-cultural interventions heralded by the arrival of the settler population. It is the contention of this thesis that tribal worldviews were based on a dialectical relationship between the natural or material world occupied by humans and the supernatural or spiritual world controlled by supernatural entities including deity and other spiritual beings.

The critical aim of Chapter Four is to examine whether or not compatibility exists between notions of form and shape in 19th century tribal literature, and western art. In this respect, Chapter Four is about a tribal theory of form and the ramifications of this theory for western notions of art.

Like Chapter Three, a *tataitanga reo* analytical method is used in Chapter Four to differentiate between ahua and ata as corporeality and non-corporeality in the sub-section *Mai te ahua te ata*. The section heading is an explicit statement of ahua as a significant concept in cosmo-genealogy predicated on its psychic extension of ata as shadow or reflection. However, ata as light is also a significant dimension in cosmo-genealogies. It is argued that an examination of lineage narratives (encompassing tribal oration, narratives and ritual incantations) demonstrate that ahua, whakaahua and hanga were most often applied to the formation or creation of deities and humans in 19th century tribal literature. It will also be demonstrated that ahua as corporeal substance is more often implicated in the generative process than ata as an extension of ahua. Under *Ata*, light and shape are contested through textual analysis to demonstrate that an alternative interpretation is possible when ata as shadow is substituted for ata as light. This section concludes with a contemporary re-evaluation of Te Atamai as knowing or readiness where it is argued that Te Atamai as shape offers a more significant cosmo-genealogical concept relevant to the manifestation of knowledge. An additional aim of the analysis in this section is to demonstrate the incompatibility of Western art notions for form and shape with 19th century tribal conceptualisations of ahua, and to make explicit the huna or hidden meaning in tribal narrative tradition.

Maintaining the *tataitanga reo* analysis the notion of tiki as the generative essence of deity is examined in the sub-section *Mai te ahua ki Tikiahua*. Analysis of a ritual incantation in which Tikiahua and Karihi are constructed as allegories for male and female generative organs of deity contesting rights of passage for genealogical continuity is critical to this section. The analysis extends to the relationship between gender and architectural structures including kuwaha (storehouse entrance) and waharoa (fortified fort entrance). In the sub-section *Te Tatau o Te Po*, this notion is examined in relation to its manifestations as marae and a house in the subterranean spiritual realm, kuwaha and waharoa where male figures predominate with the converse being true for pare (lintels).

In the consideration of *Pae kura* as a metaphor for a liminal zone sanctified in cosmo-genealogy, the association of females with death and de-sanctification is noted as the prevalent conceptualisation of points of entry. It is argued that too much emphasis has been placed on the co-relationship between female-gender within the context of te whare o aitua (the house of calamity or misfortune) compared to te whare tangata (the house of humanity) in which female genitalia constitute an indispensable pre-requisite for human existence. Consequently, the female is responsible for entry to and departure from the world of humankind. Hence, it is proposed that generative as opposed to de-generative signification is an equally valid interpretation for liminal zones in light of the emphasis given to paepae in karakia associated with the transition process relating to successful conception, and continuity of descendents. This notion is contextualised against the cosmo-genealogical principles of te uha (the fructifying power of conception) and ira tangata (human essence) that are inextricably tied to female existence.

In the discussion of *Tikiahua* a *tataitanga tiki*, tiki lineage, is elaborated showing the multi-faceted dimension of tiki as generative entity, deity, offspring of deity, progenitor of birds, primary ancestor, and in contemporary vernacular, a term applied to figurative carving. In this respect, tiki is at the beginning of cosmo-genealogies as a procreative force, male or female entity that creates or is created. It is proposed that tiki is a generative principle that is manifest in carving through male and female figures conjoined in coition, hierarchical arranged figures both in terms of scale and position, and primary and subsidiary figures annexed to connote kinship or spouse relationships. The notion of pae kura as a significant zone of transition associated with gender is further sanctified under kurawaka as generative essence where it is argued that chromatic signification is intrinsically connected with females. In contrast, the sacrosanct nature of biological emissions is aligned with male gender.

These cosmo-genealogical notions form the foundation for a *tataitanga whakairo* analysis of a range of 18th and 19th century carvings that will be discussed in Chapter Five to demonstrate the transmutation of cosmo-genealogical notions evident in 19th century tribal carving traditions.

Mai te ahua te ata: from shape to form

In contemporary vernacular the word *ahua* is employed as a noun for shape and form. However, in its earlier semantic sense *ahua* was more often applied to corporeal form or the assumption of the qualities of corporeality. An examination of 19th century Maori texts will show that the verbs, *ahua*, *whakaahua* and *hanga* were most often applied to cosmo-genesis narratives describing the formation or creation of deity and humans. In these narratives form as constitutive corporeality is materialised as tangible substance. Corporeality is the physical materiality of an entity or an object that is self-evident in its actual tactile qualities. In contrast, *ata* is a non-corporeal entity derived from an extension of a corporeal reality through reflection or the casting of a shadow. In both cases light is a critical interacting phenomenon for the manifestation of *ata* and its secondary meaning as early morning light as opposed to evening light. Elsdon Best highlights the shifting notion of *ahua* as both a material and immaterial qualification for form.²⁰⁸ However, the important aspect of *ahua* in the contexts in which Best uses the term is its inextricable association with a productive interaction between materiality and spirituality. That is, *ahua* may be something material that represents something immaterial. Therefore a carved representation of a deity is viewed as an *ahua* of the immaterial spirit of a deity. In this instance the carved figurative form becomes an *aria*, a visual material emblem for a deity whose presence is invoked through ritual intercession. A synonym for *ahua* is *hau*, a term that defines the essential character of a person. However, *hau* also refers to the vitality of a person, the vital essence but not the life principle, which is the *mauri*. *Hau* is the vestigial residue that remains when a person has made a foot impression in the soil, the emission of self in a strand of hair or the residue in spittle or the body emissions in clothing that have made contact with a person. This psychic extension of the person impregnated through contact with objects was employed as a material medium for affecting the course of events in counteractive or celebratory ritual action. After a successful battle strands of hair from a slain enemy became the *hau* or *ahua* for victory. In this instance, the strand of hair is the *ahua*, the material form to which the *hau*, the immaterial essence of the conquered, has adhered. While *ahua* may be material, *hau* can be an intangible quality that is invisible.

When Hinenuitepo was forewarned of Maui's approach in the search for immortality, she sent the *Tini-o-Poto* to procure a portion of Maui's blood to ensure his failure in securing immortality for humankind.²⁰⁹ The blood was the *ahua*, the material medium that contained the *hau*, Maui's immaterial essence. This ritualised countermeasure to impending doom was affected by spreading Maui's blood over the entrance to the house of Hine-nui-

²⁰⁸ According to Best the term *ata* was sometimes used to denote 'the spirit or soul of man...*ata-a-rangi* was also employed in the same way, while *ata-a-wai* denotes a reflection on water...*ata* implies the essence or semblance of a thing as opposed to its real form...' Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 2* (second edition). Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongawera. pp. 33-4, 51-2, 175, 183, 187.

²⁰⁹ Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 63.

te-po thus ensuring his demise. However, like many narrative traditions the Maui narrative sustains a number of important templates for cultural practice. The demise of Maui was preordained through a hara, a ritual transgression that was performed during the dedicatory tohi ritual when Maui was a child, a reminder of the importance of correct transmission of ritual protocol. Additionally, the narrative legitimates the institution of utu by declaring that retributive action of Hinenuitepo was revenge for the mistreatment by Maui of the children of Mahuika, the fire goddess and sister of Hinenuitepo.²¹⁰

Ata: shape as non-corporeal reality

When tribal cosmo-genealogical oration, narratives and ritual incantations are analysed it is apparent that the term ahua as corporeal substance is more often implicated in the creative process than ata as a non-corporeal extension of corporeal substance. However, ata as light appears in a cosmo-genealogy recorded by Reverend Richard Taylor in 1885 attributed by Best to Te Kohuora of Rongoroa in 1854 below.

<p>Ko te rangi e tere tere ana I runga o te whenua Ka noho te rangi nui e tu nei Ka noho i a ata tuhi, ka puta Ki waho te marama, ka noho. Te rangi i tu nei, ka noho i a Te werewero, ka puta ki waho Ko te ra, kokiritia ana Ki runga, hei pukanohi Mo te rangi, ka tau te Rangi, Te ata tuhi, te Ata rapa, te ata ka Mahina, ka mahina Te ata i hikurangi. Ka noho i Hawaiki, Ka puta ki waho ko taporapora</p>	<p>The atmosphere which floats above the earth; The great firmament above us, dwelt with the early dawn, and The moon sprung forth; The atmosphere above us, dwelt with The heat, and thence proceeded the sun; they were thrown above us, as the chief eyes of the Heaven: then the Heavens became light, the early dawn, the early day, the mid-day. The blaze of day from the sky. The sky above dwelt with Hawaiki, and produced land. Taporapora²¹¹</p>
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This cosmo-genealogy is significant because Papatuanuku is absent from this version of evolutionary matter. This led Best to interpret the earth, with which the sky father Rangi mated as ‘represented by Hawaiki, the old homeland of the race, from which union sprang Taporapora, Tau-whare-nikau, Kukuparu, Wawau-atea and Whiwhi-te-rangiora, which are names of the islands of Polynesia apparently’.²¹²

In this version ‘ata’, as a form of light, emerges as a constituent state. The passage ‘Ka noho te rangi e tu nei ka noho i a ata tuhi, ka puta ki waho ki waho te marama’ has been translated by Taylor as ‘The great firmament above us, dwelt with the early dawn, and the moon sprang forth’. The qualification of ‘ata’ with ‘tuhi’ is an important annexation. Taylor’s translation of ‘ata tuhi’ to mean ‘early dawn’ is superfluous because the word ata unqualified carries this meaning. It is probable that a more dynamic form of energy is

²¹⁰ See the Ruatēpūpūke narrative of the origin of carving where hara and utu are examined within the context of the narrative. Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. pp. 8-12.

²¹¹ Taylor, R. (1855). *Te Ika a Maui, New Zealand and its Inhabitants*. London: Wertheim & McKintosh. pp. 15-6.

²¹² Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 1* (third edition). Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongawera. p. 57.

intended. Tuhi when associated with the notion of light carries with it a sense of glowing or gleaming. It is a source of light that is intensified in brilliance when used in association with uira, lightning. However any effort to dramatise the creative process is unnecessary since tuhi also carries the meaning 'to redden'.

For example, Anne Salmond translates the Taylor passage as 'The great atmosphere above us stayed in red light and the moon emerged'.²¹³ This is an appropriate translation since Salmond is obviously capitalizing on the creative significance associated with the colour red. It was the red earth at Kurawaka that conveyed the fructifying power necessary to imbue Hine-hau-one with the potential for life and the essence of ira tangata. In addition, the name Kurawaka encapsulates the notion of sacredness qualified by the colour red. Consequently, Kurawaka may be translated as the vessel that conveys the creative and sacred potentiality for existence. According to Best,

'The origin of horu and pukepoto (red ochre and vivianite) was the blood that flowed from the arms of Papa and Rangi when they were severed by the beings who violently assaulted and separated their parents. The gleaming appearance in the heavens known as papakura is also said to have been produced by the blood of Rangi.'²¹⁴

However, in a later passage Salmond inadvertently omits 'Te Ata tuhi' from the original Te Kohuora version as a sequential quantification for the intensity of the dawn light. The passage 'Te ata tuhi, te ata rapa, te ata ka mahina, ka mahina te ata i hikurangi' has been translated by Taylor as 'the early dawn, the early day, the mid-day The blaze of day from the sky'.²¹⁵

Williams has used the Maori passage from Taylor as an example of the use of the word 'mahina' as an intransitive verb for dawn.²¹⁶ Additionally, hikurangi has been capitalized in the Williams passage. These changes engender a totally different reading from Taylor's. The qualification of 'ata' with 'rapa' has the same meaning of glow that is associated with 'tuhi'. However 'rapa' also means to 'flash', thus it is a more intensive process than 'tuhi', to 'glow', indicated previously. In this sense these adjectives quantify the energy expended in the emanation of the early morning light or the dawn light. It is like a spark or a glowing ember that ignites.

In keeping with the sense of evolution explicit in this cosmo-genealogy, Taylor has translated ata as early morning light into early day and mid-day in order to capture the shifting intensity of light embodied in the sequence. In so doing, he overlooks the elemental energy source required to produce a productive entity. This is not surprising when the translation of hikurangi as sky is considered. The key points to consider are the

²¹³ From the source of growth [conception] the rising [swelling]... From the rising the thought... From rising thought the memory... From memory the mind... From the mind [spleen], the desire... Parenthesised terms are Salmond's substitute translations. Salmond, A. (1985). 'Maori Epistemologies'. In J. Overing (Ed.). *Reason and Morality*. London: Tavistock. p. 245.

²¹⁴ Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 2* (second edition). Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongawera. p. 284.

²¹⁵ Taylor, R. (1855). *Te Ika a Maui, New Zealand and its Inhabitants*. London: Wertheim & McKintosh. (1855). p. 15.

²¹⁶ Williams, H. W. (1971). *A Dictionary of Maori Language* (seventh edition). Wellington: Government Printer. p. 164.

early morning light or dawn as a productive period for ritual performance and the contextualisation of Hikurangi with Hawaiki as names closely associated with Maori origin. Viewed from this perspective it is not necessary to change 'ata' as 'morning light' into the light of day. Therefore a more culturally appropriate translation could read 'the spark of the early morning light (generates) the brilliant flash of early morning light (producing) the dawn. The early morning light (that) dawns at Hikurangi'.

Hikurangi often appears in tribal narratives as both a geographical location and as a metaphor for origin, protection, and enlightenment.²¹⁷ Like Hikurangi, Hawaiki is also associated with the original homeland of the Maori. Its progressive dislocation over time and space has seen the notion of Hawaiki conceptualised in tribal narratives as the source of origin, productivity, creativity and as a synonym for Papatuanuku. In the *Lore of the Whare Wananga*, Hawaiki with the adjectival qualifications of rangi, nui and whakaeroero has been reconfigured as the transitory abode of the wairua, the spirit of the deceased at Te Hono-i-wairua, the gathering place of the spirits.²¹⁸

'Hawaiki, in Maori thinking, is the place where everything began and to which we return. When we go to Tiki for our tapu to be restored we go to Tiki who was formed in Hawaiki – Ko Tiki i ahua mai i Hawaiki'.²¹⁹

It is tempting to suggest that 'te ata i [H]ikurangi' is the shadow or shape that was produced as a result of the interaction of the early morning light with Mount Hikurangi. This would change the sense of 'mahina' into a poetic term for the dawning of immaterial form invested with the fructifying power from Hawaiki. This union of the creative annexation of light, earth and 'ata' as immaterial form, gives birth to the material form of Taporapora and the other forms of land. Although this interpretation stretches the metaphor beyond the tribal boundaries of its construction it is not an improbable reading considering the suspect nature of some of the translations provided by early writers like Smith and Taylor. In a similar fashion, Maori Marsden has not accepted White's translation of 'Te Atamai' as knowing or readiness, but has proffered 'shape' as a more appropriate term within the context of the cosmo-genealogy.²²⁰

In another cosmo-genealogy recorded by John White (outlined below) Te Ahua is preceded by Te Wananga and is followed by Te Atamai. In White's version Te Wananga 'signifies occult knowledge', Te Ahua 'signifies form' and Te Atamai 'signifies knowing, readiness'.²²¹ Following Maori Marsden, Michael Shirres amends the terms within the White sequence to coincide with Maori Marsden's translation.²²² In Shirre's translation of

²¹⁷ In Ngati Porou tribal tradition it is resting place of Maui's waka Nukutaimhameha and the sanctuary of Paikea in his confrontation with Ruatapu. Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 1* (third edition). Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongawera. p. 407.

²¹⁸ Best, E. (1995). pp. 97-9, 107. Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 2* (second edition). Wellington: Government Printer. pp. 129, 371, 513.

²¹⁹ Shirres, M. P. (1997). *Te Tangata: the human person*. Auckland: Accent Publications. p. 89

²²⁰ Marsden in Shirres. (1997). p. 116.

²²¹ Translations by Best. Shirres presents a slightly different version with the inclusion of Hopu Tu The Possessing Power between Rawea and Hau Ora. White in Best. (1995). p. 69. Shirres. (1997). p. 117.

²²² Shirres. (1997). pp. 116-17.

the William's cosmo-genealogy Te Wananga becomes 'The Wisdom'; Te Ahua becomes 'The Form', while Te Atamai is translated as 'The Shape'.²²³

Te Kore	(signifies nothingness, chaos).
Te Po	(signifies night, darkness of unknown).
Te Rapunga	(signifies seeking).
Whaia	(signifies followed or sought).
Te Kukune	(signifies growth).
Te Pupuke	(signifies increase, swelling, &c.).
Te Hihiri	(signifies desire, energy).
Te Mahara	(signifies thought).
Te Hinengaro	(signifies mind).
Te Manako	(signifies longing, desire).
Te Wananga	(signifies occult knowledge).
Te Ahua	(signifies form).
Te Atamai	(signifies knowing, readiness).
Te Whiwhia	(signifies possession, acquisition).
Te Rawea	(signifies satisfaction at possession).
Hauora	(signifies welfare).
Atea	(signifies space). ²²⁴

What is apparent in Best's translation of the White cosmo-genealogy is his reliance on meanings for words in the Williams Maori dictionary or those proffered in the original texts. Best has relied on the meaning of 'atamai' recorded by Williams as an adjective indicating 'knowing, quick-witted, ready'.²²⁵

Maori Marsden, on the other hand, has interpreted 'ata' as 'shape' in his translation of 'Te Atamai'. Maori Marsden has derived his translation of ata as a processional pattern that evolves as a consequence of ahua, that is, form precedes shape – 'Kua tae mai te ata i te ahua kei mua'. Consequently, a corporeal reality gives rise to its non-corporeal extension. It is as a result of form as substance that the alternative reality of insubstantial shape is produced. It is not as an independent entity, but as an extension, a shadow, or a mirage manifest through an interaction with light. In Maori Marsden's cosmo-genealogy, ahua, as form, is employed in a metaphorical sense to elucidate processional evolution. A corporeal reality, ahua is not achieved until the primeval parents Ranginui and Papatuanuku enter the genealogical cycle.²²⁶

In the *Lore of the Whare Wananga*, Nepia Pohuhu states that the children of Rangi and Papa were not simply born but were created.

'I muri o nga mea katoa i whakato ai a Rangi-nui rau ko Papa, katahi ka whakaahuatia ona whanau; ko nga whatu te tuatahi, ka oti ia tera, katahi ka mahina te whare no nga whatu – koia te upoko. Ka oti te upoko ka takoto te tahu-pokohiwi, me nga toko-tu me ona wahi katoa i tona ahua, i tona ahua, i tona tipu, i tona tipu, ahu a pipi ngawari ngohengohe'.²²⁷

²²³ Shirres, M. P. (1997). *Te Tangata: the human person*. Auckland: Accent Publications. p. 117.

²²⁴ Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 2* (second edition). Wellington: Government Printer. p. 69.

²²⁵ Williams, H. W. (1971). *A Dictionary of Maori Language* (seventh edition). Wellington: Government Printer. p. 18.

²²⁶ Maori Marsden's Io genealogy is similar to the White version but more expansive in its conceptualisation of sense perception. "The birth of Word and Wisdom now made, Io infused Te Hauora, the Breadth or Spirit of Life, into the cosmic process and this gave birth to Atamai and Ahua – 'Shape' and 'Form'. So the birth of the material natural world of sense perception was set in motion by the infusion of Hauora, the Breath or Spirit of Life". Shirres. (1997). pp. 114-16.

²²⁷ Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 19.

In this passage the children are ‘created’ or ‘formed’ by their parents. Although *ahua* carries a secondary meaning of pregnancy, ‘whakaahua(tia)’ in this context indicates that the children were not simply born but were created or ‘caused to take form’. The eyes were created first and then a house that is a head to contain the eyes. When the head was completed the parents laid the foundation for the ‘tahu-pokohiwi’ or spine to which the shoulders were attached and the ‘toko-tu’, the poles (the legs) that stand erect. These two terms ‘tahu-pokohiwi’ and ‘toko-tu’ are framed metaphorically thus extending the context of the passage to encompass broader cultural and cosmological implications. The annexation of tahu and pokohiwi encapsulate the genealogical connotation inherent in the term tahu as allegory for the backbone as well as the structural member in architecture that sustains the imperative of genealogical solidarity. Toko-tu is a direct reference to the role of Tane as the deity responsible for the erection of the toko poles that allowed the separation of earth and sky to remain permanently intact. Smith translates the latter terms as ‘the bust and the body’ and ‘the bones of the legs’.²²⁸ All the body parts were created and related to their individual ‘ahua’ form or character, according to their individual ‘tipu’ or personality. Having been created the ‘pipi’ (children) were ‘ahu’ (heaped up) in a dense environment of frenzied activity. The quantification of the activity is stressed through the use of the term ‘ngawari ngohengohe’, a double adjectival emphasis that signifies movement as well as suppleness. It is possible that both meanings may be applicable when one considers that this creative process results in seventy offspring. Consequently the condition of their confinement within the cramped embrace of Ranginui and Papatuanuku is emphasised.

In the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* account of Hinehauone several Maori deities are responsible for the process of creation.

‘Na, katahi ratou ka haere, ka tae ki te oneone i Kura-waka. Ka ahua te koiwi, ka oti te tatai o te upoko, o nga ringa, o te tinana, o nga waewae, o te tuara, o te aroaro; ka oti katoa te tatai o nga iwi; ka mutu ta nga tuakana. Katahi ka riro ko te tatai o nga kikokiko, o nga uaua, o nga toto, o te hinu. Ka oti tenei ka tukua ki a Tane-matua, mana te manawa ora e tuku ki te ponga-ihu, ki te waha, ki nga taringa – ka oti tena. Katahi ano ka pupu te manawa hau tangata, ka matata nga kamo, ka titiro mai nga whatu, ka pupuha mai te mamaoa o te waha, ka tihe mai te ihu, ‘Tiere mauri ora ki taiao, he uriuri, he tangata, he uha’.²²⁹

Unlike many of the simpler narratives, the process of creation involves forming, ‘Ka ahua’, the various parts of the anatomy including arranging, ‘tatai’, the head, hands, body, legs, back, front, flesh, muscles, blood and fat by the older brothers of Tanematua. The qualification of Tane with the term ‘matua’ signifies his parental role, that is, his generative function as the deity selected to give life to the earth formed woman, created from the generative clay located at Kurawaka, the fructifying ‘puke’ or mound of Papatuanuku, the earth mother. When Tane breathed into the nostrils, the mouth and the ears life-giving breath welled up inside Hinehauone causing her eyelids to open, her eyes to

²²⁸ Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. pp. 63,117.

²²⁹ Nepia Pohuhu in Smith. (1913). pp. 34-5.

perceive, her mouth to gasp for breath and a sneeze to break forth from her nostrils. This process of creation is later qualified with the suggestion that the form 'whakaahua' of Hinehauone resembles that of the creators with the exception of 'te ahua o te uha' the form of the woman's procreative essence that was procured from Papatuanuku.

'Na, ka oti nei a Hine-hau-one te whakaahua kia rite ki a ratou ano kaore te wahi i rere ke ko te aroaro anake i rere ke i o ratou, i te mea koia te ahua o te uha'.²³⁰

Hanga tangata: the making of humankind

The term 'hanga' was appropriated for biblical purposes as Kaihanga to signify the Christian God as the Creator. In the Mohi Ruatapu cosmo-genesis narrative translated by Anaru Reedy, 'hanga', which is most often applied to building structures like canoes and buildings, is used to indicate the forming 'hangaia' of Hine-ahu-one from 'paruparu', dirt. As a result the 'w[h]aihanga', form of the dirt resembled that of Tane. Hine-ahu-one is another name for Hine-hau-one.²³¹ The qualification of Hine with 'ahu-one' or 'hau-one' prioritises the essential aspect of the creative process that is conceived as the 'moulding of the earth' and the 'breathing of life into the earth' respectively. In the Lore of the Whare Wananga, the creative process becomes a higher order one in which the hau (life essence) is paramount for existence.

Kátahi ka whakaaro a Tane, káore he tángata mo te whenua. Ka hangaia e ia he paruparu, whakarite te w[h]aihanga o te paruparu ki a ia. Oti noa taua mea he wahine mána.²³²

Anaru Reedy translates this passage: 'So then Tane thought to himself that there were no people for the earth. He shaped some mud, making a shape from the mud, which was just like himself. When this thing was quite finished, it was a woman for him'. In each case the significance of the term 'hanga' is associated with the manifestation of form rather than shape, that is, corporeality rather than insubstantial form. In this respect, Anaru Reedy's translation of 'hangaia' as shaped and 'w[h]aihanga' as shape has been dictated by undifferentiated consideration of form and shape. An alternative translation that distinguishes the act of creation undertaken by Tane would read 'Then Tane thought (to himself) that there was no (other) person on earth. He formed a piece of dirt so that the form of the dirt was similar to his own. Having completed that thing it (became) a woman for him'.

Shirres referencing Te Arawa tradition recorded by Te Rangikaheke, identifies Tumatauenga as the deity responsible for the creation of humankind.²³³ In reviewing the Grey manuscript, which records the pertinent narrative, the association between Tumatauenga and humankind is implied by the description of Tu as a person 'ko Tu-

²³⁰ Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 35.

²³¹ Reedy, A. (1993). *Nga korero a Mohi Ruatapu, tohunga rongonui o Ngati Porou: the writings of Mohi Ruatapu/ translated, edited and annotated by Anaru Reedy*, Christchurch: Canterbury University Press. p. 18,

²³² Reedy. (1993). p. 118.

²³³ Shirres, M. P. (1997). *Te Tangata: The Human Person*. Auckland: Accent Publications. p. 57.

mata-uenga, ko te tangata'.²³⁴ Shirres also records a passage from an undated manuscript by White, reputedly a Nga Puhi source: 'A ko Tu te atua nana i hanga te tangata, a ko Tu te atua o te tangata'.²³⁵ This passage is translated by Shirres as 'Tuu is the spiritual power who made human beings. Tuu is the spiritual power of human beings'. Like the Ruatapu passage the verb 'hanga' is used to describe the process of giving corporeal form to humankind.

W. E. Gudgeon has also recorded a cosmo-genesis narrative in which Tu-mata-uenga is the deity responsible for the first human form.²³⁶ In a ritual process enacting the tohi ritual man in the form of 'Ahunga' or 'Tiki i ahua ki Hawaiki' was formed at Hawaiki. In a similar manner to the Mohi Ruatapu narrative above Tiki is described as having been formed from the earth. 'He [Tu] then took the para-uku (riverside clay) and mixed it, kneading it into the shape of man, in other words into the image of Tu himself...Then Tu breathed into the mouth and nostrils of the clay and instantly this inanimate effigy was endowed with life and sneezed'. Unfortunately, Gudgeon has not included the original Maori text nor did he indicate the source of the narrative. While he used Taylor's cosmo-genealogy at the beginning of his article on *Maori Religion* he switches to a narrative of the separation and conflict between deity that appears to be lifted from the Te Rangikaheke narrative recorded by Governor Grey.²³⁷ Gudgeon then presents a whakapapa of the tribal deity that is different from both the Taylor and Grey pantheon of gods. In his version Tama-rangi-tau-ke heads the list followed by Aitua, Rongo-ma-tane, Tane-mahuta, Ruaimoko, Tawhiri-matea, Ngana, Haumiatikitiki, Tu-mata-uenga and Tangaroa.²³⁸ Since Tiki was ahua, formed at Hawaiki it seems plausible to assume that Gudgeon has translated ahua as shape. The substitution of Ahunga for Tiki is a reference to the mound of earth from which the first man was created.

Mai te ahua ki Tiki: from material reality to Tiki

According to Best 'Tane represents the male principle generally, and that Tiki personifies the male organ, which name is also employed as the ordinary term for the organ in sacerdotal recitals, as when the tiki of Tane is referred to'.²³⁹ In reviewing Volume 3 of the *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, published in 1893, Best notes two Maori passages in which Tiki-ahua appears as the sexual organ of Tane. 'Ka tukua ki a Tane-mahuta kia hikaia a Tiki-ahua ki roto i te puta o Hine-ahu-one' and 'Ko tenei karakia he mea aroaro o Hine kia kaha te hiahia mai ki tona hoariri, ki a Tiki-ahua'.²⁴⁰ While the former line alludes to Tane-mahuta 'igniting the fire' within the vagina of

²³⁴ Grey, G. (1854). *Ko nga Mahinga a nga Tupuna Maori*. London: George Wallis. p. 8.

²³⁵ Shirres, M. P. (1997). *Te Tangata: The Human Person*. Auckland: Accent Publications. p. 27.

²³⁶ Gudgeon, W. E. (1905). 'Maori Religion', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 3:115, 125-6.

²³⁷ Grey, G. (1854). *Ko nga Mahinga a nga Tupuna Maori*. London: George Wallis. pp.111, 113.

²³⁸ Gudgeon. (1905). 3:113-5.

²³⁹ Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 1* (third edition). Wellington: Government Printer. p. 132. Te Rangihoro also equates the term tiki with 'the procreating organ of Tane in the human creation myths'. Buck, P. (1949). *The Coming of the Maori*. Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs. pp. 509-510.

²⁴⁰ Best. (1995). p. 132.

Hine-ahu-one, the latter line appears in the Nepia Pohuhu narrative in the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* narrative. This phrase encourages Hine to desire her ‘hoariri’ antagonist/suitor Tiki-ahua, the procreative form of the organ of Tane. In the following karakia recited by Ro-iho and Ro-ake, the brothers of Tane, the procreative evocation is more provocative.

Tane-matua e i! i ahuaahua mai Tiki-ahua
 Mai Tiki-nui, Tiki-roa
 Auaha mai kia toro te ihiihi, kia toro te ahuaahua
 Kia toro te uaua, kia toro te akaaka-nui
 Te akaaka tai-kaha o Tiki, E Tane-matua e i!
 Tenei to ara ko te pu o Hine-one, e Tiki e i!
 Auaha ki roto ki te karihi o Hine-one,
 Waerea i roto, waerea i te paepae-uri
 Waerea i te puapua, waerea i te werewere,
 Waerea i te kati-tohe, waerea i a [M]auhi
 Tukia i roto he ngaokotanga, he tapuhitanga,
 He kotamutanga nou, E Karihi, e Tiki e i!

Tane-matua! in the assumed form of the procreative Tiki
 From the enlarged Tiki (to) the elongated Tiki
 Throb with passion let fear be assumed, let reproduction ensue
 Let the sinews be taut, Let the state of turmoil reign
 The raging desire of Tiki, Oh Tane-matua!
 This is your path the creative essence of Hine-one, Oh Tiki!
 Procreate within the womb of Hine-one
 May the inside be cleared away, may the threshold of offspring be free (of obstruction)
 May the hymen be set free, may [M]auhi be cleared (for entry),
 May the penetration generate an arousal (and) empathy
 A sensual pleasure for you Oh Karihi, Oh Tiki!²⁴¹

The karakia above is structured in dense metaphorical language in which the organ of Tane is rendered as Tiki-ahua, Tiki-nui, and Tiki-roa. These names for the sexual organ encapsulate the erection of the procreative organ of Tane. The introduction of the term ‘auaha’, which signifies capacity to create or reproduce, is intensified in its associated meaning in which a throbbing passion prefaces the act of coition. A directive is introduced with the verb ‘toro’ with its multiple connotations relating to stretching, extending, thrusting, exploring and discovering. The directive is qualified by nouns that are pertinent for copulation in which an awesome battle for reproduction is intensified through an evocation of passionate struggle. Hine-one (Hine-hau-one) is called upon to remove any obstructions that may negate productive union with the introduction of the intransitive verb ‘waerea’.

The switch from the transitive verb ‘toro’, used to describe the developing erection of Tiki-ahua, to the intransitive verb ‘waerea’ to describe the response of Hine-one to the arousal of Tane, is an explicit transition from aggressive action to passive reaction. In this sense the submission of Hine-one to the procreative intention of Tane is invoked. All the nouns used with ‘waerea’ are associated with the female sexual organs. The term ‘kati-tohe’ is used to emphasize the virgin state of Hine-one. In other karakia ‘puhi’ and ‘paepae waitau’ are used to express this state of virginity. Mauhi and Karihi are used as

²⁴¹ Author’s translation. Smith, S. Percy. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. pp, 36-7.

personifications for the female reproductive organs that oppose Tiki-ahua, Tiki-nui and Tiki-roa.

The nouns associated with the verb 'tukia' comprise verbs that have been changed into nouns. 'Ngaoko' implies stirring and a tickling sensation. 'Tapuhi' carries the notion of nursing and cherishing while 'kotamu' signifies the opening and closing of the lips repeatedly. The latter term 'kotamu' features a common practice in tribal conceptualizations of the female gender in which an intimate connection is formed between the female generative organs, the mouth and architectural entrances as synonyms for transition between different realms of existence. This is expressed in tribal carving through the ambiguous representation of the female vagina as a mouth and the translation of the pubic area of female images into facial forms elucidated in more detail below. In this case, the allusion is doubly significant since the mouth may be read as the vagina while the head may be read as the anticipation of progeny.

This metaphor is often extended to entrances as points of demarcation between interior and exterior space. Thus, waharoa is applied to the entrance of a fortified pa and kuwaha to the entrance of a pataka (storehouse). Waharoa is literally a long or extended mouth while kuwaha is both mouth and entrance. As a separate word ku means silent. Therefore kuwaha may also be translated as silent mouth, which is normally expressed by the term wahangu. When this notion of silence is annexed with the metaphorical term for a pataka entrance as 'te tatau o te po' a significant correspondence is established. This is particularly relevant for the demise of Maui between the thighs of Hinenuitepo when the birds that accompanied him laughed at his futile attempt to enter Hine. Therefore the implication of silence during the entry into the pataka becomes one of poignant significance. Excessive noise is likely to awaken the guardian of the portal between life and death.

Te Tatau-o-te-po

Te Rangihiroa, like Best, equates Te Tatau-o-te-po with the plaza (marae) of Hine-nui-te-po.²⁴² Te Tatau-o-te-po was also associated with the underworld, the location of the arts of black magic and with the deity Tumatauenga and Miru – 'ko te whare o Tumatauenga i takoto ai te wananga o te kino ko Tatau o te Po; ko Miru tona hoa'.²⁴³

This significance has led Simmons to suggest that

'In itself the doorway represents the entrance to or from this world, te tatau o te po, guarded by the gods Miru and Whiro, gods of death and disease. To enter is to undergo a change of state,

²⁴² Te Rangihiroa in his assessment of rewards and punishment within Maori cosmo-genealogical narrative also associates Te Tatau o te Po with the 'courtyard before the house of Hinetitama' (Hinetitama becomes Hinenuitepo in her alter-ego status within the underworld), and a 'house named Te tatau o te Po' where Miru resided. Buck, P. (1949). *The Coming of the Maori*. Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs. p. 516. See also Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 1 (third edition)*. Wellington: Government Printer. p. 130.

²⁴³ Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 2 (second edition)*. Wellington: Government Printer. pp. 69, 74, 75, 113.

that is, death, if the tapu has not been lifted'.²⁴⁴

It is not uncommon in the variations that exist between tribal narratives for shifts in gender to occur in accord with the realms occupied by various deities. In the Best narrative Miru is a female.²⁴⁵ Despite this gender shift the underlying tenet that links these narratives together is the notion of placing the dangerous and harmful afflictions that may affect human behaviour beyond the realm that humans inhabit. The principle that establishes this demarcation is the notion of po as the realm of darkness located in a spiritual realm and by implication a realm that contained potential countermeasures to oppose conventional standards of behaviour.

Therefore it is quite logical in the passage quoted above that Tumatauenga, who normally occupies the upper-world, has been shifted to the under-world to acknowledge his role as the deity responsible for war and strife. War and strife often resulted in the relocation of the wairua, the spiritual essence to the realm of po. In his generative guise Tumatauenga was also conceived as the deity responsible for humankind.²⁴⁶ Given these shifting assignments of Tu it is not coincidental that the entrances with which Tu is associated, that is, the waharoa and the kúwaha pataka, are dominated by male figures.²⁴⁷ In Te Arawa tradition not only is Tu the deity responsible for aggressive behaviour and the instigator of utu but he is also the deity connected with humankind – 'he tangata'.²⁴⁸ It should be emphasised that the realm of po is not an unequivocal realm of negativity or evil since this was also the realm from which the model for appropriate behaviour and the beneficial arts were retrieved for humankind.²⁴⁹

Pae kura

While male forms appear to dominate the waharoa and the kuwaha pataka, the wharepuni (chief's house) and the later whare nui featured both males and females at the point of entry into the house with females prevalent in the 19th century.²⁵⁰ However, the arrival of missionaries and their location throughout New Zealand by the middle of the

²⁴⁴ Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 32.

²⁴⁵ According to Best '[t]he sex of Miru differs in Maori versions of the myth; she, is sometimes referred to as a controller or guardian of the lower world, and she dwells in Tatau o te Po. Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 2* (second edition). Wellington: Government Printer. pp. 69, 74-5, 113.

²⁴⁶ Grey, G. (1854). *Ko nga Mahinga o nga Tupuna Maori*. London: George Willis. p. 8.

²⁴⁷ The kuwaha of Te Tairuku Potaka in the Auckland Museum features a female ancestor in the act of copulation with a subsidiary male figure.

²⁴⁸ Grey. (1854). p. 8.

²⁴⁹ Te Rangihiroa in his discussion of rewards and punishment in Maori society is adamant that '[r]ewards and punishment were not known to the Maori until after the coming of the white man...As there were no just and unjust, there were no heaven and hell, and the one spirit land accommodated all'. According to Te Rangihiroa the role of Whiro as the harbinger strife in the underworld should not be 'interpreted as a punishment for sin, but as a continuation of the vendetta (between Tane and Whiro) which commenced on earth. Buck, P. (1949). *The Coming of the Maori*. Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs. p. 516. See also Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. pp. 67-76.

²⁵⁰ 19th century Maori houses associated with communal gathering are variously described as whare whakairo (carved or painted house), whare runanga (meeting house) and wharenuui (big house). The latter term will be used throughout this thesis because of its non-specific connotation in terms of the type of art that it may contain and its function.

19th century heralded an unprecedented suppression of sexually explicit images with pare (door lintel) succumbing to the missionaries' puritanical drive.²⁵¹ This is particularly apparent in the Ngati Porou region in whareniui like Raurunui a Toi (1890s), Hinetaora (1896) and even on the pare carved for Te Hui Ananui o Tangaroa in the Canterbury Museum in 1874.

As Tane-whakapiripiri and Rongo-maraeroa were the deity associated with the house the appearance of male forms over the door may be readily associated with this connection. In a similar manner, the allegorical relationship between the mouth and vagina alluded to previously promote a significant correspondence between female sexual organs and liminal zones of entry.

Anthropologist Michael Jackson stresses the relationship between the female genitals in cosmological narratives as portals of death and the power to remove tapu as a rationalisation for the literal display of female genitals on door lintels.²⁵² Simmons sees the narrative of the demise of Maui in his contest with Hinenuitepo reflected in these lintels.²⁵³ The female in this position reinforces the connection between the female and the spirit world whose function is one of absorbing the evil influences from those who enter the house.

Both views are valid translations of the important function of the female form. However, an important element that is absent from these considerations is the notion of the transitional zone as paepae tapu, the point of entry into the house, the threshold or doorsill. The *Lore of the Whare Wananga* records this notion of transition across a zone of potential danger in karakia associated with the recitations made by deity for the successful union of Tiki and Karihi, the male and female elements. Included in the visual imagery is the potential growth of roots, the union of heat and moisture, foraging, joining, inflammation, consummation and more importantly transition from outside to inside.

In tribal narrative associated with the union of Tane and Hine-hau-one the metaphor of pae or paepae is employed as a zone that must be negotiated for successful sexual union.²⁵⁴ In every case the paepae is associated with the female. Included in the configurations of paepae are 'te paepae ou karihi', 'te pae ahi', 'te paepae-uri', 'te paepae waitau', 'te paepae wai', 'te pae matua hahana', 'te pae kura' and 'te pae kapukapu'.

In the karakia recited by Hae-puru and the karakia delivered by Ro-iho and Ro-ake, the older brother's of Tane-matua, the analogy of the paepae is applied to the womb of Hine-hau-one.

²⁵¹ 'The missionaries also attacked the sacred symbols of the tribe by emasculating ancestral carvings of their genitals, an act that portended the cultural and human emasculation to come'. Walker, R. (1990). *Ka whawhai tonu matou Struggle without end*. Auckland: Penguin Books. p. 86.

²⁵² Jackson, M. (1972). 'Aspects of symbolism and composition in Maori Art'. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-Land, en Volkenkund* 128:58.

²⁵³ Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 45. See also Simmons, D. R. (1997). *Te Whare Runanga The Maori Meeting House*. Auckland: Reed. pp. 41-7.

²⁵⁴ Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. pp. 36-7. Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 2* (second edition). Wellington: Government Printer. p. 126.

‘I aua kia hahana i waho, kia hahana i roto i te paepae ou karihi i te pae ahi’,
And,
‘Warea i roto, warea i te paepae-uri’.²⁵⁵

The passage from the Hae-puru karakia stresses the need for the union of Tiki-ahua and Karihi. It is essential that the heat beyond the threshold of Karihi, a figurative term for female genitalia, in the pae ahi, the threshold of fire, be united with the fire that burns outside or on the other side of the paepae. The metaphor for the act of procreation becomes one that is charged with latent energy and burning desire that can only be consummated through acquiescence; an acquiescence that is sought through karakia to ensure the right of entry is sanctified. In other words, the karakia are composed and recited by the elder brothers of Tanematua to facilitate a successful sexual union with Hine-hau-one. In the second karakia the deity seek a clear passage to the paepae-uri (the threshold that ensures the birth of offspring).

An inordinate emphasis has been placed on the negative aspect of female gender in early records by European writers such as Best who records the female sex as inferior, destructive and the origin of disease.²⁵⁶ It is hardly surprising that Simmons and Jackson transpose these notions of female destructive power to pare or door lintel.²⁵⁷ The potency of the female sexual organ as an absorber of tapu (harmful energy) and as the pathway that ensured mortality is certainly a poignant metaphor for lintels. But the generative metaphor is equally potent. In this sense, the ‘paepae tapu’ as the ‘paepae uri’ is impregnated with the potential for continuity. The pre-eminent position given to females stresses the critical role of women as the sustainers of the ‘uha’, the fructifying power of conception and ‘ira tangata’, the essence of human existence, which emanates from Papatuanuku, the earth mother. Therefore, the human element, ira tangata is conjoined with the spiritual element of Tane, ira atua to sustain human existence. Logically, ira tangata is lost at death and ira atua, in the form of wairua, returns to the spiritual domain of Te Po. The earth, the lower world, is also referred to as ‘te whare o aitua’ as opposed to rangi, the sky world, which is referred to as ‘te whare ora’, the house of life.²⁵⁸ In spite of the general tendency of early writers to invest the two spaces with negative and positive qualities the interrelationship sustains the co-abiding principles of material and spiritual interface that constitute the tribal worldview of human existence. With the interface

²⁵⁵ Smith. (1913). p. 36.

²⁵⁶ As an example of this negativity Best states that, ‘Ever the female sex is inferior, hence the earth was termed the whare o aitua, the abode of misfortune, afflictions, death’, and ‘the whare o aitua, the abode of misfortune, the origin of calamities, the home of suffering, decay and death’, and ‘With regard to the origin of disease I have been informed that all such afflictions may be traced to the whare o aitua, that is to the female sex’. Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 2* (second edition). Wellington: Government Printer. pp. 82, 112, 279.

²⁵⁷ According to Simmons, in lintels representing Te Po commemorating the demise of Maui, ‘The female, in the person of Hinenuitepo, guardian of the underworld is displayed on door lintels, on the threshold between the outside and inside which is the passage between life and death.’ In addition the female becomes the protector by absorbing any evil influences that enter the house. Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 45. Jackson, M. (1972). ‘Aspects of symbolism and composition in Maori Art’. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-Land, en Volkenkund* 128: 51.

²⁵⁸ Best. (1995). p. 112.

between tribal and Christian conceptualisations of the celestial and sub-terrestrial realms there is a progressive shift towards a more dramatic dichotomy between good and evil associated with the upper world and the lower world.

Pae kura, as a term, highlights the thresh-hold, the point of transition between inside and outside, as significant. The use of pae kura in karakia associated with the sexual union of primal beings promotes the generative essence of woman. Hence, their prominence on pare of whare nui. Critically, humankind ceases to exist without the female generative essence.

Tikiahua: the generative essence of deity

Before examining examples of the tiki in Maori carving it will be useful to review the concept of the tiki in cosmological narratives and the implication of the concept for carved imagery. Tiki-ahua was the name given to the progenitor of humankind in a version of the cosmology recorded by Taylor at Moeraki in ‘the middle island, a part of New Zealand’.²⁵⁹

As indicated previously, the term tiki, as Tiki-ahua, Tiki-nui and Tiki-roa, in the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* is personified as the sexual organ of Tanematua, the deity responsible for the creation of humankind and the natural environment. In the Mohi Ruatapu narrative, Tiki is listed as a tipuna name in a genealogical sequence. Tiki is one of the children of the union between Tane and Hine-ahu-one that included Hine-manuhiri, Rongo-marae-roa, Tiki, Tangaroa, Táw[h]iri-matea, Hunga, Tu-mata-uenga and Haumia.²⁶⁰ In this Ngati Porou narrative Tiki is a tribal deity and a son of Tane rather than his sexual organ. The Mohi Ruatapu cosmo-genealogies (see Chapter Three) read like narratives in which the sequence of procreation becomes productive. It is one that is similar to the union between Tane and Hine-hau-one in the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* that gives rise to Hine-titama.

Oho may be translated as aroused. That is the arousal of Tiki as a metaphor for the penis. A liberal reading of the initial sequence suggests that the arousal of Tiki, the son of Tane brought forth Hine-titama. Following the conception of Hine-titama, or as part of the sequence of coition with Hine-titama, the act of procreation was impregnated with an evolutionary process in which form as the Te Kanoi-o-te-uha, promotes a union that is productive through Te Kawitiwiti and Te Katoatoa. The latter are weaving terms that imply a successful binding therefore presaging successful union. Alternatively the terms can be construed as the unravelling of a thread in weaving that implies a dislocation of the garment’s integrity. In this metaphor, the kaupapa of the garment, the foundation, becomes the source for the unravelling of the aho that will constitute the aho tangata, the life thread of humankind.

²⁵⁹ Taylor, R. (1855). *Te Ika a Maui, New Zealand and its Inhabitants*. London: Wertheim & McKintosh. p. 55-6.

²⁶⁰ Reedy, A. (1993). *Nga korero a Mohi Ruatapu, tohunga rongonui o Ngati Porou: the writings of Mohi Ruatapu / translated, edited and annotated by Anaru Reedy*, Christchurch: Canterbury University Press. p. 85.

In Taylor's sequence, Tiki is a son of Rangi and Papa. Marikoriko was the wife of Tiki 'formed out of the earth by the Arohi-rohi, or quivering heat of the sun and the echo'.²⁶¹ Taylor also cites two further accounts in which Tiki formed the clay with his own blood and breathed life into the image.²⁶² In the second account man was formed from the combination of clay and red ochre swamp water in the likeness of Tiki whom he named Tiki-ahua.

Shortland presents a particularly complex narrative in which Te Mangu mates with Mahorahora-nui-a-Rangi.²⁶³ The offspring of this union are Toko-mua, Toko-roto, Toko-pa and Rangi-potiki. Tiki, whose descendants include Tiki-te-pou-mua, Tiki-te-pou-roto, Tiki-haohao and Tiki-ahu-papa, appears thirteen generations removed from Toko-mua. Rangi-potiki has Tane-nui-a-Rangi from his third marriage to Papa. Tane, one of nine offspring of this union is responsible for creating Hineahuone. Tane takes Hine as his wife and Tiki-tohua is born in the form of an egg from which all avian life forms evolve. Tiki-kapakapa, a human child was then born and when she grew up Tane named her Hine-a-taura (the pattern maid). Tane cohabited with his daughter and Hine-titamauri was born. Tane presented Hine-titamauri as a wife for Tiki, the descendent of Toko-mua. In this rather complex narrative Tiki as an entity is the offspring of deity, the progenitor of birds and the daughter of Hine-a-taura, the earth formed woman who becomes Hine-nui-te-po on discovering the incestuous relationship with her father Tane.

In a narrative related by the Marumau family of Moeraki in North Otago, Tane creates Tiki from the earth whom he offers as a wife to Io.²⁶⁴ In this passage Tiki is a female entity created from the whenua, the earth in the presence of Io a male entity. Tane gives Tiki to Io as a wife and they become the origin of the multitudes of human beings, and war and of strife:

'He timataka korero tenei, me timata mai te auahataka a Tane, i auahatia ai e ia ki te whenua e takoto nei ko Tiki. No te tuarutaka o ana auahataka ki te whenua ko Io. Ka whakamoea e Tane a Tiki hei wahine ma Io. Na konei i ririki te ao ki te takata. Kei te haere mai i konei te huka nunui, me ka riri tipuna me ka toa whawhai'.²⁶⁵

The critical point in these tribal narratives is the location of Tiki at the beginning of human evolution as a procreative force or as a male or female entity that creates or is created and assumes a generative role in the generation of humankind. This generative role is translated into tribal carving through an evocation of genealogical continuity through figurative imagery in which male and female figures are joined in coition, figures are arranged hierarchically in terms of scale or position, and primary and subsidiary figures are arranged to suggest kinship or spouse relationships.

²⁶¹ Taylor. (1855). p. 18.

²⁶² Taylor. (1855), p. 23.

²⁶³ Shortland, E. (1882). *Maori religion and Mythology*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. pp. 12-23.

²⁶⁴ Smith, P. (1894). 'Genealogy of Te Mamaru Family Moeraki, Northern Otago, N.Z'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 3:14.

²⁶⁵ Smith. (1894). 3:14.

Kurawaka: the procreative essence

A chromatic significance is generated by the application of kokowai, a mixture of red clay and oil to the surface of the carvings. This chromatic significance is charged with cosmological significance in which red earth of Kurawaka becomes an integral ingredient in a visual metaphor empowering the cosmo-genealogical allusion to earth as the vital essence for human form. Tane, as Tanemahuta the spiritual power of the forest, is intimately associated with the creative process through the medium of wood used to create these ancestral images. In this sense, cosmology is expressed genealogically through a conjunction of image and media. Tane and the generative essence of Kurawaka, empowered through Papatuanuku, are conjoined in a creative process that gives visual form to human descendents. Thus, Tiki as image may be seen as a manifestation of the continuous dynamic of an intimate relationship between the spiritual realm on the one hand and the material on the other. Consequently, the application of the term tiki to carved images carries with it an inherent cosmo-genealogical significance.

An important consequence of the generative process involving tiki as a notion for the sexual organ, or as an ancestral procreative entity, is the sacrosanct nature of body secretions that are invested with the vital essence of Tane. In the Ruatapu narrative, after Tane separated his parents and adorned his father with the sun, moon and stars, which were his perspiration, Tane then proceeded to create a human by shaping mud.²⁶⁶ In attempting to mate with Hine-ahu-one whom he created Tane made contact with the timuaki, (head) giving rise to tótá (perspiration). Contact with the whatu (eyeballs) created the whai karu (pupils). The contact between penis and nose (ihu) was responsible for kea (mucous). Contact with the mouth gave rise to húare (saliva). Finally he penetrated the vagina of Hine-ahu-one, the name given to the woman fashioned from the earth. In the Ruatapu narrative the life giving principle becomes the seed from the penis of Tane. From the union between Tane and Hine-ahu-one were born Hine-manuhiri, Tangaroa, Hunga, Tiki, Rongo-marae-roa and Tú-mata-uenga. In the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* she is named Hine-hau-one. An integral part of the life giving act in this narrative is the transmission of the hau (breath of life) from Tane to the earth formed woman hence the significance of the name in this version.

In the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* narrative cited earlier, the attempt at procreation extends the body secretions associated with the semen of Tane beyond those mentioned in the Mohi Ruatapu narrative. The attempt to mate becomes a wero (a challenge) as Tane attempts to penetrate the puta (vagina) of Hine-hau-one with his penis, named Tiki-ahua.²⁶⁷

Ka oti a Hine, ka whakatangata; ka tukua ki a Tane-mahuta kia hikaia a Tiki-ahua ki roto i te puta o Hine-hau-one. Ka werotia ki nga taringa, koia te taturi o te taringa. Ka werohia ki nga

²⁶⁶ Reedy, A. (1993). *Nga korero a Mohi Ruatapu, tohunga rongonui o Ngati Porou: the writings of Mohi Ruatapu / translated, edited and annotated by Anaru Reedy*, Christchurch: Canterbury University Press. p. 17-8.

²⁶⁷ Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. pp. 35, 140.

karu, koia te torewai o te karu, o nga whatu. Ka werohia ki te pongare, koia te hupe, te kea Ka werohia ki te waha, koia te huare, te mare. Ka werohia i nga keke, koia te riko-werawera. Ka werohia ki nga tapatapa, koia te pumahu, te moharuru o nga kuha. Ka werohia ki te kumu, koia te paratea, te mahimahi o te kumu.

After the human form of Hine was realized she was given to Tane so that Tiki-ahua could successfully procreate within the womb of Hine-ahu-one. In attempting coition with Hine, Tiki-ahua challenged (werohia) various parts of the anatomy of Hine to ensure a productive union. In succession he attempted a penetration of the ear hole from which wax ensued. This was followed by the eyes, hence the rheum; the nostril, hence the mucous discharge; the mouth from which saliva and phlegm issue; the armpits which perspired; the crevice between the thighs which are responsible for perspiration and body odour and from copulation with the buttock excretion was the result.

Explicit in both narratives is the analogy of body secretions and discharges as bi-products of the semen of Tane. The conceptualisation of body emissions in this manner creates an inextricable association between such discharges and Tane as atua (deity) and Tane as the embodiment of tapu (sacredness). Hence body secretions were conceived as tapu and were treated with the utmost respect. As an extension of this conceptualization, ata, the non-corporeal extensions of the corporal self, were perceived as an energized extensions charged with the hau (vital essence) of the body. Therefore, the shadow becomes a powerful medium for the transmission of energy in the same way that the residual emissions of body contact linger in impressions in the soil or adhere to clothing temporarily disrobed. It is this realisation of the potency of the non-corporeal self that has given rise to narratives in which the female companion of Tiki was materialized through an echo or the reflection from the urinal discharge of Tiki.²⁶⁸ In the narrative relating to a urinal discharge, which Best associates with the Ngāti Ruanui of Taranaki, Tiki, the first human was attracted to his own reflection in a pool of water. In a futile attempt to capture the image he plunged, head first into the pool. Later, after urinating into a hole in the earth, Tiki again observed his reflected image, which he captured by covering the hole with a mound of earth. It was from this extension of the reflection and the earth that a female emerged as a companion for Tiki.

Whakawhiti korero

Like Chapter Three, Chapter Four concentrates on content, that is, the *tataitanga korero* in lineage narrative. Content is important because the carvings and paintings of Riwai Pakerau are part of a continuum of tribal and trans-cultural practice where form, content and genealogy intersect as critical determinants for cultural relevancy in the Taharora Project. The content in this chapter is, not only relevant for a theoretical perspective, but also informs Chapters Eight and Nine where the content of lineage narrative intersect with form and genealogy in 'the house that Riwai built'. The content of the lineage narratives

²⁶⁸ Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 2* (second edition). Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. p. 390.

also forms the critical substance for a worldview that is used to interpret and to understand 18th and 19th century tribal carving in Chapter Five.

The *tataitanga reo* analysis of ahua as corporeality and ata as non-corporeality demonstrate that the term ahua is more often implicated in the generative process than ata. Ahua, whakaahua and hanga are applied to the formation or creation of deities and humans. In an extension of ahua, whakaahuatia appears as an intransitive verb to suggest that the children of the primal parents were created rather than born in keeping with the higher order narrative construction characteristic of the *Lore of the Whare Wananga*. In the creation of the original female, ahua is used as a verb to indicate the ‘forming’ of the body parts in a sequential manner. Whakaahua and ahua as nouns reinforce the corporeal nature of the first woman. Hanga and ahua appear in the generative process associated with the appearance of the first human as female or male relative to locations of origin.

The conjunction of tiki and ahua (Tiki-ahua) becomes the male generative principle. In lineage narratives the act of coition is conceptualised as a battle of transition from the outside to the inside, from one side to the other, an allegorical crossing of the paepae. A notion that resonates in architectural entrances; constructed as allegorical references, not only to the degenerative power of females, but also their role in the generative process of existence as whare tangata. Consequently, the point of transition is empowered with allegorical substance in the association with the doorway to te po where deity preside as guardians for entry and egress.

In the kawa rituals associated with the opening of the whare nui a female is employed as the agent to nullify the effects of tapu to ensure safe passage across the paepae tapu. The karakia in which paepae-uri appears is recited to enable barren women to conceive.²⁶⁹ This sequence of karakia demonstrates the translation of cosmo-genealogical concepts into incantations for marriage and birth. Sexual union and successful reproduction are prerequisites for the perpetuation of aho tangata, the lineage of humankind. Therefore, the translation of the concept of the paepae into architectural structures intensifies the role of women, not only as ‘te whare o aitua’, the bearers of misfortune, but also as ‘te whare o te tangata’, and the bearers of humanity. To enter the house is to enter the poho, the bosom of an ancestor.

The generative symbolism of the female images above the door is an equally valid conceptualisation of the process of transition from outside to inside space. In this sense, there is a double entendre that promotes a state of successful union between male and female consummated through whakamoe, a marriage of partners and a genealogical system in which a productive union will produce offspring. It is one of anticipation in which re-emergence from the sanctum of the house is pregnant with the potential for successful conception.

It is proposed that the prevalent negative association of females with misfortune,

²⁶⁹ Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 142.

contamination and even death has impacted on the interpretation of portals of entry and woman in which the psychic and symbolic function of female genitalia has been misconstrued in a negative manner. Consequently, a degenerative function has been privileged over a generative one, undermining the substantive position of woman within tribal society.

In further considerations, tiki emerges as deity, human (male and female). In each instance tiki assumes a formative role at the point of primary evolution of humankind in tribal cosmo-genealogy. In carving the formative role is translated as an evocation of genealogical continuity through figures in coition, hierarchical order and kinship relationships, and a generative essence empowered through chromatic symbolism. It is therefore proposed that the term tiki applied to carving is a further endorsement of its cosmo-genealogical significance. This cosmo-genealogical significance is further intensified through tribal narratives in which Tiki-ahua as the penis of Tanematua was responsible for bodily discharges and secretions that are intimately tied to the semen of Tanematua. This notion is contextualised against the carvings of Te Tairuku Potaka in the next chapter.

The analysis of ahua as corporeality, ata as non-corporeality, and tiki as multivalent formative entity in cosmo-genealogy is aimed at creating an awareness of the need for researchers to unveil the informed meaning, the *tataitanga korero*, inherent in lineage narratives. This should awaken a Maori consciousness of the philosophical depth within these narratives. In addition, the *tataitanga reo* analysis demonstrates that form, as western elements and principles implicated in a formal consideration of art, does not exist within a Maori consideration of ahua. However, while western formalist notions are irrelevant for 19th century tribal carving they are certainly relevant for contemporary art as a social construct. In the process, a 19th century worldview is uncovered in which a material and a spiritual dimension coexisted as inseparable determinants in humankind's existence within the material physical world. This interdependence of the material and spiritual worlds translates into a co-dependency of male and female interaction. While there has been a tendency to negativise the role of females as unequivocally dangerous and couched with misfortune and danger such interpretations merely reveal a patriarchal tendency to elevate the male contribution as paramount. What tribal narratives reveal is a general incompetence on the part of males whose success is conditional on the intervention of a female generative essence in order to successfully fructify the generative process.

The notion of consciousness is important for this chapter because it anchors it within *tataitanga kaupapa toi*, an art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance. The *tataitanga korero* (content) apparent in cosmo-genealogical oration, narrative and ritual incantations, not only invade the carving of the 18th and 19th century but also anchor the conceptual arrangement of art in 'the house that Riwai built'. As suggested earlier, *tataitanga kaupapa toi* is appropriate as an art paradigm for Maori cultural relativity and

relevance because it en-frames *tataitanga ahua* (form), *tataitanga korero* (content) and *whakapapa* (genealogy). *Tataitanga* as a term, intrinsically grounded within whakapapa, privileges a genealogical dimension in this thesis. It also promotes the notion of a continuum in which tribal visual culture is expressed as art in the new millennium. The critical point of the paradigm contends that if visual form in art is non-customary the content must be grounded in kaupapa Maori that can encompass take (cause) or matauranga (knowledge). Without visual correspondence or visual empathy at the level of form, without *tataitanga kaupapa toi* at the level of content, the art will not resonate with Maori, even if an artist with a Maori whakapapa creates the art.

Chapter Five

Ko te tataitanga korero o Tiki

The meaning of Tiki

As intimated in Chapter Two, *tataitanga korero* is the talk in tribal carving and contemporary art. The term also en-frames cosmo-genealogical oration and narrative, ritual incantations and tribal histories. In this sense, *tataitanga korero* becomes a lineage narrative of a tribal worldview that can be used to interpret tribal carving in this chapter. The initial grounding of the thesis in lineage narrative in Chapters Three and Four was aimed at investing the *tataitanga korero* with philosophical substance, a theoretical premise and a sense of cultural integrity; that is, to anchor some of the important philosophical notions that invest tribal culture of the 19th century with significance. This is important because the carvings and paintings of Riwai Pakerau are part of a continuum of tribal and trans-cultural practice where form, content and genealogy intersect as critical determinants for cultural relevancy.

The aim of Chapter Five is to use the significant tribal cosmo-genealogical concepts explored in Chapter Three and Four in order to interpret a selected number of 18th and 19th century carvings in which cosmo-genealogical concepts are evident.²⁷⁰

As intimated in Chapter Two, *tataitanga korero* is about setting the story in order or more specifically about making sense of the story in relation to *tataitanga ahua*, the lineage of form. *Tataitanga korero* is the talk in tribal carving. However, the term is also used to cover lineage narratives that in turn inform tribal carving. It also encompasses an iconographical method, which generally prioritises content over form. As argued in Chapter Two, the conceptual nature of Maori carving demands a synthetic level of analysis rather than pre-iconographical and the conventional that are more concerned with the descriptive and the literal rather than the interpretive.

In this instance, there is a reliance on the content generated from a *tataitanga reo* analysis of a range of lineage narratives undertaken in Chapters Three and Four as text to apply *tataitanga korero* to a range of 18th and 19th century carvings. While it is conceded that such an interpretive approach to tribal carving may be criticised for its reliance on lineage narratives across tribal boundaries it is the intimate and inextricable interrelationship between the material and the spiritual realm evident in pan-tribal 19th century conceptualisations of the Maori universe that is privileged in the application of an iconographical method.

As Maori Marsden has argued,

It is...obvious that the Maori does not, and never has accepted the mechanistic view of the universe which regards it as a closed system into which nothing can impinge from without. The

²⁷⁰ The carvings in this chapter range across tribal regions from North Auckland to Wanganui. While maps do not constitute a critical reference for this thesis regional areas can be found by referring to Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo: The Art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. p. 34.

Maori conceives it as at least a two-world system in which the material proceeds from the spiritual, and spiritual (which is the higher order) interpenetrates the material physical world of Te Ao Marama.

We may also conclude from the concepts of mana and tapu...that while the Maori thought of the physical sphere as subject to natural laws, these could be affected, modified and even changed by the application of higher laws of the spiritual order.²⁷¹

Ko te ahua toi ko te ahua tiki is the title of this chapter in which the cosmogenealogical implications associated with the term tiki are articulated in a *tataitanga tiki* – a tiki lineage. At the core of the iconographical analysis is a tribal representational system that distances the human form from reality through anatomical stylisation, distortion and exaggeration relative to the context and function of the object/structure with which the tiki and manaia are associated.

Chapter Five is prefaced by a consideration of an appropriate methodology in order to demonstrate the transmutation of the *tataitanga korero* (content), evident in 19th century tribal narrative in 18th and 19th century carving. In this chapter, iconography as an analytical method under *tataitanga korero* is employed to explain the transmutation process, coupled with physical engagement of the carvings in museum collections (wherever possible) as the data for qualitative analysis.

A set of ‘veranda poupou’ associated with Te Tairuku Potaka (*Figures 3-4*) are analysed successively in the first section of the chapter under the headings *Te tataitanga tiki*, *Te tataitanga manaia*, *Te tataitanga ira atua* and *Te tataitanga wairua*. This is followed by an analysis of burial chests, treasure boxes, door lintels and storehouse panel under the second section entitled *Whakaahua tiki*.

In the consideration of *Te tataitanga tiki*, the central torso transformation as an especial form of figurative composition is reviewed against relevant literary sources acknowledging its evolutionary development within the Rawheoro Wananga at Uawa, and its variable interpretation as the taowaru. It is argued that the ‘veranda poupou’ can be separated into three distinct compositional groups where the central torso motif is variably treated generating a range of interpretations in which the *tataitanga korero* evident in the preceding chapters become apparent. In each case, the compositions comprise three primary tiki figures arranged one above the other.

In *Te tataitanga manaia*, the form and pattern of the tripartite arrangement of tiki are examined to determine their anthropomorphic and compositional relevance. The carved panel is examined relative to the convention of simultaneity, the placement of pattern, the composition of form, gender and the interrelationship between manaia and tiki.²⁷² The analysis leads to a consideration of the interaction between the tiki constituting the upper relief

²⁷¹ Maori Marsden further suggests that ‘I suspect the Maori had a three-world view, of potential being symbolized by Te Korekore, the world of becoming portrayed by Te Po, and the world of being, Te Ao Marama’. Marsden, M. (1977). ‘God, Man and Universe: A Maori View’. In M. King (Ed.). *Te Ao Hurihuri The World Moves On* (second edition). Wellington: Hicks Smith & Sons. p. 160.

²⁷² Te Whanau a Apanui is a tribal group from the East Cape region of the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand whose boundaries begin at Te Taumata-o-Apanui, Torere to Tikirau. Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. p. 86.

plane and the manaia comprising the secondary relief layer. It is proposed that the interaction is iconographically substantive through overlap, contact and integration. The view offered is that the central motif as a unifying visual device may signify union. This union is achieved through a series of manaia transformations in the central motif linking sacred parts of the anatomy, and the visual correspondence of the manaia transformations with the lizard, as a sign of misfortune and even death. It is further surmised that the planar interaction between tiki and manaia, the interconnections and transformations of the central torso motif present a plausible visual realisation of transition from one state to another, from Te Ao Marama to Te Po. At the very least, the tiki may be interpreted as representations of ancestors whose mana resulted in their commemoration within the Whanau a Apanui carved assemblage of Te Tairuku Potaka.

In *Te tataitanga ira atua*, a cosmo-genealogical significance is proposed. The critical visual signifier in this tripartite composition is the lizard that is progressively integrated with the tiki from the top of the panel to the bottom. Initially isolated as a central skeletal presence, the lizard assumes the body of the tiki promoting a sense of isolation in the first instance and integration in the second. A progressive transformation endorsed by variably composed mouths and tongues that repel, engage and integrate interactively with the mouth of the lizard. In contrast, the secondary relief layer of manaia generate a counteractive rhythm of progressive ascension as a statement of the transitory of nature existence, a progression supported by counter rhythms in manaia orientation between the limbs of the upper tiki. It is proposed that the shifts in composition balance, symmetry to asymmetry, emphasise a period of resolution followed by a period of disruption evident in the evolutionary sequence of Te Kore, Te Po and Te Ao Marama. A sequence that is equally applicable to the primeval process of separation of earth and sky in which dispute and resolution are endemic considerations in the process of enlightenment and existence. Critically, the period of resolution applicable to humankind was conceived as a state of equilibrium in which ira atua and ira tangata as the male and female generative essences coexisted in life and separated in the disruption heralded by death. In this 19th century tribal conceptualisation of life and death, ira tangata, born of the earth returned to the earth while ira atua, as the generative essence of deity, was reunited with the source of its manifestation in Te Po, the domain of deification.

In *Te tataitanga wairua*, the manaia as a spiritual entity is proposed. As an interactive spiritual entity a relationship between tiki and manaia may be achieved through juxtaposition, partial integration, transformation, metamorphosis or overlap relative to the secondary and upper relief planes, and vertical or lateral position. The context of the relationship determines the cultural signification. This relationship is particularly important for the third panel because it is the only one in which the hands are transformed into manaia endorsing an explicit sense of equilibrium and repose. In the asymmetrical orientation of manaia in the upper and lower figurative compositions, disrupted in the upper tiki and opposed in the lower, an emphatic

emphasis on the dual principle's of human existence is apparent. The state of equilibrium explicit in the central composition of tiki and manaia has a formal relationship with door lintels featuring this motif, which have been interpreted as a signification of the separation of earth and sky in cosmo-genealogy. This interpretation is equally applicable in this instance. This state of equilibrium may be contrasted with the sense of disruption and discord in the juxtaposition of manaia and tiki in the upper and lower panel, which results in the separation and the subsequent allocation of deity to the upper and lower realms. This is the only panel in which there is a sense of dislocation and separation of the central torso motif as an interactive device. In this panel the motif is restricted to a union of genitalia, foreheads and noses connecting the upper and middle, and middle and lower tiki to sustain notions of genealogical connection while promoting the head and genitals as the source of spiritual power and human life.

The section on *Whakaahua tiki* introduces a convention of relief plane interrelationships as a non-mimetic conceptual system of iconographical signification. In contrast to the literal depiction of the birth process attributable to post-contact mimetic influence, it is proposed that proximal relationships can suggest the generative principles of procreation, birth and genealogical continuity contingent on the relationship between forms. Gender becomes foundational in the signification system and it is examined within the context of relevant literary reviews in which the generative and procreative implication of female and male gender is noted. In particular, the role of the female as a portal of entry to and from the world of humankind, and as guardian of the underworld, is analysed in relation to treasure box, bone chest and storehouse panel. It is further proposed that genealogical continuity can be expressed through duplication or correspondence between primary and subsidiary forms. It is further argued that the emphasis on, and the prominence given to female gender in the terminal manaia on door lintels and storehouse panels, encapsulates the significant role of women in rituals of transition. Ira atua and ira tangata are revisited in relation to terminal manaia on door lintels that endorse the generative implication of these notions relative to male and female gender, life and death, and the material and spiritual realms. The section concludes with a consideration of the interrelationship between pattern and form on three treasure boxes. It is proposed that the carvings demonstrate a regional convention in which the carvers consciously use background relief pattern to disrupt the integrity of the form on the foreground plane generating a sense of translucency in the process. This aspect of translucency, even transparency, evokes a sense of spiritual intercession and therefore endorses a fundamental premise apparent in a 19th century worldview in which the spiritual interpenetrates the material physical world of Te Ao Marama in a two-world system of the material and spiritual world.

He tataitanga tiki: a tiki lineage

The transmutation of cosmo-genealogical concepts that constitute a critical dimension

of a 19th century tribal worldview finds expression in the distancing of the human form from reality and the distortion of anatomy to privilege significant parts of the body. The sacrosanct nature of the human body and its translation in carving is most literal at the iconographical level of convention and precedent in the emphasis given to the head in particular. This is because the head was conceived as the point of contact between the material and spiritual realms; it was the vehicle of communication with deity.

As Anne Salmond contends,

‘...when man talked with his ancestor gods, their efficacy (mana atua) found a pathway to his body through his head, and especially his hair – a notion expressed in the patterns of the language...A man’s hair was linked quite literally with his descent lines...and the greater that mana of his ancestors, the greater the tapu of the head; so a chief’s head had to be kept meticulously separate from contact with food, women’s clothing, or the touch of commoners’²⁷³

The exaggeration of the head is evident in all carving traditions and in most carved objects apart from waka koiwi from North Auckland. This exception was determined by the function of these receptacles as containers for the bones of the deceased. It is the hands and sexual organs rather than the head that sustain notions of sanctity. However, what is more significant from an iconographical perspective is the propensity towards continuity and celebration of death. That is, death was not perceived as a terminal state of disjunction from the living but was a reminder of the intimate relationship between life and death, between the human and spiritual inter-dimensional continuum. This relationship was further endorsed through the emphatic statements of sexual prominence, and inter-relational juxtapositions of primary and secondary figures promoting themes of continuity rather than termination.

In an extension of the functional aspect of the head to body relationship evident in the waka koiwi mentioned above most of the North Auckland bone containers feature female figures, which appear to sustain an intimate relationship between function and gender.²⁷⁴

Salmond argues,

‘For a woman, the link with descent lines was more particularly through the womb (whare tangata, or ‘house of the people’), and child-bearing women were kept away from potent forms of ancestral power, lest their fertility be attacked and the descent lines be broken; though older and high-born women acted as mediums and keepers of knowledge’.²⁷⁵

While it is tempting to rationalise this notion of whare tangata as a reason for prominence of female figures as connoting whare tangata and whare o aitua the female figure also predominates in whare nui lintels where the head of the figure is exaggerated in proportion to the rest of the body. It is significant, however, that female gender is privileged in architectural structures and containers that house the living and the dead. In this respect, it is not surprising given the role of women as whare tangata and whare o

²⁷³ Salmond, A. (1985). ‘Maori Epistemologies’. In J. Overing (Ed.). *Reason and Morality*. London: Tavistock. p. 241.

²⁷⁴ ‘A surprisingly high proportion of the images are female; out of the 34 complete examples in which the sex could be shown, 20 are female, 6 are male and 9, are designated as having no sex...’ Fox, A. (1983). *Carved Maori Burial Chests: A commentary and Catalogue*. Bulletin 13. Auckland Institute and Museum. p. 21.

²⁷⁵ Salmond. (1985). p. 241.

aitua in cosmo-genealogy.

Beyond this literal example of anatomical exaggeration, there is an especial composition of figurative forms in the carving traditions of Te Whanau a Apanui on the East Cape.²⁷⁶ It is a system of interaction and interconnection that transcends the more accessible convention of mana tangata relationships common in tribal compositional practice featuring figures placed one above the other, or arranged in primary and subsidiary figurative relationships. The system of interaction in the carvings of Te Whanau Apanui is endorsed through a genealogical and stylistic connection with Hingangaroa at Uawa.²⁷⁷ This connection is significant because it locates the development of the Ngati Porou style and that of Te Whanau a Apanui within the Uawa region.²⁷⁸ In Chapter Six, it will also be shown that the 19th century style of Rongowhakaata in the Poverty Bay, south of Uawa, and that of the Rawheoro School at Uawa are interrelated. Genealogically and stylistically, the connection between Te Whanau a Apanui and Ngati Porou through Hingangaroa is significant and it is highlighted in the lament of Rangiua for his son Tuterangi-Whaitiri. According to Apirana Ngata, Tukaki of Te Kaha and Iwirakau of Waipapa attended the Te Rawheoro Wananga established by Hingangaroa at Uawa.²⁷⁹ Tukaki is a descendent of Taua, the oldest son of Hingangaroa through Apanui Waipapa, Rongomaihuatahi, and his father, Apanui Ringamutu whereas Iwirakau enters the genealogy of Hingangaroa through his union with Rakaitemania, the daughter of Te Ao Hore, the son of Mahaki-ewe-karoro who was the younger brother of Taua.²⁸⁰

Tukaki and Iwirakau attained the knowledge of carving that was referred to in the lament as the manaia and the taowaru.

Ko Te Rangi-hopukia, ko Hinehuhuritai, Me ko Manutangirua, ko Hingangaroa. Hingangaroa Ka tu tona Whare, Te Rawheoro, e; Ka tipu te Whaihanga, e hika, ki Uawa Ka riro to whakautu, te Ngaio-tu-ki-Rarotonga Ka riro to manaia, ka riro te taowaru; Taowaru Ka taka ki raro na i a Apanui, e; Ka puta ki Turanga, ka hangai atu koe	Te Rangihopikia had Hinehuhuritai Who had Manutangirua, whose son was He it was who established the house, Te Rawheoro, And the arts and crafts flourished, my son, at Uawa there came in payment the Ngaio-tu-ki-Rarotonga, And there went in exchange the Manaia and the Passing thence around to the north, Te Apanui, Emerging at Turanga where you will face The clouds from the south, whence came your doom So shall your elder and parent hear. Even Te Matorohanga!
Kia whakarongo mai e to tipuna papa, E te Matorohanga, na i!	

Apirana Ngata interpreted the taowaru as the idiosyncratic taratara a kae surface

²⁷⁶ Te Whanau a Apanui is a tribal group from the East Cape region of the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand whose boundaries begin at Te Taumata-o-Apanui, Torere to Tikirau. Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. p. 86.

²⁷⁷ Uawa, on the East Coast of the North Island, is now known as Tolaga Bay.

²⁷⁸ According to Victor Walker, Hingagaroa's fame attracted experts from all parts of the East Coast including Te Kaha. Walker, V. (1997). 'Te Kani-a-Takirau Ariki'. Unpublished master's thesis, Massey University. Palmerston North. New Zealand. p. 36.

²⁷⁹ Rangiua's lament for his son Tuterangi Whaitiri as translated by Apirana Ngata. Ngata, A. (1958). *The origin of Maori Carving*. Te Ao Hou Vol 22: 35.

²⁸⁰ Hingangaroa married Iranui the sister of Kahungunu. They had three sons Taua, Mahaki-ewe-karoro and Hauti. It is through this interconnection that Te Whanau a Apanui are considered the tuakana (elders) of Ngati Porou. See whakapapa tables 5, 7. Ngata, A. T., (1944). *Rauru-nui-a-toi Lectures*.

pattern evident on the Te Tairuku Potaka assemblage of carvings.²⁸¹ Ngati Porou carver Pakariki Harrison supports the interpretation of Apirana Ngata. In contradiction to this view Hirini Moko Mead, Jock McEwan and Takirirangi Smith view the taowaru as the central motif that divides the 'veranda poupou' associated with Te Tairuku Potaka.²⁸²

The maihi and kuwaha carvings of Te Tairuku Potaka were discovered together with a series of panels that Gilbert Archey has since classified as 'veranda poupou'.²⁸³ The height of these panels in relation to the maihi and kuwaha, and the later modifications to the base of the panels make Archey's proposition tenuous.

The veranda poupou comprise five panels that may be organized into three distinct compositional groups (*Figures 3-5*) in which the central interconnecting motif is variably treated. There is an obvious change in style in the poupou series that is probably related to the periods of carving production and the contribution of more than one carver. According to David Simmons

'In the mid-eighteenth century, Apanui Rangimotu and two other carvers each constructed storehouses to stand at Maraenui between Opotiki and East Cape. The occasion was that three young chief's – Kereru of Whanau a Apanui, Ngatoto of Ngati Porou and Herehere of Kahungunu – were taken there to enter an ariki whare wananga. The pataka were their tribal symbols. About 1820, Tairuku Potaka was given to the hapu at Raukokore. A carver named Puhiake started renovating it by carving a new maihi... and some long boards. Before his work was completed the carvings were hidden, new and old together, in a sea cave at Te Kaha lest they be stolen by the Nga Puhī musket raiders of 1823'.²⁸⁴

The 'long boards' alluded to by Simmons are the 'veranda poupou' mentioned by Archey. These panels will be analysed to highlight the differences apparent in the compositions and to offer a *taitaitanga korero*, an iconographical interpretation that contextualises the cosmo-genealogical information revealed in Chapters Three and Four, and contemporary literary sources.



Figure 3. Poupou, Te Tairuku Potaka pataka, Auckland Museum (22063.1).

²⁸¹ 'The Manaia is featured in the Te Kaha carvings. I have identified the Taowaru as the notched details so prominent in those carvings'. Ngata. (1958). p. 37.

²⁸² The publication of *Tanenuiarangi* attributed to the University of Auckland was written by Dr Pakariki Harrison. University of Auckland. (1986). *Tanenuiarangi*. Auckland: University of Auckland. p. 21. Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. p. 87.

²⁸³ The panels were acquired by the Auckland Museum in 1911 after A European dealer purchased them. Dated c. 1770-80 the carvings were part of a pataka assemblage. The pataka was erected originally at Maraenui and later shifted to Raukokore. They were subsequently placed in a cave to protect the carvings from an impending Ngapuhi invasion in 1820. Archey, G. (1977). *Whaowhia Maori art and its artists*. Auckland: Collins. p. 54-57.

²⁸⁴ Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 77.

Te tataitanga o te manaia o te ngarara: the manaia connection

The first composition (*Figure 3*), in keeping with all the panels in the set, comprise three tiki arranged vertically one above the other united by foot to head and genital to head contact.²⁸⁵ In the panel under consideration the group is headed by a figure with a conventionalized human head (*Figure 3 left*). This treatment of the facial details assumes a closer relationship with human form than the lower tiki (*Figure 3 centre and right*) whose faces are abstracted from reality to the extent that facial features promote an anthropomorphic relationship. As discussed previously the head to body ratio connotes the sacrosanct nature of the head and its conceptualisation with tribal culture as a vehicle for communication with deity and its efficacy (*mana atua*) as a pathway for inter-dimensional communication.

The uppermost tiki (*Figure 3 left*) holds a flute with left hand positioned above the right initiating a sequence in which the hands of the lower figures are alternated sequentially in a rhythmic analogy that accords with the emission of sound from the flute.

The hands of the upper tiki are eschewed in a perceptually illogical manner. An inverted palm opposes a top view of fingers and forearm. This convention of simultaneity, while perceptually illogical in a western aesthetic sense, is conceptually logical from a tribal perspective. It is imperative for the carver to show the fingers on the topside of the flute while emphasizing the total physiological nature of the hand. It is not important to show the fingers manipulating the sound key but rather to emphasise a relationship that reveals the hand as a composite of physiological elements. The inverted palm that naturally and conceptually makes contact with the underside of the flute when played, fingers that encircle the flute, and the importance of the sound key as an elementary factor contributing to the creation of sound. Given this outline, there is a conceptual logic that dictates the dislocation of the hand in this manner. This idiosyncratic inverted palm detail is peculiar to the carving traditions of Te Whanau a Apanui, Ngati Porou and Rongowhakaata, which are contextualised below in a summation of the elements of Te Whanau a Apanui style.

In characteristic Te Whanau a Apanui style, bodies adopt an open stance where broad necks and thin bodies create a sense of upper body strength through the visual distribution of weight in the upper region. The emphasis on the upper anatomy is reinforced through the oblique convergence in the relief patterns of pakura carved upon the bodies simulating the upward sweep of the rib cage while generating a counter rhythm opposing the descending thrust of the taratara a kae patterns on the limbs. The counter thrust leads from hips to feet, and from shoulders to fingers rendered in a natural manner apart from the stylized left hand of the bottom tiki. The placement of this hand complements the curve of the torso while echoing the ascending pakura patterns and initiating an

²⁸⁵ Figures 3 -5, which represent the vertically arranged panels from te Tairuku Potaka to be analysed are organised left to right corresponding to top to bottom arrangement of the vertical panels. For convenience (*left*), (*centre*) or (*right*) will be used to indicate vertical position.

asymmetrical disruption across the torso. This shift in the representational scheme presents a possible problem for interpretation. Is the intention of this shift in representation aesthetic or connotative?

Part of the answer lies elsewhere in the panel where the ears are carved sequentially in descending order as naturalistic, stylised and naturalistic (*Figure 3 right to left*). In each of the tiki, the manaia flanking the heads interact variably with the ear. In the upper tiki (*Figure 3 left*), the lower jaw of the manaia makes contact with the ear. In the lower tiki (*Figure 3 right*), it is the pubic area of the manaia that makes contact with the ear. This is particularly explicit on the left side of the tiki. The ears of the middle tiki (*Figure 3 centre*) have metamorphosed into the head and eye of the manaia. It is clear that the manaia is an interactive principle, and not merely as neutral 'embellishment' of the principal figures as implied by McEwan.²⁸⁶ Consequently, the secondary relief layer of manaia, interact with primary tiki. Here they are suppressed through overlap, interrelated through contact or integrated visually and communicably in their assumption of the same relief plane as the 'primary' figures; tiki and manaia are in communion. Is this a communion between humankind and deity or between the living and the dead?

It is both but also much more. In the case of the upper and lower tiki there is a privileging of the left hand. In view of tribal gendered associations of left and right an inevitable coincidence between fragility and strength and the association of the female with life and death in the guise of Hineahuone and Hinenuitepo is inescapable.

In the case of the uppermost tiki (*Figure 3 left*), a manaia rises from the base relief to make contact with the elbow. This is a pivotal point of energy and dexterity that allows the arm to sweep and the hands to encircle the flute. The manawa and koroiti, middle and lower fingers of the left-hand, enclose and frame the excavated sound key as the allegorical pito of the flute that is echoed in the domed belly button of the figure below. While the left hand frames the hole of the flute, the right hand makes contact with the penis. Hence, the intimacy of the mother's womb is genealogically transformed as an ure (penis) enveloping the rae (forehead) that terminates at the ihu (nose) of the lower figure. This series of interconnections is charged with significance in a union of the sources of procreative and spiritual power.

Viewed in totality, it is possible that the central interconnecting motif that unites the tiki signifies the inevitable and inescapable union between the spiritual and material realities of the tribal universe. This motif is composed of a series of manaia, which link together the figures in the panel in a series of transformations that connect the important areas of the face and body. These features were conceptualised as tapu. Thus, koauau (flute), upoko (head), rae (forehead), ihu (nose), waha (mouth), pito (belly button) and ure (genitalia) are emphasised and united in a metamorphosing sequence of manaia transformations. These interconnections unite those areas of tapu that are perceived as

²⁸⁶ McEwan, J. M. (1966). 'Maori Art'. In A. H. McLintock (Ed.). *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. 3 Vols. Wellington: Government Printer. p. 410.

extraordinarily potent. As discussed in Chapter Four, the areas of interconnection include some of those areas that Tane penetrated in his attempt at successful coition with Hineahu-one. Consequently, this composition is charged with a cosmo-genealogical poignancy articulated through a process of procreation.

Whether it is the transference of hau, the breath of life, or the emission of secretive huare, saliva that establishes the transcendence of generative powers, both Tane and Tikiahua become intimately conjoined in the process of generative manifestation. There is, however, a visual subtext that pervades the imagery. This subtext is generated through the ahua, the form of the transformations that link the various parts of the anatomy and the sequence of ancestral images. Here the image is an ahua moko, the form of a lizard. The moko, or ngarara can only be appreciated as a visual form when the carvings are viewed from the side.

‘Generally speaking all Polynesians dreaded lizards, and the Maori carried this feeling to the extent of attributing misfortune, calamities, death, to lizards. One explanation of this belief is that the lizards represent Whiro, and Whiro who personifies darkness and death; a Maori belief was that evil spirits in lizard form entered bodies of men and consumed their vitals, so causing death’.²⁸⁷

There was a definitive correlation between the lizards, sickness and death with a belief that ‘sickness leading to death’ was caused by lizards devouring the internal organs.²⁸⁸ Williams recorded a passage in which the lizard and the worm are combined in their respective associations with death to signal impending doom, ‘Moko-ta, a sort of death watch, said to live in the thatch of houses, never seen, but if heard regarded as an aitua [omen]; it is also called toke-whenua’.²⁸⁹ If Maori chanced upon a lizard it was killed, ritually destroyed in fire or its potency dispelled by having a woman step over it to neutralise its destructive power in order to reverse the lizard's emissary role as a vessel of destruction.²⁹⁰ In some contexts the devouring of a lizard is associated with the affectation of ritual power to overcome adversaries or adversity.²⁹¹ The appearance of the lizard in tribal carving operated at the level of aitua, a signification of the transitory nature of humankind or an affectation of mana atua.²⁹² In the latter instance, there is a coincidence between the devouring of a lizard and the ability of the ancestor to wield godly powers to

²⁸⁷ Best, E. (1995). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 2* (second edition). Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongawera. p. 460.

²⁸⁸ Oppenheim, R. S. (1973). *Maori Death Customs*. Auckland: A. H. & A. W. Reed. p. 78.

²⁸⁹ Best. (1996). p. 179.

²⁹⁰ Williams, W. (1971). *A Dictionary of Maori Language* (seventh edition). Wellington: Government Printer. p. 207.

²⁹¹ Best records a number of instances in which the consumption of lizards in ceremonial performances is related to an affectation of mana capable of overcoming adversaries and adversity. See Best. (1995). p. 462.

²⁹² “Notwithstanding the feeling of dread experienced by Maori in connection with the lizard, yet not only does it frequently occur in his wood carvings, but it is the only creature of the animal world that is given its natural form in such work...Lizards were sometimes placed at the entrances of caves wherein the bones of the dead were deposited...Not only would the creatures inspire dread in the minds of the trespassers, but also would there be a conviction that some magic spell had been laid on the tapu place...” Best. (1996). p. 463.

deter the onset of misfortune, calamity and death associated with the lizard.²⁹³

Consequently, the interconnections and transformations in the 'veranda poupou' may be interpreted as statements of transition from one state to another, from Te Kore to Te Po and ultimately to Te Ao Marama. Alternatively, they may be perceived as iconographical endorsements of the mana of the tipuna represented. This is particularly evident in those 'veranda poupou' where the moko or ngarara envelopes the upper lip of the tiki or the ure is translated into ngarara form. As an enigmatic sign of life and death the contest between ngarara and tipuna exemplifies the struggle between the physical and metaphysical forces that determine social position in tribal society.

It is possible that the structure has some mortuary significance. Regardless of the latter interpretation it is plausible to surmise a genealogical relationship between Te Whanau-a-Apanui, Ngati Porou and Rongowhakaata. This is particularly relevant in light of Simmons's contention that Te Tairuku Potaka was one of three large pataka that were constructed at Maraenui to celebrate the entry of the three young chiefs from the East Coast region into the whare wananga.²⁹⁴ The three-figure composition of the veranda poupou may be an allusion to this significant event in which case the hierarchical ordering of the figures would establish a genealogical relationship based on the principle of mana tangata with the senior ancestor placed at the top and the junior at the bottom.



Figure 4. Poupou, Te Tairuku Potaka pataka, Auckland Museum (22064.5).

Te Tataitanga ira atua: the spiritual interconnection

In the previous panel (*Figure 3*) the central motif emphasises a series of interconnections that unite anatomical details in a current of transfigurations in which mana is transcended as an integral essence of being. By contrast, the second poupou (*Figure 4*) appears to sustain notions of evolutionary transformation. At the heart of the metamorphosis is the manaia in lizard form. In the lower tiki (*Figure 4 right*), the body is transformed into a lizard as a mediator between the realms of Te Po and Te Ao Marama.

²⁹³ There are a significant number of late 19th century depictions of lizards in Ngati Porou carving particularly in Raurunui a Toi (1896) and the house carvings for Karaitiana Takamoana in the Otago Museum (c. 1860-80). In these carvings the lizard is grasped in the hand, enters the mouth or is placed in the mouth replacing the tongue.

²⁹⁴ Simmons D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 77.

The torso of the middle tiki (*Figure 4 centre*) is also transformed into a lizard, its upper lip engulfed. The ure, the penis, is translated into a moko head that bites the forehead of the bottom figure (*Figure 4 right*). Unfortunately, the pubic area of the lower figure has been removed in the reshaping of the lower section of the panels making it impossible to know whether the ure was transformed in a similar manner. Despite this modification, there is a progressive materialisation of the lizard from the top of the panel to the bottom as the body of tiki and moko are united. In the upper most tiki (*Figure 4 left*), a sense of isolation and dislocation has been achieved by distancing the moko from the tiki through the elevated relief of the body of the moko as a spinal cord, a tahuhu from which form will evolve. It is a tahuhu that will become one with the body of the tiki. The mouth of this skeletal moko makes contact with the mouth of the tiki but a sense of isolation and exclusion is generated by the extended upper lip of the tiki creating a barrier against the entry of the invaders mouth. The hunched shoulders and their compression towards the central axis, coupled with the exaggerated relief elevation relative to torso, combined with the distension of head and shoulders contribute toward a sense of conflict and tension. This conflict between tiki and manaia is one where the upper lip of the tiki is confronted, engulfed (*Figure 4 left to right*) and transcended as the mouth of the lower moko finally gains ascendancy by enveloping the tongue. The split tongue, massive in the upper figure and diminutive in the middle figure is conjoined as one in the lower figure. This vertical migration of manaia and the descending convergence of two tongues as one on the base figure presages descent into Te Po with the loss of ira tangata and the assumption of ira atua.

The secondary manaia that frame the heads of the tiki contribute to the scheme of progressive ascendancy. The downward orientation of the manaia in the upper region of the panel (*Figure 4 left*) is reversed at the bottom (*Figure 4 right*). In this instance, the manaia ascend rather than descend in accord with the successful penetration of the mouth of the tiki by the moko on the lower figure (*Figure 4 right*). Humankind has found form but it is a transitory existence fraught with anxiety and preordained in death. Secondary relief details in the armpit area and between arm and thigh also contribute to the progressive evolutionary sequence in the transition from symmetry to asymmetry and a return to symmetry. This progression from balance to imbalance to balance is consolidated in the undefined eyes of the central tiki. No great leap in the imagination is required in order to align this shift in vision with Te Po. A hierarchical model for cosmo-genealogy is connoted in the vertical arrangement of tiki sustained by the interactive secondary layer of manaia. The shifts in symmetry and asymmetry emphasise a period of resolution following a period of secondary disruption that is provocative in its allusion to the epochal evolutionary sequence from Te Kore to Te Po through into Te Ao-marama. This prioritisation of a cosmological significance is equally applicable to the sequence in which the children conceived in Te Po disrupted the primeval parents' harmonious union. This disruption would eventually find resolution in the creation of humankind in Te Ao-

marama, the world of light. It was a resolution in which life was mediated by death and conversely death mediated life. While Tane heralded the newborn into the world of Te Ao-marama Hinenuitepo sustained the spirit of the deceased in the realm of Te Po. Death was conceived as a separation of ira tangata and ira atua, the dual life principles of a living human. In death, ira atua, as a transcendental entity was indestructible. Ira tangata born of the earth returned to the source of its being. Since ira atua was conceived as the generative power of the gods it was logical that the divine essence of being should be reunited with the source of its creative manifestation in Te Po, as the realm of a higher order of existence.



Figure 5. Poupou, Te Tairuku Potaka pataka, Auckland Museum (22065).

Te Tataitanga wairua: the essence of the spirit

In contrast to the previous panel (Figure 4), it is the middle figure (Figure 5 centre) in this panel that promotes the idea of resolution and balance. The hands are translated into manaia, which Simmons interprets as a symbol of deification.²⁹⁵ I would prefer to read the interaction of manaia with primary figures as an invocation of the spiritual dimension interceding with the human dimension since the two are inextricably united in a 19th century tribal worldview.²⁹⁶ This interaction operates at a number of interpretive levels.

As indicated previously, the manaia may be isolated from the primary figure through overlap. This is apparent when the anatomical totality of the form is obscured as in the absence of feet or hands indicating that the primary figure is in front of the secondary figure.

At another level, the manaia may interact with the primary figure through juxtaposition or through partial integration. Juxtaposition occurs when a part of the body may be read as a unified whole interacting at the level of the secondary relief layer but with a part of the primary form. In the second interactive convention part of the manaia remains anchored to the base relief layer while another part is translated into the anatomy

²⁹⁵ Discussing a Ngati Kahungunu lintel with a tripartite figurative composition Simmons interprets the three figures as '[t]he three children of Rangi and Papa (who) lift the sky with their fingers or hands which are manaia, these are therefore gods and the three fingers represent the three realms of existence'. Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 47.

²⁹⁶ According to Oppenheim 'The view of man in Maori culture was that he was in a dialectical relationship with the natural world...The Maori view of the world placed man in a natural/supernatural environment, to which he was related in time through his genealogical connections and in space through his kindred. Every act had consequences in both social and supernatural terms and each system supported the other'. Oppenheim, R. S. (1973). *Maori death customs*. Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed. pp. 17-8.

of the tiki. The tiki is transformed in a process of change that suggests mediation from another dimension. At the level of the tiki, part of the anatomy may be translated into manaia form as exemplified in the hands of the central figure in the composition under discussion. Alternatively, it may be treated as a double entendre where part of the anatomy of the primary tiki form is subject to metamorphosis becoming simultaneously the body of both tiki and manaia. At an elevated relief level, beyond that of the tiki, a form construed as a manaia is placed on the body of the primary tiki. Hence, the manaia transformations may be interpreted as a principle for spiritual interaction. It is the context in which manaia appears that determines the significance of its form. In the context of the panels under analysis, the manaia, as a counterpoint to the tiki, operate at a number of aesthetic and connotative levels.

Aesthetically, the manaia activate the secondary relief layer by imparting instances of balance and disruption to the overriding symmetry. The representation of manaia may be whole (full-bodied) or partial (head or eye only) according to the space available. Thus, partial manaia appear in the area between the arms and thighs and between the legs while the full-bodied manaia flank the heads of the tiki. In this instance there is a coincidence of aesthetic rationale and connotative significance. The enlargement of the head in tribal carving provided a relatively large area for secondary aesthetic activation in those instances where the head did not occupy the total width of the panel. The choice of form for the activation of area flanking the head as the most sacred part of the human body was dominantly that of the manaia.²⁹⁷

At a connotative level, the manaia are more than meaningless decoration or a celebration of artistic ingenuity. They rise and fall, twist and turn, face and oppose, reflect and divide in rhythmic endorsement of a cosmo-genealogical premise. A premise that privileges a Maori conceptual order articulated vertically, horizontally and sculpturally through the layers of relief. The relationship of scale is engaged in the enunciation of significant relationships. The relief patterns of tiki and manaia participate in a subtext of significance that explicates a differentiation between right and left through subtle asymmetrical accents. Opposing rhythms activate limbs; define torso and facial features as lucidly as tattoo endorses genealogical connection and status within the customary tribal society.

In this panel (*Figure 5*), all the tiki hands are stylised. In descending order, the hands are opposed asymmetrically with the left hand on the torso and right on hip (*Figure 5 left*), elevated symmetrically to frame the face (*Figure 5 centre*), placed akimbo to frame the body (*Figure 5 right*) imparting a state of rest or more significantly a pose of anticipated action. Like the first panel (*Figure 3*) the variable positions of the hands impart a sense of action and progression. However, in the second panel (*Figure 4*), the

²⁹⁷ In some instances, spirals of the takarangi class have been used as an optional motif for the area flanking the head. The Pourewa Island poupou (1769) in the University of Tuebingen ethnography collection in Germany and an 18th century panel at the Museum of New Zealand, discussed under the Rawheoro School of carving, are salient examples.

body of the bottom tiki is ambiguously rendered as both human and non-human. There is also a more explicit transformation of the body form, which is achieved through an articulation of the rib cage with pakura surface pattern. Hence, the manaia as a ngarara (lizard) is created out of nga rara o te tinana (the ribs of the body). The relationship between human and lizard becomes an inescapable preoccupation in the consideration of these panels. Likewise, the narratives of Whiro and Maui are equally pertinent connotations in the contest between human and reptilian form. Inevitably, death enters the equation as the common denominator.

If the middle figure (*Figure 5 centre*) is discounted the interaction of the secondary relief layer of manaia are more actively asymmetrical. Those framing the upper tiki (*Figure 5 left*) are orientated towards and away from the central axis while those framing the head of the lower tiki (*Figure 5 right*) are inverted on either side of the face. This inversion of the manaia emphasises a kinship between the middle (*Figure 5 centre*) and bottom figure (*Figure 5 right*) that is echoed in the symmetrical correspondence of tiki and the inversion of raised and supplicant hands. It is possible in this instance that this panel (*Figure 5*) offers a commentary on the dual principles that condition humankind's existence, ira atua and ira tangata. Hence, there is an emphatic emphasis on inversion and opposition. For humankind, corporeal reality is conditioned by spiritual and material interface. This is expressed in cosmo-genealogical terms through the investment of the earth's fructifying power by the generative and spiritual power of Tane or the collective power of gods. The head as vehicle of spiritual power and communion with deity is privileged. An emphasis is given to the body as the seat of the emotions in the lower figures of the panel. Collectively, these aspects express the dynamic interaction of the concordant male and female principles that sustain life. To upset the equilibrium of complementarity encouraged disaster or even death. Death in itself was not conceived as an objectionable state but the desecration of one's remains was a cause for anxiety.



Figure 6. Pare. Unknown whare nui, National Museum (579).

At a deeper cosmo-genealogical level, the sense of equilibrium evident in the middle tiki (*Figure 6 centre*) is also found in lintel composition where two or three figures are presented with hands raised in a similar manner (*Figure 6*). The hands of the lintel figures are also translated into manaia form. This style of composition has been associated with

the separation of earth and sky by the children of Ranginui and Papatuanuku.²⁹⁸ This interpretation is equally applicable to the panel under discussion. The asymmetrical accents in the manaia that flank the heads of the upper (*Figure 6 left*) and lower manaia (*Figure 6 right*) become significant endorsements of the discord and division that ensued as a result of the separation.

In simpler cosmo-genealogical narratives, Tawhirimatea, the god of wind and storms was the sole dissenter while Tumatauenga demanded the death of his parents. Tane emerged as the voice of wisdom whose intervention procured the separation of sky and earth. A power struggle evolved which pitted brother against brother that established a pecking order while establishing protocols for intervention between humankind and deity. In a more complex version of the narrative, the separation caused a division among the seventy children of Rangi and Papa. After the separation of earth and sky, Whiro and Tane battled over the procurement of the gifts of knowledge. This battle becomes one in which knowledge is sanctified as a gift of deity, which, when treated with respect, has the potential to resolve any dilemma that may confront humankind. The process of construction that pervades this narrative enforces cultural mores of appropriate behaviour through communication with elders. Tane, as a teina (younger brother), is presented as a model of appropriate behaviour. He consulted with, and was selected by, his elder brothers for the significant tasks of determining humankind's destiny. Whiro was constructed as the antithesis of Tane. He is egotistical and predisposed toward envy. He demands rather than requests. Consequently he is relegated to Rarohenga, the underworld. It is a self-imposed exile rather than one imposed.²⁹⁹ As indicated previously, there is an intimate association between Whiro and the lizard that is invoked in the body transformation of the lower tiki.

This is the only panel (*Figure 5*) in which there is a sense of dislocation and separation in the central motif. This separation becomes an appropriate visual metaphor for the separation of the primeval parents. Despite the sense of dislocation and separation, a critical connection is retained between the genital area and the heads, the sources of spiritual power and the seed of human life.

Whakaahua tiki: the manifestation of tiki

In view of the correspondence between *ahua* and the creative evolution of form, a series of carvings will be analysed to reveal the manner in which tohunga whakairo (carving experts) in the 18th and 19th century translated cosmo-genealogical principles into expressions of evolution and statements of a worldview that privileged an intimate and indispensable interrelationship between the material and spiritual realms. It should be emphasised from the outset that tribal carving does not attempt to show the evolutionary process in a literal or perceptual sense. Relief carving was not generally created as a scenic

²⁹⁸ Jackson, M. (1972). 'Aspects of symbolism and composition in Maori Art'. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-Land, en Volkenkund* 128:47-8. Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 47.

²⁹⁹ Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. pp. 128-134.

rendering of an event. Instead, images were composed to set up interrelationships within the context of the relief planes on which they were carved and the wider spatial context in which they were presented. The birth process is probably the most direct reference to the generative process. An exceptional image in which a female is actually shown in the process of giving birth to a descendant can be found in a waka koiwi (bone chest) from North Auckland (*Figure 7*). The literal nature of the birth scene suggests the intervention of a European worldview in which denotation is privileged over connotation and a post-European contact date for its manufacture.³⁰⁰



Figure 7. Waka koiwi, Otago Museum (D.29-1386).

More typical of tribal representation of the generative process are images in proximal relationships. A subsidiary figure is generally placed in a relationship with the major figure to suggest procreation or descendants. The placing of a smaller figure beneath the vagina of a primary figure demonstrates this principle (*Figure 10*).

Images that conform to this principle tend to be restricted to waka koiwi, pare and paepae pataka. This is hardly surprising given the dichotomous role of the female as ‘te whare o aitua’ and ‘te whare tangata’ alluded to above. Fox’s analysis shows that the majority of the waka koiwi are female.³⁰¹ This has led her to cautiously conclude that ‘Although it is clear that each chest was made for the bones of a specific person, it is uncertain whether this is reflected in the image’.³⁰² In view of the large percentage of chests with female images it is a reasonable assumption. However, her rationale becomes obvious in her predisposition towards the significance of Hinenuitepo as responsible for ‘the death of mankind’.³⁰³ Nevertheless, she relates this cosmological relationship to only four of the waka koiwi. Of those in which the exposed vulva is prominent she suggests that ‘It is unlikely that all 20 female images depict divine ancestors; few Maori people claim a woman as their founder’. However, tribal genealogy is the product of a union of both male and female entities. This procreative process was variably conceived as a union of light

³⁰⁰ This is a carving of a waka koiwi from North Auckland dated around the late 18th century because of ‘the realism of the birth scene, the elaboration of decoration and the shell eyes’. In the late 19th century Tene Waitere from Te Arawa carved a representation of Maui entering the vagina of Hinenuitepo. Fox, A. (1983). *Carved Maori Burial Chests: A commentary and Catalogue*. Bulletin 13. Auckland Institute and Museum. pp. 44-5. Plate 57, 58.

³⁰¹ ‘A surprisingly high proportion of the images are female; out of the 34 complete examples in which the sex could be shown, 20 are female, 6 are male and 9, are designated as having no sex...’ Fox, A. (1983). *Carved Maori Burial Chests: A commentary and Catalogue*. Bulletin 13. Auckland Institute and Museum. p. 21.

³⁰² Fox. (1983). p. 20.

³⁰³ Fox. (1983). p. 21.

and darkness, as a union of moisture and warmth, as a conjoining of earth and sky or as the union between a deified male principle and a phenomenological female entity. Fox's underestimation of the role of women is evident in her endorsement of Johansen's view; 'In ordinary life women were noa, relegated to second place and to tasks such as food preparation which were tapu for males'.³⁰⁴ Tribal society was not as definitively stratified by gender or as inflexible as Johansen implies. Slaves for example were of both sexes therefore males whose mana had been rendered inconsequential in captivity were correspondingly rendered bereft of tapu and were often relegated to menial duties such as cooking. Male slaves were often reinvested with symbolic tapu as carvers or tattoo specialists on returning home. Furthermore, women often entered aristocratic lines as wives. What is significant in the prominence given to female gender is the inevitability of death. But there is a simultaneous postulation regarding the sanctity of life through the emphatic promotion of the female generative essence on the one hand and the male procreative potential in sexually explicit male figures on the other. Viewed from this perspective it is appropriate that female gender is prominent on northern papahou (treasure boxes) and waka koiwi.



Figure 8. Papahou, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Pitt Rivers (22(H)).³⁰⁵

The female is the portal of entry to and from the world of humankind. This notion is explicitly captured in a papahou (treasure box) in the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford (Figure 8). In addition, it captures the bipolar attributes of Hinetitama as the dawn maiden and her alter ego as Hinenuitepo as guardian of Te Po. In this example, a common vagina unites the pair. The two spiral patterns within the vagina may be interpreted as denoting ira atua and ira tangata, the co-requisites of human existence within 19th century tribal literature. There was a simultaneous reflection of the function of Hineahuone as the consummation of ira tangata, the essence of human existence and Hinenuitepo when ira tangata is subsumed by ira atua in death. Hinetitama was both daughter and wife of Tane, and both maiden of light and of the night in her role as the goddess of Te Po, the realm of deity and the after life. In keeping with this dichotomous denotative function, the papahou also represents the dual associations assigned to female genitalia as te whare o aitua (house of misfortune) and te whare tangata (house of humankind).

³⁰⁴ Johansen, J. P. (1954). *The Maori and his Religion in its non-ritualistic aspects*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard. p. 214.

³⁰⁵ The author was able to study this papahou first hand in January 2006. It was discovered that the paua eye inlays were added after the papahou was collected. This conclusion is supported by the incorrect placement of an inlay in an area where the hand is located rather than the eye of one of the peripheral manaia.



Figure 9. *Waka koiwi.* Auckland Museum(5660, 2657).³⁰⁶

A waka koiwi (*Figure 9 left*) from Waiomio in the Auckland Museum shows a smaller squatting figure below the open vulva of the larger figure. The lower limbs of the major figure have been extended and re-articulated to frame the minor figure. This deliberate disregard for perceptual logic presents an interesting conceptual re-framing of the anatomy to suggest action. Fox suggests that

‘The duplication of the upper part of the legs in the Waiomio chest is an interesting example of ‘illusionism’; at first glance it is not noticeable that there are two, and the fact does not detract from the unity of the figure. The artist apparently wished to stress the importance of the legs by carving the lower pair in the round. This supports the connection with one version of the myth in which Maui was crushed between the thighs of Hine-Nui-Te-Po when she was wakened by the laughter of the watching birds’.³⁰⁷

Fox maintains that the dislocated limbs of the major figure might emphasize the crushing power of Hinenuitepo. While plausible the compositional correspondence between primary and subsidiary is unexplored by Fox. The stance of the subsidiary figure mirrors that of the larger with left hand on thigh and the right hand on body. This duplicated pose is also found on another waka koiwi that features male tiki (*Figure 9 right*). The relationship between the primary and subsidiary tiki is made intimate through the interconnection of ure (penis) of subsidiary tiki and the pito (belly button) of the primary tiki. In this case, genealogical continuity is sustained through correspondence and connection. It is probable that genealogical continuity may be intended in the Waiomio waka koiwi. This additional denotation suggests that tribal imagery operates at a number of interpretive levels. As indicated previously, these images sustain notions of genealogical interconnectedness uniting the living with the dead. These images also promote continuity of mana in which ancestral images as tiki are an important manifestation of genealogical interconnectedness.

³⁰⁶ Fox, A. (1983). *Carved Maori Burial Chests: A commentary and Catalogue.* Bulletin 13. Auckland Institute and Museum. Pl. 27, 48.

³⁰⁷ Fox, A. (1983). *Carved Maori Burial Chests: A commentary and Catalogue.* Bulletin 13. Auckland Institute and Museum. p. 33.



Figure 10. Pare. Unknown whare nui, Wanganui Museum (1933.49.172).



Figure 11. Paepae. Unknown pataka. Auckland Museum (6087).

As a corollary to the Waiomio waka koiwi a similar composition is found on the Newman pare from Hauraki (*Figure 10*) in the collection of the Wanganui Museum.³⁰⁸ According to Simmons, ‘The lintel depicts two things – the birth of the first child of Rangi and Papa and Maui’s attempt to conquer death’.³⁰⁹ The latter view finds accord with Fox’s interpretation of the Waiomio waka koiwi. Like the waka koiwi (*Figure 9 left*) the central figure (*Figure 10*) in the pare composition adopts a similar stance with one hand placed on the torso and one hand placed on the thigh. However, the subsidiary figure beneath the vulva area is placed in closer contact with its enlarged hands grasping the inward facing feet of the primary tiki while its legs are raised and obscured by the feet. The position assumed by the subsidiary tiki suggests either a struggle to part the limbs in an attempt to escape from crushing limbs or a struggle to enter the vulva of the primary tiki. The correspondence between these two compositions separated in space and time appears to suggest a relationship that is more than coincidental.³¹⁰

A third image configured in a similar manner to the Waiomio waka koiwi and Hauraki pare appears in a Te Ati Awa paepae pataka (*Figure 11*) from Taranaki in the Auckland War Memorial Museum.³¹¹

Instead of the hand resting placidly on the torso the left arm of the central figure encircles the left leg before the hand returns to rest on the abdomen while the right hand rests on the right thigh. The position adopted appears to be one of parturition. Instead of a subsidiary figure placed below the vulva, an inverted facial mask appears in the pubic region. The mouth of the facial mask is distorted to create an explicit association between

³⁰⁸ Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 73, fig. 46.

³⁰⁹ Simmons. (1985). p. 73.

³¹⁰ According to Simmons, the pare is a ‘stone tool carving from the eighteenth century’. Simmons. (1985). p. 73,

³¹¹ Simmons. (1985). p. 35, fig. 26.

mouth and vagina as an ambiguous allusion to entry and transition.³¹² According to Hirini Moko Mead this articulation of vagina and mouth is ‘a Te Ati Awa artist’s interpretation of Maui about to enter Hinenuitepo’.³¹³ In contrast, Simmons interprets this central figure with reversed mask on the vulva as a representation of ‘matua kore, the parentless creation’.³¹⁴ Despite the variable interpretations the common factor that unites this series of images is the generative and degenerative power of the female genitalia relative to the states of existence of humankind. Both Hirini Moko Mead and Simmons overlook the critical importance of female gender of the terminal manaia in their interpretations of pare and paepae carvings. The prominence given to female gender at the terminal point of these structures is probably a more significant endorsement of the heightened spiritual function played by women in Maori society than the central figure.



Figure 12. Pare. Unknown whare nui. Wanganui Museum (1933.49.172).



Figure 13. Pare. Unknown Whare nui, Auckland Museum (6189).

A survey of pare and paepae pataka in museum collections demonstrates that the terminal manaia figures are more often female than male in those carvings where the gender is explicit.³¹⁵ In the Newman pare (*Figure 10*) the left-hand manaia is female while the right-hand manaia appears to be male.³¹⁶ The order is reversed on the Patetonga pare (*Figure 13*) in the Auckland War Memorial Museum. However, the figure that opposes the female mania is asexual rather than male.

According to Newman, the Maui lintel (*Figure 10*) records the story of the conflict between Maui and Hinenuitepo.³¹⁷ This interpretation is reasonable given the relationship

³¹² See also the earlier discussion on this notion in Chapter Four.

³¹³ Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. p. 58.

³¹⁴ Simmons. (1985). p. 35,

³¹⁵ The author has only found a single male manaia image and one asexual image compared with female images amongst the 200 pare surveyed. In both cases the lintels are from Hauraki.

³¹⁶ This pare has sustained some damage to the right side where the ‘male’ manaia is located. The horizontal protrusion in the pubic region could be viewed as the remnant of a damaged vagina.

³¹⁷ Phillipps, W. J. (1955). *Carved Maori houses of Western and Northern Areas of New Zealand*. Wellington: Government Printer. p. 241.

between the central female tiki and the secondary tiki placed between the legs. Further, the lintel shows that the interstitial tiki also contribute to this interpretation. Although the poses of the tiki contribute to the total symmetrical balance various details disrupt the apparent equilibrium within the composition. The eyes of the right-hand tiki are closed whereas those of the left are open. The tongue of the right tiki is recessed while that of the left protrudes to lap the right side of the mouth. The thighs of the opposing tiki are patterned and plain. Taken together these details suggest a change in state from unconsciousness to consciousness or a transition from Te Po to Te Ao-marama. This state of disruption or disjunction is further reinforced by a dramatic asymmetrical shift in the pattern on the baseboard between the central tiki and interstitial tiki. It is apparent that the carver is creating a deliberate accentuation of conscious activity on the left side of the lintel. The question that arises is why is the left side emphasised in this manner and why is the activity emphasised on the side of the male manaia rather than the female?

Simmons's proposition that terminal manaia represent 'ira atua and ira tangata, the life force of gods and men' offers the most plausible interpretation.³¹⁸ However, the latter notion of ira atua and ira tangata is particular to the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* cosmogenealogical narratives. Despite the regional specificity of this notion it is valuable because it systemises gender roles in tribal society and the association of woman with the secular context of the earth and men with the spiritual realm of deity. Mortal humans are conceived as inheriting the secular and transitory life essence, the ira tangata through Hineahuone the earth formed woman. The underlying principle is the correlation between the male generative essence of deity on the one hand and the female generative essence on the other. The philosophical rationale behind this correlation is grounded in the notion that there is an inherent division between the material and spiritual world and it is through the male connection that intercommunication is made possible between the realms. Construed in this manner all things have a spiritual and material dimension that is held in equilibrium in life through ritualized negotiation with tutelary deity. In death the balance is disrupted and the significant male principle transcends that of the female in its transcendental union with the deity.

There is another possible interpretation that is also cosmologically grounded. In this scenario, the male manaia may symbolise ira atua, the spiritual dimension invested in humankind through Tane as the male deity most often assigned the role of progenitor of humankind. In the prior narratives, the ira tangata principle is associated with Kurawaka and the emergence of Hineahuone. In a similar manner, the opened and closed eyes are aligned with the respective roles of Tane in his progenitor role and the deity responsible for bringing light into the world after affecting the separation of the primal parents, and Hinenuitepo as the deity of the after world, Te Po.

Women as the determinants of existence are emphatically emphasised in the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* in which the role of the female is heightened by her absence from the

³¹⁸ Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 45.

pantheon of seventy gods who emerged as the principle children of Rangi and Papa. Hence, the female essence is exaggerated in its significance for not one god alone is responsible for the creation of the female human counterpart to deity but several, including Io matua kore, Io the parentless. In an extremely logical construction of a tribal world view women are grounded in the earth, in Papatuanuku, not only through the location of the critical female essence, te uha, within the pubic region of the earth mother but through the proliferation of female gender associations within the material world.

Beyond the interrelationships of form in the examples above, surface pattern features as a significant determinant in cosmo-genealogical denotation. In most tribal regions, surface pattern was used to isolate the various components of a carved panel through contrast between different patterned areas, or between patterned and plain areas, or to differentiate parts of the figurative form. That is, pattern was employed to create a sense of separation of figure from figure or figure from ground. In simple terms, in relief carving pattern was used to differentiate between the foreground plane that often encompassed figurative form and the background plane that may or may not include secondary figurative forms and/or pattern. In some carving traditions, the process of distinguishing foreground and background was achieved through the treatment of the background as a plain area upon which patterned figures were placed. This convention was evident in 19th century Ngati Porou poupou carvings like those in Porourangi (1888) at Waiomatatini and carved panels attributed to Ngati Whatua.³¹⁹

At the opposite end of the scale there are also those carving traditions whose treatment of surface pattern performs a two-fold function of integrating foreground with background; disguising sexual explicitness and denoting the interdependency of the material and spiritual realms. This integrative technique is evident in the Northern papahou around the early part of the 19th century. The pattern that defines the tiki is often continued into the background, uniting foreground and background, tiki and background plane. The effect achieved is one of interconnectedness where tiki or manaia appear to emerge from and retreat into the background. As a consequence, the form to which the principle of interconnectedness is applied is sometimes distorted anatomically. In light of the tribal narratives of cosmo-genealogical interconnectedness, and transition between realms, it seems plausible to suggest that the carver's aim is, not only to emphasise the inseparability of the material and spiritual realms, but also to suggest a state of transition between the realms of existence, Te Po and Te Ao Marama. This approach to pattern application appears to confound the integrity of figure and ground in contradiction of Neich's contention that '[a] clear outline separated the figure from its ground, leaving it isolated

³¹⁹ A Ngati Whatua panel from Otakanini Pa near Helensville variously described as a foodstore panel by Hirini Moko Mead and a whakawae from a house by Simmons. Simmons elaborates on the history of the house assigning it to Te Rangitaumarewa and naming Te Ure of Kawarau as the carver 'who lived about 1650'. See Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. p. 37. Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 54. The use of a plain background is also apparent on the majority of 19th century Northern papahou.

without any spatial depth relationships'.³²⁰ Neich is speaking of 'spatial depth relationship' in a perspectival sense associated with Western relief sculpture. However, in the three examples that follow there is conscious integration of figure and ground to articulate a tribal conception of space that accords with a 19th century worldview of the co-relationship between the material and spiritual worlds.



Figure 14. Papahou. Collection of Rev. R. E. Marsden, Pendeen, Cornwall.³²¹

In attempting to unravel the complexity of a papahou (*Figure 14*) formerly owned by Reverend Samuel Marsden, Archey suggests that

'...naturalism is almost altogether absorbed within the dominating curves and loops and spirals of body members, yet we can see the vulva and some female here, and elsewhere the clawed curves of a hand or foot, also less dimly, two opposite-facing heads or masks. More clearly fashioned are the open-work end manaia, each with arm and hand and a problematic body, or a leg to which the smaller of the two outer faces may possibly belong'.³²²

What is demonstrated in the Marsden papahou (*Figure 14*), together with a related example from the Pitt Rivers Museum (*Figure 15*) and another from the Philadelphia University Museum (*Figure 16*) is the conscious integration of figure and ground. This is achieved by carrying the pattern from background over the figure and back into the background. This technique generates an impression of transparency as torsos and limbs emerge from, and are submerged beneath the confluence of pattern initiated in the background. This integration of figure and ground is further complicated by a stylistic convention of intertwining limbs, manaia interaction and metamorphosis in the Marsden and Pitt Rivers papahou. Nevertheless, an awareness of the northern stylistic conventions relative to pattern and form allows for the deciphering of form and ground with clarity and precision. The end result reveals two tiki whose left legs encircle the arms of the flanking manaia in the Marsden papahou while the Pitt Rivers papahou comprises two manaia who share a common vagina and whose necks are encircled by the hand and foot of bodiless terminal manaia.

³²⁰ Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 41.

³²¹ Papahou 'formerly owned by the Revd. Samuel Marsden; now owned by the Revd. R. E. Marsden, Pendeen, Cornwall'. Archey, G. (1977). *Whaowhia Maori art and its artists*. Auckland: Collins. p. 70.

³²² Archey, G. (1977). *Whaowhia Maori art and its artists*. Auckland: Collins. p. 70.



Figure 15. *Papahou, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Pitt Rivers Museum (22 (H)).*³²³

In the Marsden (*Figure 14*) and Pitt Rivers papahou (*Figure 15*) the carvers use unaunahi to define fingers, feet, vagina, lips and mouth with pakura defining eyebrows and lip of one tiki and the eyebrows of the manaia as well as the lips of the smaller manaia. In keeping with the northern style fingers perform a dual role of indicating a finger and upper lip simultaneously in the Marsden papahou.³²⁴ Kirikiore is used in both papahou to envelop the tiki and manaia forms.³²⁵ However, the carver has astutely placed the sweeping curves of the pattern at the contour of the anatomy to locate limbs and torsos. There is a higher degree of figurative integrity in the Pitt Rivers example because of the elevated relief in the carving of bodies and limbs compared with the Marsden example with its shallower relief generating more ambiguous figure to ground interaction. As a consequence, the articulation of torsos and limbs in the Marsden papahou are excessively distorted with submersion and integration of parts of the anatomy in the background.

³²³ Papahou in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. While the Marsden papahou shows two flanking manaia with tongues translated as secondary manaia, the Pitt rivers example features two manaia with interlocking mouths as the terminal composition at the side of the box. This tactic appears to create an element of ambiguity when attempting to relate the heads to the bodies of the manaia. However, the carver uses the unaunahi pattern to locate the hand and foot of the secondary manaia at the curve of the neck.

³²⁴ According to historian Jock McEwan ' "Unaunahi" or fish scales, is the Arawa name for this pattern, and ritorito, the young shoots of a flax plant, is the Wanganui name'. McEwan, J. M. (1966). 'Maori Art'. In A. H. McLintock (Ed.). *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. 3 Vols. Wellington: Government Printer.

Dr Pakariki Harrison, a well-known carver from Ngati Porou, sees these patterns as diametrically different in structure and meaning. 'The practice of using fish to describe these [unaunahi] patterns stems from the myth of Rua and the wrestling of the art of carving from the realm of Tangaroa. The figurative name for such patterns is "Te ika a Tangaroa" ... while ritorito alludes to the growth of flax. The ritorito pattern is derived from the center shoot of the flax, which is the figurative expression for youth. In metaphor, the pa harakeke is the tribal group while the center shoots are its youth. The symbol is also used to describe priesthood, maidenhood, and noble birth'. University of Auckland. (1986). *Tanenuiarangi*. Auckland: University of Auckland. pp. 20-1.

³²⁵ The kiri kiore pattern, which combines elements of the unaunahi and raperape spiral, bears a structural kinship with the pakura pattern. What distinguishes the patterns is the configuration of the crescent and spiral permutations. While the pakura is most often organized in a continuous frieze, the kiri kiore pattern is composed as an expansive pattern that interweaves in on itself to create a rolling configuration of spirals.



Fig 16. Papahou. The University Museum of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. University Museum of Pennsylvania (P.2241).³²⁶



Figure 17. Papahou details. Collection of Revd. R. E. Marsden, Pendeen, Cornwall.

The Philadelphia Museum papahou (*Figure 16*) represents a further North Auckland example of pattern integration of figure and ground in which the background kirikiore envelops the limbs of the central tiki. In spite of this pattern integration various parts of the body can be deciphered through the switch from unaunahi and kirikiore that is applied to figures and background respectively. The kirikiore constitutes the background pattern sweeping laterally across the base of the papahou between the flanking manaia. In contrast the kirikiore carved on the torsos of the tiki sweep vertically following the body axis or the upward curve of a leg to create a contrast with the horizontal orientation of the background kirikiore. The background kirikiore sweeps over the buttock and thigh of the left-hand tiki integrating buttock and thigh with background plane. In contrast, the opposite buttock and leg can be isolated from the background through the contrasting vertical sweep of the kirikiore contrasting with the lateral orientation of the background pattern. Although this area can be isolated through contrasting pattern orientation the spiral located at the buttock area while initiating the contrasting vertical sweep is continued into the background uniting the two areas. The only other area subject to background integration occurs at the figure's right arm where the background pattern sweeps over the upper arm and shoulder.

The left arm and lower limbs are engulfed in the lateral sweep of the background pattern in the case of the right hand tiki. While the left hand tiki is female the right hand figure is non-gender specific with a manaia head located at the pubic region. In both instances unaunahi is used to isolate the pubic area.

³²⁶ Papahou purchased from W. O. Oldman in 1911. Archey, G. (1977). *Whaowhia Maori art and its artists*. Auckland: Collins. p. 79.

In each of the papahou discussed the integration of figure and ground can be related to a 19th century worldview that prioritised an intimate and inseparable interconnection between the spiritual and material realm.

In the Marsden papahou (*Figure 14 and 17*) the tiki are configured in a symmetrical system of slide reflection. In spite of this, the position of the hands and feet disrupt the equilibrium of the symmetrical system. The hands of tiki on the left interact with its mouth with lower fingers integrated with the bottom lip with one finger entering the mouth (*Figure 17 centre*). In the opposing tiki (*Figure 17 right*) one hand interacts with mouth while the fingers of other hands sweep across the forehead and frames the eye of its companion. In a similar manner to the 'veranda poupou' discussed previously, the hands interact with those parts of the face that are culturally significant. In the left tiki (*Figure 17 centre*), the interaction of hands is self-contained. In the opposing tiki (*Figure 17 right*) there is transition across personal space into the other that may be interpreted as transition or transgression from one female to another. It is possible that this papahou composition, like the Pitt Rivers (*Figure 15*), alludes to the dual function of Hinetitama as the Dawn maiden born conceived in Te Ao Marama and forced to reside in Te Po as Hinenuitepo. But which one represents these two manifestations of Hine? The answer is probably located in the interaction of the middle toe of the tiki on the left (*Figure 17 left*), which is elongated and penetrates the vulva for it was the ure of Hine penetrated by Tanematua that would also be responsible for the death of Maui.

Whakawhiti korero: a summation

In *He tataitanga tiki* the sacrosanct nature of the human body was contextualised. It was proposed that the prominence given to the head was because the head was conceived as the point of contact between the material and spiritual realms; it was the vehicle of communication with deity. It was noted that this convention was not part of the northern waka koiwi tradition. It was suggested that these koiwi purveyed the propensity towards continuity and a celebration of death, not as a terminal state of disjunction, but as a reminder of the intimate relationship between life and death, between the human and spiritual inter-dimensional continuum. This relationship was endorsed through the emphatic statements of sexual prominence and inter-relational juxtapositions of primary and secondary figures that promote themes of continuity rather than termination. The prominence given to female gender in waka koiwi and architectural structures is related to the role of women as whare tangata and whare o aitua in cosmo-genealogy. There was also a consideration of the taowaru to establish a context for the consideration of the central motif in the 'veranda poupou' associated with Te Tairuku Potaka.

In *Te Tataitanga manaia*, the manaia was shown to be an interactive principle and not mere embellishment. The manaia as an interactive principle operated to connect background and foreground in which manaia and tiki were in communion both aesthetically and connotatively. This communion rises to the level of inter-realm interface in the

sequence of manaia transformations that constitute the central motif where parts of the anatomy were conjoined articulating notions of procreation and prioritising significant tribal cultural notions such as ahua, hau and tapu. The interaction is also about communion between humankind and deity, and the living and the dead. Through a transformative process the lizard charges the tiki images with generative and degenerative potential. Therefore, the central manaia transformations, interaction between the mouth of the manaia and tiki, and inter-planar interaction can be interpreted as inter-realm interface that was a prevalent theme in 19th century 'texts'.

In *Te Tataitanga ira atua* it was proposed that notions of evolutionary transformation are evident in the metamorphosis of manaia and tiki where the manaia as lizard connotes an intermediary spiritual entity between the realms of Te Po and Te Ao Marama. In the secondary relief layer the manaia were more definitively isolated and contribute to a scheme of progressive ascendancy. The contrast in symmetry and asymmetry evident in the composition of tiki and manaia respectively promote notions of disruption and resolution as connotations of primal struggle in the establishment of a primal order. Out of the primal darkness ira atua was manifested as a counterpoint to ira atua as sustenance for humankind's existence in Te Ao Marama.

In the section *Te Tataitanga wairua* the idea of resolution and balance was prominent. Like the prior panels the manaia may be viewed as an interactive visual device. The series of tiki transformations were restricted to the lower figure where pattern and form together generated an analogous relationship between the ngarara as lizard and nga rara o te tinana (the ribs of the body).³²⁷ There is also an allusion to deity assigned to the underworld, not in terms of Te Po as geographically below, but in terms of mana atua in which deity are assigned to specific realms in the establishment of a primal order. In this context, ira atua and ira tangata are implicated in the interpretation through inversion and opposition that constitutes a critical compositional strategy in secondary relief plane of manaia.

A state of equilibrium is evident in the composition of the central tiki, a convention shared by door lintels featuring tiki with upraised hands. The symmetrical balance accorded to both tiki and secondary level manaia, in contrast with the upper and lower tiki and manaia, reinforces a state of equilibrium. Taken together the composition of tiki and manaia endorse genealogical connection.

In *Whakaahua tiki* the range of examples were expanded to include waka koiwi (bone chest), papahou (treasure box), pare (door lintel) and paepae pataka (storehouse threshold panel). Again cosmo-genealogical notions are enunciated relative to tiki, tiki and manaia or manaia compositions in which pattern and form conjoin to articulate a cosmological charter.

In an exceptional example of the birth process, a waka koiwi was analysed relative to Fox's interpretation. It was proposed that Fox's reticence to extend her cosmo-genealogical interpretation beyond the four waka koiwi featuring females (there were

³²⁷ In some cosmo-genealogical narratives the rib of the first human is used to create another human.

twenty) was due to the application of a limited cosmo-genealogical charter.

Another waka koiwi was used by Fox to reference the Maui narrative where the attempt to gain immortality for humankind was thwarted by the goddess of the underworld. In an extension of Fox's reading it was argued that genealogical continuity was engendered through duplication and correspondence between primary and subsidiary tiki.

In a lintel from Hauraki the interaction between the central tiki corresponds to the waka koiwi composition above suggesting a similar interpretation.

In a paepae pataka from Taranaki the interrelationship between primary and subsidiary figures is transformed into an inverted tiki face in the pubic region. In this instance, an allusion to entry and transition, and the generative and degenerative power of the female is intended despite the variable contemporary interpretations offered by Hirini Moko Mead and Simmons. The latter reading is substantiated by terminal manaia in which female gender is prominent. A disruption in the compositional equilibrium on each side of the pare promotes the notion of transition in state from unconsciousness to consciousness, from darkness to light. In the juxtaposition of male and female terminal manaia the principles of ira atua and ira tangata are applicable.

Papohou were analysed to exemplify the principle of whare tangata and whare aitua assigned to women within the context of cosmo-genesis in which ira tangata appears as a contingent principle alongside ira atua for human existence.

In these examples of the notion of positionality, contextualised according to principles of scale (primary and subsidiary figurative form) and lateral placement (left and right) of tiki relative to tiki, tiki relative to manaia, and manaia relative manaia, cosmo-genealogical imperatives are pervasive in a 19th century tribal worldview where gender, and material and spiritual interdependency are critical determinants in the human condition.

A return to the question that underlies the thesis is in order at this point. How do form, content and genealogy contribute to art that resonates with Maori? In view of the 19th century tribal context in which the carvings were located it can be assumed that the carvers had a tribal genealogy. The form conforms to 19th century models and the carvings promote a *tataitanga korero* (content) that is distinctly tribal and relative to the period in which they were produced.

This is important within the context of the thesis as a whole because the intersecting elements of form, content and genealogy will find a similar resolution in the Taharora Project. The critical difference is that trans-cultural interlocution is more prominent in the Taharora Project. Apart from the concession to mimetic representation of birth in a northern waka koiwi, which offers an example of trans-cultural representation, the total corpus of carvings reviewed maintain a customary relationship with prior models. In this respect, there is no problem in terms of the content, form and genealogy contributing to tribal carving that resonates with Maori.

Chapter Six

Te Tataitanga whare

Setting the house in order

In this chapter the significance of *tataitanga* for arranging and ordering is extended to capture the genealogical sense of *tataitanga* not only as a line of ancestry but especially as a line of continuity. It represents a continuum in which one form of artistic expression gives rise to another and customary models are perpetuated or amended in trans-cultural interlocutions. As Robyn Kahukiwa has commented

‘I have been told that figurative painting is not part of Maori culture. Some feel I’m breaking away. I’m not. Cliff Whiting and Para Matchitt pioneered the contemporary movement 30 years ago. My artistic training has been influenced by the West. And anyway, art has to change to develop. If it’s left the way it is, it will die. There’s still a place for traditional art in the meeting house for example, but to say things about Maori now, I’ve got to use today’s medium. It’s a perfectly viable thing to do’.³²⁸

While there have been attempts to eradicate the trans-cultural interlocution as impure or foreign it is part of the reality of cultures in conjunction.³²⁹ For much of the 20th century there remained two poles of artistic expression within the context of the marae environment – customary and non-customary. The incorporation of European inspired imagery from the 1870s through to the 1920s can be considered trans-cultural. The use of European images, techniques and tools resulted in forms that were non-customary within the context of the period. It was not until the 1970s that a distinctive trans-customary art form, fusing customary forms with modernism, became acceptable within the whare kai. This development will be examined in Chapter Eight.³³⁰ At this time, a number of the most ardent innovators of trans-cultural art practice promoted the marae as the rightful place for Maori art education.³³¹ This form of practice owes its manifestation to a

³²⁸ Brito, T. (1981). *Pacific Way*. Auckland: Air New Zealand. p. 13. Figurative painting within the marae context may be traced back to the 1840s with a form based on kowhaiwhai appearing on the rafters of Te Hau ki Turanga in the Poverty Bay region in 1843 with western inspired naturalistic form appearing in Tamatekapua at Ohinemutu in 1872 and Te Tokaanganui a Noho at Te Kuiti in 1873.

³²⁹ See Neich’s discussion on the imposed ‘veil of orthodoxy’ by Charles Nelson and Augustus Hamilton on the Rotorua carvers in the 19th century that led to the carving out of ‘European-style boots’. Neich, R. (2001). *Carved Histories Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Carving*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. pp. 204.

³³⁰ Para Matchitt and Cliff Whiting were involved in the painting of the dining room at Whangaparaoa in 1973 assisted by the local community. The invitation to complete this project and to paint the meeting house came during the inaugural meeting of a group of artists and writers who would form the Maori Artists and Writers Society. In 1975 Para Matchitt completed a mixed media mural Te Kaweketanga o Turongo raua ko Mahinarangi for the Kimiora dining room at Turangawaewae which involved the local community, visiting art advisors and some educational institutions.

³³¹ For Whiting the marae is the proper place for Maori arts and crafts today ‘On the marae the people gather and share their thoughts through speeches, haka and action songs, singing and art. There on the marae the significance of Maori art is made apparent. There a whole network of significance is sewn together by social relationships and art can make the ties manifest. This inter-relationship of art with the people was revived by Sir Apirana Ngata who revived and carried on earlier traditions. People had a yearning for an answer to their problems and his answer was the building and decoration of meeting houses. Today there are new yearnings and new needs. How can these needs be met?’

For Matchitt the marae are where the ‘action is; where it is happening; where people live. The only community that’s organised for this type of creative work at the moment is the marae. The school is

collusion of a modernist aesthetic and customary Maori tradition in which customary forms were simplified anatomically and customary patterns from the woven arts and painting were reconfigured two and three dimensionally using western media and techniques. The imprint of cultural form and pattern generated work that maintained a visual empathy with 19th century customary tribal carving, lattice work and painting rather than visual correspondence.

Change has always been part of tribal visual culture even in the 18th and 19th centuries as exemplified in the adaptation of the relationship between primary and subsidiary figure in the Pourewa Island poupou (1769) and the poupou in Porourangi whare nui (1888) at Waiomatatini where subsidiary figures migrate from between the legs to the upper body of emasculated ancestors. This chapter will demonstrate that there is an intimate relationship between the Rawheoro style of 1769 and the Tukaki (Whanau a Apanui) style of 1780 and Rukupō (Turanga) style of 1842 until naturalism as trans-cultural practice runs rampant in Te Mana o Turanga at Manutuke in 1882 and Rongomaianiwaniwa at Tikitiki c. 1890.³³²

Chapter Six is prefaced by a consideration of the continuum of customary art in which 19th century models constitute a point of reference for cultural relativity within the context of the marae environment.

In Chapter Two it was argued that whakapapa is important for the concept of *tataitanga* that pervades the thesis because carvers are linked through whakapapa across time and space. It was acknowledged that this study is not concerned with assessing the quality of a particular style or style as expression. Instead, it concentrates on form to access the configuration of features or traits that separate an individual carver from a group of carvers, or a group of carvers from another group. In the context of this chapter, form, in a stylistic sense, relates specifically to carved form and pattern, their composition and execution, not as expression, but as technique. Kubler's theory of art as formal sequence is acknowledged as pertinent. In Chapter Two, semiology was recognised as a valid method for stylistic analysis because its two-level hierarchy of a social langue (language) and individualised parole (speech) enabling individual variations in speech to be studied as part of a continuing but changing system. Semiology is also useful as a tool for classifying signifiers to the extent that it provides an axial system enabling a commutation test to be undertaken. It was proposed that whakapapa as a principle extended to terms in tribal carving allowing these forms to be tabulated to identify significant relationships in a commutation test. It was also conceded that the value of semiology relates to its premise that language does not reflect reality but constitutes reality within the cultural context of its derivation. An important tenet of semiology is that there is no universal objective way of perceiving or making sense of an objective, empiricist reality except through the codes

the other one where it could happen. I don't mind which way we start so long as we start!' Department of Education. (1978). *Art in Schools The New Zealand Experience*, Wellington: E. C. Keating. pp. 286, 296).

³³² Uawa is the original name for Tolaga Bay on the East Coast. The Iwirakau style is named after a Ngati Porou ancestor who visited the Rawheoro whare wananga (school of learning) with Tukaki of Te Whanau a Apanui from the East Cape. Turanga is the Maori name for Gisborne.

of one's culture. In this respect semiology is useful as a tool for classifying signifiers enabling axial relationships in a commutation test in which meaning is merely an index of the signifier. It was proposed that intrinsic insight, an accumulated artistic sensibility, offered a critical tool to complement stylistic analysis as formal sequence and semiology to gain an intimate understanding of tribal carving.

The section entitled *Te taitanga Pitau-a-Manaia* is a critique of Neich's proposition that the Te Pitau-a-Manaia does not have a head. A further aim is to justify intrinsic perception as a valid and critical perceptual tool for analysis of tribal carving and painting. In the process a tripartite convention for kowhaiwhai is proposed in which the manawa line is either explicit, implicit or absent, and Neich's significant pattern range of pitau, kape and combination of the two is extended to include the rauru (spiral). The critique also proffers 1842 rather than 1849 as the earliest date for the development of Te Pitau-a-Manaia, and presents a diagrammatic illustration that clearly demonstrates that Te Pitau-a-Manaia has a head.

In *Te taitanga taowaru*, the taowaru is reviewed within the context of tribal tradition and literary interpretations. The taowaru as carved relief is assessed in terms of its temporal application to canoes, storehouses and meeting houses and its variable interpretation as pattern and form. It is proposed that the taowaru is synonymous with the taratara a kae surface pattern in carving rather than the 'scraped spear motif' because the latter is composed of manaia linking significant parts of the anatomy. Similarly, a 20th century version that places the taowaru in the context of tiki with a total absence of manaia is viewed as implausible.

In the section on *Te taitanga taratara a kae*, the taratara a kae pattern is reviewed against relevant literary interpretations. It is proposed that the taratara a kai variant may be the result of a phonetic transcribing of kae as kai that subsequently led to a literal translation as peaks of food. A cosmo-genealogical rationale is proffered as more culturally appropriate. It is further proposed that the development of the taratara a kae is associated with the Rawheoro School of carving.

In *Te taitanga Pakake*, the whale motif as a canoe figurehead and storehouse bargeboard motif is considered as a trans-contextual denotative transfer from canoe to storehouse and as statement of mana whenua. This is followed by consideration of the limited corpus that constitutes the Rawheoro style and its continuity in the Turanga style where design traits and conventions are maintained.

In *Nga momo whakairo*, Simmons's classification of tribal carving into the 'serpentine' and 'square' styles is critiqued against other classificatory models. It is argued the Simmons system is one based on a western formalist tradition that overlooks culturally relevant nomenclature, architectural relativity and the cultural function of architectural structures. It is proposed that the change from the 'serpentine' to the 'square' style (Simmons's nomenclature) was the result of a cultural reassessment of architectural and sculptural processes in terms of the function of the storehouse and chief's house. It is

argued that the functionality of architectural members was translated conceptually from the pataka to the whare nui prioritising inside and outside relative to tribal deity.

In *Te tataitanga Rawheoro*, a corpus of carvings is contextualised against the Rawheoro style. It is proposed that the Rawheoro style introduces the essential visual vocabulary that will feature throughout the Bay of Plenty and East Coast regions.

In *Te tataitanga Maraenui*, Simmons's allocation of three storehouses to Te Whanau a Apanui, Ngati Porou and Rongowhakaata is critiqued. It is argued that there is a misplacement of two of the carvings because of stylistic anomalies. In spite of the anomalies, the corpus does present an intermediary stylistic development from the Rawheoro style into the Turanga style of the mid 19th century and the late 19th century Iwirakau style.³³³

As outlined in Chapter Two a *tataitanga whakairo* framework is appropriate for 'putting whakairo in order' because it en-frames stylistic analysis as formative sequence, semiology and intrinsic perception informed by experience as a practitioner in art. It is the contention of this chapter that 'finer distinctions and more fragmentation' can be achieved through intrinsic perception.³³⁴ Neich's analysis of the kowhaiwhai pattern Te Pitau-a-Manaia is critiqued as a justification for intrinsic perception. This critique is necessary because subsequent editions of Neich's publication of *Painted Histories* maintain his original contention that Te Pitau-a-Manaia does not have a head.

Te tataitanga o Te Pitau-a-Manaia: the Pitau-a-Manaia interpreted

The Ngati Porou master carver Pakariki Harrison, in his analysis of the visual qualities of the manaia, is adamant that one of the critical attributes of the manaia is the presence of an 'eye' or an 'eye space'.³³⁵ This statement is culturally significant in assuming an intimate association between the eye of the manaia and the head as a repository charged with psychic and spiritual power. This proposition finds support in the notion that the

³³³ Hirini Moko Mead distinguishes between the Rawheoro style and the Waiapu style of the Horouta art tradition. Simmons speaks of the East Coast style of the Ngati Porou while identifying the Iwirakau style within the context of the Rawheoro whare wananga at Uawa (Tolaga Bay). Ngarino Ellis identifies the Iwirakau style and the Tapere (Taperenui a Whatonga) styles as synonymous. Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. pp. 70-4, 80-5. Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. pp. 150-1. Ihimaera, W. and Ellis, N. (Eds). (2001). *Te Ata Maori Art from the East Coast*. New Zealand. Auckland: Reed. p. 37.

³³⁴ Expanding on Gotshalk's contention that 'the aesthetic experience is intrinsic perception' Neich proposes that '...since perception contains cognitive elements, the elaboration of intrinsic perception will engage the cognitive powers and will leave an imprint on thought. Thus intrinsic perception will widen a person's sensitivity and have later effects on his metaperceptual, 'practical' activity and his subsequent artistic activity'. I appropriate the term 'intrinsic perception' as the ability of a practicing artist to perceive patterns and form that might otherwise escape the attention of non-practitioners. Neich, R. (2001). *Carved Histories Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Carving*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. pp. 102, 261.

³³⁵ 'The manaia is the most widely used and developed decorative element in carving. It may be presented and contorted in innumerable ways, twisting and reversing in an infinite variety of forms filling an equally infinite variety of spaces. The eye, or eye space, is always present'. Although the publication Tanenuiarangi is copyrighted to the University of Auckland the text was written by the Ngati Porou master carver Pakariki Harrison who was responsible for the building and carving of the house Tanenuiarangi. University of Auckland. (1988). *Tane-nui-a-Rangi*, Auckland: University of Auckland. p. 19.

manaia 'also express the spiritual and tapu states of man'.³³⁶ Hence, for Pakariki Harrison, the manaia is perceived as a purveyor of tapu within the context of a tribal worldview.³³⁷

The interrelationship between eye and carved manaia is applicable in Neich's review of Te Pitau-a-Manaia because he argues that 'unlike carved manaia, the Pitau-a-Manaia never includes a head or face form'.³³⁸

In assessing the influence of Rev. William Williams on the carvers of the Poverty Bay region and the evolution of the carved manaia panels for the Manutuke church, Neich supports Dana's contention that

'The actual carvings produced under these conditions were purely decorative, without any human figures that would have represented ancestors...Instead, each panel was completely covered with a profusion of manaia figure designs that avoided any obvious representational reference'.³³⁹

This statement is contestable on two counts. In the first instance, the dismissal of the images as 'purely decorative' and devoid of any 'obvious representational reference' merely perpetuates an aesthetic currency that denies cultural signification of image beyond decoration. In the second instance, examination of the 'profusion of manaia' reveals that the carved panel from the Manutuke Church featuring manaia (*Figure 18*) consist of a procession of major manaia with hands, feet and bodies rendered as subsidiary manaia thereby intensifying the tapu nature of the manaia.

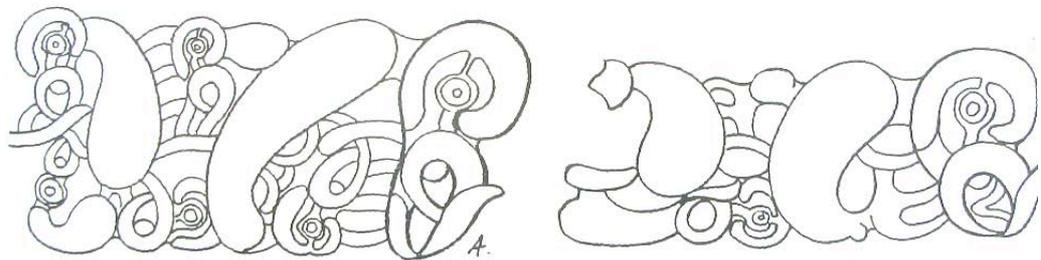


Figure 18. Manaia drawing. Rongowhakaata style. [i]

It is apparent that Neich has been misguided by the visual complexity and ambiguity of these idiosyncratic manaia. His interpretation of the painted and carved manaia from Poverty Bay region has been handicapped by an inadequate perceptual analysis.

The visual displacement of Te Pitau-a-Manaia images within Neich's publication '*Painted Histories*' demonstrates more succinctly than any textual statement his difficulty in deciphering the kowhaiwhai pattern Te Pitau-a-Manaia.³⁴⁰ In each case the manaia in the Te Pitau-a-Manaia rafters are inverted, that is, the manaia are literally lying on their backs. Vertical arrangement of the kowhaiwhai panels or an alignment of the patterns according to their orientation on the maihi of Te Poho o Rawiri would have overcome

³³⁶ University of Auckland. (1988). *Tane-nui-a-Rangi*, Auckland: University of Auckland. p. 19.

³³⁷ 'Tapu is being under spiritual restriction, beyond the limits of one's life force and psychic power. Anyone breaking a tapu was interfering with psychic forces too powerful for him, and was certain to be overcome by calamity. Objects, places, or actions became subject to tapu when they become highly charged with psychic or spiritual forces'. University of Auckland. (1988). p. 18.

³³⁸ Neich, R. (1986). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 86.

³³⁹ Neich. (1986). p. 85.

³⁴⁰ Te Pitau-a-Manaia patterns from the Manutuke church commenced in 1849. Neich. (1986). p. 50.

this problem.³⁴¹ It is tempting to dismiss this displacement as a publishing error but the 1995 reprint of *'Painted Histories'* retains this culturally inappropriate displacement. Aside from this visual faux par, an analysis of the manaia as form and representation will show that Neich's analysis of the Poverty Bay Te Pitau-a-Manaia lacks intrinsic perception.

In contesting Alan Hanson's classification of kowhaiwhai patterns according to symmetry operations, Neich is correct in aligning Te Pita-a-Manaia pattern illustrated in Hamilton's book on Maori art (*Figure 19*), with Hanson's 'correspondence symmetry' examples.³⁴² However, the kowhaiwhai designs from the Williams (1897) sample are incomplete patterns, that is, only a portion of the total design is illustrated. Consequently, Te Pitau-a-Manaia, which is based on the Te Poho o Rawiri maihi design in the National Museum of New Zealand in Wellington, shows a kowhaiwhai pattern in which the head and shoulder of the manaia are dislocated from subsidiary arm, torso and lower limb.

While the 1936 Te Pitau-a-Manaia pattern on the maihi of Te Hau ki Turanga (*Figure 20*) conforms to Hanson's symmetrical operation of slide reflection where the pattern and its mirror image alternate along the length of the maihi. The composition of Te Pitau-a-Manaia on the maihi of Te Poho o Rawiri (*Figure 21*) relies on a symmetrical system of slide translation for its periodic repetition.³⁴³ That is, an almost identical pattern is repeated along the length of the maihi. Therefore, since Te Pitau-a-Manaia is regulated by a system of 'repeating periodic translation' it cannot be aligned with patterns that are not controlled by this system. In this respect, Neich's suggestion that that Te Pitau-a-Manaia is 'better not regarded as not repeating periodic translation patterns' needs to be reassessed.³⁴⁴ Explicit in Neich's critique of Hanson's system of symmetry operations is the notion that Te Pitau-a-Manaia owes its origin to an alternative order of pattern development outside the design conventions relevant for patterns of the periodic repetition class. This critique has some merit in that the Poverty Bay kowhaiwhai have a number of asymmetrical (not periodic repeating or correspondence symmetry) patterns.

What is critical from an artist's perspective is that three conventions exist in kowhaiwhai design. The design convention in which the manawa line is explicit, that in which the manawa line is implicit and that in which it is absent. The manawa line in kowhaiwhai is viewed as a continuous unbroken line (rendered in negative or positive form) that constitutes the main structure for sub-structural pattern development.

³⁴¹ In the case of the maihi from Te Poho o Rawiri the orientation is dependent on the apex angle rather than the orientation of the pattern hence the orientation is conditioned by architectural context rather than pattern integrity. Neich, R. (1986). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. pp. 48, 87.

³⁴² Alan Hanson's notion of correspondence symmetry applies to rafter patterns in Te Hau ki Turanga in particular that would be classified as asymmetrical if each rafter were considered in isolation. Hence correspondence symmetry offers the possibility for bilateral reflection across space from one side of the house to the other. Neich on the other hand prefers to call such asymmetrical patterns as 'not repeating periodic translation patterns' and represent a development that is separate from 'periodic repeating patterns'. Neich. (1986). pp. 48.

³⁴³ Neich. (1986). pp. 48.

³⁴⁴ Neich. (1986). p. 48.

Metaphorically, the manawa line is heart pulse of the pattern that allows the eye to move from the top of the rafter to the bottom in a continuous movement. What is overlooked is the explicit or implicit nature of the manawa line. In essence, there are only three classes of pattern. Those where the manawa line is explicit as in many of the pitau dominant patterns and those where the manawa line may be implicit as in the kape or pitau/ kape combined patterns or absent in the figurative developments such as Te Pitau-a-Manaia and its derivatives in Te Poho o Rukupo at Manutuke.

In the case of Te Pitau-a-Manaia, and a limited number of asymmetrical (not periodic repeating or correspondence symmetry) patterns in Te Hau ki Turanga, there is no manawa line. As a corollary to identifying kowhaiwhai according to the presence or absence of a manawa line there is a further division of kowhaiwhai according to the dominant pattern motif which Neich, following Gordon Tovey, has identified as pitau, kape and a combination of pitau and kape.³⁴⁵ Although the latter constitute the major design elements for the majority of kowhaiwhai designs the rauru (spiral pattern) is not included in either Neich's or Tovey's pattern range.³⁴⁶ The 'rauru' is a critically important pattern in the design of the maui pattern in Porourangi whare nui (1888) on the East Coast. Its readability is complicated by the kape indentation. Nevertheless, the rauru spiral is related to the maui carved spiral from which it is derived. Hence, the interlocking spiral is significant, not only in its allusion to te matau a Maui (the fishhook of Maui), but signifies Maui's canoe that Ngati Porou tribal narratives situate on Mount Hikurangi. Consequently, in the context of the period it stands as a visual emblem for Ropata Wahawaha's vision of a unified tribal polity within the Tairawhiti. Therefore, the incorporation of the 'rauru' as a motif for the head of some of the manaia in the Manutuke Church is not only logical from a cultural perspective but also important as a statement, not only of mana tangata, but also mana atua within the context of spiritually charged building.

Te Pitau-a-Manaia relies on the simultaneous activation of two compositional strategies. The creation of fingers, toes and mouth through the negative/positive interaction of the pitau and kape, and the combination of pitau and kape pattern units as 'rauru' to articulate head, shoulder, arms, body, hip and leg.

Neich's suggestion that Te Pitau-a-Manaia from the Williams (1897) sample (*Figure 19*) and those on the gable boards of Te Hau ki Turanga (*Figure 20*) were copied from the maihi of Te Poho o Rawiri (*Figure 21*) in 1936 requires clarification. Te Pitau-a-Manaia

³⁴⁵ Neich adopted Gordon Tovey's division of customary kowhaiwhai into three groups: kape, pitau, combination of kape and pitau. For Neich these divisions are relevant solely for curvilinear designs. It should be noted that Neich does not consider the spiral motif (rauru) as part of the curvilinear design vocabulary for kowhaiwhai. This is no doubt due to its irregular appearance that is conditioned by the compositional vagaries of regional kowhaiwhai patterns. Neich, R. (1986). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. pp. 41-5.

³⁴⁶ I have used the term *rauru* to describe the spiral pattern because it is used as a generic term for spiral types in carving like *pikorauru* or *piko o rauru* and *rauru*. The *painting* rauru should not be confused with its wood carving counterpart that describes a composite spiral composed of *haehae* ridges and *pakati* notches of the *rauponga* class.

of the Te Hau ki Turanga maihi (*Figure 20*) reveals a reasonable degree of design correspondence at the gable end (right), that is, the head and forearm. However, the rear portion of the design incorporating subsidiary hand, torso and leg has been inverted. As a result, it is not identical with the Te Poho o Rawiri maihi pattern.

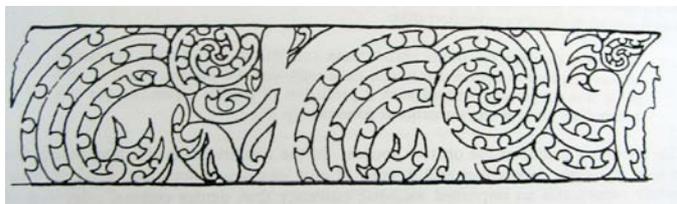


Figure 19. Maihi pattern. Natanahira Te Keteiwi for Rev William Williams.

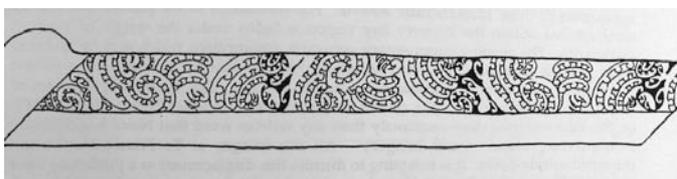


Figure 20. Maihi. Te Hau ki Turanga, National Museum (ME 15746).



Figure 21. Maihi. Te Poho o Rawiri. National Museum (C.69).

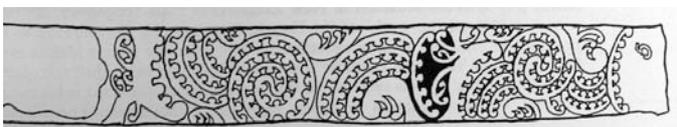


Figure 22. Heke. Te Hau ki Turanga, National Museum (ME15746).

Neich's claim that the 'design of Te Pitau-a-Manaia painted on Te Poho-o-Rawiri by Natanahira Te Keteiwi (MA 1) in 1849 is the earliest surviving evidence of the form taken by the first figurative experiments in kowhaiwhai' also requires clarification.³⁴⁷ The existence of a similar pattern among the extant rafters of Te Hau ki Turanga (*Figure 22*) completed in 1842 under the supervision of Raharuhi Rukupo refutes the 1849 date. This rafter contains all the figurative elements that Neich has identified as necessary graphic components for Te Pitau-a-Manaia including limbs and torso. With a minimal stretch of the imagination there is also a head present although it is not as obvious as the perceptually logical form on the maihi of Te Poho o Rawiri. Consequently, Neich's contention that 'the common use of the kowhaiwhai design of Te Pitau-a-Manaia on the rafters of this church [Manutuke] was related to, and perhaps stimulated by, the carvers' compromise choice of manaia figures' needs to be readdressed.³⁴⁸ There is no question that a relationship exists. However, in light of the existence of an 1842 version of Te Pitau-a-Manaia in Te Hau ki Turanga and its sophisticated resolution in 1849 on the maihi of Te Poho o Rawiri, it is plausible that the 'stimulation' might have been from kowhaiwhai to

³⁴⁷ See rafter numbered 5 on page 47. Neich, R. (1986). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. pp. 47, 48.

³⁴⁸ Neich. (1986). p. 85.

carving rather than vice versa. However, it must be emphasised the compositional format adopted in Te Pitau-a-manaia has a precedent on the rauawa (wash strake) of the waka taua (war canoe).

As a final reflection on the issue, Te Pitau-a-Manaia from the rafters of Te Hau ki Turanga, lies outside Hanson's system of slide reflection and falls within his 'correspondence symmetry' pattern system since there is no repetition of pattern along the rafter length.

In the foreword to *Painted Histories* Cliff Whiting supports Neich's proposition that

'...unlike carved manaia, the Pitau-a-Manaia never includes a head or face form' warning that the carvers 'did not fully understand the powers of this new substance. This explains why they left the head out of their new figurative compositions, as they were not prepared to commit the most important part of the ancestral being to the new medium'.³⁴⁹

Analysis of Te Pitau-a-Manaia patterns from the Manutuke church (*Figures 23,24*) and Te Poho o Rawiri (*Figure 21*) indicate that, not only is the head evident, but the head of the Te Poho o Rawiri pattern is intimately related to the idiosyncratic Poverty Bay style 'horned' manaia (*Figure 26*).



Figure 23. Heke. Manutuke Church. National Museum (C.68).

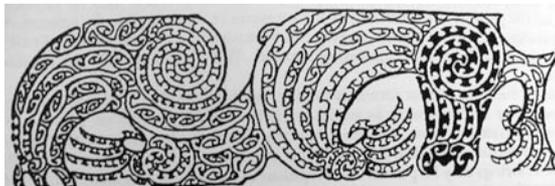


Figure 24. Heke. Manutuke Church. National Museum (C.70).



Figure 25. Kowhaiwhai. Natanahira Te Keteiwi for Rev William Williams.



Figure 26. Manaia drawing. Rongowhakaata style (ii).

The standard convention for patterns of the pitau class is one where the pattern is defined in white against a coloured ground while kape patterns are defined in colour on a

³⁴⁹ Neich, R. (1986). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. pp. vii, 86.

white ground. Pitau/kape combination patterns combine both of these conventions.³⁵⁰ In the pitau/kape combinations there can be optical tension in the reading of pattern depending on the prioritisation of white and coloured areas. This optical tension has resulted in writers like W. J. Phillipps recording the ngu (octopus, squid or cuttlefish) as a significant pattern within Poverty Bay by privileging the white pattern over the coloured within the pitau/kape combination patterns. In addition, a single pattern or form can be perceived in more than one way. In the 19th century Northern carving tradition artists would use the three-fingered hand to define fingers, eyebrow and lips simultaneously. In the case of the manaia in Te Pitau-a-Manaia, the artist uses the spiral for the shoulder and head simultaneously. It is this deliberate visual ambiguity employed by 19th century tribal painters that generates mixed perceptual responses and misinterpretation of pattern. The manaia must have 'eyes' since they 'represent the aura, charisma, prestige, mana, and hereditary power of the chiefs and their antecedents. They also express the spiritual and tapu states of man'.³⁵¹

Te Pitau-a-Manaia is a salient example of the visual richness and complexity evident in tribal painting of the 19th century and the benefit of intrinsic perception in the deciphering of pattern and form in tribal visual culture of the 19th century. However, intrinsic perception alone will not suffice as an analytical tool. Instead, it is through a matrix of intersecting analytical approaches that sense can be made of the more complex permutations of pattern and form in tribal visual culture.

Te tataitanga o te taowaru: the taowaru interpreted

The circumstances of an artist's cultural contribution are ameliorated by the contexts within which s/he works. Consequently, East Coast carvers and painters in the late 19th and early 20th century created work that emphasised a continuity of customary convention relative to the Iwirakau style until the advent of the School of Maori Arts and Crafts in 1927 when the Rukupo style eventually emerged as the preferred exemplar for tribal aesthetic excellence.³⁵² This aestheticism persisted into the 1980s when alternative exemplars emerged as a consequence of State funded schemes resulted in alternative sites for training carvers. Ironically, the 19th century Iwirakau style bears little resemblance to the 18th century Rawheoro style of the East Coast region exemplified in a carved panel from Pourewa Island of 1769 or the kuwaha (storehouse entrance) from Paringamouhoki carved in the mid to late 18th century.³⁵³ Instead, the 18th century Rawheoro style finds its most exemplary lineage in Te Hau ki Turanga carved by Raharuhi Rukupo of

³⁵⁰ The pitau can be coloured. In Tuwharetoa kowhaiwhai a red on white convention exists. This convention also exists in Tainui in the 19th century.

³⁵¹ University of Auckland. (1988). *Tane-nui-a-Rangi*, Auckland: University of Auckland. p. 19.

³⁵² The Iwirakau style is also known as the Tapere style after the Ngati Porou whare wananga Te Taperenui a Whatonga.

³⁵³ Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art. Auckland. N.Z.:* Oxford University Press. p. 77.

Rongowhakaata at Manutuke south of Gisborne.³⁵⁴ Since Riwai Pakerau is a carver in the Iwirakau style, it will be necessary, not only to determine the attributes of his style and those of some of its practitioners, but to also trace its evolution from the Te Rawheoro whare wananga at Uawa. It is also proposed that a *tataitanga whakairo* framework is appropriate for analysing the interrelationship between the Rawheoro, Tukaki and Rukupo styles of the 18th and 19th centuries, because it en-frames stylistic analysis as formative sequence, semiology and intrinsic perception.

The whare wananga (house of learning) called Te Rawheoro is mentioned in a lament written by Rangiua of Ngati Porou for his son Te Rangiwhaitiri discussed previously in Chapter Four and reiterated below to contextualise *te tataitanga o te taowaru*, the legacy of the taowaru:

Me ko Manutangirua, ko Hingangarua,
Ka tu tona Whare, Te Rawheoro, e;
Ka tipu te Whaihanga, e hika, ki Uawa.
Ka riro to whakautu, te Ngaio-tu-ki-Rarotonga,
Ka riro to manaia, ka riro te taowaru;

Who had Manutangirua, whose son was Hingangarua?
He it was who established the house, Te Rawheoro,
And arts and crafts flourished, my son, at Uawa,
There came in payment the Ngaio-tu-ki-Rarotonga,
And there went in exchange the Manaia and the Taowaru³⁵⁵

Around the 16th century Tukaki of Te Whanau a Apanui and Iwirakau of Ngati Porou attended the carving school of Hingangarua called Te Rawheoro.³⁵⁶ They took with them the famous cloak Te Ngaio Tu ki Rarotonga in exchange for the gift of carving from Hingangarua, the manaia and the taowaru. Hingangarua was a contemporary of Kahungunu and was married to his sister Iranui. According to Apirana Ngata there is a conflict between the East coast traditions and those of the North with the former placing Tamatea, the father of Kahungunu and his sons on the Takitimu canoe. In the Northern tradition Kahungunu is connected with Ngati Kahu in the Mongonui district. He eventually moved to Tauranga before migrating to the East Coast.

The manaia is self evident as a figurative form in tribal carving but the taowaru has been proffered by Hirini Moko Mead as the scraped spear motif running down the middle of the veranda poupou from the Te Kaha pataka assemblage in the Auckland Museum.³⁵⁷ However, Ngati Porou master carver Pakariki Harrison supports Apirana Ngata's view that the taowaru is the 'notched details so prominent' in the Te Kaha carvings, the distinctive raised notch called taratara a kae.³⁵⁸ The attribution of the taowaru to a specific feature in carving is problematical because Rangiua did not explain the nature of the

³⁵⁴ Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. pp. 70-3.

³⁵⁵ Rangiua's lament for his son Tuterangi Whaitiri as translated by Apirana Ngata, Ngata, A. (1958). *The origin of Maori Carving*. Te Ao Hou Vol 22: 35.

³⁵⁶ Ngata. (1958). p. 37.

³⁵⁷ Historian Jock McEwan and master carver Takarangi Smith support the view of Hirini Moko. The Te Kaha Pataka is also known as Te Tairuku Potaka. Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. p. 87.

³⁵⁸ University of Auckland. (1986). *Tanenuiarangi*. Auckland: University of Auckland. p. 21.

taowaru and the scraped spear motif is absent from the extant examples of the Rawheoro and the Iwirakau styles. However, it can be found in the Ngati Tarawhai carving tradition in Rotorua on the kuwaha pataka (storehouse entrance) of Te Puawai o Te Arawa (1868) carved by Te Wero Taroi in the Auckland Memorial Museum, in the Rongowhakaata carving tradition on the original pane (ridgepole in the porch area) for Te Hau ki Turanga (1842) by Raharuhu Rukupo in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, and in the Ngati Kahungunu carving tradition on wakahuia (treasure boxes).³⁵⁹ Although the scraped spear motif is an exceptional carved element within the Te Kaha pataka assemblage it is nevertheless composed of a series of manaia transformations linking significant areas of the anatomy. These manaia can only be comprehended in their totality if the panels are viewed from the side. An interpretation of this scraped spear motif on the veranda poupou associated with the Te Kaha pataka relative to the notion of ahua formed part of the cosmo-genealogical analysis in Chapter Four. Significantly, the analysis opposed the scraped spear motif as synonymous with the taowaru because it is composed of manaia (*Figure 27*). It was also argued that when viewed conceptually against 19th century narratives that the central interconnecting motif that unites the tripartite tiki composition signifies the interdependency of the material and spiritual realms that constituted an overarching principle in the 19th century tribal world view.



Figure 27. Poupou. Te Tairuku Potaka pataka. Auckland Museum (22063.2, 22063.5).

This central torso motif composed of a series of manaia, connects the three vertically arranged figures in each of the Te Kaha veranda poupou in a series of transformations connecting important areas of the anatomy associated with the notion of being and knowing. Therefore, upoko, rae, ihu, waha, koauau, pito and ure are vital points of connection united in a metamorphosing sequence of manaia transformations uniting anatomical regions perceived as extraordinarily potent in cultural terms.³⁶⁰ The argument is not that the scraped spear motif is insignificant but that it is an improbable candidate for the taowaru and that the taratara a kae pattern offers a more appropriate equivalent

³⁵⁹ The absence of examples from the Uawa and Iwirakau carvings of the scraped spear motif probably relates to the limited number of extant pataka and wharepuni carvings associated with these styles. However, continuity in the motif can be found in on the original pane from Te Hau ki Turanga (1843) in the National Museum of New Zealand that would form the basis of the pane for Whitireia at Whangara carved by Pine Taiapa.

³⁶⁰ Koauau (flute), upoko (head), rae (forehead), ihu (nose), waha (mouth), pito (navel) and ure (penis).

because it is a significant and distinctive pattern in the Rawheoro, Iwirakau and Tukaki styles.³⁶¹

Te tataitanga o te taratara a kae: the taratara a kae interpreted

The early ethnographic practice of literally translating names for tribal carving patterns has given rise to a series of misnomers that have become entrenched within the visual vocabulary of contemporary carving. Taratara a kai translated as peaks of food is the most salient example.³⁶² A contemporary trend has emerged aimed at reassessing carving pattern in accord with genealogical narratives.³⁶³ Consequently, taratara a kae has evolved as a substitute for taratara a kai. Simmons suggests that the name taratara a kai should be taratara a kae, the notching of Kae, after the ancestor Kae who killed the pet whale of Tinirau. Simmons implies, rather than stating categorically, that there has been an error in the spelling of kae as kai because of the phonetic kinship between the two terms. Pakariki Harrison supports Simmons in this approach to pattern reassessment. Jock McEwan indicates that [Augustus] Hamilton had recorded the pattern as taratara o kai as a variant form of a row of pointed triangles.³⁶⁴ He also intimates that taratara a kai existed in two variants of parallel strips of raised zigzag notching with a ridge or a plain space in between. McEwan's association of the taratara a kai pattern with a Ngati Maru pataka from Thames area has subsequently been re-designated by Simmons as a Ngati Paoa pataka carved by carvers from the Tairarawhiti.³⁶⁵ I support Simmons's attribution because of the facial details of the central pataka figure can be found on the Whangara poupou particularly the ear lugs.³⁶⁶

What is significant about taratara a kae is the regional variation in this pattern and its intimate association with the pakake (whale) motif during its early evolution. The Te Kaha style of taratara a kae is the raised notch form (taowaru) in which the notches are often radiused as epitomised in the Te Kaha carvings. The Bay of Plenty variant is a relief

³⁶¹ In the booklet prepared for the opening of Tuwhakairiora the taowaru is presented as the surface pattern placed over the tiki as opposed to the manaia. This is an interesting interpretation that is based on the premise that there are two major figurative forms that predominate in Maori visual culture – the tiki (full bodied forward facing figures) and the manaia (profile figures). 'The carvings of the house from the main carved pillars, Poutahu, to the carved studs, Poupou, are called taowaru. This term is used for carvings that face outwards in full, and there are no profile carvings called manaia throughout the house. The essence of the Taowaru pattern is the complete coverage of the figure or figures with decorated grooves and incisions enhancing patterns of maui, rauru, rapa, unaunahi, thus no space is left undecorated'. Taiapa, P. (1959). *Tuwhakairiora Souvenir Booklet*. Gisborne: Te Rau Press. p. 9.

³⁶² Although Simmons and Pakariki Harrison favour taratara a kae as a term Neich persists with taratara a kai. Phillipps uses taratara o kai (peaks of food) as the appropriate name for the pattern. The spiral composed of taratara o kai Phillipps calls the whakaironui suggesting that 'these ... may represent large worms much used as food in some localities'. Phillipps, W. J. (1952). *Maori Houses and Food stores*. Dominion Museum Monograph 8. Wellington: Government Printer. p. 102.

³⁶³ In the past I had resorted to using the term cosmological narrative to describe narratives relating to the Maori evolutionary period in which earth and Sky came into being. However, this narrative is grounded in genealogy, That is, it is structured on the principle of genealogy and it is about the genealogical interrelationship between the universe and the form that exist in it.

³⁶⁴ McEwan, J. M. (1966). 'Maori Art'. In A. H. McLintock (Ed.). *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. 3 Vols. Wellington: Government Printer. p. 413.

³⁶⁵ McEwan. (1966). p. 413.

³⁶⁶ Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. pp. 28, 75. University of Auckland. (1986). *Tanenuiarangi*. Auckland: University of Auckland. p. 21. McEwan. (1966). p. 413.

form in which the notches are depressed with a ridge at the same level as the upper body plane.³⁶⁷ Simmons has suggested that taratara a kae connotes the tohunga Kae who killed and ate the pet whale of Tinirau, son of Tangaroa (god of the ocean) thus establishing cosmological relevance for this pattern.³⁶⁸ This notion is both plausible and genealogically sound in terms of the function of the pataka whakairo (carved store house). Rather than symbolising bountiful food supplies associated with the fortuitous beaching of a whale the pattern stands as a reminder of territorial claims to land and as a legitimisation of institutional practices evident in tribal cosmo-genealogical narratives. Thus, Kae's demise and his consumption by the people of Tinirau, not only signalled the first death, but also endorsed the institutions of utu (retribution) and kaitangata (cannibalism). In this sense, the pataka stands as a warning against transgression and trespass. A notion endorsed by the reference to the doorway of the pataka as Te tatau o te po (the entrance to or from this world) examined in the previous chapter.³⁶⁹ When the pataka with its external carvings is compared with those of the whare nui with its emphasis on internal carvings there is an inevitable conceptualisation of each structure relative to tribal deity.

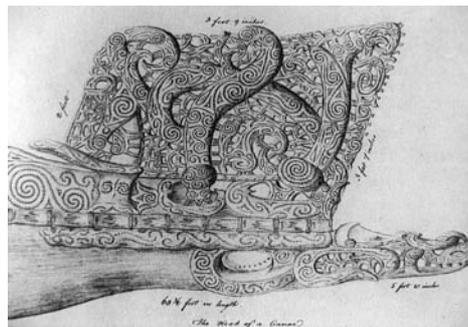


Figure 28. *Tauihu drawing. Wakataua at Pourewa Island. British Museum.*

The earliest recorded example of the taratara a kae pattern can be found on a drawing of a canoe prow (*Figure 28*) drawn on site by Sporing (or Solander) at Pourewa Island off Tolaga Bay on the East Coast in 1769.³⁷⁰ The same prow appears in another Sporing drawing of a double canoe that pursued the Endeavour off the Bay of Plenty.³⁷¹ If the drawing is accurate then there is a direct relationship between the Bay of Plenty and the Rawheoro School at Uawa. A link exists in the shared use of the taratara a kae surface

³⁶⁷ According to Pakariki Harrison Waikato carvers call this pattern 'Kopere pataka' and the spiral 'whare pungawerewere' or whakaironui. University of Auckland. (1986). p. 21.

³⁶⁸ According to Simmons the taratara a kae is named after the tohunga Kae who borrowed Tutunui the pet whale of Tinirau and killed and ate the whale. Tinirau had his revenge when the women from Tinirau's village enticed Kae in to revealing his twisted teeth. Kae was kidnapped, killed and eaten. Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 28.

³⁶⁹ Simmons. (1985). p. 32.

³⁷⁰ 'On 28 October Banks, Solander and Sporing, and probably also Cook, visited Pourewa Island...where they saw a large canoe sixty-eight and a half feet long, five feet wide and three feet six inches high...The canoe was drawn on the site by Solander in a series of sketches, one showing the entire canoe and others showing the elaborately carved prow...' Salmond. A. (1991). *Two Worlds first meetings between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*. Auckland: Viking. p. 173-4. Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. p. 71.

³⁷¹ 'The next day, 2 November, they continued West, chased by several craft including the carved double canoe that had approached them the night before. This time the canoe was under sail...Sporing sketched this canoe...' Salmond. (1991). p. 189.

pattern on the Waioeka poupou in the Auckland Museum and remnants of a carving from the Kohika site near Matata in the Bay of Plenty.³⁷² Other shared elements are the small size of the poupou at between 800mm (Waioeka), 1000mm (Kohika), and 1120mm (Whangara), excavation of voids within and around the principle figure (Waioeka, Whangara, Pourewa), interlocking pierced spiral to define eyes (Waioeka, Pourewa prow, Bay of Plenty double canoe) and figures between the legs with heads on lower torso (Waioeka, Kohika, Whangara, Pourewa).³⁷³

On the basis of the views of Apirana Ngata and Pakariki Harrison relating to the taowaru and taratara a kae patterns as synonymous it is plausible to associate the development of the pattern with the Rawheoro School of carving. Such a view appears to be validated by the appearance of the pattern on the canoe prow from Pourewa Island. However, it is more specifically the elegance and sophistication of the prow design that speaks volumes about the aesthetic and conceptual depth achieved by the School in the 18th century.

Te tataitanga o te Pakake: the pakake interpreted

The Pourewa tauihu (*Figure 29*) is composed of two sinuous manaia vertically aligned over a pakake head that constitutes the same visual vocabulary as those on the maihi pataka (storehouse bargeboards) of the East Cape and the Bay of Plenty (*Figure 29*).³⁷⁴



Figure 29. Maihi pataka detail. Te Tairuku Potaka pataka. Auckland Museum (22064.3).

³⁷² The analysis of the carving assemblage suggests that the fragments with ‘taratara a kai’ may be either from a lintel or a prow figurehead with the latter favoured because of the carving of both sides. The ‘taratara a kai’ is the early ‘raised’ form evident in the Te Kaha pataka assemblage. The presence of taratara a kae at the late 17th century Kohika site supports Apirana Ngata’s argument for a ‘common centre somewhere between Whakatane and the East Coast –probably nearer the former rather than the latter’. Irwin, G. (2004). *Kohika The Archaeology of a Late Maori Lake Village in the Ngati Awa Rohe Bay of Plenty New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 141-5. Ngata, A. (1958). *The origin of Maori Carving*. Te Ao Hou Vol 22: 32.

³⁷³ ‘Extrapolation from the proportions of the human figures indicates that the poupou were once approximately a metre tall.’ Irwin. (2004). p. 129.

There is also a panel in the Museum of New Zealand in Wellington that is related to the Pourewa and Hinematiaro (Whangara poupou). This poupou is of an equivalent size with the Hinematiaro poupou. Like the Pourewa Island panel pierced spirals flank the heads, pierced mouth area with asymmetrical tongue, upper shoulder spirals with transition into pakura at lower arm and on the hands, pointed fingers and subsidiary figure between the legs with pierced peripheral body area, Unlike the previous panels there appears to be a manaia on the lower torso and an indication of a subsidiary tiki figure on the upper torso.

³⁷⁴ Augustus Earle also recorded this pataka configuration in 1832 in North Auckland where slaves from the Bay of Plenty were responsible for the storehouse carvings.

Both eye and mouth are articulated as spirals in accord with the pataka maihi model. In the case of the tauihu (*Figure 28*), it is plausible to conceptualise the hull of the waka as the body and the taurapa (stern post) as the fluke of the whale.³⁷⁵ Not only does this maritime conceptualisation support Simmons genealogical significance for the taratara a kae covering the taurapa but also demonstrates quite clearly the trans-contextual connotative transfer from one structure to another, from waka to maihi pataka.³⁷⁶ Apart from the relevance of the whale in the Kae narrative, the whale is significant in the genealogical narratives of Paikea on the East Coast of the North Island and the dispute between Tainui and Te Arawa over a beached whale at Whangaparaoa.³⁷⁷ In both instances there is an explicit statement of mana whenua.³⁷⁸

Although the examples of carving constituting the Rawheoro style are limited in range the Pourewa Island tauihu waka introduces a precedent not only for the taowaru (or taratara a kae pattern) but also the pakake that would become the signature motif for pataka maihi of the Bay of Plenty in the 19th century.



Figure 30. Poupou details. Whare nui for Hinematiaro, Auckland Museum (5017).

The Whangara poupou (*Figure 30*) offers a glimpse of the early manaia style despite its fragmentary condition. The visual vocabulary of the manaia is further enriched in the drawing of the tauihu in which a nasal horn is apparent, a design element that can also be found in the Te Kaha carvings and those of the Turanga School that come into ethnographic record later in the 19th century.

In spite of the limited range of extant carvings constituting the Rawheoro style there are enough elements that are carried through into the Turanga School to support Raharuhi Rukupo's attendance at the Te Rawheoro wananga that held its last session in 1838.³⁷⁹ The design elements that are maintained from Rawheoro to Turanga include wheku and koruru head forms with the koruru featuring inverted 'Y' or 'V' on the bridge of the nose,

³⁷⁵ The sketch by Sporing offers an aberrant form of taurapa (stern post) quite different from the later forms associated with the East Coast region.

³⁷⁶ This trans-contextual connotative transfer is particularly apparent between pataka and whare whakairo where kuwaha pataka (store house entrances) in Te Arawa begin to assume the configuration of a pare towards the later part of the 19th century as whare whakairo replace the pataka as a symbol of hapu pride and the dynamic posture of early 19th century epa pataka figures assume the 'square style' pose by 1868 in Te Puawai o Te Arawa carved by Wero Taroī of Ngati Tarawhai.

³⁷⁷ In the latter narrative, Te Arawa were able to claim the beached whale by creating a rope that was singed with fire and strategically buried beneath the Tainui rope. Thus, Tamatekapua, the captain of Te Arawa canoe, was able to deceive Hoturoa, the captain of the Tainui canoe despite the fact that Tainui was the first to make landfall at Whangaparaoa.

³⁷⁸ Mana whenua relates to rights to land.

³⁷⁹ Ngata, A. (1958). *The origin of Maori Carving*. Te Ao Hou Vol 22: 37.

crown detail, wheku with horn pattern rendered as surface pattern,³⁸⁰ ear plug detail,³⁸¹ head width allowing for flanking figurative images,³⁸² collar bone motif, elegant cursive and pointed fingers, breasts, wrist and ankle domes (usually with spirals), subsidiary figure between the legs with head placed on lower torso, subsidiary figures on torso and patterns including rauponga with pakati and haehae, pakura, ritorito (or unaunahi), taratara a kae, whakaironui, rauru and ponahi.³⁸³ A major stylistic change between the 18th and 19th century examples is the discontinuation of the voids flanking the face, inside the mouth, between the legs and under the arms found in the Pourewa Island, Whangara panel and Museum of New Zealand poupou (*Figure 31*).³⁸⁴

Nga momo whakairo: tribal carving styles revisited

In his assessment of the styles peculiar to Te Whanau a Apanui, Ngati Porou and Rongowhakaata Simmons categorises the latter as ‘square’ and that of Te Whanau a Apanui as ‘serpentine’.³⁸⁵ Simmons’s introduction of ‘serpentine’ and ‘square’ as substitutes for Archey’s ‘north-western’ and ‘eastern’ geographical markers privileges formal compositional qualities as stylistic determinants.³⁸⁶ While there is an element of wisdom in this approach the terms are anchored within a western formalist tradition that delimits a tribal view of stylistic change. In contrast, Hirini Moko Mead returns to geographical markers as more culturally appropriate nomenclature for stylistic differentiation. Hence, he identifies the stylistic areas currently under review as Te Toi Whakairo o Horouta o Takitimu (The Horouta and Takitimu art traditions) comprising the styles of Uawa, Turanga, Waiapu and Te Kaha.³⁸⁷

Apart from the so-called Te Kaha veranda poupou, which do not conform to the architectural logic of a pataka structure at least in relation to the assemblage associated with Te Tairuku Potaka, the prominence of the square style with its focus on a single ancestral image may be related to the evolution of the whare nui as a developing status symbol for hapu.³⁸⁸ Simmons is correct in assuming that the serpentine and square style are

³⁸⁰ Later adapted by Te Arawa carvers into a specific horned relief detail as in Houmaitawhiti.

³⁸¹ Also part of the Te Whanau a Apanui style.

³⁸² Also part of the Te Whanau a Apanui style.

³⁸³ Whakaironui is a spiral composed of taratara a kae; rauru is a spiral composed of rauponga and ponahi is a spiral composed of ritorito. University of Auckland. (1986). *Tanenuiarangi*. Auckland: University of Auckland. p. 20-2.

³⁸⁴ The change from voids to solid might relate to the evolution of tukutuku panels as discreet pattern accents flanking the poupou as opposed to a continuous wall of thatch could be viewed through the carvings.

³⁸⁵ Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 55.

³⁸⁶ In a reassessment of Sir Apirana Ngata and Gilbert Archey’s ‘north-western’ and ‘eastern’ style divisions Simmons introduced the ‘serpentine’ and the ‘square’ as equivalents to the ‘north-western’ and ‘eastern’. Simmons. (1985). p. 55.

³⁸⁷ Hirini Moko Mead uses waka (canoes) as boundary markers to identify the scope of the stylistic range in the first instance and Maori place names to delimit the styles with the waka areas. Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. pp. 69-89.

³⁸⁸ Phillipps has suggested that the ‘other large carvings [the veranda poupou] appear to have belonged to a tomb and not a house or pataka as considered originally’. I support Phillipps’s view because the veranda poupou are too tall to be associated with the kuwaha and maihi for Te Tairuku Potaka.

chronologically specific with the serpentine probably being older than the square but is misguided in the allocation of the serpentine or the square to specific iwi or hapu areas because both of these forms exist simultaneously within several tribal groups. What Simmons fails to consider, is that the serpentine (or cursive) figurative form was probably determined by architectural context, that is, the specific structural configuration of epa pataka (front wall panel of store house) and epa whare (front and back wall panels of houses). It is the slope of the front wall of the pataka that predisposed the carvers to compose figures accordingly with heads often tilted to follow the oblique line of the epa and the angle of the maihi pataka. Consequently, this articulation of the figures in accord with a prescribed architectural dynamic often generates a series of counter curvilinear rhythms energised by an emphatic emphasis on dynamic posturing evident in haka (war dance) and pukana (facial expression). In other words, there is a wider context within which the carvings operate. In its most aggressive form, hands emerge from mouths, entwine thighs, bodies and necks. The other factor of equal importance, at least within each individual hapu context, was the need for the pataka as a structure to convey messages relevant to its function and its context. That is, as a storage area for taonga (prized possessions) it was imperative that the carvings conveyed a message of awe and respect. Therefore, the images associated with the early pataka of the late 18th and early 19th century are impressive in their preoccupation with dynamic cursive compositions of ancestral images and explicit sexual content. Equally, the externalisation of the pataka carvings is appropriately frenetic in accord with the marae atea space as the zone of Tumatauenga, the tribal deity associated with debate and war.

There is a difference in the way that tribal groups approach figurative compositions. In the Taitokerau, Hauraki and Taranaki shoulders are either placed outside the central line of the torso to maintain a frontal orientation (even though the shoulders may be disposed obliquely) or placed outside the width of the torso. Other tribal groups combine profile upper torso overlap of the shoulder with mid-torso frontal presentation of the shoulder obliquely aligned and either aligned on the central axis or outside the central body axis. It is a compositional strategy evident on paepae pataka and pare.

With the evolution of the carved chief's house the compositional approach to epa pataka is carried through to the interior front and back walls of the house as exemplified in te Hau ki Turanga of 1842. It is also significant that the evolution of the carved house within the East Coast region coincides with an alternative convention for representing kinship relationships on kuwaha pataka. In other words, the pataka with its central entrance features an ancestral figure presented frontally in the 'square' style while the flanking epa figures are presented in a cursive style.³⁸⁹

Phillipps, W. J. (1952). *Maori Houses and Food stores*. Dominion Museum Monograph 9. Wellington: Government Printer. p. 102.

³⁸⁹ In a reassessment of Sir Apirana Ngata and Gilbert Archey's 'north-western' and 'eastern' style divisions Simmons introduced the 'serpentine' and the 'square' as equivalents for 'north-western' and 'eastern'. Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 55.

The evolution of the whare nui style was accompanied by a cultural re-assessment of architectural and sculptural processes in which the upright figure used for central kuwaha, waharoa, paepae and pare was selected as the most appropriate form for interior house posts.³⁹⁰ The upright figure with its rigid upright posture offered an appropriate cultural allegory for posts intended as roof supports because of the association of houses with Tanewhakapiripiri.³⁹¹ Hence form followed function not only in a structural sense but also symbolically. While house posts engender a sense of fortitude and quiet strength, the uprightness of the posts also generate a sense of resolve in keeping with the notion of placation assigned to Rongomatane as the deity of peace.³⁹²

Te Tataitanga o Rawheoro: the Rawheoro style re-contextualised

A poupou from Whangara in the Auckland Memorial Museum, a poupou from Pourewa Island in the Ethnology Department at Tuebingen University, a poupou in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and a drawing of the Pourewa Island tauihu constitute the extent of this 18th century development of the Rawheoro style. It is a cursive style that was well developed by the close of the 18th century. The Pourewa Island poupou has subsequently been recovered in the Ethnological Collection of Tuebingen University in Germany. The Museum of New Zealand poupou is listed as part of the Peat Collection and was recovered from a cave in Te Kaha.³⁹³ Simmons is of the opinion that the latter panel and the Pourewa Island poupou could be by the same carver.³⁹⁴ I concede that a relationship exists between the two because Tukaki of Te Whanau a Apanui and Iwirakau of Ngati Porou attended the Rawheoro School but cannot support Simmons's contention that the panels are by the same carver. It is possible that the recovery of the Museum of New Zealand poupou from Te Kaha is a significant point of difference. Like the original maihi attributed to Apanui Ringamutu, the Museum of New Zealand poupou has subsidiary figures on the body of the primary figure. In addition, the spiral configuration flanking the head of the primary figure assumes the form of a pakake head with eye and mouth spiral clearly articulated. Despite the deteriorated state of the Museum of New Zealand poupou the surface pattern is more akin to the pakura compositions on the Whangara poupou with evidence of a multiple spiral composition on the figures right shoulder.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁰ In the case of the kuwaha pataka the central 'square style figure' was both a structural support for the ridgepole as well as a symbol of hapu solidarity through the ancestor selected as the point of focus for the kuwaha.

³⁹¹ This is one of a number of names for Tane the deity associated with forests and fertility. Tanewhakapiripiri relates to Tane as the deity capable of bringing people together echoing the function of the house as a place for communal gathering.

³⁹² Rongomatane is the deity assigned to cultivated food, especially the kumara. Within the context of the marae his function is extended to one of peacemaker within the house while Tumatauenga is seen in opposition to Rongomatane as the deity of war and debate. Hence his domain is the outside of the house where debate occurs.

³⁹³ Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 63.

³⁹⁴ Simmons. (1985). p. 63.

³⁹⁵ Simmons. (1985). pp. 59, (Fig. 3), 63.

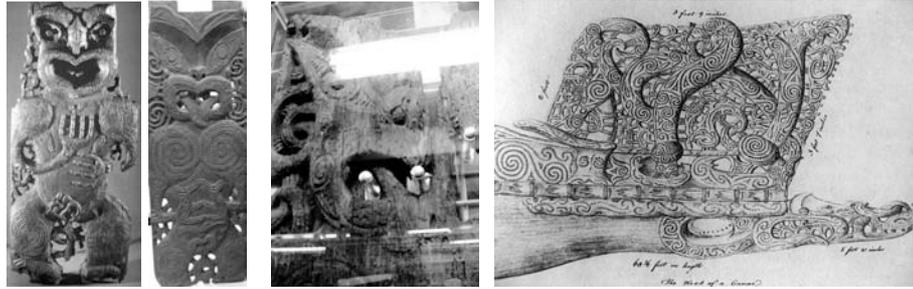


Figure 31. *Poupou, Whare nui for Hinematiaro, Auckland Museum (5017). Poupou. Whare nui at Pourewa Island, Ethnographic Collection, Tuebingen University, Tuebingen, Germany. Tuebingen University (A 608). Poupou detail. Unknown whare nui. National Museum (ME4833). Tauihu drawing. Wakataua at Pourewa Island. British Museum.*

The critical difference between the Whangara, Pourewa Island and Museum of New Zealand poupou exists in the depth of carved relief. In the Whangara and Museum of New Zealand poupou there is a greater sculptural depth in the carving of anatomical features resulting in domed bodies and shoulders. In comparison, the Pourewa Island poupou displays a more planar approach in sculptural process resulting in flat anatomical planes with radiused contours. Consequently, the Whangara and Pourewa Island poupou are not the work of one carver. It is feasible that the Pourewa Island poupou was from an earlier house and was being used as a template for the Pourewa Island wharepuni. This would certainly account for its slightness relative to the Whangara and Museum of New Zealand panels and it would project the development of the carved house further back in time on the East Coast at least into the early 18th century.

According to Hirini Moko Mead, '[t]he type of figures used were similar to those of its neighbours and the faces like those of Gisborne, which comes into ethnographic record a little later than Uawa.'³⁹⁶ In keeping with the general characteristics of this phase, hands and toes are elegantly rendered, stylised in the Pourewa Island and Museum of New Zealand panel, and semi-naturalistic in the Whangara with a top view of the fingers placed on a palm view.³⁹⁷ The inverted palm of the Whangara poupou, multiple teeth and rolling spiral patterns on the shoulder and arm suggest a link with the Te Kaha carving assemblage of Te Tairuku Potaka, and substantiated by the attendance of Tukaki and Iwirakau at the Rawheoro Wananga at Uawa.³⁹⁸ But the taratara a kae pattern and elegant disposition of narrow body forms that generally sit inside the shoulder of the Tairuku Potaka carvings are expressions of artistic and stylistic independence.

³⁹⁶ Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. p. 73.

³⁹⁷ This idiosyncratic approach to the carving of hands in the Whangara poupou is also evident in the Te Kaha veranda poupou in the Auckland Museum in a panel featuring a flute player and an epa pataka (storehouse front wall panel) from a storehouse at Huikama near Gisborne now in Musee Barbier-Muller in Geneva. These relationships clearly demonstrate a shared heritage in the development of carving within the wider East Coast region encompassing the East Cape, East Coast and Poverty Bay.

³⁹⁸ It is possible that the Museum of New Zealand poupou is an example of the Tukaki (or Whanau a Apanui) style. However, the wheku style head and flanking spiral are closely related to the Pourewa Island poupou, as are the pointed fingers and pakura pattern on the lower arm and hands. The point of difference is the composition of the flanking head spirals that assume a pakake configuration in the Museum of New Zealand poupou, and the subsidiary manaia on the abdomen and possible tiki on the chest.

Locale	Heads	Arms	Legs	Torso	Background
Museum of New Zealand	Wheku head Width of mouth narrower than brow No terminal brow maniaia Asymmetrical tongue Three teeth Pierced mouth Asymmetrical cheek patterns Rauponga pattern Haehae ranging from single to three-ridged	Primary and subsidiary pikorauru spirals on right shoulder Shoulder spirals spaced allowing for subsidiary figure on chest Pointed three fingered hands with retracted thumb with pakura pattern	Pikorauru spiral Feet indecipherable	Neck inside mouth width Plain apart from subsidiary figures	Perforated takarangi spirals flanking head Flanking spirals assume pakake form Body of subsidiary figure appears to be frontal Perforated lattice infilling around arms

While Hirini Moko Mead has suggested 1780 as a date for the Whangara poupou Simmons, referencing Bishop W. L. Williams, argues that it belonged to the house of Hinematiaro first erected on Pourewa Island off Cook's Cove at Tolaga Bay before it was shifted to Whangara. Simmons implies that the unfinished house visited by Banks, Sporing and Parkinson was probably one and the same thereby intimating a date of 1769 for the carving.⁴⁰² He further suggests that the Museum of New Zealand poupou is 'from the same house' [Pourewa Island] and 'given as a gift to the Te Whanau a Apanui at Te Kaha'.⁴⁰³

Anne Salmond has suggested that the Pourewa Island poupou may have been gifted as a koha to Tupaia, a Tahitian high priest, out of respect for a descendent of distant ancestors from Hawaiki the original Maori 'homeland'.⁴⁰⁴ The poupou was subsequently taken on board the Endeavour and returned to England where John Miller made an engraving of the carving in 1871. It was then lost resurfacing in the Ethnological collection of Tuebingen University in Germany.⁴⁰⁵

While the range of carvings attributable to the Rawheoro School are by no means extensive the continuity of stylistic elements through into the 19th century evident in the work of the Turanga School together with the pataka carvings associated with the Maraenui wananga of the 18th century and an early 19th century epa pataka from the Poverty Bay region suggest a rich carving legacy was instigated by the School.⁴⁰⁶

Te Tataitanga o Maraenui: the Maraenui carvings re-examined

According to David Simmons,

⁴⁰² Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori Carving*. Auckland: Reed. p. 73.
 Simmons D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. pp. 63,150.

⁴⁰³ Simmons, D. (2006). *Meeting Houses of Ngati Porou o Te Tai Rawhiti*. Auckland: Reed. p. 19.

⁴⁰⁴ Salmond makes this comment even though Tupaia is not recorded as one of the visitors to Pourewa Island in the Endeavour journals. Salmond, A. (2003). *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog Captain Cook in the South Seas*. Auckland: Penguin Books. p. 126.

⁴⁰⁵ This poupou was rediscovered in Tuebingen University in Germany in 1997. Salmond. (2003). p. 126.

⁴⁰⁶ The Poverty Bay epa pataka is in the Musee Barbier-Muller collection in Geneva.

'In the mid-Seventeenth century, Apanui Ringamotu [sic] and two other carvers each constructed large storehouses to stand at Maraenui between Opotiki and East Cape. The occasion was that three young chiefs - Kereru of Whanau a Apanui, Ngatoto of Ngati Porou and Herehere of Kahungunu - were taken there to enter an ariki whare wananga.'⁴⁰⁷

Simmons identifies Apanui Ringamutu⁴⁰⁸ as the carver of Te Tairuku Potaka (*Figure 32 left*), Iwirakau Tangirua of Ngati Porou as the carver of Paringamouhoki (*Figure 32 centre*), and Tuwharenihoeke as the carver of the Rongowhakaata pataka Kairungo Whakahaehae (*Figure 32 right*).⁴⁰⁹ He implies that Iwirakau Tangirua is synonymous with Iwirakau of Ngati Porou who accompanied Tukaki of Te Whanau a Apanui to the Rawheoro whare wananga at Uawa.⁴¹⁰ This is possible because Tukaki was the son of Apanui Ringamutu. However, such a proposition is belied by Apirana Ngata's contention that Tukaki and Iwirakau visited Uawa in the 16th century.⁴¹¹ More pertinent however are the oral traditions that locate Hingangaroa and Kahungunu as contemporaries.⁴¹²



Figure 32. *Kuwaha pataka. Te Tairuku Potaka pataka. Auckland Museum (22064.3). Paringamouhoki pataka. Museum fur Volkerkunde. Berlin (VI 27460 a-k). Kairungo Whakahaehae pataka. Pitt Rivers Museum. Oxford. Pitt Rivers Museum (1884.62.36).*

The carvings for these three pataka together with other early examples from the East Coast area emphasise an intimate stylistic relationship between the carving centres from East Cape to Poverty Bay. The Thames pataka assemblage 'carved as a koha for Ngati Paoa by carvers sent from Te Tai Rawhiti' further reinforces this.⁴¹³ Table 7 tabulates the stylistic attributes associated with the Maraenui kuawha pataka (entrances) outlining commonalities and differences evident in the 18th century styles of Te Whanau a Apanui, Ngati Porou and Rongowhakaata.⁴¹⁴

⁴⁰⁷ Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 77.

⁴⁰⁸ Apanui Ringamutu is also recorded in some tribal whakapapa as Apanui Ringamotu. According to Kahu Stirling the correct name is Ringamutu commemorating the loss of a finger as utu (payment) for inheriting the art of carving. Apanui Ringamutu was the father of Tukaki who attended the Rawheoro Wananga. K. Stirling. (Pers comm. 8 September 2005).

⁴⁰⁹ Paringamouhoki is in the Museum fur Volkerkunde in Berlin and Kairungo Whakahaehae is in the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford.

⁴¹⁰ Simmons. (1985). p. 77.

⁴¹¹ Rongowhakaata Halbert places Kahungunu and Hingangaroa around 1550, Iwirakau between 1600 and 1650 and Tukaki around 1675. Halbert, R. (1999). *Horouta The History of the Horouta canoe, Gisborne and East Coast*. Auckland: Reed. pp. 267, 322, 332, 338, 342, 351.

⁴¹² Hingangaroa married Iranui the sister of Kahungunu and showed Kahungunu how to create the haumi joint in order to lengthen a canoe. In Kahungunu oral tradition Iranui is credited with the passing on of the knowledge of the haumi technique by lying on the ground and spreading her legs.

⁴¹³ Simmons. (1985). p. 75.

⁴¹⁴ Although Simmons suggests that the pataka Kairungo Whakahaehae was carved by Tuwharenihoeke in the Rongowhakaata style I disagree. There are two factors that make such an

Table 7: Mareanui pataka kuwaha

Locale	Heads	Arms	Legs	Torso	Background
Te Tairuku Potaka	Wheku head Extended bridge interacting with oblique brow Width of mouth narrower than brow No terminal brow manaia Subsidiary tiki figures flanking head Symmetrical tongue lapping lower lip Multi-toothed Exaggerated crown Neck defined	Shoulder placed outside body width Naturalistic four fingered hands asymmetrically aligned	Hips outside torso Naturalistic posture with knees accentuated Toes placed below horizontally sculpted foot Feet rest on arch of 'lintel' beam	Torso arched with undercut torso Narrow tubular body Neck wider than torso Copulating major and minor figure	Horned lintel manaia outward facing Manaia infilling

Locale	Heads	Arms	Legs	Torso	Background
Paringamouhoki	Wheku head Domed bridge interacting with domed brow Horned accent on brow Width of mouth narrower than brow No terminal brow manaia Subsidiary tiki figures flanking head Symmetrical tongue lapping lower lip Haehae on tongue Pakati, haehae, whakarare defining facial features Multi-toothed Crown spiral Neck defined	Shoulders overlap body Pointed curvilinear fingers with retracted thumb symmetrically aligned	Arched legs with domed accent at mid point Three toes curvilinearly rendered Outer ankle pattern Feet rest on manaia element of 'lintel' beam	Subsidiary basal figure with head on stomach and body between legs of major figure Subsidiary figure located on upper torso region	Horned lintel manaia facing inward Manaia infilling Hands of basal figures encircling neck placed on abdomen Hands of basal figures raised to mouth and lifting leg

Locale	Heads	Arms	Legs	Torso	Background
Kairungo Whakahahae	Flat domed wheku head Domed bridge interacting with oblique brow Width of mouth narrower than brow No terminal brow manaia Subsidiary tiki figures flanking head Symmetrical tongue lapping lower lip Multi-toothed	Shoulder placed outside body width Pointed upward facing fingers with retracted thumb symmetrically aligned Heads of subsidiary figures overlap elbow of major figure	Legs outside torso Domed hip region Outer ankle dome Profile foot with four frontal toes Feet overlap 'lintel' beam	Subsidiary figure with facial mask on pubic area between legs of major figure	Lintel manaia outward facing Manaia infilling Basal figures with naturalistic heads Hands of flanking basal figures raised to mouth and placed on abdomen

attribution problematic. The taratara a kae pattern is in the Poverty Bay style, and given the close stylistic relationship between the 18th century Rawheoro style and the 19th century style of Raharuhi Rukupo, the style of the primary and subsidiary figures together with the manaia are too distant stylistically to be considered Rongowhakaata.

The Maraenui kuwaha reveal shared elements from 'horned' manaia in the case of Te Tairuku Potaka (*Figure 32 left*) and Paringamouhoki (*Figure 32 centre*) through to a shared compositional approach to subsidiary figure limb interaction with legs elevated, hands encircling neck and legs and cursive contortion of basal figures continued into the 19th century by the Rongowhakaata carvers. In each case, subsidiary tiki, flank the heads of the primary figures. It is an anomaly that the kuwaha that Simmons attributes to Rongowhakaata and Te Aitanga a Mahaki is stylistically incongruous among the Maraenui kuwaha. The absence of specific stylistic features pertinent to the Turanga style is especially problematic. Interestingly, the kuwaha pataka that Simmons assigns to Ngati Porou displays a closer affinity with the Rongowhakaata style of the 19th century.

The plain domed head is particularly uncharacteristic of the Rongowhakaata style as are the upward curving fingers and unarticulated profile foot with frontal toes. A further anomaly is evident in the stylistic variation in the taratara a kae pattern, which, in the case of Te Kairungo Whakahaehae (*Figure 32 right*), appears more in keeping with the Bay of Plenty sub-basal relief taratara a kae style of the 19th century.⁴¹⁵ In comparison, Te Tairuku Potaka (*Figure 32 left*), attributed to Apanui Ringamutu and Puhiake and Paringamouhoki (*Figure 32 right*), to Iwirakau Tangirua are carved with taratara a kae of the raised taowaru form. In spite of this anomaly, 'stone tool' carved poupou in Te Mana o Turanga at Manutuke indicate that the Turanga School (encompassing Rongowhakaata and Te Aitanga a Mahaki) employed the sub-basal form of taratara a kae. On the basis of oral evidence these so called 'stone tool' poupou have been dated around the early 19th century.⁴¹⁶

Significantly, these kuwaha offer an intermediary stylistic transition between the Rawheoro School of the late 18th century and the Turanga style of the mid 19th century exemplified in Te Hau ki Turanga (1843). Like the Rawheoro style, the areas the arms are pierced. In comparison, the emphasis on spirals flanking the heads of the 18th century precursors has been replaced by manaia and tiki in the 19th century, which is more in keeping with the veranda poupou form Te Tairuku Potaka. In a further development, the pierced areas surrounding the subsidiary figure between the legs of the primary figure are now rendered in solid base relief. In the carvings from Te Hau ki Turanga, we find the

⁴¹⁵ Jeremy Coote, Joint Head of Collections Management, Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford has recorded that the panel came to Oxford in 1884, and that 'General Pitt Rivers sent it for display at Bethal Green in 1874'. More importantly, the date inscribed on the back of the panel 'March 15 1867' together with the initials 'T.H.' infer that the panel might have been collected by either Dr Thomas Hocken or 'Thomas Haultain, who in 1867 was in charge of the military occupation of the Poverty Bay area'. In conclusion, Coote concedes that 'I have no reason to doubt it was carved in the late 18th century by Tuwharenihoheke for the storehouse Te Kairungo, nor the early part of its history recounted by Simmons. What seems clear, however, is that by 1867 the panel became separated and acquired (forcibly or otherwise) by a European'. <http://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/maori.html>

⁴¹⁶ Leo Fowler referencing the late Hiwikore Maynard records that the 'stone tool' carvings 'had been buried for three generations before it was exhumed to be placed in te mana o Turanga'. Using 25 years as a generation he has suggested that the carvings could have been buried 'in or about 1808'. In addition Leo Fowler emphasises their difference from the other carvings in the house 'in that they are carved in the fashion known as tarataraakai (abundance of food)'. Fowler, L. (1974). *Te Mana o Turanga*. Auckland: Penrose with the New Zealand Places Trust. pp. 27-8. Plates 40, 41.

idiosyncratic Turanga School raised arm, bent at the elbow with hand emerging out of and grasping the side of the mouth.⁴¹⁷ Although absent from the Rawheoro extant poupou, the raised arm is evident in the Kohika carving fragments from the Bay of Plenty in the late 17th century, and in the primary and subsidiary figures associated with Te Tairuku Potaka and the other Maraenui kuwaha.⁴¹⁸ However, on the basis of extant evidence, the interaction of hand with mouth and the bent elbow is certainly unique to the Turanga style. In the later Iwirakau style, the shoulders are lowered (in some instances to hip level) to allow for a more direct articulation of the hand emerging from and encircling the mouth. Overall, the stylistic inconsistencies evident in Te Kairungo may relate to artistic independence rather than a misplaced attribution. This is plausible despite the chronological contradictions between the Simmons narrative relating to the kuwaha provenance and the date and initials inscribed on the back of the carving.⁴¹⁹ A much closer stylistic affinity between pattern and form evident in the poupou of Te Hau ki Turanga and those associated with the Rawheoro style would have been anticipated.

This excursion into a stylistic analysis of the Ngati Porou and Te Whanau a Apanui region is aimed at demonstrating intrinsic perception as a critical component of the analysis process. The application of intrinsic perception supplemented by first hand experience of the physical qualities of the carvings in overseas and national collections has been informative and calls into question Simmons' attribution of Paringamouhoki to Iwirakau Tangirua and the attribution of this kuwaha to the 18th century. There are two factors that undermine this attribution. In the first instance, the kuwaha is carved with steel tools. In the second the sculptural relief compared with the shallow relief of the Pourewa Island poupou suggests an early 19th century date for its completion.

In a further demonstration of the value of intrinsic perception it will be demonstrated in the next chapter that the Iwirakau style is quite different from its predecessors, the Rawheoro style of Uawa and the Tukaki style of Te Kaha. This is particularly so in the case of the wheku style head in which the area occupied by spiral compositions in the Pourewa Island poupou and the manaia forms flanking the faces of the Tairuku Potaka veranda poupou and the subsidiary tiki of the kuwaha pataka perpetuated in Te Hau ki Turanga are absent from the wheku facial forms of the Iwirakau style. In the Iwirakau style, the facial forms are composed in a compressed rectangular format with the width of the brow and mouth expanding across the breadth of the panel with a general compressing of the vertical depth of the heads compared with the 18th century Rawheoro and Maraenui

⁴¹⁷ It is quite probable that this 'idiosyncratic feature' may have been part of the Rawheoro School of carving and that it is merely through a lack of extant examples from the period that make attribution of the feature to the Rawheoro School problematic.

⁴¹⁸ Irwin, G. (2004). *Kohika The Archaeology of a Late Maori Lake Village in the Ngati Awa Rohe Bay of Plenty New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 129. Plate 7.1.

⁴¹⁹ According to Simmons it was returned to Ngati Kahungunu in 1820, given to Aharore in about 1860 and placed in a covered pit in 1889 'where it remained until about 1910 when it and other treasures were found to have gone'. Simmons account of the door is to be found in 'The Door into the World' in *Bassler Archiv*, n.s., Vol. XLV, pp. 145-57. The date on the back of the kuwaha is 'March 15 1867'. <http://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/maori.html>

precursors.⁴²⁰ While the Rongowhakaata carvers resort to manaia facial masks at the top of the eyebrows with either full body and subsidiary manaia filling the area on the side of the face the Iwirakau carvers incorporate only the facial mask often leaving the side of the face free.⁴²¹ As a result the cheek plain sometimes appears as part of the background plain particularly in the poupou in Porourangi (1888).⁴²² Tamati Ngakaho is an exception to the rule with the width of the brow being wider than the mouth evident in Porourangi at Waiomatatini. In the case of the koruru facial form there is a transformation that occurs with the ear lug detail. In the Iwirakau style, the ear lug detail in the Otago carvings (*Figure 33 top left*) will metamorphosis into an oblique haehae and pakati outer facial frame for the face, in the carvings of Hone Ngatoto and Riwai Pakerau (*Figure 33 top right, bottom left*).



Figure 33. Koruru facial forms. Heketipi and poutuarongo. Whare nui for Takamoana Karaitiana, Otago Museum (D88.42, D88.42, D10.1). Amo. Unknown whare nui. Gisborne Museum (58/1823). Mauitikitiki a Taranga, Gisborne Museum (74/5-3). Poupou. Tuwhakairiora whare nui. Hinemaurea marae, Hicks Bay. Iwirakau style koruru.

The process of metamorphosis is such that the horizontal band representing the hole in the ear becomes an oblique band outside the eye traversing the outer facial frame while the cylindrical lug representing rolled aute through the ear is transformed into a the outer facial frame traversed by an oblique band delimiting the outer perimeter of the koruru face. This is particularly evident in the work of Hone Ngatoto in Hinerupe, Te Poho o Te Aotawarirangi and St. Mary's church and Riwai Pakerau in Iritekura and Mauitikitiki a Taranga.

⁴²⁰ Exceptions do occur when the eccentric flanking manaia frieze forms part of the composition in the carving style of Hone Taahu in particular or the flanking rauponga passages outside the face in the carvings associated with Hoani Ngatai.

⁴²¹ An exception is a two-figure poupou in the British Museum in London. In this example, naturalistic bodies are attached to the manaia masks between brow and mouth.

⁴²² Te Kihirini Aotapunui and Tamati Ngakaho carved Porourangi between 1878 and 1888. 'Tamati Ngakaho worked with an adze on the slabs for Porourangi. The relief of the figures was built up and made smooth, ready for detailed ornamentation. The finer carving was done afterwards by Ngakaho, who carved most of the interior except for two carved uprights and the ridge-pole over the porch, which were carved by Te Kihirini Aotapunui. He is said to have died before the house was completed', Oliver, Steven. 'Ngakaho, Tamati - 1904?' *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 7 July 2005 URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

Other approaches to the ear lug detail include a continuous unbroken sweep of the brow in Tuwhakairiora (1872) (*Figure 33* bottom centre) and the elevated ear lug in Ohinewaiapu (1885) (*Figure 33* bottom right). However, these examples are quite different from the koruru forms attributable to Hone Ngatoto and Riwai Pakerau and therefore will not be considered in the process of separating the style of Riwai Pakerau from that of Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto with whom he is associated. This process of isolating the styles of the Iwirakau carvers forms the basis of the next chapter. However, it should be noted that what began as an innovative adaptation of the ear lug, which was initially translated aspectively as a lug with a horizontal cylinder representing rolled aute in the 18th century, and maintained in the Rukupō style of the mid-19th century, was re-orientated vertically in the 19th century by Hone Taahu and eventually transformed into a contour facial frame with a diagonal division outside the eye in the work of Hone Ngatoto and Riwai Pakerau.

Whakawhiti korero: a summation

Te Tataitanga o Te Pitau-a-Manaia was aimed at reviewing Neich's proposition that Te Pitau-a-Manaia as a painted form does not have a head as well as legitimising intrinsic perception as a critical perceptual tool for analysis of tribal carving. It was demonstrated that, not only does Te Pitau-a-Manaia have a head but the date for its initial appearance within the whare nui is 1842. It was also proposed that there are three classes of kowhaiwhai pattern, those where the manawa line was explicit, implicit or absent. It was also argued that the division of kowhaiwhai into pitau, kape and a combination of pitau and kape classes according to the dominant pattern motif omitted the spiral as a critical motif.

In *Te tataitanga taowaru*, it was proposed that the taowaru was synonymous with the taratara a kae pattern prominent on pataka of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. It was argued that the scraped spear motif was not insignificant but was an improbable motif for the taowaru because it was composed of manaia. A 20th century version that placed the taowaru in the context of tiki with a total absence of manaia was also viewed as implausible.

In the section on *Te tataitanga taratara a kae*, it was argued that taratara a kae, as opposed to taratara a kai, was a more appropriate term for the pattern because of its cosmo-genealogical implication. In particular, the association of the pattern with utu and kaitangata was culturally empowering. What was also significant about taratara a kae was the regional variation in this pattern and its intimate association with the pakake during its early evolution. I support the position of Apirana Ngata and Pakariki Harrison that the taowaru and taratara a kae patterns are synonymous. In the process I locate the development of the pattern within the Rawheoro School. This position is validated by the appearance of the taratara a kae on a canoe prow from Pourewa Island. However, the elegance and sophistication of the prow design speaks volumes about the aesthetic and

conceptual depth achieved by the Rawheoro School in the 18th century.

In *Te tataitanga Pakake*, it was proposed that the pakake as a canoe figurehead and storehouse bargeboard motif was inextricably coupled with the taratara a kae pattern. The appearance of the pakake on canoe and pataka suggests the possibility of trans-contextual denotative transfer from one structure to the other as a statement of mana whenua. It was also argued that, in spite of the limited range of extant carvings constituting the Rawheoro style, there were enough shared traits with the Turanga School to indicate that Raharuhi Rukupo would have attended the Te Rawheoro wananga.

In *Nga momo whakairo*, Simmons's classification of tribal carving into the 'serpentine' and 'square' styles as substitutes for Archey's 'north-western' and 'eastern' geographical markers privileged formal compositional qualities as stylistic determinants, delimiting a tribal view of stylistic change. In contrast, Hirini Moko Mead employed geographical markers as more culturally appropriate nomenclature for stylistic differentiation. It was proposed that the change in style was the result of a cultural reassessment of architectural and sculptural processes relative to the function of the pataka and whare puni. It was argued that the evolution of the carved house coincided with an alternative convention for representing kinship relationships. The evolution of the whare nui was accompanied by a cultural re-assessment of architectural and sculptural processes where the upright figure used for central kuwaha, waharoa, paepae and pare were selected as the appropriate form for interior house posts. The upright figure with its rigid upright posture offered an appropriate cultural allegory for roof support posts because of the association of the house with Tanewhakapiripiri. Hence, form followed function not only in a structural sense but also symbolically. While house posts engendered a sense of fortitude and quiet strength, the uprightness of the posts also generated a sense of resolve in keeping with the notion of placation assigned to Rongomatane.

It was argued that Simmons's serpentine/square hypothesis was based on a western formalist tradition that overlooked culturally relevant nomenclature, architectural relativity and the ideological function of architectural structures. It was suggested that the symbolic function of architectural members was translated conceptually from the pataka to the whare nui prioritising inside and outside relative to tribal deity.

In *Te tataitanga Rawheoro* it was proposed that the Rawheoro style introduced the essential visual vocabulary of form and pattern that featured throughout the Bay of Plenty and East Coast regions. This included the koruru and wheku head forms, and subsidiary figure located between the legs of an ancestor with head of the subsidiary figure located on the lower abdomen of the primary figure. This convention can also be found in the Iwirakau style where it is extended to include subsidiary figures located in their entirety, vertically or horizontally, between the legs of the primary figure.

In *Te tataitanga Maraenui*, it was argued that Simmons's allocation of three storehouses at Maraenui was problematic. It was suggested that two of the Maraenui kuwaha were stylistically misplaced because of stylistic and chronological anomalies. In

spite of these anomalies, the corpus of carvings represents an intermediary stylistic development from the Rawheoro to the Rukupo style of the mid 19th century, and the late 19th century Iwirakau style.

Chapter Six was essentially about the continuity of form within tribal contexts. Visual correspondence is evident in the tribal carvings created in the 18th century and those in the 19th century. It is proposed that the interrelationship between the Rawheoro, Tukaki, Rukupo and Iwirakau styles demonstrates continuity in the form of figurative imagery and the form of surface pattern that would have resonated with the tribal groups for whom they were created because of the period in which they were created, and carvers who created them.

It was argued that the manaia as a visual entity expressing the spiritual and tapu states of humans and the mana of the chiefs and their antecedents informed the content of Te Pitau-a-Manaia and impacted on its appreciation as a significant cultural form within the Manutuke Church.

It was proposed that the taratara a kae was significant in terms of content because the pattern has a cosmo-genealogical relationship where cultural notions of utu and kaitangata impacted on its appreciation within the context of waka and pataka. The pattern was also significant because it was recorded in a tribal waiata that implicated Iwirakau and Tukaki as the carvers from Ngati Porou and Te Whanau a Apanui who received the art of carving, the manaia and the taowaru from the Rawheoro wananga. In this respect, the whakapapa of the carvers was implicated in the process of cultural relativity and relevance because they were genealogically connected to Hingangaroa, and were selected as worthy heirs of the art of carving.

Hence, form, content and genealogy collude in the generation of 18th and 19th century carving that would have resonated with the tribal groups for whom the carvings were created.

Chapter Seven

Te Tataitanga whare o Riwai Pakerau

The house that Riwai Pakerau built

On Labour weekend 2002 I returned to Mihikoinga marae at the request of the kaumatua of Ngai Taharora to attend a wananga.⁴²³ The main item on the agenda was a validation of the paintings and carvings on the front porch of Taharora whare nui. What was problematic for a number of the attendees was the turquoise blue colour of the porch carvings. Since the installation of the paintings and the carvings in November 2001 the house had attracted the attention not only of Ngai Taharora, Te Whanau a Iritekura and Te Whanau a Rakairoa but also hapu of the Tairawhiti and beyond.⁴²⁴ Not unexpectedly the colour was perceived as non-customary and an affront to the memory of Riwai Pakerau.

The main adherents for a return to the orthodox red paint were a small group of kaumatua led by Queenie Te Maro who maintains a return to red even today. However, I was able to convince the attendees at the wananga that Riwai Pakerau was an innovative painter who incorporated non-customary images of European import into his house paintings like text, trees, lions and crocodiles, and was not averse to using non-customary colours for kowhaiwhai including green.⁴²⁵



Figure 34. Heke details. Maunitikitiki a Taranga. Auckland Museum (45994).

Using the Ngati Porou narrative of the origin of carving from the realm of Tangaroa, the god of the ocean, I related the use of the blue colour to the sea as the original realm of the art of carving.⁴²⁶ As a further endorsement of the appropriateness of the colour blue,

⁴²³ Chief among the kaumatua were Tom and Queenie Te Maro, Waho Tibble, Tamati Reedy, Mona Rasmussen, Harata Jahnke and Elder Rangiwai.

⁴²⁴ While attending the Te Waka Toi awards in Auckland in September 2002 I met with Mate Kaiwai the daughter of Apirana Ngata who reiterated the phrase that became a hallmark of the oratorical presentations – ‘Blue is the sky, blue is the sea, blue is the house’.

⁴²⁵ According to Jew Maraki (pers comm. November 2001) Riwai Pakerau used green to symbolise the new life.

⁴²⁶ In Ngati Porou narrative tradition Ruatēpupuke is assigned the task of wresting the art of carving from Tangaroa. See Version by Romio Mokena in Mead, H. M. (1986). *Te Toi Whakairo The Art of Maori*. Carving Auckland: Reed. pp. 8-11.

allusion was made to the customary use of a 'blue-grey, produced by a slimy clay known as Tutaewhetu' (star excrement) in the Waiapu district.⁴²⁷ At the conclusion of the wananga there was general consensus that the house should remain blue as a tribute to the innovative practice of Riwai Pakerau who is also commemorated on the interior back wall of the meeting house with a toki poutangata, symbol of a tohunga whakairo.⁴²⁸

Chapter Six will focus on identifying the specific stylistic elements that separate the carving and painting style of Riwai Pakerau from those of his contemporaries with whom he is associated in the carving of meeting houses. That is those carvers who also employed the two-ridged haehae, shoulder and thigh bands, and the distinctive cursive amo and the unique tongued amo and raparapa intersection that are part of the Iwirakau style.⁴²⁹

Within the Iwirakau style, a school of carvers maintained an idiosyncratic approach to the application of rauponga comprising pakati and haehae in which a two-ridged haehae composition featured alongside the three-ridged evident in most areas outside the East Coast.⁴³⁰ Beginning in the late 19th century, a two-ridged haehae convention emerged in carvings associated with Hauteananui o Tangaroa acquired by the Canterbury Museum in 1873 and a series of carvings associated with 'Tumoanakotore'.⁴³¹ The convention persisted into the 20th century in three houses associated with the carver Riwai Pakerau of Ngai Taharora – Kuri (1900), Iritekura (1910) and the restoration and relocation of Mauitikitiki a Taranga in 1913. It is also used relatively consistently in Hinerupe (1880s) and St. Mary's Church at Tikitiki (1928) where Hone Ngatoto was responsible for the two-ridged haehae.⁴³²

In particular, the carving style of Riwai Pakerau needs to be separated from that of Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto. While there were a number of other carvers who used the two-ridged haehae convention Hoani Ngatai deserves special mention, not only because he

⁴²⁷ Hamilton, A. (1896-1900). *Maori Art: The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand*. Dunedin: Ferguson & Mitchell for the New Zealand Institute.

⁴²⁸ This symbolism can also be found on the portrait of tohunga whakairo Raharuhu Rukupo inside Te Hau ki Turanga in the National Museum of New Zealand.

⁴²⁹ While maps do not constitute a critical reference for this thesis Ngati Porou locations can be found by referring to Simmons, D. (2006). *Meeting-houses of Ngati Porou o te Tairawhiti An illustrated Guide*. Auckland: Reed. p. 8.

⁴³⁰ Prior to European contact the number of haehae in rauponga surface patterns varied ranging from one to five with three prominent in a papahou (treasure box) collected by Captain James Cook in 1769 in the British Museum Collection. This is also evident in a house panel taken from Pourewa Island on the East Coast by Cook's party now in Tuebingen, Germany. By 1842, a three-ridged haehae convention appeared consistently around the country coinciding with the spread of Christianity beyond the North. Concurrently, patterns like unaunahi composed of clusters of crescents and ritorito were also subject to a tripartite configuration. This led to an inevitable association between the emphasis on the number three and the Christian Trinity.

⁴³¹ Hone Taahu and Tamati Ngakaho from Ngati Porou went to Christchurch early in 1874 to complete the house. The house was finally completed in December of that year. The carvings for 'Tumoanakotore' have recently been re-ascribed to a house built for Karaitiana Takamoana, a Hawkes Bay chief who died in the late 1880s before the house could be erected.

⁴³² In 1996 Hinerupe was all but destroyed in a fire at Te Araroa. Hone Ngatoto carved this house, which featured the two-ridged haehae convention. The house was restored with house panels based on surviving carvings. In 2001 I, together with others, installed the maihi, amo and koruru carved by Simon Lardelli of Ngati Konohi on Taharora whare nui at Ohineakai. The carvings, based on Mauitikitiki a Taranga, commemorate the two-ridged haehae surface pattern convention and carving style of Riwai Pakerau.

is credited with having worked on Tuwhakairiora (1872) with Haare Tokoata, Ohinewaiapu (1885) with Hone Ngatoto and Ruatepupuke (1861) in the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, but his style can also be identified in the Otago Museum collection.⁴³³ A pane in the Tairawhiti Museum accredited to Riwai Pakerau should be attributed to Hoani Ngatai on the basis of a stylistic kinship with poupou from Ruatepupuke and the Otago carvings.⁴³⁴ Although Hoani Ngatai is not mentioned in connection with Mauitikitiki a Taranga it is not inconceivable that Hone Taahu would have invited him to contribute a carving for the house given his status as ‘leader of the Tapere School’. While his use of the two-ridged haehae is inconsistent, and his figurative style is diametrically opposed to that of Riwai Pakerau, his status as tuakana (elder descendant) of Riwai Pakerau demands acknowledgement.⁴³⁵

Whakapapa of Hoani Ngatai⁴³⁶

	Hingangaroa	
	Hauiti	
	Hinekura	
	Tutehurutea	
	Kuku	
Rangitawaea-----		Pohuakina
Manupokai	Rangohuariki-----	
Nohomai		
Rangiahua	Whakaihonga	
	Matekaikai	
Te Pupuke	Ngahara	Urimaitai
Tukutuku	Hinekai	
Hineitungia		
Tangiawha	Hamiora Taopirau	Riwai
Pakerau		
Hoani Ngatai	Tamati Ngakaho	

Te tataitanga o Hoani Ngatai: the legacy of Hoani Ngatai

⁴³³ According to Ngarino Ellis ‘Ngatai is probably best known today for his carving of the house Ruatepupuke II, currently in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago...Ngatai was the leader of the Tapere School in the late nineteenth century despite the fact that he worked on only three houses: Tumoanakotore, O Hine Waiapu and Ruatepupuke II’. W. Ihimaera and N. Ellis (Eds). (2001). *Te Ata Maori Art from the East Coast, New Zealand*. Auckland: Reed. p. 37. This house was originally named Tumoanakotore when it stood at Mamaku at the north of the Waikohu River. Hoani Ngatai began the carvings that were completed by Haare Tokoaka in 1872. It was renamed Tuwhakairiora at Mihi Kotuku’s insistence in 1954 when the house was re-erected in the township of Hicks Bay. Taiapa, P. (1959). *Tuwhakairiora* (Souvenir Booklet). Gisborne: Te Rau Press. pp. 7-8.

⁴³⁴ A 1988 Museum label suggested that ‘This Meeing House [Mauitikitiki a taranga] was originally built at Paerata, just north of Tokomaru Bay, It was moved to Tokomaru Bay, about 1885 and finally re-erected as a Ringatu Meeting House at Hikuwai in 1913 by Riwai Pakerau. The large portion of the tahu (ridgepole) was probably carved by Pakerau but the raparapa and panel [amo] came from the original house’. Hone Taahu is associated with the carving of the house when it was originally erected at Parauta marae in about 1865.

⁴³⁵ Hoani Ngatai and Riwai Pakerau are both descendants of Hauiti the younger son of Hingangaroa and Iranui. However, Hoani Ngatai is descended from the tuakana (elder sibling) line from a common ancestor called Kuku.

⁴³⁶ Tibble, W. (1989). MSS. *Nga Tohunga Whakairo o Ngati Porou*. This whakapapa shows the connection between Hoani Ngatai who carved Ruatepupuke, Tamati Ngakaho who was responsible along with Te Kihirini for Porourangi and Riwai Pakerau who was associated with Mauitikitiki a Taranga and Iritekura. Rangitawaea and Pouhuakina are sblings as are Rangohuariki and Nohomai.

Hoani Ngatai's style is quite distinctive when compared with that of Hone Taahu, Hone Ngatoto and Riwai Pakerau.⁴³⁷ It is characterised by a certain naivety, imprecision and experimentation in which patterns like ritorito (unaunahi), rauponga, taratara a kae, and pakura appear alongside spirals ranging from rauru, ponahi and pikorauru on a single poupou.⁴³⁸

According to Simmons,

'Hori [Hoani] Ngatai of Rangitukia, who died in 1910, is credited with Ohinewaiapu but the work is so clearly Ngatoto's that it is unlikely. He may have assisted. The carving style in Ruatēpupule 2 in Chicago's Field Museum...and a pair of epa formerly in the Auckland War Memorial Museum and now in Chicago, would seem to represent his work'.⁴³⁹

Like Hone Taahu, Hoani Ngatai demonstrates a penchant for asymmetry but in a less formal manner. Limbs are often elongated disproportionately depending on the arrangement of the two-figure poupou composition as evidenced in the Otago Museum poupou. When a hand is raised to the mouth he will often drop the shoulder, sometimes to waist level, to facilitate hand and mouth interaction (*Figure 34 right top*). In comparison, Hoani Taahu shortens the arm length. A two-figure composition, with legs of the upper figure placed on the shoulder of the lower figure, in piggyback fashion, (*Figure 34 top middle*) or an inverted lower figure assuming the copulation position is unique to Hoani Ngatai.⁴⁴⁰ This compositional strategy is evident on the Maui pane, Otago Museum poupou and endemic in Ruatēpupuke in the Field Museum.



Figure 34. Poupou details. Whare nui for Takamoana Karaitiana, Otago Museum (D96.13). Pane detail. Mauitikitiki a Taranga, Gisborne Museum (64-2338-A). Poupou details. Unknown whare nui, Otago Museum (D31.1355). Poupou and poupou details. Ruatēpupuke whare nui, Field Museum.

⁴³⁷ W. Ihimaera and N. Ellis (Eds.). (2001). *Te Ata Maori Art from the East Coast, New Zealand*. Auckland: Reed. p. 37.

⁴³⁸ There is much more consistency in style apparent in Ruatēpupuke in the Field Museum in Chicago. In this house rauponga is the dominant surface pattern.

⁴³⁹ Simmons, D. (2006). *Meeting-houses of Ngati Porou o Te Tairāwhiti An illustrated Guide*. Auckland: Reed. p. 162.

⁴⁴⁰ See National Museum of New Zealand photograph 25850 1/1 and Otago Museum poupou reconfigured as an epa. The carvings by Hoani Ngatai are also exceptional in that the upper figures in the National Museum of New Zealand photograph hold a patu and kotiate respectively. However, several weapons are featured in Ruatēpupuke in the Field Museum in Chicago.

Chicago. Field Museum (967.143961). Carved by Hoani Ngatai.⁴⁴¹

There are a number of idiosyncratic traits that are associated with the *tataitanga whakairo* of Hoani Ngatai particularly in Otago and in Ruatēpupuke apart from those alluded to previously. Hands are four or five digits with the palm often carved with pakura and naturalistic knuckled fingers. However, he sometimes continues the pattern from palm onto fingers or thumb, and places pakati notches on the inner nostril (usually one side only) with a pakati cluster below the upper lip, and favours the pikorauru spiral over others.



Figure 36. Poupou facial detail. Unknown whare nui, Otago Museum (D31.1355,). Amo and poupou facial details. Whare nui for Takamoana Karaitiana, Otago Museum (D88.40, D96.13). Carved by Hoani Ngatai.



Figure 37. Amo details. Whare nui for Takamoana Karaitiana, Otago Museum(D8840). Carved by Hoani Ngatai.

Taking into account all these stylistic traits, Hoani Ngatai is responsible for a two-figure poupou that appears stylistically incongruous within a corpus of carvings associated with a house carved for Karaitiana Takamoana of Ngati Kahungunu in the Otago Museum. However, taken holistically in relation to his total early oeuvre and contextualised against Ruatēpupuke, this poupou (*Figure 36 top centre*) may be assigned to an earlier period, probably predating the Otago epa (*Figure 36 top left*) and the amo (*Figure 36 top right*). What makes this poupou (*Figure 36 top centre*) particularly dissonant is the almost horizontal orientation of the wheku style eyes. However, the hallmarks of Hoani Ngatai's style are evident in the experimental nature of pattern combinations, the preference for the pikorauru spiral (with edge notching), the concentric nature of limb patterns complimenting rhythms initiated by shoulder and hip spirals and the use of the pakura on the arms and legs of the upper figure.

⁴⁴¹ Poupou accession number D96.13 has a second accession number - D2005,300.

In the Otago carvings attributable to Hoani Ngatai two-ridged haehae appear on most of the facial forms and the central torso division. Two-ridged haehae also appear on the upper amo figure (*Figure 37bottom left and left centre*) as a mid-torso belt pattern, on the limbs and on one side of the lower torso as a counterpoint to the three-ridged haehae in the opposite side. It is also used on the lower figure's left arm. The two-ridged haehae appears inconsistently on the poupou carved by Hoani Ngatai that are contemporaneous with those of Hone Taahu and even less consistently on the poupou ascribed to an earlier period. The central torso band of the lower figure is carved with the two-ridged haehae in a configuration of ascending 'U' shapes on the upper torso and descending 'U' on the lower torso. This motif can be found in Ruatēpupuke and the set in the National Museum of New Zealand photograph 25850 1/1.⁴⁴² In Ruatēpupuke the arcs of central torso motif are more consistently unidirectional. However, Hoani Ngatai has a penchant for asymmetry and often disrupts pattern rhythm at whim. This is evident in the unique 'L' shaped amo in the Otago collection where he shifts effortlessly between the arcs and traverse whakarare.

Te tataitanga o Iwirakau: the legacy of Iwirakau

As mentioned previously Iwirakau together with Tukaki attended the Rawheoro Wananga at Uawa returning to their respective regions with the art of carving. The naming of the 19th century Ngati Porou style after Iwirakau commemorates this important event.⁴⁴³ The Iwirakau style is also known as the Tapere style after the first school of carving established in the Waiapu area of the East Coast.⁴⁴⁴ Phillipps quoting James W. Stack notes that 'the style of carving employed [on Hauteananui a Tangaroa in the Canterbury Museum] is called Ponga'.⁴⁴⁵

In contrast with the Rawheoro style and the later Turanga style in which the head is flanked by spirals or manaia, the width of the head in the Iwirakau style normally spans the entire breadth of the panel with the mouth and brow equidistant. While the wheku facial form maintains a modicum of similarity with the Rawheoro, Rukupo and Tukaki Schools the crown detail is transformed into a pointed or rounded arch in the Iwirakau style although the crown detail persists, particularly in the koruru style head. However, the most distinguishing facial feature within the Iwirakau style is the idiosyncratic treatment of the tongues ranging from the conventional symmetrically recessed, symmetrical and asymmetrical protruding tongues or symmetrical back to back arches on either side of the

⁴⁴² Tamati Ngakaho used a similar mid-torso division in Porourangi (1888) at Waiomatatini.

⁴⁴³ Sir Apirana Ngata speaking about the rebuilding of Ruakapanga at Tolaga Bay on the East Coast recorded that 'The carvings represent three local schools – (a) Gisborne or Raharuhi Rukupo: (b) Iwirakau or Ngati Porou, and (c) Tukaki or Te Kaha. All are supposed to have spread from the famous Rawheoro School of learning at Tolaga Bay [Uawa].' Phillipps, W. J. (1944). 'Carved Maori houses of the eastern districts of the North Island'. *Records of the Dominion Museum* 1:109.

⁴⁴⁴ Tapere is the shortened version for Taperenui a Whatonga, a whare wananga that stood at the mouth of the Waiapu River one thousand years ago. W. Ihimaera and N. Ellis (Eds.). (2001). *Te Ata Maori Art from the East Coast, New Zealand*. Auckland: Reed. p. 29.

⁴⁴⁵ Phillipps, W. J. (1944). 'Carved Maori houses of the eastern districts of the North Island'. *Records of the Dominion Museum* 1:111.

mouth together with strap-like extensions emerging from within the mouth to overlap the top or bottom lip or to overlap the side of the mouth (*Figure 38*). Apart from the conventional tongue treatment there are no fewer than 10 unconventional tongues used in association with the *wheku* or *koruru* facial forms amongst the Otago carvings attributable to Hone Taahu. There are two distinctive mouth compositions among this set of carvings featuring *manaia* transformations and the lizard entering the mouth of one of the *poutuarongo* figures. This detail will also feature prominently in *Hinetapora* (1896) where Hone Taahu was the chief carver and *Tuwhakairiora* (1872) attributed to Hoani Ngatai and *Henare Tokoaka*.⁴⁴⁶ The appearance of the lizard within the context of the *poutuarongo* may be viewed as a reference to the Maui narrative in which he attempted to conquer death by entering *Hinenuitepo*, the guardian of the under world by adopting a number of guises including that of a lizard. However, its appearance on ancestral *poupou* probably relates more specifically to a commemoration of ancestors associated with the art of ritualised intercession.⁴⁴⁷



Figure 38. *Poupou, epa, heketipi and poutuarongo tongue details. Whare nui for Takamoana Karaitiana, Otago Museum (D31.1344, D31.1346, E31.304, E31.304, E301.305, D31.1346, D88.42, D10.1). Poupou tongue details. Hinetapora whare nui, Mangahanea marae, Ruatoria, Carved by Hone Taahu.*⁴⁴⁸

The earliest example of the *Iwirakau* style is associated with *Hauteananui a Tangaroa*, a set of house carvings originally carved for *Henare Potae* of *Tokomaru Bay* acquired by the *Canterbury Museum* in 1873, and recorded as having been carved prior to the *Hauhau*

⁴⁴⁶ Although *Hoani Ngatai* is associated with *Tuwhakairiora* his style is barely discernable.

⁴⁴⁷ For a discussion on the contest between *Maui* and *Hinenuitepo* and the significance of the lizard see *Chapter Five*.

⁴⁴⁸ *Epa E31.304* and *E31.305* have additional accession numbers – *D2005.304* and *D2005.305* respectively.

uprising on the East Coast in 1865.⁴⁴⁹ The attributes of the style are set out in Table 8 below.

In 1874 Hone Taahu and Tamati Ngakaho were employed by the museum to complete *Hauteananui a Tangaroa* in Christchurch. The carvings associated with this house are unexceptional as examples of the *Iwirakau* style with ratio of head to body of 1:3 shifting to a ratio around 1:2.5 by the 1880s. Nevertheless, the hallmarks of the *Iwirakau* style are evident in the prominent use of the *rauponga* pattern, plain backgrounds, neuter figures, naturalistic five fingered hands, central *rauponga* torso strip, *haehahe* knee and hip bands, spirals ranging from *pikorauru* to the compound 'S' shaped *rauru* spiral and arched toes. The oblique composition of upper body *rauponga* with counter oblique lower torso *rauponga* that will become a hallmark of Hone Taahu can also be found among the *poupou* carvings. Carvings with this detail can be attributed him.

In spite of the overall conservatism evident in the Canterbury carvings two *poupou* are exceptional in their inclusion of naturalistic detail. In one *poupou* ancestors are carved with swords in their hands. In another ancestors hold muskets and wear ammunition belts. It is possible to conservatively place the carving of these trans-cultural interlocations at 1874 at the latest when Hone Taahu and Tamati Ngakaho were in Christchurch. This would indicate a contemporaneous development in non-customary carving practice on the East Coast rivalling that instigated by Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki at Te Tokaanganui a Noho at Te Kuiti (1873). However, the modification made to the top of 'sword carrier' *poupou* to change the *poupou* configuration to an *epa* may suggest an earlier period after the incursion of the *Hauhau* into *Ngati Porou* territory.⁴⁵⁰

Table 8: *Hauteananui a Tangaroa poupou style*

Locale	Heads	Arms	Legs	Torso	Background
Canterbury Museum Note: Curved equates with pattern following curve of limbs	Wheku head Transverse arch between brows Crown dome detail Absence of outward facing terminal brow manaia	Five fingered naturalistic hands Hand grasp sword Hands grasp musket Hands at mid torso Pikorauru spirals Compound 'S' shaped <i>rauru</i>	Legs arched or bowed Arched toes Hip spiral, arched, knee band, arched Vertical hip band, arched thigh, knee band, curved lower leg	Hull shaped body or Distended lower torso Neck accentuated with curved collar pattern Text on neck Vertical	Background plain in most cases or subsidiary facial mask between the legs

⁴⁴⁹ The house is also known as *Huiteanaui*. The carvings belonged to a house designed by Hone Taahu of *Ngati Porou* originally carved for Henare Potae of Tokomaru Bay. While Museum records talk of the intervention of the war with Te Kooti in 1866-69 during which time some of the material was burnt the intervention probably began with the *Hauhau* incursion into *Ngati Porou* territory from June to October 1865. In 1865 and November 1866 *Ngati Porou* supported Government forces at *Waerenga-a-Hika*. They also supported *Ngati Kahungunu* at Te Wairoa in January 1866. Between 1868 and 1871 *Ngati Porou* joined colonial forces in the pursuit of *Titokowaru* and Te Kooti. A course of action that was aimed at offsetting the colonial government's intention to alienate land from *Ngati Porou* because various *hapu* had supported the *Hauhau* uprising in 1865. Museum Guide 1895. p. 212; Soutar, M. (2000). 'Ngati Porou Leadership – Rapata Wahawaha and the politics of conflict'. Unpublished doctoral thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. pp. 248-308. Hakiwai, A. and J. Terrell. (1994). 'Ruatapepuke: A Maori Meeting House'. *The Field Museum Centennial Collection*. Chicago: Field Museum. p. 40.

⁴⁵⁰ In view of these early concessions to European iconography it appears anomalous that a reversion to conservatism (in carving) is apparent in *Hinetapora* at *Mangahanea* (1896) where there is only one figure in the entire house with a weapon - *toki poutangata*. Even *Porourangi* (1888) at *Waiomatatini* has a limited range of iconographical objects that are customary in form including *putorino* and *patu*.

<p>Note: The stylistic attributes listed above are based on a sample of Five poupou for Hauteananui a Tangaroa</p>	<p>Ear domes with or without spirals Multi-toothed or two to three toothed mouth Tongue overlapping lower lip (symmetrical)</p>	<p>spirals Spiral, oblique upper, oblique lower arm Spiral, oblique and counter oblique upper, oblique lower arm Vertical shoulder band, oblique and arched upper, curved lower arm</p>	<p>Oblique rauponga above and below knee band Hip spiral with oblique thigh, knee band and curved lower leg Hip spiral with oblique thigh, knee band and oblique lower Hip spiral with oblique thigh, knee band, oblique and counter oblique lower leg Hip spiral with oblique and counter oblique thigh, knee band and oblique lower Hip spiral with oblique and counter oblique thigh, oblique and counter oblique lower leg</p>	<p>whakarare dividing line Absence of vertical whakarare dividing line Central whakarare crosses pakati asymmetrically Oblique upper torso with counter oblique lower torso Vertical shoulder band, oblique, curved, elbow band, following lower arm Upper chest echoing spiral curve with oblique mid torso and opposing oblique lower torso Ammunition belt at mid-torso</p>	
<p>Note: The stylistic attributes listed above are based on a sample of Five poupou for Hauteananui a Tangaroa</p>					

The Iwirakau style evident in Hauteananui a Tangaroa can be supplemented by carvings in the Otago Museum and other national and international museums once thought to belong to Tumoanakotore to expand the characteristics of the Iwirakau style.⁴⁵¹ Characteristics include plain backgrounds, wheku or koruru heads, either no subsidiary figures between the legs or figures disposed vertically or horizontally, either a vertical flanking frieze of eccentric manaia with abstract circular or elliptical elements, domed bodies ranging in shape from ovoid to hull shaped, naturalistic hands with either three or four fingers and a thumb, arms raised with hand emerging from mouth or placed on mouth, and two figure poupou composition. The dominant surface pattern is rauponga. There are also poupou that include ritorito and/or taratara a kae and/or pakura. In each instance, these poupou point to the contribution of another carver other than Hone Taahu whose style dominates in the Otago assemblage (*Figure 39*).

⁴⁵¹ According to Simmons this house originally stood at Mamaku marae at Wharehika between 1860 and 1865. It was replaced by another house in 1872. Simmons, D. R. (1982). *Catalogue of Maori artefacts in the Museums of Canada and the United States of America*. Auckland: Bulletin of the Auckland Institute and Museum 12. p. 29. Dimitri Anson has subsequently proved Simmons's attribution of the Otago Museum carvings to Tumoanakotore to be misguided. According to Anson '...the story seems to be a conjectural rationalisation ensuing from Simmons' assertion that Karaitiana's carvings and the missing house from Hick's Bay were one and the same...Documentation from a number of sources, as well as other circumstantial evidence, agrees that this house was built but not completed for Karaitiana at Hawke's Bay in the late 1870s, when it was purchased through the actions of Hamilton and Hocken...The story of "Tumoana Kotore" is about more than just the bungling of facts. It is also an example of how a misleading reinterpretation of Maori traditional history in Hicks Bay, a Pakeha constructed tradition...has been believed and perpetuated by Pakeha and Maori alike'. Anson, D. (2004). What's in a name? The house carvings that Dr Hocken gave to the Otago Museum. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 113 (1):85.



Figure 39. *Poupou and amo details. Whare nui for Takamoana Karaitiana, Otago Museum (D31.1355, D31.1355, D 96.13, D 96.13, D 96.13, D31.1348, D15.47, D88.40). Not carved by Hone Taahu.*

Torsos are divided by a vertical passage of whakarare with obliquely set rauponga sometimes inverted or arranged horizontally at waist area. Exceptions occur in panels that are not attributable to Hone Taahu. There is a unique Iwirakau spiral composed of single-ridged or two-ridged haehae against a line of pakati although the interlocking and ‘S’ shaped rauru spirals and pikorauru are also employed. There is evidence of experimental edge notching associated with the pikorauru spiral on one poupou and the amo among the Otago carvings (*Figure 39 top left, bottom right*).

The lizard appears as a prominent naturalistic form in the Otago carvings (*Figure 40*) as a substitute for a tongue in two of the Otago carvings, and also appearing between legs, between torso and arms, in hands and even on the cheek area of a poupou in the British Museum in London.



Figure 40. *Poupou, poutuarongo, epa lizard details. Whare nui for Takamoana Karaitiana, Otago Museum (D31.1344, D31.1344, D96.14, D10.1, E31.301, D10.1, D8840). Carved by Hone Taahu.⁴⁵²*

⁴⁵² Epa E31.301 also has an additional accession number – D2005.301.



Figure 41. *Poupou details. British Museum. London. British Museum (1922.5-12.1.11). Carved by Hone Taahu.*

The British Museum poupou (*Figure 41*) is exceptional in the number of subsidiary figures located on the background plane. There are two tiki subsidiary figures between the legs of the lower figure (together with a manaia facial form in the pubic region) and a tiki and lizard between the legs of the upper figure. The addition of naturalistic bodies to the manaia heads flanking the outer brow of the upper figure is also exceptional. The British Museum poupou also demonstrate Hone Taahu's early penchant for asymmetry, particularly in the carvings associated with the Karaitiana Takamoana house. By the time he carved Hinetapora there is much more restraint shown and a more consistent attention to symmetry in the poupou carvings in particular. Hone Taahu used the composition of shoulder straps inside the distinctive Iwirakau spiral in Hinetapora (1896) at Mangahanea.

Like the British Museum poupou, the two-figure poupou panels at Berkeley in California (11.2251-2), Honolulu (C 3831) and New York (80.0.4018) reveal the two-ridged haehae over the majority of the panels that characterised the *tataitanga whakairo* of Hone Taahu, Hone Ngatoto and Riwai Pakerau.⁴⁵³

Hone Taahu carved the Berkeley panels where asymmetry appears as a signature approach to pattern application. In some instances, the whakarare on the arms complements the rhythm of the shoulder spiral while running obliquely on the opposite arm. Alternatively, a spiral appears on one shoulder with rauponga on the other.

In contrast, the carver responsible for the Honolulu poupou is more conservative with a stricter adherence to symmetry. In this example, spirals appear on the hips and shoulders of the figures and patterns on the legs are mirrored from one side of the figure to the other. Apart from an oblique passage of rauponga in the groin area of the upper figure, rauponga are arranged horizontally over the torso. The carver also resorts to spiral on the cheeks as opposed to whakarare and adopts a more conservative approach to hand and mouth interaction with the hand placed in a perceptually logical relationship.

⁴⁵³ The panels were part of an exchange with Otago Museum in Dunedin, New Zealand. They are housed in the Lowie Museum of Anthropology at the University of California, the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, the St. Louis Art Museum, and American Museum of Natural History in New York.

The Berkeley and Honolulu poupou feature a transverse arch between the brows of the wheku style heads while the St. Louis panel incorporates a transverse arch with taratara a kae on the upper figure and a pikorauru spiral on the forehead of the lower figure. In the New York example there is an un-patterned domed protuberance. In the St. Louis example there are spirals to indicate the ears. Instead of the full figure between the legs of the major figures as in the other examples a full facial form is located between the legs with taratara a kae. The spirals used by the St. Louis carver are ‘S’ shaped rauru. The St. Louis and Honolulu carvers’ use of horizontal bands beneath the spirals but other pattern variables make each carver’s approach different. Like the Honolulu carver there is an emphasis on symmetry. In all four examples the treatment of the inner mouth area is idiosyncratic ranging from toothless, to four, ten and 14 teeth. The stylistic range in these carvings clearly demonstrates that the Iwirakau style was not only fully developed but carvers were beginning to develop individual styles evident in the range of carved panels in the Otago Museum, the National Museum of New Zealand and in museums in the United States of America and in London as demonstrated in Table 9.

Table 9: Karaitiana Takamoana carvings: stylistic variables

Locale	Heads	Arms	Legs	Torso	Background
Berkeley 11.2251	Wheku head Rounded transverse arch between brows Outward facing terminal brow manaia Ear spirals Teeth lined mouth Tongue overlapping lower lip Whakarare on tongue	Naturalistic hands Raised arm with hand emerging from mouth Hand on hip Unique Ngati Porou spirals Whakarare follow spiral rhythm Whakarare set obliquely	Legs arched No hip spiral <i>Whakarare follows arched leg with counter semi-circular sweep outside the leg</i> Whakarare aligned vertically against body before following arched leg Feet defined as a flat plane with toes defined by excavated negative area	Hull shaped body Vertical whakarare dividing line Central whakarare crosses pakati asymmetrically Obliquely set haehae and pakati in apposition at waist line either side of central whakarare	Background plain in most areas Subsidiary figure set horizontally between the legs Subsidiary figure set horizontally between the legs

Locale	Heads	Arms	Legs	Torso	Background
Berkeley 11.2252	Wheku head Transverse arch between brows Outward facing terminal brow manaia <i>No ear spirals</i> Teeth lined mouth <i>No teeth</i> Tongue overlapping lower lip Whakarare on tongue <i>Tongue inside mouth</i>	Naturalistic hands Raised arm with hand emerging from mouth Hand on hip Hand on stomach Unique Ngati Porou spirals <i>[offset at elbow]</i> Whakarare follow spiral rhythm Whakarare set obliquely <i>No spiral</i> <i>Unique whakarare composition</i>	Legs arched No hip spiral Unique Ngati Porou hip spiral Whakarare aligned vertically before sweeping obliquely across arched leg Whakarare set horizontally against sweep of haehae and pakati at the hip Unique whakarare elliptical composition defining hip with oblique sweep of haehae and pakati Feet defined	Hull shaped body Vertical whakarare diving line Central whakarare crosses pakati asymmetrically Obliquely set haehae and pakati in apposition at waist line either side of central whakarare	<i>Flanking manaia frieze</i> Background plain in most areas Subsidiary figure set horizontally between the legs No subsidiary figure between the legs* Subsidiary figure set horizontally between torso and inner arm

			sculpturally in a semi-naturalistic manner		
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Locale	Heads	Arms	Legs	Torso	Background
New York	<p>Wheku head Un-patterned domed crown protuberance Outward facing terminal brow manaia Teeth lined mouth (10) <i>No teeth</i> Tongue overlapping lower lip Whakarare on tongue Whakarare defined mouth Cheek spirals</p>	<p>Naturalistic hands with four fingers and thumb Hands on stomach Unique Ngati Porou shoulder spirals [outside body line in upper figure and overlapping body in lower figure Whakarare set obliquely in apposition of upper and lower arm and horizontal in one instance</p>	<p>Legs arched Unique Ngati Porou hip spirals Whakarare set horizontally Pakati and haehae follow curve of leg Pakati and haehae sweep obliquely across curve of leg Feet defined sculpturally in a semi-naturalistic manner</p>	<p>Hull shaped body Vertical whakarare diving line Central whakarare crosses pakati asymmetrically Obliquely set haehae and pakati in apposition at waist line either side of central whakarare Horizontally arranged haehae and pakati with whakarare accents</p>	<p>Background plain in most areas Subsidiary figure set horizontally between the legs</p>

Locale	Heads	Arms	Legs	Torso	Background
Honolulu	<p>Wheku head Transverse arch between brows Ear spirals Outward facing terminal brow manaia Teeth lined mouth Tongue overlapping lower lip Whakarare on tongues</p>	<p>Naturalistic hands Raised arm with hand placed on mouth Hand on stomach Unique Ngati Porou spirals <i>Whakarare set obliquely in apposition at upper and lower arm</i> Fingers widely spaced with exaggerated knuckles</p>	<p>Legs arched <i>Unique Ngati</i> <i>Porou spiral defines hip with horizontal whakarare band with obliquely set haehae and pakati against counter rhythm of pakati and haehae defining upper foot</i> <i>Toes feature four circular indentations to define toe arches</i></p>	<p>Hull shaped body Vertical whakarare dividing line Central whakarare crosses pakati asymmetrically Haehae and pakati arranged horizontally either side of central whakarare As above with oblique placement at groin area</p>	<p>Background plain in most areas Subsidiary figure set horizontally between the legs No subsidiary figure between the legs Subsidiary figures set vertically between armpit and hip and inner arm</p>

Locale	Heads	Arms	Legs	Torso	Background
St. Louis	<p>Wheku head Transverse arch between brows <i>Crown spiral</i> Ear spirals Inward facing terminal brow manaia Teeth lined mouth <i>Tongue overlapping top lip</i> <i>Two large pakati at corner of mouth</i> <i>Pakura on tongue</i> <i>Chin spiral</i> Haehae on tongue</p>	<p>Naturalistic hands Raised arm with hand emerging from mouth Hand on stomach <i>'S' shaped rauru double spirals</i></p>	<p>Legs arched <i>'S' shaped rauru spiral define hips with horizontal whakarare band of haehae and pakati following the sweep of the arched legs.</i> <i>Feet created with pointed arch set horizontally with pakura pattern and three oblong toes set against the arch</i> <i>No feet</i></p>	<p><i>Oval shaped body</i> Vertical whakarare dividing line <i>Central whakarare symmetrically composed</i> Haehae and pakati arranged horizontally either side of central whakarare As above with oblique placement at groin area</p>	<p>Background plain in most areas <i>Facial form set vertically between legs</i></p>

The absence of subsidiary tiki between the legs of the primary ancestral figures may be interpreted as the absence of offspring associated with the ancestor depicted, a male rather than a female or a concession to the puritanical values associated with Christianity. In a debate with kaumatua including the late Wiwi Henry, Tom Te Maro, Queenie Maro and Pani Ellison at Taharora in 1989 the concession to Christianity was acknowledged by the kaumatua as an inalienable Ngati Porou convention. The adzing out of genitalia carved on

the ancestral post of Tuwhakairiora at Te Hono ki Rarotonga by Pine Taepa was cited in opposition to the practice despite its proliferation in carved houses of the 1980s like Tanenuiarangi at the University of Auckland carved under the direction of tohunga whakairo Pakariki Harrison of Ngati Porou. The convention of a subsidiary figure between the legs may be traced back to the 17th century at the Kohika site in the Bay of Plenty and to the 18th century in a poupou taken by Captain Cook and his men from Pourewa Island. The relief carving of breasts evident in the Whangara poupou recovered from a Whangara stream and in the female ancestors in Te Hau ki Turanga of 1843 demonstrates the 18th century and mid-19th century convention for representing female ancestors. The carving of genitalia within the meeting house context is rare although examples do exist like the poupou depicting Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine in Te Mana o Turanga at Manutuke.⁴⁵⁴ This house also contains a large number of neuter images carved in the 1880s that clearly demonstrate the impact of missionary teaching on the carvers.

There is sufficient commonality in style between the Berkeley and New York panels to suggest either a common carver for the panels or a master student relationship in view of the stylistic variations evident in the hands and feet in particular. However it is clear that the un-patterned toes are incomplete and should have been finished with a curving line of haehae like the New York poupou. The element that links these panels together stylistically is the unique Ngati Porou spiral composed of a line of haehae and one of pakati that complement the two-ridged haehae evident on all the panels. This spiral reappeared in houses associated with Hone Taahu in particular such as Hinetapora (1896) at Mangahanea.

There is sufficient contrast between the New York panels and the St. Louis panel to assign the carving to another carver. The most obvious difference can be found in the large facial mask between the legs compared with the full figure forms on the other poupou. Other points of stylistic departure include the strap-like tongue lapping the upper lip and the range of surface pattern including haehae, pakati, whakarare, taratara a kae, pakura and 'S' shaped rauru spiral.

There is a relationship between the St. Louis panel and the Honolulu panel in the use of the horizontal whakarare strap pattern to divide the limbs however other stylistic variables particularly in the head region and the hands support the assignment the work to another carver. It is possible that this panel like the Berkeley and New York panel is also part of a master student relationship because of the unique Iwirakau spiral.

The carvers most associated with the Otago Museum carvings were Hone Taahu who also worked on Hinetapora (1896) with his nephew Hone Ngatoto, Wi Tahata, Wi

⁴⁵⁴ According to Leo Fowler there are three groups of carving in Te Mana o Turanga. The first completed prior to 1865. The second group completed under the supervision of Raharuhi Rukupo between 1865 and 1873 when Raharuhi Rukupo died. The last group were carved between 1873 and 1882. It is the latter group that show a concession to Christian values. Fowler, L. (1974). *Te Mana o Turanga*. Auckland: Penrose with the New Zealand Places Trust. Plate 38.

Haereroa and Hone Te Wehi.⁴⁵⁵ In Hinetapora there is a much tighter control on stylistic deviation compared to Karaitiana Takamoana carvings although variability is still apparent in the application of spirals, two and three-ridged haehae and the style of manaia on poupou, papaka (base panels) epa and the roro (front wall) of the house. In a further web of stylistic entanglement Hone Taahu is associated with Riwai Pakerau in the carving of Te Poho o Materoa (1880s) and Mauitikitiki a Taranga (1913) while Hone Ngatoto is connected with Riwai Pakerau in the carving of Iritekura (1880, 1901, 1910).

Nga tataitanga ahua toi o Pakerau: the form of Riwai Pakerau contextualised

In 1988 during the restoration of the ancestral house Iritekura at Waipiro Bay an amo was recovered from the riverbed of the Waipiro stream. This amo belonged to the previous ancestral house of the same name opened in 1910 and dismantled and replaced by the current house in the 1940s.⁴⁵⁶ The amo was subsequently uplifted and taken to Mihikoinga marae north of Waipiro Bay to be used as a stylistic template for the epa of Taharora built by Riwai Pakerau prior to 1893 and refurbished with carving and mixed media relief work by me between 1989 and 2001.⁴⁵⁷

According to Neich

Riwai Pakerau of Ngati Porou identified himself most closely with the Ngai Taharora hapu of Ngati Porou (N. K. Maraki, pers.comm; 6 November 1986). He is said to have been blinded by Te Kooti during the Land Wars, but must have recovered enough to work on several meeting houses after the wars. He was also involved in the building of St Abraham's church at Waipiro bay. As a carver and a painter he is associated with the first Ruakapanga house at Hauti Marae, Tolaga Bay, in 1880, the original Iritekura house at Waipiro Bay in about 1880, Mauitikitiki-a-Taranga house at Tokomaru Bay, the Te Kuri house at Mangatuna, the first Taharora house at Waipiro Bay, and Te Poho-o-Materoa house at Whareponga. Hamilton (1896) published five of Riwai's kowhaiwhai patterns in his book on Maori art. Iranui Haig has described his kowhaiwhai methods as follows:

He had that freehand system of curves and he used his korus, his fingers and thumb. Every time

⁴⁵⁵ Phillipps, W. J. (1944). 'Carved Maori houses of the eastern districts of the North Island'. *Records of the Dominion Museum* 1:112.

⁴⁵⁶ 'This house of the Whanau-a-Iritekura people was built about 1901 and was replaced by the present Iritekura house in 1951. Riwai Pakerau is recorded as the carver, while Ngata (letter to W. J. Phillipps, 31 October 1942, National Museum files) mentions Hone Ngatoto. Several rafters from the first Iritekura house are now incorporated into the dining hall on the marae. The figurative paintings are confined to the lower portion of each rafter, separated from the upper area of kowhaiwhai by a light green band. Each figurative composition features a fairly symmetrical plant (except one strongly asymmetrical) with finely detailed leaves. At the base of some are printed messages, another has a rudimentary carving-style face and another has two dogs and a 'crocodile'. One of rather different style has the name Iritekura printed in a green band above a red marakihau figure floating over a plant. Most of these compositions are similar in style to the rafters of Mauitikitiki a Taranga, also said to be painted by Riwai Pakerau'. Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori Figurative Painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 271.

⁴⁵⁷ The date for the building of Taharora is not recorded but is implied in evidence given at the Ohineakai Land Court hearing in 1893. Hirini Whakakino speaks of being allowed to build a pa at Taumata Whanui [not far from the Taiharakeke stream] 'against Tuta Nihoniho' [1.2.93] while Haira Morehu suggests that the reason for the pa 'was the trouble that arose over the Waipiro investigation Tuta Nihinihi [sic] was one side Pine[amine Waipapa] and his people the other', They were given Taumata Whanui for protection where Pineamine Waipapa built a pa and 'when the trouble was over they left the pa and went to Waipiro' [2.2.93]. The use of the word pa in this instance equates with marae in contemporary vernacular and by implication probably suggests a settlement with a number of houses and perhaps an ancestral house. Maori Land Court. (1893). *Waiapu Minute Book* No. 18. pp. 63,76.

he came to a joint, he'd shift his hand to make the curve, (Cheryl Laurie, Gisborne Museum Information Sheet 13).⁴⁵⁸

The earlier Iritekura that opened in 1910 is an important ancestral house for Ngai Taharora⁴⁵⁹ because it represents the carving and painting style of Riwai Pakerau who was responsible for establishing Ngai Taharora as a hapu independent from Te Whanau a Iritekura.⁴⁶⁰ This was the outcome of a curse that Tuta Nihoniho placed on Te Whanau a Iritekura as a result of losing his claim to the Waipiro Bay block in the 1880s at the Native Land Court in Gisborne.⁴⁶¹ The house that Riwai Pakerau built was an uncarved house called Taharora that originally stood at the side of the Taiharakeke stream north of Waipiro Bay⁴⁶².

Iritekura had carved amo and raparapa (barged board extensions), pane (porch ridgepole extension) and probably a koruru (gable mask). On the basis of the carved and painted panels discovered at Opiki Station, the painted heke and painted poupou that were used to embellish the interior of the original Dining Room at Waipiro Bay, Iritekura would have contained painted interior wall panels instead of carved poupou and carved pane (ridgepole extension in the porch area).⁴⁶³ Although Neich records 1880 and 1901 for the opening of Iritekura a series of Hargreaves photographs from 1910 indicate that the house was opened in that year.⁴⁶⁴ According to the late Eric Tamepo the current Iritekura is 'house number 3' and was built as a 'war memorial carved meeting house...It was erected the 3rd time and enlarged in the year 1945 and was completed and officially opened in 1951'.⁴⁶⁵

As indicated above in order to decipher the style of Riwai Pakerau it will be necessary through a process of analysis and elimination to determine Riwai Pakerau's stylistic contribution within those houses attributed to more than one carver. The analysis will begin with an identification of Riwai Pakerau's approach to surface pattern followed by an analysis of his carving style relative to amo and raparapa in particular and other carvings

⁴⁵⁸ Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori Figurative Painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. pp. 197-8.

⁴⁵⁹ In 1988 I recovered an epa and some internal painted panels stored under a woolshed at Opiki Station north of Te Puia Springs on the East Coast of the North Island. This carved amo and painted wall panels were beyond salvaging because of the decay caused by sheep urine. These taonga (treasured possessions) were photographed and restored.

⁴⁶⁰ According to anecdotal evidence from my grandmother Merekuia McIlroy, Riwai Pakerau withdrew from Te Whanau a Iritekura to establish Ngai Taharora because of a curse placed on Te Whanau a Iritekura by Tuta Nihoniho. Soutar, M. (12 August 2005, pers comm.).

⁴⁶¹ Paratene Ngata won the appeal case for Pineamine Waipapa on behalf of Te Whanau a Iritekura for the Waipiro Bay Block. As a consequence the 10,000 acres awarded to Tuta Nihoniho at the court case hearing was returned to Te Whanau a Iritekura. Walker, R. (2001). *He Tipua The life and times of Apirana Ngata*. Auckland: Viking. pp. 61-2.

⁴⁶² Taharora was originally located at Taiharakeke not far from Waipiro Bay. It was shifted to its current site after a tidal wave struck the East Coast in the 1920s. Ellison, P. (3 January 1987, pers comm.).

⁴⁶³ Opiki Station is on the main highway between Te Puia Springs and Ruatoria. The Tamepo family managed the Station at the time of the visit in 1987. Although I was able to track the one maihi and assorted painted panels the maihi and koruru were not amongst the house panels under the wool shed.

⁴⁶⁴ *Waipiro Bay School Centennial Pictorial booklet Piki Haere 1892-1992*. Gisborne: Gisborne Herald. p.118. According to Neich (1993) Malta Sidney deposited this pane in the Museum in 1974 (letter to N. K. Maraki. 9 October 1986). Also, Eric Tamepo managed Opiki Station where the carvings were found.

⁴⁶⁵ Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori Figurative Painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. pp. 197, 271. *Waipiro Bay School Centennial Pictorial booklet Piki Haere 1892-1992*. Gisborne: Gisborne Herald. p.119.

associated with the whare nui where he has been identified as a contributor.

For example the painting and carving associated with Mauitikitiki a Taranga are spread between the Okains Bay Museum in the South Island, the Tairawhiti Art Museum and the Auckland Museum.⁴⁶⁶

According to Neich

‘this house was originally erected at Paerauta marae, Mangahauini Valley in about 1865. It was later shifted down into Tokomaru Bay sometime before 1900, then was removed and re-erected at Hikuwai in 1913. It has since been demolished, but several of its timbers have survived. Maui was a fully carved house with elaborately carved poupou, possibly by Hone Taahu. Riwai Pakerau has also been mentioned as a carver of this house.’⁴⁶⁷



Fig 42. Poupou details. Mauitikitiki a Taranga, Auckland Museum (45992, 45900). Whare nui for Takamoana Karaitiana, Otago Museum (D31.1344, D 31.1346).

Whakapapa of Hone Taahu⁴⁶⁸

	Hingangaroa	
	Mahaki Ewe Karoro	
	Te Aohore	
	Te Aomania	
	Te Ihiko	
	Mariu	
	Hinetapora	
	Koparehuia	
Makahuri-----		Marewa---
-----Takereariari		
Te Auiti	Tauarai	Mahuika
Kauere	Tatahau	Hinetauira
Hone Tahu [sic]	Hohuru	Paora
	Wi Tahata	Hone
Ngatoto		

⁴⁶⁶ There are a set of kowhaiwhai panels inside the Museum house at Whakaata which were gifted to the Okains Bay Museum ‘on the 21st June 1971’ by ‘Te Oraiti Aspenell and Aida Haig, grand daughters of Tame Potae...from their demolished meeting house Maui’ from Whakaata meeting house information panel. There are four carved poupou and one pare in the Auckland Museum and one amo and two raparapa in the Tairawhiti Art Museum in Gisborne. Although the pare is ascribed to Maui a photograph in the collection of the Pewhairangi whanau in Tokomaru Bay shows that original pare was based on the more orthodox version with three figures with upraised hands.

⁴⁶⁷ Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori Figurative Painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 271.

⁴⁶⁸ Tibble, W. (1989). MSS. *Nga Tohunga Whakairo o Ngati Porou*. This whakapapa shows the connection between Hone Taahu, Wi Tahata and Hone Ngatoto who all worked on Hinetapora. Makahuri, Marewa and Takere are siblings.

Te tataitanga o Hone Taahu ma: the legacy of Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto

Stylistic analysis of the Maui poupou indicates that Hone Taahu was the carver. Three of four poupou from Maui incorporate an eccentric manaia frieze (*Figure 42*) flanking the ancestral poupou figures composed of an alternation of circular eye with horizontal pakati above and below the 'eye' with concentric crescent ridges above and below. The lower crescent ridge has a further horizontal pakati element that sits on top of a crescent that forms the eyebrow for the circular eye beneath. The mouth below the 'eye' is also crescent like in composition with a vertical passage of pakati inside the mouth. The nose is a simple semicircular form between mouth and eye.

There are also compositional variations in which the manaia mouth is orientated horizontally with a pointed rear facing tongue lapping the lower jaw with less regular use of the horizontal pakati spacer. This flanking frieze of eccentric manaia can also be found on poupou at the Otago Museum (*Figure 42 right*), the Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California Berkeley, Peabody Museum in Salem, and the American Museum of Natural History, New York.⁴⁶⁹ Even the Maui poupou without the eccentric manaia frieze can be attributed to Hone Taahu because of a number of idiosyncratic surface pattern compositions including asymmetrical rauponga compositions from one arm to the other, and the vertical triple haehae passage separating legs from torso with whakarare sweeping down the inward curving leg evident on the Berkeley poupou.

Restoration work is evident on the right hand side (*Figure 43 right*) and at the bottom of the Maui poupou (*Figure 43 left*) Maui poupou. Riwai Pakerau was responsible for the restoration when the house was moved to Hikuwai and re-erected in 1913. Riwai Pakerau carved the restored sections, which are in a different style from the original sections.



Figure 43. Poupou details. Mauitikitiki a Taranga, Auckland Museum (45991).

The base restoration does not match the original upper section of the poupou. Not only are the hands stylistically different with three fingers rather than five but the three-ridged haehae becomes two-ridged haehae in the restored section (*Figure 42 left*). There is

⁴⁶⁹ The Berkeley carvings are in The Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California and the New York carvings are in The American Museum of Natural History, New York.

also a change in the haehae from central-ridged to obtuse haehae in which the haehae has been flattened, particularly on the lower figure's right arm. In addition, the pakati are nihoniho taniwha rather than tuarakuri evident on the original poupou. A similar change from three-ridged haehae to two can also be discovered in the restoration of one of the other poupou in the assemblage. This two-ridged haehae style of rauponga is typical of Riwai Pakerau and can be found on the matapihi (window) and pare of Kuri, the amo of both Maui and Iritekura and the pane from Iritekura in the Auckland War Memorial Museum. Consequently, it is plausible to suggest that not only was Riwai Pakerau responsible for the restoration, but he also carved new amo and raparapa for Maui when it was re-erected at Hikuwai in 1913.



Figure 44. Poupou details. Mauitikitiki a Taranga, Auckland Museum (45991).



Figure 45. Poupou details. Mauitikitiki a Taranga, Auckland Museum (45900).

This does not mean that Hone Taahu did not use the two-ridged haehae. On the contrary, the two-ridged haehae features prominently on wheku facial forms on the Maui poupou without the flanking eccentric manaia frieze (*Figure 44*). The two-ridged haehae also appears as a central torso motif on three of the four Maui poupou. It can also be seen on the arms used in tandem with three-ridged haehae. A consistent two-ridged haehae appears on the legs of the upper figure apart from the three-ridged haehae separating legs from torso (*Figure 44 right*). The right shoulder is separated from the torso by a curved three-ridged haehae that is met by a two-ridged haehae counter curve followed by a single-haehahe curve with a double whakarare across the intervening pakati then a two-ridged

haehae sweep with single whakarare transitions. Running off the outer curve are a series of five obliquely set two-ridged haehae on the outer shoulder followed by an opposition of obliquely set two-ridged haehae on the upper arm and a further oblique orientation of alternating pakati and two-ridged haehae on the lower arm (*Figure 43 top centre left*).

The consistent use of two-ridged haehae appears on only one poupou among the set of four. In this instance (*Figure 45*), it appears alongside another idiosyncratic feature synonymous with the style of Hone Taahu – the unique Iwirakau rauru spiral composed of an interlocking single passage of pakati and a single-ridged passage of haehae.



Figure 46. Poupou and poutahu details. Hinetapora whare nui, Mangahaea marae, Ruatoria



Figure 47. Pane. Gisborne Museum (1999.34.1)

By the time Hinetapora was opened in 1896 shoulder and hip bands (*Figure 46*) emerge as a distinctive design element in the house carving scheme to create a sense of design unity between the carvings. The distinctive Iwirakau rauru spiral is located outside shoulder or hip bands separating limbs from torso while single-ridged haehae become double-ridged haehae in the Iwirakau rauru spiral first seen among the Otago poupou.⁴⁷⁰

What is evident in the *tataitanga whakairo* of Hone Taahu is a penchant for unpredictability, not only in his use of two-ridged haehae convention, but also in his preference for asymmetry. This is amply demonstrated in the poupou for Maui and the Otago carvings that are attributable to him.

In a recent amo acquisition (*Figure 47*) in the Tairawhiti Art Museum in Gisborne, which I attribute to Hone Taahu, the extended tongue element at the top of the amo features a distinctive tailed manaia that appears in Hinetapora on the base of internal poupou and the porch papaka. It also resurfaces as a base detail in Hinerupe poupou carved

⁴⁷⁰ Hinetapora was built over a ten year period from 1886 to 1896. The other carvers involved in the carving of the house included Hone Ngatoto, Wi Tahata, Wi Haereroa and Hone Te Wehi. Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori Figurative Painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 269.

by Hone Ngatoto.

A further connection between Hinetapora and the Gisborne amo is evident in the raised oblique torso bands with pakura surface pattern, two-ridged haehae shoulder and hip bands separating limbs from torso. In addition, the shoulder and hips feature the distinctive Iwirakau spiral of juxtaposed haehae and pakati outside the shoulder and hip bands (*Figure 47 centre*). The combination of bands and spiral appears for the first time in the carvings for Karaitiana Takamoana in Otago while the raised oblique torso bands with pakura appear for the first time in Hinetapora. This would suggest that the Gisborne amo and the carvings for Hinetapora are contemporaneous. In a further endorsement of Hone Taahu as the carver of the Gisborne amo the tongue of the lower facial mask (*Figure 47 right*) may be favourably compared with those in the Otago assemblage (*Figure 38*).



Figure 48. Amo. Gisborne Museum (59/1823).



Figure 49. Poupou. Iwirakau whare nui. National Museum (ME954).

A second amo in the Tairawhiti Art Museum may be attributed to Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto.⁴⁷¹ Again the tailed manaia features on the tongue extension at the top of the amo and figurative element at the base of the amo. The curved arm of the base manaia and facial form would point to Hone Taahu as the carver responsible for the preliminary moulding of the form. However, severe symmetry, with arm and shoulder bands separating limbs from torso, typified Hone Ngatoto's later phase, including plain backgrounds. Typical of Hone Ngatoto's approach to the limb bands is his extension of the two-ridged haehae on the inside of the arm or the thigh. This can be seen in the Tairawhiti Art Museum amo (*Figure 48 right*) and also a poupou in the National Museum New Zealand (*Figure 49*). It is particularly prominent in St Mary's Church at Tikitiki.

In both the Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto amo the hip and shoulder bands have two-ridged haehae on the inner torso and outer shoulder and hip. In contrast, Riwai Pakerau favoured a single-ridged inner haehae and double-ridged outer haehae for his shoulder and hip bands evident in the Iritekura pane (*Figure 50*). This convention is also apparent on

⁴⁷¹ This amo was received from Te Hapara School in 1959. A note on back of accession card by Jock McEwan suggests that Hone Tahu [sic] as the carver.

the pane of Te Aotawarirangi at Waima north of Tokomaru Bay suggesting Riwai Pakerau's involvement with Hone Ngatoto in the carving of this house.



Figure 50. Pane details. Iritekura whare nui, Auckland Museum (46442).
Nga haehae o Pakerau: the carved pattern of Riwai Pakerau

While the use of the two-ridged haehae appears on all houses associated with Riwai Pakerau it may also be discovered in other houses within the East Coast region. Some of the porch epa and papaka (base boards) and internal poupou of Hinetapora (1896) at Mangahanea include this idiosyncratic design element.⁴⁷² Te Poho o Te Aotawarirangi (Figure 52) at Waima features amo and raparapa that correspond in design with both Maui and Iritekura. Hone Ngatoto can be assigned these carvings on the basis of correspondent traits evident in the paepae (traverse beam) carved during the 'first years' of the First World War' for Hinetapora.⁴⁷³ On the amo these traits include scalloped tongue and neck and the application of torso pattern following the cursive sweep of the body.



Fig 51. Paepae, Hinetapora whare nui, Mangahanea marae, Ruatoria.



Fig 52. Amo details, amo and raparapa detail. Te Poho o Aotawarirangi. Te Aruru marae, Waima.

Other houses with the two-ridged haehae include Tuwakairiora (1872) at Hicks Bay, the Otago Museum collection that entered the museum in 1873, Hinerupe (1880s) at Te

⁴⁷² Carvers associated with Hinetapora include Hone Tahu, Hone Ngatoto, Wi Tahata, Wi Haeroa and Hone Te Wehi. Phillipps, W. J. (1944). 'Carved Maori houses of the eastern districts of the North Island'. *Records of the Dominion Museum* 1:112.

According to Te Pakaka Tawhai, Riwai Pakerau was involved in the carving of Rauru nui a Toi together with Hone Taahu, Te Kihirini and Hone Ngatoto. He also suggests that the 'team of nga tohunga whakairo o Rauru' were also responsible for Porourangi. Although there is no record of Riwai Pakerau's involvement in Hinetapora his distinctive band treatment is in evidence in the house. Tawhai, P. (1978). 'Te Tipuna Wharenui o te Rohe o Uepohatu'. Unpublished master's thesis, Massey University Palmerston North, New Zealand. pp. 57, 60.

⁴⁷³ Tawhai. (1978). p. 78.

Araroa, Ruataupare (1890) at Tuparoa, Hinetamatea (1900) at Anaura Bay and the St Mary's church at Tikitiki (1926). The two-ridged haehae is also evident on poupou in Porourangi (1888) but is restricted to defining the facial details of the major wheku style figures, their arms, the central torso strip, knee bands, subsidiary figures interacting with the major figures and also the papaka (base panel between the poupou).

There is a direct link between Hinetapora and Maui, not only through the two-ridged haehae but also through the stylistic kinship in the design of pare (door lintel) from Maui and korupe (window lintel) of Hinetapora.

The earliest occurrence of the two-ridged haehae may be found in a series of poupou associated with the carved whare nui Hauteananui a Tangaroa acquired by the Canterbury Museum in 1873. However, the two-ridged haehae is used sporadically rather than consistently on only one of the two figures in two-figure compositions but not both. In the case of the latter house only Hone Taahu is associated with the house along with Tamati Ngakaho.

In the Otago Museum house carvings a consistency in the two-ridged haehae can be found on two poupou associated with the current collection in the museum, the Berkeley and British Museum poupou. In other carvings the two-ridged haehae convention exists in tandem with the three-ridged evident in the left arm and left leg of the upper poutahu figure currently on display at the Otago Museum.

Hone Taahu is associated with this house and also with Hinetapora. Although the two-ridged haehae can be found in both of these houses it does not occur consistently as demonstrated in Table 10 below. The two-ridged haehae was used in tandem with the flanking eccentric manaia frieze on poupou associated with Hone Taahu demonstrating the ease with which he moved from two-ridged haehae to three-ridged haehae or a combination of both. A similar variability is evident in Hinetapora. However, the two-ridged haehae is used more consistently in houses associated with Riwai Pakerau such as Ruakapanga, Kuri, Maui and Iritekura. In a similar fashion, Hone Ngatoto employs the two-ridged haehae convention in a more consistent manner, particularly, on the poupou in Hinerupe and the panels in St Mary's church. Table 10 below is an attempt to clarify the stylistic approach to surface pattern evident in the practice of Hone Taahu, Hone Ngatoto and Riwai Pakerau.

Although Hone Ngatoto carved Rongomaianiwaniwa, the most innovative ancestral house on the East Coast in the 1890s, his work associated with Hinetapora (1896) at Mangahanea, Hinerupe at Te Araroa (1890s) and St Mary's church at Tikitiki (1926) demonstrate a customary conservatism and a preference for uncluttered backgrounds and severe symmetry when carving poupou, at least in his later years.⁴⁷⁴ This is also manifested in the figurative painting in Rongomaianiwaniwa where there is a quiet dignity

⁴⁷⁴ Rongomaianiwaniwa was a daughter of Porourangi (the eponymous ancestor of the Ngati Porou tribe on the East Coast) and Hamoterangi. Both mother and daughter constitute the poutokomanawa inside Porourangi whare nui at Waiomatatini. Rongomaianiwaniwa was the first house to embrace European naturalism in a comprehensive manner that makes it exceptional within the context of the Iwirakau style.

in the size of the paintings relative to other painted elements. Despite the parade of naturalistic animals on the maihi and amo, which together form a most atypical East Coast amo and maihi intersection, Hone Ngatoto still manages to maintain a classical reserve and an almost self-conscious edenistic awareness of nudity. There is a humorous element in the parade of animals as tails are tugged and an almost human monkey attired in dinner jacket begs the question regarding the ‘evolution of man’ relative to tribal whakapapa where ancestors are identified by name.⁴⁷⁵

Table 10: Two-ridged haehae of Hone Taahu, Hone Ngatoto and Riwai Pakerau

Carver	Head	Body	Arms	Legs	Other
Hone Taahu Multiple clustered pakati Canterbury carvings [CC] Otago carvings [OC] Hinetaipora [HT]	Frontal Tiki One, two, three-ridged haehae with pakati to define contours of wheku style head with pikorauru cheek spirals Symmetrical protruding tongue	Frontal Tiki Vertical two, three-ridged haehae with pakati and whakarare on torso line Oblique two. Three-ridged haehae on torso Oblique single-ridged obtuse haehae on torso Two. Three-ridged haehae with whakarare following curve of leg Two-ridged inner, two-ridged outer knee band with whakarare Oblique symmetrical raised relief bands with pakura with central two-ridged haehae and pakati with whakarare [HT]	Frontal Tiki Two-ridged inner, two-ridged outer haehae shoulder band with pakati and whakarare [HT] Two-ridged inner, two-ridged outer haehae elbow band with pakati and whakarare [HT] Oblique two, three-ridged haehae complementing torso with lower arm counter rhythm Horizontal two, three-ridged haehae set horizontally Three-ridged haehae multiple whakarare shoulder pattern Asymmetrical juxtaposition of shoulder band opposing band and spiral Three fingered sculpted hand [HT] Cursive Tiki/manaia Separated from torso by bands – single-ridged inner, two-ridged outer with whakarare, [or] two-ridged inner, two-ridged outer	Frontal Tiki Two-ridged inner, two-ridged outer haehae thigh band with pakati and whakarare [HT] Oblique two, three-ridged haehae on legs complementing body rhythm Three-ridged haehae triple arched toes with straight back arch Cursive Tiki/manaia Two-ridged haehae with pakati thigh band No thigh band	Frontal Tiki Oblique two. Three-ridged haehae on torso of manaia and leg Oblique two-ridged haehae on arms countering torso rhythm Shoulder and hip manaia (Rauru, Hinetaipora)

⁴⁷⁵ There are a number of narratives that have evolved that attempt to explain the parade of animals on the maihi. One relates to the return of local boys from Tikitiki who attended Te Aute College who, on returning from England, informed the local community of the amazing beasts in the London zoo. In another narrative the story of Noah is an enticing one because of early conversion of Maori on the East coast to Christianity beginning in the 1830s and initiated by captives the Nga Puhī invasions of the 1820s returning to spread the message of Christianity. It is also possible that Hone Ngatoto had another story in mind when he clothed the primate in the clothes of European culture. I visited Rongomaianiwaniwa with the late Waho Tibble in 1982 and with Pakariki Harrison in 1992. Referencing Hone Ngatoto, Simmons declares that ‘Hone Ngatoto, when asked about the monkey, said that as Maori were related to Pakeha it was important to acknowledge their ancestors on the house since Pakeha say that they are descended from a monkey’. Simmons, D. (2006) *Meeting Houses of Ngati Porou o Te Tai Rawhiti*. Auckland: Reed. p. 123.

			[or] two-ridged haehae [or] whakarare cluster with elbow band [or] Union jack above elbow strap		
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Carver	Head	Body	Arms	Legs	Other
Hone Ngatoto St Mary's Church, Tikitiki [SM] Hinerupe [HR] Te Aotawarirangi [TA] Hinetapora [HT]	Frontal Tiki One, two-ridged haehae defining contours of wheku (with spirals) [SM] One, two-ridged haehae defining contours of koruru (No spirals) Three-ridged haehae outer eye chevron One-ridged haehae and pakati chevron nose bridge [SM] Three-ridged haehae chevron nose bridge [SM] Pikorauru spirals on wheku/koruru cheeks Recessed, protruding symmetrical. Protruding asymmetrical Scalloped tongue inside mouth [SM, HT, TA, HR] Koruru with crown dome [SM] Koruru with crown dome spiral [SM]	Frontal Tiki Vertical two-ridged haehae with pakati and whakarare on torso line Oblique two-ridged haehae on torso [SM] Horizontal two-ridged upper, two-ridged lower haehae waist band [SM] Vertical pakura torso divider [SM] Cursive Tiki/manaia Horizontal two-ridged haehae with pakati and whakarare chest band [HT] Horizontal two-ridged haehae with pakati and whakarare waist band [SM, HR] Horizontal two-ridged haehae with pakati waist band [TA] Oblique two-ridged haehae with pakati and whakarare waist band [SM] Scalloped neck [HT, TA, HR]	Frontal Tiki Two-ridged inner, two-ridged outer haehae shoulder band with pakati and whakarare (tapered) [SM] Oblique two-ridged haehae elbow band [SM] Oblique two, three-ridged haehae complementing torso with lower arm counter rhythm Horizontal two, three-ridged haehae set horizontally Plain rectilinear three fingered hand [SM] Rauru shoulder spiral [HR] Cursive Tiki/manaia Two-ridged inner, two-ridged outer haehae shoulder band with pakati and whakarare (tapered) [SM, HR] Two-ridged upper, two-ridged lower haehae elbow band with pakati [TA] Two-ridged haehae shoulder band [SM] Two-ridged haehae elbow band [SM] Plain rectilinear three fingered hand [SM, HR] Plain sculpted three, four fingered hand [TA]	Frontal Tiki Two-ridged inner, two-ridged outer thigh band with pakati and whakarare Oblique two. Three-ridged haehae on legs complementing body rhythm Two-ridged haehae double arched toes [SM] Rauru shoulder spiral [HR] Cursive Tiki/manaia Two-ridged thigh band Two-ridged inner, two-ridged outer thigh band with pakati and whakarare Two-ridged haehae double arched toes [SM, TA] Two-ridged upper, two-ridged lower haehae hip band with pakati [TA] Two-ridged haehae double arched toes [SM, TA, HT] Two-ridged haehae triple arched toes [HR]	Frontal Tiki Oblique two. Three-ridged haehae on torso of manaia and leg Oblique two-ridged haehae on arms countering torso rhythm Plain background [HT, HR, SM] Subsidiary Manaia Arched brow, mouth, round eye on top of elevated bridge, nose protuberance between legs, under arms [SM] Flanking manaia with arched brow, mouth, round eye on top of elevated bridge, nose protuberance with strap extension with or without pakura pattern [SM] Flanking manaia with arched brow, mouth with backward facing scalloped tongue, round eye, nose with pakura pattern [TA]

Carver	Head	Body	Arms	Legs	Other
Riwai Pakerau Minimal clustered pakati Absence of whakarare in Ruakapanga	Frontal Tiki Two-ridged haehae and pakati defining upper and lower lip Oblique double haehae framing eyes Two-ridged haehae and pakati forming inner brow	Frontal Tiki *Horizontal two-ridged haehae between central ellipse and shoulder pattern *Lower torso pattern as above but asymmetrical *Rest of torso plain Cursive Tiki	Frontal Tiki *Vertical two-ridged haehae with pakati with single-ridged haehae framing shoulder pattern *Oblique crisscross two-ridged haehae and pakati down upper arm with vertical two-ridged haehae	Frontal Tiki Oblique two-ridged haehae on lower leg Cursive Tiki Two-ridged inner two-ridged outer haehae with whakarare thigh band Two-ridged oblique and	Frontal Tiki Ellipse of two-ridged haehae and pakati Ellipse of single-ridged haehae with pakati Ellipse on bridge of nose, tongue, chest, pubic area, knees, feet, manaia cheek, paepae cheeks,

	<p>Cursive Tiki Single, two-ridged haehae defining koruru (no spirals) [Difference in koruru style with forehead protuberance in facial forms of Hone Ngatoto and none in Riwai Pakerau] Single--ridged haehae outer eye chevron with pakati</p>	<p>Oblique double haehae (Iri) Oblique two-ridged haehae in counter rhythm on lower torso (Iri) Two-ridged haehae waist band - symmetrical whakarare Oblique two-ridged haehae with whakarare (Maui)</p>	<p>and pakati on lower arm countering upper arm rhythm *Oblique two-ridged haehae and pakati down upper arm with two haehae elbow band in opposite direction with oblique two-ridged haehae and pakati on lower arm complementing upper arm rhythm Oblique two-ridged haehae and pakati down upper arm with oblique two-ridged haehae and pakati on lower arm countering upper arm rhythm</p> <p>Cursive Tiki Single-ridged inner, two-ridged outer haehae with whakarare shoulder band Oblique two-ridged haehae down arms</p>	<p>vertical haehae on upper figure (Maui) Two-ridged oblique on right leg of lower figure (Maui)</p>	<p>Koruru tongue, upper lip nostril and raparapa.</p> <p>Cursive Tiki Single-ridged haehae chevron strip across eyes Single-ridged haehae defining brow and mouth of manaia</p>
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Note* Identifies unique pattern composition

Like Riwai Pakerau, Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto use shoulder bands with, and without spirals, and thigh bands in the interior poupou in Hinetapora at Mangahanea. On those poupou featuring the double haehae the bands are composed of double inner and double outer haehae with whakarare and pakati in contrast to single inner and double outer haehae with whakarare on the amo of Maui and Iritekura.



Figure 53. Papaka, epa. korupe, epa. Hinetapora, Mangahanea marae, Ruatoria.

Examples of the single inner and double outer haehae with whakarare and pakati are apparent on the porch papaka, vertical porch panel, korupe (window lintel) and internal epa in Hinetapora (*Figure 53*). Although Riwai Pakerau is not mentioned among the carvers associated with Hinetapora this idiosyncratic trait may indicate his involvement. However, there is more variability in the treatment of band compositions with one of the manaia having double inner and double outer haehae with whakarare and pakati on one arm with double haehae on the other. The leg band on this manaia features double inner and double outer haehae with no whakarare. For the majority of the mahau (porch wall) there is a preference for composing the double haehae in sympathy with the sweep of the limbs. In other examples, the shoulder band is indistinguishable because the rhythm initiated by the band is repeated across the shoulder necessitating an elbow band to set up a counter rhythm of double haehae and pakati.



Figure 54. Poupou. St Mary's Church, Tikitiki.

By the time Hone Ngatoto carved St. Mary's church (*Figure 54*) he resorts to double inner and double outer haehae with whakarare and pakati for the shoulder and thigh bands with obliquely set haehae and pakati on arms (with a counter oblique setting on the lower arm) and legs complementing the oblique rhythm of the haehae and pakati on the torso. The central dividing line of the torso is carved with pakura. There is a consistency in the composition of the curvilinear manaia figures in St. Mary's which, like Hinetapora, privilege an arrangement of haehae, pakati and whakarare in sympathy with the cursive line of the body.



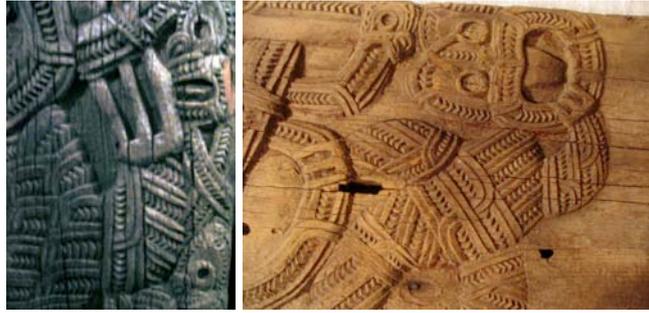


Figure 55. *Poupou, pane details. Mauitikitiki a Taranga whare nui, Auckland Museum (45991). Amo details. Iritekura whare nui. (Mihikoingo marae. Ohineakai), Amo, maihi details. Mauitikitiki a Taranga, Gisborne Museum (74/5-3, 74/5-2).*

Apart from the two ridged haehae that distinguishes Riwai Pakerau's approach to carved surface pattern he favours the obtuse or flattened haehae and the nihoniho taniwha pakati (*Figure 55 bottom*). This preference for the two-ridged haehae is most apparent in the restored poupou from Maui where Riwai Pakerau uses the two-ridged haehae even though the three-haehae convention predominates in three of the poupou carved by Hone Taahu (*Figure 55 top left*). While all three carvers use bands to separate limbs from torso, Riwai Pakerau's approach may be distinguished from his contemporaries by using bands that are composed of a single-ridged haehae flanking the torso with a two-ridged haehae with whakarare on the limbs. This stylistic idiosyncrasy may be found on the pane and amo of Maui, and the amo of Iritekura (*Figure 55 bottom, top right*). However, there is an inconsistent use of this pattern on the right raparapa of Maui where the single-ridged haehae inner band is found alongside the two-ridge haehae inner band while the opposing raparapa maintains Riwai Pakerau's band convention (*Figure 55 bottom right*).



Figure 56. *Amo. Iritekura whare nui. (Mihikoingo marae. Ohineakai). Mauitikitiki a Taranga whare nui. Gisborne Museum (74/5-3).*

Nga amo o Pakerau: the carved support posts of Riwai Pakerau

An analysis of the *tataitanga whakairo* of amo attributable to Riwai Pakerau from Iritekura and Maui show, not only a number of shared stylistic characteristics, but also a number of divergent traits in the treatment of form and pattern (*Figure 55*). The ancestral figures in both sets of amo are arranged in a two-figure composition featuring the Ngati Porou cursive body form with obliquely set koruru face following the angle of the bargeboard.

The face has a distinctive pattern arrangement of whakarare around the mouth with two-ridged haehae and a single haehae ridge placed vertically on the upper and lower lip dividing the mouth into two symmetrical halves. Consequently, the lips can be divided into five sections. This treatment of the lip region is common to both the amo of Iritekura and Maui. In both sets of amo the tongue remains inside the mouth. The upper brow area is divided into three sections using whakarare and an obliquely set band beginning outside the eye and overlapping the haehae and pakati pattern that defines the brow region. This is also common to both sets of amo.

The other shared design elements are the bands used to separate limbs from torso. Typically they feature a single-ridged haehae against the torso and two-ridged haehae with a single whakarare transition at the centre of the band. In both instances limb and torso surface patterns are dominantly oblique.

The critical difference is apparent in the treatment of surface pattern on the torso. In the Iritekura, mid-rift band of whakarare divides the torso in two. In Maui, the division of the torso is more difficult to isolate because the whakarare pattern covers the whole of the torso. This profusion of whakarare in the Maui amo suggests the possible contribution of Hone Taahu because similar whakarare compositions may be found in the house panels with which he was associated like the Karaitiana Takamoana house in Otago. However, the use of the whakarare on the right leg of upper tiki in Iritekura demonstrates that Riwai Pakerau was not averse to using this pattern. More importantly, the style of haehae and pakati on the Maui amo match the restorations on the base of the poupou carved by Hone Taahu. It is on this basis that I attribute the carving of the amo for Iritekura and Maui to Riwai Pakerau.





Figure 57. Raparapa and raparapa detail. Maunitikitiki a Taranga whare nui, Gisborne Museum (74/5.2, 74/5.1). Te Poho o Te Aotawarirangi, Te Ariuru marae, Waima and Kapohanga wharenuī, Hiruharama, marae, Hiruharama.

Nga raparapa o Pakerau: the carved bargeboard extensions of Riwai Pakerau

It is on the basis of the actual raparapa from Maui and a Hargreaves photograph of the 1910 opening of Iritekura that the Riwai Pakerau's *tataitanga whakairo* raparapa is surmised.⁴⁷⁶ There are several other East Coast houses that featured this style of raparapa. However, in each case, there are stylistic variables that make the later two examples distinctive and attributable to one carver. The raparapa that are closest to Maui and Iritekura are Te Poho o Te Aotawarirangi (raparapa, amo), Kapohanga (raparapa,), Te Poho o Materoa (raparapa), Umuariki (raparapa), Rauranui a Toi (raparapa), Porourangi (raparapa), Ohinewaiapu (raparapa), Te Ao Kairau (raparapa), and Pikitanga (raparapa). Although the last five examples follow a similar compositional design principle the absence of terminal manaia, differences in the composition of surface pattern, triple ridged haehae, and an idiosyncratic style of interstitial manaia rule out these raparapa in the consideration of Riwai Pakerau's style. The Kapohanga raparapa (*Figure 57 bottom right*) aligns most closely with Maui and Iritekura sharing the same interstitial manaia composed of basic manaia head units with pakura pattern. In contrast, the interstitial manaia are stylistically different on the raparapa from Te Poho o Te Aotawarirangi (*Figure 57 bottom left*) with elliptical mouths spanning the horizontal space between the finger projections with a ribbon like appendage composed in a beak-like configuration. The heads of these manaia are plain with surface pattern restricted to the beak-like appendages. The manaia on Te Poho o Te Aotawarirangi raparapa (*Figure 57 bottom left*), with horizontal elliptical mouths, are similar to the manaia that flank the ancestral images of the Iritekura amo where the beak-like appendage appears as a vertical band defining the outer contour of body and limbs between evenly spaced manaia heads (*Figure 56 middle*). On the Iritekura amo (*Figure 56 top*), the manaia are inward facing and plain. A similar style of manaia appears on the Maui amo (*Figure 56 bottom*) where the appendages between the

⁴⁷⁶ According to information located at the Tairāwhiti Museum Maunitikitiki a Taranga 'was originally built at Paerautu, just north of Tokomaru Bay, about 1885 and finally re-erected as a Ringatu Meeting House at Hikuwai in 1913 by Riwai Pakerau. The large portion of the tahu (ridgepole) was probably carved by Pakerau but the raparapa and pane [amo] came from the original house'. Exhibition panel. (1986). This information is contested on the basis of the amo that I recovered from Opiki Station in 1987 and the amo recovered from the riverbed at Waipiro Bay in 1988.

Neich places its construction at 1865; He also suggests that 'Maui was a fully carved house with elaborately carved poupou, possibly by Hone Tahu'. Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori Figurative Painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 271. The extant poupou suggest that only the porch poupou were carved.

manaia are diagonal crosses with haehae and pakati surface pattern, repeated down the length of the amo. Although the interstitial manaia are different in the raparapa of Te Poho o Aotawarangi there is a stylistic kinship across the range of examples to suggest a common school of carving if not a single carver for the three raparapa.⁴⁷⁷ Because Hone Taahu is associated with Te Poho o Te Aotawarangi and Kapohanga and not Iritekura, and Hone Ngatoto is associated with only Iritekura it seems plausible to suggest that Riwai Pakerau is the carver responsible for these raparapa.

In addition, the houses with which Hone Ngatoto is most associated like Hinetapora (1883), Hinerupe (1880s) and Rongomaianiwaniwa (1890s) are so distinct in their innovative compositional arrangement of intersection between maihi (bargeboard) and amo, and so different from each other, it is reasonable to assume that Hone Ngatoto was an innovator who favoured unconventional solutions to house design.

An analysis of Riwai Pakerau's carving style relative to other carvers like Hone Ngatoto and Hone Taahu clearly shows that Riwai Pakerau consistently used the two-ridged haehae and adopted a unique stylistic approach to carving amo and raparapa. He also favoured whakarare 'bands' to demarcate body and limbs.

One of the most distinctive characteristics of Riwai Pakerau's carving style is a two figure amo with tongue projection at the top of the amo that dove tails into the mouth of a manaia head carved on the raparapa facing the house gable with three curved figure projects with interstitial manaia at the back of the manaia head terminating in a full figure manaia at the end of the raparapa. Riwai Pakerau's *tataitanga whakairo* is outlined in Table 11 below.

Table 11: Riwai Pakerau style.⁴⁷⁸

Curvilinear style Double figure amo composition	Square style Single figure amo composition	Two-ridged haehae Carved surface pattern	Dove tail raparapa	Koruru/tekoteko Composition
Iritekura (1910) <i>Opiki/Waipiro Bay</i>	Ruakapanga (1880s) <i>Photograph</i>	Ruakapanga (1880s) <i>Photograph</i>	Iritekura (1910) <i>Photograph</i>	Ruakapanga (1880s) <i>Photograph</i>
Mauitikitiki a Taranga (1913) <i>Tairawhiti Museum</i>	Waipiro (1880s) <i>Photograph</i>	Waipiro (1880s) <i>Photograph</i>	Mauitikitiki a Taranga (1913) <i>Tairawhiti Museum</i>	Waipiro (1880s) <i>Photograph</i>
		Iritekura (1910) <i>Opiki/Waipiro Bay</i>	Te Poho o te Aotawarangi (1860s) <i>Waima</i>	
		Mauitikitiki a Taranga (1913)		

⁴⁷⁷ The amo of Te Poho o Te Aotawarangi and Kapohanga are replacements. Only the former maintains a compositional format similar to the amo of Iritekura I and Mauitikitiki a Taranga with vertical flanking manaia frieze. However, the manaia are placed one on top of the other.

⁴⁷⁸ The analysis of Riwai Pakerau's style is based on photographs (Ruakapanga, Waipiro), physical examples (Mauitikitiki a Taranga – bargeboard, front house panels, ridgepole, rafter), (Iritekura – front house panels, house posts, ridgepole, painted house panels), and photographs (Kuri – door lintel, window surrounds).

		<i>Tairawhiti Museum</i>		
		Kuri (1900s) <i>Photograph</i>		

Nga tataitanga whakawahi o Pakerau: the painting legacy of Riwai Pakerau

There are a number of distinguished factors associated with Riwai Pakerau’s practice as a painter and carver that are evident in Iritekura and Maui with which he was involved as painter and carver. While Neich⁴⁷⁹ has identified an idiosyncratic approach to painted rafters evident in both the fore-mentioned houses the painting practice of Riwai Pakerau can be summarised in Table 12 below:

Table 12: Painting practice of Riwai Pakerau

Kowhaiwhai	Figurative Painting	Monochromatic and Polychromatic text
Distinctive kape (ngutukaka) designs	Plants, tree cutting, pot plant, text	Ancestral names
Hamilton sample (1896-1901)	Front porch epa of Ruakapanga (1880)	Scriptural messages
Ruakapanga (1880) Mauitikitiki a Taranga (1913) Iritekura (1910)	Plants, animals, mermaid, monochromatic text	Heke of Iritekura (1910) Heke of Mauitikitiki Taranga (1913)
	Heke of Iritekura (1910) Heke of Mauitikitiki a Taranga (1913)	

A comparison of the sample of heke from Iritekura and Maui shows a complementary relationship in a number of the rafter paintings featuring plants and text. The juxtaposition of ancestral names with trees placed at the base of the rafter in polychrome text below the plants connote the interconnection of people with the land through the practice of burying the placenta in the land and placing a tree to commemorate the act. However, there is considerable variation in the quality of the figurative imagery and the painting of the kowhaiwhai patterns in the area above the horizontal green band. In the case of the Iritekura heke there is a clear indication of later inept painting of the kowhaiwhai section and obvious over painting of figurative passages in some heke. In the two heke from Maui there is a consistency in style and quality between the two rafters that is absent in the Iritekura sample. It is obvious in the latter sample that there was painting out or the original compositions (probably at the time of installation into the dining room) or there was more than one painter involved in the painting of the rafters for the original house.

Whakawhiti korero: a summation

Chapter Seven is about ‘the house that Riwai built’. *Tataitanga whakairo*, en-framing style as formal sequence, semiology and intrinsic perception outlined in the previous chapter, is employed in the current chapter to locate the style of Riwai Pakerau within the

⁴⁷⁹ Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. pp. 49, 55, 197-8, 271, 272-3, pl.55, Fig 148.

context of the Iwirakau style. The aim is to separate his style from those of his contemporaries with whom he is associated in the carving of whare nui within the Ngati Porou region. In this chapter, extant carvings from whare nui, museum collections, private collections and photographic archives constitute the data for qualitative analysis. As in the previous chapter a semiological syntagmatic and paradigmatic index is used to tabulate signifiers while intrinsic perception is applied to the data to further isolate idiosyncratic combinations of form and pattern relevant to individual style. Recourse to literary sources contextualise the *tataitanga whakairo* of the respective carvers where the information is relevant to elucidating either communal or individual practice.

The most significant *tataitanga whakairo* used by Riwai Pakerau and his contemporaries was the two-ridged haehae, shoulder and thigh bands, and the unique tongued amo with cursive tiki and raparapa intersection. These distinctive *tataitanga whakairo* are tracked within the context of Ngati Porou carving by examining those carvers who used these stylistic conventions. It was demonstrated that what separated the practice of Riwai Pakerau from his contemporaries was a consistent use of the two-ridged haehae surface pattern, an idiosyncratic haehae configuration of shoulder and thigh bands among others.

Te Tataitanga o Hoani Ngatai was aimed at examining Hoani Ngatai's use of the two-ridged haehae. His style is easily identifiable within the Iwirakau style because of his penchant for experimentation and his use of a range of patterns on a single figure. He also employed the two-ridged haehae in combination with the three-ridged haehae. His status as tuakana (elder descendant) of Riwai Pakerau and his possible contribution to a house associated with Riwai Pakerau demanded a consideration of his *tataitanga whakairo*.

Te Tataitanga o Iwirakau examined the *tataitanga whakairo* Iwirakau as a 19th century style relative to the Rawheoro and the later Rukupō style, which heralded changes to anatomical details including head and tongue, head to body ratio, figure to panel relationships, and the emergence of the lizard as a prominent cultural signifier. In this section, a range of carvings associated with the Otago assemblage were analysed to determine commonalities and differences in the *tataitanga whakairo* the carvers responsible for the assemblage. The result of this analysis revealed the contribution of several carvers while proposing that the carvings were associated with more than one house. The *tataitanga whakairo* of Hone Taahu and Hoani Ngatai in particular were identified.

Nga Tataitanga ahua toi o Riwai Pakerau examined the style of Riwai Pakerau relative to literary references to his practice, his relationship with the Ohineakai Block and his practice relative to Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto with whom he was associated in a number of whare nui projects. The analysis was arranged sequentially to determine his style in relation to the previously cited carvers, a consideration of his idiosyncratic use of surface pattern and his approach to the amo and maihi intersection. In the process Riwai Pakerau's contribution to Maui was identified alongside that of Hone Taahu. It was

proposed that Riwai Pakerau was responsible for the 1913 renovation and was responsible for carving new amo and maihi. A comparison of the different approaches to surface pattern of Hone Taahu and Riwai Pakerau revealed Riwai Pakerau's preference for the obtuse haehae compared to Hone Taahu's symmetrical form.

In *Nga haehae o Pakerau*, Riwai Pakerau's use of the two-ridged haehae was analysed. The analysis demonstrated his consistent use of the convention in a number of houses with which he is associated and his penchant for shoulder and hip bands featuring a single inner and double outer haehae composition with a single transversal of whakarare and the obtuse form of niho taniwha pakati.

In *Nga amo me nga raparapa o Pakerau* the previous stylistic conventions were examined relative to facial form and surface pattern composition of the torso of figurative forms across a range of amo. Riwai Pakerau's approach to raparapa composition was analysed in relation to similar compositional forms and distinguished from Hone Ngatoto in particular. It is proposed that the amo and raparapa from Maui and Iritekura should be attributed to Riwai Pakerau. In addition, it was argued that the amo of Te Poho o te Aowarirangi and Kapohanga should be added to Riwai Pakerau's *tataitanga whakairo*.

Nga whakawahi o Pakerau concluded the chapter with a tabulation of Riwai Pakerau's distinctive painting practice relative to three houses in which he is acknowledged as the painter – Ruakapanga, Maui and Iritekura. Apart from creating a distinctive form of kape and kape/pitau kowhaiwhai patterns he is best remembered as a painter of naturalistic images. These are trans-cultural in that they are not part of customary tribal painting during the earlier part of the 19th century. It is possible that these paintings were treated with apprehension because they were used to 'decorate' the whare kai at Waipiro after Iritekura was dismantled and a replacement opened in 1951. Commenting on Apirana Ngata's criticism of Ringatu carving, Deidre Brown argues, 'In particular, he disliked their [Ringatu] use of 'intrusive features', like polychrome figurative painting...As a consequence of Ngata's views, many of the houses that had been built for Te Kooti were purposefully neglected, or rebuilt to eliminate Ringatu references or destroyed.'⁴⁸⁰ Although Iritekura was not destroyed it was certainly dismantled in the 1940s to make way for the new Iritekura with 'traditional' kowhaiwhai.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁸⁰ Brown, D. S. (1997). 'Morehu Architecture'. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. p. 174.

⁴⁸¹ The kowhaiwhai in the current Iritekura follow the Williams sample in Hamilton's compendium of Maori art.

Chapter Eight

Te wananga ki ro whare

The house of learning

Chapter Eight constitutes one of the case studies for this thesis. An autobiographical method is applied. It is not a chronological story of an artist but a narrative of the art as visual data in the Taharora Project. This visual data is used to contextualise tribal narrative, historical information together with related whare nui and art developments. This contextualisation demonstrates the extent of the interrelationship between form and content in the art of the Taharora whare nui. The aim of this chapter is to locate the refurbishment of Taharora within related whare nui developments to unveil the *tataitanga korero* and trans-cultural practice that make the art in Taharora culturally relevant for Maori, and for Ngai Taharora in particular.

It is worth reiterating that the major premise that underlies this thesis that Maori art is a ideological construct that locates art by Maori relative to art by non-Maori within a *tataitanga kaupapa toi*, art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance. For art to remain culturally relevant and to resonate with Maori, trans-cultural art must have as its goal a *tataitanga korero* in which either take or matauranga informs the art.

In the case of the art in Taharora whare nui visual empathy with 19th century historical models is evident, shaped, not only by a contemporary marae context, but also informed by whakapapa and matauranga Maori. In a liberal accession to the dynamic continuum of customary art, the art inside Taharora maintains visual correspondence with the innovative practices of the marae art of the post 1970s period while the art on the exterior of Taharora maintains visual correspondence with early 20th century Maori carving and painting. Despite this concession to innovative post 1960s additive sculptural processes, and the 19th and 20th century carving and painting of Riwai Pakerau, there is a conscious decision to extend correspondent visual practice with trans-cultural practice in Taharora.⁴⁸² These trans-cultural practices include bone, clay and bronze inlays. It will be demonstrated that the trans-cultural nature of the whare nui contributed to the decision to push the boundaries of 19th century Ngati Porou practice within the Tairawhiti region. However, the 19th century was not without its innovators in painting and carving. In this regard, the paintings of Riwai Pakerau, along with maihi and amo carvings for Rongomaianiwaniwa at Rahui marae in Tikitiki by Hone Ngatoto, are salient examples of trans-cultural interlocution. Of course, in their time the work of these two artists was non-customary because prior models did not exist.

⁴⁸² The additive sculptural practice of Cliff Whiting and Paratene Matchitt can be traced back to the late 1960's. The examples of this technique are found in *Te Wehenga o Rangi raua ko Papa* in the National Library (1969-75) by Cliff Whiting and in *Te Whaneketanga o Turongo raua ko Mahinarangi* (1976) at the Kimiora whare kai at Ngaruawahia by Paratene Matchitt. This additive sculptural technique, which is thirty years old should rightly be viewed as customary practice.

It was mentioned in the last chapter that I had to return to Waipiro Bay in 2002 to defend the turquoise blue painting of the koruru, maihi and amo of Taharora. The majority of Ngai Taharora supported the outcome and the house remains blue to this day. It was always my intention to paint the house blue in order to carry the colour scheme from inside the house to the outside, and to commemorate the *tataitanga whakairo* of Riwai Pakerau in the painting and carving on the front of Taharora. Chapter Seven validates the painting and carving in the houses associated with Riwai Pakerau in order to maintain the credibility of Taharora as a significant endorsement of the Ngai Taharora *tataitanga whakairo* of the 20th and 21st centuries.

Like all examples of *tataitanga whakairo*, there is an artist who sets a precedent by initiating conventions and techniques that are adopted or adapted by those who follow consolidating the attributes of the style or extending them. While Riwai Pakerau continued the *tataitanga whakairo* of Hone Taahu, I have adapted the *tataitanga whakairo* initiated by Cliff Whiting of Te Whanau a Apanui and Paratene Matchitt of Te Whanau a Apanui, Whakatohea and Ngati Porou. Hence, while the *tataitanga whakairo* of Hone Taahu can be found on the external carvings of Taharora, the *tataitanga whakairo* of Riwai Pakerau is evident in the painting of the mahau (porch) and the *tataitanga whakairo* of Cliff Whiting can be found both inside Taharora and Hinematakaikai. While the *tataitanga whakairo* of Hone Taahu and Riwai Pakerau maintain an affinity with the customary style of the 18th century, Riwai Pakerau's painting is non-customary in his adoption of the European naturalistic tradition. In contrast, the style of Cliff Whiting is trans-customary in its collusion of a customary Maori aspective and 20th century modernist traditions.⁴⁸³

The *tataitanga korero* of Taharora begins with *He ahua whakama* that outlines the scheme of the Taharora Project in which the back wall of the whare nui was amended to account for the mana whenua of Hine Matakaikai, after whom the whare kai was named. The major focus of this section is the ramifications of a decision to create sexually explicit ancestral figures that eventually led to the re-carving of the back wall in 1990 with more acceptable gender references.

In *He Tataitanga whakawhiti*, an Analytical Framework for Cultural Relativity is explained in relation to the indices of whakapapa (genealogy), matauranga (knowledge), ahua (appearance), waihanga (process), wahi (site) and tikanga (protocol). It is proposed that the framework provides a cultural context for examining the implication of the art of Taharora for whakapapa, matauranga and wahi.

In *Nga matauranga ki ro Taharora*, whakapapa as an index for art analysis is contextualised against the broader implication of whakapapa as a holistic kaupapa Maori principle and as genealogical mandate for belonging. In the process, whakapapa is used to locate me relative to place, people and the environment of the Tairawhiti. This is achieved through references to relevant Maori Land Court claims and a *tataitanga korero*

⁴⁸³ The 'modernist aesthetic' resulted in a neo-customary visual vocabulary in which customary forms were simplified and stylised in a minimalist fashion. Particularly influential were the 'modernist' artists' like Pablo Picasso, Henri Moore and Barbara Hepworth.

written by Waho Tibble in which the whakapapa of relevant claimants are tabulated. Riwai Pakerau's carving and painting style is explained in relation to the porch schema, contextualised against the whare nui on which he worked, and the ideological scheme of trans-cultural painted imagery of Maori and tauiwi in another Ngati Porou whare nui.

In *Te Tataitanga tipuna*, a change to the whakapapa scheme of Taharora is examined. There was a reconfiguration of the ancestral scheme at the front of the house accompanied by a cultural and historical rationale for this change. The relationship between the left and right hand side of the house is explained within the context of cultural notions of positional relativity.

In *Nga korero a Hau*, the narrative of Hau, his offspring and his descendents are recorded as *tataitanga korero*, lineage narratives.

Under *Matauranga Maori*, it is proposed that Maori knowledge is innately imbedded in the *tataitanga korero* associated with Taharora because whakapapa as cosmo-genealogical oration and narrative encapsulates the underlying epistemology and ontology of Maori knowledge. This section also examines the cultural translation of the narrative scheme devised by kaumatua and a cosmo-genealogical matrix conceived by me into the unorthodox structure of the house with its internal flat roof, lateral windows and centralised front and rear doors. Trans-customary media and techniques are also contextualised and acknowledged.

The *Wahi* sub-section examines site in terms of *tataitanga kaupapa toi* because the sites where art created by Maori are displayed are no longer restricted to Aotearoa New Zealand. Instead, the sites extend to global contexts where Maori are prone to transposing cultural values and protocols embedded in a cultural regard for site. In Taharora, ancestors are located relative to site, mana whenua and the history of settlement of the lands in the vicinity of Ohineakai. Notions of mana atua and mana tangata are examined within the house both vertically and longitudinally.

Although the Taharora Project began as a vision of Merekuia McIlroy the actual physical work of refurbishment did not begin until 1989.⁴⁸⁴ The realisation of the project was made possible because I was an employee of Waiariki Polytechnic in Rotorua in the central North Island, which, at the time, was offering a Diploma in Craft Design Maori. An integral part of the programme was a master artist scheme, which allowed students to work off site with a master craftsman or artist. Consequently, a proposal was submitted to the Polytechnic to consider the possibility of a wananga system in which I became the master artist responsible for directing a group of students, off-campus at Mihikoinga marae. The aim of the wananga was to complete two dining room murals for Hinematakaikai and the interior rear wall of the ancestral house Taharora. Under this

⁴⁸⁴ For the sake of convenience the work for Mihikoinga dining room and Taharora meeting house will be referred to as the Taharora Project. Merekuia McIlroy is my grandmother and great, great granddaughter of Riwai Pakerau. It had been her dream to have one of her grandchildren finish 'the house that Riwai built'. While she lived to see the completion of the dining room murals and the first version of the internal rear wall of the whare nui. She did not live to see the completion of the full interior completed in 1990.

scheme, I maintained the overall design control while allowing for the input of the craft skills that constituted part of the craft design programme at Waiariki Polytechnic which ranged across ceramics, bronze casting, bone, wood work, and painting. The proposal, which was accepted by the Polytechnic, became a two-year wananga project in which a group of year two students augmented by other students and staff would participate in the 'Taharora project' over a period of three months in 1989 and again in 1990.⁴⁸⁵

He ahuatanga whakama a shameful circumstance

In the 1970s Cliff Whiting and Para Matchitt promoted the marae as the most appropriate site for Maori art education.⁴⁸⁶ The 'Taharora project' was conceived with this vision in mind because the marae context offered an invaluable learning experience through local community involvement and an intense period of communal cooperation to realise a project conditioned by budgetary and temporal constraints.⁴⁸⁷ The first stage of the 'Taharora project', begun in 1989, was conceived in two parts – the dining room murals and the rear wall of the house. It is the rear wall of the house that will be examined in this chapter together with the rest of the interior completed in 1990, and the exterior completed in 2001.

The rationale for undertaking the rear wall of Taharora in 1989 was to ensure that a design template was established for the interior of the house to be undertaken in 1990. The design featured floor to ceiling mixed media panels incorporating relief carvings of Riwai Pakerau on the rear right wall (facing the house), his mother Hineitungia on the left side and his ancestor Hinematakaikai carved as a pare over the door at the rear of the house.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁵ The 'Taharora project' involved groups of year two students for whom I was responsible as the second year tutor at Waiariki Polytechnic. However, others involved in contributing to the 'Taharora project' from 1989 to 2001 including a host of prominent Maori artists like Ivan Ehau, Shane Cotton, Lionel Grant, June Grant, Ross Hemera, Toi Maihi, Ngatai Taepa, Saffron Te Ratana, Kura Te Waru-Rewiri and Tina Wirihana

⁴⁸⁶ For Whiting the marae is the proper place for Maori arts and crafts today 'On the marae the people gather and share their thoughts through speeches, haka and action songs, singing and art. There on the marae the significance of Maori art is made apparent. There a whole network of significance is sewn together by social relationships and art can make the ties manifest. This inter-relationship of art with the people was revived by Sir Apirana Ngata who revived and carried on earlier traditions. People had a yearning for an answer to their problems and his answer was the building and decoration of meeting houses. Today there are new yearnings and new needs. How can these needs be met?'

For Matchitt the marae are where the 'action is; where it is happening; where people live. The only community that's organised for this type of creative work at the moment is the marae. The school is the other one where it could happen. I don't mind which way we start so long as we start!' Department of Education. (1978). *Art in Schools The New Zealand Experience*, Wellington: E. C. Keating. pp. 286, 296.

⁴⁸⁷ The involvement of the local community tended to be restricted to after work hours participation and a weekly visit by the chairperson of the marae trustees. More common were the visits of kaumatua of Ngai Taharora including Jim and Merekuia McIlroy (during the first stage of the project), Uncle Hiwi and Auntie Madeline Maraki, and on a less regular basis Tom and Auntie Queenie Te Maro. However, the visits of Auntie Madeline were important because it was on the basis of her research into the Maori Land Court Minute Books that the murals in the dining room were conceived.

⁴⁸⁸ The dining room was annexed to the back of Taharora in the 1950s. Like several houses on the East Coast it features a central door with flanking windows in contrast with the customary model of a left hand placement of the door (facing the house) with window on the right hand side. This variation in house design has been associated with Taranaki and Wanganui in particular. Like the latter areas the

Riwai Pakerau is eight generations removed from his ancestor Taharora.⁴⁸⁹ In the original whakapapa scheme for Taharora Riwai Pakearau was located in the centre position on the back wall. However, the relocation of his position to the rear right wall in 1988 was negotiated in consultation with Waho Tibble as 'te mangai kaumatua' (the mouthpiece of the elders). This was in keeping with the concept of mana whenua to allow Hinematakaikai, his ancestor, the elevated position of seniority above the door.⁴⁹⁰ This position was also appropriate because it was the entry point to the dining room that carried her name.

While Riwai Pakerau and Hineitungia were placed under a pointed arch and surrounded by passages of kowhaiwhai, tukutuku and bronze inlays, Hinematakaikai constituted the central figure of a pare composition above the door leading to the dining room carved out of totara. The central doorway at the front of Taharora and back door leading to the Hinematakaikai dining room called for the incorporation of two pare inside the house, which in itself makes the house unique. The incorporation of internal pare has a precedent in Raukawa at Otaki opened in 1936. It features Turongo and Mahinarangi on the internal pare over the centralised doorway. In this pare the hand of Mahinarangi encircles the penis of Turongo while the four fingered hand of Turongo substitutes for the genitalia of Mahinarangi.

The use of a pointed Gothic arch on the rear wall and side wall panels, together with the bronze inlays and Tudor system of architectural framing was an accession to a trans-cultural European influenced architectural statement, as well as a need to devise a design system that would create a sense of visual unity throughout the interior of Taharora. This was necessary because of the unconventional nature of the interior, its lateral side windows and centralised front and rear doors. The unusual nature of Taharora also presented an opportunity to create ancestral images invigorated by sexual explicitness that typified the carvings of the pataka and some 19th century houses.⁴⁹¹ The aim was to capitalise on a renewed interest in unabashed sexual symbolism evident in the Kimiora dining room

reconfigured entrance owes much to early colonial architecture of the mid-19th century with central doorway and flanking windows and also the emphasis on symmetry and tripartite entrance configurations evident in early colonial church architecture. It is probable that early Maori evangelists returning from slavery in the North introduced this Christian iconographic compositional paradigm to the East Coast. Other Ngati Porou houses that featured central doorways include Te Kuri at Mangatuna, Rawheoro at Tolaga Bay, Hinetamatea at Anaura Bay, Te Poho o te Tikanga at Tokomaru Bay among others. Taharora is exceptional with its flat roof as opposed to a pitched roof typical of customary Maori architecture. Waho Tibble formulated the whakapapa for Taharora and he also acted as the intermediary for the Ngai Taharora whanau.

⁴⁸⁹ The line from Taharora includes Tamokai, Porouhorea, Tauteora, Rauihi, Urangarangi, Takapuatua, Hineitungia and Riwai Pakerau. Tibble, W. (1988). MSS Taharora Whare nui. Cover Sheet.

⁴⁹⁰ 'The mana of being matamua and tuakana was in no way diminished [in Ngati Porou] if it was held by a female. However, in the case of mana whenua, the source was female. While a father may hand down rights to his children, if one traces far enough back, it would be found that this mana originated in a woman'. Mahuika, A. T. (1973). 'Nga Wahine Kai-hautu o Ngati Porou'. Unpublished master's thesis, Sidney University, Sidney, Australia. p. 37.

⁴⁹¹ Te Mana o Turanga has already been mentioned in this regard. I was acutely aware of the accession to Christian moralistic attitudes evident in the Iwirakau *tataitanga whakairo*, which maintains the 18th century convention of subsidiary figures between the legs or facial forms between the legs of ancestral images or emasculated primary images.

mural of Te Whaneketanga o Tainui (1976) by Paratene Matchitt and Tanenuiarangi (1988) carved under the supervision of Pakariki Harrison.⁴⁹²

In following the precedents of tukana (elder) artists mentioned above I was admonished by the kaumatua when returning to Taharora at their behest in December 1989 to defend the decision to carve the Ngai Taharora ancestors in a sexually explicit manner.⁴⁹³ While I justified the position taken by citing a range of houses with sexually explicit images the kaumatua emphasised the long association that Ngati Porou had with Christianity. Kaumatua Tom Te Maro recalled the important influence of Piripi Taumatakura of Whakawhititera for the carving tradition on the East Coast and reinforced his point by emphasising that Christianity came to the East Coast in 1834 when the first service was held at Rangitukia on the 12 January of that year.⁴⁹⁴ They also expressed their indignation over the criticism of Taharora from other Ngati Porou marae, which intimated that, although Taharora was the smallest house in Ngati Porou, it had the biggest mouth – ‘Ahakoā he whare iti he whare waha nui’. The expression was particularly poignant because it captured the double entendre of the term ‘waha’, which refers not only to the boastful mouth but also to the exposed genitalia of the Ngai Taharora ancestors and the exposed vulva of Hineitungia and Hinematakaikai in particular. The outcome of the meeting was an agreement to ‘tone down’ the sexual explicitness so that Taharora would regain its former humility within the Ngati Porou marae community. More importantly the episode provided a salient lesson in humility and a realisation that it is the kaumatua who keep the home fires burning while rangatahi often visit home to stir the embers producing clouds of smoke and flying sparks only to return to the security of their diasporic residency beyond tribal homelands. While the liberal approach to ancestral representation the critical aim was to educate tangata whenua and manuhiri of a Christian ethic that had emasculated the Iwirakau *tataitanga ahua*.⁴⁹⁵

Ultimately, a decision was made to commemorate the episode, not only by ‘toning down’ the sexual explicitness, but by reducing the scale of the original figures by lifting them off the floor to the level of the original tongue and groove panelling that was an original feature inside the house. This change in scale was an act of ‘whakaiti’, an act of humility, of making ‘small’ that which had caused offence and whakama (embarrassment) for the kaumatua who keep the home fires burning, and culturally moderate innovations that may transcend traditional sensibilities. This meant that the carved ancestral images

⁴⁹² Kimiora is at the Kingitanga compound at Turangawaewae. Tanenuiarangi is the whare nui at the University of Auckland.

⁴⁹³ Elders in attendance included Tom Te Maro, Queenie te Maro, Wiwi Henry, Madeline Maraki, Iritana Maraki, Pani Ellison and Harata Jahnke.

⁴⁹⁴ Piripi Taumatakura was taken as prisoner by Pomare during the Nga Puhi raids in the 1820s. He was introduced to Christianity in the north and on returning home to Ngati Porou was prominent in spreading the gospel. New Zealand Historic Places Trust. (1979). *Historic Buildings of New Zealand North Island*. Auckland: Cassell. p. 210.

⁴⁹⁵ ‘The missionary practice of condemning carvings as ‘erotic, sinful and evil’ continued into the modern era of the 1940s when the building of carved houses was revived’. Walker, R. (1990). *Ka whawhai tonu matou Struggle without end*. Auckland: Penguin Books. p. 86.

of Riwai Pakerau and his mother Hineitungia had to be re-carved in 1990 as part of the refurbishment of the interior of Taharora.⁴⁹⁶

I decided to retain the emasculated Iwirakau convention to commemorate the change but also to avoid the total re-carving of the Hine Matakaikai pare above the rear door. As an alternative for sexually explicit carvings I decided to empower the ancestral images with mana by carving lower relief patterned manaia in the pubic region.⁴⁹⁷ This empowerment, which the kaumatua perceived as pattern embellishment, was charged with a historical significance in following a course of action forced upon the Rongowhakaata carvers by Rev. William Williams in the carving of the Manutuke Church in 1849.⁴⁹⁸ While Neich suggests that the carvings produced for the church based on the manaia form ‘were purely decorative, without any human figures that would have represented human figures that would have represented ancestors’ I would contend that these carvings were not ‘purely decorative’.⁴⁹⁹ Instead Te Waka Kurei’s ‘compromise design’ was significantly charged with a cultural empowerment inaccessible to Williams.⁵⁰⁰ Hence the manaia, at least in Taharora, carry the implication of ‘whakamana tipuna’, the empowerment of ancestors.

He Tataitanga whakawhiti: constructing a trans-cultural framework

Whakapapa constitutes a core principle for any consideration of art by Maori and it also constitutes the most important index within a framework for analysing Maori art because it annexes whakapapa with the right to identify as Maori, and the right to define personal or communal art practice as Maori. As explained in Chapter Two the value of the Framework is its capacity to expose notions of authentic art as untenable. As intimated previously, the Analytical Framework indices include whakapapa (genealogy), matauranga (knowledge), ahua (appearance), waihanga (process), wahi (site) and tikanga (protocol).

In light of the value of the Analytical Framework for capturing inconsistencies in the attribution of art as authentic or inauthentic it is adapted to a Framework for Cultural Relativity and Relevance to contextualise form and content in Taharora.

Table 13: Analytical Framework for Cultural Relativity and Relevance [ii]

<i>Cultural indices</i>	<i>Maori cultural relativity and relevance</i>	<i>Trans-cultural relativity and relevance</i>
Whakapapa (<i>genealogy</i>)		
Matauranga (<i>knowledge</i>)		
Ahua (<i>appearance</i>)		

⁴⁹⁶ After the re-carving of Riwai Pakerau and Hineitungia I wanted to bury the original carved images on the marae grounds but was over-ruled by whanau of Ngai Taharora who wanted to return the carvings to Taiharakeke, the original site of the house, The carvings have subsequently been returned to Mihikoinga marae and are stored in the dining room annex.

⁴⁹⁷ Both Lionel Grant of Ngati Pikiao and Ross Hemara of Kai Tahu contributed to the carved patterns to empower the tipuna in Taharora.

⁴⁹⁸ Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 83-6.

⁴⁹⁹ Neich. (1993). p. 85.

⁵⁰⁰ Neich. (1993). p. 85. See also *Te Tataitanga o Te Pitau-a-manaia* in Chapter Six for a discussion on the significance of the manaia for Maori painting.

Waihanga (<i>process</i>)		
Wahi (<i>site</i>)		
Tikanga (<i>protocol</i>)		

In this chapter the indices whakapapa, matauranga and wahi in Table 13 will be examined to elucidate the cultural relativity of each for the form and content in Taharora. Concurrently, they will be contextualised within the refurbishment of Taharora through an explanation of the interior scheme to demonstrate how the *tataitanga korero* of Taharora has been translated into the structure of the ‘house that Riwai built’. At the end of the chapter these indices will be configured in an *Analytical Framework for Cultural Relativity and Relevance* to demonstrate, and to explain the interconnections between the Maori cultural and trans-cultural relativity and relevance indices.

Within the context of this chapter whakapapa, matauranga and wahi will be examined because matauranga and wahi may be subsumed under the rubric of whakapapa. In addition, Taharora is encompassed in a comprehensive whakapapa that explains the mana whenua of Ohineakai where the house is located. Whakapapa is an inseparable corollary of matauranga, and wahi, as Papatuanuku, is implicated in whakapapa as a genealogical entity inseparable from humankind. Whakapapa is also a critical determinant of mana whenua within customary entitlement to land.⁵⁰¹

As Linda Smith contends,

*It is through whakapapa that Maori trace our selves, our access to land, to a marae and to a turangawaewae. Whakapapa also positions us in historical relationships with other iwi, with our landscape, and with the universe... Whakapapa...relates us to all things that exist in the world.*⁵⁰²

Nga tataitanga ki ro Taharora: genealogy visualised in Taharora whare nui

The original aim of the whakapapa index within the Analytical Framework was to demonstrate that artists with a Maori whakapapa also have genealogical connections with non-Maori. The theme is continued in this section but whakapapa is also considered as an inextricable dimension of matauranga. This is not to suggest that artists who do not have a Maori whakapapa cannot create work with visual correspondence and empathy.⁵⁰³ The ‘Taharora project’ is no exception. While I was the principal designer and director of the project several students without a Maori whakapapa were involved in the project including

⁵⁰¹ ‘The rule of residence meant that an individual usually resided in the father’s hapu, therefore he could expect to inherit his mana whenua from his father, except in cases where the mother had greater mana’. Mahuika, A. T. (1973). ‘Nga Wahine Kai-hautu o Ngati Porou’. Unpublished master’s thesis, Sidney University, Sidney, Australia. p. 63.

⁵⁰² Smith, L. T. (1996). ‘Nga Aho O Te Kakahu Matauranga: The Multiple Layers of Struggle by Maori in Education’. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. p. 211.

⁵⁰³ See discussion in Chapter Eight – ‘This of course begs the question – can non-Maori create Maori art? The simple answer to the question is yes. That is, non-Maori artists can create art that is perceptually acceptable as Maori art and in some instances conceptually acceptable as well. In this respect, art is not biologically determined. However, it is certainly ideologically conditioned. Hence, Maori art is an ideological construction that a culture maintains as a point of difference’.

females.⁵⁰⁴ More significantly, whakapapa, within the context of marae projects, extends beyond the artist to also include the whakapapa of the group affiliated with the marae and the whakapapa, *tataitanga korero* that determines the narratives commemorated in the house.

Critically, whakapapa has been identified as the most fundamental aspect of the way Maori think about and come to know the world.⁵⁰⁵ Inherent in the notion of whakapapa is a way of thinking, learning, storing and debating knowledge.⁵⁰⁶ Whakapapa enables Maori to locate themselves relative to place (marae, turangawaewae, Aotearoa, New Zealand, world, universe), people (whanau, hapu, iwi, Maori, New Zealand, tangata tiriti), and environment (land, sea, sky, flora and fauna).⁵⁰⁷ Therefore, it is important that any conceptualisation of whakapapa is able to capture and embrace those Maori for whom customary kinship networks or notions of identity have been subject to reconfiguration under colonialism. Equally important is that Maori people are not only the subjects of research but are the researchers held accountable through their own whakapapa.⁵⁰⁸

With respect to the whakapapa index, my whakapapa is a critical factor because it locates me relative to place (Mihikoinga marae, Ohineakai Block), people (Ngai Taharora) and the environment of Te Tairawhiti.

In the 'Taharora Whare nui' manuscript relating to Mihikoinga, Waho Tibble, referencing 'Meri Makaroi' (Mary McIlroy) and a story related to her by her grandmother Meri Wharepapa, suggests that the name 'Mihi Koingo' refers to a 'taumata' (an elevated place, a hill) where the kuia of Waipiro, who had been deserted by their Pakeha suitors, 'ka koingo' (grieved) ki nga Pakeha ra...ki nga kare o te wai (the lovers of the water)'.⁵⁰⁹ In his entry under Ngai Taharora Waho Tibble creates a pepeha specific to Ngai Taharora identifying 'Mihi Koingo' as the land reserved for the establishment of a 'pa' (marae) where Taharora stands - Ko Mihikoinga te papa i rahuitia hei tunga pa; ko Taharora te whare nui; ko Riwai Pakerau te tangata; ko Ngai Taharora te hapu'.⁵¹⁰ In terms of whakapapa, Ngai Taharora and the descendants of Taharora are not only the subjects of the research but also the researchers who are held accountable through their whakapapa for the narrative content within the dining room and the 'house that Riwai built'. In the case of the 'Taharora project' the *tataitanga korero* (narratives and whakapapa) pertinent to Ngai Taharora were generated in consultation with kaumatua. Waho Tibble assumed the main responsibility for the research into the pertinent narratives and the history of the

⁵⁰⁴ The layout of the interior of Taharora allowed for the allocation of wall spaces to specific students who were charged with the responsibility of creating a section within the house. In all twelve sections were allocated to either individuals or groups. Non-Maori completed two of the sections while one non-Maori worked in a co-ordinating role in several sections of the house.

⁵⁰⁵ Rangihau, J. (1981). 'Being Maori'. In M. King (Ed.). *Te Ao Hurihuri: The world Moves On* (third edition). Auckland: Longman Paul. pp. 165-175.

⁵⁰⁶ Smith, L. T. (1996). 'Nga Aho O Te Kakahu Matauranga: The Multiple Layers of Struggle by Maori in Education'. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. p. 210.

⁵⁰⁷ Smith. (1996). p. 211.

⁵⁰⁸ Smith. (1996). pp. 212-3.

⁵⁰⁹ Tibble, W. (1988). MSS Taharora Whare nui. p. 2.

⁵¹⁰ Tibble, W. (1988). pp. 1-2.

hapu.⁵¹¹ This approach is not new but maintains a legacy of making the ‘house that Riwai built’ relevant for Ngai Taharora and the wahi where it is located.

In these narratives, Taharora is identified as a warrior from Orete within the Whanau a Apanui district who joined Iritekura as her protector in battle – ‘He toa a Taharora no Orete no roto i te Whanau a Apanui. I mauria mai e Iritekura hei toa mana koi haipu he pakanga’.⁵¹² Iritekura, who married Ruatona, was also Taharora’s sister in law. ‘Taharora whare nui’ and Mihikoinga marae are located on the Ohineakai Block, which was awarded to Ngai Taharora by the Native Land Court. There were two claims made for the Ohineakai Block. Haira Te Rango, Wiki Te Piri and Matiu Kahawai lodged a claim on the basis of a bequeathing of the land to their ancestor Taharora by Takapuatua the daughter of Iritekura with Paratene Ngata acting on behalf of the Ngai Taharora claimants.⁵¹³ The second claim was made by Te Whanau a Iritekura and defended by Eru Potaka on the basis that part of the Block was an inheritance of Korounuhia through Rakaimawatea of Te Whanau a Kaipiro. Another part of the Block was an inheritance of Takapuatua while another was inherited by Matakaikai of Ngati Ahi through Kaingamarama. The descendants of Taharora were given sole occupation of the Ohineakai Block of 545 acres.⁵¹⁴

Whakapapa of Wiki Te Piri, Haira Te Rango and Matiu Kahawai

Te Urangaarangi = Te Aukaha	
Te Reomakere = Takapo	
Takapuatua	
Nikorima = Te Huirohutu	Harata Hapai = Hohepa Te Rango
Wiki Te Piri	Matiu Kahawai Haira Te Rango

It was the intention of Waho Tibble to acknowledge the successful claim for the Ohineakai Block by commemorating the claimants Haira Te Rango, Wiki Te Piri, Matiu Kahawai and Paratene Ngata in the mahau of Taharora ‘whare nui’. However, I had always planned the design of the mahau as a celebration of the painting style of Riwai Pakerau. Consequently, the poupu in the porch area were painted with kowhaiwhai patterns associated with his *tataitanga whakairo* (style) from the range of patterns recorded in a chapter by H. W. Williams (1897) and published as part of Augustus Hamilton’s book

⁵¹¹ Waho Tibble’s manuscript references the writings of Apirana [Ngata] and Mohi Turei in particular.

⁵¹² Tibble. (1988). p. 2. It was mentioned in Chapter Five that Iritekura was the niece of Tuwhakairiora who was responsible for the defeat of Ngati Ruanuku and Wahineiti of the Waipiro Bay area and the establishment of Te Whanau a Iritekura as the tangata whenua of the area.

⁵¹³ In his evidence at the land court hearing Haira Te Rango claimed to belong to ‘Whanauataharora’ and that the land [Ohineakai Block] was given by Takapuatua to Taharora. Takapuatua was a child of Iritekura...This land was given in account of his fight at Awatero. Through his fame as a warrior Takapuatua sent for him to come and live at Waipiro...Takapuatua marked off a piece of land commencing at the Taiharakeke stream...’ Maori Land Court. (1885). *Waiapu Minute Book* No. 08B. p. 42.

⁵¹⁴ According to court records the Ohineakai Block comprised 548 acres. Tibble. (1988). p. 2. Maori Land Court. (1893). *Waiapu Minute Book* No. 18. p. 243.

Maori art (1896-1901).⁵¹⁵ A decision was also made to record Riwai Pakerau's innovative text and tree painting oeuvre within the mahau (*Figure 58*) and to extend his practice by reconfiguring his heke and painted poupou compositions to include native insects and painted acknowledgements of intermarriage of Ngai Taharora descendants with non-Maori.⁵¹⁶



Figure 58. Mahau. Taharora whare nui, Mihikoingo marae. Ohineakai.

This acknowledgement of the whakapapa of other cultures through intermarriage is also present in the house in the bronze medallion inlays with pertinent cultural signification.⁵¹⁷ For example, the thistle signified Scotland while the cock signified France. In the mahau, Ngai Taharora genealogical connections with Irish kin is acknowledged with Celtic patterns and dragons, French kin with a rooster (*Figure 58 bottom middle right*), Scottish kin with a thistle, Italian kin through Romulus and Remus, Samoan and Tongan kinship through Pacific palms. English kin are commemorated with the union jack and a racehorse (*Figure 58 bottom left*) and German kin with a grey hound.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁵ The patterns used for the mahau of Taharora are patterns 13 and 15. Neich, R. (1986). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 29, 30 Fig. 2 - patterns 11-15.

⁵¹⁶ The selection and painting of the insects were the responsibility of Liz Grant of Ngati Huia, a graduate of the Bachelor of Maori Visual Arts (BMVA) degree with the School of Maori Studies at Massey University in Palmerston North.

⁵¹⁷ Two of the bronze medallions record the names of Wiremu and Merikuia on the back wall to commemorate the passing of my brother and grandmother after the completion of the first part of the Taharora Project. The original intention was to commemorate whanua who had passed away on all the medallions in the house but this idea was never realised because of the escalation in deaths after the completion of stage two of the Project.

⁵¹⁸ Saffron Te Ratana of Ngai Tuhoe took the major role in designing the kinship vignettes and also the door paintings that substitute for pare over the door. The original idea of incorporating a pare over the doorway of the mahau was abandoned because there were pare inside the house over the front and rear doors. This strategy also presented an opportunity to extend Riwai Pakerau's painting practice. Ngataiharuru Taepa of Te Arawa and Te Ati Awa was the coordinator of the kowhaiwhai painting and was responsible for the design of the pane. Both are BMVA graduates.

Riwai Pakerau recorded the names of ancestors below his painted trees like ‘R. Tamepo’ in Old English text on a heke from Mauitikitiki a Taranga (Maui) to perpetuate matauranga in his houses. Painted native trees like ‘titoki’ (*Figure 58 bottom left*) and ‘kowhai’ are identified in a similar manner in the mahau of Taharora to acknowledge the importance of matauranga. The exception is a tree based on a heke in Maui where the name of ‘Riwai’ is painted beneath to acknowledge his contribution to painting in the Iwirakau *tataitanga whakairo*. This reference to Riwai also acknowledges his role in the establishment of Ngai Taharora as a hapu separate from Te Whanau a Iritekura.



Figure 59. Heke. Whakaata whare nui, Okains Bay Museum, Okains Bay.⁵¹⁹



Figure 60. Heke. Mauitikitiki a Taranga whare nui, Auckland Museum (45994, 44995)

While Neich has assigned the heke in the Auckland War Memorial Museum to Maui there are two pieces of evidence that appear to contradict this assertion⁵²⁰. A set of heke from Maui (*Figure 59*) that are stylistically different to the set in Auckland (*Figure 60*) were gifted to the Okains Bay Museum by the descendants of Tame Potae for the whare nui Whakaata. Not only are the patterns at Okains Bay non-figurative but the heke are also shaped by five intersecting planes rather than in the convex form apparent in the two Auckland examples. Although it is not unusual to find figurative kowhaiwhai in the porch and non-figurative inside a single house in the 19th century like Rongopai at Waituhi, the variation in the form of the heke would suggest that the Auckland heke may belong to Iritekura, carved and painted by Riwai Pakerau, and opened in 1910.⁵²¹ In addition, the commemoration of R Tamepo (*Figure 60 left*), a descendent of the Whanau a Iritekura,

⁵¹⁹ *Rafters from Maui gifted by Te Oraiti Aspenell and Aida Haig 21st June 1971*. Information notice inside the porch of Whakaata meeting house at Okains Bay in the South Island. There is a set of five rafter patterns inside the house. There is also a set of five heke (accession number L77-66) in the Gisborne Museum that feature the same structure and design. They placed in the museum Ben Pewhairangi, Hikuwai Station, Tokomaru Bay.

⁵²⁰ Neich, R. (1986). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 271.

⁵²¹ Photograph caption ‘Part of the ceremony at opening of meeting house, Waipiro Bay 1910. Courtesy F. A. Hargreaves Collection Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.’ *Waipiro Bay School Centennial Pictorial Booklet Piki Haere (1892-1992)*. Gisborne: The Gisborne Herald. p. 118.

on one of the two heke in Auckland would suggest that the assignation of the Auckland heke from Maui to Iritekura is probably justified.

The representation of plants simulating Riwai Pakerau's *tataitanga whakairo* capitalises on the significance of trees as late 19th and early 20th century ideology of 'pupuri whenua', Te Kooti's catch cry for Maori to hold fast to their lands. In this regard the trees in the mahau of Taharora stand in an ideological relationship, not only to the trees painted by Riwai Pakerau, but also in a visual kinship with the exotic and native trees, and the overall matauranga in Wahoterangi (c. 1890) where the juxtaposition complements the placement of tangata whenua on the front wall of the house and tangata tiriti at the back of the house in the form of a missionary on the poutuarongo and European royalty on the epa.⁵²² Concurrent with the arrival of the missionaries and absentee monarchy was the arrival of the exotic plants bearing fruit and a promise of a prosperous future. These exotic specimens oppose the native trees of kowhai and kowhai ngutukaka in Wahoterangi alluding to cultures in collision. It is a story in which European naturalism participates in the articulation of the message; a message of survival in which the customary system of kinship is proffered as a framework for cultural continuity.

The juxtaposition of exotic and native plants and the opposition of tribal ancestors and Pakeha offer explicit statements of mana tangata and mana whenua, conceptually reinforced by the continuous frieze of the narrative of Paikea and Ruatapu.⁵²³ What is significant in the Paikea narrative is a further conceptual juxtaposition of matamua (first born) and teina (younger sibling). That is, it is a genealogically significant narrative ideologically grounded in cultural notions of time and space and mana tangata in which the right of being and the right of seniority are reinforced.

As mentioned previously, the opposition of tribal ancestors and Pakeha longitudinally within the house sets up a commentary on mana whenua and mana tangata. It is commentary that is conditioned by Maori cultural associations relative to 'mua' and 'muri' as spatially and temporally significant. That is, in relation to the front and back of the house and the Maori concept of time. The Maori term for front is mua, which locates spatial and temporal relativity in a forward position in contradiction to the Western notion of the past, which is behind, and the future, which is in front. Consequently, the firstborn is called matamua (the eyes in front), not only because he/she is the firstborn but also because he/she is located temporally in a genealogical continuum that places he/she in

⁵²² Neich has identified the European royalty as 'King Edward VII, King Alexandra, Queen Mary and King George V' and 'perhaps a missionary with a bible on the rear epa'. He has also identified 'at least three sets of painted compositions'. However, he is reluctant to interpret the interrelationships that may exist suggesting that the paintings 'refer to a story of local history, but the exact significance has been forgotten'. Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. pp. 273-4.

⁵²³ In Fowler's version of the Paikea narrative Kahutiaterangi was transformed into Paikea, a 'sea monster' after an attempt by his brother Ruatapu to kill him and to usurp his mana after being told by his father that he was the son of a 'captive wife, Paimahutanga' whereas Kahutiaterangi was from the 'chief wife Rangatoro'. Fowler, L. (1974). *Te Mana o Turanga*. Auckland: Penrose with the New Zealand Places Trust. pp. 15-7.

past time at a closer proximity to ancestors and deity.⁵²⁴ It is this critical temporal position that makes primogenitor important for chiefly lines.

In a similar sense, Hawaiki, as the original homeland, is often located in the realm of Te Po, at the point before the ancestors of the Maori settled the shores of Aotearoa. Consequently, in speaking of the time to come this period is expressed as 'te wa a muri', the time that is behind (us). Therefore, temporal concepts find their point of locus in whakapapa. Hawaiki is senior to Aotearoa therefore Hawaiki is in front of Aotearoa in terms of space and time, it is from the time before, 'te wa o mua'.⁵²⁵ Te Po as the spiritual realm of deity is senior to Te Ao Marama as the realm of humankind therefore Te Po is the location of precedence and preeminence. Earth and all creatures are matamua to human, that is, they are genealogically senior to humankind. Hence, the Paikea and Ruatapu narrative is not only a statement about the senior relationship of Kahutiaterangi (Paikea) relative to Ruatapu but it is also a narrative about the senior relationship of Maori relative to Pakeha in Wahoterangi within the context of Pouawa and the Poverty Bay region.⁵²⁶ This prioritization of tuakana or matamua status relative to mua and muri is also apparent in the location of the painted canoes inside the house. A migratory canoe and the capsized canoe of Ruatapu and his brothers.⁵²⁷ In each case, the canoes flank the poutahu and poutuarongo respectively. This placement is particularly significant, even satirical in this context since the cosmological significance of these architectural posts and the cultural significance of mua/muri, front/back relative to time have been incorporated into the narrative content of the paintings. In cosmological terms the poutahu symbolises Tane, the life giver, and the poutuarongo symbolises Hinenuitepo, or death.⁵²⁸ Consequently, the capsized canoe, representing the death of Ruatapu, flanks the post of Hinenuitepo while the migratory canoe flanks the post of Tane with a painting of Paikea, on the whale that rescued him, at the top of the post. In this respect Tane heralds new life while Hinenuitepo welcomes humans in their transformative state as ira atua. In ideological terms, the opposition of a fully manned migratory canoe and capsized canoe at the front and back of the house respectively, with painted images of Maori ancestors at the front and English Monarchy at the back, present a definitive statement of mana

⁵²⁴ 'The firstborn was regarded as the child of the Gods, the point upon which the power of the Gods rested. Socially, this resulted in him [or her] holding the highest rank in society'. 'Matamua: the first born. Buck refers to matamua as the first born son, but in Ngati Porou it is used to denote the first-born child, male or female'. Mahuika, A. T. (1973). 'Nga Wahine Kai-hautu o Ngati Porou'. Unpublished master's thesis, Sidney University, Sidney, Australia. pp. 13-14, 24.

⁵²⁵ Neich also discusses the notion of tapu and noa relative to Hawaiki and Aotearoa. Referencing Metge Neich applies the notion of tapu and noa spatially to the marae environment both external and internal. In a visit to the South Island in 2005 most of the marae complexes had ablutions located at the back of the whare nui accessible through a rear door like Rehua in Christchurch. In a new complex Te Araiteuru in Dunedin the whare kai was on the tara iti and the ablutions were on the tara whanui with each of the areas accessible from a door at the side of the whare nui with a corridor in between. What this clearly demonstrates is an amendment to principles of tapu and noa over the last thirty years. Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 125.

⁵²⁶ Wahoterangi formerly stood at Pouawa. It is now located at Whangara.

⁵²⁷ The migratory canoe is the Horouta.

⁵²⁸ Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 41. See also Neich, R. (1993). p. 127.

tangata and mana whenua. Ruatapu as impostor and younger sibling is relegated to the cosmologically junior position at the back of the house with the English monarchy while Paikea retains the senior position amidst Maori ancestors at the front of the house. Hence, mua and muri as directional terms locating front and back coincide with mua and muri as temporal terms indicating past time and future time. In the case of Te Wahoterangi, the front (mua) is the physical location of tangata whenua and also historical time or the time before (mua). The inverse is true for muri. Hence, directional and temporal concepts associated with mua and muri collude in space and time.

In a similar manner to Te Wahoterangi, a European presence is acknowledged in Taharora but the ideological intent of the former becomes an acceptance of a trans-cultural reality in which other ethnic groups constitute the new Maori reality in the 21st century as demonstrated in the ‘Whakapapa o Ropata’ below.⁵²⁹ Thus, the tributaries that define my worldview are born of a wellspring that emanates not only in Aotearoa but also in Hawaiki and the lands beyond Te Moananui a Kiwa. There is a further relationship in that the paintings of Riwai Pakerau, like those in Wahoterangi, were non-customary in the 19th century. Consequently the paintings based on Riwai Pakerau’s *tataitanga whakairo* should be considered customary in the 21st century.

Whakapapa o Ropata

	Te Urangaarangi = Te Aukaha	
Takapuatua = Te Urimaitai		Rakautuwhenua = Hinemarakī
Hineitungia = Pakunui		Maraea Whakaete = Hohua
Pekapeka		
Riwai Pakerau = Meri Nohoaka		Marara Takuha = Hirini Pehu
Meri Wharepapa = William Sidney Haig		Harata [Pehu] = James Francis McIlroy
Heneri Wharepapa = Tuhere Maraki		
	Meri Maraki = James McIlroy	
	Harata McIlroy = Hans Jahnke	
	Robert Jahnke	

Hence, whakapapa is not only a foundational principle in articulating the history of Ngai Taharora but it is also important in demonstrating the matauranga in Wahoterangi in which a cultural relativity of mua and muri as temporal notions of past and future and directional notions of front and back are articulated. That is, the distant past is located spatially at the front of the house while the recent past is located at the back of the house in the interior, at least, in terms of the side wall panels relative to the back wall panels and the amo in relation to the side wall panels in Taharora.⁵³⁰ This organising principle in Taharora is also the tikanga, the customary practice for organising the carvings within the house.

⁵²⁹ The ‘other ethnic groups’ in the ‘Whakapapa o Ropata’ include Irish (Haig), Scottish (McIlroy) and German/Samoan/Tongan (Jahnke). In spite of this genealogical interconnection with other ethnicities I identify as Maori. However, other members of Ngai Taharora acknowledge their mixed ethnicity.

⁵³⁰ Ihenga meeting house at Waiariki Polytechnic in Rotorua carved under the direction of Lionel Grant of Ngati Pikiāo reverses the scheme in Taharora and Wahoterangi. This is achieved through the use of totara on the back wall and medium density fibre board on the front and also by referencing Te wao nui a Tāne (the forest of Tāne) on the back wall with stylised references to branching trees opposing high rise architectural structures on the front wall.

Nga tataitanga tipuna: the ordering of ancestors

Waho Tibble's whakapapa for 'Taharora whare nui' originally assigned Hau, the first born of Porourangi and Hamo 'te matamua o Porourangi raua ko Hamo', to the front of the house in an elevated position as the 'tahu – koruru' - 'Koinei ano hoki i whakaarotia e au ko Hau hei taahu, ka whaiti mai i runga i a ia nga korero katoa mo ona matua tipuna tae atu ki tana taina me tona tuahine me o raua uri. I te mea kua tu a Hau i te Kiekie, a Porourangi i Waiomatatini...'⁵³¹ However, at the Taharoara wananga in 2002 it was accepted that the koruru should represent Taharora in keeping with the custom of the koruru as a representation of the ancestor after whom the house was named. This acceptance of Taharora as the koruru instead of Hau was because Hau was already represented as a koruru on the 'whare nui' named after him at Te Kiekie and also featured in the whakapapa of Porourangi whare nui at Waiomatatini.⁵³² Consequently, Hau was relegated to the pane (*Figure 60 left*), the cosmological position of 'Rangi and Papa or their substitutes in the person of eponymous tribal ancestor who are often represented re-enacting the cosmo-genealogical act of procreation at the beginning of the tahu'.⁵³³ The pane however was painted stylistically to encapsulate the foreshore and seabed environment of Waipiro Bay as a result Hau was encapsulated in spirit rather than as a carved or painted ancestral image.⁵³⁴



Figure 61. Pane and amo. Taharora whare nui, Mihikoingo marae. Ohineakai.

In the original whakapapa scheme for Taharora Awapururu, the son of Hau and Tamateatoia was relegated to the left amo (*Figure 61 right*) and Tuere, his younger brother, the right amo (*Figure 61 centre*) 'Ko te Awapururu nei me te Tuere nei nga tipuna e whakaaro nei ahau kia whakairia ki nga amo o te whare o Taharora'.⁵³⁵ However, the commemoration of the carving of Riwai Pakerau at the front of the house created a problem in terms of whakapapa because Riwai Pakerau's amo featured two figures instead

⁵³¹ Tibble, W. (1988). *MSS Taharora Whare nui*. p. 9.

⁵³² Hau is one of three houses with which I am connected through whakapapa. The other is Iritekura at Waipiro Bay. The three houses are situated within a mile of each other. Hau, which was originally located at Houhoupounamu between Waipiro and Mataahu is the whare nui of Te Whanau a Rakairoa. Tibble, W. (1988). *MSS Taharora Whare nui*. p. 9. See Neich for a discussion of the koruru as the ancestor after whom the house is named. Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 130.

⁵³³ Neich. (1993). p. 130.

⁵³⁴ 'Kati ra, ka tu a Hau hei hau mo tona ahua hei tahu mo ona uri'.

⁵³⁵ Tibble. (1988). Cover sheet, p8.

of one. This dilemma was overcome by including other children of Awapururu and Tuere on the left and right amo as the lower figures occupying the junior position.⁵³⁶ Consequently, Tangihaereroa as the matamua was selected to stand beneath his father Awapururu because his name was commemorated in a house and a hapu '[K]o Tangihaereroa te ingoa o te whare nui i tu ki Waitoki i Tuparoa – kua kore i reira inaianei, no Ngai Tangihaere...'⁵³⁷ Tamateataharoa, the daughter of Tuere was assigned a place beneath her father because she was the first wife of Hingangaroa who established the whare wananga at Uawa called Rawheoro and her granddaughters Hinekino and Hinerimu (see whakapapa below) married the great warrior Konohi from whom Ngati Konohi of Whangara take their name.⁵³⁸

Whakapapa mo Hinekino raua ko tona teina Hinerimu

Tamateataharoa = Hingangaroa = Iranui
 Hurumaiterangi = Tupuhikai (a Tutaunga, a Rongowhakaata)
 Hinekino = Konohi = Hinerimu



Figure 62. Amo and maihi intersection. Taharora whare nui, Mihikoingo marae. Ohineakai.

Table 14: Whakapapa tipuna o Taharora

(Shaded area denotes pare)		
BACK		
Hineitungia	Hinematakaikai	Riwai Pakerau
Rutanga		Ruaterau
Rakaipikirunga		Tuitimatua
Tamahinengaro		Whaturaoa
Taiau		Rongomaikairae
Rakairoa II Iritekura Materoa		
Awapururu	Hau	Tuere
Tangihaereroa	Taharora	Tamateataharoa
FRONT		

This amendment to the whakapapa of the house to align with Riwai Pakerau's *tataitanga whakairo* based on Maui presented a further problem because of the inclusion of a small tiki on each maihi above the manaia and amo interconnection (*Figure 62 right*). However, the addition of these extra figures was to prove fortuitous because they would be

⁵³⁶ Maori carved ancestral images are arranged vertically according to the principle of mana tangata in which the occupation of the upper tier of carved panels are determined by seniority based on age or whakapapa. This principle of mana tangata can be supplanted by the principle of mana whenua in which the elevated position is assigned to the ancestor who was responsible for establishing the right to land occupation. The pre-eminent example of this principle occurs in the Ngati Raukawa ancestral house Kikopiri at Kuku where Te Rauparaha was placed above his uncle Hape. In the consideration of tapu and noa relative to front/back, right/left in the chapter on Hine Matakaikai whare kai the principle of tikanga tipuna is used to contextualise the location of architecture and urupa within the marae environment.

⁵³⁷ Tibble, W. (1988). *MSS Taharora Whare nui*. p. 8.

⁵³⁸ Hingangaroa subsequently married Iranui the sister of Kahungunu.

assigned the role of commemorating the two factions who lodged a claim in the Native Land court for the Ohineakai Block discussed previously. Therefore, Waho Tibble's wish to commemorate this critical episode in Ngai Taharora history was accommodated.

Inside the house the descendants of Awapururu - Taiau, Tamahinengaro, Rakaipikirarunga, Rutanga, and the descendants of Tuere – Rongomaikairae, Whatuaroa, Tuitimatua, Ruaterau are placed behind them from the front to the back of the house as outlined in Table 14.

It is from these ancestors that Riwai Pakerau is descended with a remerging of the whakapapa lines of Awapururu and his brother Tuere through the marriage of their respective descendants Apakawhiu (5 generations from Awapururu) and Ruaterau (4 generations from Tuere).⁵³⁹

Whakapapa tipuna o Taharora

	Hau = Tamateatoia	
Awapururu = Hineteahuru (f)		Tuere = Muriwhakaputa (f)
Taiau = Rerepuhitai (f)		Rongomaikairae (f) = Whatiua
Tamahinengaro = Rakaipukori (f)		Whatuaroa (f) = Tamakihi
<u>Rakaipikirarunga = Uhengaparaoa (f)</u>		<u>Tuitimatua = Ruatapu Kauaenui</u>
Rutanga (f) = Tumoanakotore		
	Apakawhiu = Ruaterau (f)	
	Rakaitirohia = Whakapipi	
	Taharora-----Ruatona = Iritekura	
	Tamokai	
Takapuatua	Porouhorea	
	Tauteora	
	Rauihi	
	Urangarangi	
	Takapuatua	
	Hineitungia	
	Riwei Pakerau	

The whakapapa of Taharora shows the right side of the house (tikanga a tipuna) with the senior genealogy and the left side the junior genealogy opposing the cultural convention of tara iti (little side) as the noa side and tara nui (big side) as the tapu side.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁹ Although Awapururu is the elder brother of Tuere, their elder brother was Rakaipo who was named to commemorate Hau's sadness and anger over the loss of his wife to his younger brother Ueroa. When Ueroa and the former wife of Hau, Takotowaimua left Whangara Kehutikoparae, the daughter of Hau and Takotowaimua, remained with her father. She was the matamua of the children of Hau. 'E ki ana a Apirana [Ngata] kaore he korero mo Awapururu...' Tibble, W. (1988). *MSS Taharora Whare nui*. p. 8. Referencing Awapururu Apirana Ngata suggests, 'There is no tradition relating to this name, which signifies a valley shaded with close growing trees'. Ngata, A. T. (1944). *Rauru-nui-a-Toi Lectures*. p. 14.

⁵⁴⁰ Following Anne Salmond, Neich suggests that the right side of the house (facing the house) is the tapu side while the other is noa. 'The tapu side is called the important side and is associated with men, visitors, and death. The noa side is often called the unimportant side and is associated with women, local people and the living. In his study of traditional carved meeting houses Neich suggests that there is no evidence of senior ancestors being placed at the front of the house but 'symbolic orientations of front/rear' were expressed in painted houses. Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. pp. 128-9. According to Salmond, Maori informants could not agree on the left and right from inside or outside the house. After dismissing the vantage point from the front she was forced to develop an alternative position after 'an elder from the conservative Tuhoe tribe unequivocally attributed left and right...from the vantage point outside the house'. This led her to an analysis in the 'semantic structures of the lexicon' within Maori language resulting in the prioritization of tapu and noa rather than left or right.

Tikanga a tipuna is discussed in the next chapter where it is proposed that left and right should be contextualised within the house according to allegorical configuration of the house as an ancestor.

Waho Tibble includes a particularly significant passage in his manuscript ‘Ka moe hoki a Ruaterau i tana tamaiti i a Apakawhiu!’ Consequently, Ruaterau appears as an ancestor among the wall panels but Apakawhiu, her husband, from the ‘tataitanga tuakana’, the more senior line, has been omitted from the house. Awapururu was the third child of Hau who married Tamateatoia, the younger sister of his first wife Takotowaimua who beseeched Hau with the words, ‘Tahuri mai ki au ki to wahine iti’ – ‘Turn to me your lesser wife’.⁵⁴¹ Significantly, it is the Tataitanga o Awapururu, the ‘Tataitanga tuakana’, who are allocated the tara iti inside Taharora ‘whare nui’. The narratives outlined below show important whakapapa links to Whakatohea and Mataatua, and through Ruatanga and Tumoanakotore to Te Whanau a Apanui. However, the narratives relating to the Tataitanga o Awapururu are located outside the immediate vicinity of the Waipiro Bay region. In contrast, the ancestors from the Tataitanga o Tuere, the ‘Tataitanga teina’, allocated the tara nui are enmeshed in the conquests of Wahineiti and Ngati Ruanuku the original inhabitants of the Waipiro area who were eventually defeated by Tuwhakairiora and Pakanui. Hence, the allocation of the right side of the house to Tuere, a younger sibling and the younger brother of Awapururu is one based on mana whenua rather than mana tangata, which is allocated to the left side.

Nga tataitanga o Awapururu ma: the placement of Awapururu and Tuere

‘[F]rom this union of Hau and Tamateatoia were born the boys of Hau, Rakaipo the first born, Awapururu next and Tuere the youngest child. Awapururu and Tuere are the ancestors I have assigned to the amo of the house of Taharora. According to Apirana there are no stories regarding Awapururu but there are for his boys Tangihaereroa and Taiiau; Tangihaereroa is the name of a house at Waitoki at Tuparoa – it is no longer there today and belonged to Ngai Tangihaere; The Toka a Taiiau is the marker (ki te tai runga) of the Ngati Porou today – it was a rock in the river of Turanganui that stood in front of the place where the wharf of Turanga, through an explosion that rock was demolished in order to make way for the wharf for the steamers to berth near Turanga...

The wives of Taiiau were Rerepuhitai a descendant of Ruawaipu, and Ariaterangi a descendent of Tamaikakea (tungane) brother of Ruawaipu. It from here that we see the joining of the descendants of Porourangi to those of Toi. From the senior wife from Rerepuhitai came Tamahinengaro.

The family of Taiiau grew up in Turanga at Titirangi. When his grandchildren had grown to adulthood a messenger came from Opotiki to assemble a war party in Gisborne to avenge the death of Uekahikatea, a chief from Whakatohea, a descendent of Muriwai the sister of Toroa captain of the Mataatua canoe. Tamahinengaro led the war party with his sons Rakaipikirarunga and Mokaiporou.

Salmond, A. (1978). ‘Te Ao Tawhito: A semantic Approach to the Traditional Maori Cosmos’. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 87: 5-7.

⁵⁴¹ See also footnote 44. Tibble, W. (1988). *MSS Taharora Whare nui*. p. 8.

According to Api Mahuika the expression ‘wahineiti’ of Tamateatoia is said to be the origin of the hapu name Te Wahine-Iti. Mahuika, A. T. (1973). ‘Nga Wahine Kai-hautu o Ngati Porou’. Unpublished master’s thesis, Sidney University, Sidney, Australia. p. 148.

[Tuketenui was the matamua of the three brothers]. When their reason for going was completed gifts were received, two adzes called Kaitangata and Waikanae, Te Paekura a string (tautau) of greenstone, a woman the second granddaughter of Uekahikatea called Uhengaparaoa. There is a house in Opotiki called Uhengaparaoa. Uhengaparaoa was given by Tamahinengaro to his son Rakaipikirunga as a wife for him and Ruatanga was born to them.

In a later battle in Turanga Tamahinengaro and Rakaipikirunga [father and son] were killed. The younger brother Mokaiporou married the widow of his elder brother and their daughter Rongomaituarau was born. Two of the grandchildren of Tamahinengaro [Rongomaituarau and Rutanga] married Tumoanakotore giving rise to the chiefly lines of Ngati Porou. As a result it was from here also the descendants of the chiefly blood of Mataatua waka merged with that of Ngati Porou. The first daughter of the union of Tumoanakotore and Rutanga, Hinemahuru married Apanui Waipapa resulting in Te Whanau a Apanui establishing Te Whanau a Apanui as the senior lineage over Ngati Porou. From the union of Tumoanakotore and the younger [half] sister Rongomaituarau come Ngatihau and Iwirakau from whom all of Ngati Porou descend.

In addition to this, the firstborn of the three [sons] of Iranui and Hingangaroa, Taua married Tumoetahua giving birth to Apanui Waipapa who in turn married Hinemahuru. From the younger brothers [of Taua] Mahaki-ewe-karoro and Hauti we are all descended in Ngati Porou. Apakawhiu, the grandfather of Taharora is the younger sibling of Hinemahuru'.⁵⁴²

'The migration of Ngai Tuere – this narrative is of great significance within Ngati Porou just like that of Tuwhakairiora to avenge the death of Poroumata. The warriors of that migration were Tamakoro, Tahania and Uetaha the great grandsons (mokopuna tuarua) of Tuere. They were born and grew up in Whangara near Turanga. Tamateapoko of Nga Ruawaiipu of Te Kawakawa was the mother of Tamakoro, Uetaha and Pungawerewere – an others – there were nine children of Uekaiahu and Tamateapoko all male. Tahania was their eldest brother. Uekaiahu was their father but also a [koka/koke/hoke?] of Tahania. This family lived at the river mouth of Pouawa.

In the lament of Rangiuiia are these words –

*Ko wai ra e hika to mata,
I haere ai koe ki te po?
Ko Turanga wahine, ko Turanga tane;
Ko te mata tena o to tipuna,
A te Awariki i te Manutukutuku,
Ka hinga tonu puta ko Waiotira, e!*

Waiotira is a spring (puna wai) south of Pouawa. Te Rangiuiia is speaking about the battle of Tuere and Tangihaere at Te Awariki. Tangihaere was the tamaiti of Tuere and was the father of Poroumata. Therefore perhaps after this battle Ngai Tangihaere migrated to Kainoho at Tuparoa. There are four descent lines from Tuere and his descendants still live at Pouawa, Whangara and Turanga. The daughter of Tuere was Tamateataharoa the first wife of Hingangaroa.

Hingangaroa = Tamateataharoa = Iranui

Hurumaiterangi = Tumuhikai (a Tuataunga, a Rongowhakaata)

Hinekino = Konohi = Hinerimu (tuahine o Hinekino)

⁵⁴² Author's translation. Tibble, W. (1988). *MSS Taharora Whare nui*. pp. 8-10.

This is the great Konohi of the East Coast after whom Ngati Kanohi are named, this is the Kanohi who fought with Tamahae. Neither wanted to trouble the other so they decided on a truce:

Ka tu te toka ki Wahakino

Ka tu te toka ki Takore

This is the Kanohi who led a Ngati Porou war party to Te Kaha nui a Tiki to avenge the death of Hinetaora, that woman was a great granddaughter of the ancestor Tuere. The youngest child of Tuere was Niwa, from her are descended the people of Waiapu – Pohatu is a descendant of Niwa, Pohatu married Pokai the ancestor of Ngati Pokai of Tikapa. The first born of Tuere was Rongomaikairae who married Whatiua. – Whatiua Kauamo from Nga Ruawaipu. They had Whatiuaroa who married Tamakihi from Nga Ruawaipu also. When Tamakihi died Whatiuaroa married Pamoana the younger brother of Tamakihi who when he was dying asked [Whatiuaroa] that she ‘kia moe tana tane i tana taina’. From the union of Tamakihi and Whatiuaroa came Uekaiahu and his sister Tuiti Matua. Uekaiahu married Pihatewairoa, Raramatai and Tahania were born. Uekaiahu married Tamateapoko giving birth to nine boys.

Ruawaipu = Whatiua Kaitangata

Uekapuanui

Tamatearahia [killed by Ngaoho]

Tamateapoko= Uekaiahu

Parawhenuamea

Tamatauiria

Muriwhakaputa = Tuere

Tamakihi = Whatiuaroa

Pamoana = Whatiuaroa

[Muriwhakaputa, Tamakihi, Pamoana were children of Tamatauiria. Whatiuaroa was the granddaughter of Muriwhakaputa. Tamateapoko had Raramatai and Tahania with Pihatewairoa].

Apirana [Ngata] suggested that it was a difficult concept these days to accept the marriage of a grandchild to the younger siblings of his/her grandparent. Whatiuaroa was the granddaughter of Muriwhakaputa who married the younger brothers of Muriwhakaputa! Nevertheless, these are stories handed down from the expert genealogists whose ancestors are our ancestors.

From the time of Uekaiahu and Tuiti Matua [brother and sister] a group of people arrived at Kawakawa mai Tawhiti, Ngaoho came from the south. Nga Ruawaipu lived peacefully on the land from Waiapu to Whangaparaoa. Ngaoho conquered the lands of Rangiwaipu from Wharehika to the river mouth at Awatere. Tamatearahia was killed by Ngaoho forcing the survivors to migrate to Whangara, Tamateapoko was one of them. Here are some stories of my ancestor Paratene Ngata.

“Tamateapoko lived at Whangara. His boys observed him going fishing when he would remember his homelands and lament, ‘ How great was the food of the rivers of Rauwaipu biting at the shore’. Those children asked him to tell them the stories of the kahawai at the river mouth of the Waiapu of Karakatuwhero. The idea arose in the minds of the children to avenge the death of their ancestor Tamatearahia.” This was the first reason for the migration of Ngai Tuere.

There was one of them Uenikoti – younger brother of Uetaha and the others – who migrated from Whangara to live at Waikura within Whangaparaoa. A putorino belonging to Uenikoti was left behind in Whangara. His relatives thought that they would return his prized possession to him, so Pungawerewere set off. On his arrival at Te Rereatahu at the Ahiateatua he was killed. Pungawerewere is now the name of the burial ground at Makarika at the back of the home where Kura Marikena lives.

The second reason for the migration of Ngai Tuere was to avenge the death of Pungawerewere. Eventually there were many of them, and, Tamakoro, Tahina and Uetaha were warriors adept in battle. They departed.

On their way to Te Kawakawa they fought at Hauiti, 'Tutokotakahangaha' was the name (te puta) of that engagement; They fought Wahineiti at Pourau, 'Whatiripapa' was that battle; at Pourau [,] Rangitawera cohabited with Materoa who belonged to (nana ko) Tamaihu [,] the one at Pourau who killed Raramatai; Rangitawera was slain by Tahania. Tahania consumed (te kura) the delicacies of Rangitawera hence the name of that boy 'Tahanui a Te Wahakaikura' and still another 'Te Kairoro'. This story has arrived at the narrative discussed at page 7 about the warriors of Wahineiti about Tamawairangi – 'te ringa motomoto tuatara o Te Wahineiti' (the tuatara fist of Te Wahineiti) – who lived at Kokariki o te niho o Te Huakarere. Te Wahineiti went from there to Waimahuruhuru to engage with Ngai Tuere. Tamawairangi and Hiakaitaria were slain there by Ngai Tuere, 'Takatakahanga' was that battle. The army travelled on arriving to Kopuroa and to Makarika overcoming those tribes, there were no survivors, the death of Pungawerewere was avenged.

From there the group went to Awatere at Kawakawa, Ngaoho was killed inside Awatere at Kawakawa, [they travelled on] to Wharehika and eventually to Whangaparaoa. It is said that there were only a few survivors of Ngaoho who fled south. The death of Tamatearaha was avenged.

Extensive (toro) are these stories. The younger sister of Uekaiaha was Tuiti Matua who married Ruatapu Kauaenui and Te Aotaki was born who married Hinemaurea and Ruataupare was born who married Tuwhakairiora. That is another great story for those who know [it]. Beneath [younger than] Te Aotaki was Hirau who married Matuanihonui, Matarua was their child who married Hinepare after whom the people of Rangitukia are named. From the youngest child of Ruaterau the stories return to the lineage from Hau to Taharora. But a return to some small stories like this [one], Uetaha, the son of Uekaiahu and Tamateapoko married Rongomaitapui, a descendent of Tuketenui, the first born of Tamahinengaro (of Taiau, of Te Te Awapururu). And so the descendants of Awapururu and Tuere were conjoined. From Rongomaitapui comes Te Aopare and his/her younger sibling Tamateakui and Hinerupe 'Ka ko nga kopara a Rongomaitapui'. From the youngest child of Tuiti Matua, Ruaterau who married Apakawhiu Rakaitirohia was born and married Whakapipi whose issue were Taharora and Ruatona. I do not have stories for Rakaitirohia for Whakapipi'.⁵⁴³

Nga matauranga ki ro whare: the knowledge inside the house

Matauranga is literally Maori knowledge. Much of the previous discussion on whakapapa is innately matauranga because whakapapa as cosmo-genealogical oration and narrative encapsulates the underlying epistemological and ontological aspects of a Maori worldview. In addition the history outlined in *Nga Tataitanga o Awapururu raua ko Tuere* is the history of the ancestors configured on amo and poupou of Taharora whare nui, ancestors whose battles and migrations also locate them in the land, the wahi, of the Tairawhiti.

Chapters Three and Four, which relied on a literature review of 19th century Maori texts by both Maori and Pakeha writers, together with translations and interpretations was aimed at demonstrating how inflections of Western knowledge have permeated Maori

⁵⁴³ Author's translation. Tibble, W. (1988). *MSS Taharora Whare nui*. pp. 10-14.

knowledge. Chapter Three was written with the aim of setting an analogy for a search for informed knowledge, and to elucidate notions of consciousness that pervaded 19th century cosmo-genealogical orations and narratives to invigorate the thesis with a Maori consciousness, and to empower the thesis with a *tataitanga kaupapa toi*, a paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance.

Similarly matauranga is evident in Taharora at a number of levels. It draws on, and extends, cosmo-genealogy and Ngati Porou history relevant to the ‘whare nui’. Its architectural configuration is inspired by Victorian architecture and city council by-laws that have resulted in a central door flanked by windows, side wall windows, rear door and a flat roof. This architectural configuration demanded an unorthodox design solution to the roof structure, in particular, while an equally unorthodox solution was necessary to account for the two small lateral windows on each sidewall ruling out a continuous frieze of ancestral images.



Figure 63. Interior. Taharora whare nui, Mihikoingo marae. Ohineakai (i).

The dilemma of a tri-planar wall to ceiling intersection comprising a vertical wall, inclined and flat roof was resolved by placing an arch on the vertical wall, an inverted triangular composition on the roof incline, and a series of intersecting figurative forms bilaterally arranged either side of a central passage of kowhaiwhai running longitudinally from the front to the back of the house on the flat internal ceiling (*Figure 63 left and right*). Consequently, each ancestor on the side walls (*Figure 63 centre and right*) is straddled by a stylised figurative form in which the arch constituted, not only a pointed arch for the ancestors, but also the legs of Tane in his many guises as the creator of the first women, the brother allocated the responsibility of securing the baskets of knowledge from the heavens, the deity of forests and its inhabitants, and the son who separated earth and sky. The extended narrowing arms of the framing inverted triangle on the roof incline comprise the hair of this deity while a centralised circular form beneath the apex of the triangle constitutes the face with an elongated neck forming a central manawa line above horizontal outstretched arms. Like pare the rendition of Tane as the deity responsible for the separation of earth and sky is not composed in a literal manner as described in Te Rangikaheke’s version of the narrative recorded by Grey in which Tane lays on his back to separate his parents as represented in Cliff Whiting’s ‘Te Wehenga o Rangi raua ko Papa’.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴⁴ Cliff Whiting’s mural (1969-1976) is located in the National Library in Wellington. It is important in the history of Maori art because it introduced a trans-cultural approach to resolving narrative schemes within both Maori and non-Maori architectural contexts using ‘trans-cultural’ materials alongside native timbers.

In a further figurative stylisation on the flat ceiling section two figurative forms constitute a further inverted triangular space in-filled with a triple arch of relief pattern (*Figure 63 left*). The two figurative forms signify the collaborative endeavours of the older brothers.⁵⁴⁵

Above each ancestral wall panel on each side of the house there is the ‘Tane’ panel and ‘tuakana a Tane’ panels comprising two figurative forms with hands meeting at the line of non-figurative tahuhu of kowhaiwhai running longitudinally down the centre of the house linking the mana of Hau on the pane with Rakairoa II on the front internal pare (*Figure 64 centre*) with Hinematakaikai on the rear pare (*Figure 64 right*).⁵⁴⁶



Figure 64. Interior. Taharora whare nui, Mihikoingo marae. Ohineakai (ii).

The ancestors are carved in relief in accord with a customary aspective tradition employing a customary subtractive sculptural process but the ‘Tane’ and ‘Tuakana a tane’ panels are created in the trans-customary process pioneered by Cliff Whiting. These panels and the background to the side wall panels adopt the non-customary additive sculptural approach in which panels are layered over one another to achieve a mixed media assemblage in which dyed whariki (plaited mat), relief carved and painted kowhaiwhai hardboard are rebated into the back of the foremost medium density board panels. In addition, bronze medallions have been rebated into the foremost plane of the wall arch to acknowledge the genealogical connections with non-Maori who have married into the Ngai Taharora hapu.

Hence, the matauranga aspect of the project has been extended to incorporate matauranga of new technology and non-customary conventions introduced by the Tovey generation of artists in the 1960s. For example, the use of whariki as background for the ancestral panels in Taharora (*Figure 64 left*) is influenced by whariki wall panels in the Torere Memorial church (1956) in the Bay of Plenty, and Te Rarawa ‘whare nui’ (1986) in Pukepoto. This house was carved under the direction of Ross Gregory of Te Rarawa who used whariki on the tara nui wall of the house with carved macrocapa poupou representing

⁵⁴⁵ Karakia are composed and recited by the elder brothers of Tanematua to facilitate a successful sexual union with Hine-hau-one. In the second karakia the deity seek a clear passage to the paepae-uri (the threshold that ensures the birth of offspring). Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 36.

⁵⁴⁶ In each ancestral section across the house there are two ancestral figures, two Tane panels, four ‘tuakana a Tane’ panels and the central ‘tahuu of kowhaiwhai’. There are eight Tane panels and 24 ‘tuakana a Tane’ figurative forms on the flat ceiling. Lewis Ratana of Te Arawa played a major role in the design of the ‘tuakana a tane’ ceiling sections especially the mild density fibre board figurative relief’s which incorporated mid torso jute binding in simulation of the muka binding used on taumata atua (god-sticks).

migratory canoes that made landfall in North Auckland. And closer to home the whare kai Maumahara at Reporua also incorporates raranga as wall panel embellishment.⁵⁴⁷

The use of substrata relief carving in Taharora owes its development to Para Matchitt whose Kimora mural at Turangawaewae marae in Ngaruawahia, 'Te Whaneketanga o Tainui' (1975) broached new ground in the process of additive sculpture within the marae context.

Wahi Maori: the implication of a Maori site

While 'wahi' as site is implicated under the whakapapa principle in Kaupapa Maori research it is a definitive index in the Analytical Framework. This is necessary because the sites of Maori practice are no longer specifically Maori, and land has been re-conceptualised under colonialism as investment capital, to be bought and sold as a commodity. Sites of Maori practice are not only located within Aotearoa New Zealand but also globally wherever people with a Maori whakapapa may be involved in creating art or even in cyberspace where much of contemporary art is currently promoted. When practices occur outside Maori sites Maori transpose cultural values and protocols to demand recognition of their ideology as indigenous people and worldview as Maori. While whakapapa demands a code of behaviour relative to whanau, hapu and sometimes iwi expectations the same can be said of site.

'Since the 1970s, museums and galleries, as sites of cultural representation, have increasingly been rendered accessible. However, accessibility is not restricted rights of entry only. Accessibility also impacts on the process of entry. In comparing two recent 'contemporary' Maori exhibitions *Korurangi* and *Toihoukura*, Jonathan Mane-Wheoki suggested that *Korurangi* exemplified the 'individualistic and idiosyncratic' while *Toihoukura* exuded a 'collective identity and energy'. He also noted a collision between ritual and art practice; dramatic in *Korurangi* and imperceptible in *Toihoukura*. What was absent from Jonathan [Mane-Wheoki's] analysis of these two exhibitions was the demand (on the part of some Maori curators) for Maori protocol as a critical element of the exhibition process. The ritual seizure of site is often subsumed beneath the current debate over authenticity, essentialism and appropriation. It is in the capture of site that Maori cultural representation finds its most provocative presence'.⁵⁴⁸

Te poho o Taharora: the bosom of Taharora

The inside of Taharora owes its appearance to a merging of traditions and an infusion of trans-cultural form and processes. On the one hand, there is the whakapapa of the house, the *tataitanga korero* that orientates the viewer within the interior of the house. Waho Tibble created the whakapapa for the house in 1988 with the aim of cementing ties with the kin groups of the immediate vicinity of Waipiro Bay including Te Whanau a

⁵⁴⁷ Raranga wall panels of kiekie were used in the place of tukutuku panels in Whakamaumahara, the whare kai (dining room) that stood next to Tu Auau in Reporua on the East Coast. According to Te Pakaka Tawhai, 'This use of raranga is unique in te rohe o Uepohatu'. The use of raranga on the walls of Whakamaumahara appears to have been problematic at the time of its installation because of its association as a floor covering. However, Te Pakaka Tawhai comments that 'I like to think that the old people were following a tradition of which the younger generation were unaware'. Tawhai, P. (1978). 'Te Tipuna Wharenui o te Rohe o Uepohatu'. Unpublished master's thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. pp. 8, 87.

⁵⁴⁸ See discussion on the notion of 'capture of site' in Jahnke, R. (1999). 'Voices beyond the Pae'. In N. Thomas. (Ed.). *Double Vision art histories and colonial histories in the Pacific*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 196-197.

Rakairoa, Te Whanau a Iritekura and Te Aitanga a Materoa.⁵⁴⁹ Under Waho Tibble's *tataitanga korero* the three ancestors Materoa, Iritekura and Rakairoa (*Figure 64 centre*) are located at the front of the house representing the distant past while Hinematakaikai (*Figure 65 left*), Hineitungia (*Figure 65 centre*) and Riwai Pakerau representing the recent past are located at the back of the house.



Figure 65. Interior. Taharora whare nui, Mihikoingo marae. Ohineakai (iii).

Significantly the ancestral images on the front and back wall in particular are acknowledgements of site. More specifically they are statements of mana whenua relative to Te Whanau a Materoa at Whareponga, Te Whanau a Rakairoa at Akuaku and Te Whanau a Iritekura at Waipiro Bay. Rakairoa II was an ancestor intimately connected with Akuaku between Waipiro and Mataahu. Materoa on the other hand was connected with the Whareponga area where her father Poroumata was slain by Ngati Ruanuku. Through her mokopuna (grandchild) Pakanui she is remembered in sites north of Waipiro, Iritekura on the other hand is firmly located at Waipiro where she assumed the mana whenua over the area at the invitation of Tuwhakairiora, her mother's younger brother.

In contrast to the western system of land representation, Maori resorted to a conceptual allusion to land through ancestral representation because each ancestor was intimately associated with land through pepeha and the lands that they traversed in the establishment of mana whenua as intimated above.

It was suggested earlier that the carved human figure references the landscape.⁵⁵⁰ Each ancestral figure is conceptually located within the landscape, not only through tribal and sub-tribal aphorism but also through a tradition of ancestral commemoration, and by association, through tribal histories encoded in streams, rivers, lakes, hills, ranges and mountains. Beyond mountains as tribal signifiers cosmo-genealogical narratives implicate humans in a holistic union with all that exists in the universe. Within this schema humans are located in the junior position relative to all other forms in existence. In 19th century figurative representation in ancestral houses this allocation of humans to the junior position is translated into architecture by an ordering of ancestors according to the tuaka/teina principle (senior-junior, older-younger). Consequently, in Taharora the relationship between junior and senior is organised relative to lower and upper fields, the

⁵⁴⁹ Te Aitanga a Mate is the shortened version of Te Aitanga a Materoa.

⁵⁵⁰ From a Saussurian perspective the signifier is the 'carved representation of a female' form and the signified is the concept for woman. Even recourse to the Barthes semiology of images that promotes an 'analogical' relationship between signifier and signified remains incapable of generating a connotative relationship between 'carved representation of female' and 'land'.

opposition of lower figurative fields relative to upper non-figurative fields, and the back of the house relative to the front.⁵⁵¹

Although the pare composition commemorating Matoroa, Iritekura and Rakairoa is carved in a non-conventional manner there is, nevertheless, a visual empathy with conventional form and, critically, a signification of the site through Iritekura whose daughter Takapuatua gifted Taharora the Ohineakai Block on which the house stands. Iritekura assumes the elevated position in the pare composition acknowledging her original mana whenua over the Ohineakai Block. Matoroa as the elder is located on the taha nui and Rakairoa II on the taha iti. Through a conceptualised cosmo-genealogical articulation of the house, from wall panels to rafters, ridgepole, and front and rear wall support posts Iritekura is also interrelated to the principal deities responsible for the origin of humankind.⁵⁵²

In historical terms Te Aomihia is a significant name in the distribution and spread of Ngati Porou iwi along the East Coast area displacing the sub-tribes, (Ngati Ruanuku and Wahineiti) the original settlers on the land. In the process, the sub-tribes that eventually constituted the Ngati Porou tribe, conquered the former inhabitants, and assumed their right to land (mana whenua).

Te Aomihia was the first child of Te Atakura (the younger sister of Matoroa) who anticipated a son to avenge the death of her father Poroumata, who was murdered by Ngati Ruanuku. Disappointed at the birth of a girl, Atakura named her daughter Te Aomihia to keep her father's memory alive, and the need to avenge his death. Her name, which means the clouds that welcome, recalled the clouds that beckoned Poroumata to the crayfish beds off Whareponga, and his death. In due course Atakura had a second child whom she named Tumoana-kotore-i-whakairia-oratia, after his grandfather, Tumoana Kotore who was mistakenly suspended as a corpse while still alive. The grandson's birth name was shortened to Tuwhakairiora, 'Tu suspended alive'. In time Tuwhakairiora exacted revenge on Ngati Ruanuku for his grandfather's murder. Inspired by the example of Atakura, her older sister Matoroa sent her grandson Pakanui to exact revenge on her behalf on the remaining sections of Ngati Ruanuku and their allies Wahineiti in the Waipiro Bay region. Pakanui together with Tuwhakairiora defeated the original settlers leaving landmarks along the coastline commemorating their battles. At the stream called Tangitu (literally the upstanding or incessant lament) the battle known as Te-ika-koraparua (two fish snared in one net) commemorates Pakanui's battle strategy of a feigned fishing expedition that enticed Ngati Ruanuku to the sea to protect their fishing grounds from uninvited

⁵⁵¹ This is a general principle evident in houses with carved ancestral posts. There are only two 19th century houses in which carved figural images appear in the place of painted non-figurative ridgepoles. Both are located in the North Island, Houmaitawhiti at Lake Rotoiti and Poutama on the Wanganui River.

⁵⁵² The principal deities within the cosmology of the house include Rangi (the sky father), Papatuanuku (the earth mother), Tanewhakapiripiri (the deity responsible for the creation of the first women) and Hinenuitepo (the deity responsible for the ira atua (spiritual entity) of the deceased).

strangers⁵⁵³. After the annihilation of Ngati Ruanuku and Wahineiti, Pakanui settled the conquered lands north of Waipiro Bay while Tuwhakairiora eventually summoned his niece Iritekura to occupy the lands at Waipiro. Iritekura is commemorated in an ancestral house named after her at Waipiro while the house at Whareponga carries the name Te Poho o Materoa (the bosom of Materoa). The sub-tribe at Whareponga is called Te Aitanga a Mate while Te Whanau a Iritekura identifies the group at Waipiro Bay.

Hine Matakaikai, Hineitungia and Riwai Pakerau are enmeshed in the history of Taiharakeke and the Ohineakai Block as residents and as claimants in the Maori Native Land Court in which opposing claims for the Block were finally acceded to Ngai Taharora through Taharora's relationship with Iritekura. Hence, the descendants of Taharora were the successful claimants against factions from Te Whanau a Rakairoa, Te Whanau Aowera and Te Aitanga a Materoa. As a consequence of the animosity that arose out of the claims process Riwai Pakerau decided to establish Ngai Taharora in acknowledgement of Taharora's right of occupation and to deflect any negative repercussions that might ensue from the dispute between Pineamine Waipapa and Tuta Nihoniho. Taharora stands as a statement to this severing of kinship ties and the establishment of Ngai Taharora as a hapu within the Waipiro region. In the claims lodged by Haira Te Rango in 1885 he acknowledged his connection to 'Whanauataharora', and in 1893 identified his hapu as Te Whanau a Rakairoa and Ngai Taharora. From this it is plausible to assume that Ngai Taharora had consolidated as a hapu polity by 1893.⁵⁵⁴

Whakawhiti korero: a summation

The art in Taharora is a trans-cultural negotiation that synthesises conventional and unconventional practice and technology to generate *tataitanga korero* that is consciously Maori. The content privileges a Maori worldview making the art culturally relevant for Ngai Taharora. Although the house does not conform to 19th century customary whare nui architecture, and the trans-cultural sculptural processes of the post-1970s marae art are prominent in the house, the art in Taharora contributes to a continuum of art that is relevant for Maori.

The art is informed by visual correspondence with historical models of the 19th century in the commemoration of Riwai Pakerau's *tataitanga whakairo* on the exterior of the whare nui. Visual empathy is evident in trans-cultural interlocution of ancestral forms indebted to the post-1960s practice. With the use of bronze medallions visual correspondence and visual empathy are absent. Nevertheless, the *tataitanga korero*

⁵⁵³ Ngati Ruanuku were enticed to protect their fishing grounds from Pakanui's warriors whose concealed weapons were strapped to their ankles while they used nets to gather fish. When Ngati Ruanuku entered the water the visitors stepped aside then entrapped the Ngati Ruanuku fishermen in nets killing them with their concealed weapons. Walker, R. (2001). *He Tipua The Life and times of Sir Apirana Ngata*. Auckland: Viking. p. 29.

⁵⁵⁴ Maori Land Court (1893). *Waiapu Minute Book* No. 18. p. 49. Maori Land Court (1895). *Waiapu Minute Book* No. 08B. p. 42.

privileges a Maori worldview within the context of Ohineakai where the bronze medallions represent tauivi in the worldview of Taharora.

The Tudor configuration of internal roof, walls with Gothic arches and the introduction of bronze medallions are accessions to trans-cultural form and process that are without precedent in the whare nui except for the Tudor porch wall configuration in Hinetapora at Mangahanea. The use of medium density board and an additive sculptural process reiterate the trans-customary practice of the post 1960s period. The incorporation of raranga, tukutuku and kowhaiwhai harbours a sense of visual correspondence with prior historical models in spite of their trans-position within relief panels. Recourse to totara for the carving of ancestors, although carved in a non-customary form retain a sense of cultural relativity through the cosmo-genealogical connection to Tanemahuta and a tradition of ancestor commemoration in wood. Although the art in Taharora straddles visual correspondence, visual empathy and their absence relative to prior models it is proposed that the art is culturally relevant for Maori because the *tataitanga korero* of Taharora is built on whakapapa and matauranga.

As intimated in Chapter One while it is acceptable for the form to be devoid of visual correspondence or visual empathy with historical models the *tataitanga korero*, the content (or subject matter) must be informed by take or matauranga. Without a *tataitanga kaupapa toi* at the level of *tataitanga korero* the art would be problematic in terms of its relevance for Maori. The Maori Analytical Framework reconfigured as *Table 15: Analytical Framework for Cultural Relativity and Relevance* is capable of capturing Maori and trans-cultural relativity and relevance within the ‘house that Riwai built’. What is particularly revealing is the shared contribution of Maori and trans-cultural contributions to knowledge. In this instance, the temporal index for Maori relevance is located in the mid 19th century. If the temporal index is shifted to the late 19th century or even the early 20th century the bulk of trans-cultural matauranga will have to be realigned as relevant for Maori.

Table 15: Analytical Framework for Cultural Relativity and Relevance [iii]

Cultural indices	Maori cultural relativity and relevance	Trans-cultural relativity and relevance
Whakapapa (<i>genealogy</i>)	Artist – Ngai Taharora, Whanau a Iritekura, Whanau a Rakairoa Group – Ngai Taharora Claimants – Haira te Rango, Wiki Te Piri, Matiu Kahawai, Paratene Ngata Ancestors arranged according to whakapapa of Hau and his descendents Cosmo-genealogical connection with deity – Tane and brothers of Tane Mana wahine – Rakairoa II, Materoa, Iritekura Mana whenua – Hine Matakaikai, Hineitungia, Riwai Pakerau	Artist – German, Samoan, Irish, Scottish Other artist – Mixed genealogy, Pakeha
Matauranga (<i>knowledge</i>)	Mihikoinga explained as a site of farewell to tauivi suitors Mana whenua and mana tangata translated vertically and longitudinally in figurative scheme Cultural relativity of mua and muri contextualised relative to house Matamua explained in relation to Hawaiki/Aotearoa, Te Po/Te Ao	Name of Riwai in figurative scheme to reference his role in the establishment of Ngai Taharora Names of trees in figurative scheme as markers of matauranga Naturalistic vignettes in figurative scheme to reference other genealogies Heke in Mauitikitikiataranga reassigned to Iritekura

	<p>Marama, Tane/Hinenuitepo</p> <p>Ancestors arranged to accommodate <i>tataitanga whakairo</i> of Riwai Pakerau</p> <p>Tara nui and tara iti contradict tuakana and teina lineage in Taharora to privilege mana whenua</p> <p>Remote and recent ancestors incorporated in Taharora as statements of mana whenua and mana tangata</p> <p>Hierarchical ordering of ancestors according to mana whenua, mana tangata</p> <p>Tuwhakairiora/Pakanui raupatu over Ngati Ruanuku and Wahineiti</p>	<p>Taharora relationship with Wahoterangi as trans-cultural and ideological statements relative to people, plants, canoe</p> <p>Ancestors reduced in size to commemorate whakaiti episode</p> <p>Gothic/Tudor inspired design in interior configured to accommodate <i>tataitanga korero</i> and as a point of difference</p> <p>Bronze medallions to reference other ethnic genealogies</p> <p>Tane and tuakana a Tane wall to roof configuration</p>
Wahi (<i>site</i>)	<p>Ancestors located in the land through pepeha and figurative representation</p> <p>Tangitu as a commemorative battle site– Te Ika Koraparua</p> <p>Mana wahine relative to Whareponga Mataahu, Waipiro and Waikawa</p>	<p>Place – Ohineakai Block awarded in claims process</p> <p>Mihikoinga marae endorsement of Ngai Taharora as hapu in Te Tairawhiti</p>
Ahua (<i>form</i>)	<p>Painted kowhaiwhai based on style of Riwai Pakerau</p> <p>Carved ancestors</p> <p>Whariki base relief</p> <p>Totara used for ancestral images</p>	<p>Painted text, trees, insects, ethnic vignettes</p> <p>Bronze medallions with ethnic iconic forms</p> <p>Victorian influenced architecture</p> <p>Triangular compositions and pointed Gothic arches en-frame figurative and non-figurative designs</p>
Waihanga (<i>process</i>)	<p>Aspective convention applied to ancestral figures</p>	<p>Bronze casting</p> <p>Subtractive sculptural process</p> <p>Non-conventional technology</p> <p>Unconventional design of front and back walls</p>
Tikanga (<i>protocol</i>)	<p>Temporal scheme applied longitudinal placement of ancestors</p> <p>Hierarchical arrangement of ancestors in deference to mana whenua and mana tangata</p> <p>Tara nui/tara iti in relation to tikanga a tipuna</p> <p>Taharora as koruru</p>	<p>Extension of site globally and in cyberspace</p>

Chapter Nine

Te kai ki ro whare

The food of chiefs is discourse

Chapter Nine constitutes the second case study for this thesis. Like Chapter Eight, an autobiographical method is applied. It is not a chronological story of an artist but rather a narrative of the art as visual data in Hine Matakaikai whare kai. This visual data is used to contextualise tribal narrative, historical information, related whare kai and art developments. This contextualisation demonstrates the extent of the interrelationship between form and content in the art of Hine Matakaikai. The aim of this chapter is to contextualise the refurbishment of Hine Matakaikai whare kai adjoining Taharora within related dining room developments to unveil the *tataitanga korero* and trans-cultural practice that have made the art in Hine Matakaikai culturally relevant for Maori, and for Ngai Taharora in particular.

The art in Hine Matakaikai is undoubtedly predisposed towards *tataitanga kaupapa toi*, paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance, because the site is Maori and the informants together with the Taharora project designer are genealogically connected to Ngai Taharora as descendants of Taharora and Hine Matakaikai. It is therefore unsurprising that the *tataitanga korero* privileges a Maori worldview despite the decision to translate the history of Ngai Taharora using trans-cultural art practices.

As intimated in Chapter Eight while it is acceptable for the form to be devoid of visual correspondence or visual empathy with historical models the *tataitanga korero*, the content (or subject matter) must be informed by Maori take (cause) or kaupapa (strategy) or matauranga (knowledge). Without a *tataitanga kaupapa toi*, at the level of *tataitanga korero* the art will be problematic in terms of its cultural relevancy for Maori. However, the marae context of Hine Matakaikai and the need to make the art accessible to descendants of Ngai Taharora demanded that the *tataitanga ahua* retain an aspect of visual correspondence and empathy with 19th century historical models of whakairo, kowahiwhai and raranga in order to make the art visually accessible for the tangata whenua.

In Hine Matakaikai a *tataitanga kaupapa toi* is privileged, shaped, not only by a contemporary cultural context, but also by whakapapa and matauranga relative to Ngai Taharora, tikanga (protocol) and a Maori art continuum in which trans-cultural inter-location is endemic. Like the interior of Taharora there is a liberal acceptance of the post-1960s trans-cultural art practices as customary art and as such constitutes a liberated Maori art continuum. Within this continuum, the art in Hine Matakaikai maintains a visual correspondence with the post-1970s innovative marae art practices. In spite of the deference to post-1960s models the customary practice in Hine Matakaikai has been

further extended with trans-cultural interlocutions of bone and ceramic inlays alongside the additive sculptural processes instituted by Cliff Whiting and Paratene Matchitt.⁵⁵⁵

Like Chapter Eight, the form of the art in Hine Matakaikai is contextualised against relevant indices from the Analytical Framework for Cultural Relativity and Relevance. While whakapapa, matauranga and wahi were the principal focus in the previous chapter, this chapter also locates the art of Hine Matakaikai relative to ahua (appearance), waihanga (process) and tikanga (protocol) indices. The purpose is not to ignore the indices discussed previously, but to demonstrate how ahua, waihanga and tikanga are implicated in the matauranga that informs the art of Hine Matakaikai. At the end of the chapter the matauranga index from the *Analytical Framework for Cultural Relativity and Relevance* will be shown to demonstrate how considerations of ahua, waihanga, and tikanga inevitably impact on the matauranga index.

This chapter begins with a contextualization of narratives of Ngati Rakai and Ngatiahi as tangata mahinga kai for Iritekura in the section entitled *Te tataitanga mahi kai* thus cotextualising the whakapapa and matauranga for the chapter.

In the following section *He ahua whakawhiti* the trans-cultural development of the whare kai is contextualised against Apirana Ngata's dining room invention and the 1970s whare kai at Whangaparaoa and Kimiora, the marae development at the Museum of New Zealand and Rauponga in which a frame of 'decoration' and 'tradition' is transfigured into a frame of *tataitanga kaupapa toi* where *tataitanga korero* relevant to hapu/iwi history and landmarks informs the art of the whare kai. It is argued that Hinematakaikai is located within the development of the whare kai as a space of cultural engagement within the marae context.

In the section *Te tataitanga ahua o Hine Matakaikai* the ahua (appearance) of the murals is further examined and it is argued that Hine Matakaikai is located within the development of the whare kai as a space of cultural engagement relevant to the marae context. It is proposed that the allegorical relationship with the pataka as a culturally relative form as central points of focus on the north and south walls of Hine Matakaikai generate a conceptual entry into the *tataitanga korero* of Ngati Rakai, Ngatiahi and Ngai Taharora. In the process the cosmo-genealogical significance of elevation, distance, entry and transition inherent in pataka elevation, and kuwaha (entrance) and paepae kai awha (front transverse panel) as points of transition are conceptually aligned in the murals in Hine Matakaikai.

In *Te wahanga tuatahi*, *Te wahanga tuarua*, *Te wahanga tuatoru* and *Te wahanga tuawha* the *tataitanga korero* relative to each of the four major layers on the north and south walls are examined. The first layer kowhaiwhai is used as a referent for sea and land while raranga is employed to connote the bounty of sea and land. Text on the base layer is

⁵⁵⁵ The additive sculptural practice of Cliff Whiting and Paratene Matchitt can be traced back to the late 1960's. The examples of this technique are found in *Te Wehenga o Rangi raua ko Papa* in the National Library (1969-75) and in *Te Whaneketanga o Turongo raua ko Mahinarangi* (1976) at the Kimiora whare kai at Ngaruawahia by Cliff Whiting and Paratene Matchitt respectively. This additive sculptural technique, which is thirty years' old should rightly be viewed as customary practice.

considered as trans-cultural interlocation that is contingent on the development of literacy and as a culturally relevant practice associated with genealogical endorsement. It is argued that the use of text as trans-cultural practice should be considered customary practice in view of its use in the 1840s. The examination of the second layer focuses chiefly on the significance of figurative imagery and lattice structures as a trans-cultural extension of the innovative tukutuku process introduced in the post-1960s era. With the introduction of the third layer the figurative forms allude to Ngati Rakai and Ngatiahi and the cultural relativity of the seaward and landward orientation of the wharekai. Within the context of this layer bone and ceramic inlays are examined as trans-cultural interlocations. The final layer is dedicated to an explication of the curvilinear and rectilinear emphasis apparent in each wall and the implication of ahua pakake (whale form) and the taratara a kae pattern for the murals.

Tikanga a tipuna (ancestral protocol) deals with protocol relative to Maori practice and Maori space. In this section it is argued that the tikanga a tipuna is critical for a consideration within the marae environment in which tapu and noa are aligned with the whare tipuna as ancestral form. In the process, the relative positions of the whare nui, whare kai, whare paku and urupa at Mihikoinga marae are examined against those at Waipiro and Te Kiekie according to cultural notions of tapu and noa relative to front/back and left/right. It is proposed that, while physical space is not insignificant, psychic or notional distance is more relevant for cultural relativity. In the process, the paepae manuhiri (guest seating) is determined by the position of the main entrance into the whare kai at each marae. The final section deals with tikanga mahi in which the presence and absence of ritual are discussed relative to the Taharora project.

Te tataitanga mahi kai: the legacy of food gathers

It has already been stated that the Native Land Court awarded the Ohineakai Block to the descendants of Taharora in 1893.⁵⁵⁶ The current site for the Mihikoinga marae is the second site for the whare nui. The whare kai was built in the 1950s as an annex to the rear of the whare nui. In keeping with the tikanga of cultural relativity the dining room was located at the back of the whare nui as was the whare paku (public conveniences).⁵⁵⁷ Because the house was un-carved there was no debate over the decision to create an entrance through the back wall into the whare kai.⁵⁵⁸ As a consequence of the annexation of dining room to the rear of the whare nui Hine Matakaikai assumes a north/south orientation. This proved fortuitous for the scheme of whare kai because the north wall

⁵⁵⁶ The Ohineakai Block comprising 548 acres was awarded to the 'descendants of Taharora who shall be proved to have occupation on the lands' in the Native Land Court ruling 11 July 1893. Maori Land Court (1893). *Waiapu Minute Book* No. 18. p. 146.

⁵⁵⁷ The aspect of tikanga in relation to Mihikoinga marae will be discussed at the end of this chapter relative to notions of tapu and noa and the association of these cultural notions within the context of the whare kai relative to whare nui.

⁵⁵⁸ Compliance with City Council regulations for an additional exit from the house was also a factor. Iritekura at Waipiro had a door installed at the right rear of the house to accommodate this requirement.

faced 'ki uta' inland in the direction of Mount Hikurangi and the south wall faced 'ki tai' toward the ocean.

Hine Matakaikai married Tupurupuru of Ngati Rakai who was living with Te Whanau a Iritekura at Waipiro as their tangata mahi kai ki uta.⁵⁵⁹ According to Apirana Ngata Ngati Rakai were well respected for their ability as food providers', their ability to manaaki tangata (look after people),

'East Coast traditions attribute the pre-fleet people the knowledge of forest lore, bird-catching and attendant karakia, rat trapping &c, The Ngati Rakai of Waipiro Bay were so distinguished. They could have satisfied most of the 'kinaki' wants from the coast, but preferred forest products. You found the incoming Ngati Porou along the coast following the fishing grounds and the warm areas for kumara and taro cultivation, while the 'tangata whenua' stuck to the hinter-land and forests, faring on 'mamaku', 'aruhe', eels and huahua'.⁵⁶⁰

Hence, Hine Matakaikai married into the original tangata whenua of Waipiro Bay. According to Madeline Maraki, Hine Matakaikai took over the role of 'mahi kai' for Te Whanau a Iritekura.⁵⁶¹ In time her children were known as Ngatiahi because of their abilities as 'ringawera' (food providers). In this role they grew crops, fished at Otekara, trapped birds and tendered fires for Te Whanau a Iritekura.⁵⁶²

In his evidence to the Native Land Court in 1893 Eru Potaka states that Matakaikai derived her right to the Ohineakai Block as a gift from Te Kainga Marama, the resident chief at the time,

'I will now speak of the land of Matakaikai. This woman derived her right from a gift from Te Kainga Marama. Matakaikai was a woman of Ngati Taharora & she married Tupurupuru of Ngati Rakai, who was living with te Whanau a Iritekura. She was brought to Waipiro but went back to this block [Ohineakai] & grew food there, korau & kumara & brought it to Waipiro and gave it to Kainga Marama who at once gave her this land, gifted her the land, on which they went to live and have lived so ever since. Ngatiahi is the hapu name of the descendents of Matakaikai'.⁵⁶³

In his discussion of Ngatiahi, Waho Tibble associates the name of Ngatiahi with an incident in which a group from Ngati Rakai, after attending a funeral, unearthed, cooked and consumed the body of a child at Te Ranganui, a 'pa' located between Waipiro and Te Puia. The spirit of the deceased child appeared as a flickering flame that led his father from Awanui to Tokaroa to Kaimaho and eventually to Te Ranganui where the flame subsided indicating the place of his desecration. The father of the deceased child recited a karakia that caused the occupants of the pa to fall into a slumber allowing him the opportunity to destroy the Ngati Rakai occupants with fire. The survivors of this incident

⁵⁵⁹ Ngati Rakai was a hapu of Ngati Ruanuku and Wahineiti discussed in the previous Chapter.

⁵⁶⁰ Sorrenson. M. P. K. (Ed.). (1987). *Na to hoa aroha From your dear friend*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. pp. 21-2.

⁵⁶¹ Maraki, M. (1988 pers. comm.). Iritekura inherited her mana whenua (right to land) through her uncle Tuwhakairiora and subsequently her mana tangata (right to leadership) through her ability as a leader. Mahuika, A. T. (1973). 'Nga Wahine Kai-hautu o Ngati Porou'. Unpublished master's thesis, Sidney University, Sidney, Australia. p. 63.

⁵⁶² According to Madeline Maraki the Ohineakai Block was gifted to Ngai Taharora through Hine Matakaikai. As indicated in the previous Chapter the Ohineakai Block was awarded to Taharora because of his role as the protector of Iritekura, the daughter of Te Aomihia, who was given the land by Tuwhakairiora, the younger brother (teina) of Te Aomihia. Maraki, M. (1988 pers. comm.).

⁵⁶³ Punctuation inserted by the author. Maori Land Court. (1893). *Waiapu Minute Book* No. 18. p. 54.

were named Ngatiahi. Waho Tibble also suggests that Riwai Pakerau's father, Pakuahi may have been named to commemorate this incident. He further contends that Riwai Pakerau was a descendent of Ngati Rakai and not of Iritekura.

When discussing Ngati Rakai, Waho Tibble suggests that after the battle of Rorohukatai, Hore and his people the Ngati Rakai migrated to Turanga (Gisborne) to settle at Okahutiu. The battle of Rorohukatai in which 'the brains of slain mingled with the white foam of the tide' commemorates the defeat of Wahineiti by Tuwhakairiora at Waipiro.⁵⁶⁴ Their hunting and gathering expeditions resulted in lean pickings making Ngati Rakai pine for the food of their former home. Out of this time of exile arose the saying of their chief Hore 'Tena pea nga koko tataki o Te Akatea, nga ahi potaetae o Whakaoramate'. Te Akatea was a 'pua', a tree or part of the forest frequented by birds at Rangikohua where Whakaoramate was also located. The 'ahi potaetae' were the fires used to singe the edible stems of the kauka (cabbage tree).⁵⁶⁵ In the words of Waho Tibble

'Ko ratou hokinga mai tena, e hoki ana mai i runga i te whakamomori. Mana ka paua e te tangata hei ahi. Ka hoki mai ka noho i Rangikohua. Kaore i tae ki a Te Atau. Ka tahuri ki te taeke, ka whakaeke i nga waikaha ki runga i te rakau nui, a , ate noa ke ki nga rakau ririkiki te hinahina ki te patete, kapi tonu te ngahere ki te taeke. Ka haere nga wahine o te Atau ki nga pa whanau, ki te koha tawa, ka kite nga taeke a te iwi ra. Ka kawea te korero kia Te Atau, 'Kaore na hoki a ro ngahere e noho mai ana, kapi tonu i te kaha!' A, ka korero i te whakaekenga o te rakau nui tae noa ki te rakau matariki. Ka mea nga taina o Te Atau – a Kuku a Korohau – tikina kia patua. Ka ki atu a Te Atau, 'Kaore, maku e mataki, tena pea ia ko te iwi kainga'. Ka mate te whakaaro o nga taina. Ka haera a Te Atau, a, ka kitea te iwi raa e noho ana i to rataau puni. Ka mea atu a Te Atau, 'E! Hore, Mana, Potaka! Tena pea, na te hau kainga koutou i whakahoki mai! Kaati haramai, e noho ki runga i to koutou whenua', Ko te hokinga tena o Te Atau ki tona kainga, ka noho. Ka whakaro a Ngati Rakaikia mahia he aki ma te Aatu. Ka patua he manu. Na, kaore a ratou taha, katahi ka rangaia he piritia hei taha, ka wharikitia a roto ki te rau rakau ki te mauku, ka whaoia ki te manu tahu. E kiia ana kaore e putate hinu. K a kawea te kai ra kia Te Atau ki tona kainga e kia nei k o Te Whare o Te Atau, ka wharona te kai ra. Ko te whakatikanga mai te o Te Atau ki te manaaki te iwira, ka rohea e ia i te papa toru o te whare 'Hei a koutou tena taha, hei aau tenaei taha'. Takoto toru tena hei rohe whenua. Katahi ka ki atu a Te Atau ki te iwi ra, 'Ka mahi koutou i te kai, kaati te kawea mai ki aau, engari kaweaatu ki te wahine puwhero e noho mai ra i waho!' Mo Iritekura taua kupu i Waipiro hoki ia e noho ana. Ko te take tena i tutuki ai taua iwi kia Iritekura, ka mahi i te manu a ka kawea kia Iritekura, ko nga taha ano i piritia. I tapatia a Iritekura e noho ana, i te pa o Wahineiti i horo ai i a Tuwhakairiora raua ko Pakanui. Ko nga rangatira o Ngati Rakai ko Hore, ko Mana, Ko Potaka, ko Wehikore.⁵⁶⁶ Ka wharoua ta ratou kai ki a Iritekura. Ka ki mai a ia 'Haeremai e noho! Whanatu awa e koutou ki Te Puia nei noho ai kia tata mai ai ki aau'. Ko te nohonga tena o Ngati Rakai i Te Puia, hanga pa ma ratou i reira ko Pahuritane te pa. I whakawakia tena whenua i runga i tenei take, a, i tai kia Ngati Rakai. Ko te nohonga tenei o Ngati Rakai i runga o Waipiro hei hapu mahi kai ma Iritekura. Kaati tena.⁵⁶⁷

Waho Tibble's narrative tracks the return of Ngati Rakai from exile in Turanga [Gisborne] to Rangikohua under threat of annihilation by the new inheritors of the mana whenua of the area.⁵⁶⁸ Their return to trapping forest birds remained uninterrupted until the wives of Te Atau, on a mission to gather whinau and tawa [species of native trees],

⁵⁶⁴ Walker, R. (2001). *He Tipua The Life and times of Sir Apirana Ngata*. Auckland: Viking. p. 29.

⁵⁶⁵ Tibble, W. (1988). *MSS Taharora Whare nui*. Cover Sheet, 3-4.

⁵⁶⁶ In this narrative Mana is identified as a chief of Ngati Rakai. According to Apirana Ngata, 'The chief clans of the tribe [Ngati Ruanuku] were Hore, Mana, Te Koreke, Te Moko-whaka-hoihoi, Te Pananehu and Pohoumama'. He also acknowledges that 'from other accounts...Hore and Mana were some of the chiefs of te Wahineiti living at Waikawa, south of Waipiro, in the time of the conquest of that district by Tuwhakairiora...' Ngata, A. T. (1944). *Rauru-nui-a-Toi Lectures*. p.9.

⁵⁶⁷ Tibble. (1988). Cover Sheet, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁶⁸ Poroumata, who was killed by Ngati Ruanuku.

chanced upon the bird traps. After informing Te Atau of the sighting of a forest covered in traps the younger brothers of Te Atau offered to annihilate the intruders. In response, Te Atau took it upon himself to check and on discovering the Ngati Rakai, acknowledged their return to their homelands, and invited them to resettle on their lands. In return, Ngati Rakai trapped birds and offered them to Te Atau in deference to his magnanimous nature. Te Atau then symbolically acknowledged their right of mana whenua by delineating his house into three sections inviting Ngati Rakai to occupy one side while he occupied the other. He also instructed them to take the fruits of the hunting and gathering to Iritekura the wahine puwhero (high ranking chief).⁵⁶⁹ Te Atau's strategy was to provide an opportunity for the cementing of common ties between Ngati Rakai and Te Whanau a Iritekura which was accomplished when Iritekura invited Ngati Rakai to settle on the other side of the river at Te Puia so that they could be close to her. In due course a 'pa' was built called Pahuritane and accordingly Ngati Rakai occupied the land as a 'hapu mahi kai ma Iritekura', a group to procure food for Iritekura.

These narratives constitute a critically important component of *tataitanga korero* for the mixed media murals in the whare kai named after Hine Matakaikai acknowledging her role as the leader of Ngatiahi in maintaining the 'take' for Ngati Rakai's reoccupation of Te Puia and Ngatiahi's role as a 'hapu mahi kai'. In this respect while the whakapapa espoused in the whare nui acknowledges the mana whenua of Riwai Pakerau relative to the Ohineakai Block through Taharora, the whare kai commemorates the whakapapa links of Riwai Pakerau to Ngati Rakai and Ngatiahi as 'tangata whenua'. Ngati Rakai's return to the area was countenanced by Te Atau and Iritekura, who had inherited the mana whenua of the area through raupatu (conquest). The whakapapa tables below outline the genealogical interconnection between Matakaikai and Riwai Pakerau to Rakairoa (I) from whom Ngati Rakai take their name.⁵⁷⁰

Whakapapa of Ngati Rakai to Matakaikai

Rakairoa (I) = Te Aohore
 Wahaure
 Hore = Te Hikapoto
 Tutangataakore = Ruahinetawai
 Kaiahuruhuru Mana Potaka Kurahere = Pukaewa

⁵⁶⁹ Ropata Wahawaha giving evidence at the 1890 Waipiro hearing in Gisborne endorses Waho Tibbles version, 'N[igati] Rakai fled to Poverty Bay and then went back from this place to Rangikohua where Te Atau was staying. Te Atau sent them to Iritekura under whom they lived as servants down to the present day. When they went back it was proposed by the younger brothers of Te Atau that they should be attacked and killed in the bush. Te Atau said 'Do not kill them. I will go and see them. They may be the remnants of the people of the land.' He found it was as he had supposed so he took them to his place. They killed the birds of Apatea and putting them in a vessel made of supple-jack took them to Te Atau who gave them one side of his house and kept the other himself which signalled a division of the land between himself and these people. Te Atau said to them 'When you procure food here after take it to the red haired woman living near the sea where the surf is breaking' signifying Iritekura. Then they went and stayed altogether with Iritekura'. Maori Land Court (1890). *Waipapu Minute Book* No. 16. p. 298.

⁵⁷⁰ Rakairoa (II) from whom Te Whanau a Rakairoa take their name was descended from Rakairoa (I) through Hikaitaria and then Te Aomania. Te Aomania has whakapapa connections to both Porourangi and Toitehuatahi.

Tupurupuru = Matakaikai⁵⁷¹

Whakapapa of Ngati Rakai to Riwai Pakerau

Rakairoa (I) = Te Aohore
Wahaure
Hore = Te Hikupoto
Tutangataakore = Ruahinetawai
Kurahere = Pukaewa
Korokaitu = Mahiti (f)
Te Maraeroa = Whakahana (f)
Pakuahi = Hineitungia
Riwai Pakerau = Meri Nohoaka⁵⁷²

Through Riwai Pakerau's link with Rakairoa (I) the role of Ngati Rakai as 'hapu mahi kai' becomes a legacy of Ngai Taharora.

Given this history and the strong association with 'mahi kai' in the *tataitanga korero* associated with Ngai Taharora it was decided to design a mixed media mural for the north and south walls to commemorate the history. The design was conceived as an allusion to a pakake to promote the role of 'mahi kai' as a taonga tuku iho, a treasured inheritance of Ngai Taharora. While the pataka was the referent the translation of the ahua pataka into the whare kai was realised using the trans-cultural art practice instituted into the marae environment in the 1970s while translating some of the important cultural notions associated with the pataka as a significant cultural symbol of mana rangatira.

He ahua whakawhiti: towards trans-cultural form

The use of mixed media, in a customary sense, within the context of the whare kai environment is a legacy of Apirana Ngata's marae rejuvenation programme. Several Ngati Porou whare kai were built and furnished with whakairo, tukutuku and kowhaiwhai.⁵⁷³ The ahua and waihanga associated with whare nui were reframed as decorative schemes devoid of *tataitanga korero* apart from the customary representational significance of kowhaiwhai and tukutuku transposed from the whare nui context. Carving on the other hand functioned as 'light' generic figurative and non-figurative frames for the tukutuku component in particular.⁵⁷⁴ That is, the *tataitanga ahua* (form) of the carvings are generic figures rather than specific ancestors.

During the post World War Two period form and process were reconfigured as cultural frames, a frame of tradition, to commemorate Ngati Porou soldiers who had lost their lives in the defence of their country. It was during this period that the 'decorative scheme' was charged with *tataitanga korero* beyond that of 'light' residual transmigration of meaning associated with carving. However, the *tataitanga korero* was restricted to those

⁵⁷¹ Tibble, W. (1988). *MSS Taharora Whare nui*. Cover Sheet, p. 6.

⁵⁷² Tibble, W. (1988). *MSS Taharora Whare nui*. Cover Sheet, p. 6.

⁵⁷³ 'Raised stages, seating, dance floors, dining halls, and kitchens were concepts from Pakeha assembly halls...in order to attract young people to Maori events'. Brown, D. S. (1997). 'Morehu Architecture'. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. p. 166.

⁵⁷⁴ Apirana Ngata in a letter to W. J. Phillipps in 1942 refers to the carvings in Tawhiwhirangi in Tikitiki as 'light' implying that the carvings did not promote significant *tataitanga korero*. Brown. (1997). p. 339.

panels charged with commemorative function. Outside this frame of *tataitanga korero* the decorative scheme performed an associative function in relation to *tataitanga kaupapa toi* transforming the *whare kai* into a Maori space through visual correspondent *tukutuku*, *kowhaiwhai* and *whakairo*.

It was not until the 1970's that the *whare kai* was conceived as a total cultural frame for *tataitanga korero* in which tribal history and trans-cultural practice informed the dining room environment. Initially this was achieved through a painted schema in Te Whitianga at Whangaparaoa in the Whanau a Apanui territory in 1973. In this *whare kai* local *tataitanga korero* relating to 'mahi kai moana', European exploration and settlement in the region were painted in a frieze encircling the interior of Te Whitianga.⁵⁷⁵ The work, directed by Cliff Whiting and Para Matchitt, was a communal enterprise in which *tangata whenua* contributed not only as *ringa wera* but also as artists. The form of stylised figurative forms extended the 19th and 20th century development of the *pitau a manaia* figurative form, with each artist translating their personal styles into narrative sequences relevant to the *mana whenua* of Whangaparaoa. Both Maori and the settler population were represented as partners immersed in the shaping of the land and the country. According to Rangihiroa Panoho, '...[Para] Matchitt and [Cliff] Whiting's decorations in the dining hall at Whangaparaoa, Cape Runaway were a completely new approach at the time'.⁵⁷⁶



Figure 66. *Te Whaneketanga o Turongo raua ko Mahinarangi. Kimora whare kai, Turangawaewae marae, Ngaruawahia.*

By 1975 the trans-cultural mixed media process in which the customary practices of *whakairo*, *kowhaiwhai* and *tukutuku* were juxtaposed as self-contained design fields in 19th century *whare nui* and 20th century *whare kai* underwent dramatic and innovative transformation. In Kimiora at Turangawaewae marae in Ngaruawahia, the once self-contained practices were reconfigured in an integrated trans-cultural statement of Tainui history in the mural *Te Whaneketanga O Tainui* (Figure 66).⁵⁷⁷ At the heart of this

⁵⁷⁵ 'The cycle tells the story of the moki fish, so important to the local people as part of their tribal heritage and as a food source. The mural also focuses attention on the whole chain of technological and cultural events introduced by Captain Cook's arrival...which have so markedly affected the lifestyle and outlook of the Whanau-a-Apanui people'. Panoho, R. (1988). 'The Development of Maori Art in a Contemporary Form and Context: Paratene Matchitt'. Unpublished master's thesis. University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. p. 88.

⁵⁷⁶ Panoho. (1988). p. 87.

⁵⁷⁷ 'The mural depicts the sister wives of Tuwhao, the eldest Punuiatekore bore Turongo and Marutehiakina gave birth to Whatihua. In due course, Whatihua, the first born, would win the hand of Ruaputahanga from Taranaki over his younger brother Turongo who would in time marry Mihinarangi from Hawkes Bay. The mural also incorporates the cosmo-genealogical narratives of the separation of

innovative practice was the use of trans-cultural materials including manufactured composite panels, and trans-cultural processes that included lamination and assemblage.⁵⁷⁸ The most important of these new processes was the introduction of an additive as opposed to subtractive sculptural process. That is, instead of form created through the carving out (subtraction) of waste from the slab of wood the new process allowed the artist to generate form by laminating or assembling pre-shaped discrete shapes that were subsequently formed through adzing and grinding with power tools.⁵⁷⁹ Equally innovative was the reconstitution of the customary tukutuku process in which the customary multi-latticed structure was transformed using a single panel. This approach offered the opportunity to break outside the regimented rectilinear patterns conditioned by the customary twin-layer latticed system offering the potential for the creation of cursive tukutuku pattern apparent in sub-layers of both Cliff Whiting and Para Matchitt's murals. In an extension of Cliff Whiting's techniques Para Matchitt also generated interactive layers of pattern and colour within the limbs of his figurative forms at Kimiora.



Figure 67. Te Wehenga o Rangi raua ko Papa. National Library, Wellington

These innovative amalgamations of whakairo and tukutuku using non-customary materials and processes was first resolved in *Te Wehenga o Rangi raua ko Papa* (The separation of Earth and Sky) by Cliff Whiting begun in 1969 and completed in 1975 (*Figure 67*).⁵⁸⁰ This was an important consequence of trans-cultural interlocution where cosmo-genesis was conceived as a visual statement and pre-Christian tribal deity were incorporated into a single visual representation that integrated customary conventions in a non-customary manner.

The mural introduced a new direction in art where the arts of whakairo and tukutuku were brought together in a new synthesis to record an episode of Maori cosmo-

earth and sky'. Adams, P. (1979). 'Marae Complexes'. In New Zealand Historic Places Trust. *Historic Buildings of New Zealand*. Auckland: Cassell. p. 145.

⁵⁷⁸ The process extended Para Matchitt's earlier explorations evident in the Hato Petera Sanctuary combining carved relief manufactured board and painting on hardboard in 1972.

⁵⁷⁹ According to Jonathan Mane-Wheoki 'The pioneering group [including Cliff Whiting and Para Matchitt] was to create a distinct, generic Maori art expression from a fusion of customary Maori subjects, forms and styles with elements of European modernism such as 'primitivism' biomorphism, expressionism, abstraction and assemblage'. Kahukiwa, R. (2005). *The Art of Robyn Kahukiwa*. Auckland: Reed. p. 26.

⁵⁸⁰ Cliff Whiting's earliest exploration using lamination dates back to the creation of a wall relief entitled *Whiti-te-ra* in 1967. In spite of the use of non-customary materials and processes both Cliff Whiting and Para Matchitt used pingao (*Desmoschoenus spiralis*) and kiekie (*freycinetia baksii*) for their tukutuku patterns.

genealogy.⁵⁸¹ However, it was not until 1993 that Cliff Whiting was able to translate his innovative synthesis of carving, painting and lattice work in the *whare nui* at Takahanga marae in Kaikoura in the South Island. This was followed by further innovative practices employing heat-moulded medium-density fibre board in *Te Hono ki Hawaiki* at the National Museum of New Zealand in Wellington, opened in 1999 (*Figure 68*). This structure forms the focal point for the museum's ritual space for welcoming guests on formal occasions. It also incorporates important ancestors from tribal narratives. In deference to the bicultural intent of the project, *Mautikitiki a Taranga*, an ancestor common in Pacific narratives, is featured at the gable at the point of critical importance within the tradition of tribal house configuration. It is at this point that the ancestor after whom the house is named was often located. Appropriately, Maui, as a pan-Pacific ancestor, is charged with the role of invoking the Maori connection to Hawaiki, the ancestral home of the Maori within the Pacific, and extending the institution within the wider Pacific context.



Figure 68. *Te Hono ki Hawaiki. Rongomaraeroa marae. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.*

Maui constituted the critical iconographical charter for *Te Hono ki Hawaiki*. He is depicted with his brothers in three-dimensional form slowing the sun and hauling in his great catch, which, in narrative traditions of the Pacific, are the islands of the Pacific, and for Maori the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. Although Whiting introduces new forms and techniques to render his unique vision of bicultural interaction, symbolized by the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi on the rear wall and representations of the settler populations in Gothic niches, he also references customary precedents including the North Auckland carving tradition and the use of the *pakake* (whale motif) from East Cape and Bay of Plenty carving traditions⁵⁸².

In a tribal house, opened in 2003 in Bluff in the South Island, constructed on an octagonal ground plan referencing South Island round houses of the 19th century, the

⁵⁸¹ Cliff Whiting used the *Te Rangikaheke* version of the cosmo-genealogical narrative in which seven male deity were the offspring of the primeval parents.

⁵⁸² While there appears to be continuity in the *pakake* (whale) tradition from the 19th century *Te Kaha* storehouse, the tribal meeting house *Tukaki* and *Te Hono ki Hawaiki*, Whiting has commented that the references have been unconscious rather than deliberate. He suggests the process of involving of young artists/carvers from a number of educational institutions and practices was responsible for the tribal inflection in the realization of the project. Whiting, C. (2003 pers.comm.).

carved ancestral forms commemorating the significant role of women in maintaining genealogical continuity of South Island Maori are positioned at the centre and corners of the house. Carved under the direction of Cliff Whiting, this house continues the legacy of innovative relief sculpture instigated by the artist in the 1960s.⁵⁸³ In the *whare kai*, Te Rau Aroha, Cliff Whiting extends the innovative practice at the Museum of New Zealand to new heights of flamboyance and spectacle in a Maori version of the winter solstice.

In 1985 Sandy Adsett employed manufactured composite board in a more conservative fashion to create single layer relief carvings with minimal relief excavation prioritising a graphic integrity of form for his tribal house Te Huki at Rauponga. Sandy Adsett, who is the most significant painter of contemporary *kowhaiwhai* in the modern era, continued the 19th century Poverty Bay tradition of figurative *kowhaiwhai* in his tribal house to denote river, mountain and flora relevant to Ngati Pahauwera.⁵⁸⁴

Sandy Adsett's rationale for using industrial board was driven by fiscal constraints and a work force with little or no art experience. The use of single medium-density board panels and the reliance on shallow relief and graphic integrity for the *poupou* and *tahuhu* reduced the margin of error, the need to negotiate wood grain, and provided a means of control over the design and quality of production.⁵⁸⁵ Through the late 1980s and early 1990s Sandy Adsett was responsible for bringing groups of Maori artists to work together on *marae* around the country including his tribal *marae* at Rauponga in Hawkes Bay in 1987 and Rawhiti *marae* in North Auckland in 1988.⁵⁸⁶ These forums, built on the dining-room embellishment projects of Apirana Ngata beginning in 1930 and Cliff Whiting and Para Matchitt in the 1970s served as visual models for trans-cultural approaches for dining room and tribal house embellishment in the post-1980s period. These trans-cultural approaches constitute an extension of customary form in art created by Maori, in much the same way as the trans-cultural 'naturalistic' form entered the continuum of tribal painting and carving during the late 19th century in the carving of Hone Ngatoto for Rongomaianiwaniwa and the paintings of Riwai Pakerau in Ruakapanga and Iritekura discussed previously.

Te Tataitanga ahua o Hine Matakaikai: the legacy of form in Hine Matakaikai

Prior to an examination of *Te tataitanga ahua* of Hine Matakaikai it is worth noting that the *whakapapa* of the artists mentioned above are implicated in the Maori Art Analytical indices. So too are the sites of practice that are located within Maori sites except for *Te Wehenga o Rangi raua ko Papa* at the National Library and *Te Hono ki*

⁵⁸³ Cliff Whiting has made a significant contribution to the development of Maori art as an arts advisor, art lecturer, restoration expert, chair of Te Waka Toi a New Zealand Arts Council funding organization, and Maori manager at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

⁵⁸⁴ The leaf design was raupunga, the mountain referenced Mangaharuru and the river design alluded to the Mohaka.

⁵⁸⁵ Adsett, S. (2003 pers. comm.).

⁵⁸⁶ I was involved in both of these *marae* projects and participated in the production of narrative works based on tribal narratives relevant to each context. The experience informs the practice evident in Hinematakaikai.

Hawaiki on Rongomaraeroa marae in the Museum of New Zealand. The latter site is exceptional not only in terms of its location inside a building but also its location on the upper floor of the building. The location of the marae in this respect is an exemplary form of trans-cultural interlocation where cultural ideology demands a signification of space where customary notions of tapu and noa collude in the elevation of treasure possessions above and beyond the profane and mundane institutional administration.



Figure 69. South wall. Hine Matakaikai, Mihikoinga marae, Waipiro Bay

The art of Hine Matakaikai (*Figure 69*) is firmly located within this continuum of trans-cultural practice that dates back to the 1960s.⁵⁸⁷ As intimated previously, the scope of the ahua index associated with the Analytical Framework for Maori Art may be extensive or narrow depending on the ultimate aim of the analysis and the amount of variables that require consideration. For example, the ahua index may be expanded to include the subcategories of pattern and media while tools and technique are relevant to the waihanga index. This thesis does not prioritise an aesthetic assessment of tribal carving nor the murals under consideration because the thesis is not about the aesthetic resolution created by the component parts of design in a formalist sense. Instead, the consideration of ahua (appearance) in the Hine Matakaikai murals is about locating form within a continuum of trans-cultural interlocation and customary realignment through time. Hence, the use of manufactured board as a form of wood in tandem with totara is about cultural appreciation of the murals, not in terms of aesthetic resolution (although this will occur naturally), but as a trans-cultural substitute that has not been conceptualised as culturally valuable within the marae context of the Tairawhiti region. In other words, while totara is grounded cosmo-genealogically, industrially manufactured board of reconstituted wood chips appears to transgress cultural sensibilities in which chips are perceived as disposable residue.⁵⁸⁸ Consequently, the *tataitanga korero* relevant to the murals acts as a cultural mediator for acceptance of trans-cultural interlocations both in terms of the ahua and waihanga indices.

In the case of Hine Matakaikai *whare kai*, there are a number of culturally relevant assumptions: the wahi (site) is Maori, the whakapapa of the project manager/designer is

⁵⁸⁷ 'Trans-customary' practice in which customary form is transformed through further stylisation under the influence of modernist reductionism should be considered customary in the new millennium.

⁵⁸⁸ According to Cliff Whiting 'a carved figure has a residue of chips that could be fitted back together to make a negative form of the ancestor. It is therefore imperative to know the karakia to deal with this residue.' Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. vii. All residue associated with the Taharora project was buried at the marae site.

Maori and the matauranga that informed the project is Maori. More specifically, the *tataitanga korero* is centred on hapu relationships between Ngai Taharora, Ngati Rakai and Ngatiahi, their roles as ‘tangata mahi kai’, and their relationship to the Ohineakai Block and Mihikoinga marae. However, the *tataitanga korero* also extends to ahua and waihanga indices and their relevance as art within the murals of the whare kai. Consequently, the *tataitanga korero* for Hine Matakaikai is enmeshed in a Maori art continuum that embraces new forms, new processes and liberal cultural protocol. In this respect, the whare kai is firmly located within a whare kai continuum as significant space for cultural engagement.

As a profane space the whare kai evolved as the epitome of trans-cultural interlocation during Apirana Ngata’s cultural rejuvenation programme as a 20th century amalgamation of kauta (cook house) and Pakeha hall. The kauta, which originally stood apart from other facilities, was eventually incorporated into the whare kai in a totally integrated complex housing both dining room and kauta.⁵⁸⁹

As Deidre Brown contends,

‘To increase adolescent participation at marae functions, Ngata adapted the meeting house to accommodate modern social events, and he invented the permanent marae dining hall. He cleared the meeting house’s of the internal columns, fixed seating to the walls, and laid wooden floors, so that modern dances could be held inside...He also introduced Pakeha-style commercial kitchens and dining halls next to meeting houses to encourage communal feasting and tapu-free marae occasions. Previously, temporary buildings had usually been erected to house the cooking and dining functions of large meetings’.⁵⁹⁰

Apirana Ngata adopted a liberal attitude to the development of the 20th century marae complexes and the position of the ‘cooking amenities’ in relation to the whare nui. In response to an objection to the proximity of ‘cooking amenities’ to the meeting house he argued,

‘A meeting-house to-day must serve all the community requirements. It is no longer a place where only the elders of the tribe assemble in solemn conclave. You must attract into your it your youth as well.’⁵⁹¹

As intimated previously, the overall design of the north and south walls of Hine Matakaikai was determined by the pre-existing configuration of walls featuring two windows with central and flanking areas for embellishment, and an architectural

⁵⁸⁹ As Apirana Ngata commented to Te Rangihira in 1929 ‘The small wharepuni will disappear but the kauta as social gathering place for the gossips to meet and smoke and the family to discuss matters away from their guests serves an important purpose’. Many of the whare kai built during the Ngata era had stages for cultural performances. In time these would also be used for bands particularly during the ‘rock and roll’ era during which time the whare kai were transformed into dance halls. I attended several of the ‘rock and roll’ gigs during the 1960s. Sorrenson, M. P. K. (Ed.). (1986). *Na To Hoa Aroha From Your Dear Friend*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 224.

⁵⁹⁰ The first Lady Arihia and Makarini memorial hall (1930) at Waiomatatini was the prototype for later dining hall projects that ‘popularised this type of building not only on the Coast, but far beyond it’. Brown, D. S. (1997). ‘Morehu Architecture’. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. p. 333.

⁵⁹¹ Apirana Ngata’s liberal treatment of the ‘cooking amenities’ is evident at his own marae at Waiomatatini where Lady Arihia whare kai is located on the right side of the marae to the right of the whare tipuna Porourangi while the kauta (cook house), is located behind the whare kai’. Ramsden, E. (1948). *Sir Apirana Ngata and Maori Culture*. Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed. p. 47.

composition based on the pataka. This association was achieved through the transmutation of maihi and amo configuration with stylised figurative forms referencing profile ancestral tiki designed executed in a trans-cultural form.⁵⁹² In terms of the waihanga index, a conscious strategy was employed to create a series of circular units for bone and ceramic inlays for the eyes and feet of the ancestral forms (*Figure 70*) and as pattern components to maintain a compositional unity between the north and south walls. More importantly, the strategy was employed to reduce the margin of error for students with minimal carving experience. The process allowed for the use of circular saw blades of incremental diameter and pre-radiused router blades to create minimalist relief layers that reduced carving to a minimum. As a consequence shape and form were restricted to a series of broad arcs and rectilinear shapes that could be produced using power tool technology, minimal forming of totara components in which prior carving skill was necessary to negotiate timber grain therefore reducing the probability of error and production time.⁵⁹³



Figure 70. Bone and ceramic details. North wall. *Hine Matakaikai whare kai, Mihikoinga marae, Ohineakai.*



Figure 71. Pataka compositions. North and south wall. *Hine Matakaikai whare kai, Mihikoinga marae, Ohineakai.*

The point of focus on both walls is a central convergence of maihi descending obliquely from the ceiling over amo that reach from floor to ceiling with the outer amo terminating at the upper window frame on the blue south wall, and aligning with the base of the

⁵⁹² There is a contextual relationship between the Maori façade configuration in *Hine Matakaikai* with Apirana Ngata's modelling of the stage and proscenium with a façade based on the meeting house's front porch form as a 'house within a house'. However, on the land wall the maihi and amo configuration is placed against the wall rather than in front of the stage. Sutherland, I. L. G. (1940). 'Tribal Organisation'. In I. L. G. Sutherland (Ed.). *The Maori People Today*. Wellington: New Zealand Institute of International Affairs & the New Zealand Council for Educational Research. p. 327.

⁵⁹³ In this respect, the approach to the Taharora Project followed a similar strategy to that employed by Sandy Adsett in *Te Huki whare nui* at Raupunga where the design of the relief panels accounted for the inexperience of the 'artists' who would be involved in the project.

windowsill and upper window frame on the green north wall (*Figure 71*). In contrast to pataka and customary

Ngati Porou amo and maihi interaction, the amo in the murals extended above the maihi element, connecting floor to ceiling.⁵⁹⁴

The purpose for this union was the maintenance of notions of the union of earth and sky as critical nodal points in Maori conceptualisations of the universe and its conceptual transmutation in 19th century carving of pare and the ‘veranda poupou’ of Te Tairuku Potaka discussed previously. In each case the window frames acted as terminal points for hands and/or feet of the amo and the secondary figurative compositions on either side of the windows. The central kuwaha as the critical point of entry into the pataka was reconfigured as a circular raranga focal point on the blue south wall and a lattice structure on the green north wall (*Figure 71*). While there is no physical entry into the pataka, these points of focus generate a conceptual entry into the matauranga associated with Ngati Rakai, Ngatiahi and Ngai Taharora alluded to above. More significantly they become abstract referents to the ancestral foci of kuwaha imagery whose function is inextricably enmeshed in the perpetuation of mana atua and mana tangata through figural representation and architectural configuration.

Access to and from the pataka was afforded through a kuwaha beneath the carved ancestral figure carved on the central pataka panel.⁵⁹⁵ In this sense there is a correspondence between ancestor as the point of genealogical connection with other tribal ancestors and even with deity. In a structural sense the kuwaha panel supports the tahuu (ridgepole) of the pataka maintaining its structural integrity in much the same way as the ancestor selected for the kuwaha panel sustains hapu unity. Hence the function kuwaha was both structural and allegorical. The allegorical function was further extended through an association of the kuwaha with this entrance as te tatau o te po.⁵⁹⁶ Entry into the interior of the pataka involved a change of state hence the importance of removing tapu from the person nominated to perform the task of recovering hapu possessions from the interior of the pataka.⁵⁹⁷ Physical access required the entrant to assume a crouched position after ascending an arawhata (stepped ladder) and crossing the paepae kai awaha (front traverse beam). A process of cultural engagement that involves ascension and transition substantiated in cosmo-genealogical narratives of transition between the material and spiritual realms, and historical records of elevation of precious cultural possessions.

In the *Lore of the Whare Wananga*, Tane te Wananga a Rangi ascended the heavens to

⁵⁹⁴ The amo convention in Ngati Porou was one in which the amo sat under the base of the maihi. More often than not there was an interaction at the point of juncture.

⁵⁹⁵ In 19th century pataka there is a gradual adaptation of the kuwaha with a reduction in the size of the central ancestral figure and the assumption of a pare composition in later pataka. This development corresponds to the changing importance of the pataka relative to whare nui as a signification of mana Maori during the latter part of the 19th century and into the 20th century.

⁵⁹⁶ ‘In itself the doorway represents the entrance to and from this world, te tatau o te po, guarded by the gods Miru and Whiro...’ Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. p. 32.

⁵⁹⁷ ‘To enter it [doorway] is to undergo a change of state, that is, death, if the tapu has not been lifted’. Simmons. (1985). p. 32.

obtain the three baskets of knowledge and the sacred stones housed in Rangiatea.⁵⁹⁸ Before entering the sacred space Tane was ritually cleansed in Rauroha.⁵⁹⁹ After securing the baskets of knowledge and the two sacred stones Tane returned to earth forming the templates for the dissemination of matauranga pertinent to humankind's negotiation of a two-world reality.⁶⁰⁰

When Maui attempted to conquer death his demise was caused by the fantail that accompanied him on his quest for immortality. More importantly, however, his death was due to the error in a karakia recited over him as a child.⁶⁰¹ This narrative makes an important statement about the necessity for correct tikanga (ritual protocols) since failure to conform to the strict codes of oral transmission explicit in ritual incantations can have dire consequences. In his descent to the underworld in pursuit of his mother he assumed the form of a kukupa (pigeon).⁶⁰² When he attempted entry into Hine-nui-te-po he assumed the form of a moko (lizard) and ultimately a noke (or toke), a worm.⁶⁰³ In the Maui narratives of transformation the transmission of correct tikanga are implicated in the successful transition from one realm to another, the negotiation of sacred precincts or the accomplishment of superhuman feats. Within the context of the pataka cosmogenealogical narratives are transcribed not only through representation but also through the physical and psychological act of negotiating Maori architecture.⁶⁰⁴ Consequently, there is an explicit correspondence that exists in cultural notions of elevation and distance, transition and entry.

John Savage, an English sea captain who visited the Bay of Islands in North Auckland in 1806 discovered a pataka 'with much grotesque carving' that was used by the chief Tipeehee [Te Pehi] to separate his daughter from the rest of the community. This pataka was raised upon a 'single post'. 'In this Tipeehee confined one of his daughters several years'.⁶⁰⁵ Her isolation was critical for the proliferation of the mana associated with the chiefly stature of her birth.⁶⁰⁶ Hence, the principle function was one of creating a visible manifestation of mana (power and authority) by exhibiting an awe-inspiring structure in which the wealth of hapu could be stored and protected. In the case of the daughter of Te

⁵⁹⁸ Tane te wananga a rangi is one of the many names of Tane that change according to responsibility that he assumes at any given moment in cosmo-genealogical oration and narratives.

⁵⁹⁹ In the Lore of the Whare Wananga Rauroha is the marae of Io.

⁶⁰⁰ In the Lore of the Whare Wananga the three baskets of knowledge are known as Te kete-uruurumatua, Te kete ururu-rangi and Te kete-uruuru-tau, and the stones were called Te Whatu-kura Huka-atat and Te Whatu-kura Rehu-tai. Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. p. 28.

⁶⁰¹ Oppenheim, R. S. (1973). *Maori Death Customs*. Auckland: A. H. & A. W. Reed. p. 92.

⁶⁰² Reedy, A. (1993). *Nga korero a Mohi Ruatapu, tohunga rongonui o Ngati Porou: the writings of Mohi Ruatapu / translated, edited and annotated by Anaru Reedy*, Christchurch: Canterbury University Press. p. 118.

⁶⁰³ Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. pp. 63-4.

⁶⁰⁴ Simmons. (1985). pp. 28-34.

⁶⁰⁵ Savage, J. (1807). *Some account of New Zealand; particularly the Bay of Islands, and surrounding country; with a description of the religion and government*. London: J. Murray. pp. 13-4

⁶⁰⁶ Puhi were often used for political purposes to secure alliances or to avoid the consequences of utu (compensatory reprisal). In this instance this pataka stands as a symbol of mana tangata or more specifically, mana rangatira (chiefly prestige).

Pehi, she was perceived as part of the wealth of the tribe. It is hardly surprising that such a structure was cloaked in tapu with images that pronounced the stature of whakapapa and the reproductive capacity of kin through explicit sexual metaphor.

The pataka as a total structure was sacred and significant for those who owned it. This sanctity of pataka is evidenced by the unearthing of significant material culture associated with the pataka in Taranaki, Thames and Te Kaha. The concealment of ancestral carvings in the face of impending invasion emphasised the cultural importance of ancestors as psychic manifestations beyond mere representation.

Although the space beyond the paepae kai awaha of pataka also had a pragmatic function for storing excess utilitarian objects like hinaki (eel pot) the paepae as a transitional zone demanded ritual to allow safe transition from across the traverse beam and into the pataka. The conceptualisation of the female organ as a critical psychological force with the transitional zone of entrances, a zone pregnant with danger has been previously discussed in relation to the *Lore of the Whare Wananga*. The sexual union between Tane-matua and Hine-hau-one was conceived as a mating battle between Tiki-ahua and Karihi, intervention of more than one brother in the recitation of karakia was necessary to ensure the successful coition of Tane and Hine.⁶⁰⁷

In the pataka taonga there is a dramatic inversion of scale between the ancestor commemorated and the portal of entry. The ancestral figure thus becomes the locus point for the contemplation of genealogy and transition from the known to the unknown. The poly-semantic significance of paepae is translated into architecture through the paepae kai awaha that demarcates the border between the landscape and architecture while the kuwaha delineates the inside from the outside. Thus, entrance into the pataka requires a series of physical and metaphysical transitions that coalesce in the transition from the world of Te Ao Marama to the world of Te Po and back again.

Within the context of Hine Matakaikai the principles of elevation and distance, transition and entry that constitute a cultural negotiation of 19th century pataka are an integral part of the *tataitanga korero* that informs the conceptualisation of the pataka of Ngati Rakai and Ngatiahi in as much as conscious interconnections are established in the connection of ceiling and floor as referents to Ranginui and Papatuanuku, above and below and Te Ao Marama and Te Po. This schema of inter realm relationships is conceptualised in the tri-level planar interactions in the lattice structure on the north wall in spite of its mundane allusion to the growing of wheat. Transition between levels is achieved through transparency and interspatial transition as the background of green interacts with the successive layers of black rods bound together with kiekie harvested from the Ohineakai Block. Not only does the green symbolise the fruits of spring on the whenua wall but also commemorates Riwai Pakerau's preference for green as a colour signifying regeneration.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁷ Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. pp. 35-7.

⁶⁰⁸ Riwai Pakerau used green and white in the painting of a number of the heke (rafter) patterns for Iritekura at Waipiro Bay, which opened in 1910. He also used a green traverse band to separate the



Figure 72. Central wall details. North and south wall. Hine Matakaikai whare kai, Mihikoinga marae, Ohineakai.



Figure 73. First relief layer details. North and south wall, Hine Matakaikai whare kai, Mihikoinga marae, Ohineakai.

Te wahanga tuatahi: the first carved relief layer translated

The relief planes on the north and south walls consist of four layers with a background plane of hardboard comprising the circle of whariki (south wall) (*Figure 72 left*), whenua plane of the lattice structure (north wall) (*Figure 72 right*), kowhaiwhai, carved relief patterns, and an upper field of rectilinear patterns and text on both walls.

On the south wall a whariki circle of dyed harakeke forms the background for a stylised figurative form that alludes to mana moana and the kai moana (sea food). The composition of kowhaiwhai and relief carving (*Figure 73 left*) on the base plane (hardboard) maintain the rhythm generated by the circle of whariki. The blue and white kowhaiwhai are a chromatic reference to sea sweeping to simulate tidal currents and the waves of the ocean framed by manaia referencing the bounty of the sea (*Figure 73 left*). The use of non-figurative kowhaiwhai in the Taharora Project was a means of grounding the work within a *tataitanga kaupapa toi* at a visual level because kowhaiwhai has a strong affinity with cultural sites as visually correspondent cultural marker despite its application outside the regulated fields of heke and the waka. However, there is a point of visual synergy, which exists between the hoe (paddles) and the cursive kowhaiwhai compositions on the south wall.

On the north wall the central lower kowhaiwhai passage in green and white surmounted by a maihi that constitutes the base of the central lattice structure alludes to Mount

figurative passages of plants and iconic imagery from the non-figurative kowhaiwhai. The notion of green as a colour symbolising regeneration has a strong consonance with the use of green chaplets during the tangihanga (funeral) ceremony because death was perceived as a reunification or a re-integration with the cosmos in which humankind divested ira tangata while ira atua was sustained in a union with deity in Te Po. Maraki, J. (1989 per comm.).

Hikurangi as a paramount Ngati Porou landmark (*Figure 73 middle*).⁶⁰⁹ On this wall the triangular compositions beneath the window with a whariki base layer inside framed by stylised birds reference Ngati Rakai and Ngatiahi landmarks Rangikohua and Pukehou (*Figure 73 right*) while the whariki alludes to the bounty of forest foods offered to Iritekura. In each instance, the customary aspective tradition predominates.



Figure 74. Painted text details. North and south wall, *Hine Matakaikai whare kai*, Mihikoinga marae, Ohineakai.

Painted text on the north and south walls (*Figure 74*) weave in and out of the rectilinear pattern identifying the Ngati Rakai and Ngatiahi as the procurers of food for Iritekura. Not only does the text support the *tataitanga korero* within the whare kai but also relates to Maori use of text as a critical cultural explicator that ensued as a result of Maori accession to trans-cultural empowerment of content as a result of colonisation.

Text began to appear with regularity within Maori cultural context in the 1840s. During this period text featured in ancestral houses and on storehouses, cenotaphs, cloaks, and even on the human body. By the end of the 19th century the use of text had spread to the tukutuku panels in Porourangi at Waiomatatini in 1888 and featured in cryptic form among the rafters of Rongopai at Waituhi in 1887.

The ancestral house, Te Hau ki Turanga, opened in 1843, incorporated the most comprehensive trans-cultural typographical scheme aimed at ensuring a continuity of tribal whakapapa for future generations. The names of ancestors, carved in Roman script, appeared over the heads of ancestral tiki at the base of heke and on the necks of epa figures on the front and back wall. With the exception of ‘Kahutia’, carved across the chest of one of the ancestral poupou, the names of the other ancestors were carved on the projecting flanges at the base of the posts.⁶¹⁰ The names of these ancestors were lost ‘when the Department of Public Works was assigned the task of fitting the panels into a concrete housing’ in the Dominion Museum [Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa] in 1936.⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁹ Te Tipi o Taikehu and Te Tone o Houku, the twin peaks of Hikurangi and Takawhiti ‘the lakelet on top of the mountain where Nukutaimemeha [the canoe of Mauitikitiki a Taranga] lies inverted’ are referenced in the composition of kowhaiwhai. Ngata, A. T. (1944). *Rauru-nui-a-Toi Lectures*. p. 3.

⁶¹⁰ Two other posts are named. Wai appears in the mouth area of one poupou and Te Ngau appears on the neck region of another.

⁶¹¹ Barrow, T. (1976). *A Guide to the Meeting House Te Hau-ki-Turanga*, National Museum, Wellington. p. 21.

Raharuhi Rukupo, rangatira and tohunga whakairo (master carver) of Ngati Kaipoho and Ngati Maru of Rongowhakaata in Poverty Bay, used text on the carved ancestral images of Te Hau ki Turanga as an innovative means of coping with the transition from an oral to a literate society ensuring a continuity of tribal whakapapa. Te Hau ki Turanga is one of the earliest ancestral houses to employ carved ancestral names. The use of names to identify ancestors or to promote genealogical narratives was an intrinsic part of Maori negotiation of the 'trans-cultural' context of colonisation from the 1840s – 1930s appearing in houses associated with Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki.

In 1927 a School of Maori art opened in Rotorua, in the central North Island, to create an imposed European aesthetic of what 'traditional' Maori art should look like. This was a legacy of Augustus Hamilton, director of the Dominion Museum in Wellington, during the early part of the 20th century. He, together with T. E. Nelson, a hotel proprietor and patron of many carving projects in the Rotorua district at the turn of the century, sanitised Maori art. They attempted to eradicate foreign intrusions like text and unconventional colour departures that were a natural consequence of a reconfigured Maori worldview, in the 19th and early 20th century. Hamilton's compendium on Maori art, compiled between 1896 and 1901, was a reflection of his euro-centric bias towards what he perceived as an authentic tradition of carving and painting. It was a tradition that was encapsulated in the whare nui Te Hau ki Turanga minus the text identifying the ancestors. Hamilton's publication edited out Maori images that transgressed his euro-centric sensibilities of Maori art. Harold, who was the first Director of the School of Maori Art at Rotorua, perpetuated his father's essentialist attitude. Many of the polychrome painted storehouses and meeting houses of the Hamilton era were painted red when these architectural structures entered Museum collections concealing the names of the ancestors painted upon their bodies.⁶¹² Even the polychrome tribal meeting houses, which escaped the predatory zeal of artefact collectors, succumbed to the 'red orthodoxy' of the European experts of Maori art as Maori self-consciously acceded to the notion of authenticity constructed by Hamilton. Sir Apirana Ngata supported Hamilton's orthodox view, in the houses created under his stewardship.⁶¹³ Pine Taiapa, who was to lead the Ngata renaissance of meeting house arts, carved Whitireia meeting house at Whangara as a tribute to the influence of Rukupo.⁶¹⁴ It is ironic that text does not feature on the carvings but appears in the tukutuku panels based on the prior model of Porourangi whare nui at Waiomatatini.

In contrast, Calvin Whetumarama-o-te-ata Kereama, a contemporary of Pine Taiapa, used text as a vehicle for ensuring a continuity of ancestral whakapapa that would be accessible to young and old for generations to come. The whare nui at Te Taumata o te Ra, a recently established marae at Halcombe in the Rangitikei district, opened in 1995, is

⁶¹² The whare nui Hotonui in the Auckland Museum is a prime example of this practice.

⁶¹³ Apirana Ngata had no aversion to using text in tukutuku panels because this practice was instigated by Ropata Wahawaha in Porourangi meeting house opening 1888 at Waiomatatini.

⁶¹⁴ Tukaki at Te Kaha, which was carved under the direction of Hone Taiapa also uses figurative tukutuku with text to identify ancestors on the back wall of the whare nui.

living testimony of the ability of a carver to break free of the shackles of orthodoxy. In Manomano, the Halcombe house, text returns as a visual codifier alongside customary surface patterns to present another layer of mnemonic endorsement of mana tangata and mana whenua.

Consequently, text, which was initially used as a trans-cultural means of genealogical endorsement, has a long association with Maori painting and carving within the marae context. It is therefore proposed that the use of text is customary practice, which is indeed the case in Hine Matakaikai. Riwai Pakerau's use of text in Iritekura (1910) further endorses its customary stature.

Te wahanga tuarua: the second carved relief layer translated

Medium density board (MDF) constitutes the second layer on the south wall acting as a relief elevation layer for the amo and maihi between window frames and stylised manaia signifying the marine bounty within the Bay of Waipiro. This layer also acts as a relief elevation layer for the amo and maihi between and outside the window frames.



Figure 75. *Second relief layer details. North wall, Hine Matakaikai whare kai, Mihikoinga marae, Ohineakai.*

On the north wall MDF also constitutes a relief elevation layer for the amo and maihi between window frames and stylised birds flanking the triangles under the windows. The birds (*Figure 75 left*) are a reference to those trapped by Ngati Rakai at Rangikohua offered to Iritekura resulting in Iritekura's invitation to Ngati Rakai 'to settle on the other side of the river at Te Puia so that they could be close to her'. This layer also incorporates the base layer of timber rods that comprise the latticed central motif (*Figure 75 right*) on the north wall alluding to the wheat grown by the descendants of Hine Matakaikai at Ngararanui.⁶¹⁵ This lattice structure extends prior experimentation with acrylic rods used in exhibition work and an installation for the Auckland College of Education at Epsom in 1988.⁶¹⁶ In this instance a number of customary tukutuku patterns including kaokao (armpit) and niho taniwha (monster's teeth) are referenced through the juxtaposition of rods arranged vertically and diagonally. The central lattice panel was an attempt to create a unique response to the previous explorations of Cliff Whiting and Para Matchitt and to

⁶¹⁵ Hirini Whakakino, a descendant of Hinematakaikai, recounted the growing of wheat at the Ohineakai Block used to purchase the schooner King Pilate destroyed off the coast at Tuparoa. Maori Land Court (1893). *Waipapua Minute Book No. 18*. p. 61.

⁶¹⁶ The Auckland College of Education installation is configured in a similar format to the central whare kai murals that allow the viewer to enter into an internal space. The structure was created out of totara slabs with inlays of bone, lead and bronze relief (subsequently stolen). The installation was completed with the assistance of students from Waiariki Polytechnic and the Auckland College of Education.

create a spatially significant structure that extended their single plane tukutuku resolutions and customary tukutuku practice. In the process ‘water hose’ with its intrinsic rectilinear pattern was used both as a spacer for the lattice rods and to generate an additional passage of pattern. Dyed muka and kiekie were used to bind and to interlace the rods acknowledging customary media and processes. This layer also acts as a relief elevation layer for the amo and maihi between and outside the window frames.

Te wahanaga tuatoru the third carved relief layer translated

MDF and totara constitute the third layer. This is the layer of the stylised profile heads of Ngati Rakai ancestors of Tupurupuru and Ngatiahi, the descendants of Hine Matakaikai (*Figure 76*). On the south wall single ancestral images comprise the amo compositions in deference to Hawaiki as the homeland of the original ancestors of the Maori ki tai, the source of mana and the destination of spirits of the deceased. It is also an acknowledgment of Ngati Rakai as the original tangata whenua of the Waipiro area whose subsequent exile and return was subject to the benefice of Iritekura.



Figure 76. *Third relief layer details. North and south wall. Hine Matakaikai whare kai, Mihikoinga marae, Ohineakai.*

In contrast the north wall amo are composed of primary and secondary tiki with the limbs of the subsidiary figures sitting on the third relief layer of MDF board framing the central amo passage of profile heads. This configuration maintains the Ngati Porou convention of placing a subsidiary figure between the legs of the primary figure apparent in the Pourewa Island poupou collected by Cook in 1769. The increase in the number of figures alludes to the settlement of Aotearoa ki uta and the increase in the hapu of Ngai Taharora at Ohineakai. It is also at this level that bone and ceramic inlays are introduced as points of focus for the eyes on ancestral figures on the north wall (*Figure 76*). In each case, the patterns and the relief of the ceramics and bone carving were individually designed by students to complement the overall ahua of the murals.

The incorporation of bone was aimed at investing the murals with cultural relativity and relevance in much the same way totara is culturally relevant because of its *tataitanga kaupapa toi* associated with Tanemahuta. The aim was to extend the trans-cultural interlocutions within the ahua (appearance) and waihanga (process) indices beyond those explored by Cliff Whiting and Para Matchitt in the art of Taharora and Hine Matakaikai.

However, there is a point of difference in the negotiation of relief planes compared with the curvilinear emphasis in Cliff Whiting’s National Library mural and Para Matchitt’s Kimiora mural. In Hine Matakaikai, and in Taharora to a lesser extent, kowhaiwhai is employed as an integrative compositional device and as a cursive counterpoint to the prioritisation of a rectilinear structural order. There is also recourse to a limited colour palette, interaction between strong vertical elements interrupted by diagonal accents transposed through the relief planes together with painted vertical rhythms of text and rectilinear pattern in the upper field. In spite of this contrast there remains an affinity with the ‘upraised hands’ motif in tiki in the ‘veranda poupou’ associated with Te Tairuku Potaka, and their modernist translation in the 1970s paintings in the whare kai Te Whitianga at Whangaparaoa.⁶¹⁷



Figure 77. Fourth relief layer details. North and south wall. Hine Matakaikai whare kai, Mihikoinga marae, Ohineakai.

Te wahanga tuawha: the fourth carved relief layer translated

The fourth layer is made up of the hands and feet of the ancestral figures on the amo and pakake on the maihi – cursive on the south wall and rectilinear of the north (Figure 77). On the north wall taratara a kae surface pattern (Figure 77 middle), which is intrinsically rectilinear in structure, is used to accentuate the rectilinear nature of the northern maihi, and to invest the north wall with cultural signification associated with taratara a kae.

The taratara a kae has a limited regional spread along the eastern seaboard of the North Island from Hawkes Bay through to the Bay of Plenty. In each of these regions the taratara a kae is intimately associated with the pakake on tauihu waka and maihi pataka.⁶¹⁸ Consequently, apart from signifying bountiful bounty associated with the beaching of a whale and denoting ‘abundance and material wealth’ the pakake is implicated in the expression of mana whenua and the validation of customary practices of retribution and cannibalism.⁶¹⁹ In this sense the pataka stands as a warning against transgression and

⁶¹⁷ This compositional form associated with the Te Kaha ‘verandah poupou’ has been maintained by Cliff Whiting ‘Maumahara’ at the National Archives in Wellington and also in the composition of Maui in Te Hono ki Hawaiki at the Museum of New Zealand. It has remained a constant in Para Matchitt’s art since the 1970’s appearing in the Aotea Centre commission in the 1990s. The continuity of the motif in Hine Matakaikai is appropriate because the tipuna Taharora came from Te Whanau a Apanui. Tibble, W. (1989 pers. comm.).

⁶¹⁸ The appearance of the pakake on tauihu waka appear to be restricted to the Rawheoro carving school at Uawa (Tolaga Bay).

⁶¹⁹ University of Auckland. (1986). *Tanenuiarangi*. Auckland: University of Auckland. p. 21.

trespass. In Hine Matakaikai the ahua pataka recalls the defeat of Ngati Ruanuku and Wahineiti at the hands of Tuwhakairiora and Pakanui and the assumption of the mana whenua of the Waipiro Bay Block by Iritekura. Although, Ngati Rakai (a hapu of Wahineiti) returned to their former lands they were only permitted residency because of the goodwill of Te Akau and Iritekura.

As a total integration of multimedia and trans-cultural techniques, both customary and non-customary, the murals of Hine Matakaikai are intimately grounded in a *tataitanga korero* of cultural relativity, not only historical but also architectural and cosmogenealogical. In this respect, the tripartite configuration of hands and feet promote a visual connection with the three-fingered hand in customary Maori carving (*Figure 77 middle*).⁶²⁰ This cultural relativity refers, not to the origin of carving, but to the origin of matauranga introduced to service humankind by Tanenuiarangi.⁶²¹ This tripartite configuration of hands, the division of the wall areas into three distinct zones and triple level lattice relief collude in the generation of *tataitanga korero* laden with cosmogenealogical substance that makes the art in Hine Matakaikai culturally relevant.

Tikanga a tipuna: protocol of an ancestral house

Tikanga as a Kaupapa Maori research principle relates to observance of customary processes and practices or the principles, which govern social practices⁶²². Within the context of research the observance of tikanga demands a set of cultural skills and sensitivity to cultural protocols and conventions to gain community access and entry while attending to the formal, ritual and spiritual demands of communal interaction. Critically, tikanga is about the ability to negotiate a cultural system and to act judiciously or in a culturally safe manner. Intrinsic to safe negotiation of sites is an awareness of tapu as a cultural mechanism for maintaining intellectual and psychic control of sites, objects and knowledge, and the need for kaumatua (elder) intercession in those instances where experience negates adequate and appropriate attendance to the formal, ritual and spiritual dimensions of tikanga.⁶²³

The implication of tikanga for art practice varies according to the cultural context of production and the community for whom the art is created. As a general rule the more

⁶²⁰ Pakariki Harrison references three instances of cosmogenealogical reference to the three fingers. The three fingers of Peretu are 'a sign of god-like status'. Tiki as the first man had three fingers and carved fingers with three hands. Three fingers are used to hold the hika (sacred fire-making stick) hence the three fingers in carving relate to a 'process of great significance.' University of Auckland. (1986). *Tanenuiarangi*. Auckland: University of Auckland. p. 19.

⁶²¹ In the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* the three baskets of knowledge are known as Te kete-uruurumatua, Te kete uruuru-rangi and Te kete-uruuru-tau, and the stones were called Te Whatu-kura Huka-atat and Te Whatu-kura Rehu-tai. Smith, S. P. (1913). *The Lore of the Wharewananga: Part 1. - The Kauwae-runga*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. pp. 28, 130.

⁶²² Smith, L. T. (1996). 'Nga Aho O Te Kakahu Matauranga: The Multiple Layers of Struggle by Maori in Education'. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. pp. 215-6.

⁶²³ Smith. (1996). p. 216.

customary the practice the more likely the need for tikanga.⁶²⁴ This rule also applies to space, the more a space is directly linked to customary observances the more likely the need for tikanga Maori. In addition to the behavioural codes associated with tikanga a iwi, the protocol of human interaction, there is also a tikanga of cultural relativity that underpins interrelationships between buildings, the marae and the landscape.⁶²⁵ This is the tikanga a tipuna (ancestral protocol), which is constructed on the notion that the whare tipuna as the point of locus for the explication of cultural relativity of tapu and noa within the marae environment.⁶²⁶ Although Salmond has argued that ‘tapu and noa with their ambiguities are the key concepts in this context, not left and right [of the whare nui].’⁶²⁷ The principle of tikanga mitigates tapu and noa according to the orientation of the whare nui as an ancestor. Consequently, the left side of the whare tipuna is the tapu side. In this schema the whare nui is personified as an ancestor. In Taharora the koruru at the front of the house becomes the head of the ancestor Taharora, the maihi his arms and the tahuhu his backbone. While the cosmo-genealogical signification of the pane, poutahu and poutuarongo with Maori deity is not applicable to Taharora there is, nevertheless, a sense of cosmo-genealogical order from the front to the back of the house in which historical time is aligned with Maori notions of mua and muri both spatially and temporally.⁶²⁸ The tikanga a tipuna also applies to the transition of the coffin into Taharora where the coffin assumes the position of the whare tipuna as an ancestor on entry into and exit out of the house.

As noted above the position of Taharora relative to Hinematakaikai, whare nui relative to whare kai assumes a front to rear juxtaposition. This juxtaposition of whare nui and whare kai aligns with a general tikanga of *tataitanga kaupapa toi* in terms of the relationship between architecture and marae outlined in Neich’s comprehensive review of pertinent literature relating to landward/seaward opposition, of enclosure and openness in marae orientation, of directions of front and rear, of tapu and noa, and of left and right within the marae context in his publication *Painted Histories*.⁶²⁹

⁶²⁴ In 1997 Ross Hemera and I were responsible for writing level 1-8 standards for Whakairo (carving). After extensive interviews with carvers around the country a set of units were written specifically to address tikanga Maori relating to whakairo. A critical component of the tikanga strand focused on karakia and its continued importance with respect to whakairo. In 2004 the author witnessed the performance of karakia as a formal examination of whakairo students at Te Whare Wananga o Aotearoa in Te Awamutu. Although the standard of karakia delivery was variable it demonstrated how a prescribed customary practice endorsed by an educational institution can become orthodox practice.

⁶²⁵ According to Te Pakaka Tawhai, ‘The wharenuī is of course a context for its art...[which] can be fully appreciated only by reference to a larger context consisting of the wharenuī itself, the wharenuī site, urupa and storied landmarks’. Tawhai, T. (1978). ‘He Tipuna Whare nui o te Rohe o Uepohatu. Unpublished masters thesis’. Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. p. 22.

⁶²⁶ This notion of tikanga a tipuna is specifically relevant for Taharora and the neighbouring marae with which I am connected.

⁶²⁷ Salmond, A. (1978). ‘Te Ao Tawhito: A Semantic Approach to the Traditional Maori Cosmos’. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 87: 24.

⁶²⁸ Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. pp. 121-132.

⁶²⁹ Although Neich is sceptical of the early authenticity of such a cosmo-genealogical schema he does acknowledge its usefulness as an ‘illustration of extent to which the traditional model was amenable to elaboration without violating any of the basic precepts’. In the case of Taharora this schema was

Like Mihikoinga, the neighbouring marae at Waipiro and Te Kiekie, the placement of whare nui relative to whare kai concur with tikanga of *tataitanga kaupapa toi* in which the front is tapu and back is noa coinciding with the whare nui as tapu and the whare kai as noa.⁶³⁰ Te Hau, like Taharora, was moved from its original location at Houhoupounama to Te Kiekie, and like Taharora has a rear door allowing access into the dining room located at the rear of the whare nui. In contrast, Iritekura, which was opened in 1951, has a single front entrance.⁶³¹ In each case the kauta has been integrated into the dining room complex at the back of the dining room area, and the whare paku is situated to the rear of the whare nui in the noa zone, right rear of Taharora and left rear of Iritekura and Te Hau.

At Waipiro, the urupa (grave yard) is located at the front left of the whare nui according to the principle of tikanga a tipuna. At Te Kiekie and Ohineakai the urupa are located to the left side a considerable distance from the whare nui. For Te Whanau a Iritekura, Te Whanau a Rakairoa and Ngai Taharora the urupa is located on the left side of whare nui, the tapu side.⁶³² However, this relationship of whare nui and urupa while consistent between Waipiro, Te Kiekie and Ohineakai is variable on other Ngati Porou marae. At Waiomatatini the Urupa is on top of a hill to the rear of Porourangi. At Taumata o mihi marae near Ruatoria the urupa is across the road in front of Rauru nui a Toi.

Critically, the positional allocation of tapu and noa according to the tikanga of *tataitanga kaupapa toi* is determined by psychic or notional distance rather than physical distance. That is, the equivalence of front with tapu and back with noa within the marae context is not qualified by actual distance but notional distance. In each of the three marae, the cartographic orientation of whare nui relative to dining room is identical. However, the whare kai at Waipiro is positioned on the left side of the whare nui although set back from the front of the house in a notional rear position.⁶³³ The location of Tangi Mangahone at Waipiro on the left side of the whare nui was created by the decision to

consciously transposed into the layout of the whare nui. Neich, R. (1993). pp. 121-127. Simmons, D. R. (1985). *Whakairo: Maori tribal art*. Auckland: Oxford University Press. pp. 39-40.

⁶³⁰ Neich. (1993). p. 125.

In contemporary marae in the South Island the relationship between whare nui and whare kai is even more variable although the general principle of front and rear is common. Rehua built during the Ngata era in Christchurch has a rear access to whare paku and whare kai whereas Te Arai o te Uru in Dunedin, a modern complex, houses all the facilities under one roof. The whare paku are accessed through an entrance on the right of the whare nui through a passageway while the whare kai is accessed through an entrance on the left hand side.

⁶³¹ Te Hono ki Rarotonga at Pakirikiri marae in Tokomaru Bay has a side entrance created specifically to allow transition from the whare nui to the whare kai located on the left side. This house was built according to the architectural template of Apirana Ngata to accommodate the need for whare kai as an integral component of the marae environment. In this case there has been an adoption of an alternative architectural configuration to accommodate changing cultural needs.

⁶³² Neich, R. (1993). *Painted Histories: Early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. p. 128.

⁶³³ The back of the dining room aligns with the back of the house with the kauta at the rear of the dining area.

shift the whare nui from the former location of Iritekura closer to the beachfront.⁶³⁴ In this instance, the space available meant that the whare kai was aligned with the back of the house the kauta is at the back of the whare nui. Disjunction in the tikanga of *tataitanga kaupapa toi* at Waipiro in relation to tapu and noa was counteracted by the more potent positional relativity associated with front and back in which cosmological implications with respect of notions of time become paramount.⁶³⁵

The position of host and visitor at the respective marae is conditioned by the placement of the paepae manuhiri (visiting ritual space) opposite the main entrance of the respective whare kai. At Ohineakai and Waipiro the whare kai entrances are located on the left side of the whare nui, and on the right side at Te Keikie. The tikanga a marae associated with this placement of the paepae relates to a lateral crossing of the marae in the whakaruru ceremony and direct progression to the whare kai to complete the whakanoa process. Hence, the ritual process involves a transition from one side of the marae to the other and into the whare kai in a forward facing motion.⁶³⁶

Tikanga a mahi: protocol of production

During the embellishment of Hine Matakaikai whare kai in 1989 the pragmatics of space meant that the initial set of carvings for the rear wall of Taharora were produced inside the dining room. Again in 1990 much of the production for the interior of Taharora was also carried out in the dining room although the sculpting of ancestral images was largely carried out both inside and outside the whare nui. In contradiction to the customary practice of excluding women from the whare nui women were intimately involved in the production of work both in the development of the whare kai murals and ancestral images inside the whare nui. Although this liberal approach to whare nui embellishment was condoned in principle by kaumatua and tangata whenua some maintained a self-imposed tikanga of psychic distance while others maintained a tikanga of physical distance from the interior of the house until the work was fully installed and blessed with Christian ritual.⁶³⁷

⁶³⁴ The current Iritekura replaced the whare nui of the same name carved and painted under the direction of Riwai Pakerau and opened in 1910. It was subsequently dismantled to accommodate the current Iritekura.

⁶³⁵ At Waiomatatini the whare kai Lady Arihia flanks the marae on the right of the whare nui Porourangi. The kauta in this instance located beyond the whare kai in a rear position relative to the whare kai. In this case the urupa is located on a hill behind the whare nui.

⁶³⁶ The same principle applies at Waiomatatini and Mangahanea where the whare kai are located on the right side of the marae and right side of the house respectively. The marae at Auckland University is organised in a similar manner to the whare nui and whare kai at Waiomatatini. In the tikanga a marae the visitors cross the marae or ritual space after the conclusion of speeches to greet the hosts by pressing noses.

⁶³⁷ Although the female students involved in the project worked in the whare nui without question many of the ringawera would only venture as far as the door to observe the developments inside the house. Some of the female tangata whenua would periodically visit the marae but would maintain their distance from the whare nui. The involvement of women in the carving of ancestral images for the house is not unique as there are 20th century precedents with Heni Topia who carved the house at Dargerville in North Auckland.

The Taharora Project was not without kaumatua intercession. In 1989 during the creation of ancestral images for the back wall of the whare nui I met with Waho Tibble, the mangai kaumatua, to discuss the prominence given to the sexual symbolism in the house. After contextualising the images relative to other marae projects in which sexual explicitness was a feature such as the Kimiora mural cited above and the whare nui Tanenuiarangi at the University of Auckland the project proceeded unabated.⁶³⁸ As mentioned in Chapter Eight a hui was subsequently called by kaumatua culminating in the re-carving of the back wall and subsequent ancestors inside Taharora in more decorous manner.

The critical lesson in terms of tikanga associated with the Taharora Project was the absence of tikanga in a ritualistic sense during the 1989 and 1990 production period. Consequently, a number of interventions occurred that delayed the completion of the outside of the whare nui until 2001. In the first instance work on the dining room component was halted after a month for two days after a student sustained an injury due to machine malfunction. After a ritual blessing of the workspace the work resumed with due caution and attention to safe working practices. Subsequently there were two deaths of Ngai Taharora whanau in the period between the completion of the first part of the Taharora Project and the beginning of the second.⁶³⁹ After the completion of the second part of the project there were further deaths that generated a self-conscious re-evaluation of the Taharora Project postponing the completion of the front exterior of the whare nui.

In time however, and with mounting pressure from Ngai Taharora whanau, the Taharora Project was resumed in 1999 with the commissioning of the exterior carvings and the coordination of the painted component at the School of Maori Studies at Massey University and in situ at Mihikoinga marae in 2000. During this part of the project the carving team and carvings were ritually welcomed onto the marae and the carvings were blessed. As soon as the exterior of Taharora was completed kaumatua Tom Te Maro pre-empted any official ceremony to unveil the new 'blue' Taharora by co-opting me to participate in a ritual cleansing of the site.⁶⁴⁰

Although the performance of this ritual was certainly not the final act in the Taharora Project it was certainly an ironic one in that the initial intervention of kaumatua was precipitated by a failure to give due credence to the impact of Christianity on the carving tradition of Ngati Porou. The situation was inverted with my cooption in the lifting of the tapu from the marae precinct.

⁶³⁸ Waho Tibble was contacted by one of the Whanau a Rakairoa ringawera to intervene in the process because it was felt that the carvings could be offensive for Ngati Porou sensibilities. Although the original designs clearly incorporated the sexual symbolism and were sanctioned by Ngai Taharora kaumatua the physical reality and the scale of the ancestral images prompted the intervention.

⁶³⁹ My grandmother Merikuia McIlroy and brother William Jahnke passed away during this period. Their passing was commemorated in two of the bronze plaques in the whare nui. Not long after the completion of the second part of the Taharora Project Madeline Maraki, Hiwi Maraki and James McIlroy passed away.

⁶⁴⁰ The ritual involved a Christian blessing in Maori that involved sprinkling water over the interior and exterior walls of the building and the marae precinct while invoking the intercession of the 'Te Matua, Te Tama me Te Wairua Tapu' (the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost).

He whakawhiti korero: a summation

While the chapter focused on the ahua, waihanga and tikanga indices in the consideration of the art in Hine Matakaikai it was inevitable that most of the *tataitanga korero* found its way into the matauranga index as either culturally relevant for Maori or trans-culturally relevant. This is a natural consequence of art created in the new millennium where artists have at their disposal new technology and new medium with which they are able to translate *tataitanga korero*. This convergence of *tataitanga korero* specific to Mihikoinga in the matauranga index is outlined in *Table 16: Analytical Framework for Cultural Relativity and Relevance*.

Table16: Analytical Framework for Cultural Relativity and Relevance [iv]

Cultural indices	Maori cultural relativity and relevance	Trans-cultural relativity and relevance
Matauranga (<i>knowledge</i>)	Ngati Rakai acknowledged as hunters in oral tradition of Ngati Porou History of Ngati Rakai and Ngatiahi explained Connection of ceiling and roof implicated in cosmo-genealogical significance Mana atua and mana tangata perpetuated through figural representation and architectural configuration Kuwaha pataka contextualised against cultural templates of access relative to elevation, distance and transition Sexual explicitness in customary society and carving explained Cosmo-genealogical notions of inter-realm negotiation aligned with north wall Kowhaiwhai as integrative compositional device in murals Taratara a kae contextualised as significant endorsement of utu Hand motif contextualised as cosmo-genealogical reference Tikanga a tipuna explained in relation to sites and the interrelationships between buildings and urupa, tapu and noa, left and right, paepae manuhiri and whare kai Mauri contextualised within <i>tataitanga korero</i>	Ohineakai Block awarded in 1893 Whare kai built in 1950s Pataka as allegory for mahi kai Apirana Ngata’s development of the whare kai as Maori space New industrial medium and techniques introduced into whare nui Industrial board as a potential transgression of cultural sensibility Maihi and amo as conceptual point of focus Bone as culturally relevant Text contextualised as historical practice Birds reference forest produce associated with Ngati Rakai Triangles as stylised mountain and hills reference landmarks associated with Ngati Rakai Lattice structure contextualised against prior practice Figurative form explained

The art in Hine Matakaikai is a trans-cultural negotiation that synthesises conventional and unconventional practice and technology to generate *tataitanga korero* that is consciously Maori. The content privileges a Maori worldview making the art culturally relevant for Ngai Taharora. In contrast to the whare nui, the whare kai sits less awkwardly within the trans-cultural architectural development of whare kai under Apirana Ngata. Equally there is a sense of visual empathy with the ‘decorative scheme’ inside the trans-cultural architecture of the whare kai. However, visual correspondence is certainly absent although it is apparent in the trans-cultural relationship with post-1970s marae art.

The art in Hine Matakaikai is informed by visual empathy with historical models of the 19th century despite the use of kowhaiwhai and whariki in the design of ancestral forms in an allegorical pataka kai commemorating the role of Ngati Rakai and Ngatiahi as tangata mahi kai. The use of bone and ceramics for the first time as trans-cultural mediums in Hine Matakaikai makes visual correspondence and visual empathy with prior models irrelevant.⁶⁴¹

The use of medium density board and an additive sculptural process reiterated the trans-customary practice of the post-1960s period. Like Taharora there was an attempt to retain a sense of cultural integrity in the use of totara for the ancestors through the cosmo-genealogical connection to Tanemahuta as the forest deity and a tradition of ancestor commemoration in wood.⁶⁴² Although the art in the whare kai straddled visual correspondence, visual empathy and absence of both relative to prior models it is proposed that the art is culturally relevant for Maori because the *tataitanga korero* of Hine Matakaikai is en-framed in matauranga where whakapapa exists as an elementary consideration.

The final act in the Taharora Project was an acceptance by Ngai Taharora of the 'blue house' as a cultural expression of Ngai Taharora in the new millennium. However, even then, it was an accession won in a wananga process of open debate. My decision to use trans-cultural form and processes, and its endorsement by kaumatua after a series of cultural interjections, has invited mixed responses because of the unconventional nature of the art. The most probing question posed at the Ngai Taharora wananga in 2002 was 'Where is the mauri in this house?'⁶⁴³

Mauri cannot be perceived through the senses although some believe it can be felt. If there is a mauri in the 'house that Riwai built' it is not in the nature of life essence promulgated in 19th century literature. It is manifest through the association of the 'house that Riwai built' with the history, the *tataitanga korero* in which the house is located. It is a *tataitanga korero* informed by cosmo-genealogical oration and narrative, shaped by a Tairawhiti history and an art tradition that conjoins of bloodlines of tangata whenua and tauiwi.

I would like to believe that the rhythm of the two-ridged haehae that Riwai Pakerau maintained as *tataitanga ahua*, not only creates a signature of his practice, but also promotes a convergence of traditions, native and exotic, where the union of the two is manifested in trans-cultural change within the marae context through *tataitanga korero*. If not, this is certainly the intention in the iteration of the two-ridged haehae on the façade of the 'blue house' at Ohineakai. This is the 'house that Riwai built'.

⁶⁴¹ However, it is possible to argue for a conceptual relationship in the cultural tradition of bone carving in spite of the use of beef bone.

⁶⁴² Cliff Whiting also uses this strategy in Te Wehenga o Rangi raua ko Papa in the National Library in Wellington.

⁶⁴³ The question was posed by one of the faction opposed to the blue colour for the house.

Chapter Ten

Conclusion: Tuia nga here korero

Linking narratives

This thesis investigated form, content and genealogy through a consideration of tribal narratives, histories, carving and contemporary art by exploring the central question: How do form, content and genealogy contribute to art that resonates with Maori?

Timata korero

The thesis began by substituting a sub-tribal pepeha for a tribal one. This was important because the thesis is also about a sub-tribal house built by Riwai Pakerau at Ohineakai within the tribal landscape of Ngati Porou that constitutes part of the wider allegorical house of knowledge that informs the thesis. The pepeha was considered in relation to two Robyn Kahukiwa paintings as a conceptual negotiation of the paepae. It was proposed that the karanga was intrinsic to any cultural negotiation of Maori space. This acknowledgement of the karanga was crucial because the thesis is anchored within a paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance, a *tataitanga ahua toi*. The karanga is about the relationship of tangata whenua and manuhiri relative to mana wahine, tapu and noa, hunga mate and hunga ora. The intersection of these cultural loci is critical for a conjunction of past and present in a holistic continuum of cultural interconnectedness where space and time, people and place are implicated in the interactions between one another.

Historically, European writers emphasised the negative aspect of female gender promoting females as inferior and destructive. Contemporary writers have transposed these interpretations of female destructive power on to architectural structures. It was acceded that the potency of the female sexual organ as an absorber of tapu and as a pathway that ensured mortality was a poignant metaphor for lintels. However, the generative metaphor was equally potent. In the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* the prevalence of paepae metaphors in ritual incantations associated with successful coition and conception of a primary male and female entity was significant for the genealogical continuity of humankind. The pre-eminent position given to a female entity emphasises the critical role of women as the sustainers of the 'uha', the fructifying power of conception and ira tangata, the essence of human existence, which emanated from Papatuanuku. 19th century Maori literature demonstrated that the human element, ira tangata was conjoined with the spiritual element of Tane, the ira atua, to sustain human existence. In death, ira tangata was lost and ira atua, in the form of wairua, returned to the spiritual domain of Te Po. Humankind ceases to exist without the female generative essence. This generative function of women is particularly important for the conceptual location of the karanga at the beginning of this thesis.

Cultural conceptualisations are associated with significant considerations of transition,

from inside to outside, one side to another, and from an upper to a lower realm. They are paramount determinants that permeate the cosmo-genealogical chapters of the thesis. In order to conceptually enter the 'house that Riwai built' and the allegorical house of knowledge, Robyn Kahukiwa, whose painted ancestral images are derived from a shared ancestor Te Aomihia, becomes a surrogate ruahine who steps across the threshold of the house in order to make it culturally accessible. Her paintings are important because they demonstrate how form, content and genealogy within a contemporary context but outside the marae, resonate with Maori.

The thesis argued that trans-cultural interlocution in tribal carving and contemporary art can be made culturally relevant for Maori through visual correspondence or visual empathy with prior cultural models. In their absence cultural relevance can be achieved through a grounding of content in kaupapa Maori that embraces take or matauranga.

Robyn Kahukiwa's *Ko Hikurangi* is about Maori identity and whakapapa in which land, family and ancestors become critical determinants for Maori identity. *Mo Irihapeti Tenei Karanga* is about tribal rights guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi, that is, the right to retain and to practice customary rituals like the karanga. This is the content in Robyn Kahukiwa's paintings. The polemic nature of the content is grounded in take Maori, a Maori cause, imploring Maori to stand up and to be counted as Maori. The content is invested with matauranga that clearly demonstrates Robyn Kahukiwa's journey of identity reclamation and the recovery of her genealogical connections with Te Whanau a Ruataupare at Tokomaru Bay.

The form in these paintings is derived from Robyn Kahukiwa's discovery of the carved relief image of Te Aomihia in Te Hono ki Rarotonga at Tokomaru Bay. However, the ancestral images also sit in a continuum of painted ancestors based on relief carving in the Bay of Plenty and Poverty Bay region. This was a legacy of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki's liberal accommodation of trans-cultural practice in the late 19th century.⁶⁴⁴ The difference, in this instance, is one of context and a trans-cultural expressionistic painting style derived from a familiarity with western art. In spite of this, and the art gallery context, the figurative forms maintain visual correspondence with a tribal tradition of ancestral carvings and paintings. The use of text in both paintings constitutes a linguistic code that stands in a continuum of textual development stretching back to 1843 in the whare nui Te Hau ki Turanga. Consequently, Robyn Kahukiwa's paintings sit comfortably in a continuum of form that commemorated ancestors and celebrated the achievements of Maori in defining the political landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand. In this respect, her use of ancestral form resonates with Maori and the content is grounded in both take and matauranga.

⁶⁴⁴ Rangihiroa Panoho describes the trans-cultural process as 'Te Kooti's assimilative approach to Western culture and its artforms'. Panoho, R. (1988). 'The Development of Maori Art in a Contemporary Form and Context: Paratene Matchitt'. Unpublished master's thesis. University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. p. 79.

The recovery of her whakapapa was a result of her return home from Australia. As Jonathan Mane–Wheoki comments, ‘Her artistic development documents a gradual shaping of ...identity: first, as female (as a wife and mother); second, as a generic Maori; and third, as specifically Ngati Porou’.⁶⁴⁵ It is not surprising that Robyn Kahukiwa’s images have graced the walls of institutional buildings in posters promoting Maori wellbeing because her images resonated with Maori and were subsequently embraced as iconic representations of Maori consciousness.

He tataitanga whakairo: style revisited

It was argued that the ‘house that Riwai built’ sits in a genealogical relationship with the Iwirakau style, the carving style adopted by Riwai Pakerau. In turn, the Iwirakau style, like the Rukupō and Tukaki styles each sit in a genealogical relationship with that of Rawheoro. Chapter Six focused on style and the continuity of form within tribal contexts. Visual correspondence with earlier carvings was evident in the tribal carvings created in the 18th and 19th century. The interrelationship between the Rawheoro, Tukaki, Rukupō and Iwirakau styles demonstrates continuity in the form of figurative imagery and surface pattern. These forms would have resonated with the tribal groups for whom they were created because of the period in which they were carved and the carvers selected by tribal communities to carve them.

It was also argued that the manaia as a visual entity expresses the spiritual and tapu states of humans, and the mana of the chiefs and their antecedents, and informs the content of Te Pitau-a-Manaia, a form that is was significant for Rongowhakaata.

The taratara a Kae is important in terms of content because the pattern has cosmogenealogical significance where cultural notions of utu and kaitangata impacted on its appreciation within the context of waka and pataka in the 18th century. The pattern is also important because the taowaru and manaia were the gifts of carving received by Iwirakau from Ngati Porou and Tukaki from Te Whanau a Apanui when they attended the Rawheoro wananga. In this respect, the whakapapa of the carvers is implicated in the process of cultural resonance because they were genealogically connected to Hingangaroa, and were selected by their respective communities as worthy recipients of the art of carving. Hence, form, content and genealogy colluded in the generation of 18th and 19th century carving that would have resonated with the tribal groups for whom the carvings were created.

The *tataitanga whakairo* of Riwai Pakerau, it was argued, constituted the Ngai Taharora style of the early 20th century while my style in the Taharora Project exemplified a contemporary Ngai Taharora style of the new millennium. Although Riwai Pakerau’s carving style was derived from the Iwirakau school his contribution was obscured by his association with Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto who were also recorded as carvers

⁶⁴⁵ Mane-Wheoki, J. ‘He Wahine Toa: Robyn Kahukiwa, Artist’ in Kahukiwa, R. (2005). *The Art of Robyn Kahukiwa*. Auckland: Reed. p. 24.

of Mauitikitiki a Taranga (Maui) and Iritekura respectively. As intimated in Chapter Seven, the thesis sought to separate the *tataitanga whakairo*, the carving style, of Riwai Pakerau from those of his contemporaries, particularly Hoani Ngatai, Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto, all of whom used a two-ridged haehae surface pattern.

However, it was found that Riwai Pakerau developed an idiosyncratic approach to surface pattern by favouring the two-ridged haehae over a three-ridged approach. The most crucial piece of evidence for the substantiation of Riwai Pakerau's style proved to be the restored base sections of the poupou that Hone Taahu carved for Maui in the 1880s. In 1913 Maui was shifted from Tokomaru Bay to Hikuwai where Riwai Pakerau was responsible for restoring the poupou.⁶⁴⁶ My analysis of the poupou at the Auckland War Memorial Museum showed that the additions to the poupou replaced deteriorated lower sections.⁶⁴⁷ More importantly, the additions demonstrated that the carver responsible for the restoration used a two-ridged haehae surface pattern even though the upper sections were carved with three-ridged haehae. The haehae were carved in the obtuse flattened form characteristic of Riwai Pakerau rather than the central-ridged haehae typical of Hone Taahu's early period.⁶⁴⁸ The carver also used idiosyncratic shoulder and hip bands composed of a single inner body haehae and a double outer haehae framing pakati with a single transverse whakarare on the poupou with raised arms. In addition, Riwai Pakerau resorted to a flattened three-fingered hand even though the upper ancestral figure had five-digits. These combined traits appear on the amo and raparapa of Maui, and the amo and pane of Iritekura. It is on this basis that the *tataitanga whakairo* of Riwai Pakerau was established.

The initial development of patterned shoulder, hip, waist and knee bands can be traced to Hone Taahu in houses like Hauteananui a Tangaroa in the Canterbury Museum, the carvings for the Karaitiana Takamoana house in the Otago Museum in the 1870s and Hinetaora at Mangahanea in 1896. In Hinetaora the band motif is prominent throughout the house appearing in some instances inside the distinctive Iwirakau spiral. Hone Ngatoto also used shoulder, hip and torso bands in the carving attributed to him in Hinetaora, Hinerupe at Te Araroa and the St. Mary's Church at Tikitiki. In Hinerupe and St. Mary's Church there was a more consistent use of the two-ridged haehae typical of the *tataitanga whakairo* of Riwai Pakerau. The thesis argues that Riwai Pakerau was responsible for the carving of Iritekura (amo and pane) and the poupou bases, including the amo and raparapa of Maui. It was also proposed that his style could be identified in Kuri whare nui that originally stood at Mangatuna, Hinetaora (porch papaka and vertical

⁶⁴⁶ Simmons suggests that Riwai Pakerau carved new pieces for the house when it was moved to Hikuwai in 1913. He also adds, '...when the house was rebuilt in 1913 extra pieces were added to the bottoms. These may have been to replace rotten sections or to add extra height'. Simmons, D. (2006). *Meeting-houses of Ngati Porou o Te Tai Rawhiti*. Auckland: Reed. pp. 39-40.

⁶⁴⁷ The restored sections retained some of the original timber as a base for the attachment of the re-carved sections.

⁶⁴⁸ Hone Taahu used the obtuse flattened two-ridged haehae along with three-ridged haehae in Hinetaora (1896).

porch panels), Te Poho o Te Aotawarirangi (pane) and Kapohanga at Hiruharama (raparapa and korupe).

In other words, despite his idiosyncratic approach to surface pattern, the carved form of Riwai Pakerau is anchored within the Iwirakau style that maintained visual correspondence with carving styles of Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto. Because he carved whare nui within the marae context of Ngati Porou his form would have resonated with the tribal groups for whom he worked. This was certainly the case when the carvings based on his style were welcomed onto Mihikoinga marae at Ohineakai in 2002. There was a great deal of excitement from the Ngai Taharora descendants who welcomed the carvings of their ancestor, as if he had carved them. It was certainly a shock for the Ngai Taharora kuia when the carvings of their ancestor were painted blue instead of the conventional red colour found on most Ngati Porou whare nui.

Riwai Pakerau's Ngai Taharora whakapapa would have ensured that his carving resonated with the relevant tribal groups. While the content associated with his carving practice has not survived the ancestral figures that he carved for the respective sub-tribal groups would have been grounded in tribal whakapapa and narrative. In this respect, the form and content of Riwai Pakerau's carving, particularly their visual correspondence with forms in the carving of Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto, would have resonated with the tribal groups at the time. If not he would not have been involved in the number of projects with which he was associated.

It is significant that none of the houses on which he worked that contained figurative painting remain standing. This is hardly surprising because naturalistic painted imagery was more in keeping with the liberal practices of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki and his Ringatu adherents. While Riwai Pakerau's carvings were relatively conservative, the liberties that he took in painting resulted in the dismantling and replacement of Ruakapanga at Tolaga in 1941 and Iritekura I at Waipiro Bay in 1951. Both houses were carved under the direction of Pine Taiapa.⁶⁴⁹

Deidre Brown has suggested that as a result of Apirana Ngata's 'traditional' views 'the houses that had been built for Te Kooti were purposefully neglected, or rebuilt to eliminate Ringatu references, or destroyed'.⁶⁵⁰ In many respects, Ruakapanga and Iritekura with their naturalistic painting schemes, and unconventional colour were more in keeping with the Ringatu art than the 'tradition' favoured by Apirana Ngata. It comes as no surprise that Ruakapanga and Iritekura, with which Riwai Pakerau is intimately associated, should be replaced by fully carved whare nui following the template of the School of Maori Arts and Crafts. In spite of this, the thesis has been able to show that the *taitanga whakairo* of Riwai Pakerau is a legacy of the Iwirakau style championed by Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto.

⁶⁴⁹ Pine Taiapa was also responsible for carving the replacement Ruakapanga. Cresswell, J. *Maori Meeting Houses of the North Island*. Auckland: P. C. S. Publications. p. 85.

⁶⁵⁰ Brown, D. S. (1997). 'Morehu Architecture'. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. p. 174.

The rehabilitation of the reputation of Riwai Pakerau as a Ngati Porou carver in the Iwirakau style was important for this thesis on a number of counts. I am a direct descendant. He, together with his mother Hineitungia, was responsible for the establishment of Ngai Taharora as a hapu entity. He built the un-carved house Taharora that formed the basis of the case studies for this thesis. His reputation has been subsumed under the mantle of other carvers with whom he worked.

Within the broader context of scholarship relevant to tribal carving, the identification of Riwai Pakerau's carving style will aid future research about individual carvers in the Iwirakau style, thus empowering respective whanau and hapu with access and recognition of the work of their ancestors while recovering a lost heritage of Ngati Porou creative genius in the 19th century. In the process of resurrecting the carving style of Riwai Pakerau, the styles of other Ngati Porou carvers were examined. However, their story and a comprehensive analysis of their style remains to be told. Further, the contextual limitation of this study within tribal environments leaves the analysis of form, content and genealogy outside the marae largely unexplored. The contextual limitation also extends to a narrow tribal focus within the Ngati Porou region with a concentration of a limited number of 19th and 20th century carvers from the Waiapu region, the Ngai Taharora style of the 20th and 21st centuries and two case studies limited to one marae.

He tataitanga ahua: form revisited

Form in this thesis assumed a number of variable dimensions that were considered in order to assess their resonance with Maori. Form and shape were examined as tribal concepts to determine whether there was any congruence between 19th century tribal meaning and European notions of form in art. No relationship was discovered except in a tangential relationship between form as corporeality in tribal narratives and as a three dimensional visual outcome in art. In addition, form, as a tribal notion, was often associated with the assumption of corporeality while shape was seen as non-corporeal. It was also discovered that in contemporary usage the word ahua (form) was employed as a synonym for shape and form in contrast to the earlier semantic sense where ahua was applied to corporeal form or the assumption of the qualities of corporeality. The analysis demonstrates that the verbs, ahua, whakaahua and hanga are most often applied to 19th century cosmo-genealogical narratives describing the formation of deities and their human counterparts. In contrast, the word ata (shape) as reflection or shadow was an extension of ahua as corporeality. Best's variable interpretation of form, as both material and immaterial, is due to material form representing an immaterial entity like a spiritual entity. It was discovered that form was more often implicated in the creative process than shape.

In the annexation of tiki and ahua, Tikiahua maintains the generative function associated with ahua (form) resulting in the manifestation of a material entity.

Consequently, *tataitanga ahua* was introduced as a term capable of encapsulating form as a western art construct and generative dimension evident in Maori literature.

It was proposed that *ahua* as a notion for form should be framed within the conceptual notion of *tataitanga kaupapa toi* as an art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance. The paradigm then privileges the interdependence of material and spiritual dimensions in a 19th century worldview. Form in this sense exists at a conceptual level as opposed to form as a tangible or visual outcome of artistic intervention. It was found that the interdependence of the material and spiritual dimensions coexisted in a complementary relationship that were critical for a negotiation of a multidimensional universe that pre-empted the individual as an independent entity existing in isolation from kin, the forces of nature and a genealogy empowered by the deification of the universe. More importantly, *ahua* accounted for the generative nature of form as creative substance. It was therefore proposed that any consideration of form must account for its intrinsic nature within the context of *tataitanga kaupapa toi* where it is inextricably implicated in cosmo-genealogical relativity.

A *tataitanga whakairo* framework was proffered as appropriate for a consideration of style because it incorporated stylistic analysis as formative sequence, semiology and intrinsic perception informed by experience as an artist. Whakapapa formed a principle consideration for *tataitanga whakairo* because carvers are linked together through whakapapa, not only across space and time, but also to ancestors commemorated in *whare nui* and the communities who commissioned them. It was acknowledged that this study was not concerned with assessing the quality of a particular style, or expression in relation to tribal carving or the Taharora Project. Instead, the thesis concentrated on form to access the configuration of features or traits that separated the individual carver from a group or a group of carvers from another. In the context of this study, form, in a stylistic sense, relates specifically to carved form and pattern, their composition and execution, not as expression, but as technique.

Trans-cultural interlocution in art may be made culturally relevant for Maori through visual correspondence or visual empathy with prior cultural models. The thesis focuses on the 19th century as a temporal locus for a consideration of trans-cultural interlocution because non-customary innovation, following contact with Europe, flourished only to be constrained by efforts to ground tribal visual culture in a 'classical' time warp in the early 20th century. However, it was argued that this temporal locus entrapped tribal carving and contemporary art within a cultural framework that excluded change and adaptation as a natural process in a dynamic art continuum. If a liberal framework was introduced much of the trans-cultural interlocution would become customary practice.

In the absence of visual correspondence and visual empathy, cultural relevance can be achieved through grounding the content in *tataitanga kaupapa toi* embracing either *take* or *matauranga*. The genealogy of the artist is also a determinant in making the art resonate with Maori.

He ara whakapapa: genealogy as a pathway

The Taharora Project began after Ngai Taharora kaumatua sanctioned the initial design concept for the whare nui and whare kai. However, the Project development was subject to intervention that resulted in changes to the original design for the whare nui culminating in the dismantling of the rear wall and the re-carving of the ancestral images in their place. This change was a consequence of a kaumatua preference for a tradition of modest ancestors heralded by the introduction of Christianity. The demand for change resulted in a strategic empowerment of ancestors where the manaia was employed as a signifier of whakamana tangata. This episode was an example of the power of a hapu to instigate change and the need for artists to conform to communal perceptions of tradition within the marae context. Critically, the consideration of whakapapa extended to kaumatua and their power to control the Taharora Project. While I, as a descendant of Riwai Pakerau, assumed the responsibility for the design of the Taharora Project kaumatua input at the level of research, content development and cultural management was assumed and exercised.

Whakapapa is paramount for this thesis at a number of levels. In relation to the original question, whakapapa relates specifically to the genealogy of the tribal carver/artist. In the Taharora Project, whakapapa extended beyond the artist to encompass the whakapapa of the sub-tribal group affiliated with the marae and the tribal content commemorated in the project. Whakapapa in the form of cosmo-genealogical oration, narrative and ritual incantations that provided the theoretical foundation for the thesis informed, not only the interpretation of tribal carving within a historical context, but also comprised the cosmo-genealogical negotiation of the Taharora Project. In other words, the Taharora Project uses cosmo-genealogy to determine the composition of ancestral forms and their placement in the house.

There was an assumption that for the tribal carvers whakapapa was important because of the period and the tribal contexts in which the work was created. Similarly, the contemporary artists considered in this thesis have a Maori whakapapa that has been acknowledged and emphasised through their work in marae contexts and publications featuring their work. This was important for art to resonate with Maori because it was proposed that art created by Maori was more likely to resonate with Maori than the art of non-Maori. It was conceded that an artist without a Maori whakapapa can create form that maintains visual correspondence or empathy with prior models. Consequently, whakapapa and content, constituted critical determinants for art to resonate with Maori.

Although Maori and Pakeha contributed to the art in the Taharora Project the translation of content into visual form was my responsibility. As a result, the art produced conformed in style and convention to my conceptual design. My role as artist, designer, teacher, project manager and quality controller ensured that the quality of the art produced and its overall aesthetic integrity was completed to an acceptable standard. In this respect,

the whakapapa of the artist is implicated in the assurance of standards. This is critically important within the broader context of Ngati Porou because the mana of Ngai Taharora is at stake.

In spite of Pakeha contribution, and trans-cultural interlocutions in form and content, the kaupapa of the whare nui and whare kai colluded in the realisation of whakapapa and tribal histories pertinent to Ngai Taharora and Ngati Porou. In terms of whakapapa, Ngai Taharora and the descendants of Taharora were not only the subjects of the research, but also the researchers accountable through whakapapa for the narrative content in the Taharora project. Content generated in consultation with kaumatua and Waho Tibble who assumed the major responsibility for the research into tribal histories. This content informed the murals in Hine Matakaikai whare kai and the Taharora whare nui. Consequently, whakapapa extended to research and the matauranga that informs the Taharora Project.

Whakapapa also constituted a core principle for an Analytical Framework for Maori Resonance comprised of whakapapa (genealogy), matauranga (knowledge), ahua (appearance), waihanga (process), wahi (site) and tikanga (protocol). It was argued that this was necessary because the Framework annexed whakapapa with the right to identify as Maori, and the right to define personal or communal art practice as Maori. However, the consideration of whakapapa inevitably led to an intersection of whakapapa, matauranga and wahi because 19th century notions of primal ancestors associated with land was implicated as a genealogical entity inseparable from humankind. Mana whenua was also inextricably grounded in genealogy. In consideration of the whakapapa index, my whakapapa was a critical factor, not only in terms of the central question underpinning this thesis, but whakapapa also located me relative to place (Mihikoinga marae, Ohineakai Block), people (Ngai Taharora, Ngati Porou) and the environment of Te Tairāwhiti.

He tataitanga korero: meaning revisited

It was noted that, while form was an explicit outcome of content, content always remained implicit, even when visual correspondence allowed for the art produced to be perceptually aligned with prior models. This aspect of content, not only presented a problem for interpretation when visual correspondence with prior models was applied to form, but the problem was exponentially increased as the art shifted from visual correspondence to visual empathy, and ultimately to an absence of both. What this meant for content to resonate with Maori was the need to relate the content to the form in an explicit manner. This can only be achieved through oral transmission within a wananga context or through the publication of the content. In spite of this, it was argued in this thesis that a familiarity with a relevant worldview went some way to allowing for an interpretation of form, making the implicit content explicit.

As Rangihiroa Panoho noted in his consideration of Para Matchitt's community projects,

'It's the anecdotal content and ideas that lie behind the dynamic forms in community projects like Kimiora and Whangaparaoa and the Taharora work which bring the art alive and give it a powerful dimension and local tribal relevance'.⁶⁵¹

The underlying purpose for investigating content relative to 19th century Maori literature was, not only to demonstrate the continued relevance of a 19th century worldview within the contemporary marae context, but also to interpret tribal carving in a historical context. Several examples of 19th century carving were selected for interpretation because they had compositional relevance for the Taharora Project. It was argued that the carvings were informed by a tribal worldview that prioritised interdependency between the material and spiritual world. This interdependency between the material and spiritual world was translated through an interaction of carved relief planes in the carvings. The notion of interdependency was achieved through an interaction of figurative forms on the base relief plane and the foreground planes or figurative forms on the upper and foremost relief plane.

In the analysis of interconnecting manaia on a veranda poupou from Te Tairuku Potaka pataka it was argued that the manaia is an interactive principle and not mere embellishment. The manaia, as an interactive principle, operates to connect background and foreground where manaia and tiki are in communion both aesthetically and connotatively. This communion is elevated to the level of inter-realm interface in the manaia transformations where parts of the anatomy are conjoined articulating notions of procreation and prioritising significant Maori cultural notions such as ahua, hau and tapu. The interaction is also about communion between humankind and deity, and the living and the dead. Through a transformative process the lizard charges the tiki with generative and degenerative potential. The central manaia transformations, interaction between the mouth of the manaia and tiki, and inter-planar interaction are examples of inter-realm interface pervasive in 19th century tribal narratives. The interface is achieved through a conscious integration of figure and ground. This is realised by carrying the pattern from the background plane over the figure and back into the background generating an impression of transparency as torsos and limbs emerge from, and are submerged beneath the confluence of pattern initiated in the background. The integration of figure and ground in these papahou relate to a 19th century worldview that prioritised an intimate and inseparable interconnection between the spiritual and material realm. It is proposed that the Marsden papahou composition, like the Pitt Rivers papahou, references the dual function of Hinetitama as the Dawn maiden born conceived in Te Ao Marama and forced to reside in Te Po as Hinenuitepo. In this respect, 19th century tribal notions about the cosmo-genealogical constitution of a tribal worldview permeate tribal carving of 18th century. Content and form collude in the generation of tribal carving that resonate with Maori. Ultimately, these tribal carvings are configured according to the notion of

⁶⁵¹ Panoho, R. (1988). 'The Development of Maori Art in a Contemporary Form and Context: Paratene Matchitt'. Unpublished master's thesis. University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. p. 88.

positionality. Figurative form is contextualised according to principles of scale (primary and subsidiary figurative form) and lateral placement (left and right) of tiki relative to tiki, tiki relative to manaia, and manaia relative manaia. In the process, cosmo-genealogical imperatives pervasive in a 19th century tribal worldview are translated into tribal carving.

A return to the question that underpins the thesis is in order. How do form, content and genealogy contribute to art that resonates with Maori? In view of the 19th century tribal context in which the carvings were created it is assumed that the carvers were Maori. The form of the carvings conformed to 19th century models and the carvings promoted content that was distinctly tribal and relevant for the period in which they were produced. This is important for the thesis as a whole because the intersecting elements of form, content and genealogy are similarly resolved in the Taharora Project. The critical difference is that trans-cultural interlocution is more prominent in the Taharora Project. The exception is a 19th century northern waka koiwi where a concession to mimetic representation of birth is an example of trans-cultural representation. Apart from this example, the total corpus of carvings analysed maintained a customary relationship with prior customary models. In this respect, content, form and genealogy contribute to tribal carvings that resonate with the tribal groups for whom the carvings were created.

Korero whakamutunga: conclusion

While the thesis explores tribal carving within a range of temporal contexts it is not about art history, or history in a Western sense. Nor is it about anthropology or archaeology; it is about the whakapapa of tribal carving through time and the matauranga that imbues these carvings with significance and relevance for Maori today. Therefore, the thesis introduces a *Tataitanga* framework to negotiate form, content and genealogy.

The *Tataitanga* framework is aimed at addressing perceived limitations in frameworks used by previous scholars. In spite of this, it is capable of embracing methodologies as diverse as semiotics and Matauranga Maori in a triangulation of *tataitanga ahua* (form), *tataitanga korero* (content) and *whakapapa* (genealogy). This triangulation resulted in the development of a *Tataitanga Whakawhiti* trans-cultural framework under whakapapa capable of accommodating the Kaupapa Maori principles of whakapapa, te reo Maori, and tikanga. In Chapters Eight and Nine the six indices of the trans-cultural framework: whakapapa, matauranga, ahua, waihanga, wahi and tikanga were used to contextualise the art in the Taharora project in terms of relativity and relevance for Maori. In this respect, the thesis is about the development and application of a liberal indigenous framework capable of en-framing tribal visual culture and contemporary indigenous art. It was conceded that, while the framework is capable of accommodating customary and non-customary art in a dynamic and inclusive continuum, conservative application of the framework will be exclusive. Such exclusion results when the temporal frame of reference is set too far back in time.

With respect to the art in the Taharora Project form in the artworks straddles visual correspondence, visual empathy and an absence of both relative to customary form of the

19th century. The degree of visual collusion with prior models depends on the temporal locus for customary form. If the temporal locus is positioned in the mid-19th century then the art in the Taharora project is largely trans-cultural apart from the house facade. However, if the temporal locus is shifted to accommodate post-1970s marae art, the art in the Taharora Project maintains visual correspondence with the art of the period allowing the form to be considered customary. The incorporation of bronze medallions and ceramic inlays not used previously in the marae context are the exception. If the locus is shifted to the 21st century all the art in Taharora would be customary.

For art to resonate with Maori any trans-cultural modification of form must have as its goal a *tataitanga kaupapa toi*, an art paradigm of cultural relativity and relevance. In its most liberal guise, art need not retain visual correspondence or visual empathy with historical models to resonate with Maori. In other words, while it is acceptable for the form to be devoid of visual correspondence or visual empathy with historical models the content must be informed by *take* or *kaupapa*. Without cultural relativity and relevance at the level of content the art is in danger of losing its resonance with Maori although the art might remain relevant as art or even Maori art for the artist who created it.

Within the context of the Taharora Project the art maintains a degree of visual correspondence with prior models of the 19th century in the *kowhaiwhai*, *whariki* and the *façade* of the house. In the composite carved forms visual empathy is less evident, however, visual correspondence with post-1970s marae art is apparent. As the artist responsible for the 'house that Riwai built', I, together with *kaumatua* and the descendants of Ngai Taharora, was responsible for ensuring that form and content in the *whare nui* and *whare kai* resonated with Maori. As a descendant of Riwai Pakerau, there was an added sense of resonance for Ngai Taharora, because one of their kin was responsible for the art in the 'house that Riwai built'.

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