Te Hoe Nuku Roa

The Long Stroke of the Paddles that have Traversed the Globe

A Survey on the Development of Māori Painting

From Hoe to Whare and Into the Contemporary World

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of the requirements for the degree of

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Dedication

"He aha te arohanui"?	"What is unconditional love"?
He patai ki au.	Someone asked me.
Ka titiro atu au ki tōku māmā!	I looked to my mother!

–Anonymous, Facebook Post, 2019

Figure 1
Trevor Derek John Gibbs and Ihipera Te Hauauru Porou-Gibbs. *Gibbs Whānau Archive*. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Ihipera Te Hauauru (Porou) Gibbs, I dedicate this body of work to you.

Thank you, Mum, for my whakapapa. Thank you for providing me with life's roadmap to emulate what you have always done: love unconditionally.

Nō reira, aroha nui ki a koe, e tōku māmā. Tipene

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"No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the Continent, a part of the main." – John Donne, Devotions (1624)

Kiri – your enduring patience and support of my total 'randomness' is incredible.

Maia and Pera – you inspire me every day, and no father could be prouder. Through you both, I have lived my dreams and watched yours' become realities.

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Abstract

This dissertation, "Te Hoe Nuku Roa: The Long Journey of the Hoe," investigates the whakapapa, visual language, and cultural significance of hoe waka (Māori paddles) traded in 1769, with a primary focus on those with stylistic links to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. Applying a *Whakapapa-a-hoe* methodology, developed to activate genealogical links to tīpuna responsible for these taonga, the research complements Kaupapa Māori principles, ensuring Māori conceptual, design, methodological, and interpretive control. Central to this approach is the honouring of Māori values, emphasising whakapapa, Kaupapa Māori principles, and the integration of tikanga-a-iwi.

Through extensive museum visits, sensory engagement, creative practice, and design analysis, 23 hoe waka were documented, with 14 traced back to the 1769 exchange off Whareongaonga, south of Te Kuri-Pāoa peninsula. Key findings include the identification of distinctive Tūranganui-a-Kiwa design features, such as the taratara-a-kae surface pattern, and insights into the kōwhaiwhai systems of symmetry. The research also revealed Parkinson's edits of kōwhaiwhai paintings and the role of Ngāti Rangiwaho as key artists responsible for most of the the hoe waka exchanged on the *Endeavour* with at least three associated with Rongowhakaata.

Contributions to the field include establishing the Whakapapa-a-hoe methodology, expanding knowledge of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa kōwhaiwhai, facilitating the return of taonga, and challenging colonial narratives. The curatorial approach emphasised manaakitanga and whakawhanaungatanga, integrating tikanga-a-iwi into exhibition practices. This study highlights exhibitions such as Toi Tāmanuhiri and Tū Te Whaihanga as platforms for reclaiming mana and promoting Māori voices in museums and academic discourse.

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Glossary of Māori words

Ate - seat of emotions

Hapū - subtribe

Hoe - paddle

Hoe waka - canoe paddle

Hoe-a-Tīpene - Stephen's paddle

Hui - gathering, congregating, meeting, assembly, conference

Hui-a-iwi - tribal gatherings

Hui-a-pakeke - elders' meetings

Ihi - psychic force

Kaitiaki - guardian

Kaitiakitanga - guardianship, stewardship, trusteeship

Kākahu - fashion

Kakau - handle

Kanohi - face

Kanohi ki te kanohi - face to face

Kape - crescent-shaped pattern

Karakia - recitation, prayers

Kaumatua - elders

Kaupapa - objective, purpose, plan, theme, initiative

Kaupapa Māori - Māori theme

Kiriata - film

Koha - gift, donation

Koru - pītau

Kōwhaiwhai - painted or carved Māori patterns

Mana - prestige

Mana reo - acknowledging and empowering Te Reo

Mangopare - hammerhead shark kōwhaiwhai pattern

Mātauranga-a-iwi - tribal knowledge

Mātauranga-a-kaumātua - elders' knowledge

Mihimihi - greeting

Moana - ocean

Ngā Pakanga i Tūranga - the Gisborne conflict

Ngā Pakanga mai i Ngā Tau 1945 - the wars from 1945

Ngā Pakanga whenua i Aotearoa - the New Zealand land wars

Ngā Toi Māori - the Māori arts, Māori creativity

Ngāi Tāmanuhiri - tribal group affiliated with ancestor Tāmanuhiri

Ngū - bulbous pattern

Pakanga - battle, war

Pakeke - elders

Pāpaka - skirting board

Patapata - valley

Pēpeha - locating oneself to ancestors, waterways and land

Pītau - scroll pattern

Pītau a tiki - tiki composed of pītau, scroll-patterned tiki

Pītau-a-manaia - scroll-patterned manaia

Rangatira - chiefs, leaders, acknowledged expert

Rapa - paddle blade

Rārangi manawa - heartbeat line

Rauru - spiral pattern

Reke - paddle butt

Rohe - district

Tā - Sir

Tā koha - activate reciprocity/ gifting

Tā moko - tattoo

Tangata - people

Tangata whenua - local people

Taonga - treasured items

Taonga-a-iwi - tribal treasures

Taratara-a-kae - notch of Kae

Taratū - tip of the paddle blade

Tauira patapata - patterned heartbeat

Tauiwi - foreigner, European, non-Māori

Te Pakanga Tuatahi o te Ao - World War I

Te Pakanga Tuarua o te Ao - World War II

Te Reo Māori - the Māori language

Te Tiriti o Waitangi - the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand

Te whānau a kiriata - filmmakers

Te whānau a whaturaranga - weavers

Tikanga - protocol, ritual, appropriate behaviour

Tikanga-a-iwi - tribal protocols

Tino Rangatiratanga - sovereignty, self-determination, autonomy

Tīpuna - ancestor

Toi - ancestor, contemporary term for art

Tū - stand

Tūranganui-a-Kiwa - the stamping-ground of Kiwa

Upoko - head

Uri - descendants

Wā kōrerō - free speech, time to speak, place to speak

Wahi - places, locations.

Wahi tīpuna - ancestral spaces

Waiata - song

Waka - canoe, canoe-shaped vessel or container

Waka taua - war canoe

Waka tiwai - utilitarian canoe

Wana - energy

Wānanga - deliberation

Wānanga kōrero - knowledge forums

Wehi - awe

Whaihanga - creativity

Whaikōrero - speaking, formal speech, oratory

Whakapapa-a-Hoe - genealogy of paddles

Whakawhanaungatanga - unity, solidarity, acting like a family, the process of establishing and maintaining relationships; relating well to others

Whakawhiti - transition, transformation

Whakawhiti kōrero - inter-communication

Whānau - extended family, which may also include non-kinship friends

Whānau-a-kiriata - film-maker collective

Whānau-a-whaturaranga - a collective of weavers

Whānau-a-toi - family of artists

Whare wānanga - house of learning

Wharekai - dining hall

Whaturaranga - weaving

Whenua - land

Whiti upoko - paddle loom or neck

Preface

Mihi

Tera ia e ma mai ra, ko Te Kurī-a-Pāoa e tieke nei i ngā takutai o Te Muriwai.
Ko Takitimu, ko Horouta ngā waka.
Kei ngā repo o Te Wherowhero, tā mātau waka, a Horouta e takoto ana. Ka huri whakatewhenua, ko Matiti te taumata tirotiro o Tāmanuhiri.
Ko Maraetaha te awa.
Ka titiro whakararo ko Whakorekore-Te-Kai
E, ko Hinenui, nāna te kōrero,
"Tāku he ki te huatea nō muri te huauri Nō muri hoki taku mana e!"
Ko Te Muriwai te marae
Ko Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri te whare tīpuna
Ko Te Maungarongo te whare kai
Ko Te Horo, Te Maumaharatanga o Ngā Hoia i te pakanga tuatahi Ko Ngāi Tāmanuhiri te iwi
Ko Rangiwaho
Ko Rangitauwhiwhia Ko Kahutia
Ko Tawehi
Ko Rangiwaho Matua hoki ngā hapū Ko Ngāi Tāmanuhiri te iwi
Ko au tēnei Tihei Mauriora!

This waiata is a tribal mihi composed by Wee Pohatu (Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Rongowhakaata) that illuminates the tīpuna - Tāmanuhiri - and the whakapapa, boundaries and landscape of Muriwai, explaining connections to the whenua.

Introduction

The title "Te Hoe Nuku Roa" translates as "the long strokes of the paddles" and serves as an appropriate metaphor for the journey undertaken in this research. It speaks not only of the physical distance traversed by hoe waka (canoe paddles) but also of the deep cultural exploration and reclamation that form the core of this dissertation. These hoe waka, crafted by the hands of Ngāti Rangiwaho and Rongowhakaata within Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, played a vital role in shaping its culture.

Figure 2
Map indicating the location of the hoe in European and New Zealand museums. Provided by J. Hagan, 2001.

In 1769, these hoe waka propelled seven waka towards the HMS *Endeavour*, which was becalmed off the shores of Whareongaonga, a prominent site along the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa coastline. This encounter between two vastly different worlds, resulted in a significant exchange: hoe waka for foreign goods such as Tahitian tapa cloth and beads. However, these exchanges were not as equitable as they appeared, for they marked the beginning of a cultural shift that would profoundly impact iwi (tribal groups) Māori. Subsequently, these cultural treasures, imbued with the artistry and spirit of their creators, were dispersed across museums throughout the United Kingdom and Europe, often relegated to silent storage and forgotten by the wider world, and in some cases, even by their creators. This thesis

embarks on a journey to trace the artistic origins of these hoe waka, prompted by a pivotal revelation in 2010. At a meeting at Te Kura o Muriwai, Dr Amiria Salmond shared her insights, suggesting that these hoe waka may have been traded from Whareongaonga and could have been created by the ancestors of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri. This seminal moment provided the impetus for the research presented here, with the ultimate aim of uncovering the visual language encoded within these hoe waka and restoring the mana (prestige, authority) of these taonga (treasures) created by our tīpuna (ancestors). This research journey, likened to the long strokes of a paddle, is not just a historical inquiry; it is an act of cultural renewal, a step towards reclaiming a heritage that has been dislocated and scattered.

Table 1: Research Chronology

TOI TĀMANUHIRI STRATEGY	Artifacts of Encounter – hui at Te Kura o Muriwai	Hui-a-Pakeke Ngāi Tāmanuhiri (monthly at Muriwai) Toi Tāmanuhiri (iwi strategic development)				
Ngāi Tāmanuhiri taonga database						
RANGAHAU RESEARCH	Engagement with Museums Te Papa Tongarewa	Museum Site Visits Cambridge University Museum, Cambridge Hancock Museum, Newcastle British Museum, London Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford Linden Museum, Stuttgart, Germany	Establishment of Kanohi Ora Māori Governance Working Group as a process for iwi engagement with international Museums Hosted visit from: Dr Julie Adams, British Museum Dr Lissant Bolton, British Maritime Museum Dr Khadija Carroll Oxford university Tū Te Whaihanga taonga curation project			
CONTEMPORARY ARTWORK AND EXHIBITIONS		Toi Tāmanuhiri Exhibitions, Gisborne	Pacific Rim Artists Exhibitions, San Francisco	Ko Rongowhakaata, Tairāwhiti Museum A Hoe! exhibition, Tairāwhiti Museum	Pou Whare, Tairāwhiti Museum Dismantling the doctrine of discovery, Tairāwhiti Museum Ko Rongowhakaata, Te Papa Tongarewa	Native Voices, Tairāwhiti Museum
TAONGA TUKU IHO EXHIBITION CURATION AND DESIGN		Toi Tāmanuhiri Exhibitions: Tairāwhiti Museum, Verve Café, Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri Marae Hoe Waka, Te Papa Tongarewa		Rangiwaho Ihu ki te Moana, British Maritime Museum	Tū Te Whaihanga	

Research Questions and Aims

This dissertation is driven by a central research question, stemming from a desire to understand and celebrate the creative contributions of our tīpuna: who carved and painted the hoe waka exchanged with the crew of the *Endeavour* in 1769? This inquiry seeks to honour the creative legacies of the ancestors whose creativity and ingenuity are embodied in these taonga. From this foundational inquiry, the research expands into a series of interconnected questions that extend the exploration of context, meaning, and contemporary relevance.

One area of focus is the present whereabouts of these hoe waka, dispersed across museums in Europe and beyond. Their physical displacement raises further questions about the possibility of their temporary return to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, where their descendants might once again engage with them. Equally important is the examination of their visual language: the painted patterns and carved forms that carry stories, genealogies, and cultural codes. This analysis extends into an inquiry about continuity and whether the same visual language is found in the architecture of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, and whether it is embedded in contemporary Māori art.

The research also asks about meaning and significance: what role do these hoe waka hold for Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and Rongowhakaata today, and why do they matter for Ngā Iwi o Tairāwhiti more broadly? These questions are part of a broader strategy focused on cultural revival and recognising the value and importance of taonga tuku iho (treasures passed down from ancestors) for the iwi of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and Rongowhakaata. Since these taonga have been absent from iwi awareness for at least 250 years, the research considers the stories of separation and the possible effects of their rediscovery and display in exhibitions.

The research also examines the concept of provenance. Provenance, usually defined as the history of ownership of an item, and is often used in art history to verify authenticity. However, this research must also consider the idea of provenance within a contemporary iwi social and political context. What is the process and protocol for an iwi to claim ownership of an item believed to have been created by tīpuna?

Methodology

The research methodology emerged as a weaving together of Kaupapa Māori principles and broader academic approaches to ensure both cultural integrity and academic rigour. At its centre was the principle of tino rangatiratanga, recognising the sovereignty of Māori and the authority of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri to determine how their cultural heritage should be represented. This required placing community voices and perspectives at the centre of the inquiry. Equally vital was whakawhanaungatanga, the practice of relationship-building, which guided collaborations with museums, researchers, and communities to cultivate trust and mutual understanding. Through wānanga**,** open and respectful dialogue with elders and knowledge holders shaped the trajectory of the research, grounding it in collective deliberation. Complementing these was kaitiakitanga, an ethic of guardianship that ensured taonga were approached with reverence and care, acknowledging the researcher's responsibility to uphold their mana.

Alongside these Kaupapa Māori foundations, the project drew on established research methods. A literature review provided the critical scholarly context, situating the study within existing writing on Māori art, culture, and history. Museum visits in the United Kingdom, Europe, and New Zealand allowed for direct engagement with the hoe waka, where their material qualities, design features, and provenance could be carefully documented. Through formal analysis**,** the artistic styles and kōwhaiwhai patterns were examined, offering insights into their cultural significance and potential connections to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa traditions. Finally, creative practice was integrated as a mode of inquiry in its own right, where painting and design became tools to test, embody, and extend understandings of the visual language of hoe waka.

Together, these elements created a methodology that was at once grounded in Māori values and supplemented by cross-disciplinary methods, allowing the hoe waka to be approached not only as historical artefacts but also as living carriers of meaning and inspiration.

Dissertation Structure

The findings of the research are presented across five chapters that explore different facets of the hoe waka story:

Chapter 1: Whakapapa-a-Hoe Methodology: provides a comprehensive overview of the research approach, highlighting the Kaupapa Māori principles that inform the work and describing the specific methods employed.

Chapter 2: Toi Tāmanuhiri and Tū Te Whaihanga Exhibitions: explores the two main exhibitions that have shaped the research: "Toi Tāmanuhiri" and "Tū Te Whaihanga". It examines the curatorial strategies behind these exhibitions, the role of wānanga in developing their themes, and the significance of the repatriation that facilitated the return of taonga for the "Tū Te Whaihanga" exhibition.

Chapter 3: Locating and Documenting the Hoe Waka: details the journey to find and record hoe waka in museums across the United Kingdom and Europe. It builds on the foundational work of Amiria Salmond, Roger Neich, and Lessley Jessop, presenting a detailed list of hoe waka and their stylistic features.

Chapter 4: Whakawhitinga Hoe ki Ngā Heke: Paddle to Rafters: examines the development and change of kōwhaiwhai from its beginnings on hoe waka to its current display on wharenui structures and in modern Māori art.

Chapter 5: Hoe-a-Tipene: explores the creative art aspect of the thesis, tracing the development of artwork and concluding with a reflection on the collaborative exhibition Rangiwaho: Ihu ki te Moana.

This dissertation, inspired by the metaphor of "Te Hoe Nuku Roa," aims to deepen understanding of the artistic heritage of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, the cultural significance of the hoe waka, and the ongoing efforts of cultural revitalisation within Māori communities. By tracing the journey of these taonga, unveiling their encoded visual language, and celebrating the craftsmanship of their creators, this research seeks to restore mana and inspire future generations to engage with their cultural heritage. Through this work, we learn from the long strokes of our ancestors, navigating towards a future where cultural identity is honoured and indigenous knowledge is respected.

Chapter 1: Methodology and Method

Figure 3
Scent (2017). Acrylic on canvas. Collection of Dame Anne Salmond. Photo: N. Heke.

Introduction

This chapter explores the Whakapapa-a-hoe (genealogy of paddles) methodology, a framework designed to uncover the genealogical connections inherent in the hoe waka traded off Whareongaonga in 1769. This methodology not only examines the physical form, carved surfaces, and painted patterns of these paddles but also connects them to the broader continuum of Māori design traditions seen in whare tīpuna (ancestral houses) and kōwhaiwhai (painted or carved Māori patterns). By activating genealogical links to tīpuna (ancestors), Whakapapa-a-hoe (genealogy of paddles) aligns with Kaupapa Māori research principles, emphasising values such as tino rangatiratanga (self-determination, autonomy, sovereignty), whakawhanaungatanga (the process of establishing and maintaining relationships, relating well to others) and kaitiakitanga (guardianship, stewardship, trusteeship). Through exhibition curation, creative practice, museum visits, and design analysis, this chapter demonstrates the practical application of these principles in revitalising Māori visual language and encouraging community engagement.

Whakapapa-a-hoe Methodology

As Jahnke (2006) argues, navigating Māori art

> is not about art history but about the genealogy of art within a tribal context [Te Hoe Nukuroa is grounded in the whakapapa of iwi, tangata, taonga tuku iho and mahi toi]. This genealogy is based on the principle of whakapapa as a genealogical platform where terms grounded in whakapa promote an art paradigm of Maori cultural relativity and relevance. (p. 8)

Whakapapa-a-hoe (genealogy of paddles) as a methodology activates the genealogical links to tīpuna who were responsible for the hoe waka traded off Whareongaonga in 1769, including the hoe waka themselves, in terms of their form and their carved and painted patterns. The methodology also embodies the continuity of design conventions and patterns translated onto the heke (rafters) of our whare tīpuna (ancestral houses), and their manifestation on Tūranganui-a-Kiwa marae. Additionally, it references the broader genealogical connections seen in kōwhaiwhai as a cultural art form, and the artists, curators and writers responsible for the ongoing preservation and development of kōwhaiwhai as a visual language.

Whakapapa (genealogy) helps us trace our links to ancestors who came before us. It offers a view into the past and allows us to remember and honour the contributions our tīpuna have made to shape us as hapū and iwi. We access this knowledge through whakapapa repositories written by our ancestors and shared in publications by figures such as Tā Apirana Ngata, Pei Te Hurinui, Te Rangi Hiroa, and other prominent Māori scholars. In these cases, whakapapa is about connecting those reunited in Te Pō with those of us still in Te Ao Marama. Our pakeke are also keepers of past knowledge, and their presence at hui-a-iwi (tribal gatherings) provides insights into mātauranga-a-iwi (tribal knowledge) through oral tradition, identifying wahi tīpuna (ancestral spaces) within and beyond our tribal boundaries (Appendix 1).

Within the scope of the Toi Tāmanuhiri and Tū Te Whaihanga exhibitions, the concept of wahi not only encompasses the marae with its tikanga-a-iwi (tribal protocols), but also extends to wahi beyond the marae, such as the Tairāwhiti Museum and a city café that operate outside the boundaries of tikanga-a-iwi. However, in these two exhibitions, tikanga-a-iwi was activated within those spaces - particularly during the transfer of taonga

from the marae to the gallery, at the exhibition opening, and during the transfer of taonga from the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and overseas museums. At each location, tikanga was reactivated during installation and de-installation, as well as at the conclusion of each exhibition.

Whakapapa-a-hoe waka

Hoe waka possess a whakapapa that cloaks the physical object with sculpted form, carved surface pattern, and painted pattern. This thesis focuses on identifying several hoe waka. that were traded from Whareongaonga, south of Te Toka-a-Taiau at the river mouth, where Cook and his crew set foot on the beach at Tūranganuai-a-Kiwa. The hoe waka are located in museums in Aotearoa, the United Kingdom, Europe, and the United States. To uncover the whakapapa of the hoe waka, it was essential to visit the museums and physically engage with the hoe waka to understand their functionality as paddles and to observe the relationship between function and the visual and cultural language. Consequently, one of the key methods in unravelling the whakapapa of the hoe waka from Tūranganui-a-Kiwa was to engage in a sensory interaction with them. This was primarily through the eyes and hands, and the ate (seat of emotions) that activates an emotional response when engaging with taonga touched by our tīpuna; this is the ihi (psychic force), wana (energy), and wehi (awe).

What became clear in many of these encounters was that the convention for displaying the taonga, apart from their placement in storage racks, was the prioritisation of only one side of the hoe. My role as co-curator and concept designer for the Tū Te Whaihanga exhibition at the Tairāwhiti Museum was to present the hoe waka in glass cabinets that allowed viewing of both sides of the hoe waka shown in the "active" state, with paddles about to engage with the ocean. An added oceanic element in the cabinet design drew inspiration from a waka hourua. I had previously displayed a hoe waka from the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa in the Toi Tāmanuhiri exhibition inside a glass case, but in a horizontal position. In Tū Te Whaihanga, however, the approach was to activate an engaging, visceral experience by positioning the hoe dynamically as if in motion. When bringing the hoe waka back to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, they were welcomed onto the marae at Manutuke for the Toi Tāmanuhiri exhibition, and at Te Poho-o-Rāwiri marae during the Tū Te Whaihanga exhibition. At each location, the hoe waka were wept over and caressed by kaumātua, as each hoe was reconnecting with the descendants of their creators. This

process was repeated when the hoe waka were ceremonially transported to the Tairāwhiti Art Museum for the Toi Tāmanuhiri and Tū Te Whaihanga exhibitions. Critically, pakeke were at the forefront of the process of knowledge transfer.

Whakapapa-a-hoe Methodology and Kaupapa Māori

The Whakapapa-a-hoe methodology complements and emphasises the importance of the core principles of Kaupapa Māori research. According to Hingangaroa Smith (1997) Kaupapa Maori is a term used by Maori to describe the practice and philosophy of living a Maori culturally informed life. When applied to research methodology, kaupapa Māori is defined as research over which Māori maintain conceptual, design, methodological and interpretative control (Smith, 1995). As Linda Smith notes, it is "...research by Māori, for Māori with Māori" (L. T. Smith, 1995, p. 1). Kaupapa Māori research therefore encapsulates a Māori world view that incorporates thinking and understanding where te reo Māori me ōna tikanga are central (Pihama et al, 2002). Tuki Nepe (1991) also argued that kaupapa Māori is a framework for interpreting and carrying out research in Māori communities. Thus, in terms of my study, a kaupapa Māori approach to the research methods is appropriate because the thesis focuses and draws on the mātauranga and history of my iwi, amongst whom I continue to live as an uri, as a descendant, as well as an artist. Furthermore, throughout this study my iwi were actively/deeply involved in the thinking and understanding of information laid before them during consultation and feedback hui.

The principles of Kaupapa Māori research help reinforce core Māori values within a research project. For my study, these principles include tino rangatiratanga; whakawhanaungatanga; whānau (extended family, which may also include non-kinship friends); kaupapa (purpose, plan, theme, initiative); Te Reo Māori, focusing on prioritising Māori language; Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand); hui (gathering, meeting, assembly, conference); and kaitiakitanga (guardianship, stewardship, trusteeship) (Graham Hingangaroa Smith, 1997; L.T. Smith, 1995). These principles underpin meaningful engagement, not only with whānau, hapū, and iwi but also with those who currently hold custodial rights over our taonga.

Using Kaupapa Māori principles ensured that the curatorial and art projects included the Ngāi Tāmanuhiri tribal community. This principle of inclusion was vital for the success of

the three Ngāi Tāmanuhiri exhibition projects, with their marae located at Muriwai, south of Gisborne. I collaborated closely with whānau, and my whakapapa as a descendant of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri helped me access key whānau, hapū, and iwi experts and leaders, participate as a researcher and access hoe waka nationally and internationally. As Sorrenson (1986) explains, whakapapa is vital because it connects us to our tīpuna, whānau, whenua, iwi, and marae. Whakapapa provides us with identity and history, linking us to our tīpuna and whenua. Working within the framework of our whare tīpuna, Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri, further strengthened whakawhanaungatanga. Importantly, whakapapa was central to the curation and exhibition design at Muriwai marae, where artists were grouped in whānau based on their main tīpuna line. Tū Te Whaihanga faced different challenges with whakapapa, as the Hei Kanohi Ora Governance Group, which included Tūranganui-a-Kiwa iwi representatives, was responsible for communication between Tūranganui-a-Kiwa iwi and international museums. One issue the group addressed was the claim to ownership of the hoe waka based on whakapapa.

Tino Rangatiratanga

Tino rangatiratanga signifies absolute sovereignty. It appears in the Māori version of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, signed by the British Crown and Māori chiefs (rangatira) in 1840. During this project, Rongowhakaata questioned Ngāi Tāmanuhiri several times about embarking on the hoe waka research project without their consent. Ngāi Tāmanuhiri affirmed their right as an iwi to pursue initiatives that foster and expand matauranga for the benefit of Tūranga-a-Kiwa iwi as a collective. In this context, tino rangatiratanga relates to our self-determination. It is not only vital for interactions with non-Māori but also pertinent for intertribal engagements. As a descendant of the creators of the hoe waka, I was asserting tino rangatiratanga for Ngāti Rangiwaho, who occupied Whareongaonga in 1769, because my research showed that six waka from "shore" traded with the crew of the *Endeavour*, while one waka originated from "Poverty Bay or near it" (Banks, 1769/1962, p. 136). In the case of Tū Te Whaihanga, our tino rangatiratanga was recognised in the pōwhiri at Te Poho o Rāwiri when taonga were returned for iwi to mourn and celebrate their absence and return, even though the occasion was brief.

Mana Reo

Mana Reo (acknowledging the status of Te Reo Māori) concerns the prestige and significance of Te Reo Māori. This thesis elevates Te Reo Māori by following a precedent established by previous Māori scholars who recognise and endorse Te Reo Māori as one of

three official languages in Aotearoa New Zealand. Consistent with academic support for Te Reo Māori, this dissertation adheres to an established convention of translating Māori words when they first appear in the exegesis and then using the Māori terms without translation thereafter.

Whakawhanaungatanga

Whakawhanaungatanga means acting like a family. It involves working together to achieve shared goals. It also describes the interconnectedness between tangata (people) and whenua (land), which are part of our identity embedded in pepehā. The term focuses on "connectedness," (Bishop, 1998, p. 203) and is derived from "whānau," which is defined by relationships that connect extended family. In my study, the primary connection was how many participants were related through whakapapa. The title Toi Tāmanuhiri aimed to be inclusive of any iwi members who want to be whānau-a-toi (family of artists), including artists connected through shared skills. For example, the weavers saw themselves collectively as "te whānau a whaturaranga," while the filmmakers called themselves "te whānau a kiriata." In Toi Tāmanuhiri, whanaungatanga involved engaging with an extended family of artists from a range of art disciplines, while also embracing whānau members not based on tribal lands. In Tū Te Whaihanga, the situation was quite different, with several iwi representatives involved in decision-making locally and liaising with overseas lending institutions. Whakawhanaungatanga here existed at the inter-iwi level, where whakapapa played a crucial role in decision-making.

Wānanga

Wānanga was the cultural process that facilitated the transfer of knowledge and information, allowing iwi and tauiwi (non-Māori) to participate in the realisation of the Toi Tāmanuhiri exhibitions. An important part of wānanga was hui. The development of the Toi Tāmanuhiri exhibition ensured that whānau were the social actors with agency to engage with other participants. Participation was voluntary, dynamic, and subjective, meaning it varied for each iwi member and changed across the three exhibitions. At each hui, there was an established kaupapa (objective) focused on a specific outcome that we were collectively working towards. The process was not always straightforward because, on many occasions, we found that whānau were sceptical about engaging with outside agencies such as Pākehā-dominated institutions like museums and the National Archives. Naturally, most kaumātua felt more comfortable working on the marae. The exhibitions could not proceed without whānau, who were valued regardless of their involvement in the creative

projects, whether through co-production, active participation, engagement, or simply listening and observing quietly. The project involved discussions and activities with individuals and groups from both within and outside the art community. The creative practice included customary and trans-customary art forms rooted in whakawhiti kōrero (inter-communication) relevant to each wānanga.

Wānanga kōrero (knowledge forums) fostered an environment inclusive of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri artistic talents. There was a mix of professional artists working alongside those with less experience in exhibiting works publicly. This collaboration enabled everyone to participate and be part of the Toi Tāmanuhiri project.

In discussing research methods that honour Māori values, L. Smith (1999) highlights empowering iwi, recognising the significance of tribal groups, and respecting language and customs. Upholding respect for te reo Māori, maintaining control over research affecting Māori, and observing local protocols are consistent factors shaping the methodology for this project. Without these components, the intercultural process would not have succeeded. Kaupapa simply means a Māori "agenda/philosophy" (Bishop, 1998, p. 201) aimed at undoing colonialism's influence. It primarily involves a series of methods enabling Māori researchers to support tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) for the whānau, hapū, and iwi they study.

Hui-a-Pakeke

The primary way of engaging with iwi was through Hui-a-Pakeke, a gathering of elders. "Hui" means gathering, congregating, assembling, or meeting. With support from iwi leaders, monthly Hui-a-Pakeke sessions started in 2012. The tikanga (protocol) followed Ngāi Tāmanuhiri customs, including karakia (prayer), mihimihi (greeting), whaikōrero (formal speech), and waiata (song). This created a space for discussion within an iwi context. The process was called wā kōrero (time to speak), and kaumātua (elders) and artists felt most comfortable with it. Its main aim was to explore tribal knowledge to clarify historical information. There was some hesitation to record wā kōrero, but a consensus was reached, and it was agreed that wā kōrero contributed to the greater good of the iwi. An important outcome of the process was a series of exhibitions celebrating Ngāi Tāmanuhiritanga, featuring key individuals who attended these wā kōrero sessions, considered as our rangatira (tribal leaders). Participants included Nolan Raihania, Paora

Whaanga, Temple and Olive Issacs, Kui Emmerson, Jossie Toroa, Oriwia Bradbrook, Mihi Harrington, Wirangi (Charlie) Pera, and Ihipera Porou-Gibbs; some of whom have since passed away.

Hui-a-Pakeke were integrated into the governance structure set up by the management team for the Ngāi Tāmanuhiri Tūtū Poroporo Trust. This was an iwi initiative led by Ngāi Tāmanuhiri Trust manager Richard Brooking during his tenure from November 2011 to January 2016. The forum became the primary channel for sharing ideas and concepts with iwi members. Hui-a-Pakeke were used to develop ideas and exchange thoughts on creative projects. The importance of pakeke participation was seen as essential in creating a space for the elders to be involved in developments on marae. Pakeke voices, thoughts, and wisdom were vital because they reminded us of our relationship with all Tairāwhiti iwi.

Figure 4.
Hui a Pakeke, Maungarongo dining hall, Tāmanuhiri Marae, Muriwai, Gisborne, 2012. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Engagement with kaumātua, iwi, and communities of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, the broader Tūranganui-a-Kiwa region, and occasionally across Te Tairāwhiti was central to the research process. Māori artists also participated in consultations related to exhibition planning, curation, and creative outputs.

Wā Kōrero

The place of kōrero – talking and exchanging ideas in the art process discussed in this thesis – has an interdisciplinary focus that brings together various related creative disciplines known as Ngā Toi Māori (the Māori arts). These creative disciplines also form

vital parts of Māori visual language: whaturaranga (weaving), kōwhaiwhai (painting), whaikōrero (oratory), kiriata (film), tā moko (tattoo), and kākahu (fashion).

One key aspect of working through the process of defining what we, as an iwi, wanted to share with the rest of the world was ensuring the accuracy of our information. We were establishing our identity as an iwi. Our historical tribal narratives were important, and we needed to seek the expertise of our kaumātua. Specialist wānanga were established so that our stories could be shared. Much of this relevant material came from our recent Treaty of Waitangi tribunal hearings (on past injustices committed by the Crown), where our iwi narrators composed waiata (songs) for us to use. The goal was to create iwi-based exhibitions. The process involved gathering whānau ideas and thoughts through kōrero and recording them.

Tikanga

Tika means to get things right. As Mead (2003) explains, tikanga are

> tools of thought and understanding. They are packages of ideas which help to organise behaviour and provide some predictability in how certain activities are carried out. They provide templates and frameworks to guide our actions and help steer us through some huge gatherings of people and some tense moments in our ceremonial life. They help us to differentiate between right and wrong in everything we do and in all of the activities that we engage in. There is a right and proper way to conduct one's self [sic]. (p. 12)

An important aspect of tikanga for this research was involving kaumātua in every stage of the iwi-based process. Each hui and event began with karakia, waiata, and wā kōrero, where, as uri of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, everyone had the chance to share their views on the kaupapa that Toi Tāmanuhiri proposed. Tikanga was a critical process associated with the rerun of taonga both locally and internationally to ensure the safety of the taonga, not only physically but also spiritually.

Kaitiakitanga

While reconnecting with many of our tribal taonga, we embraced the role of kaitiaki (guardians). This was a duty and expectation from our iwi, forming a vital part of our cultural responsibilities in caring for taonga. Kaitiakitanga involves managing parts of our environment from a Māori worldview.

Kanohi Kitea

Kanohi kitea refers to a face seen and relates to being physically present. It is a fundamental part of all interactions, regardless of who is involved. For example, meeting face to face with local, national, and international representatives was vital for the ongoing success of the projects in which iwi were involved. When we hosted a visit from Julie Adams of the British Museum, it was crucial for us, as Tūranga iwi, to present ourselves as the living faces of those tīpuna who first encountered Cook in 1769. Kanohi ki te kanohi (face-to-face) contact was also key when Ngāi Tāmanuhiri hosted an important curator from the British National Maritime Museum. Through these interactions, we established Hei Kanohi Ora, a Māori governance group responsible for communication between Tūranganui-a-Kiwa iwi and international museums.

Tā Koha

Reciprocity describes a relationship where there is mutual action (Onions, 1933). Koha is a gift or donation that requires reciprocation in the future. Koha played an essential role in engaging with international museums for the release of taonga. The principle of Tā Koha was demonstrated in the gifting of an artwork titled Tā Koha to the Hancock Museum in Newcastle. In return, the museum released taonga for exhibition in Tū te Whaihanga in 2019. Reciprocity in this context was expressed within a cultural setting as a reminder to the Hancock Museum in Newcastle that gifting Tā Koha involves the return of something that has been given. The act of gifting artwork to institutions was not only a sincere gesture of good faith but also demonstrated that a living custom, evident in the exchanges between Cook and Māori in 1769, persists into the present.

Literature Review

It is important to note that there is no dedicated Literature Review chapter. Instead, the literature is woven into the Introduction and each chapter based on its focus, from the curation of exhibitions to the creative response to the research journey. In crafting the Whakapapa-a-hoe methodological approach to the thesis engagement with Kaupapa Māori literature was essential to contextualise key principles like tino rangatiratanga, whakawhanungatanga and wānanga with the aesthetic and creative focus underpinning the research and its dissemination. Before visiting the museums, engaging with literature on hoe waka was a crucial step for assessing prior knowledge and spotting any gaps. Notably, the contributions to paddle analysis by Roger Neich (1963) and Ngarino Ellis (1997),

Paama-Pengelly's (2010) systems of symmetry, were especially relevant and comprehensive while Amiria Salmond's Table of painted paddles generated an indispensable check list for physical engagement, and graphic analysis. Because of my museum research, I was able to add two more hoe waka to Salmond's list, which are housed within the Museum of Ethnology in Stockholm. Reference to literature relating to the visit of the *Endeavour* appears in Chapter 3 with key first hand evidence of the deaths at Te Toka-a-Taiau and the trading of paddles off Whareongaonga including Captain James Cook (1769/1955) and Joseph Banks (1769/1955) while Anne Salmond (1991) identifies Whareongaonga as the 'shore' recorded by Banks.

Curation

The review also examines literature that situates the research within a Te Ao Māori worldview, where cultural values and protocols are central to developing a framework for creating, curating, and exhibiting mahi toi (art). Curation is a key element of this multidisciplinary thesis, and recognising Māori-curated exhibitions provides a platform for engaging with the curation of Toi Tāmanuhiri and Tū Te Whaihanga. The decision to create a chapter that focused on two curated exhibitions separated in space and time is one that privileges a Whakapapa-a-hoe methodology rather than a chronological rationale to demonstrate an evolving prioritisation of taonga as functional cultural implements.

Tū Te Whaihanga offered an opportunity to display hoe waka within a whakapapa-a-hoe framework that allowed viewing taonga in an active stance of engaging with the sea or a battle stance in the case of the tewhatewha and taiaha. Six hoe waka with visible kōwhaiwhai patterns were encased in a glass waka hourua, enabling iwi of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa and visitors from across the motu to admire the creative brilliance of Ngāti Rangiwaho and Rongowhakaata tīpuna. Surrounding the case, pattern fragments formed a tauira patapata (patterned heartbeat) at eye level. Above, the names of wānanga within Tūranganui-a-Kiwa in 1769 crowned the space in acknowledgement of the mātauranga that existed when our hoe waka sailed to the other side of the world.

Sandy Adsett claims that that Māori must see themselves in the art for the art to be Māori. One might also argue that Māori must see themselves in the exhibition for it to be Māori. In many respects, framing an exhibition within an iwi strategy that centres on Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, while striving to represent all forms of Māori art under the guidance of Ngāi

Tāmanuhiri values, places the curator in a challenging position, effectively making them a puppet on a string. Unlike the curatorial role outlined by White, I was not a Māori curator working within a museum "on the periphery of the ancestral Māori world" but rather a curator navigating from within "the ancestral Māori world" (White, 2006, p.3).

As a result, the curatorial process depended on hui-a-pakeke, where Toi Tāmanuhiri - Mana Moana, Mana Whenua, Mana Tangata, the eventual name of the exhibition along with its sub-headings, received approval from iwi and established the foundation for curation. The idea for an iwi exhibition was developed after an approach from Tairāwhiti Museum Director Dr David Butts. Consulting a panel of experts (Butts, Spedding, Clarke, Pohatu, and Lardelli) was a key strategy in ensuring the exhibition's success. As a curator, I incorporated a philosophy of manaakitanga and whakawhanaungatanga with a respect for tikanga-a-iwi, which is becoming a hallmark of Māori-led curatorial exhibitions.

Adsett has been a role model and mentor over the years, contributing curatorial work alongside Paratene Matchitt and Tim Walker for Kohia ko Taikākā at the National Art Gallery and the subsequent United States touring exhibition Te Waka Toi, which followed Te Māori and toured New Zealand venues again. Te Waka Toi was significant because, as an exhibition of Māori art, it was organised to mirror the marae process, positioning works by contemporary Māori artists in relation to entry points of the exhibition and emphasising the cultural relevance and significance of the left and right sides, as well as the front and rear. The pieces embody the karanga, wero, whaikorero, and waiata that are integral to Māori encounter rituals. In Pātua, at the Wellington City Art Gallery, a significant acknowledgement of space was necessary but was complicated by the two-storey building. Adsett installed a contemporary maihi above the entrance to represent the presence of a Māori exhibition.

Toi Tāmanuhiri offered the opportunity to showcase significant Ngāi Tāmanuhiri patterns from Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri wharenui and taonga from the Muriwai hall in the exhibition. The exhibition's title, Toi Tāmanuhiri- Mana Whenua Mana Moana Mana Tangata, was painted in white text on an orange background above the gallery entrance. The aramoana kōwhaiwhai pattern from Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri was painted in white and black on an orange background on either side of the entranceway. In front of the entrance and beyond the doorway, manikins dressed in kakahu welcomed visitors to the space in the absence of

a human kaikaranga. Beyond the entrance was another link to Muriwai: a carved pou manaia that originally adorned the walls of the Manutuke Church.

Creative Practice

My creative practice centres on developing contemporary Māori art through a trans-cultural approach to painting. This method often juxtaposes customary Māori and European conventions to disrupt the space within the picture plane, whether in perspective, frontal, oblique, profile, or foreshortened views. It re-contextualises traditional kōwhaiwhai patterns alongside European naturalistic styles, reflecting my research journey to foreign shores.

While preparing new works for the exhibition, I was conscious of the need to engage in practice-based research that enabled viewers to gain access to a narrative of dislocation and reclamation. Consequently, I re-evaluated the strict frontal and profile tradition mixing them with the Western perspective tradition to generate visual tension. Consequently, submerged swimming tipua as mangopare were often depicted in profile, three-quarter, or occasionally foreshortened views, depending on the narrative intent of the painting. The layering of kōwhaiwhai patterns was a method aimed at evoking a primal genealogical order (whakapapa), while transforming the hoe waka into migratory fish recalling the hoe waka journey to distant lands. The creative outputs merge traditions as an expression of the cultural tensions inherent in dislocation and separation of taonga tuku iho. Critical to the creative method was the use of the ground and the chromatic emphasis, which in A-Hoe! was predominantly blue with red earthy hues used for emphasis and contrast while alluding to sea, land and kōkōwai from Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. Paint application ranged from flat, as in the hoe waka to tonal in the Western illusionistic tradition or atmospheric This was achieved with an airbrush to evoke mystery, ambiguity, or perceptual depth. This latter approach, rooted in the past, aimed to create clarity for future generations.

Museum Visits

Engagement with museum staff and scholars involved in exploring Cook's connection to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa was crucial. These scholars were particularly important, as the research project started after a meeting with Dr David Butts, former Director of Tairāwhiti Museum, followed by discussions between Ngāi Tāmanuhiri kaumātua, the community, and Dr Amiria Salmond and Dame Anne Salmond, the latter two became key intermediaries between me and international museums, anthropologists, and archaeologists.

Associates from the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa played a key role in ensuring a smooth process for loaning taonga to the Ngāi Tāmanuhiri marae and the Tairāwhiti Museum. Arapata Hakiwai, Kaihautu Māori, and Puawai Cairns, Head of Mātauranga Māori, were key contacts in overseeing the success of loan requests. Eloise Wallace, Director of Tairāwhiti Museum, played a vital role in ensuring compliance with inter-museum protocols. It was a process that guaranteed all parties recognised and respected a Māori perspective of artefacts as taonga tuku iho, and that these taonga were vested in Māori by right of whakapapa (Houlihan, 2010).

Visits to both domestic and international museums also encourage engaging with museum archives, photographic records, and discussions with museum staff to gain a broader understanding of the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa hoe waka and their interrelationships in terms of design and chronology. Examination of photographic records resulted in analytical drawings and paintings, which led to a series of works on paper that created a comprehensive visual record of the design systems visible on the blades of the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa hoe waka, and a subsequent exhibition at the Tairāwhiti Art Museum in Gisborne.

Drawing and Painting

Drawing and painting as an analytical method led to an understanding of the visual language inherent in the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa kōwhaiwhai designs of pītau, kape, pītau/kape combinations, and ngū. It should be noted that Ngarino Ellis (1965) introduced kuru and kapua as substitutes for kape and ngū. However, I use the latter terms as they have become common within the kōwhaiwahi artist community. One of the most significant outcomes of the drawing method was the discovery that Sidney Parkinson had edited his kōwhaiwhai painting to impose his own aesthetic and design sensibility or was unable to decipher the complex interaction of pattern elements on the blade of the hoe.

Design Analysis

Design analysis involves understanding and applying the principles and elements of design. In kōwhaiwhai, key principles include contrast, balance, repetition, rhythm, and pattern. These principles guide the creation of visually appealing compositions, while elements such as line, colour, shape, and scale serve as the fundamental building blocks. In kōwhaiwhai, lines and shapes are mainly curvilinear, and colour use has ranged from two to three colours depending on the period and regional preference. For instance, in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, a two-colour system was popular in 1769, featuring painted red kōkowai patterns

against the natural wood colour. By the nineteenth century, a tri-colour scheme of red, white, and black replaced the earlier two-colour approach as European paints were adopted. However, Whanganui had a two-colour system of red and white, and black and white, which coexisted with the tri-colour system through into the twentieth century.

The hoe waka collected by Cook at Whareongaonga in 1769 were painted with a red kōkōwai, which contrasted with the natural colour of the timber of the hoe waka. In contrast, the kōwhaiwhai in Te Hau ki Tūranga wharenui (1843) is painted in a tri-colour palette of red, white, and black courtesy of the settler community. The hoe waka feature shapes such as a bulbous rārangi manawa, pītau, kōiri, and kape, with circular indentations on the upper arc of the kape (crescent shape), or both circular and pītau, or pītau on the upper and lower arcs of the kape. Other shapes include closed or self-contained forms like the double-ended pītau, or pītau and kōiri, or pītau and mangopare. What is particularly striking about the hoe waka is the asymmetrical nature of the designs - or the absence of 'periodic repeating bilateral symmetry' (Neich, 1993, p. 64), where the patterns on the two faces of the blade differ compositionally, despite sharing a common vocabulary of patterns. In one example, a pītau-dominant design contrasts with pītau and kape, accompanied by a bulbous ngū manawa line. Nevertheless, an emerging vocabulary of rārangi manawa is evident, along with hints of bilateral symmetry, particularly in pītau-dominant designs, and an evolving vocabulary of closed patterns.

In the nineteenth century, kōwhaiwhai increased in both scope and complexity, with more varied pattern arrangements seen in hoe waka. A wider range of symmetry systems appears in Te Hau ki Tūranga (1843), including bilateral symmetry, asymmetry, slide translation, slide reflection, and bifold rotation (Table 5). [Listed as slide rotation by Paama-Pengelly 2010]. In Te Hau ki Tūanga, a transition occurs where the bulbous rārangi manawa merges into a series of designs that allow clusters of closed patterns to create rhythms as they move from the base of the heke to the tāhuhu. The design naturally incorporates elements of pītau, pītau/kape, and rārangi manawa.

Apart from the kōwhaiwhai analysis, which resulted in a revised painted version of the Hancock Museum hoe waka (C 589) created by Sidney Parkinson in 1769, the design analysis also included a detailed examination of the sculpted structural components and

carved features of the hoe waka. This analysis ultimately contributed to forming the collection of hoe waka displayed in the Tū Te Whaihanga exhibition in 2019.

The key element that unified the hoe waka as a group, whether painted or unpainted, whether the kōwhaiwhai were ngū/kape/pītau or pītau, was the disposition of the taratū (tip of the blade), the rapa (blade), the whiti upoko (loom or neck), the kakau (handle), and the reke (butt). The main connector was the carved surface pattern of the taratara-a-kae (notches of Kae), which defined brows, eyes, nostrils, teeth, and upper and lower jaws. Although the taratara-a-kae pattern is linked to the Ūawa whare wānanga, the hoe waka version is unique to the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa region, because the alternating notches are not separated by an expanded ridge or mound, evident in the Sporing illustration of the Pourewa Island tauihu (1769) and the Whānau-a-Apanui Te Tairuku Potaka pātaka carvings (1780). On the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa hoe waka, there is a patapata or valley instead of a ridge. Additionally, the valleys have angular edges, whereas in Te Tairuku Potaka, they have been radiused with a chisel, which is a more time-consuming process.

Formal Sequence

Jahnke's (2006) tātaitanga whakairo method, which includes formal sequence, semiology, and intrinsic perception, presents a suitable approach for design analysis. It is a method capable of capturing "…style as formal sequence where altered repetitions of the same trait" (p. 9). As Jahnke notes, "…a tātaitanga 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" (p. 36). Jahnke argues that "…an accumulated sensibility acquired through experience as a practicing [sic] artist provides an invaluable perceptual tool" (p. 10).

Recourse to a formal sequence guided by intrinsic perception is the primary method used for hoe analysis in this study. Semiology focuses on decoding meaning and does not apply to the formal analysis of hoe waka in this research. The formal sequence, related to the hoe waka of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, exists in the form of the paddle, with the terminal spherical knob at the taratū, and the rapa, the whiti featuring an upoko manaia with taratara-a-kae surface pattern, kakau, and reke with mania facial form.

It also appears within the painted kōwhaiwhai patterns featuring the pītau and pītau/kape compositions, alongside the rārangi manawa, while coexisting with pītau-dominant examples. Specifically, it is the treatment of the bulbous rārangi manawa, kape with circular and pītau or pītau-only indentations that distinguishes the Poverty Bay kōwhaiwhai from other tribal regions in the nineteenth century, apart from Ngāti Porou, which engages with kape and kape/pītau patterns later in that century, supporting a northern migration of these patterns from Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. What is evident in the hoe waka is the emerging visual language of rārangi manawa (both real and implied) alongside pītau and kape closed patterns, later translated onto the heke of Te Hau ki Tūranga through a range of symmetrical and asymmetrical techniques. This formal sequence ultimately leads to the pītau-a-manaia figurative kōwhaiwhai in Te Hau ki Tūranga (1843) and the pītau-a-tiki on the heke of Te Poho o Rukupō (1883). It is not until the turn of the millennium that the visual vocabulary evident on hoe waka collected by Cook off Whareongaonga appears on the maihi of Rangiwaho wharenui south of Gisborne.

Conclusion

The Whakapapa-a-hoe methodology provides a robust framework for understanding the cultural significance of the hoe. By connecting sensory engagement, archival research, and community participation, the study uncovers the complex whakapapa of these taonga, linking them with their cultural roots and descendants. In line with Kaupapa Māori principles, this chapter emphasises the significance of tino rangatiratanga, mana reo (acknowledging the status of Te Reo Māori), and whakawhanaungatanga in research and curatorial practices. The insights gained from exhibition design analysis and creative work highlight the role of Whakapapa-a-hoe in conserving cultural heritage, asserting self-determination, and encouraging intercultural dialogue.

Chapter 2: Toi Tāmanuhiri and Tū Te Whaihanga

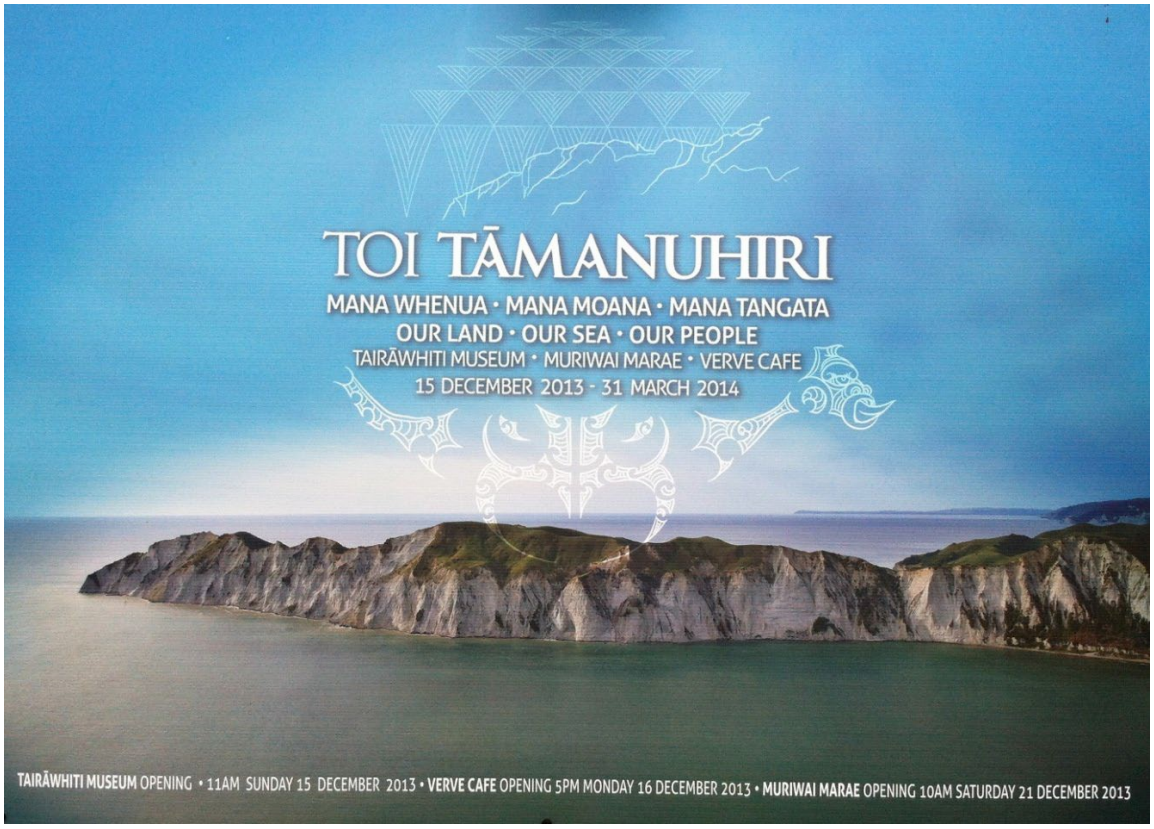

Figure 5
Toi Tāmanuhiri official poster for three iwi exhibitions. Designed by M. Tahata.

Introduction

Chapter 2 explores the Ngāi Tāmanuhiri ongoing connection to their heritage through the curation of two key exhibitions: *Toi Tāmanuhiri* (Exhibited December 2013-March 2014) and *Tū Te Whaihanga* (Exhibited October 2019-May 2022) which initiated and concluded the Ngāi Tāmanuhiri journey of tino rangatiratanga. A Whakapapa-a-hoe Methodology annexed to Kaupapa Māori principles frames the hoe waka journey in the two exhibitions rather than an art historical chronology. The chapter examines the iwi-led processes, collaborative partnerships, and curatorial approaches employed in creating these exhibitions. *Toi Tāmanuhiri*, designed as a comprehensive reflection of the iwi, their land, and waterways, aimed to preserve and share their heritage while strengthening community bonds. *Tū Te Whaihanga* , on the other hand, aimed to celebrate the creative brilliance of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri ancestors and to address gaps in the historical narratives about early encounters with Europeans. By showcasing the iwi's journey, challenges, and achievements

in producing these exhibitions, this chapter highlights the power of art and taonga in cultural renewal and self-determination.

As noted in Chapter 1, unlike the curatorial role described eatlier by White (2006), I was not a Māori curator working within a museum "…on the periphery of the ancestral Māori world" but rather a curator navigating from within "the ancestral Māori world" (p.3.). The exhibition was conceived within the papakāinga at Muriwai as a holistic concept. It embraced not only the iwi of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri but also the whenua that our tīpuna traversed and in which they were buried, as well as the waterways from land to sea, where the people reaped the bounty of the ocean god Tangaroa. It was in these waters that hoe waka were immersed as our tīpuna confronted the waka from foreign lands.

Consequently, the curatorial process relied on hui-a-pakeke where *Toi Tāmanuhiri - Mana Moana, Mana Whenua, Mana Tangata*, the eventual name of the exhibition along with its sub-headings, was approved by iwi and provided a thematic basis for the exhibition.

Figure 6
Toi Tāmanuhiri, Mana Tangata, Muriwai School, 1939. Photo supplied by M. West. Tairāwhiti Museum, 2013.

From the start of *Toi Tāmanuhiri*, the positive impact of photographs for iwi, especially pakeke, was clear. Figure 6 shows a school photo taken in 1939. Nearly the entire front row features five-year-old tamariki (children) who are now in their eighties and played a significant role in the exhibition.

Establishing a Kaupapa

The vision for *Toi Tāmanuhiri* aligned with Ngāi Tāmanuhiri's strategic direction as an iwi. One of the main objectives of the exhibition project was to establish an iwi-based art collective, with the potential for ongoing creative workshops, wānanga, and exhibition programmes. The aims of *Toi Tāmanuhiri* included: conserving and promoting the heritage of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri; building working relationships with the iwi trust, marae, hapū, and whānau; and representing all forms of Māori art guided by the values of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri. Once the idea for the exhibition was approved, the following steps were establishing the kaupapa and the title. It took eight months of wānanga-a-pakeke to confirm *Toi Tāmanuhiri* as an appropriate title for the exhibition and to steer the design and curatorial process. Several titles were proposed; each was given careful consideration. Unexpectedly, the most innovative concepts stem from pakeke. For example, Oriwia Bradbrook suggested projecting the faces of tīpuna onto the cliffs of Te Kurī-a-Pāoa. The exhibition title *Toi Tāmanuhiri* was formed from several suggestions, including "Huauri Kurī: Descendants of the Dog", which references the kaitiakitanga of Te Kurī a Pāoa. Other options included "Ngā Taonga o Tāmanuhiri: Treasures of Tāmanuhiri", proposed by Oriwia Bradbrook; "O-Mua, O-Naianei, O-Muri: Past, Present and Future", proposed by Nolan Raihania; and "Ngāi Tā Manuhiri Taonga Exhibition", suggested by Jossie Toroa.

Toi Tāmanuhiri as an exhibition title was proposed by Richard Brooking and me, while Mihi Harrington created the sub-themes of Mana Moana, Mana Whenua, and Mana Tangata. Consequently, the working title became *Toi Tāmanuhiri - Mana Moana, Mana Whenua, Mana Tangata.* Notably, the title provided the design team with a clear conceptual foundation from which to work. The key point was that iwi owned the process, and their support was crucial for a successful outcome.

The use of the word 'toi' to reference creative arts is quite recent. In te ao Māori, there is no specific word for art, but there are terms for the creators and creative processes of making culturally significant objects. These include tohunga whakairo (master carver), whose works are called toi whakairo (carvings), and tohunga whatu raranga (master weaver), who creates woven pieces known as toi raranga, toi whatu, or toi kākahu. The tohunga tā moko (expert tattooist) is responsible for skin adornment called toi tā moko, and so forth. The word 'toi' is directly linked to the tīpuna, Toi-kai-rākau (Fletcher, 1930), a revered navigator and builder of waka who crossed the Pacific and gained a reputation for

sustaining himself with land-based food. Through his exceptional creative abilities, Toi-kai-rakau has become synonymous with the practice of toi, which is linked to visual creators achieving high status. Recently, toi has been adopted by several art schools. For example, Toihoukura: School of Contemporary Māori Visual Arts is the art school affiliated with the Eastern Institute of Technology at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa campus. Toimairangi offers its art programmes as part of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa's overall curriculum in Hawke's Bay, and Toi Māori is the national Māori arts organisation based in Wellington. Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti established Toi Hauiti to define the body responsible for taonga belonging to the iwi of Ūawa (Tolaga Bay). The Toi Tāmanuhiri exhibition name reflects the influence of these institutions on the artistic prominence of Te Tairāwhiti.

Wānanga

An essential aspect of the wānanga-a-pakeke was the time dedicated to exploring all the possibilities arising from Dr David Butts' initial invitation to exhibit works created by Ngāi Tāmanuhiri at the Tairāwhiti Museum. Similarly, Dr Butts had initiated a highly successful series of cultural events with Te Āitanga a Hauiti following a period of collaborative planning and execution. After accepting his offer, thoughts centred on how to make it work for everyone involved. The process included regular discussions with Richard Brooking and Hope Tupara, who communicated the support of the Ngāi Tāmanuhiri Trust to proceed. This support was formalised in 2012 when *Toi Tāmanuhiri* became part of the iwi's strategic development plan and was recorded in the Tāmanuhiri 2013 Annual Report. Weekly hui with key museum staff took place, where targets, goals, and deadlines were set. Jody Wyllie, the Kaitiaki Māori, and Jolene Douglas, Curator for Art and Exhibitions, were among the core group of key individuals. Melanie Tahata was engaged for her graphic design and digital expertise, along with iwi trust board member Jody Toroa. An agreement was formalised for me to lead the curatorial and design development. Each meeting aligned with the monthly hui-a-pakeke held at Muriwai marae.

Te Māori

When the research started, it focused on examples of how contemporary Māori art and exhibitions of Māori taonga had been shown in various venues across the country. In the 1980s, Te Māori marked a turning point in how Māori exhibitions could and should be viewed. Importantly, it was the first time that a project of such a scale had been organised and carried out by Māori on an international stage. In hindsight, Te Māori is recognised as a key milestone in the Māori art renaissance, signalling the needed changes in how

museums organised their governance and practice structures regarding taonga Māori, Māori visual arts, and their link to non-Māori exhibition spaces.
As Peter Sharples noted:

> Te Māori put our art and culture and history and language on the world map…it did such a good job that it put these things, finally, on New Zealand's map, too. I mean, this was our whole life. We knew the whakapapa of all of these articles, who they came down from and how they were related. And then, suddenly, all over New Zealand there was all this newfound enthusiasm. (New Zealand Foreign Affairs and Trade, n.d., n.p.)

Te Māori was a key highlight during a period of decolonisation. A survey of Māori cultural politics shows how indigenous social development intertwined, resulting in an event that was quite different from what might have happened otherwise.

The importance of politics surrounding cultural and Indigenous recognition has become a key topic that needs discussion and navigation with national and international museums. This includes access to and best practices for caring for taonga in museums from a Māori perspective. For example, during my visits to museums for research, many taonga were inaccessible due to the processes and protocols set by each institution, which often required specific permissions from whānau, hapū, and/or iwi. My access was mainly made possible through the relationships I cultivated with key individuals such as Dr Amiria Salmond at the Cambridge University Museum in London and Dr Arapata Hakiwai of Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington.

It is widely recognised that one consequence of making culture available for purchase and collection is the way taonga are stored. Most taonga are kept on shelves in storerooms, which can remove them from public memory; for example, the hoe waka traded at Whare Ongaonga has been out of sight for 250 years. A key long-term goal of the research project was to establish systems and relationships that would make taonga held in museums more accessible and visible.

Māori-centred exhibitions

During the planning of the Ngāi Tāmanuhiri exhibition, several pivotal Māori-focused installations were on display across Aotearoa New Zealand. Rotorua Museum had reopened with Ngā Pūmanawa o Te Arawa: The Beating Hearts of Te Arawa, featuring eight distinct gallery spaces that highlighted the history of each Te Arawa iwi. Each section showcased a series of large photographs and text alongside taonga. The interaction between photograph, text, and taonga effectively demonstrated the links between visual imagery, tribal stories, and taonga. The new "B Company" installation at the Rotorua Museum featured lightbox portraits that expanded on the "sea of faces" concept used in Tairāwhiti for its C Company exhibition in 1995 (Spedding, 2012).

At the Auckland Museum, there were some excellent exhibitions focused on the New Zealand wars of the 1860s. In Scars on the Heart, Māori imagery and perspectives were showcased, with particular emphasis on the invasion of Waikato and the Battle of Rangiriri. The exhibition was a revelation, demonstrating how Māori contextual narratives could exist within a non-Māori space. The retelling of historical content highlighted the impact of colonial forces on tangata whenua in Waikato, gradually spreading to Gate Pā in Tauranga, and then to Tūhoe and Tairāwhiti, before reaching Taranaki, Whanganui, and Port Nicholson. The key to the exhibition's success was the use of photography and the impactful scale.

It was clear that large budgets and top-notch technologies were allocated to deliver the product in both Rotorua and Auckland - a luxury that neither Ngāi Tāmanuhiri nor the Tairāwhiti Museum had at their disposal. However, in moving forward, there was every confidence that the taonga were second to none, and the iwi would bring the depth of knowledge and creativity to ensure Toi Tāmanuhiri would be a memorable event.

Tairāwhiti Museum stewardship

Back in Tairāwhiti, a group of experts gathered to discuss every aspect of the Toi Tāmanuhiri exhibition. They included Dr David Butts and Mike Spedding, both former directors of Tairāwhiti Museum; Matt Clarke, the owner and director of the Paul Nache Gallery in Gisborne; the late Warren Pohatu, a digital art specialist and tribal affairs expert; and Professor Derek Lardelli, an educator, practising artist, and renowned authority on the

tribal narratives of Te Tairāwhiti. Having this level of expertise was essential to ensure the curatorial challenges could be successfully addressed.

The challenges were immediate and, at times, complex. For example, the reluctance of any iwi to engage with museums was a historical "hangover" from an era when museums withheld contact with taonga, as well as stories of how museums acquired taonga, leading to a general feeling of discomfort and mistrust. Several issues needed to be addressed and resolved. Unsurprisingly, exhibiting at Tairāwhiti Museum was initially met with scepticism and concern. This reaction was well-founded when examining the history between Māori and museums.

Figure 7
Pakeke and museum staff at Muriwai Marae listening to Assoc. Prof. Steve Gibbs present the initial proposal to stage three iwi-based exhibitions. In attendance: Museum Director L. Vodanovich, and staff J. Douglas, J. Wyllie, and Dudley.

> While museums contain the spoils of colonial appropriation, they also contain significant whānau, hapū and iwi taonga tuku iho that have been placed there by Māori for safekeeping. However, most Māori have remained estranged from museums because of the way in which koiwi tangata and taonga tuku iho have been acquired, as well as the restrictive means employed to care for and interpret Māori cultural treasures in public exhibitions. Therefore, except in cases where Māori families have initiated and maintained relationships with museums, Māori have had limited knowledge of museum collections and have not found these institutions very accessible, nor have they placed high value on museums as important national or regional cultural institutions. (Butts, 2003, p. 137)

All large-scale projects are prone to tension, and for Toi Tāmanuhiri, this included opposition and prejudice from the Gisborne non-Māori community, expressed either

directly or through the media, internal iwi disagreements, and the museum operating within bureaucratic constraints while attempting to build meaningful relationships to meet Māori expectations. Notably, the advisory group played a crucial role in maintaining the project's progress and was accessible to the curatorial team when needed. It took three years, from 2010 to 2013, along with many discussions, to confirm that the idea not only had merit but would also bring substantial benefits for Ngāi Tāmanuhiri. Concerns were raised about relationship agreements and the safety of taonga Māori. There was debate over whether taonga should be exhibited in the museum when the marae would be the most appropriate and rightful place for display.

Ngāi Tāmanuhiri has a history of engagement with Tairāwhiti Museum dating back to the 1950s, but effort was needed to build trust and camaraderie between the parties. The background history is recorded in Māori and Museums: The Politics of Indigenous Recognition a Doctoral thesis by Butts (2003). *Toi Tāmanuhiri* became a pivotal project in the museum's iwi exhibition programme, marking a significant shift in how iwi exhibitions are conceived (Butts, personal communication, 2012).

Figure 8
Kaumātua and community leaders of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri at Gisborne Museum and Arts Centre, 1977. Tairāwhiti Museum collection. Featured representatives: R. Thompson, H. Sunderland, M. Kemp, T. Issacs, N. Raihania, and L. Ngata. Photo: Tairāwhiti Museum archives.

Tairāwhiti Museum was well positioned to adopt initiatives that embraced innovative Māori perspectives at the time. Mike Spedding, who served as director from 1997 to 2005, led the museum through several key developments. These included establishing relationships with the Toihoukura School of Māori Visual Arts and the 28 Māori Battalion C Company Trust. Renegotiating the museum's governance arrangements to include the representation of five

Tairāwhiti iwi on the museum trust board. These were key strategies in developing museum–iwi relationships in Tairāwhiti.

Dr Monty Soutar served as director from 2006 to 2008, during which time he continued managing processes. With the backing of trustees, he launched projects to enhance the documentation and storage of the taonga Māori collections, making them more accessible to whānau, hapū, and iwi. A key opportunity Soutar brought to the Tairāwhiti Museum was the relationships he established with the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and other national museums. Along with Butts and Spedding, he helped create a space where Māori could openly engage with museums as part of the work iwi aimed to achieve. Since the mid-1990s, the Tairāwhiti Museum has benefited from a series of directors committed to engaging effectively with Māori. A notable change occurred in 2006 when Apirana Mahuika, a leading figure of Ngāti Porou, became the chair of the Tairāwhiti Museum Trust Board. His influence and understanding of iwi communities were crucial in maintaining strong relationships with the museum.

Through experience, museum staff in New Zealand and abroad have been receptive to adopting a unified approach to taonga-related issues, with regard for Māori perspectives. This outlook recognises Māori autonomy and their right to be self-defining and self-determining. Fortunately, Tairāwhiti Museum was already aware of the importance of respecting iwi perspectives, so while Ngāi Tāmanuhiri were cautiously optimistic about the event being offered to them, enough goodwill had been built to enable an iwi exhibition. From the start of the planned exhibitions, Tairāwhiti Museum provided the information they had on their taonga database, allowing us to identify gaps and begin gathering missing details from national museum collections.

Figure 9
Toi Tāmanuhiri exhibition entrance, Tairāwhiti Museum, 2012. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 10
Muriwai School photo, 1939. The impact of photographic images as a process for engaging with pakeke was significant. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Artists were invited to present works for the exhibitions. As part of the curatorial process, we took temporary possession of many taonga, and I selected the works for the exhibition spaces. I also invited key artists who had been producing work that spanned a range of customary (weaving, carving, and painting) and non-customary (digital media, photography, and moving image).

Exhibition Themes

It was agreed that the exhibition would concentrate on a series of themes:

- Whenua – the land as a starting point
- Tāngata – the people
- Moana – the relationship to the sea

There were times when some ideas were fascinating and captivating, but we realised we lacked the capability or budget to bring them to life within the set timeframe. However, it was decided that the themes should be refined and renamed Mana Moana, Mana Whenua, and Mana Tangata.

Mana Tāngata

When discussing people, the whare tīpuna (ancestral house) served as a platform for Ngāi Tāmanuhiri to showcase their identity, especially in terms of whakapapa and connections to nearby hapū. As an iwi, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri trace their descent from several common

ancestors: Kiwa, after whom the district is named; Pāoa (or Pawa), who explored the inland areas; and Ruapani, from whom many key lines of descent originate.

The following section summarises the main genealogies of the iwi, tracing their descent from Tāmanuhiri to his grandchildren. Today, every member of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri can connect to one or more of these tīpuna.

Mana Whenua

Ngakau-o-Paritu and Koputūtea are often used to mark the northern and southern boundaries of Tāmanuhiri. The use of photography, including historical and contemporary topographical images, provided a way to create visuals and share stories of the land and its people. The northern boundaries were defined by the Waipaoa River, which has shifted its course multiple times over the last 200 years. The exploration included photographic portraits of key individuals who have historically influenced Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa region.

Mana Moana

As kaitiaki (guardians), one of our primary aims has been to preserve and enhance the mauri (life force) of the sea. Ngāi Tāmanuhiri is recognised as the people of the sea or the people of the white cliffs. The combination of the ocean and white cliffs along the southern coast of the Gisborne district creates an inextricable link to a coastal tribe that has maintained both their literal and metaphorical relationship with the sea

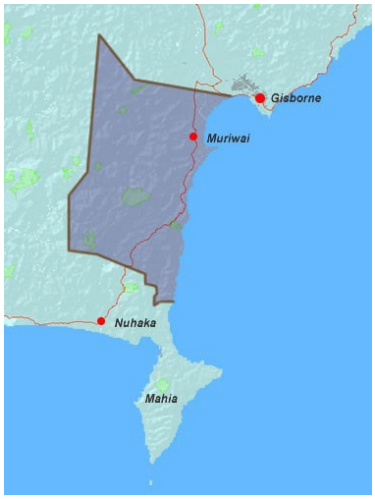

Figure 11
Tāmanuhiri rohe map.

Note. The rohe runs from Koputūtea (the outflow of the Waipaoa River which in the early-1800s flowed into the Awapuni Lagoon) by the moana to Pākirikiri, Papatewhai, Rangihaua, Te Matamata, Ōrongo, Taikawakawa, Whareongaonga and Tikiwhata, then to Paritū. From there it extends inland to Te Toka a

Haerengarangi, Whakaumuatetekauae Taumutu, Paritū, Whareongaonga, Tarewauru, Te Toka a Tutekawa along Te Ārai Stream to Karau thence to Koputūtea. These rohe markers encompass Tawera, Te Taumata o Te Whare o Rata, Kaitoke, Tawatapu, Mātītī, Tawhitinui, Pukehaua, Waikirikiri, Waiari, Waipuna, Waimakaweheru, Mihimarino and Te Kurī a Paoa. Today we describe our rohe as 'Mai i Paritū ki Koputūtea' from Paritū (south of Muriwai) to Koputūtea (in the north). http://Tāmanuhiri.iwi.nz/our-rohe.html

Exhibition Design

With the agreed concept for the first exhibition presented to both museum staff and iwi, the next stage was the exhibition design.

Pakeke were very interested in participating in the exhibition development process. Besides playing a key role in generating ideas and concepts for the exhibition, discussions also raised relevant issues such as:

- Why should taonga be displayed in a museum setting?
- Why was the marae not considered as the exhibition venue?
- Why were taonga being housed in Tairāwhiti Museum, and other institutions at all?
- What was being done to return taonga to marae permanently?
- Where were the taonga located?
- What was known about taonga belonging to Ngāi Tāmanuhiri?

To resolve the venue issue, pakeke suggested staging two exhibitions: one at the museum and another at the marae. Their suggestion made sense to showcase the whare tīpuna, Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri, built in the mid-nineteenth century and moved from Ro Pā to its current site in 1916. In addition to the two exhibitions, commemorations for the other whare, Waiari, the World War I Memorial Hall, and the dining hall, Maungarongo, could also be held. As a result, the carvings created by Pine Taiapa, Ngāti Porou tohunga whakairo (expert carver), would also be displayed.

The addition of a third exhibition venue for Toi Tāmanuhiri came from an invitation by Ray Teutenberg, owner of Verve Café in Gisborne's city centre, who was a descendant of a settler family that has farmed in the Gisborne district for many years. With three different venues confirmed, it was time to finalise a timetable and decide on the most suitable art forms for each venue.

One of the key moments in recognising Tairāwhiti Museum as a suitable exhibition venue was its role in facilitating the loan of one of three hoe waka from the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa collection. This relationship served as a model for negotiating

with other national institutions. A heartfelt pōhiri (welcoming) ceremony was held on the mahau (veranda) of Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri at Muriwai. This was a meaningful beginning to the hoe waka journey, given its provenance to Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and the neighbouring iwi of Rongowhakaata.

Figure 12
The hoe from Te Papa Tongarewa, and pou manaia lying on the mahau (veranda) of Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri, Muriwai, December 2013. Photo: S. Gibbs.

The hoe waka was then transported to Tairāwhiti Museum to meet Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa compliance protocols relating to safety, correct housing and environmental temperature control.

Figure 13
Mihi whakatau for Te Papa staff: Delivering hoe waka and pou manaia to Tairāwhiti Museum. *Toi Tāmanuhiri,* 2012. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Tapunga Nepe, the newly appointed Kaitiaki Māori, was responsible for overseeing the necessary proprieties from both iwi and institution following the transfer of the hoe waka, and taonga Māori loaned by Ngāi Tāmanuhiri to the Tairāwhiti Museum. These items included a pou manaia acknowledging the whakapapa connection to Raharuhi Rukupō, the tohunga whakairo (master carver), with whakapapa links to both Muriwai and Manutuke. Notably, this process enabled future inter-loans between museums to occur. Rangatira and kaumātua Temple Issac was responsible for coordinating rituals such as karakia (prayer) and waiata.

Toi Tāmanuhiri served as a space to gather and interpret ideas, embedding them within the context of history, stories, songs, and aspirations of whānau and hapū. Input from pakeke was vital in shaping the exhibition design. For instance, the marae-based event grouped artists into whānau and hapū clusters, creating a visual story of where the mahi toi and creative genius originated. The exhibitions recognised that it was time to honour tīpuna, whānau, and mokopuna (grandchildren).

Toi Tāmanuhiri curation

A key curatorial approach was to use photography not just as a visual link but also as a means of preserving the past to revive memories. This was particularly true for many kaumātua, who often found themselves examining images of loved ones. In many cases, whānau and friends who had passed away.

The museum floor plan was organised around the exhibition themes: Mana Tangata, Mana Whenua and Mana Moana. A recurring challenge for the curatorial team was limited access to parts of the building, as the Tairāwhiti Museum was undergoing physical and structural changes. The restructuring provided an opportunity to showcase film and digital animation in a darkened theatre space

Figure 14
Toi Tāmanuhiri, Tairāwhiti Museum, 2012. Waka Tiwai 7916;1977.47.2, with hoe waka in background (*Ngāi Tāmanuhiri taonga*). Photo: S. Gibbs.

A waka tiwai from the Tairāwhiti Museum collection was displayed in the central floor space alongside the hoe waka loaned by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. One of the challenges was to enable viewing of the blade of the hoe waka from both sides. Hoe waka in museums were usually fixed to a wall with only one side visible. Fortunately, we managed to negotiate with staff from Te Papa o Tongarewa to provide a special case that allowed views of both sides of the hoe waka blade.

Each theme - Mana Whenua, Mana Tangata, and Mana Moana - was assigned a specific area within the gallery. The themes guided the selection of artworks and taonga for each designated space. Mana Whenua featured images and works connected to important Ngāi Tāmanuhiri locations such as Koputūtea, Te Wherowhero, Te Kurī a Pāoa, Te Muriwai mai Tawhiti, Matiti, Tawatapu, Whareongaonga, and Paritu. Mana Moana included aerial photographs of the coastline and important navigational charts. Mana Tāngata highlighted key tīpuna associated with Tūranganui-a-Kiwa iwi, including Tāmanuhiri, Rongomaiāwhia, Tamaraukura, Paeaterangi, Hinenui, Rangiiwaho, Rongomaiwaiata, and Tūtekawa.

Within these designated spaces, information on other historical elements relevant to Ngāi Tāmanuhiri as a tribal entity could be located. For example, Ngā Pakanga detailed Ngāi Tāmanuhiri's contributions to the New Zealand Wars and other conflicts. These were documented in very early photographs that included Tatimuroa as early as the 1600s, Ngā Pakanga whenua i Aotearoa (the New Zealand land wars), Pai Mārire (the prophetic

movement), Ngā Pakanga i Tūranga (the Gisborne conflict), Te Pakanga Tuatahi o te Ao (World War I), Te Pakanga Tuarua o te Ao (World War II), and Ngā Pakanga Mai i Ngā Tau 1945 (the wars from 1945). It also covered past war efforts in Korea, Malaysia, Vietnam, and East Timor, including a timeline extending to the present day.

A space to view films and digital presentations provided by New Zealand Sound and Vision were made available along with digital projections from the Ngāi Tāmanuhiri archives.

Figure 15
Toi Tāmanuhiri, Tairāwhiti Museum, 2012. Contemporary mixed fibre work in front of pakanga panel. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 16
The Train to Tūranga from Muriwai. Images by A. Hill. Photo: S. Gibbs.

A work that evolved during the curation process was a film made by Melanie Tahata, who had been inspired by the flyover of the tribal Ngāi Tāmanuhiri boundary lines. The footage was put together with a soundtrack of the children from Te Kura o Muriwai singing several pātere (traditional chant). The film entitled Te Kuri o Whareongaonga and all the waiata were composed by Wi Tamihana Pohatu. Another significant contribution was Maelyn Charlton's Across the Ditch, depicting the number of our iwi currently working in Australia who have migrated from Tūranganui-a-Kiwa to Australia in search of work and a decent standard of living. As a textile artist her works mark a departure from painting and mixed media fibre works.

The haka pōhiri (2002), Ka Titiro Atu Au (1998), and E Huri Ngā Mata (2002) depicted tribal boundaries along the coast, from Koputūtea in the north to Paritu in the south, and inland to the west. The film produced by Mel Tahata played every day throughout the exhibition, with the soundtrack providing a subtle yet distinctly Māori ambience that filled the gallery. It was a highly successful element of the exhibition, as it provided context for the tribal connections to the whenua. It also worked as an innovative piece of creative documentation that added to the overall blend of customary and trans-customary works by iwi artists.

Figure 17
Te Kurī to Whareongaonga, film providing aerial views of the whenua. Soundtrack by Ngā tamariki o te Kura o Muriwai; compositions by tribal historian W. T. Pohatu. Film and photography by M. Tahata. Photo: M. Tahata.

Figure 18
Customary and contemporary works. Photo: S. Gibbs.

As noted in the Methodology Chapter, Sandy Adsett's innovative curatorial approach has been influential not only because he has interwoven Māori ritual engagement protocols into the spatial organisation of his curated exhibitions, but also because he used colour to activate spaces. He was responsible for creating culturally significant entranceways in both outside and inside gallery spaces, not only to signal a Māori presence but also to activate mauri within the gallery space and empower the ritual negotiation of spaces through artists' works. Following the modus operandi of Ngā Puna Waihanga (the Māori Artists and Writers Organisation), performances and workshops were often interwoven into the negotiation of gallery spaces. Having worked with Adsett for several years, I had an innate awareness of how to control visual space using colour. One of the prominent weavers and pakeke of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Aunty Kui Emmerson, intimated that "as we are the kaitiaki of

our coastal waters, the colours should reflect the moana" (Emmerson, personal communication, 2012). Hence, the blue colour in the main gallery.

An important curatorial strategy for the *Toi Tāmanuhiri* exhibition was gaining access to a set of images of the hoe waka held in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology collection. Kerry Brown, a photographer commissioned by the Cambridge University Museum, provided a significant photographic record of the hoe waka for Ngāi Tāmanuhiri. Previously, the only available image was the Sydney Parkinson painting of the hoe waka used by Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti in their exhibition before *Toi Tāmanuhiri*. The curatorial team recognised that a point of difference was needed, and Brown's photographs provided the solution.

Images of the hoe waka patterns were projected onto the walls of the gallery to highlight the theme of Mana Moana. This was significant not only because of the relationship between Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and its sovereignty over its coastal waters, but also because it was the first time that many of the iwi artists had seen these hoe waka patterns. Although recognisable as kōwhaiwhai, some patterns had been unknown and unseen since 1769, which sparked the Te Hoe Nukuroa research project.

Figure 19
Curatorial team – Steve Gibbs, Tairāwhiti Museum, 2013. Photo: M. Tahata.

Figure 20
Curatorial team – Steve Smith, Tairāwhiti Museum, 2013. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Toi Tāmanuhiri is a visual history of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri. To help people, gain an understanding of the exhibition, pakeke recommended the use of large bilingual panels in each of the three thematic sections. These panels would enable viewers to engage with concepts that Ngāi Tāmanuhiri wanted to show through objects, words and images. As a result, apart from information labels for individual works, a complete catalogue was

deemed unnecessary. In essence, the works were left to speak for themselves while the information panels combined text, graphics, and photographic images.

Exhibition Panels

Nei ra te mihi, te mihi nunui, te mihi mahana ki a koutou. Piki mai, kake mai ki a Toi Tāmanuhiri. Koinei te whakakitenga e pa ana te iwi o Ngāi Tāmanuhiri. Mai i ngā ra o mua, tae noa atu ki ngā ra a muri, i whakapuakitia te tikanga, ngā kōrero, ngā waiata, ngā wawata hoki mō mātou whānau. Ko tō mātou hikoi i ngā tau tekau i pahi, he mea whakamarama, he mea mamae, he mea wewete hoki. Kua whawhai mātou, kua tau mātou ngā take e pa ana ki te Tiriti o Waitangi. Heoi, kua tae mai te wa, kia whakanui o ō mātou Tīpuna, Whānau, Mokopuna hoki. Kua ora ake te iwi o Ngāi Tāmanuhiri.

Toi Tāmanuhiri emerged from a desire to express the history, stories, songs, and aspirations of our whānau, from the past, the present and the perceptions of the future. Our journey in recent decades has been illuminating, painful and liberating as we fought for and then settled historic breaches in our claims to the Waitangi Tribunal. In other words, "the time has arrived to celebrate our tīpuna, whānau and mokopuna. We have survived" (W Pohatu, personal communication, 2012).

Workshops

The museum and marae organised a series of workshops and demonstrations of tā moko and whatu raranga. The tā moko demonstrations were led by two accomplished practitioners, Maia Gibbs and Steve Smith. Both artists had been tutored by Tā Derek Lardelli, an expert in tā moko. It was essential to highlight tā moko and weaving as integral aspects of the iwi art forms being exhibited, recognising the cultural significance of whakapapa. Photographic images of tīpuna, past and present, reflected the sentiment while endorsing iwi creativity. During December and January 2014, the weaving workshops were led by master weavers Kui Emmerson and Polly Whaitiri at both museum and marae venues.

The exhibitions were open during the school holidays, allowing artists to engage with school children who lived in or visited Muriwai. Melanie Tahata and Jody Toroa, supported by a group of young adults forming the Tāmanuhiri youth leadership group, also conducted a series of screen-printing workshops. Rangi Te Kanawa, a conservator and expert in Māori textiles from the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, led a whāriki conservation

workshop for the weavers. At the same time, I organised drawing sessions focusing on the Rukupō carvings in the War Memorial Hall.

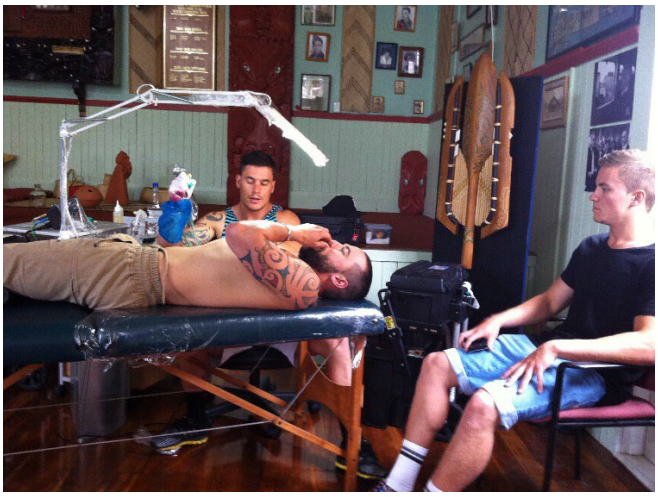

Figure 21
Toi Tāmanuhiri, Muriwai Marae, 2013. Tā moko workshop with M. Gibbs, moko artist. Photo: S. Gibbs.

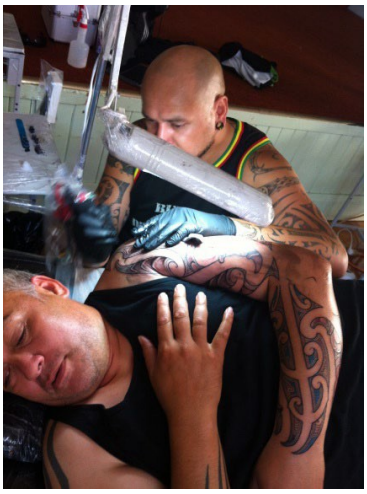

Figure 22
Toi Tāmanuhiri, Muriwai Marae, 2013. Tā moko workshop with S. Smith, moko artist. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Tairāwhiti Museum Exhibition

The *Toi Tāmanuhiri: Mana Moana, Mana Whenua, Mana Tangata* exhibition was curated around taonga tuku iho that were accessible. The taonga included a waka tīwai and papa whāriki from the Tairāwhiti Museum collection. All the exhibition items were chosen as examples of high quality and craftsmanship that are relevant to the exhibition's kaupapa.

A pounamu mere, gifted by Ngāi Tahu to Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, recognised a connection to an earlier Waitangi Museum exhibition acknowledging iwi artists' contributions. The pou manaia, on loan from the War Memorial Hall, was included in the exhibition because of its link to Te Waaka Perohuka and Raharuhi Rukupō, two of the most significant Māori wood carvers of the early nineteenth century.

The inclusion of the pou manaia was significant but controversial. Initially, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri aimed to reaffirm its tribal stories and links to the creative brilliance of Rukupō. The pou manaia and other carvings in the War Memorial Hall at Muriwai hold great importance for the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa region, especially in shaping the pītau-a-manaia kōwhaiwhai design.

Figure 23
Pou manaia as it appeared at Muriwai Marae, 1977. Image retrieved from Ngāi Tāmanuhiri archive.

Figure 24
Pou manaia as installed in *Toi Tāmanuhiri,* 2013. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 25
Manaia on the rauawa of *Te Toki a Tāpiri* waka, Auckland Museum.

> "Raharuhi belonged to Ngai Tamanuhiri by birth and was closely connected with Ngati Maru by descent and marriage" (Fowler, 1974, p.6).

Leo Fowler's statement was confirmed by Rukupō's signature on the Ngāi Tahupō tribal register during the first official census in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa on 1 March 1878. According to pakeke accounts, Rukupō was brought up in Muriwai. His father was Te Pohepohe (also known as Pītau) of Ngāti Kahutia and Ngāti Maru, and his mother, Hinekoua, was of Ngāti Kaipoho descent. Ngāti Kahutia, a hapū of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, exercised their mana whenua over the lands that included Pakirikiri. According to tribal historians and elders, Paora Whaanga, Warren and Noel Pohatu, Pakirikiri was the original site of the meeting house, Te Poho o Rukupō. It was built in 887 and "was moved to its present site at Manutuke around 1913" Neich (1993, p. 278). Through Ngāti Kahutia, Tāmanuhiri is unquestionably linked to Te Poho o Rukupō. Rukupō lived at Papatewhai, the land at the base of Te Kurī.

His interest in the Te Kurī blocks is documented in the 1878 tribal register citing Ngāi Tahupō as his iwi. Rukupō travelled extensively and was one of the carvers with Perohuka who contributed to the carvings on the canoe, Te Toka a Tāpiri, in 1836.

The pou manaia is significant because its design is based on manaia on Rongowhakaata carved rauawa (waka carved top stake) which influenced the evolution of the painted pītau-a-manaia that has become a symbol of the adaptation and cultural resilience of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa iwi. According to Jahnke (2022, personal communication), the earliest carved transition of the rauawa form into the Manutuke pou manaia form is preceded by the pāpaka (skirting boards) in Te Hau ki Tūranga where the hands and body metamorphose into manaia.

For some Rongowhakaata descendants, the inclusion of this pou manaia in the exhibition was challenged as they questioned Ngāi Tāmanuhiri's right to display this taonga. Historically, the carvings had been gifted to Ngāi Tāmanuhiri to act as kaitiaki of the taonga. The 1994 restoration project saw the carvings housed in the War Memorial Hall at Muriwai. Rongowhakaata maintain that the pou manaia was a gift to Raharuhi Rukupō from Te Waaka Perohuka (Wyllie, personal communication, 2012). However, the mana and status of pakeke determined that including the pou manaia in Toi Tāmanuhiri was correct; the right thing to do.

Verve Café Exhibition

The Verve Café exhibition showcased prints, paintings, relief works, and photographs chosen for their appropriateness for display and sale in a café setting. The opening was scheduled to align with the museum and marae-based exhibitions, aiming to provide a central focus for Gisborne's city centre as part of the Toi Tāmanuhiri exhibition concept. Significantly, rangatahi associated with Toimairangi played a leadership role in curating and installing the works within the café.

Figure 26
Verve Café installation, 2013. Curatorial team: M. Gibbs, S. Smith, R. Teutenberg (owner), H. Porou, M. Tahata. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Muriwai Marae Exhibition

Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri, the whare tīpuna, was one of the central marae exhibits courtesy of Jody Toroa, Kay Robyn, and Melanie Tahata. The house had been restored as a collaborative project with Heritage New Zealand, under the direction of Dean Whiting. The Maungarongo Dining Hall and the World War I Memorial Hall, where whānau works were displayed, were also part of the restoration project.

Figure 27
Toi Tāmanuhiri exhibition, War Memorial Hall Fashion Parade, Muriwai Marae, 2013. Photo: S. Gibbs.

The WWI Memorial Hall was used for iwi tributes, to remember pakanga (battles), to house taonga, and to display the pou manaia of Raharuhi Rukupō. Each exhibition space was organised by whānau, who were responsible for choosing the works for the exhibition. Works featured pōtae and kākahu by Kui Emmerson, and many whānau chose to use taonga that had been handed down or displayed and stored in their homes for many years. This led to the discovery of a collection of mata toki, which further enriched the narrative of iwi relationships and their links to waka and hoe waka fabrication.

The opening showcased a diverse array of art forms, including poetry readings, performances by Pacific Island dancers, and a fashion show featuring a kakahu collection by Olive Isaacs. It also served as a venue for tā moko and whatu rāranga workshops.

The exhibition gave iwi a chance to acknowledge the end of a tough year of relentless effort. It also served as a Christmas celebration, which included the marae band playing background music at a hākari (feast) organised by the hau kāinga (locals). The feast featured a fantastic smorgasbord of kaimoana (seafood) and other Ngāi Tāmanuhiri delicacies.

Figure 28
Kākahu models and cloaks made by O. Issacs, as part of *Toi Tamanuhiri* exhibition, Muriwai Marae, 2013. Photo: S. Gibbs.

The interaction between pakeke and taonga was unforgettable. Once the hoe was taken out of its crate, pakeke were allowed to handle and examine it. They were in awe because this

was the first time the hoe waka had been seen in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa since the exchange with Cook in 1769.

Figure 29
Hoe waka, Te Papa Tongarewa ME 014921. *Toi Tāmanuhiri* exhibition, 2013. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 30
Ngāi Tāmanuhiri kaumātua engaging with hoe waka. *Toi Tāmanuhiri* exhibition, War Memorial Hall, Muriwai, 2013. Photo: S. Gibbs.

At the end of the iwi marae events, assessing whether it was successful was unavoidable. There is always some uncertainty for any curator and the design team. However, the overall feedback was very positive, and the approval from pakeke was ultimately the key measure. For them, it was the whanaungatanga and the expression of kotahitanga that they enjoyed the most. For those debuting their works, the experience of an exhibition was new, nerve-racking, but ultimately rewarding.

In his review, (Appendix 6) 'Toi Tāmanuhiri: A Review in Three Parts Skinner (2014) wrote:

> In terms of display strategies, this exhibition achieves its effects by placing different kinds of art practices in the same space, which has a number of effects. It collapses the chronological distance between objects, partly by placing them alongside each other but also by articulating the taonga as models and precedents for the newer

> work. The strategic use of photographs of Tamanuhiri landscapes and Tamanuhiri tipuna also create rich links between objects, place and whakapapa. (p. 1)

While all three exhibitions were very different, the marae setting was the one that allowed iwi to express themselves. As Skinner (2014) maintained:

> The mix of artistic quality and intentions is also discombobulating, and yet somehow appropriate, because Māori spaces like this quite often bring together the professional and the amateur – precisely because the point is not art in the sense of the art world, but art within a context of whakapapa. (p. 2)

Accordingly, the *Toi Tāmanuhiri* exhibitions provided an account of the past and present, with a clear vision for future iwi developments.

Tū Te Whaihanga – A Recognition of Creative Genius

Tairāwhiti Museum. October 2019 - October 2020 [extended to May 2022]

Figure 31
Kai Karanga: Moko Kauae of Hinehakirirangi (2019). *Tū Te Whaihanga* exhibition. Graphic image: M. Gibbs.

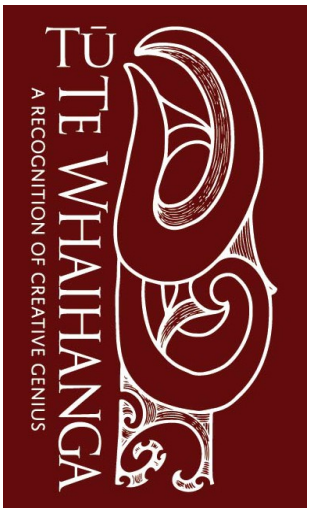

Figure 32
Wero (2019). *Tū Te Whaihanga* exhibition. Graphic image: M. Gibbs.

Ngā Wānanga: a prelude to Tū Te Whaihanga

Wānanga was a vital and essential step before the *Tū Te Whaihanga* exhibition. Wānanga were a core part of our oral histories, shaping our identity as a people. In 2019, taonga

returned to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, the place where sacred knowledge was passed from one wānanga to another within the region.

Figure 33
The taonga were welcomed back to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa with ceremonial pōhiri at Te Poho o Rawiri. *Tū Te Whaihanga,* 2019. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Pōhiri – Wānanga

With guidance from iwi and the Hei Kanohi Ora Governance Group, 37 taonga were returned to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa to enable people to engage with them both physically and spiritually. The taonga were welcomed back at Te Poho o Rāwiri marae, where they were greeted as living, breathing tīpuna returning home. Within the marae context, their uri experienced the mana, ihi, wehi, and wana embodied within each taonga tuku iho, alongside the hau kāinga (home people). The taonga were then transported to the Tairāwhiti museum for wānanga-a-iwi, including Ngāti Rangiwaho-Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Tūranganui Whatu Raranga, Tūranganui Toi Whakairo, and various other interest groups. These wānanga provided iwi with the opportunity to engage closely with the taonga. International experts attended to share kōrero about each of the taonga. Presentations by art specialists, carvers, and weavers were delivered as part of the wānanga programme, with each session recorded and later included in the exhibition as an audio-visual feature.

Figure 34
Tū Te Whaihanga exhibition – iwi-based wānanga, Tairāwhiti Museum, 2019. Photo: S. Gibbs.

While access to taonga was a vital part of the wānanga, the exhibition was obliged to share kōrero with the wider public. As a result, *Tū Te Whaihanga* used contextual text alongside the taonga on display to help people understand the history related to their departure from Tūranganui-a-Kiwa in 1769 and the events that led to their exchange on board the *Endeavour* while becalmed off Whareongaonga.

Tū Te Whaihanga: in search of a name

"Tū Te Whaihanga" means "Let the pursuit of creativity stand". Hanga, as a verb, means making, building, fashioning, and creating. As a noun, it is the result of a process. The addition of the prefix 'whai' transforms hanga into something that possesses the qualities of a built form or environment, while also suggesting the aspirational quality of profound form. Whenever Tū is used, it highlights standing tall and proud. In the context of the *Tū Te Whaihanga* exhibition, it is the taonga that demand our attention to stand tall on the tūrangawaewae of our tīpuna, who were the kaihanga (creators) of these treasures that speak to us across time and space. We stand in awe of their genius, as these taonga, fashioned with stone tools, are empowered by patterns of great significance, transporting us from the past into the present and the future, this is the whakapapa-a-hoe legacy, where an object is more than its physical form; it is empowered by whakapapa to the children of Tānemahuta and Tangaroa, and to the tīpuna tohunga whakairo of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and Rongowhakaata, whose creativity is expressed in form, pattern, and the kokowai of Papatūānuku.

The name of the exhibition is further infused with mana through its link to Rangiuia's lament for the death of his son Tū Te Rangiwhaitiri. A line in the moteatea "Ka tipu te whaihanga" references the growth of the carving art at Te Rāwheoro wānanga in Ūawa (Tolaga Bay). Tā Derek Lardelli designed the exhibition title to firmly root it in a legacy of creativity, shifting focus from Ūawa to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. Therefore, "Tū Te Whaihanga" suggests the art of carving maturing and reaching its full potential in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. In

a concluding act of consolidation, the Pourewa Island poupou collected by Cook's men at Pourewa Island off Ūawa in 1769 was loaned by Tübingen University in Germany for the exhibition. It held pride of place on the taha matau, taha nui (the Rangatira side), acknowledging Te Rāwheoro wānanga's contribution to the carving traditions of Tairāwhiti. Also included is the return of the taowaru (taratara-a-kae) and the manaia on the hoe waka referenced in the Rangiuia lament. It is carved in the style of Ngāti Rangiwaho from Te Kurī-a-Pāoa, with a distinctive asymmetrical transition of the upper lip across the central axis.

As part of my initial work in establishing a taonga list for the *Toi Tāmanuhiri* exhibitions, visiting museums and establishing relationships was essential for locating taonga. At the end of 2018, the idea of bringing the taonga home gathered momentum. *Tū Te Whaihanga* became a reality because of the relationships established and nurtured with national and international institutions and museums. This was a critical point of difference between the curation of *Toi Tāmanuhiri* and *Tū Te Whaihanga*. The latter involved inter-institutional and inter-tribal negotiation and communication. With Toi Tāmanuhiri there was a single iwi focus with Tairāwhiti Museum as the collaborating institution.

Figure 35
Kanohi Ora Governance Group hui with British Museum Oceania Curator Dr. Julie Adams. Attendees: Dr. D. Lardelli, Dr. J. Adams (British Museum), and E. Wallace (Tairāwhiti Museum director). Ngāi Tāmanuhiri Marae, 2017. Photo: J. Toroa.

Figure 36
A. Hakiwai (Te Papa Tongarewa), T. Nepe (Tairāwhiti Museum), K. Johnson (CEO, Te Puia, Rongowhakaata), and Dr. B. Graham (Toihoukura). Photo: J. Toroa.

Hei Kanohi Ora Governance Group

The Hei Kanohi Ora Governance Group (Appendix 6) was formed to provide a platform for engaging with international museums. The group included coordinator Jody Toroa (Ngāi Tāmanuhiri), Rina Kerekere (Te Aitanga a Hauiti), Lisa Taylor and Karl Johnstone

(Rongowhakaata), Tai Kerekere and Huia Pihema (Te Aitanga a Mahaki), Nick Tupara (Ngāti Oneone), and Steve Gibbs (Ngāi Tāmanuhiri).

In 2016, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri hosted Julie Adams, who was the curator of Oceania at the British Museum. I had met and worked with her during my time in London. She was formally welcomed onto Ngāi Tāmanuhiri marae, where she shared images of taonga from the British Museum collection. The Governance Group believed it was important for the iwi to show Adams, and by extension the British Museum, that Ngāi Tāmanuhiri are the living descendants of those tīpuna who met and engaged with Cook and his crew on board the *Endeavour*. As custodians of the taonga through whakapapa, we aimed to clarify that we were interested in developing a plan to return the taonga to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. We needed to collaborate with Māori leadership to ensure fair representation from Tūranganui-a-Kiwa iwi. The iwi leadership group included Charlotte Te Kani (Ngāti Oneone), Pehimana Pene Brown (Te Aitanga a Mahaki), Angus Ngarangione (Ngāi Tāmanuhiri), Victor Walker (Te Aitanga a Hauiti), and Moera Brown (Rongowhakaata). Ronald Nepe, the chief executive of Te Rūnanga o Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, also participated. All were highly regarded and respected within their tribal groups for their service and dedication to their iwi. Adams played a key role in supporting the release of taonga for the *Tū Te Whaihanga* exhibition, and equally important, Eloise Wallace, the Director of Tairāwhiti Museum, served as an essential mediator between iwi and overseas museums.

Through collaborative efforts, our contacts expanded to include the support of Dr Lissant Bolton (Keeper of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas) from the British Maritime Museum, and Khadija von Zinnenburg Carroll (Curator of Cook's New Clothes 2018). Bolton had visited Tūranga in 2017, and von Zinnenburg Carroll was a Professor of Global Art at the University of Birmingham and a lecturer at the University of Oxford. Dr Amiria Salmond (Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology) from the University of Auckland served as a consultant and researcher for the iwi research team. Salmond's colleague, Dr Ali Clark (Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology) from the Cambridge Museum, the National Film Archives staff in Wellington and Dr. Arapata Hakiwai, Kaihautū Māori of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, were invaluable contributors to the realisation of *Tū Te Whaihanga*.

Under the leadership of Jody Toroa, Hei Kanohi Ora undertook several initiatives to enhance iwi involvement with international museums, focusing on how Tūranganui-a-Kiwa

iwi could benefit from such collaborations. These initiatives included endorsing loan agreements between Tūranganui-a-Kiwa iwi and museums in the United Kingdom; establishing short-term loan agreements between Hei Kanohi Ora and museums both domestically and internationally; negotiating an internship with the British Museum for Tapuna Nepe; forming a relationship between the Ministry of Culture and Heritage and Te Haa to facilitate loans for taonga; and drafting a Hei Kanohi Ora loans list.

As a prelude to negotiating with museums and other institutions, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri had undertaken projects that aligned the iwi with the Cambridge Museum through the efforts of Amiria Salmond. In 2010, Amiria and her mother Dame Anne Salmond were hosted at Muriwai. The idea of digital repatriation was being considered at that time, as Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti had been actively working on their project to test the viability of a repatriation strategy instigated at the opening of the 2003 Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti exhibition, Te Pou o Te Kani. As Wayne Ngata informed me, "Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti has been working since 2009 to facilitate the pou of Hinematioro returning home via a loan arrangement with Tüebingen Museum in Germany" (W. Ngata, ppersonal communication, 2010.). Both short-term and long-term loan options were considered by Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti at the time but were set aside in favour of digital repatriation.

In 2019, Rongowhakaata left the Hei Kanohi Ora Governance Group. However, the door remains open for them to return. Rongowhakaata artist John Moetara attended the last four meetings as the October exhibition date approached. Despite the dispute over ownership of the taonga, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri took on the responsibility of reconnecting with the taonga before, during, and after the Tū Te Whaihanga exhibition.

Figure 37
Tū Te Whaihanga iwi-based wānanga, Tairāwhiti Museum, 2019. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Eloise Wallace's work and vision regarding institutional funding processes and procedures were invaluable. The combined efforts of Hei Kanohi Ora Governance Group and the Tairāwhiti Museum, supported by the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Rūnanga, were essential to the success of *Tū Te Whaihanga*.

Tū Te Whaihanga: Co-curation

In 1990, a hui for kaumātua from across the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa district unanimously expressed their disappointment at the imbalance in Māori and European narratives relating to Captain James Cook's first encounters with tangata whenua. With the 2019 Tuia 250 commemoration imminent, the imbalance needed to be addressed in the *Tū Te Whaihanga* exhibition and the Tuia 250 commemorations. The challenge was to ensure that iwi voices contributed equally to discussions regarding the history of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa and its resident iwi. In some respects, *Tū te Whaihanga* honours those kaumātua who set the challenge and motivated efforts to counter the colonised view of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa.

Eloise Wallace and I were responsible for co-curating the *Tū Te Whaianga* exhibition at the Tairāwhiti Museum. Although the list of taonga we could display was extensive, we had to navigate the complexities of inter-institutional conventions for loaning taonga and the logistics of transporting taonga to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. My role was to design an exhibition space that effectively conveyed the messages we wanted to communicate. The focal point was not solely taonga but the tīpuna who created them. Acknowledging taonga as products of creative genius and their creation within a traditional wānanga context was central to the dissemination of mātauranga for both iwi and the wider community, including non-Māori. The story that needed to be told focused on the narratives of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa iwi in 1769, rather than on Captain James Cook and the *Endeavour*.

One aim of the design process was to make taonga accessible. Using the lessons learnt from Toi Tāmanuhiri, it was decided to design and create a special glass display case not only for unimpeded viewing of the taonga but also to display them in an 'active' mode and to keep them safe. Several restrictions were linked to displaying taonga, with security being the highest priority. The indemnity insurance for the taonga was prohibitively expensive and required security measures to be in place. Despite this, there was confidence in the Tairāwhiti Museum, its leadership structures, and the international relationships it had established.

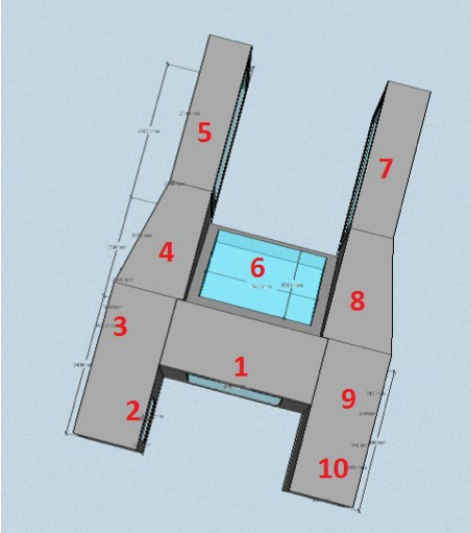

Figure 38
Te Waka - Tū Te Wahihanga (2019). Digital image. Photo: Tairāwhiti Museum.

Figure 39
Tū Te Whaihanga installation, Tairāwhiti Museum, 2019. Photo: S. Gibbs.

From wakahuia to waka hourua

The initial waka huia (treasure chest) concept evolved into a waka hourua (double-hulled ocean-going canoe) to acknowledge the presence of eight hoe waka that would symbolically ferry the taonga within the Tairāwhiti Museum. The waka hourua concept was mine, developing from discussions between Eloise Wallace and me on how best to display the hoe waka in the White Gallery. The size of the waka hourua was dictated by the need to circumnavigate the structure, which was glazed with laminated glass for safety and to protect the displayed taonga. Eloise and her team were responsible for transforming the waka hourua idea into a three-dimensional form that was functional for access and display. Decisions about the best viewing positions for the taonga were discussed in a culturally sensitive manner at length. The mau rākau weaponry and the six hoe waka were showcased in an active stance, standing upright in their designated spaces as if ready for action. Whenever possible, the taonga were to be visible from all sides, suspended in a secure space. The hoe waka were arranged in two groups, separated by a viewing gap to represent the paddling of a waka.

My research visits to museums in Great Britain and Europe to trace and record hoe waka enabled me to meet museum and curatorial staff who were responsible for the hoe waka in their respective collections. I was able to initiate the return to Aotearoa of eight hoe waka for the *Tū Te Whaihanga* exhibition. The collective advice from the museums in Britain was that they could not loan taonga to iwi, but they could loan taonga to a museum. Since we had previously arranged a loan of a hoe waka from the Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand collection for the *Toi Tāmanuhiri* exhibition, I was able to start the negotiation process for loans for an exhibition in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. I chose the examples of hoe waka based on the visual prominence of the painted patterns and the carved manaia on the whiti upoko. All the selected hoe waka featured manaia with an asymmetrically aligned upper lip as a signature of the tribal style. Of the eight examples loaned for *Tū Te Whaihanga*, five had pītau dominant patterns, while the other three displayed pītau/kape combinations and ngū patterns.

Figure 40
Tū Te Whaihanga graphic design elements. Based on the manaia on the whiti (hand grip) at the reke (butt end) of a hoe waka.

Pōhiri framework

The entrance to the *Tū Te Whaihanga* exhibition space was designed as a conceptual ritual of encounter structured according to pōwhiri protocols, aligned with a conceptual framework first introduced by Sandy Adsett and Cliff Whiting during the Te Waka Toi exhibition (1992 - 94). The pōhiri protocol progresses through several stages: karanga (call to enter); the wero (challenge); whai kōrero (speech-making); waiata (song); hongi haruru (pressing of noses); and kai (partaking of food). Hongi haruru and kai were additional elements of engagement not included in Adsett's framework but were nonetheless essential to the exhibition process. Furthermore, each phase of Adsett's marae encounter framework was activated through the strategic placement of artworks or groups of artworks within the exhibition space. Accordingly, Cliff Whiting's Toa (warrior) participated in the wero, while

a large photograph of Shona Rapira Davies Ngā Morehu served as the voice of welcome from wahine:

> In setting up the exhibition [Te Waka Toi] we started with the kaupapa of trying to represent the way in which Māori approach the meeting house. So we looked at the karanga of the women and the challenge, while trying to get an impact from strong images as people first went into the gallery…Of course, things had to change as we went along. For instance, in some venues we found we couldn't have walls sticking out because of security and things like that. This meant we had to realign some of the pieces purely on their visual impact and how they related to each other. (https://citygallery.org.nz/documents/te-waka-toi-documents/)

Figure 41
Tū Te Whaihanga entrance (2019). Digital wero with mau rākau, silent digital kai karanga with mauri stone (Te Kaha Awhitia). Photo: S. Gibbs.

Karanga: call of welcome

In *Tū Te Whaihanga*, the karanga appears as a silent, moving digital display of moko kauae representing Hinehakiririrangi, the sister of Pāoa, who captained the Horouta waka. She lived at Muriwai, where she established several kumara gardens in Muriwai and Manutuke. She holds the place of honour on the pare (door lintel) of Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri at Muriwai.

Wero: challenge

This assumed the form of a manaia as repetitive linear digital images displayed on the walls on either side of a set of taiaha, tewhatewha, and pou whenua in the active position while a mauri stone, Te Kaha Awhitia (a matatoki, adze blade recovered from Whareongaonga), greeted visitors as they entered Manawa Kapakapa: Heartbeat.

This is the heartbeat of the kōwhaiwhai that surrounds the walls of the gallery, echoing the landscape visible when anchored in the middle of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Bay, facing south. The landscape is on the horizon line symbolising the whenua and our connection to it.

Figure 42
Tū Te Whaihanga hoe waka display case, Tairāwhiti Museum. Photo: S. Gibbs.

This exhibition aimed to honour the creative genius of our tīpuna and accept our duty to carry their legacy forward. The project exemplified how an urban community-led initiative from Tūranganui-a-Kiwa can successfully bring such a creative endeavour to life. A key factor was leadership by the Hei Kanohi Ora Governance Group, who collaborated with a wide range of people and organisations to realise *Tū Te Whaihanga*. The project received

funding from Eastland Community Trust, Te Puna Tahua Lottery Grants Board, and Air New Zealand.

Huia Pihema, Chairperson of Hei Kanohi Ora noted,

> The purpose of Hei Kanohi Ora is to facilitate, in partnership with Tairāwhiti Museum, the short-term loan of taonga tuku iho held in various museums in the United Kingdom and Germany from the October 1769 encounters [and] to enable connection to taonga through wānanga, whakapapa and matauranga dissemination connected to the taonga in *Tū Te Whaihanga.* (Pihema, personal communication, 2019)

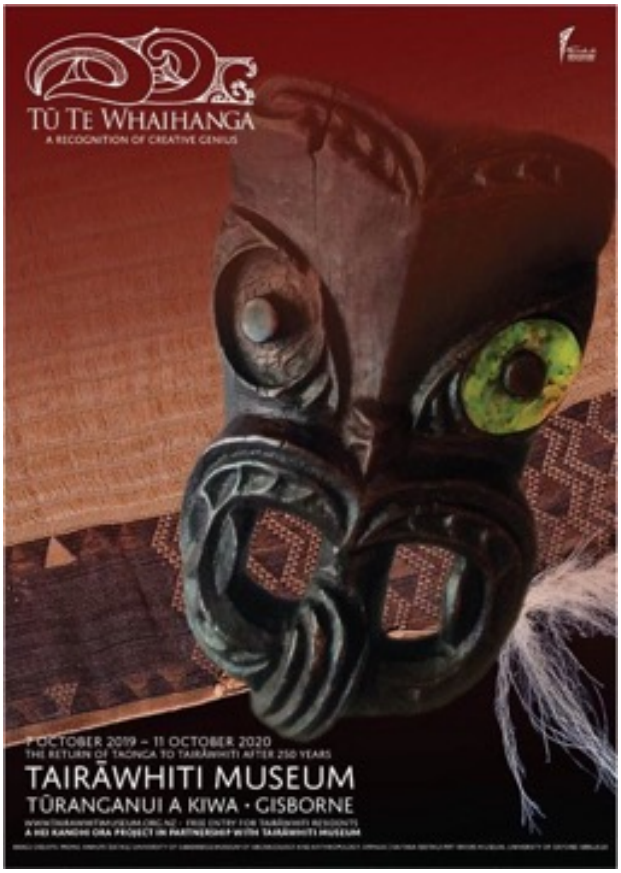

Figure 43
Tū Te Whaihanga poster (2019). Designed by S. Gibbs; graphic by M. Tahata, Tairāwhiti Museum.

The Challenges

The poster image for advertising was a wero (challenge). There were many other challenges: getting the whole project right; navigating our way through the past and what this may have meant, as 1769 provided real examples of loss, grief, and death; impacts of

colonisation; provenance and ownership; and reflecting on our emergence from the Waitangi Tribunal Iwi Settlement process, where the focus was on difference and division rather than whanaungatanga and connectedness. A significant challenge was the cultural capacity and capability of international museums to accept that iwi see them as temporary custodians of taonga, and that giving taonga a voice could only be achieved through the descendants of the creators. A further challenge for the museums was acknowledging that they hold the mana to decide whether the taonga should be returned to their place of origin. Taonga unite us with our past, connect us with the present, and carry our hopes and dreams into the future.

Figure 44
Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri, return of hoe waka from the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2012. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Conclusion

The chapter highlights the transformative impact of the *Toi Tāmanuhiri* and *Tū Te Whaihanga* exhibitions, showing how Ngāi Tāmanuhiri has used art, taonga, and community involvement to reclaim their story and honour their cultural heritage. Through iwi-led curatorial approaches, collaborative efforts with museums and other institutions, and the strategic use of photography, workshops, and cultural protocols, these exhibitions fostered a deeper understanding of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri's history, values, and hopes. Ultimately, the chapter emphasises the importance of addressing historical imbalances, fostering trust

between iwi and museums, and amplifying Māori voices in the display and preservation of their taonga for future generations.

Chapter 3: Te Hoe Nuku Roa: The Long Journey of the Hoe

Figure 45
Map indicating the location of hoe in European and New Zealand museums. Provided by J. Hagan, 2001.

Introduction

This chapter chronicles the search for, and documentation of carved and painted hoe waka connected to the pivotal 1769 encounter between the Māori of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa and Captain James Cook. This chapter carefully details the steps taken to compile a comprehensive record of these taonga, with a focus on identifying the distinct stylistic features of the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa carving and painting traditions from that period. Building on the foundational work of Neich, Jessop, and Salmond, with amendments by Gibbs, this research journey involved establishing relationships with museums globally and engaging with Ngāi Tāmanuhiri kaumātua through a Hui-a-Pakeke. This Kaupapa Māori approach ensured that tribal narratives and aspirations were central to the project, enabling a culturally grounded exploration of these significant cultural artifacts.

Te Haerenga

The focus here is on tracing and documenting carved and painted hoe waka that can be linked to the first exchange between the tangata whenua of the Gisborne region and Captain James Cook in 1769 and the steps taken to gather and organise a comprehensive

record of all hoe waka are described. This includes stylistic features associated with the 1769 Tūranganui-a-Kiwa style of carving and painting, which are currently held in international museums. A key reference for tracing the hoe waka is found in Tables 2 - 4 (see below pp 74 - 76) by Roger Neich, Lesley Jessop, and Amiria, with amendments by Steve Gibbs.

As outlined in Chapter 1, the hoe waka research journey involved establishing relationships with national and international museums and other relevant institutions to track the current location of the traded hoe waka. Kaupapa Māori principles and practices guided the research project, exemplified by the establishment of a Hui-a-Pakeke forum to engage with Ngāi Tāmanuhiri kaumātua, listen to their oral histories of the region, and provide an opportunity for tribal elders to voice their opinions and aspirations for the project alongside uri of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri. Hence, regular hui and wānanga informed the research project, enabling all parties to properly address and support tribal interests.

Figure 46
Cook's pathway (in red) from Tūranganui-a-Kiwa southwards toward Hawke's Bay, 1769. Includes sites of Whakaiririahiahi, Tikiwhata, and Meke's pā, tribal coastal boundaries of Tāmanuhiri. Provided by J. Hagan, 2001.

Ngāi Tāmanuhiri is a small Māori tribal community that still inhabits their ancestral lands on the southern borders of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa (which Captain James Cook later named Poverty Bay). Their lands stretch from Koputūtea, where the Waipaoa River meets the sea, south to Te Paritu (see Fig. 46), illustrating the voyage of the *Endeavour* southward. Whareongaonga, a natural seaport facing north, is situated along Te Kurī a Pāoa Peninsula, not far from Meke's Pā site. Ngāi Tawehi, Ngāti Kahutia, Ngāti Rangitauwhiwhia, Ngāti Rangiwaho, and Ngāti Rangiwaho Matua are hapū of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri. Additionally, I whakapapa to Ngāti Maru of Rongowhakaata. There are three Ngāi Tāmanuhiri marae: Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri and Waiari located in Muriwai, and Te Poho o Rangiwaho at Tawatapu (also known as Bartletts), about 30 kilometres south of Gisborne on State Highway 2.

Background

On 17 July 2010, a meeting was held at Te Kura o Muriwai where iwi representatives met with Dr Salmond. The meeting was in response to a pānui sent to museums asking if they possessed any taonga belonging to Ngāi Tāmanuhiri. Salmond advised that several painted hoe waka were housed in museum collections across Europe and the United Kingdom that might be of interest. She believed that it was possible the taonga she had located originated from Ngāi Tāmanuhiri.

The evidence was compiled from transcripts and diary entries outlined in "Appendix 2". This laid the groundwork for questions about the importance and relevance of the hoe waka for Ngāi Tāmanuhiri. On a personal level, it provided the rationale for the research and offered valuable material for my creative art practice. From this initial contact with Salmond, the main reference sources included both past and current museum archives, as well as notes from the Cook diaries. Additionally, historical accounts presented in the Waitangi Tribunal hearings supported much of the oral traditions shared throughout the hui-a-pakeke and the research project. It became clear that the information gathered from the design of the artefacts could be traced back to the 1769 exchange aboard the *Endeavour*. Later, numerous site visits, interviews, and communications - both direct and indirect - led to the questions raised in this thesis, such as the number of items traded in 1769 and their locations.

A review of research related to the Toi Tāmanuhiri exhibitions, followed by investigation into the exchange aboard the *Endeavour* in 1769, was conducted, along with recording the

current locations of the hoe waka. The thesis title "Te Hoe Nuku Roa: the long paddle that is traversing the globe," was developed during this period. Some of the essential documentation supplied by Dame Anne and Dr Amiria Salmond included written accounts based on the diaries of eight members of the *Endeavour's* crew. The diary entries recorded slightly different versions of the same event. The observations of Cook, Banks, Monkhouse, Parkinson, Gore, Magre, Solander, and Sporing (Appendix 2) contributed to creating a map of the events that occurred during the *Endeavour's* voyage to and from Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. A comparative study of the diary entries with tribal accounts in Land Court minute books, whakapapa records, and oral narratives allowed for the development of a Ngāi Tāmanuhiri historical perspective on the exchange that took place off Whareongaonga.

Foreign Encounter

While the *Endeavour* was in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, several shootings and kidnappings occurred, resulting in multiple fatalities. Te Maro, a rangatira of Ngāti Oneone, was the first killed by Cook's landing party on 9 October 1769. Te Rakau of Rongowhakaata was the second to fall on day two, shot first by Banks and then by Surgeon Monkhouse, he was "wounded in such a manner that he died soon after for upon their returning from off the Rock, we had discharged off our Peices, which were loaded with small shott, and wounded 3 more; but these got over the River and were carried off by the others" (Cook, 1769/1955, p. 263).

Joseph Banks (1769/1962), reflecting on his role in killing at the Tūranganui river mouth laments, "Thus, ended…the most disagreeable day my life has yet seen, black be the mark for it and heaven send that such may never return to embitter future reflection" (p. 135). Later, in the afternoon Cook's encounter with a canoe crew culminated in "either 2 o 3 were kill'd and one wounded, and 3 jumped overboard. These last we took up and brought on board" (Cook, 1769/1955, p. 268). After Cook returned the boys to the river mouth the *Endeavour* departed Tūranganui a-Kiwa and headed south past the headland known as Te Kurī-a-Pāoa towards Māhia Peninsula.

According to Salmond (1991)

> After leaving Tuuranga-nui on 10 October, the *Endeavour* sailed south along the coast at a distance of three or four miles, heading towards the Maahia Peninsula. In the afternoon the wind died, and as the vessel lay becalmed off Whareongaonga six canoes approached her from the land (p. 141).

Salmond's naming of Whareongaonga as the location where "several Canoes put off from shore and came towards us within less than a quarter of a mile but could not be persuaded to come nearer, tho Tupia exerted himself very much shouting out and promising that they should not be hurt. At last one was seen coming from Poverty bay or near it, she had only 4 people in her, one who I well rememberd to have seen at our first interview on the rock: these never stopd to look at any thing but came at once alongside of the ship and with very little persuasion came on board" (Banks, 1769/1962, p. 136) is critically important for identifying Ngāti Rangiwaho as the creators of a number of the hoe waka. Banks is the only member of Cook's crew to reference the 'shore'. Cook, Monkhouse and Parkinson also use the term 'came off' with no reference to shore or land. Among the items exchanged were glass beads that were recovered by the descendants of Ngāti Rangiwaho from Whareongaonga and the immediate vicinity. These blue glass beads would feature in some of my paintings as an acknowledgement of occupation of Whareongaonga by Ngāti Rangiwaho in 1769.

Tupaia was a highly skilled, aristocratic navigator, geographer, mapmaker, and linguist whom the *Endeavour* crew regarded as a curiosity. However, he proved indispensable during Cook's first voyage to the Pacific because he could communicate with Māori.

> Tupaia was telling them about his homeland and himself, including that he was an arioi, because Munkhouse saw him pull down his breeches to favour them with a sight of his tattooed hips. Meanwhile, the rest of the people came alongside emboldened by the example of the Poverty Bay men. (Druett, 2011, p. 276)

Moko kanohi (facial tattoo) were symbols of rangatira, indicating the status of the bearer. Therefore, Māori regarded Tupaia as an ariki. It is plausible that many items traded would have been given to Tupaia as a sign of his status. The ritual exchange or gifting of treasured items was a key part of ceremonies within Aotearoa and Te Moananu-a-Kiwa.

As part of our 2019 iwi marae-based exhibition programme at Rangiwaho, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri-Ngāti Rangiwaho hosted a visit by His Excellency Édouard Fritch, President of French Polynesia, and a Tahitian delegation. It was on this occasion that Ngāi Tāmanuhiri were able to hear first-hand about Tupaia's status among his own people and his mana in Tahiti today.

Hoe Waka Exchange

There is no conclusive evidence regarding the number of hoe waka exchanged in 1769. However, considering Parkinson's watercolour painting, there were three, although only one of the hoe waka paintings matches an actual hoe waka in the Hunterian Museum collection. , p. 174 Salmond (2012) contends that in the

> …course of his first voyage to the South Seas, Cook built up a collection of items that were referred to as "curiosities," and in 1771 this collection, or a portion of it, was turned over to the Admiralty Board: as Shawcross had earlier noted the Cook-voyage collection came to Cambridge University in 1771 from the Earl of Sandwich who was first Lord of the Admiralty at that time. (p. 54)

Early documentation of items during the first voyage was labelled "curiosities," which is one of the reasons why no definite number of hoe waka are recorded in the inventory (Appendix 3). During my research, I was able to locate 23 hoe waka that displayed the design traits evident in the nineteenth century Tūranganui-a-Kiwa kōwhaiwhai vocabulary. However, not all were part of the 1769 exchange.

The hoe waka in the Peabody Museum in Salem, United States, was acquired in the Bay of Islands in 1811. Neich (1993) suggests it was either made by an East Coast/Poverty Bay artist from the North or obtained through trade or as spoils of war. Nevertheless, there is no denying that the design features seen in the hoe waka traded on the *Endeavour* are also present in the Peabody hoe waka, particularly the kōwhaiwhai. The design system on this hoe waka has influenced twentieth-century heke patterns in Kohewhata wharenui in Kaikohe. Another example was collected from Queen Charlotte Sounds in 1820 and is kept at the Institute of Ethnology in St Petersburg, Russia.

James Cook and the Eye-Witness Accounts at Sea

In their publication, "Acquisition of Taonga Māori by the Endeavour Crew at Poverty Bay (Tūranga) and off Whareongaonga 9–12 October 1769", Anne Salmond and Amiria

Salmond (2017) included all voyage journal entries related to taonga acquired (Appendix 2). They also held hui and wānanga with pakeke, where existing knowledge about Ngāi Tāmanuhiri narratives was affirmed, while incorporating cultural perspectives that had previously been missing. These perspectives were then added to a database documenting the historical occupation of the coastline at the time of Cook's first visit.

Whareongaonga

In the 1870s, Whareongaonga was a thriving settlement with a series of pā sites along the cliff tops both north and south of Whareongaonga. (Pohatu, personal communication, 1981) Meke was the resident chief at Whareongaonga at the time. He is commemorated on the poutuarongo (central rear post) of the Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri wharenui. Iwi narratives record that Meke was one of the contingents from the land who boarded the *Endeavour* to meet Tupaia and Cook, exchange goods, and converse with Tupaia. Meke's visit is supported by Whareongaonga Land Court records of 1879 and iwi narratives. Additionally, some of the Ngāi Tāmanuhiri pakeke affirmed Meke's mana as a rangatira and his interactions with Tupaia and Cook at a 1981 whakapapa wānanga held in Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri wharenui at Muriwai.

> It was Captain Cook who, at this time, brought potatoes and gave them to Meke. Meke was our chief when Captain Cook arrived in 1769. The first thing we ever got from the white man was a bag of potatoes. (Pohatu, personal communication, 1981)

Pohatu's account was reaffirmed and supported during the wānanga by Zoe Ihipera Te Hauauru Winitana; her kōrero was further backed by Rose Ehu Thompson, who had lived her whole life in Tawatapu, where Ngāti Rangiwaho have been based since migrating from Whareongaonga in the mid-1860s.

Artefacts of Encounter Hui

In 2016, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri Iwi hosted a hui with the Artifacts of Encounter research team where Salmond and Dame Anne Salmond (Appendix 4) shared information on Cook's visit:

> On 11 October 1769 (three days after the [Endeavour] voyagers encountered Maori for the first time [at Tūranga] a group of seven canoes containing about 50 people

approached the ship as it lay becalmed just south of Poverty Bay. Parkinson described these craft and their crews in detail, noting: 'their paddles were curiously stained with a red colour, disposed into various strange figures; and the whole together was no contemptible workmanship.

Banks (see Beaglehole (ed.) 1962, I: 406) recorded that these people were reluctant to approach the ship until a further canoe, manned by four people, was "seen coming from Poverty Bay, or near it". These people were instrumental in encouraging the others to come on board the Endeavour, and a vigorous series of exchanges ensued. According to the ship's surgeon William Monkhouse, the visitors 'behaved very orderly, talked with Tupaia, who gratified them with a sight of his tattooed hips'. (Amiria Salmond, 2015b. p. 118)

Joseph Banks (1769/1962) observed that "Many presents were given to them, notwithstanding which they very quickly sold almost everything that they had with them, even their clothes from their backs and the paddles out of their boat" (p. 136).

Several items were exchanged with various members of the *Endeavour* crew. Monkhouse described how, in the meantime, those remaining in the canoes had traded very freely, bartering their clothing, weapons, and ornaments for the Tahitian cloth. Parkinson completed his watercolour observations of the hoe waka as *the* sailed away from New Zealand towards Australia. One of the hoe waka he painted is in the Hancock Museum Collection, C589.

International Museum Visits

Figure 47
Ngā hoe tīpuna. Hoe analysis, 2016. Photo: S. Gibbs.

In July 2015, I went on a research trip to the United Kingdom and Europe, where I visited several museums as I started the process of finding and documenting the hoe waka thought to be part of the exchange on board the Endeavour in 1769. Many of the venues were suggested by Dr Amiria Salmond based on her research.

Cambridge University Museum had acquired the two hoe waka that Cook initially presented to the Earl of Sandwich, Lord of the Admiralty and the primary funder of Cook's first voyage into the South Pacific to observe the Transit of Venus. The hoe waka had remained at Trinity College until 1914, when they were moved to Cambridge University Museum. At the University Museum, I was assisted by Georgina Amos and Dr Ali Clark, who made available all the taonga in the collection, including paepae, hamuti, patu, tewhatewha, pukaia, tatua, taiaha, and the hoe waka.

Figure 48
Cambridge University Cook Collection: Hoe 1914:66 and 1914:67 with taratara-a-kae notching system on the whiti. Loom, 2015. Photo: S. Gibbs.

The next visit was to the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, Germany, where I was accompanied by Dr Amiria Salmond, Dame Anne Salmond, Billie Lythberg, Ikka Kottman, Mark Adams, and Areta Wilkinson. Museum staff included the director, Dr Ines de Castro, and the curator for the Oceania collection, Ulrich Menter. Two of the hoe waka were identified as belonging to those traded at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa.

Figure 49
Linden Museum, Stuttgart, Germany. Hoe waka S40325 and S40324. *Pacific Presences* research team, July 2015. Photo: B. Lythberg.

Hoe Waka Design

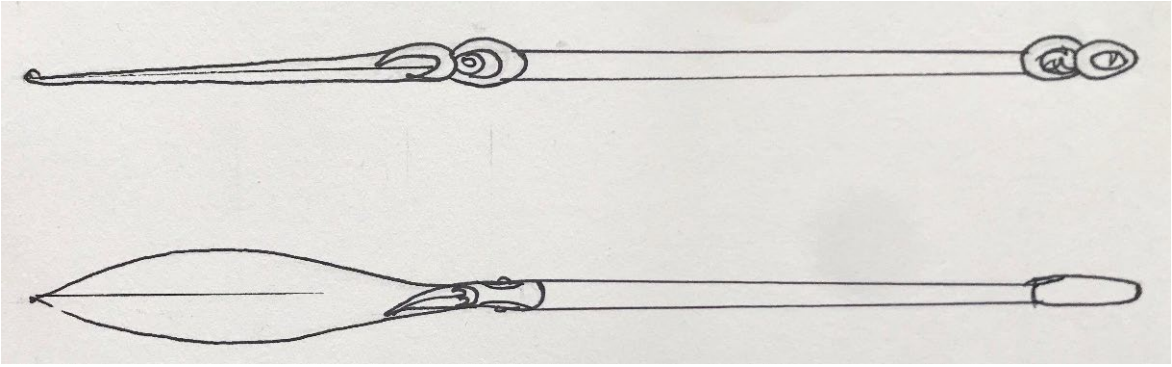

Figure 50
Hoe waka components. Illustration by S. Gibbs.

(English):	Tip	Blade	Loom – Neck	Shaft	Grip/Butt
(Māori):	Taratu.	Rapa	Whiti Upoko manaia	Kakau	Reke (Pakake)

What sets Tūranganui-a-Kiwa hoe waka apart from other regions are several design features, including the length, shape, and width of the rapa, the taratu detail at the end of the blade, and the carved pattern on the whiti upoko manaia of the hoe waka. The whiti also functions as a hand grip. At the reke (butt) of the kakau (shaft), most of the examined hoe waka feature an elongated manaia. Ngāti Porou carver Riki Manual (Personal communication, 2012) refers to the manaia on the reke as a pakake, hinting at the head of a tohorā (minke whale). Conversely, Jahnke argues that the pakake must have an interlocking

spiral detail to define both the eye and the upper and lower jaw (Jahnke, personal communication, 2015).

The ten analytical drawings, created in 2016 for the A-Hoe! exhibition, were the first images of hoe waka recorded since the Sydney Parkinson paintings of three hoe waka in 1769. Their inclusion in the exhibition allowed uri of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and other Tūranganui-a-Kiwa iwi to reconnect with the kōwhaiwhai painted on the blades of hoe waka traded in 1769. Several of the hoe waka display design features linked to the 1840s Poverty Bay kōwhaiwhai style in Te Hau ki Tūranga. As Neich (1993) noted, based on design features, the hoe waka, "…exhibit all the characteristic Poverty Bay features of complex design in larger compositional forms using a variety of pitau, kape and kape/pitau series. Especially prominent are the large, white, sinuous ngu shapes and red positive crescents" (p. 63).

He further notes that,

> …on the basis of these painted paddles, a continuous distinctive Poverty Bay style of Kowhaiwhai can be posited as far back in time as the 1760s. This conclusion is supported by the presence of a distinctive Poverty Bay style of carving on all these paddles. (p. 64)

Neich (1994) identified 28 hoe that had paintings on their blades (See Table 2).

Figure 51
Whānau a hoe: The design systems that link the hoe together. *Tū Te Whaihanga* exhibition, Tairāwhiti Museum, 2019. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 52
Reke pakake (minke whale) with taratara-a-kae notching system, as seen on hoe. *Tū Te Whaihanga* exhibition, Tairāwhiti Museum, 2019. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 53
Reke manaia designs on hoe waka. Photo: S. Gibbs.

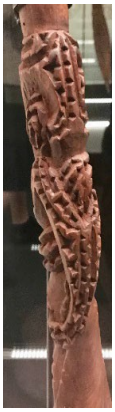

Figure 54–55
Whiti upoko – manaia with taratara-a-kae notching system as it appears on the whiti (neck). *Tū Te Whaihanga* exhibition, Tairāwhiti Museum. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Table 2: Painted paddles in museum collections (Neich 1993, pp. 60-61)

Paddle	Depository	Registration	Provenance	Locality	Date	References
1	Canterbury Museum Christchurch		Archaeological site	Monck's cave	Archaic	Skinner, 1994, p. 136
2	Cambridge University Museum	1914:66	Sandwich Collection given by Cook		Cook's 1st voyage 1769–70	Kaeppler, 1978p. 202, Figure 402; Shawcross, 1970, pp. 320–321, Pl. 1
3	Cambridge University Museum	1914:67	Sandwich Collection given by Cook		Cook's 1st voyage 1769–70	Kaeppler, 1978, p. 202; Shawcross, 1970, pp. 320–321; Gathercole, Kaeppler, Newton, 1979, p. 195
4	Cambridge University Museum	Z17171	Widdicomb House collection, Devon			
5	British Museum	NZ 150	Cook Collection		Cook's 1st voyage 1769–70	Cobbe, 1979, p. 82, Figure 70; Kaeppler, 1978, p. 203 Figure 405
6	British Museum	96-1147	United Service Institute		Late 18th C	
7	British Museum	NZ 152			1770–1820	Simmons, 1981, p. 58, Figure 14
8	British Museum	5370	W. Bragg, 1869		Late 18th C	
9	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow	E.619	Dr W. Y. Turner, 1877		Late 18th C	

Paddle	Depository	Registration	Provenance	Locality	Date	References
10	Hancock Museum, Newcastle	C.589	Possibly Marmaduke Tunstall Collection pre-1790		Late 18th C	
11	Museum fur Volkerkund, Vienna	7834	Purchased Paris, 1878		Late 18th C	
12	Linden Museum, Stuttgart	S40325	Purchased Munich, 1971		Late 18th C	
13	Linden Museum, Stuttgart	S40324	Purchased Munich, 1971		Late 18th C	
14	Peabody Museum, Salem	E5,492	Collected by Capt. W. P. Richardson	Bay of Islands	c. 1811	Dodge, 1941, p. 26, pl. ix; Simmons, 1982, p. 187, pl. 142, 143
15	Miklukho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology, St Petersburg	736.114	Collected by Capt. F. G. von Bellingshausen	Queen Charlotte Sound	1820	Barratt, 1979, pp. 107, 129, 154; Simmons, 1981, p. 28
16	Museum of New Zealand, Wellington	ME.14921	James Hooper Collection No. 50		1830s–1840s	Phelps, 1976, pp. 27, 412, pl. 6; Christie's, 1982, pp. 58–9
17	Auckland Museum	22068.3	Sir George Grey Collection 279		1830s–1840s	
18	Cambridge University Museum	Z.6395	Rev. C. Volkner Collection pre-1865		1850s–1860s	
19	Homiman Museum, London	5.425			1880s	
20	Museum fur Volkerkunde, Dresden	13722	H. G. Robley 1902 C. Heaphy 1839–81	Bay of Islands	1839–1881	Best, 1976, Figure 116
21	Museum fur Volkerkunde, Dresden	13723	H. G. Robley 1902 C. Heaphy 1839–81	Bay of Islands	1839–1881	Best, 1976, Figure 116
22	Left paddle in drawing by Sydney Parkinson. British Library Add. Ms 230920		Seen and probably collected on Cook's 1st voyage	East Coast	1769–70	Beaglehole, 1962, p. ii, pl.5 Joppien & Smith, 1985, Figure 1.158
23	Centre paddle in drawing by Sydney Parkinson. British Library Add. Ms 230920		Seen and probably collected on Cook's 1st voyage	East Coast	1769–70	Beaglehole, 1962, p. ii, pl.5; Joppien & Smith, 1985, Figure 1.158
24	Centre paddle in drawing by Sydney Parkinson. British Library Add. Ms 230920		Seen and probably collected on Cook's 1st voyage	East Coast	1769–70	Beaglehole, 1962, p.ii, pl.5; Joppien & Smith, 1985, Figure 1.158
25	Paddle on left in pen and wash drawing by J.F. Miller 1771. British Library Add. Ms 15,508.29		Probably collected by J. Banks on Cook's 1st voyage	East Coast	1769–70	Joppien & Smith, 1985, Figure. 1.169; Kaeppler, 1978, Figure 284
26	Line drawing, labelled "Ehohi pani or painted paddle"		Seen by J. Polack	North Auckland	1831–37	Polack, 1840, p. 1, 223
27	Watercolour by G. F. Angus		Seen by Angas	Taupo	1844	Angas, 1846 pl. xlii (4)
28	Watercolour by G. F. Angas		Seen by Angas	Taupo	1844	Angus, 1846, pl. xlii (5)

Table 3: Length analysis of Hoe waka (Courtesy of Jessop, 2015)

Paddle	Depository	Registration	Length
1	University of Cambridge	1914.66	188 cm
2	University of Cambridge	1914.67	180 cm
3	University of Cambridge	Z.6395	135.7 cm
4	British Museum	Oc.NZ150	179 cm
5	British Museum	Oc.1896-1147	172 cm
6	British Museum	Oc.5370	181.5 cm
7	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow	E.619	171.3 cm
8	Hancock Museum, Newcastle	C589	179 cm
9	Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna	7834	185 cm
10	Linden Museum, Stuttgart	S 40325	186 cm
11	Linden Museum, Stuttgart	S 40324	176 cm
12	Peabody Museum, Salem	E5,492	97.7 cm
13	National Museum, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington	ME14921	206.5 cm
14	National Museum, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington	WE001121	177 cm
15	Horniman Museum, London	5.425	151 cm
16	Museo di Storia Naturale, University of Florence	248	193 cm
17	Institute fur Ethnologies, Gottingen	OZ 285	193 cm
18	Sunderland Museum	1997.442	175.5 cm

Table 4: Tūranganui-a-Kiwa carved and painted hoe waka compilation by Amiria Salmond with two additional paddles by S Gibbs - Numbers 22 & 23.

Hoe	Location	Registration	Carved notching system taratara-a-kae	Painted designs on blade
1	Cambridge University Museum, Cambridge	D 1914.66	yes	yes
2	Cambridge University Museum, Cambridge	D 1914.67	yes	yes
3	British Museum, London	NZ 150	yes	yes
4	British Museum, Lindon	1869-1147	yes	yes
5	Linden Museum, Stuttgart	S 40324	yes	yes
6	Linden Museum, Stuttgart	S 40325	yes	yes
7	National Museum Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington	WE001121	yes	yes
8	Sunderland Museum, Sunderland	1997.442	yes	no
9	Great North Museum: Hancock, New Castle	C589	yes	yes
10	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow	E 619	yes	yes
11	Pitt Rivers, Oxford	1886.1.1158	yes	no
12	Institute fur Ethnologies, Gottingen	OZ 285	yes	no
13	Museo di Storia Naturale, Venice	248	yes	no
14	British Museum, London	Oc.5370	yes	no
15	National Museum Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington	WEB000 369	yes	yes
16	National Museum Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington	ME14921	yes	yes
17	Museum fur Volkerkund, Vienna	VO 7834	yes	yes
18	Pitt Rivers, Oxford	1886.1.1157	yes	yes
19	National Museum, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington	ME 967		yes
20	Museo di Anthropogia, Naples	Unknown	yes	yes
21	Peabody Museum, Salem	E 5492	yes	yes
22	Museum of Ethnology Stockholm	1871.01.0116	yes	yes
23	Museum of Ethnology Stockholm	1871.01.0115	yes	no

A key finding of the research was identifying several design features that differ from the painted kōwhaiwhai patterns on the blades, which set Tūranganui-a-Kiwa hoe waka apart

from those of other regions. For example, as noted in Jessop's Table 3, Tūranganui-a-Kiwa hoe waka tend to be longer than usual, ranging from 171 to 206cm, whereas the example in the Peabody Museum was 97.7 cm in length. Additionally, the blade was leaf-shaped with an accentuated knob at the end, and its width varied between 13 and 17cm. Table 3 presents Jessop's analysis of 18 hoe, focusing on their overall length. Former director of Hancock Museum, Dr Lesley Jessop, collaborated closely with Neich on his Māori paddle research (Jessop, personal communication, 2015). The research identified twenty-three hoe waka that exhibited design features linked to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa hoe waka. The task was to determine which ones were associated with the 1769 exchange. This was done by reviewing literature and analysing the whakairo and kōwhaiwhai on the hoe waka.

Dr Amiria Salmond previously established that 13 hoe waka exhibited attributes of the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa design system. At the same time, the rest showed a stylistic connection that likely belonged to the collective of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa hoe waka. Networking with museums revealed more hoe waka related to the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa hoe waka designs. This was the case with a hoe waka in the Pitt Rivers Museum collection in Oxford. In 2020, two more hoe waka were found in the Museum of Ethnology Stockholm in Sweden. Both hoe waka had the taratara-a-kae notching on the whiti upoko manaia and featured manaia on the reke. The Stockholm hoe waka display extensive asymmetrical closed pītau dominant patterns on both sides of the blade.

Figure 56
Hoe waka 1871.01.0116. Museum of Ethnology, Stockholm, Sweden. Photo: Museum of Ethnology Stockholm, 2019.

Fig. 57 has no painting on the blade, but it features a taratara-a-kae surface pattern and manaia. This hoe shares design traits with a hoe waka in the Pitt Rivers collection, with manaia carved on the shaft between the whiti and the reke.

Figure 57
Hoe waka 1871.01.0115. Museum of Ethnology, Stockholm, Sweden. Photos: Museum of Ethnology Stockholm 2019.

Dr Amiria Salmond's database on hoe waka collected by Cook in 1769, which she presented to Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, shows the following acquisition dates and possible design links to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. Hoe waka 1-13 are strongly connected to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa exchange dates of October 1769. Hoe waka 14-17 have different acquisition dates but display strong design similarities. Hoe waka 18-23 also have different acquisition dates and were not collected by Cook but show stylistic similarities. All 23 hoe share strong design features with carved manaia forms, hoe length, blade width, and evidence of painting on their blades. My research focused on hoe waka with painted designs on their blades, and my analysis placed these hoe waka within the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa design style (See Table 4). The key finding was that twenty-three hoe waka in Table 4 were made by eighteenth century Tūranganui-a-Kiwa artists.

The Great North Museum, Hancock, Newcastle, England

In June 2017, I returned to the Great North Museum, Hancock in Newcastle, and the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. After documenting my findings from 2015, I was invited to take part in a research project called Artefact, a six-part documentary series produced by Greenstone Productions for Māori Television. The invitation came with a condition that I create a body of work to accompany my research for the project. I was asked to identify a hoe waka that most exemplified the design elements I had been studying, particularly whakairo and kōwhaiwhai on hoe waka. I chose the hoe waka from the Great North Museum collection.

In anticipation of the event, I created a painting on Tapa (Fijian bark cloth-masi) titled Tākoha as a gift to the museum. The painting featured kōwhaiwhai patterns from the hoe waka in the Hancock Museum collection that I had been analysing. Tākoha focused on the concept of reciprocity. At its core is the notion that something gifted will eventually be returned. This was an explicit strategy to initiate conversations about repatriation and how this might be achieved. The concept gained some traction, resulting in a loan agreement for the Tū Te Whaihanga exhibition.

Figure 58
Tākoha with Hoe waka C589. Photo: S. Gibbs, 2017.

Discussions with Dr Les Jessop and Andrew Parkin focused on the possibility of returning taonga to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, which I believe stemmed from the gifting of the Tākoha painting. Tīpuna in the form of kōruru, headed mango, swimming within the ocean depths, alludes to the hoe waka traded on the deck of the *Endeavour* in 1769. The imagery evolved from the analysis carried out for the works created for the A-Hoe! exhibition in 2016 at Tairāwhiti Museum, reflecting the design system on the hoe waka housed in the Hancock Museum. My return to the Hancock Museum allowed me to build on previous hoe waka research, resulting in the most thorough analysis of painted designs and carving systems on hoe waka.

Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, England

I met Dr. Jeremy Coote, curator and joint head of collections, and Faye Belsey, assistant curator at the Pitt Rivers Museum, to view two hoe waka from the Ramsden Collection (1886.1.1157, 1886.1.1158) purchased in 1878. There were clear differences between the two hoe waka. Similarities were evident in the shape of the blade, the length of the hoe waka, and the carved manaia forms on the handle. However, the styles were distinctly different, with the manaia carved halfway up the shaft on the second hoe waka rather than at the top of the handle like the first. A kinship between these hoe waka was apparent.

Figure 59
Research visit to Pitt Rivers Museum. Hoe waka 886.1.1158 with a manaia carved at the top of the blade and another at the mid-point of the shaft.

On returning to Aotearoa New Zealand in 2017, I contacted Puawai Cairns, senior curator at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. I viewed three hoe waka (WE001121, ME014921, and Web 369) believed to be linked to the Cook exchange. Unfortunately, the hoe waka (Web 369) was a fragment consisting of loom and carved top. The other two hoe waka were in good condition with design features consistent with the Cook exchange taonga, despite the faded painted designs on both sides of the blades.

Locating and Documenting Hoe Waka

In his review of painted paddles in museum collections, Neich (1993) identified two hoe waka in the Cambridge University Museum collection and one in the British Museum that are associated with Cook's first voyage from 1769–1770. However, Salmond (2018) indicated that there were 12 hoe waka in collections around the world, likely to have been exchanged between Cook and Māori in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. In 2015, further research led to the discovery and identification of eight additional waka, bringing the total to 20 and confirming their affiliation with the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa hoe waka stylistic group.

In 2017, a publication titled "Acquisition of Taonga Māori by the Endeavour Crew at Poverty Bay (Tūranga) and off Whareongaonga", by Dr Amiria Salmond and Dame Anne Salmond, was made available to the Ngāi Tāmanuhiri. The document was a summary of the *Endeavour* crew diary accounts outlining the events that occurred and provided a detailed list of items with significant reference to hoe waka that were exchanged.

The list of international museums and their collections includes where the hoe waka are housed. This information proved vital and was used to develop ongoing relationships with these museums to further iwi-based research projects. It is also interesting to note that when researching the (Appendix 3) from Cook's crew and their diaries, the appearance of hoe waka as an exchange is referenced from the encounter that took place south of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa and does not appear on any other occasion during the first voyage. Having identified the likely origin of the hoe waka, a hui was held in 2010 with tribal representatives and descendants of the creators to share information about the existence of the hoe waka and their location.

Scrutinising institutional records and engaging physically and spiritually with the hoe waka was essential for compiling an accurate record of locations and deciphering the kōwhaiwhai painted by my tīpuna. Neich (1993) had previously identified two hoe waka in the Cambridge Museum, the three Sydney Parkinson drawings, and hoe waka (NZ 150) in the British Museum as prime candidates for the 1769 exchange. A further seven hoe waka were attributed based on circumstantial evidence, either through association or stylistic similarities.

There are four indisputable hoe waka that were exchanged in 1769:

1. Hancock C589, drawn on the *Endeavour* by Parkinson (Table 4 Hoe 9)
2. Cambridge D 1914.66, listed on the Trinity College "packing list" dated October 1771, and "presented in 1771 by the Earl if Sandwich, who obtained them from Cook after his first voyage" (Neich 1993, p. 63) (Table 4 Hoe 3)
3. Cambridge D 1914.67, listed on the Trinity College "packing list" dated October 1771, and 'presented in 1771 by the Earl if Sandwich, who obtained them from Cook after his first voyage" (Neich 1993, p. 63) (Table 4 Hoe 2)
4. British Museum 150, drawn by Joseph Banks' artist J. F. Miller who recorded "artefacts from Cook's first-voyage collections" (Neich 1993, p. 63). It

appears in the 1771–1772 portrait of Joseph Banks (this is the stylistic exception) (Table 4 Hoe 3)

Another prime candidate for the first-voyage hoe waka is:

5. Te Papa ME 14921, the hoe waka returned to Muriwai in 2013 for the Toi Tāmanuhiri exhibition (Table 4 Hoe 16)

Eight qualify based on the taratara-a-kae on the whiti upoko (neck)

6. Pitt Rivers 1886.1.1158 (Table 4 Hoe 11)
7. Museo di Anthropologia number unknown (Table 4 Hoe 20)
8. Hunterian E 619 (Table 4 Hoe 10)
9. Linden S 40325 (Table 4 Hoe 6)
10. Sunderland TWCMS 1997.442 (Table 4 Hoe 8)
11. British Museum 1869-1147 (Table 4 Hoe 4)
12. Te Papa WEB000369 – grip detached from blade and butt (Table 4 Hoe 15)
13. Te Papa WE001121 (Table 4 Hoe 7)

My research confirms that several hoe waka in the various collections examined were linked to the 1769 trade with Cook. Cook and the *Endeavour* crew did not record collecting any other hoe waka during their time in Aotearoa, and the hoe waka clearly belong to the same group. Apart from ME 14921, which is stylistically distinct, all the hoe waka were created by Tūranganui- a-Kiwa artists in the eighteenth century.

Ten further hoe waka bearing some design affinity with the core group of four, were also documented:

14. British Museum Oc.5370 (Table 4 Hoe 14)
15. Pitt Rivers 1886.1.1157 (Table 4 Hoe 11)
16. Linden Museum S 40234 (Table 4 Hoe 5)
17. Te Papa ME 967 (Table 4 Hoe 19)
18. Museo di Storia Naturale 248 (Table 4 Hoe 13)
19. Museum fur Volkerkund VO 7834 (Table 4 Hoe 17)
20. Institute fur Ethnologies Oz 285 (Table 4 Hoe 12)
21. Peabody Museum E 5492 (Table 4 Hoe 21)
22. Museum of Ethnology Stockholm, Sweden.1871.01.0116 (Table 4 Hoe 22)
23. Museum of Ethnology Stockholm, Sweden.1871.01.0115 (Table 4 Hoe 23)

The research indicates that there are 23 hoe waka that can be linked stylistically to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. Of these, 14 can be traced back to the exchange off Whareongaonga,

with most of the hoe waka produced by artists working in the vicinity of Whareongaonga during the 1760s.

Hoe Waka Analysis

Figure 60
Great North Museum hoe (C589) analysis. Dame A. Salmond, A. Parkin, and S. Gibbs. Photo: K. Pardoe.

Figure 61
Original hoe waka. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 62
Painted design by S. Parkinson. In Neich (1993, p. 70).

Figure 63
Painted design analysis by S. Gibbs. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 64
Parkinson's adaption of BM 5370, British Museum. In Neich (1993, p. 70).

Figure 65
Accurate design translation of hoe waka BM 5370. Gibbs, 2017.

The hoe waka (Figure 61, Hancock C589) depicted at the top of Sydney Parkinson's illustration is now in the Great North Museum, Hancock in Newcastle upon Tyne. This hoe waka, drawn by Sydney Parkinson, appears to be based on hoe waka (BM 5370), which has a latitudinal axis of symmetry, unlike other items in the researched collection of hoe waka. It seems that Parkinson may have taken some creative liberty in reworking the design to suit his aesthetic preferences. Ellis (1997) also notes the similarity between the British Museum 5370 and Parkinson's dominant koru drawing, which features a straight manawa line dividing the blade laterally while the pītau elements curl longitudinally. She suggests that Parkinson "may have been wanting to produce something unique…" (p.166), which explains the bilateral symmetry seen in the drawing.

As an artist who uses kōwhaiwhai, patterns range from intricate to simple. Nevertheless, kōwhaiwhai are challenging to replicate, and Parkinson has altered the pattern to emphasise the continuity of the rārangi manawa, not just across but along its length. A hoe in the same style was documented at the British Museum in London (BM NZ.150). It was the style shown in a 1771 drawing by John Frederick Miller, who was commissioned by naturalist Joseph Banks to illustrate artefacts collected on the *Endeavour* voyage.

Figure 66
British Museum, hoe waka NZ 150.

At the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge, two more hoe waka of this type, with very similar designs, have a documented connection to the Endeavour.

Figure 67
Cambridge University, MAA D 1914.66 and MAA D 1914.67.

Neich (1993) examined several of these paddles, focusing particularly on the painted designs on the Cambridge, Hunterian, Hancock, Linden, and British Museum samples, and recognised these as being consistent with a "distinctive Poverty Bay style of Kowhaiwhai." (p. 64)

Further, Neich (1993) notes that the hoe were decorated at the whiti (neck) with a distinctive carved manaia form executed in a "distinctive Poverty Bay style of carving" (p. 64), that he associated with the "Rongowhakaata style of carving" (p. 65)

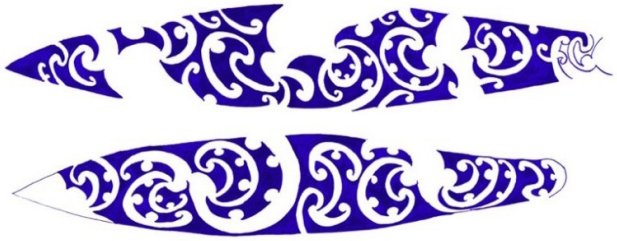

Figure 68
Hoe waka BM 96-1147, British Museum. With distinctive Poverty Bay-style pītau/kape design systems. S. Gibbs, 2016. Hoe analysis.

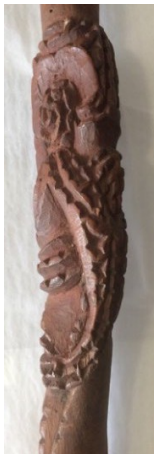

Figure 69
C589 Hancock Museum whiti manaia. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 70
Cambridge D 1915.67 and D 1914.66 whiti manaia. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 71
C589 Hancock Museum whiti manaia. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 72
C589 Hancock Museum whiti manaia. Photo: S. Gibbs.

The carved manaia on the whiti, with taratara-a-kae, marks the hoe waka within Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. The style of carving shares similarities with Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Te Rāwheoro, which influenced the Rongowhakaata carving style of the mid-1800s.

Neich's assertion that the notching system aligns with the Rongowhakaata style of carving needs to be reevaluated because the research associates most of the hoe waka with Ngāti Rangiwaho, a hapū from Whareongaonga. They were the crew of

> …several Canoes [that] put off from shore and came towards us...but could not be persuaded to come nearer...one was seen coming from Poverty Bay or near it, she had only 4 people in her…these never stopd to look at any thing but came at once alongside the ship and with very little persuasion came on board; their example was quickly follwd by the rest 7 canoes in all and 50 men They had many presents given to them notwithstanding which they very quickly sold almost every thing that they had with them, even their Cloaths from their backs and the paddles out of their boats…After about an hour before sunset they canoes left us. (Banks, 1769/1962, p. 136)

Cook (1769/1962) records that the "people in this boat [the crew of 4] enter'd into a traffick with our people for George Island Cloth &c giving in exchange their paddles (having little else to dispose of) and hardly left themselves a Sufficient number to paddle a shore" (p. 276).

Cook's record confirmed that the crew of 4 exchanged their painted paddles. Therefore, at least three hoe waka can be attributed to Rongowhakaata. However, most of the hoe waka were traded with the six canoes from Whareongaonga. No fewer than 14 are linked to Cook's exchange off Whareongaonga.

Hoe Waka Taratara-a-kae

The hoe waka traded off Whareongaonga feature the taratara-a-kae on the manaia at the upoko whiti. It is a surface pattern intimately connected with the Tairāwhiti region. While the taratara-a-kae pattern appears on the tauihu drawn by Sporing at Pourewa Island in 1769 it does not appear on Te Toki-a- Tāpiri. The hull was carved around 1836 by Tāmati Parangi and Paratene Te Pōhoi for Te Waaka Tarakau, the chief of Ngāti Matawhaiti, a hapū of Ngāti Kahungunu, at Whakaki Lagoon, north of Wairoa. The tauihi, taurapa and rauawa were carved by Te Waaka Perohuka and Raharuhi Rukupō, among others. Like Te Hau ki Tūranga that was completed in 1843, rauponga and pakura are the prevalent surface patterns. However, a version of the taratara- a-kae can be found on some of the carved poupou in Te Mana-o-Tūranga (1882). Unsurprisingly, the treatment of the pattern varies depending on time and context.

[manaia]These taonga were created during a period following European contact, when Māori society and its artistic and cultural value systems were undergoing change. During this time, steel chisels were introduced, influencing the appearance of carvings with more surface patterns rather than just basic forms, as seen in earlier carvings. Taratara-a-kae, also known as taratara-a-kai (Neich, 1996) and taratara-o-kai (Phillips, 1938), is noted by McEwen (1966) to have been used in the surface patterning within the Te Arawa and Mataatua tribal regions, the Bay of Plenty, and Ngāti Maru (Thames area).

Neich (1993) references the narrative of Kae and Tutunui, the pet whale of Tinirau, who was kidnapped and eaten by Kae. Kae was ultimately killed as utu for his misdeed after revealing his crooked teeth, which are referenced in the taratara of Kae. Neich (1993) also connects the pattern with the pakake on the bargeboards of the pātaka. The pattern appears most notably on the pātaka Te Tairuku Potaka. Ellis maintains,

> The relationship between pataka and painted hoe may be associated with their importance as symbols of chieftainship. The pataka was one of the main architectural structures in a kainga, showing the mana of the rangatira to provide food for the stomachs and so it is no wonder that the carvings were so adorned to provide food for the eyes. (Ellis, 1998, p. 119)

Systems of Symmetry on Hoe Waka

Hoe waka are regulated by systems of symmetry that, for the most part, prioritise the central longitudinal axis transitioning from the taratu (tip of the blade) to the reke (grip) at the top of the hoe waka handle. There are instances when the kōwhaiwhai privileges a latitudinal orientation across the blade. In terms of form, one half mirrors the other, but the painted and carved designs associated with the hoe waka from 1769 are predominantly asymmetrical. The carved manaia form on the whiti upoko (neck) disrupts the bilateral symmetry of the hoe waka form, with an upper lip that runs diagonally across the central axis. The taratara-a-kae pattern emerges as a critical design signature on the whiti upoko that links the hoe waka together as examples of the creative genius of artists from Tūranganui- a-Kiwa.

The manaia has consistently drawn numerous associations, ranging from reptilian to avian to human profiles and even as a space filler. For Ngāti Porou carver Pakariki Harrison, for

example, "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, p.19).

Most hoe waka designs, whether painted or carved, are rooted in tribal stories of mana moana, as seen in the pakake (minke whale) design on the reke (butt). The pakake acts as both a unifying figurative feature and a reference to tribal stories of pakake as kaitiaki (guardians) and a source of kai (food).

Figure 73
Symmetry as part of the design of the hoe, with both visual and practical balance. MAA D 1914.66, Cambridge. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Systems of symmetry govern the arrangement of pattern and colour on the blades of hoe waka and rafters of a wharenui, ranging from asymmetrical to symmetrical. These systems are vital for analysing kōwhaiwhai on the painted hoe waka and their transfer into the whare. There is a shift from a monochromatic paint scheme on hoe waka to a polychromatic one in wharenui within the Tairāwhiti region.

Kōkōwai (haematite, used to make red-ochre pigment), mixed with shark oil, was applied directly to the hoe waka rapa (blade) to contrast with the natural colour of the timber. By the 1840s, Pākehā paints had replaced traditional pigments, with red, white, and black becoming common in the Tairāwhiti region. As the twentieth century began, the colour palette expanded as influences of naturalism and alternative chromatic symbolism affected the painting of heke, heketipi, maihi, epa, and poupou.

In her publication, Māori Art and Design, Julie Paama-Pengelly (2010) outlined systems of symmetry relevant to understanding symmetry in kōwhaiwhai, including bilateral symmetry, translational symmetry, slide reflection, and slide rotation.

Table 5: Key design conventions. Adaptation of Table by Julie Paama-Pengelly (2010, p. 19)

	Definition	**Application to Māori art**
Symmetry	Two halves as mirror images of each other	Apparent symmetry in Māori art is broken by asymmetry elements
Bilateral symmetry	Corresponding in size, form and arrangement of parts on both sides of an axis of symmetry	Common in whakairo, tā moko and kōwhaiwhai
Translational symmetry	An object that looks the same after a shift along a longitudinal or latitudinal axis	Applied to the translation of kōwhaiwhai designs
Slide reflection	A unit of design is reflected after a shift along a longitudinal or latitudinal axis	Transformation of kōwhaiwhai units
Slide rotation	A unit of design is rotated after a shift along longitudinal or latitudinal axis	A transformation process of kōwhaiwhai units

Systems of symmetry as outlined in Paama-Pengelly's Table of 'key design conventions' are crucial to understanding the cultural significance of the 'manawa line', the 'heart pulse' rhythm evident in kōwhaiwhai designs (Jahnke, 1995) and its role in generating interconnections between spaces and realms. Of the ten painted hoe waka that are part of my research analysis, eight feature asymmetrical design systems on the blades but still convey a sense of restraint and visual balance. There are essentially two main pattern elements: pītau dominant and pītau/kape combination. The kape is an indented, crescent-shaped pattern. Additionally, there is an emerging vocabulary of closed or self-contained patterns made up of pītau and pītau/kape elements.

Hoe Waka NZ 150

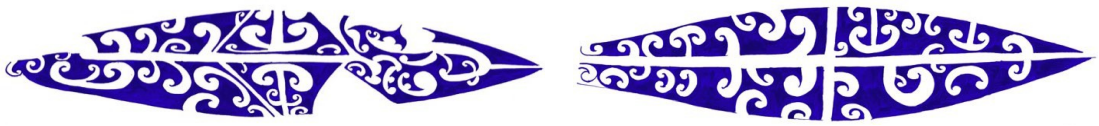

Figure 74–75
British Museum NZ 150. Hoe waka analysis. S. Gibbs.

For hoe waka NZ1 50, (see Figures 74 and 75), the manawa line the runs longitudinally along the blade's length. In the upper image, the straight line of the rārangi manawa is created by a cursive sweep from the handle before the delineation of a central longitudinal axis on the hoe blade, which then terminates in cursive compositions at the bottom of the blade. However, at the top, the rārangi manawa flows in a cursive meander back to the centre to continue its journey to the tip of the blade. On the reverse side of the blade, the rārangi manawa is continuous from the handle to the tip. While pītau vary in size, shape, and orientation of the arcs, there are instances of emerging bilateral symmetry in patterns

that evolve into mangōpare (hammerhead shark) in nineteenth century wharenui. There is also a minimal pītau/kape compositional flourish that places the hoe within the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa style; one is a closed pattern combining pītau and kape elements. Additionally, there are six closed pītau patterns.

Hoe Waka 5370

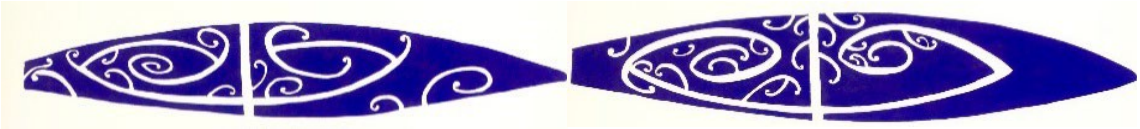

Figure 76–77
British Museum 5370. Hoe waka analysis. S. Gibbs.

The rārangi manawa on hoe waka5370 (see Figures 76 and 77), blade runs laterally across the blade connecting the patterns on either side. Like the previous hoe waka, an evolution of the mangōpare pattern is visible, along with a developing visual language of bilateral symmetry in Figure 77. This symmetry is interrupted by the minor pītau rhythms on the rārangi manawa and the cursive sweep of the pītau, as well as the emergence of the koiri. While the previous hoe features multiple instances of the closed pītau pattern, only one is present in the British Museum hoe.

Ellis (1997) compares the Miller paddle with the British Museum's 150 paddles, noting that Miller imposed a system of symmetry when rendering the hoe waka, as he was "unable to cope with the pure abstraction of the composition as he straightens and symmetricises [sic] the motifs so they correspond and mirror each other" (p. 163).

Hoe Waka C 589

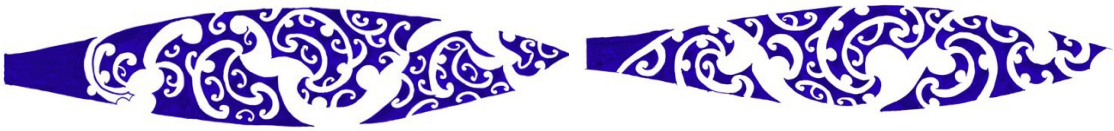

Figure 78–79
Hancock C589. Hoe waka analysis. S. Gibbs.

With the Hancock C 589 (see Figures 78 and 79), it is the bulbous ngū forms that generate the rhythm of the manawa line; continuous in Figure 79 and discontinuous in Figure 78 but nonetheless implied. Again, closed double-bulbed pītau patterns can be found in Figure 78

but not in Figure 79. What is also evident in this hoe waka is an evolving complexity in the enclosed kape patterns in Figure 79, where three pītau alternate with the three circular indentations on the outer edge of the enclosed kape. In another instance, a closed pītau pattern accompanies a single circular kape indentation within an open-ended kape form. The enclosed kape in Figure 79 runs off the edge of the blade, as does the ngū, but there is continuity in the rārangai manawa.

Ellis (1997) also noted the similarity between the Parkinson drawing and Hancock paddle, a view supported by staff at Hancock Museum. I agree that the actual hoe waka inspired the painting. However, my analysis reveals two areas near the whiti upoko and the taratu of the hoe waka where Parkinson has depicted a continuous, unbroken rārangi manawa, which conflicts with the actual breaks in the rhythm I identified. He also changed an open kape pattern into an enclosed one. It is worth noting the evolving vocabulary of closed patterns, especially pītau with terminal bulbs. Additionally, the kape/pītau variation appears in Figure 83, Hunterian Museum Glasgow; HMG E.619, Figure 74, British Museum NZ 150; and Cambridge University 1914:66. Neich (1993) pointed out differences between the real hoe waka and the Parkinson painting but did not specify where these differences are located.

Hoe waka ME 14921

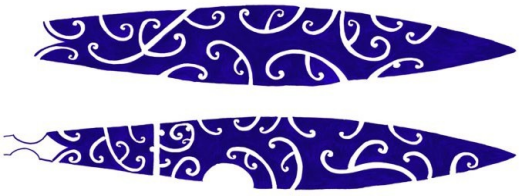

Figure 80
Te Papa ME 14921. Hoe waka analysis. S. Gibbs.

Figure 81
British Museum 5370. Hoe waka analysis. S. Gibbs.

The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa hoe waka was included in the Toi Tāmanuhiri exhibition at the Tairāwhiti Museum. Although Neich (1983) suggests an 1830-1840s timeline, this is one of the additional 8 paddles that can be ascribed to the Cook collection based on circumstantial evidence. In design terms, the painted paddle is pītau dominant, featuring closed patterns that appear to transition from one side of the blade to the other. When compared with chronologically later paddles, the emphasis on a manawa

line running latitudinally over the blade is evident. Consequently, when compared with those that have a definitive association with Poverty Bay hoe, the pervading difference is one of complexity versus simplicity.

Examples of Pītau, Koiri, Kape and Mangopare

Te Papa ME 14921 (see Figure 80) shows a basic pītau and koiri pattern, with some simple kape-like circular indentations, along with a larger semicircle on the edge of one side of the blade but not the other. On one side of the blade, a longitudinal line divides it into two pattern sections. Essentially, the patterns on both sides of the blade are asymmetrical, apart from the opposing pītau at the top of the blade.

The British Museum 5370 (see Figure 81) is a pītau-dominant design made up of basic pītau and mangōpare patterns, with one of the mangōpare branches transforming into a spiral or rauru shape. The cursive branches of the patterns connect to a rārangi manawa that runs across the blade of the hoe waka.

Ellis (1997) notes the similarity between the British Museum 5370 (Figure 81) and the Parkinson pītau dominant drawing with a straight manawa line dividing the blade laterally while the pītau elements curl longitudinally. She surmises that Parkinson "may have been wanting to produce something unique…" (p. 166). Hence, the bilateral symmetry evident in Hanson's drawing.

Figures 80, 81 and 82 are the only painted hoe that have a straight line that laterally dissects the design fields of the blades.

Hoe Waka NZ 150 and E 619

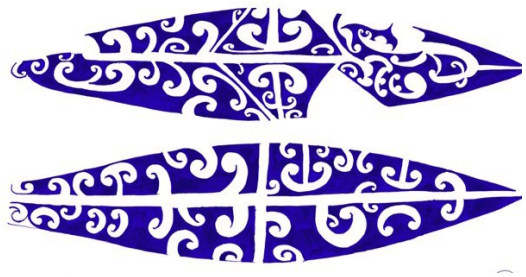

Figure 82
British Museum NZ 150. Hoe waka analysis. S. Gibbs.

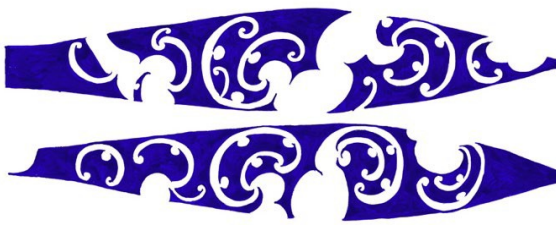

Figure 83
Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. HMG E.619. Hoe waka analysis. S. Gibbs.

Figure 82 and Figure 83 appear relatively simple in design terms. Figure 82 has a straight manawa line dissecting the pattern fields on each side of a longitudinal axis. This is an

example of horizontal pattern creating a design where pītau, mangōpare and pītau/kape patterns are arranged across a longitudinal axis. There is a freedom in the composition of pītau where asymmetry dominates in the pattern fields with moments of symmetry evident in reflected pītau and mangōpare.

Figure 83 is an asymmetrical design featuring pītau/kape with bulbous dislocated manawa line. The manawa runs asymmetrically across both sides of the blade. While the manawa is disconnected, there is an implied continuity in the rhythmic orientation of the bulbous rārangi manawa.

Ellis (1997) associates the simplicity of the design of the hoe waka in 8283 with a novice kōwhaiwhai artist noting that "In terms of kowhaiwhai we see pattern emerging of this style with the Poverty Bay kuru [kape] and kapua [rārangi manawa or ngū] filling the entire surface space…the kowhaiwhai is less complex with only 2-3 motifs…" (p. 155).

Hoe Waka C 589 and S 40235

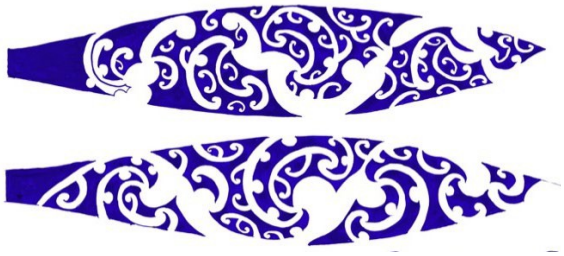

Figure 84
Hancock C589. Hoe waka analysis. S. Gibbs.

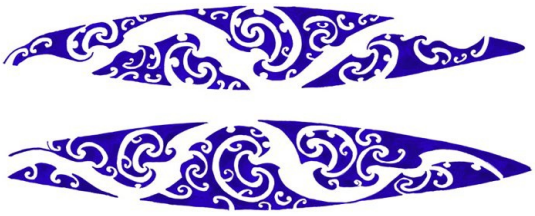

Figure 85
Linden Museum S40325. Hoe waka analysis. S. Gibbs.

The Hancock C589 (see Figure 84) and Linden Museum S40325 (see Figure 85) display similar forms of complex asymmetry. Both hoe waka have the pītau/kape compositions attached to the rārangi manawa, with the latter featuring both circular indentations and pītau within the kape patterns enclosed by a kapua (split pītau) design (Manuel, personal communication, July 2018). By way of contrast, Ellis (1997) introduced two terms relative to the creation of the hoe waka pattern - the 'kapua' and the 'kuru'. Kapua is introduced as a substitute for ngū, the bulbous manawa line. At the same time, kuru is the kape enveloped by a pītau with a series of circular patterns indenting the outer arc of a crescent within the pītau enclosure and sometimes below. Ellis further notes the kapua (ngū) shape

is a critical visual element in East Coast paddles for delineating "design fields" and organising "elements within them" (p. 62).

While Ellis's terms have some merit, the words pītau, pītau/kape, and ngū will be used following Neich's terminology as well as their application among contemporary kōwhaiwhai practitioners. Within the context of the leaf-shaped blade of the hoe waka, the painted designs imitate the slide reflection pattern seen in Te Hau ki Tūranga (1843), where the motif slides along the length and then flips to repeat the kape motif. The leaf-shaped form of the hoe waka blade causes the size of the kape to decrease as it moves away from the centre of the hoe waka. The use of pītau, closed pītau patterns, and koiri serves as space fillers, contributing to the visual complexity of the overall asymmetrical design system.

In her description of the hoe waka in the Linden Museum in Stuttgard (Figure 85) Ellis (1997) notes,

> On the blade of Stuttgart 1 the pattern is quite faded. Even so, kapua shapes are barely visible. On the blade of Stuttgart 2 there are kapua shapes which move down the blade and from which kuru emanate off surrounded by koru as space fillers, like the other paddles of this group…material of Stuttgart 2 is kauri… The similarities of the kowhaiwhai on the Stuttgart 2 and the Salem paddle is in the same use of the rolling kapua shapes…both use the kuru which join up at each end and are attached to the kapua forms. Both also use the koru inside the [crescent] shapes rather than the kape [curlicues] shapes…It can be assumed however, based on the kowhaiwhai and carving that they were carved and painted by an East Coast artist who was working in the north. (p. 157)

Ellis refers to a personal note by Neich that identified kauri as the wood used for the Stuttgart hoe, suggesting the paddle was produced in the north by an East Coast artist and that it would be excluded as a contender among those traded in 1769 (pp. 157-158). However, the note is contradicted by Neich (1993), who recorded "Several other paddles (6-13) can only be attributed to Cook's voyages or that period on the basis of circumstantial evidence…" (p. 63). Paddle 12 is the Stuttgart 2 paddle (S 40325) mentioned by Ellis as "Fig. 33 Paddle (12) Linden Museum, Stuttgart (S 40325)" (p. 67).

Hoe Waka 1914:66 and 1914:67

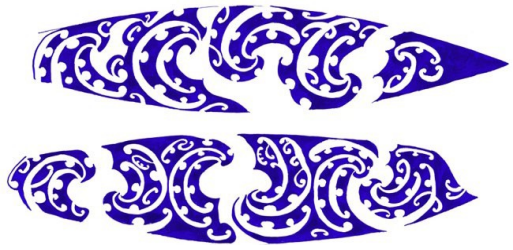

Figure 86
Cambridge University 1914:66. Hoe waka analysis. S. Gibbs.

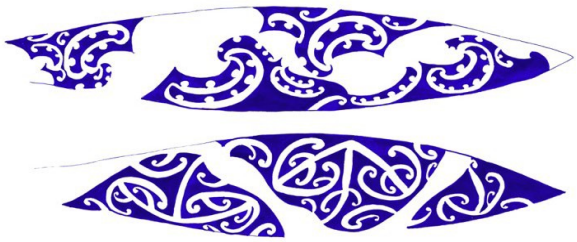

Figure 87
Cambridge University 1914:67. Hoe waka analysis. S. Gibbs.

Figures 86 qnd 87 feature the bulbous manawa line that divide the painted patterns into segments comprising pītau/kape pattern clusters apart from the pītau-dominant clusters within the three pītau zones on the lower hoe waka blade in Figure 87. In the latter hoe, the rārangi manawa runs longitudinally along the blade of the hoe waka. At the same time, the pītau-dominant patterns emanating from the rārangi manawa reveal an evolving mangopare patterns traversing the three triangular zones in an alternating rhythm akin to slide reflection apparent in Te Hau ki Tūranga (1843). However, the mangopare patterns remain asymmetrical. The kape compositions comprise four closed and five open patterns that interact with the bulbous rārangi manawa.

Ellis (1967) mentions that hoe waka (Cambridge 1914:67) is recognised as one of the earliest surviving hoe waka linked to Cook's first voyage. She highlights the "undulating kapua shape which runs along the paddle creating their design fields. In each…there is a centre stalk which branches off to a mangopare design" (p. 160). She views the hoe waka as a precedent from which to discuss the Poverty Bay style.

On the upper blade, the kape patterns dominate with some pītau and pītau/kape inflections. Figure 83 is unique in that it features asymmetrical patterns on both sides of the blade that are entirely different: kape dominant on one side and pītau dominant on the other. The manawa line is clear for the most part despite its asymmetrical bulbous shape, as it snakes along the length of the blade.

In Figure 86, the rārangi manawa runs laterally across both faces of the blade, creating three design fields in the upper and lower hoe waka. Although the patterns are asymmetrical, there is a clear sense of bifold rotation longitudinally in the upper and lower

pattern groups. In this hoe waka, the kape are never fully isolated or enclosed within an enveloping pītau shape that is visible on the Hancock hoe waka. Additionally, the kape patterns feature pītau accents with circular indentations on the outer curve of the kape, many terminating with pītau bulbs. Closed patterns also fill the spaces between the pattern groups. The manawa line is implied and visible running asymmetrically along the blade's length.

Hoe waka 1914:66 most closely resembles the third paddle painted by Parkinson. Like the Hancock paddle, it attempts to harness the energy of the rārangi manawa within the contour of the hoe waka blade. The lower pattern in Figure 86 aligns more with this, highlighting quadruple kape extensions on either side of lateral ngū opposing each other across the latitudinal rārangi manawa. However, the inclusion of a paua inlay for the manaia's eye contradicts this idea. Still, there is a connection in how the cursive kape/pītau elements invert from one side of the ngū to the other, creating a dynamic rhythm and energy reminiscent of rolling surf and crashing waves.

Conclusion

Through a careful process of research and analysis, this chapter illustrates the journey of the hoe waka from Tūranganui-a-Kiwa to museums around the world. By identifying 23 hoe waka with stylistic links to the region, and tracing 14 of those back to the 1769 exchange off Whareongaonga, this study highlights their importance as cultural artifacts. The prominence of taratara-a-kae on the whiti upoko has been established as a key identifier of the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa style, solidifying the region's unique artistic identity. Ultimately, this chapter reinforces the cultural significance of these hoe waka, crafted by skilled Tūranganui-a-Kiwa artists in the 18th century, and their role in preserving tribal stories and showcasing the artistic prowess of the region.

Chapter 4: Whakawhitinga Hoe ki Ngā Heke: Paddles to Rafters

Figure 88
Whakawhitinga: Transformation from hoe to whare. "A-Hoe!" exhibition. S. Gibbs, 2017.

Introduction

This chapter examines the transformation and continued importance of kōwhaiwhai design, tracing its origins from adornment on hoe waka to a key feature in the visual language of wharenui and its adaptation in church settings. This chapter examines the design elements and principles seen in both historical and modern examples of kōwhaiwhai, exploring how these patterns convey ancestral knowledge, reflect socio-political changes, and demonstrate the deep connection between Māori and the natural world. By analysing key motifs such as pītau, kape, pītau/kape combinations, ngū, and the pītau-a-manaia, and considering the influence of notable researchers and artists, this chapter seeks to highlight the lasting relevance of kōwhaiwhai as a vibrant and evolving art form.

Whakawhitinga refers to the transformation from one state to another. Kōwhaiwhai mirrors the transition that took place when our ocean navigating tīpuna transitioned from moana (sea) to whenua (land). The chapter begins with an outline of kōwhaiwhai design traits evident on hoe waka before examining their presence within a sample of nineteenth century architectural forms. The focus then shifts to an examination of contemporary kōwhaiwhai and the continuity of design systems from 1769 to the twenty first century.

Kōwhaiwhai on Hoe Waka and Wharenui

Examples of kōwhaiwhai painted on hoe waka are rare. Neich (1993) identified twenty-eight hoe waka embellished in this manner, highlighting their significance in Māori society. The analysis of eighteenth century painted kōwhaiwahai from Tūranganui-a-Kiwa reveals designs with both actual and implied manawa lines that are also evident in Te Hau ki Tūranga (1843).

There are three sets of heke featuring asymmetrical patterns without a rārangi manawa in Te Hau-ki-Tūranga, where the difference in the asymmetry, compared with that of hoe waka, is achieved by juxtaposing forty-two closed or independent" patterns (see Figure 89, second heke from the left). There are, however, several patterns with "implied" rārangi manawa among the heke (see Figure 90 – first pattern on the left). Five independent patterns are arranged in slide reflection from the bottom of the heke to the top. The rārangi manawa is generated by a bulbous ngū that creates a diagonal visual path from the bottom to the top of the heke. As an isolated, stand-alone pattern, it is asymmetrical. In other words, the system of symmetry is activated by combining several patterns, which in this case is slide reflection.

Critically, kōwhaiwhai in the nineteenth century retains the use of pītau, kape, kape/pītau combinations, and ngū compositions evident in the hoe waka, as well as the asymmetrical designs within Te Hau ki Tūranga, which include three sets of heke. However, correspondence symmetry is employed to generate systems of symmetry across the house. One might even suggest that such a system operated in hoe waka, where two waka were painted with similar patterns in correspondence symmetry across them. Nonetheless, the uniqueness of the hoe waka patterns uncovered so far does not seem to support this idea. Correspondence symmetry is especially relevant for asymmetrical heke, which require an asymmetrical partner to mirror the pattern across the house from one side to the other.

Therefore, the entire space within a wharenui must be considered when examining the symmetry systems. Te Hau ki Tūranga employs an associated hoe waka design vocabulary to create a new set of patterns that preserve the continuity of pītau, kape, and kape/pītau combinations, along with the bulbous ngū form. This approach involves creating rārangi manawa regulated by slide reflection and bifold rotation, among other symmetry systems, to develop new patterns within the wharenui (Figure 136).

Te Hau ki Tūranga: Analysis of Heke from Te Hau ki Tūranga

Figure 89–90
Te Hau ki Tūranga (1843) heke. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. In Neich (1993, p. 47).

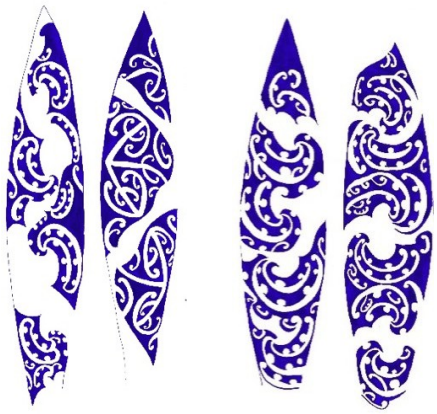

Figure 91–92
Cambridge hoe waka 1914:67 and 1914:66 painting analysis, 2017. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 91 demonstrates an early version of slide reflection along the length of the blade in the pītau dominant design to illustrate continuity in design from hoe waka to wharenui in the lateral branches linking the mangopare pattern to the undulating rārangi manawa. In Figure 93, the same process has been applied to show longitudinal axis repetition on the tāhuhu of Te Poho o Rāwiri. In this instance, bi-fold rotation is evident in the lateral branches linking the mangopare laterally to the cursive flow of the rārangi manawa in a similar manner to the mangopare in the pītau dominant hoe waka design in Figure 91. These examples reveal a continuity in compositional elements and systems of symmetry from hoe waka to heke and tāhuhu in the wharenui.

Figure 93
Te Poho o Rawiri (1930). Tāhuhu kōwhaiwhai with continuous curvilinear manawa line and lateral branches forming the mangōpare pattern in a bi-fold rotation system of symmetry. Photo: S. Gibbs.

What is clear is that the painted hoe waka that combine kape (both circle and pītau indented) and ngū are distinctive designs linked to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa kōwhaiwhai artists, whether they were collected from Whareongaonga or in the Bay of Islands. As Neich (1993) mentions,

> They exhibit all the characteristic Poverty Bay features of complex designs in larger compositional forms using a variety of pitau, kape and kape/pitau series. Especially prominent are the large, white, sinuous ngu shapes and red positive crescents. But it should also be noted that none of the designs on these paddles display periodic bilateral symmetry. Several of these paddles are painted with a unique kape/pitau series combination of alternating bulbs and curlicues not seen on 1840s rafters, but one that does not violate the canons of the 1840s Poverty Bay style. (pp. 63-64)

The painted hoe waka features a two-colour scheme of red on the natural wood colour, with several displaying a manaia carved with the distinctive taratara-a-kae surface pattern. Several of the hoe waka also feature kape and kape/pītau designs in the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa style. This style is evident in the continuity of the design language from the 1769 hoe waka to heke in Te Hau ki Tūranga and epa in the Manutuke Church II.

A key design principle that neither Neich nor Hanson discuss in their analyses is the significance of the rārangi manawa. According to Jahnke (1996), kōwhaiwhai can be categorised into patterns with, and patterns without, a manawa line. Those without a manawa line may consist of several closed or independent patterns that may or may not be configured to align with a system of symmetry like bifold rotation or slide reflection, while others are entirely asymmetrical when considered as independent heke. However, when paired across the space of a wharenui, they engage in correspondence symmetry (Hanson 1983). It should be noted, however, that the correspondence symmetry is never perfectly

aligned. Neich (1993) recommends that these pairings "are better regarded as not repeating periodic translation patterns and therefore should not be included in the group of designs generated by bilateral symmetry" (p.48).

Jahnke's (1995) assessment is significant because he introduces the concept of an implied manawa line (see discussion above) that depends on perceptual ability to visually construct a manawa line through pattern iteration, rhythm, and movement. Jahnke (1995) argues that there are three conventions in kōwhaiwhai design "in which the manawa line is explicit…implicit [or] absent". (p. 128)

Figure 94
Longitudinal and latitudinal axis of symmetry.

Figure 95
Longitudinal axis of symmetry.

Figure 96
Latitudinal axis symmetry.

Rārangi manawa in kōwhaiwhai is the visual line (explicit or implicit) that links the pattern elements on the blade of a hoe waka, and heke, maihi, and tāhuhu within a wharenui. For Jahnke (2006), rārangi manawa is metaphorically "the heart pulse of the pattern" (p. 128). It enables the eye to move longitudinally (or sometimes laterally in some hoe waka) along or across the blade. The rārangi manawa functions as a visual link for design elements. In the context of the wharenui, kōwhaiwhai on the heke provides a visual and conceptual link

between poupou and tāhuhu as ancestral ribs connected to the backbone, which in turn links the front of the house to the back. Connections between all parts of the wharenui help establish structure and visual coherence to the design while reinforcing a cosmological union between all parts of the house, aligning with the human form.

Figure 97
Related pītau, kape, and mangōpare patterns visible on both hoe waka and heke. Photo: S Gibbs.

Figure 98
Pītau, kape, and mangōpare designs on hoe waka. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Kōwhaiwhai within Wharenui

There are several visual similarities between the designs on hoe waka and the heke in Te Hau ki Tūranga, especially in the pītau, kape, kape/pītau combinations, and the ngū. Two innovative pattern developments are noted within the context of the heke in Te Hau ki Tūranga: the rauru (spiral pattern) and the pītau-a-manaia figurative design. However, within the hoe waka design vocabulary, there is an emerging spiral among the closed patterns and a template for the kape fingers in the open kape with circle indent (BM 96-1147).

The figurative form of the pītau-a-manaia first appears on heke in Te Hau ki Tūranga, pre-dating Natanahira Te Keteiwi's resolved designs on the maihi of Te Poho o Rāwiri (1849) and the later Manutuke II (1849-1863) church epa panels. Once again, the language of pītau and kape, along with the development of the closed (Jahnke 2006) or independent patterns, plays a vital role in the whakapapa of kōwhaiwhai, extending from hoe waka, to wharenui, and to church.

The pītau-a-manaia on the heke of Te Hau ki Tūranga appears intricate and displays a fluidity rarely seen on later heke, apart from Te Poho o Rukupō maihi in Manutuke. It seems the painting process would have started with outlining the patterns using a brush rather than sketching and filling in the details. There has also been a suggestion that chalk

was used for the outlines or even papa tauira (stencils). Sandy Adsett, who was part of a team of kōwhaiwhai specialists involved in restoring Te Poho o Rukupō and Rongopai, dismisses this idea. When asked about the process, he replied,

> "Yes of course, we said yeah that's because they were using flax brushes, you know. So, I believe they painted straight onto the wood, they didn't do an outline" (personal communication, 2019).

The process of painting visually complex designs was aided by an intuitive understanding of symmetry used by the kōwhaiwhai artists. Symmetry in a design system is clear in whakairo and tā moko, and kōwhaiwhai on heke, maihi, and poupou. Many design systems in Te Hau ki Tūranga feature closed patterns repeated along the heke's length. Variety is created by applying slide reflection or bifold rotation. While some design units are self-contained and double-ended, they are more freely used across many compositions. Cyclic or anticyclic patterns that rely solely on the interaction between companion patterns are often used.

Deidre Brown (1996) details the history of Te Hau ki Tūranga and traces its confiscation and removal from Manutuke to the Dominion Museum in 1867, leading up to its renovations in the 1930s by Sir Apirana Ngata and the School of Māori Arts and Crafts. Brown argues that placing Te Hau Ki Tūranga in a national museum has caused the original context to be lost, and the symbolism of this ancestral house has been compromised:

> The restoration of Te Hau-ki-Turanga, undertaken by Ngata and the School of Maori Arts and Crafts, demonstrates the subjective uses of Western scientific knowledge. By classifying Rukupō's work as a 'style' or a 'tradition,' rather than the spoils of confiscation or the product of a whare wananga, Ngata was able to reconcile Maori culture with Pakeha colonisation. (Brown, 1996, p. 26)

Additionally, "Ngata used a museum-inspired classification system to eliminate references to the New Zealand Wars and confiscation" (Brown, 1996, p. 190). For Brown (1996), Ngata's promotion of his version of the ideal meeting house turned Te Hau ki Tūranga into a potent example of how a traditional house could be reshaped in the modern era to unite Māori society. Under his guidance, it became the model for reimagining Māori

meeting houses and, in the process, gained a special place in te ao Māori - particularly for East Coast iwi.

The School of Māori Arts and Crafts' stylistic approach to the renovation clashed with Ngata's ideas about how the work should be done. The museum's resident carver, Thomas Heberley, repainted the kōwhaiwhai and carved a new gable head, door lintel, window pieces, and barge boards for Te Hau ki Tūranga. In doing so, some of the original kōwhaiwhai patterns were compromised, particularly the asymmetrical patterns made up of closed designs. Additionally, Heberley was unable to interpret the pītau-a-manaia on the maihi of Te Poho o Rāwiri by Natanahira Te Keteiwi, leading to an inversion of the lower torso with the pītau-a-manaia patterns shifting from the right maihi to the left maihi in a mirrored reflection. The pītau-a-manaia are bilaterally reflected from one maihi to the other.

Ngata may have believed that houses, like Te Mana o Tūranga (1883), were unsuitable for state-funded development schemes because of a perceived association with anti-loyalist iconography (Neich, 1993). However, the construction of Te Hau ki Tūranga pre-dated the 1865 Pai Marire incursion into Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, thus offering a degree of political neutrality as a model for future buildings.

Te Poho o Rāwiri (1849) Kaiti

The painted maihi from Te Poho o Rāwiri have been part of the national collection since 1913, when Archdeacon Herbert Williams bequeathed them to the museum. The painted designs can not only be connected to several hoe waka but also serve as the template for the pītau-a-manaia; a pattern that developed due to the socio-political events in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. The pītau-a-manaia is linked with the carved pou manaia. In turn, the pou manaia is associated with carved manaia on rauawa (side strakes), exemplified on the waka Te Toki a Tāpiri.

Natana Te Keteiwi carved and painted the pītau-a-manaia on the maihi of Te Poho o Rāwiri (1849). Tribal tradition links Te Keteiwi with Te Hau ki Tūranga as both a carver and painter because of the pītau-a-manaia on heke in Te Hau ki Tūranga, even though he is not listed among the contributing artists.

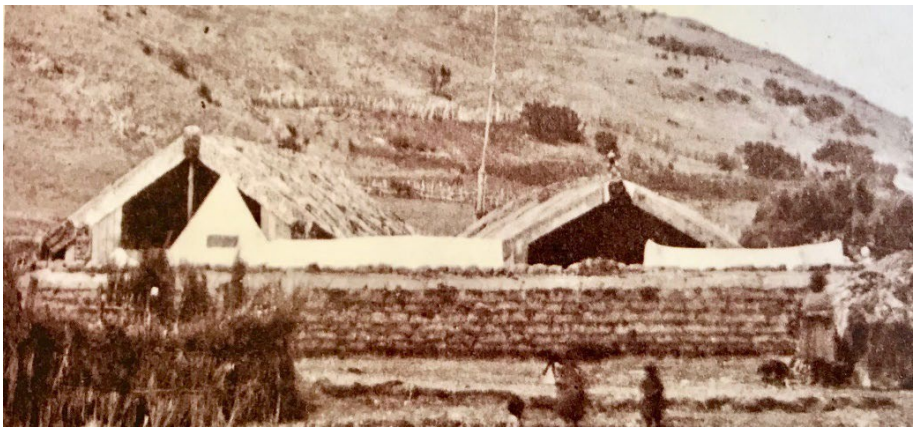

Figure 99
Te Poho o Rawiri, two houses (1849). Left: Maihi (now in Te Papa Tongarewa). Right: Whare with carved tekoteko (koruru-tekoteko held in Napier Museum). Image retrieved from Tairāwhiti Museum archives, 2017.

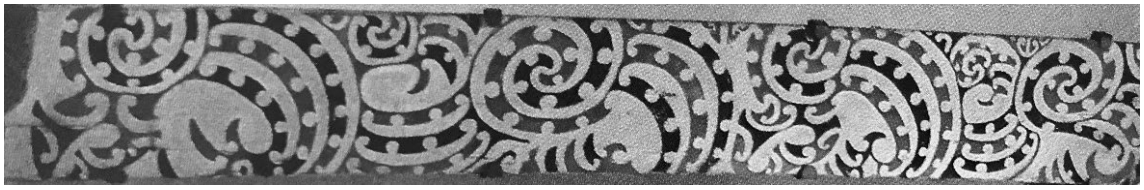

Figure 100
Te Poho o Rawiri maihi (1849). Te pītau-a-manaia design. Te Papa Tongarewa. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 101
Heke from Te Poho o Rawiri (1930) with pītau-a-manaia design. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 102
Maihi from original Te Poho o Rawiri (1849). Te Papa Tongarewa collection. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Te Poho o Rukupō (1878) Manutuke.

Te Poho o Rukupō originally stood at Pakirikiri. Built in 1878 by Pera Tawhiti, the younger brother of Rukupō, to honour his brother, it is one of the oldest meeting houses in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. It was later moved to Manutuke by Otene Pītau, the adopted son of Rukupō. All the interior poupou, heke, poutuarongo, poutahu, and

epa are painted. Neich (1993) describes the original paintings as having a "…complexity and fine quality that was rarely, if ever, equalled in any later houses" (p. 187). The painting of poupou was an innovation evident in other wharenui built in the mid-1880s when painted houses emerged as a viable alternative to the fully carved wharenui. From 1976 to 1983, Rongowhakaata, guided by kaumātua Darcy Ria and led by Cliff Whiting, carried out a thorough restoration of the kōwhaiwhai in Te Poho o Rukupō. It was found that the poupou had been painted over, and designs appeared beneath the top layer of paint. Under Whiting's guidance and in partnership with the New Zealand Historic Places Trust Māori Advisory Board, it was agreed that it was essential to enable Māori communities to self-determine the outcome. As Whiting recalls it was important that the "the marae people themselves were the hands that did the work, and gave awhi to their tīpuna whare and its kōrero" (Whiting as cited in Christensen 2013, p. 94).

Figure 103–104
Te Poho o Rukupō restoration: Cleaning poupou to reveal original designs, reinstated by skilled artists and marae people. Image: Christensen (1976), *He Toi Nuku, He Toi Rangi* (p. 95).

Kōwhaiwhai to Church

Ellis (2016) notes Whakawhitirā I as "the earliest chapel in the Waiapu" built in the Georgan style after a chapel in Pahia in 1828. Whakawhititerā was built in 1840 with a return to the whare tradition. Importantly, "it was plastered with red Kokowai relieved by the white moko pattern' (George Clarke, 1903, p. 31). Ellis (2016) records Wakawhititerā II as the earliest example of kōwhaiwhai in a church interior. In her contextualisation of kōwhaiwhai she references 10 painted hoe in museum collections that can be traced back to the East Coast/Poverty Bay region stylistically. Ellis (2016) also notes that "Whakawhitirā is evidence of a transferral of practice from the whare to the chapel" (p.

50). With Rangitukia II, completed in 1841, is unique amongst East Coast chapels not only in it capacity to house 800 worshipers but also because it was the first church to incorporate "kōwhaiwhai, the figurative carving and the mural painting…showing William Williams in the act of preaching" (p, 52).

Brown (2009) notes that "Christianity and church architecture had a tremendous impact on the way that Māori constructed their buildings and the types of architecture they produced…The CMS churches at Waikanae, Otaki and Manutuke had steeply pitched roofs, large internal spaces, side windows and higher walls that allowed people to move around in the building" (pp. 43-44).

Built between 1848 and 1851 Rangiatea at Otaki featured kōwhaiwhai and tukutuku while in 1849 work began on the Manutuke II Church "which was a Gothic-style replacement for the earlier church that had been destroyed in a storm" (Brown, 2009, p. 47). Led by Rukupō, the Manutuke II Church incorporated carved panels in the interior which led to a dispute resulting in the eventual substitution of tiki ancestral forms with manaia.

In 1840, Rev. William Williams, of the Anglican Church Missionary Society, established the Tūranga mission station at Whakato, which is known today as Manutuke. All four whare karakia built in the area played a key role in the development of Māori art and architecture within the Tairāwhiti region. The first church, Manutuke I Church (1840-1842), was built at Whakato marae and destroyed in a windstorm in 1842 before its completion (Sundt 2008). Rukupō and a team of carvers were responsible for Manutuke II Church (1849-1863) as a replacement for Manutuke I Church. After a dispute between Williams and the carvers over the use of tiki ancestral carvings, Rukupō developed an alternative carved manaia form derived from manaia on the rauawa of Te Toki-Tāpiri and the transformative design first created for the papaka skirting boards at the base of the tukutuku panels in Te Hau ki Tūranga. (Jahnke 2016; personal communication). The rauawa manaia also provided the compositional template for the pītau-a-manaia figurative kōwhaiwhai design on the heke of Te Hau ki Tūranga (1842), the maihi of Te Poho o Rāwiri (1849), and epa in Manutuke II Church (1849-1863). According to Brown (2009), Te Waka Kurei was responsible for the substitute manaia form. Although incomplete, the church building was formally opened in 1863. Due to disrepair and decay, Manutuke II Church was dismantled, and its carved manaia panels were preserved with plans to reuse them in the future. According to Sundt (2008), Manutuke II Church was

> …the largest and most capacious whare-style edifice of 'superior' construction…where the carved embellishment was based exclusively on the profile manaia motif: and one of the first buildings employing manaia conceived on a monumental scale. Also of considerable significance is the team of artists…that included the most eminent sculptor of the period, Raharuni Rukupo, and other master carvers; chief among them were Te Waaka Perohuka and Te Waka Kurei, both active in the 1840s and early 1850s. (p. 134)

Eight years later, these panels found a home with the construction of Manutuke III Church (1888-1910), which was "Western in plan and structure" (Sundt, 2008, p. 136). It was destroyed by fire in 1910. Fortuitously, the church had been photographed by William F. Crawford (1844-1915). It was this loss that opened the way for Toko Toru Tapu to be built, which still stands today.

Figure 105
Pītau-a-manaia on the maihi of *Te Poho o Rawiri*. In Neich (1993, p. 48).

Pītau-a-manaia

For Māori artists in Tairāwhiti, the pītau-a-manaia signifies the tension between religious beliefs and cultural practices regarding the suitability of carved tiki for the Manutuke II Church.

Jahnke's 2006 review of the pītau-a-manaia notes, "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" (p. 126).

This becomes clearer when analysing the design system illustrated in Painted Histories (2001), where the pītau-a-manaia image is incomplete; only part of the full design is shown.

Figure 106
Carved pou manaia from Manutuke II Church (1849–1863), Muriwai Marae. Photo: S. Gibbs.

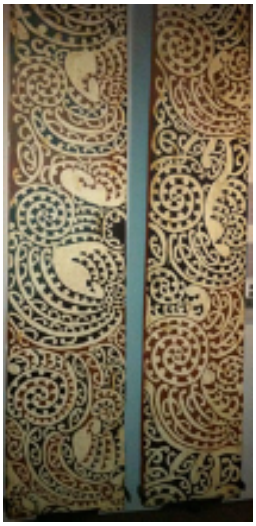

Figure 107
Painted manaia forms as they appeared in the Manutuke II Church (1849–1863), Tairāwhiti Museum. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 108
Carved pou manaia, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri Marae War Memorial Hall (originally from Manutuke II Church, 1849–1863). Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 109
Manaia on the rauawa of *Te Toki a Tāpiri*, Auckland Museum, showing the development from carved pou manaia to painted pītau-a-manaia forms. Photo: S. Gibbs.

The Te Hau ki Tūranga pītau-a-manaia pattern demonstrates the convention of slide reflection, where the pītau-a-manaia and its mirror image alternate along the length of the heke. The arrangement of pītau-a-manaia on the Te Poho o Rāwiri maihi shows a slide translation of two nearly identical figurative forms along the maihi. However, when the maihi are placed opposite each other, bilateral symmetry becomes evident. The importance of pītau-a-manaia stems from the 'not-repeating periodic translation patterns', a figurative development predating 1843 (Jahnke, 2006). This symbolic kōwhaiwhai development appears in several innovative forms found on meeting houses across the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa and Wairoa districts. These include the pītau-a-tiki and other hybrid designs that merge tiki-a-manaia with linear elements referencing carved haehae and pakati. Besides referencing the tiki human form, these experiments also feature various manaia-inspired patterns incorporating rauru and kape motifs.

As well as Te Hau ki Tūranga in Wellington, Te Poho o Rukupō in Manutuke, Te Poho o Rāwiri in Gisborne, and Rongopai in Waituhi, the experimental figurative design systems also appeared in Te Poho o Hiraina at Pakowhai marae near Patutahi before it was destroyed by fire in 1949. These figurative designs also appeared in houses like Te Poho o Tamaterangi, Rangiahua, built in 1893, and in Te Poho o Tapuwai at Frasertown in 1890. What this shows is how creative influence shifted from one region to another and the willingness of iwi to adapt and modify visual ideas, incorporating them into their respective wharenui.

Kōwhaiwhai 1840–1910

Kōwhaiwhai research has mainly focused on Augustus Hamilton's (1896-1901) publication Maori Art: The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand, which was the first to reproduce kōwhaiwhai designs in colour using chromolithography. Rev. Herbert Williams gathered thirty-six designs; however, only twenty-nine were included in the 1987 chapter by Williams for Hamilton, as Hamilton rejected those that were incomplete. The patterns by Hamilton were later referenced by Peter Buck and William Phillipps. Phillipps was a well-known writer on Māori art in the 1940s. Buck gained fame for his 1949 publication, The Coming of the Māori, which showed a reluctance to critique descriptions of kōwhaiwhai or to record a broader range of kōwhaiwhai motifs. Around the same time, Phillipps contributed to kōwhaiwhai documentation with his recordings of east coast and west coast meeting houses across the North Island.

In the 1870s, Māori painting experienced a significant shift during land loss and dispossession. Spiritual leaders emerged to guide their communities through these challenging times. This era was marked by political and religious shifts, as iwi were compelled to affirm their traditional land rights and identity. One of the most notable figures was Te Kooti Rikirangi Te Tūruki, who founded the Ringatū religion. Neich (1993) notes that "Naturalistic paintings first appeared on meeting houses in the early 1870s…these first naturalistic meeting-house paintings occurred in dispersed localities and may have been relatively independent innovations" (p. 171). The teachings of the Ringatu faith inspired the development of figurative painting that combined naturalistic imagery with non-figurative elements. This form of painting incorporated traditional kōwhaiwhai patterns, wood carving motifs, and surface designs, alongside European-style naturalism. Te Kooti also played a key role in bringing naturalism into carving and using naturalistic symbols to identify tribal ancestors. The influence of naturalism in Rongopai (1883) at Waituhi is profound, as it features painted images of trees, birds, humans on the poupou, and tīpuna on the epa.

By the early 20th century, only forty-four designs had been documented and published by Hamilton and Menzies. Their focus was on pītau-based designs rather than figurative painting, which gained popularity in the late 19th century. They regarded kōwhaiwhai as having no identifiable European influences and eliminated any panels that did not align with their perception of kōwhaiwhai. There was no room for innovation or change, as emphasised by Williams, who abhorred straight lines, noting: "The introduction of straight cross-lines and mid-ribs is a modern invention" (Hamilton, 1896, p. 119). The straight lines in the hoe waka compositions render his comment irrelevant.

Ngarino Ellis (1998) notes that Hovell had challenged the authenticity of patterns "…collated by Hamilton and Menzies. The introduction of a standardized red, black and white colour palette date from late last century, to early this century, and is almost certainly due to the influence of the early Museum Ethnologists" (Dashper & Dowling, 1993, p. 29).

Gordon Tovey was the first to identify the main motifs of kōwhaiwhai in his 1961 publication, The Arts of the Māori. These were the kape, the pītau and the kape/pītau combinations. However, his reliance on Williams and Menzies' kōwhaiwhai samples limited

the range of available published patterns. In the 1980s, kōwhaiwhai was discussed in terms of symmetry by authors such as Hanson (1983: 1982a), who "…was the first to recognise and formulate this compositional principle of kowhaiwhai [bilateral symmetry] in systematic terms" (Neich, 1993, p.46).

Referencing Hanson (1983a, p. 213), Neich (1993) notes that,

> …kowhaiwhai on painted rafters…are studies in bilateral symmetry of virtually mathematical precision. Some patterns show mirror reflection across a longitudinal axis, a latitudinal axis, or both. Other patterns manifest bifold rotation across one or more axes, and still others are organised according to slide reflection (where form and its mirror image alternate along a line. (p.464)

As Neich (1993) acknowledges, Hanson was the first to undertake a systematic analysis of the systems of symmetry evident in kōwhaiwhai. Hanson focused on William's sample in Hamilton's 1896 publication and some heke from Te Hau ki Tūranga. He discovered that many of the designs included two or more different types of symmetry within the heke pattern, while colour was used to further disrupt perfect symmetry.

As a structuralist, Hanson (1983a) wanted to demonstrate that "…a Maori artist introduces minor asymmetries into major patterns of symmetry…are visual maps of a quality of ambivalent tension between identity and difference or between union and separation that characterises the Maori view of the world" (p. 216).

Hanson defined the patterns in terms of bilateral symmetry, noting the absence of radial symmetry. Neich (1993) questioned Hanson's approach noting that "…rafter pairs in Te Hau-ki-Turanga with his 'correspondence symmetry' are better regarded as not repeating periodic translation patterns and therefore should not be included in the group of designs generated by bi-lateral symmetry. Rather, the designs with 'correspondence symmetry' represent a development separate from periodic repeating patterns." (p. 48).

Hanson (1983a) preferred to see them as part of correspondence symmetry across the house. He regarded the bilateral state as part of a complementary relationship that extended to Māori society and myths such as Rangi and Papa, as well as the concepts of tapu and

noa, including transactional exchanges like utu and hakari. The trading of equivalent elements was not only evident in the art but also reflected dualism in society. The symmetry analysed was also incorporated into whakairo and tā moko. Minor anomalies were identified in the symmetry which "constitute the novelty which seasons the familiarity of the symmetry, preventing it from becoming tedious" (p. 48).

Therefore, analysing the kōwhaiwhai in Te Hau ki Tūranga is essential for two main reasons. First, to demonstrate the design relationship between the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa painted hoe waka and heke, and second, to illustrate the development of periodic translation patterns related to non-periodic repeating patterns. Hanson (1983a) classified them as bilateral symmetry, slide reflection, bifold rotation, asymmetry, and correspondence symmetry.

Neich's analysis of kōwhaiwhai was the most comprehensive up to 1993. It integrated ideas from Angus (1846/1972), Donnay and Donnay (1985), Godber (1939–1947), Hanson (1983a, 1985), Phillipps (1944, 1960, 1966), Tovey (1961), Williams (1897/1971), and Buck (1949). Neich regarded kōwhaiwhai on hoe waka as the ancestor of kōwhaiwhai in the wharepuni (chiefs' houses). This is a solid observation that is both logical and backed by chronological evidence (Jahnke & Jahnke Tomlins, 2003) through the development of pattern symmetry.

Kōwhaiwhai Design Elements

Several kōwhaiwhai design elements developed after 1840. The inclusion of the rauru (spiral) became a significant aspect of the figurative kōwhaiwhai seen in the pītau-a-manaia and the pītau-a-tiki. The earliest evidence of the mangōpare motif appears on hoe waka collected during Cook's 1769 voyage, suggesting a maritime connection and an early development of the pattern.

Figure 110
Mangōpare on hoe waka, 1760s Tūranganui (Cambridge University 1914:67). Hoe with asymmetrical analysis. S. Gibbs, 2017.

The pattern is most noticeable in meeting houses from the late 1800s. During that period, it was a prominent feature in wharenui within Te Arawa and Mataatua territories. The emergence of the pattern at that time aligned with increasing awareness to emphasise one group's identity over another under strict regulations of an imposed European land tenure system, which required proof of ownership, combined with a declining Māori population. This was the situation faced by East Coast iwi in the late 1990s as Tūranganui-a-Kiwa iwi settled their cases with the Waitangi Tribunal. They had to demonstrate their occupation by defining the extent of mana whenua. The mangōpare pattern serves as a significant reminder of the need to stay strong against the encroachment of alternative value systems that prioritise the individual over the group. Mangōpare can also be seen on the Hinemihi meeting house, which stood at Te Wairoa near Lake Tarawera in the 1880s. The pattern was painted on the maihi (bargeboard), heketipi (the fascia board on the front and back wall), and the mahau (porch). In the 1890s, the meeting house Ruatepupuke, located at Te Ariuru in Tokomaru Bay on the East Coast, displayed the mangōpare painted on the maihi, heketipi, and both external and internal heke. These serve as a tribute to the tumultuous history between the god Tangaroa, his descendant Ruatepupuke, and the arrival of carving in the human world. In contrast to the maritime link of mangōpare and ara moana, the kōwhai ngutukura refers to shrubs and trees with red flowers and the associated sacredness. Flora also symbolises an intimate connection between tīpuna and whenua. This union is expressed through whenua as placenta or afterbirth, and the ritualised return of the whenua to the earth. This is often done by planting a shrub or tree over the placenta to celebrate the new-born child, and to affirm the child's tūrangawaewae (place to stand).

The Status of Kōwhaiwhai

While Neich (1993) argues that painting is a worldly art, because it responds to new social and historical conditions, it was seen as a lesser art form due to its lack of the spiritual or ancestral links associated with tā moko and tāniko. The idea that painting is an inferior art is challenged by Jahnke (2010), who, in "Reading Between the Lines," used a comparative textual approach to critique Percy Smith and Elsdon Best's translations of the Mataora narrative. While this does not diminish the sacred significance of whakairo, tā moko, or tāniko, Jahnke's critique highlights the issue of "flawed translation," as uncritical acceptance of translations can, and has, led to misinformation. Where Neich has used the term 'hopara-makaurangi' for figurative painting on houses, Jahnke (2010) believes Neich is mistaken, noting,

> …as the textual analysis revealed, 'hopara-makaurangi' is used by [Uetonga and Mataora] 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…For Mataora, it is the painted equivalent of tattoo in the underworld, and for Uetonga it is the design painted in a house. (pp. 68–69)

This textual analysis of the narratives of Mataora and Uetonga reveals that the art form of painting has close, if not similar, connections to the atua-based art forms of tā moko, whakairo, and tāniko. According to Neich (1993),

> The cultural evaluation of painting in trelation to the other arts of tattoo and woodcarving..can be summarised as a a series of oppositions:

Tattoo, woodcarving	*Painting*
Learnt in other worlds	Of this world
Ritual initiation into art	No initiation
Strict training	No training
Male artists	Anybody
Tapu restrictions	Noa (common, free of tapu)
Permanent	Ephemeral, easily removed
Three-dimensional	Two-dimensional
Cut into medium	Applied to surface

> From the way in which these oppositions were used in the mythology of the later nineteenth century, it seems likely that the Māori people of that time associated tattoo [tā moko] and wood carving [whakairo rakau] with a more highly valued and tapu traditional past, while painting was regarded as a temporary expedient, useful for immediate purposes but not of lasting value. (p. 21)

In the 1840s, the demand for waka taua (war canoes) declined due to colonisation, the availability of introduced European ocean-going vessels, and the systematic destruction of waka taua by British militia. For example, Te Toki a Tāpiri – once a symbol of mana – was bombed by the British militia at Onehunga during this period (Cowan, 1922/1956).

From the early 1800s, the idea of the meeting house was being developed, both as a practical building and as a symbol of group identity. Before then, tribal houses were wharepuni; chief's houses embellished with carvings and painted designs. The development and expansion of the larger meeting houses during the mid-to-late 1800s set the pattern for the Manutuke I Church, linked to the first mission station at Whakato in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, led by tohunga whakairo Raharuhi Rukupō and Te Waaka Perohuka. The meeting houses and church buildings constructed during this period involved the same carvers and painters responsible for Te Hau ki Tūranga (1843), the Anglican church Manutuke II (1849-1863), and Te Poho o Rāwiri (1849).

Neich (1993) contends that,

> Another direct transfer in the Poverty Bay area is suggested by the similarity of paddle kowhaiwhai and house kowhaiwhai, although in this area the transfer also involved a change from two-colour to three-colour designs. Exactly where the idea of transferring kowhaiwhai designs originated is still uncertain. On the evidence presented, the East Coast/Poverty Bay area seems most likely, and this would agree with suggestions that other innovations in house design and decoration originated here…The kōwhaiwhai painting that had been used on paddles and monuments already carried the connotations of inherited authority and genealogical mana, so it was clearly a logical step to transfer this connotation to the new symbol of identity in the form of the meeting house. (p. 73)

In The Politics of Māori Image and Design, Robert Jahnke and Huia Tomlins Jahnke (2003) observe that kōwhaiwhai was cosmo-genealogically encoded with visual references linking the designs within kōwhaiwhai to land and sea.

> Kowhaiwhai within the nineteenth century context is most identifiable with Māori meeting houses, particularly with the heke (rafters) and tahuhu (ridgepole) of the house. Within these contexts, kowhaiwhai was genealogically encoded within the cosmology of the house to provide a visual endorsement of the interconnectedness of Māori and the natural world. (p. 15)

Regarding the names of kōwhaiwhai patterns, Jahnke and Tomlins Jahnke (2003) note,

> …the relationship between the pattern and its natural referent is related to the cultural significance of the name rather than any visual correlation between the pattern and its natural referent. (p. 15)

Although the manaia images, both carved and painted, are a stroke of genius, the true significance lies in the name. According to Harrison (1988) "…the word manaia means 'containing mana'" (University of Auckland, 1988, p. 19). The spiritual dimension becomes much clearer and more powerful.

Te Ao Marama

Sir Apirana Ngata was responsible for establishing the New Zealand School of Māori Arts and Crafts in 1926, which contributed to the revival of traditional Māori arts and crafts. This ultimately led to Te Hau ki Tūranga providing the blueprint for carving.

Figure 111
Kōwhaiwhai designs, interior of Whitireia meeting house, Whangara, built in 1939. Image from Toihoukura archives, 2012.

Whitireia at Whangara, which opened in 1939, is one of many examples of the revival of the arts of the meeting house. Figure 111 illustrates the approach to kōwhaiwhai created under the guidance of Ringatu Poi. While colours were standardised and kōwhaiwhai examples from the Hamilton sample were prioritised, an element of freedom was evident in late nineteenth century meeting houses on the East Coast, such as Rongomaianiwaniwa at Te Rahui marae. Hone Taahu was responsible for the carving, and Waiheke Puha was responsible for the kōwhaiwhai. Following the work of Ngata and Te Ao Marama carvers, another development occurred that would greatly influence Māori painting in the twenty-first century. Pine Taiapa spearheaded this as the kaumātua for a group of young Māori art advisors and artists.

Figure 112
Painted poupou in Rongomaianiwaniwa, Te Rahui Marae, Tikitiki, 1890s. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Gordon Tovey & Pine Taiapa

Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau a Apanui

Gordon Tovey, who was the National Superintendent of Art and Crafts in the Department of Education, was one of the most influential figures during the 1950s to the 1960s. He oversaw a scheme to provide primary-school teacher trainees with additional specialist training as itinerant advisers in art and craft. The Tovey era in New Zealand art education established a critical link between customary marae-based Māori art and the development of the contemporary Māori art movement during his tenure.

Although Pine Taiapa served as the kaumātua of this group, they were collectively active in education through the Māori Arts Advisory Service. They also played a key role in revitalising Māori communities by involving collaborative art-making projects. A significant event was the organisation of a national Māori arts and crafts hui supported by the Department of Education in Ruatoria in March 1960.

Skinner (2008) describes the 1960 hui as

> A week-long course in 'traditional' Māori arts and crafts, the hui gave those attending the opportunity to study under acknowledged cultural experts…Pine Taiapa and Arnold Reedy were to be guest instructors to cover the historical and local aspects of Maori art, while Marewa McConnell from the Northern Māori project was to teach poi, Mere Kururangi action song, Ami Tuhaka and Maude Issacs weaving, Pine Taiapa carving, and George Reedy, haka…Tovey's project

> received a larger authorisation. The hui is often proposed as the moment when Taiapa gave his blessing to contemporary Māori art. (Henderson in Skinner, 2008, p. 82)

Skinner (2010) quotes Taiapa as saying,

> …a lot of people think that kowhaiwhai is based on the growth of a frond reaching out and curling around, but he gave me the idea that actually it was something more ephemeral or something more fleeting and passing, like foam on a breaking wave or running up the beach that scatter of white that parts and forms dark places, that wet sand between, or the paddle that stirs the water. He gave me this idea that kowhaiwhai should be a sort of seizing of a moment, that Japanese idea of the fleeting or the passing world. (p. 48)

John Hovell

Ngāti Porou, Ngā Puhi

Hovell was one of the most prolific kōwhaiwhai artists of modern times. His work is visible in meeting houses, dining halls, and other public buildings across Tairāwhiti and other parts of New Zealand. His work, while capturing the essence of kōwhaiwhai, also expands and broadens the boundaries of painting within a cultural setting. His work often goes beyond the confines of heke as a memory bank and genealogically encoded cosmology that visually affirms the interconnectedness of Māori identity while highlighting links to the natural world. In the wharekai Rongomaitapui at Hinerupe marae, Hovell presents a visual story that relates to the offering of food baskets as a tribute to the hapū and whānau in ancestral histories. The images of rourou (baskets) and kai (food) are supported by the whakatauki "Nau te rourou, naku te rourou, ka ora te manuhiri" (With my food and your food we will be able to feed the visitors) painted at the bottom of the mural.

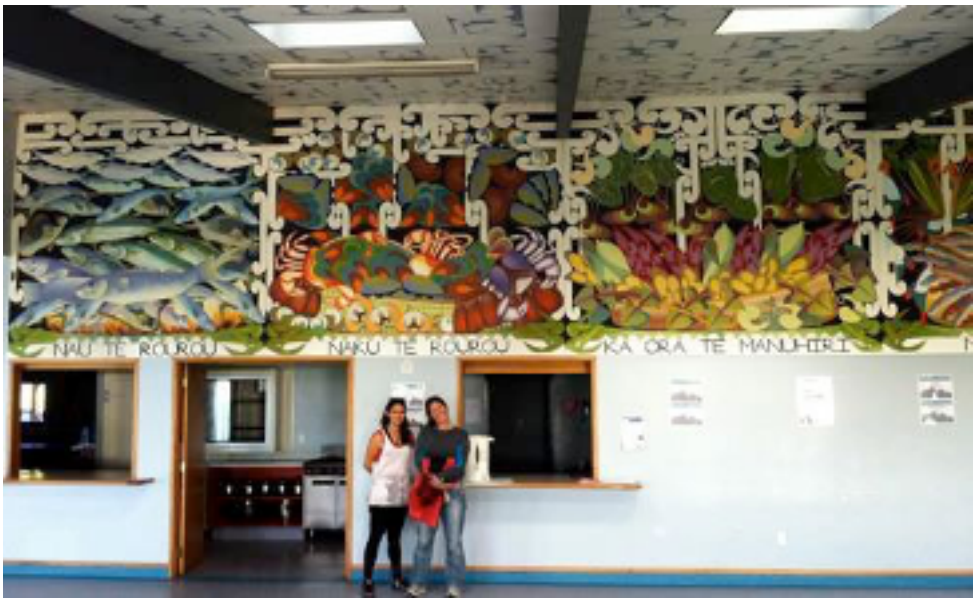

Figure 113
Hovell, J. *Rongomaitapui dining hall*, Hinerupe Marae, Te Araroa, 1999. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Hovell's work is a link with several contemporary Māori artists who have extended and developed the customary forms of kōwhaiwhai including Buck Nin, Cliff Whiting, John Bevan-Ford, Para Matchitt and Sandy Adsett.

While both Hovell and Adsett focus on kōwhaiwhai, the kape design element plays a significant role in Hovell's work, as seen in Octopartite Kape Series 1975 (Skinner, 2008). The use of the kape can be traced back to Hovell's involvement in the Rongopai restoration project at Waituhi. The kape rua, pītau-a-manaia, and pītau-a-tiki are the primary design features visible on the maihi and painted epa in Rongopai.

Hovell (in Skinner, 2010) contends that,

> The Kape motif has given rise to a whole cluster of painted rafter patterns in East Coast houses and may be regarded as predominant. The primary meaning of Kape is that of leaving out, picking out or separation. There are also connotations of moving or stirring. (p. 68)

Octopartite is a series of eight paintings initiated with a bilateral kape composition, which is initially abstracted before developing into distinctive figurative forms in the last two works

of the sequence. The second-to-last painting references the rock art of Te Waipounamu, while the final piece alludes to the epa of Rongopai at Waituhi.

Figure 114
Hovell, J. *Octopartite Kape Series* (detail, Westpac Bank, Gisborne), 1976. In Skinner (2010, p. 65).

Sandy Adsett

Ngāti Pahauwera. Ngāti Kahungunu

Adsett is a key artist associated with the Gordon Tovey art advisory group from the 1960s. He still significantly influences students of kōwhaiwhai painting today. Adsett's paintings are more closely linked with the meeting house rafter patterns. He introduced the idea of kōwhaiwhai from an ancestral house being recomposed within large rectangular frames for exhibition. While his work incorporates recognisable rectilinear elements tied to weaving patterns, the curvilinear shapes of swirling and soaring pītau designs have become his hallmark.

Like many Māori artists brought up in or near marae Adsett recalls,

> I thought that every time I was in a meeting house, and I was often there looking at the kōwhaiwhai and the heke, and I said, so, why is this art form so simple in comparison to the highly decorative nature of whakairo and the patternmaking in the tukutuku, and yet it fits so strongly as a connector with everything else? And the names weren't there, you couldn't really tell. People would say it relates to this and the next year, the stories always varied, so you just looked at it and took it on. In the end, I formulated my own way of finding a construct of the repeat pattern, the division, the balancing of colour, the dark and the light, because I needed to understand it more. (Adsett, Personal communication, 2020)

A sense of identity fuels Adsett's passion for kōwhaiwhai. For him, kōwhaiwhai is a reflection of being Māori. Adsett has investigated the use of woven patterns in his artworks, often blending pītau-based shapes within a weaving framework. He regards the weaving patterns found in tukutuku and tāniko as distinctive Māori design elements. "… you've got to have a passion to say our culture has to continue to be our art forms that are telling what we're doing in our place" (Adsett, personal communication, 2020). Adsett also maintains,

> I've read this in other so-called primitive cultures that, whether it's true or not…out of respect of the creator of all things that are natural, is to try and repeat that…I've seen this as an argument…that the images that you see are all from a creator. (Adsett, personal communication, 2019)

Figure 115
Adsett, S. (1979). *Paikea* [Acrylic on board]. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 116
Adsett, S. (1980). *Taone Marama (Night Lights of the City)* [Acrylic on board]. Photo S. Gibbs

Adsett is firm about the mandatory role of the artist with the iwi. He says,

> "An artist has an obligation to the art of his or her people. It's the peoples art. It doesn't belong to you. It must identify Māori to Māori if it is going to remain relevant to statements about our tribal beliefs, values and mana in today's and tomorrow's world." (Jahnke & Ihimaera, 1996, p. 59)

In *Kahurangi* (see Figure 117), Adsett employs a cultural design called the kōwhai ngutu kākā. Colour and symmetry are central to his design vocabulary. Kahurangi demonstrates how Adsett skillfully manages both composition and colour. His use of a simple design element such as the koiri (which refers to genealogical connections), combined with symmetry inspired by traditional kōwhaiwhai painting, results in a complex composition featuring a series of tonal variations, with blue as the dominant hue.

Figure 117
Adsett, S. (1988). *Kahurangi* [Acrylic on board]. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 118
Adsett, S. *(1987). Raupunga (Heke Design)* [Acrylic on board]. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Most of Adsett's works in the 1980s are recognised for his exploration of controlled colour combinations and his painterly experiments in adapting kōwhaiwhai to the format of easel painting. He expresses contemporary interpretations of the strong negative-positive design elements of traditional patterns, evident in tukutuku, tāniko, and kōwhaiwhai. His skill in using Western art techniques to interpret customary forms is a defining feature of his work.

Figure 119
Adsett, S. (2000). *Taki Toru Triptych* [Acrylic on board]. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Buck Nin

Ngāti Raukawa

Nin was an influential Māori artist from the 1960s until his passing in 1996. As Skinner 2010 writes,

> Just as kōwhaiwhai artists can create endless variations with a single motif, so Hovell finds endless variety in his representation of the East Coast landscape through the characteristic crescent, and positive and negative relationships of kape rua. It is interesting in this sense to compare Hovell's work to that of Buck Nin, who also draws on kōwhaiwhai….The kōwhaiwhai are not, however, the primary structure for this work; rather they exist in alternative spaces of abstraction, stylisation or naturalism. In this way they heighten his complex representations of the land. (p. 60)

Nin blends red, black, and white within a sombre landscape, along with the richly patterned forms of waka that, for Nin, are highly symbolic (see Figures 120 and 121). Nin notes in Mataira (1984),

> The canoe prow, symbolic of thrust and power, carves its path through and into the land infusing it with its own power, and conditioning it. I have taken that whole aspect of the canoe prow and its stern post and imposed it on my paintings so that you look through the lattice work and into the soul of the land. (p. 52)

Figure 120
Nin, B. (1976). *Ko wai te waka e kau mai nei?* [Acrylic on board]. Auckland City Art Gallery. Photo: S. Gibbs.

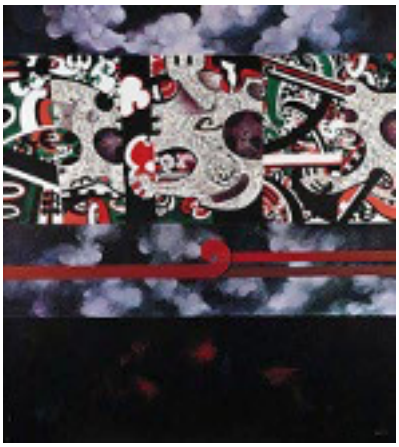

Figure 121
Nin, B. (1977). *Banner Protest* [Acrylic on board]. Auckland City Art Gallery. Photo: S. Gibbs.

He used kōwhaiwhai design elements to comment on "cultural disjuncture, rather than continuity…This political kōwhaiwhai is not without hope, however. The embryonic forms within it indicate that life prevails despite damaging counter forces" (Diamond, n.d).

Kura Te Waru Rewiri

Ngāti Kahu, Ngā Puhi

In an essay titled "Creativity and spirituality," Mason (2011) discusses the works of Te Waru Rewiri that explore her engagement with kōwhaiwhai. By simply using kōwhaiwhai as a subject, she indicates a visual connection to painted hoe waka, and her personal creative process:

> [Kowhaiwhai] has been opened to change and innovation since kowhaiwhai entered the built wharenui after it ceased to be an artistic expression reserved for hoe or the paddles of ocean travelling canoes.
> Kowhaiwhai – in a customary and contemporary way – is one way that Maori express, extend and value both uniformity and diversity. It also helps us to recognize that everything comes from the mind and that there is intelligence in everything. (p. 43)

Figure 122
Te Waru Rewiri, K. (2011). *Puhoro: Meets the Stripes* [Acrylic on board]. In Borell (2001, p. 46).

Figure 123
Parkinson, S. (1769). *Head of a New Zealander* [Drawing]. In Salmond (1991, p. 225).

Te Waru Rewiri's kōwhaiwhai are the outcome of a meditative approach to form and essence. In her works, Puhoro, Meets the Stripes I, II and III, (Figure 122) Te Waru Rewiri uses familiar patterns associated with puhoro and koiri designs. Her inclination to travel can be interpreted in a spiritual sense and as a process of self-discovery and enlightenment. There is also a strong reference to facial tā moko (see Figure 123) in which puhoro is prominent. Stylistically, she adapts the puhoro to its Taitokerau origins, in the Far North of Aotearoa. Much of Te Waru Rewiri's creations deal with issues of identity and political commentary, and her use of kōwhaiwhai addresses this commentary from a customary contemporary Māori perspective.

Shane Cotton

Ngā Puhi

Since the late 1990s, several contemporary Māori artists have incorporated elements of kōwhaiwhai into their art practice. Shane Cotton is one such artist. While his earlier works were influenced by the figurative pot plant paintings in Rongopai, his later works have been

biographical and reference his whakapapa to Northland. Much of his imagery draws on the symbolism of post-contact Māori figurative painting and addresses deep grievances over the loss and division of land. His works also explore the interactions between Christianity and Māori cosmology in the Far North. While his works are not focused on an in-depth study of kōwhaiwhai as an art form, Cotton uses kōwhaiwhai design as a way of tapping into an identity that communicates 'I have Māori connections'.

In his 2000 painting, Eden to Ohaeawai (Figure 124), he incorporated a mixture of mangōpare, koiri, and kape designs throughout his composition. While the kōwhaiwhai imagery is not the focus of the painting, its inclusion alludes to the heke or tahuhu of a meeting house. The colour palette of black, red, and white, combined with Māori text, situates the painting within a familiar Māori cultural setting.

Figure 124
Cotton, S. (2000). *Eden to Ohaeawai* [Oil on canvas]. Auckland City Art Gallery. Photo: S. Gibbs. (2000).

Ngatai Taepa

Te Ātiawa, Te Arawa

The kōwhaiwhai practice of Taepa shows a deep understanding of the principles and rules of the art form. He has created a method that lets him expand kōwhaiwhai using digital media and CNC routed timber, moving beyond the traditional use of paint to make new kinds of art. Taepa first encountered kōwhaiwhai when he was a student at Te Aute College in Hawke's Bay. He learnt about kōwhaiwhai by watching and studying the works of John Hovell and later studied under Robert Jahnke at Massey University. It was during this time that he started to see kōwhaiwhai as a visual language.

> So, all of a sudden, the other side of kōwhaiwhai opens up where actually the expression is not for yourself, it's by yourself, it's from everything for everything, and it is for the people in particular. (Taepa, personal communication, 2019)

Taepa's body of work over the past six years has focused on developing figurative design elements rooted in the pītau-a-manaia from the 1840s. When asked whether he considers his current collection of works as kōwhaiwhai or whakairo, Taepa responds:

> A lot of people relate whakairo to the reduction process of cutting away from a volume. So, the whakaaro that I have is different. It's not only about reduction, if you take the iro, and what the iro does, it gets to a point where it forms itself in a cocoon, and there's a gestation and then it has a transformation and then it comes out as a purere. So, for me, whakairo is the act of transformation of space… I know that kōrero about whakairo in terms of the reduction, you know the eating away of flesh, but with what we've been doing lately, the whakaaro for me, and whakairo, is the actual changed formative nature of the iro into purere…that's why I see the act as being whakairo but the practice is kōwhaiwhai. (Taepa, personal communication, 2019)

Figure 125
Taepa, N. (2009). *Te Pītau a Tiki #7* [CNC routed plywood]. In Kedgley (2015, p. 27).

Figure 126
Taepa, N. (2009). *Te Pītau a Tiki #1* [CNC routed plywood]. In Kedgley (2015, p. 27).

Figures 125-126 show pītau a tiki, using the kape design element that has been cut into the timber, creating a light relief that casts shadow and further enhances and reinforces the visual language associated with kape rua and iro. Taepa does not replicate kōwhaiwhai

patterns but expands upon the visual vocabulary evident in kōwhaiwhai to create his visual language and knowledge.

According to Helen Kedgley (2015):

> Taepa creates his designs on a computer and experiments with twenty-first century technologies – computer-generated imagery, digital routers, acrylic laminates, stencils on PVC pipes and steel and digitally carved plywood – to create crisp, elegant paintings. His aesthetic is minimalist – he tends to favour clean, graphic shapes and a restricted palette. His technical expertise is evident in the exquisite detailing of his meticulously painted and carved work. (p. 3)

Figure 127
Taepa, N. (2006). *Tinakori* [Paint on PVC plastic]. In Kedgley (2015, p. 27).

Figure 128
Taepa, N. (2003). *Textural* [Paint on PVC plastic]. In Kedgley (2015, p. 27).

Figure 129
Taepa, N. (2004). *Te Maia* [Paint on PVC plastic]. In Kedgley (2015, p. 27).

Randal Leach

Ngāti Konohi

Leach focused primarily on the detailed study of kōwhaiwhai painting to convey his ideas about matauranga Māori, creating a body of work for his final Masters exhibition at Toihoukura in 2017 (see Figure 130). His aim was to situate kōwhaiwhai within a broader context that explores the origins of Māori creative thought. He expanded the pītau/koru motif to include the haehae and whakarare design systems from carving. He achieved this by examining Māori concepts that exist within a contextual space called "rua" – Te Matapuna o te Hinengaro; the exploration of rua wānanga as the foundation of Māori creative thought. Leach questioned the role and responsibility of the artist regarding the integration of sacred knowledge and its place within a commercial context. The main body of research is inspired by karakia (ritual prayer) and mōteatea (traditional incantation).

Figure 130
Leach, R. (2019). *Ruatehorahora* [Acrylic on board]. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 131
Maynard, H. (2019). *Pītau-a-Manaia series Te Rakau* [Acrylic on board]. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Hiwiroa Maynard

Rongowhakaata, Tuhoe, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāpuhi

As a former student and apprentice of Adsett, Maynard has progressed to become a kōwhaiwhai painter in his own right. Over the past eight years, he has focused on integrating his tribal narratives and visual styles into his kōwhaiwhai work, mainly emphasising the use and expansion of the pītau, kape, and rauru patterns, and in doing so, has started to craft his own visual language. Maynard has expanded his scholarship based

on his analysis of tribal use of the pītau ā manaia. Like Taepa, he has extended his research to include experiments with the pītau a tiki, as seen in Te Rakau, Figure 131. Here, the pītau a tiki is used to create the central ancestral figure, Te Rakau. His approach is intuitive, allowing him to work directly on canvas with minimal preparatory work to develop his compositions.

Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, the journey of kōwhaiwhai from the hoe waka to the heke of the wharenui reflects not just a visual shift but also a deep cultural growth. This art form, firmly grounded in ancestral knowledge and cosmological meanings, has continually evolved to suit changing social, political, and religious environments. From the early innovations in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa to the work of modern artists extending the limits of kōwhaiwhai with new materials and technologies, this chapter highlights the resilience and significance of kōwhaiwhai as a significant expression of Māori identity, spirituality, and creativity. The ongoing exploration and reinterpretation of kōwhaiwhai design elements ensure that this art form will continue to thrive, carrying the stories and values of past generations into the future.

Chapter 5: Hoe-a-Tipene

Figure 132
A-Hoe! exhibition opening (2017). Tairāwhiti Museum, Gisborne. Photo: N. Heke.

Introduction

This chapter examines the link between cultural heritage and contemporary artistic expression, focusing on the journey to rediscover the ancestral hoe waka that left the shores of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa over two centuries ago. Through a combination of analytical research and creative collaboration, the chapter aims to connect the past with the present, fostering a dialogue between Māori narratives and contemporary artistic forms. By exploring projects such as *A-Hoe!* and collaborations like *Rangiwaho: Ihu ki te Moana*, the dissertation highlights the role of art in understanding Māori identity, addressing cultural displacement, and strengthening whakawhanaungatanga across generations.

Te Hoe Nuku Roa

The process of locating and documenting the hoe waka that left Tūranganui-a-Kiwa 250 years ago led to a series of engagements that provided crucial information, informing the artworks I created across various media and expressing my thought process. The works were displayed in several major exhibitions, including Dismantling the Doctrine of Discovery at the Tairāwhiti Museum, and Ko Rongowhakaata at both the Tairāwhiti

Museum and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. These works serve as evidence of my creative practice as an artist, exhibition designer, curator, and advocate for Māori engagement in negotiating Māori spaces within the context of customary and trans-customary Māori art. One creative project naturally led to another, culminating in the short-term loan (initially 12 months) of thirty-seven taonga to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa in 2019.

Over the research period, I developed new work for several group exhibitions both nationally and internationally, including Laws of the Pacific Remain the Same (2014) at the Emerald Tablet Gallery in San Francisco; Deep Blue Sea-String of Pearls (2016) at the Mission Cultural Centre of Latino Arts in San Francisco; Ko Rongowhakaata (2016-17), Pou Whare-A Pillar of Strength (2018), Dismantling the Doctrine of Discovery (2018), Native Voices - Ko au, Ko Matau (I am, we are) (2019) at the Tairāwhiti Museum in Gisborne; and Ko Rongowhakaata - Ruku i te Pō, Ruku i te Ao (2018) at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington.

Exhibition Component for Assessment

The exhibitions: *A-Hoe!* (2017) at the Tairāwhiti Museum in Gisborne and *Rangiwaho: Ihu ki te Moana* (2018) at the National Maritime Museum in London, constitute the practice-based research outputs for the thesis. The temporary exhibition of works at Toihoukura in Gisborne was to allow the examiners an opportunity to engage with examples of the original works from *A-Hoe!* and to demonstrate my interaction with iwi as part of my curation of a marae-based exhibition. The selection of Toihoukura as a site for the exhibition is significant as it ahs been mysecond home since 1994 when I assumed a Principal Tutor role alongside Sandy Adsett and Simon Lardelli. It has been the centre for inspiring countless students of Māori art and stands as a model of marae and iwi focused art education. The opportunity to exhibit a body of work generated out of the pursuit for a Doctorate in Creative Arts can only inspire Toihoukura graduates to set higher goals for themselves. The Toihoukura display featured old and new works like 'Iwi' (2021) which references the *Rangiwaho: Ihu ki te Moana* project and the origin of carving from the realm of Tangaroa. The *A-Hoe!* works included the hoe waka studies named after the museums where the taonga are housed (see Figures 142-141) framed by Scent (see Figure 139) and Hoe (2021), Whakatū (see Figure 159), Whakawhitinga (see Figure 160) and Cosmo-genealogical Connections 2 (see Figure 139). The inclusion of television monitors was to demonstrate my involvement and interaction with my iwi Ngāi Tāmanuhiri with whom I

worked in the realisation of the *Toi Tāmanuhiri* exhibition. The *Tū Te Whaihanga* exhibition is also documented featuring the return of hoe waka to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa at Te Poho o Rāwiri marae and the wānanga that prefaced the exhibition. The documenting of rituals of transfer of taonga tuku iho between spaces (marae and museum, museum and marae) are poignant reminders of the power invested in taonga This was particularly relevant as a context for the visit of the examiners to the *Tū Te Whaihanga* exhibition.

My solo exhibition *A-hoe!* coincided with an exhibition of my son Maia's work in a gallery annex and with the Rangiwaho group show featuring artists who whakapapa to Ngāti Rangiwaho, the iwi responsible for creating most of the hoe waka exchanged off Whareongaonga in 1769. As noted in the Methodology Chapter, whakawhanaungatanga is a principle that was central to my approach, not only to the research but also to the presentation of creative practice. This was exemplified in the two exhibition components presented for assessment. For example, the inclusion of the hoe waka studies (see Figures 197-206) in the A-Hoe! exhibition allowed Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Rongowhakaata, and other iwi within Tūranganui-a-Kiwa to reconnect with taonga created by our tīpuna. I regret that ten hoe waka studies did not stay in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. The work created for the A-Hoe! exhibition comprised acrylic on canvas and were acquired by public institutions and private collectors. I am particularly proud that *Scent* (2017) entered the collection of Dame Anne Salmond who was instrumental in facilitating access to international museums and curators within those institutions.

My initial drawings responded to colonial intrusion into the South Pacific, focusing on the doctrine of discovery and how interactions with Abel Tasman and James Cook challenged traditional iwi narratives. This context strengthened my connection to the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa bloodlines I inherited through my mother, Ihipera Te Hauauru Porou-Gibbs. The works were created from 2013 to 2019, reflecting my engagement with whānau, hapū, and iwi while including them in my journey. My artworks were a core outcome of my research focus, which aimed to answer the key question in this exegesis: Who was responsible for carving and painting the hoe waka?

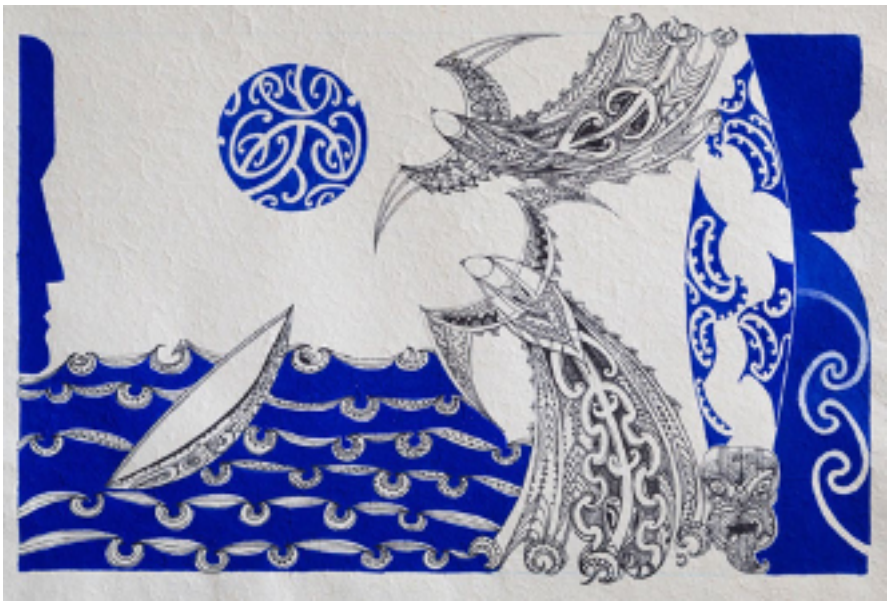

Figure 133
Hoe Moana (2013). [Ink acrylic on handmade harakeke paper]. Private collection. Photo: S. Gibbs.

The initial acrylic and ink work on harakeke paper, which were exploratory, were displayed in two separate group exhibitions: Laws of the Pacific Remain the Same at The Emerald Tablet Gallery in 2014, and Deep Blue Sea – String of Pearls at the Mission Cultural Centre of Latino Arts in 2016 with Pacific Rim artists in San Francisco. The exhibitions were organised by Sekio Fuapopo, an American Samoan artist who has participated in Te Atinga international symposiums since 1995. My relationship with the Pacific Rim artists grew through several important international seminars I attended as Associate Professor at Toihoukura School of Māori Visual Arts and in my role as Te Atinga on the Māori Painters Collective, established by Toi Māori. Many of these connections began at the inaugural International Indigenous Symposium, held in 1995 at Apumoana Marae in Rotorua.

No Ordinary Bird Series

> …grandchildren of some of those who lived at Tuuranga-nui when Cook arrived, said the Endeavour was mistaken for a great bird, and the local people, had marvelled at the beauty and size of its wings. (Polack in Salmond, 1991, p. 123-4)

Central to the *No Ordinary Bird* series (see Figure 134) was a collection of ten works designed for museum-based exhibitions showcasing iwi taonga belonging to Ngāi Tāmanuhiri. I started creating art that reflected my own process of conceptualising the hoe waka, with a focus on the painted pattern elements. I became a repository for the narratives

that the curatorial and exhibition design process generated. The first series consisted of ink drawings on hand-made harakeke paper. The process of making this paper with harakeke served as a tangible connection to cultural reclamation ideas. It was crafted from remnants of harakeke harvested by a group of weavers at Rangiwaho Marae. This harakeke paper served as a surface for the drawn and painted imagery, including kōwhaiwhai patterns, within the whenua of Rangiwaho.

Figure 134
No Ordinary Bird series (2014). Acrylic on harakeke paper. Private collection. Photo: S. Gibbs.

The imagery depicts Cook and Tupaia's arrival into Tūranganui-a-Kiwa in 1769, along with the imagined response of tangata whenua. The series was my first attempt to view the experience from the perspective of a dog, that is, Te Kurī-a-Pāoa (a significant headland shaped like a crouching dog). I was also interested in the idea that these events might have been observed underwater by the various tīpuna. I aimed to create a body of work that responded to the concept of discovering uninhabited lands, which is part of the myth of discovery. The inversion of the *Endeavour* responds to seventeenth century European views of the antipodes, as well as acts of reclaiming mana by privileging a Māori worldview where tauiwi (foreigners), including Cook, are turned upside down in this part of the world. These

works reference introduced diseases such as syphilis, smallpox, measles, and influenza, which were brought to our shores by English seamen. The floating manu (bird) forms hover like kites spying on the great bird on the horizon - the 'no ordinary bird' from which white men descend.

The aim was to recognise and honour 1,000 years of Polynesian navigational history, starting with Kupe. Our ancestors crossed the vast Pacific Ocean, so I wanted to compare the technologies used in pre-European navigation with those employed by Cook and Tasman. These ideas gradually influenced my thinking as I started developing concepts for drawings and ultimately a significant new body of work. The accumulation of narratives led to a significant development. These narratives emerged and became accessible from various sources, mainly hui-a-whānau and hui-a-iwi. One of the challenges that taonga present is understanding the knowledge about them, which results in insights that connect to all our shared histories. It also becomes evident that when engaging with taonga, their carved and painted forms and patterns serve as reminders that the taonga we inherit not only embody a cultural aesthetic of our tīpuna but also reflect a design system rooted in whakapapa. The many hui held were generally led by members of the whānau and hapū who were well familiar with whakapapa and had spent a lot of time living on our tribal lands. Various Land Court minute books, iwi tribunal hearing documents, oral presentation records by whānau, and other relevant historical documents served as primary sources of information. We were also lucky to have access to several important photographs from the mid-1800s.

Figure 135
Blue glass beads and several toki found in and around Whareongaonga,(n.d.). Objects of significant from early encounters with Captain Janes Cook, and his crew in 1769. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Other taonga tuku iho also began to emerge from the hills and coastline of Te Kurī a Pāoa, collected by people who either lived or worked on tribal lands. Taonga included many mata toki (adze blades) made from stone, including pounamu, greywacke, basalt, and argillite.

The importance of these matatoki lies in their location around Whareongaonga, referencing the tools needed for felling trees and carving waka.

As my work advanced and items connected to historical events were identified, it became clear that our closest iwi relatives were also crafting their own narratives to claim ownership over the taonga.

Figure 136
Gibbs, S. (2015). *Mana Moana – Glass Beads and Trinkets, 11 October 3pm 1769* (2015). [Acrylic on harakeke paper]. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 137
Parkinson, S. (1769). *The Head of a Chief of New Zealand.* [Drawing]. The British Museum.

Ultimately, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri were able to provide evidence that affirmed Ngāti Rangiwaho as the group that possessed the mana whenua by occupation over the area of Te Kurī-a-Pāoa Peninsula in 1769. Ngāi Tāmanuhiri were also able to place our rangatira, Meke, as a central figure in the exchange, as evidenced by the date when the drawings were made at 3 pm, 11 October 1769, along with information from the Land Court minutes. Figure 137 is one of several Parkinson portrait drawings documenting the encounter of twenty-four Māori on board the Endeavour. Salmond associates the drawing with "the man who saluted Cook on Te Toka-a-Taiau" (1991, p. 143).

Figure 138
Gibbs, S. (2015). *Cosmo-Genealogical Connections 1*. [Acrylic, pāua shell, harakeke paper on MDF]. British Museum. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Figure 139
Gibbs, S. (2015). *Cosmo-Genealogical Connections 2*. [Acrylic, laser-cut pāua shell, harakeke paper on MDF]. Private collection. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Cosmo-Genealogical Connections 1 and 2

Cosmological Connection 1 and *Cosmological Connection 2* (see Figures 138 and 139) aimed to reconnect Ngāi Tāmanuhiri with the hoe waka and other taonga traded between Cook and the creators of the hoe waka exchanged in 1769. The patterns, while referencing the hoe waka, include designs that precede the analysis drawings, which informed the patterns in the *A-Hoe!* exhibition.

My research supports the conclusion that most of the hoe waka traded off Whareongaonga were carved and painted by Ngāti Rangiwaho ancestors because, as noted earlier, seven canoes approached the *Endeavour* in 1769: six from the shore and one from Poverty Bay. As I have mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, this finding is supported by the form of hoe waka that feature a distinctive taratū (spherical knob) at the tip of the blade, the inclusion of a characteristic whiti upoko manaia at the connection point between the blade and the kakau (shaft) with a taratara-a-kae surface pattern, which is structurally different from the pattern used by Te. Rāwheoro wānanga at Ūawa and Te Whānau-a- Apanui on Te Tairuku Potaka pātaka (c.1780). The key difference lies in the minimal presence or absence of a ridge between the alternatively offset notches. Additionally, there are seven whiti upoko manaia with an upper lip that curves to the right, creating a distinctive asymmetrical feature among the twenty-one hoe waka in Amiria Salmond's list.

The research also indicates that Ngāti Rangiwaho possessed the skills and resources to craft waka, hoe waka, as well as the range of items exchanged with the crew of the *Endeavour* as indicated in the items exchanged with the people that remained in the canoes.

William Monkhouse (1769/1955) described how "we had presently seven of them alongside containing fifty people, about 20 of whom came into the Ship who continued above two hours with us, behaved very orderly, talked with Tupia, who gratified them with a sight of his tattaoued hips, were loaden with presents and returned to their Boats highly satisfied with their treatment. The people remaining in the Canoes had, in the mean time, traded very freely with our People, bartering their Cloathing, weapons and ornaments" (p. 596).

James Cook (1769/1955) noted that "They were all kindly treated, and very soon entered into a Traffick with our People for George's Island Cloth, etc.; giving in Exchange their Paddles, having little else to dispose of, and hardly left themselves a sufficient number to paddle ashore; nay, the people in one Canoe, after disposing of their Paddles, offer'd to sell the Canoe." (p. 264).

The Cook quote confirms that Rongohakaata traded hoe waka. Indeed, hoe waka from the two groups, Ngāti Rangiwaho from Whareongaonga and Rongowhakaata from Poverty Bay, were exchanged on that day. Most of the hoe waka likely belong to Ngāti Rangiwaho, while at least three may be attributed to Rongowhakaata. Significantly, the two groups appeared friendly with each other and with Tupaea. There has been some debate among iwi regarding the right to claim ownership of the hoe waka through whakapapa connections. With taonga of great mana, we find ourselves in conflict with whanaunga who assert they own them. Importantly, the taonga in question belong to the iwi of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. The presence of kurī (dogs) and mangō (sharks) in my paintings references important ongoing conversations among Tūranga-a-Kiwa iwi about the actual events that happened in 1769 and how they affected us. Ngāi Tāmanuhiri were fortunate to have established a meaningful working relationship with Dame Anne Salmond, Dr. Amiria Salmond, Billie Lythberg, and members of the Artefacts of Encounter research team over the years. We navigated our way through a number of hui to determine who occupied the territory south of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa to Te Mahia. In the process, it was imperative that Ngāi Tāmuhiri built relationships with our whanaunga from Rongowhakaata, Rakaipaaka,

and Rongomaiwahine. Significantly, my creative outputs are a result of listening, and reimagining what took place in 1769, and its impact on Ngāi Tāmanuhiri.

Figure 140
Gibbs, S. (2017). *Tākoha.* [Acrylic on Fijian tapa cloth]. Private collection, Great North Museum, Newcastle, UK. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Tākoha

The *Tākoha* painting (see Figure 140) features kōwhaiwhai patterns painted on the hoe waka in the Hancock Museum collection. This hoe waka was exchanged off Whareongaonga in 1769 and later gifted to the Hancock Museum. It is painted on Fijian tapa cloth. Tākoha refers to the ritual of gifting in anticipation of reciprocity, with the eventual return of the hoe waka to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, so that we, the living descendants of its creators, can embrace them. *Tākoha* blends both stylised and illusionistic conventions, where patterns from the hoe waka flow into the ocean and become part of the currents

surrounding the *Endeavour*, alongside a mangopare with a wheku facial mask guarding the ocean depths. Pattern and imagery are contrasted and seem to float on the white background of the harakeke paper, while kōwhaiwhai is sometimes transformed into ocean or cloud.

Figure 141
Gibbs, S. (2015). *Hoe Waka NZ 150* [Acrylic on archival paper]. British Museum. Collection of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

Manuruhi (see Figure. 141) acknowledges the origin of whakairo. It is part of a critical narrative about the origin of whakairo from the ocean realm of Tangaroa. Manuruhi, the grandson of Ruatepupuke, failed to return the first fish caught to Tangaroa, who transformed Manuruhi into a tekoteko for the gable of his house, Hui-te-ana-nui. The kawau (shag) is a bird that is comfortable on both land and in the sea and is seen as the carrier of knowledge from one space to the other. The *Manuruhi* painting was my contribution to the Ko Rongowhakaata iwi exhibition, which coincided with *A-Hoe!* in the nearby gallery of the Tairāwhiti Museum, providing an opportunity to view my works within the cultural context of Rongowhakaata taonga and narratives. As a descendant of Rongowhakaata, I felt privileged to share the same space while contributing to the ongoing development of Māori art in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa.

A-Hoe! Trade Me Series

The hoe waka studies (see Figures 142-151) in the *A-Hoe!* exhibition are painted in acrylic on Montvale Aquarelle paper and are named after the venues where they are housed: 1 - E619. Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; 2 - 1914:66 Trinity College, Cambridge University; 3 - BM 96-1147 British Museum; 4 - 1914:67 Cambridge University; 5 - S40325 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, Germany; 6 - ME 14921 Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington; 7 - C. 589

Hancock Museum, Newcastle, England; 8 - 5370 British Museum; 9 - E 5492 Peabody Museum, Salem, USA; 10 - 150 British Museum.

In 2017, I completed a series of analytical studies based on my hoe waka field research in British museums. My original aim was to record the painted designs on the hoe waka, which I had located in national and international museums. All the hoe waka were painted and carved; however, many of the painted designs are no longer discernible. While the clarity of painted work had diminished on the hoe waka, I was still able to decipher some of the patterns, allowing me to create an accurate record of the earliest extant examples of kōwhaiwhai. This resulted in an analytical record of ten hoe waka that had been located and documented. While twenty-one hoe waka were located, only ten had discernible painted patterns on the blades. There was, however, evidence of pigment on the blades of most of the other hoe waka, but the patterns had become indecipherable or had disappeared with time. A critical part of this exhibition, apart from presenting a series of paintings, was the ten observational paintings based on the hoe waka located in the various museums throughout Great Britain and Europe.

It was essential to include these works in the exhibition because it was the first time since 1769 that the descendants of the creators of the hoe waka would have access to patterns created by their tīpuna. However, it is unfortunate that the Tairāwhiti Museum was unable to accession the drawings, which eventually entered the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Collection.

Figure 142
Gibbs, S. (2016). *150 British Museum.* [Acrylic on archival paper]. Collection of Te Papa Tongarewa.

Figure 143
Gibbs, S. (2016). 5370 British Museum. [Acrylic on archival paper]. Collection of Te Papa Tongarewa.

Figure 144
Gibbs, S. (2016). E619, Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. [Acrylic on archival paper]. Collection of Te Papa Tongarewa.

Figure 145
Gibbs, S. (2016). BM 96-1147, British Museum. [Acrylic on archival paper]. Collection of Te Papa Tongarewa.

Figure 146
Gibbs, S. (2016). *1914:67, Trinity College, Cambridge University* [Acrylic on archival paper]. Collection of Te Papa Tongarewa.

Figure 147
Gibbs, S. (2016). *1914:66, Trinity College, Cambridge University* [Acrylic on archival paper]. Collection of Te Papa Tongarewa.

Figure 148
Gibbs, S. (2016). Hoe Waka C.589, Hancock Museum, Newcastle, England. [Acrylic on archival paper]. Collection of Te Papa Tongarewa.

Figure 149
Gibbs, S. (2016). *Hoe Waka S40325, Linden Museum, Stuttgart, Germany.* [Acrylic on archival paper]. Collection of Te Papa Tongarewa.

Figure 150
Gibbs, S. (2016). *Hoe Waka E 5492, Peabody Museum, Salem, USA*. [Acrylic on archival paper]. Collection of Te Papa Tongarewa.

Figure 151
Gibbs, S. (2016). ME 14921 Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington. [Acrylic on archival paper]. Collection of Te Papa Tongarewa.

A-Hoe! – A Nautical Exclamation

A-Hoe! combines the English article "a" with "hoe," a Māori word for "paddle." It is a pun on the term "ahoy," which is used to greet someone or to call attention to something in the distance: ahoy there! or land ahoy! The A-Hoe! solo exhibition was held at the Tairāwhiti Museum and was shared with my son, Maia Gibbs, a graphic designer and practising tā moko artist who exhibited in a neighbouring annex gallery space.

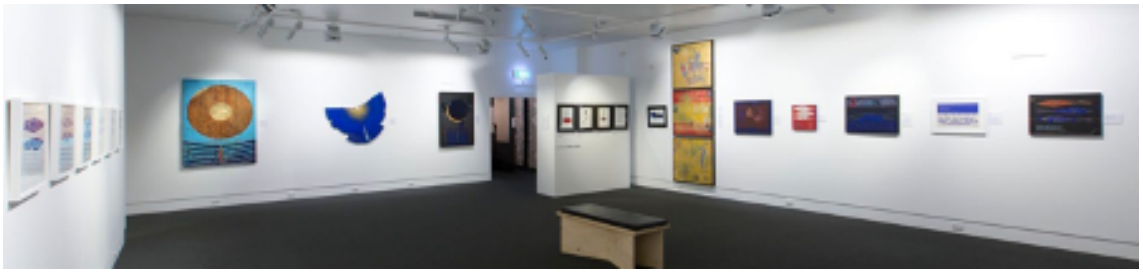

Figure 152
A-Hoe! exhibition opening (2017). Tairāwhiti Museum. Photo: N. Heke.

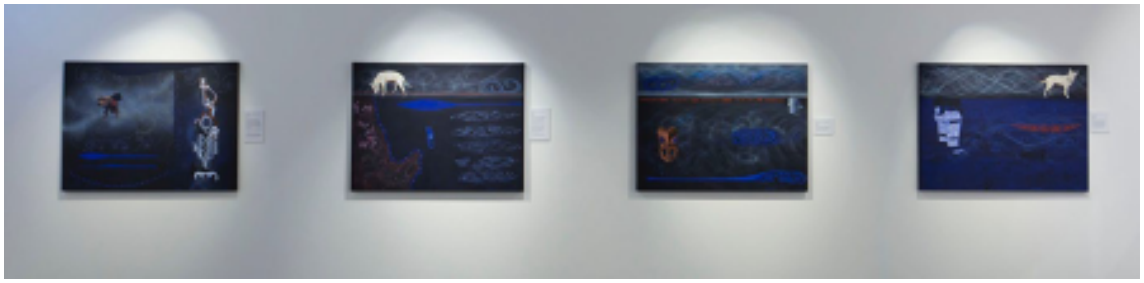

Figure 153
A-Hoe! exhibition (2017). Tairāwhiti Museum. Photo: N. Heke.

The works for A-Hoe! serve as visual commentaries on encounters between tangata whenua and tauiwi (non-Māori) in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa since initial contact with Cook in 1769. They explore the exchange of taonga, the cultural dislocation that happens when taonga tuku iho are removed from cultural memory, and the navigation through water, time, and space. The exhibition reimagines the arrival of the *Endeavour* in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa from the perspective of Pāoa's white dog, Te Kurī-a-Pāoa.

Toi Whakawhiti (Trans-customary Māori art)

Jahnke (2019) introduced Māori terms for his (2006) He Tataitanga Ahua framework for Māori art, aimed at classifying three contemporaneous forms of art created by Māori artists: Ahua Tuturu (Customary Form), Ahua Whakawhiti (Trans-customary Form), and Ahua Rerekē (Non-customary Form). Jahnke (2006) also notes that artists often create work that straddles more than one of these categories and, in the process, create art that ranges from illusionistic to stylised, figurative to non-figurative. Examples of this approach are evident in wharenui from Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, such as Te Mana o Tūranga (1882) at Manutuke and Rongopai (1887) at Waituhi. Shane Cotton's Rongopai period exemplifies the juxtaposition of toi tūturu and toi rerekē within his practice, which sets up a dialogue between two traditions and in the process constructs narratives over contested spaces, both colonial and indigenous. This cross-cultural dialogue is perpetuated through the coexistence of alternative traditions, both customary and non-customary. Hence, in *Rangiwaho: Ihu ki te Moana*, hoe waka blades were presented aspectively to retain the clarity of the kōwahiwhai, becoming migratory fish with the addition of tails alluding to their travels to foreign shores. These coexist with oblique views of mango (shark) bodies with both oblique and frontal wheku faces (non-perspectival). At the same time, a tekoteko atop a kōruru gable mask alludes to the narrative in which Ruatepūpuke recovered the art of carving from the ocean domain of Tangaroa. This temporal disjunction of traditions shifts between graphic and illusionistic vocabularies, enlivening the picture plane with visual interest and complexity, almost evoking anxiety in anticipation of a reclamation of mana upon the return of taonga to their home of creative birth. This collapsing of time generates a dialogue between Māori narrative tradition and contemporary artistic forms as research method. It is a research method initially enacted though imaginary interpretation followed by perceptual analysis in situ of the actual hoe waka patterns (see Figure 142 – Figure 151). These patterns are recontextualised in imaginary land and seascape as narratives of cultural mobility, and dislocation. The installation and exhibitions become the vehicle for the dissemination of the practice-based research.

The paintings in A-Hoe! span Jahnke's categories by using patterns from the hoe waka to create a flowing sea of motifs - currents that animate the realm of Tangaroa with traces of an old art form returning to its origin. They also showcase various stylistic juxtapositions and techniques designed to evoke a sense of temporality and mystery through graphic and illusionary contrasts, capturing the essence of ocean currents and the transference of taonga as currency from the Southern to the Northern Hemisphere.

Figure 154
Gibbs, S. (2016). *Sixth Sense* (2017). [Acrylic on canvas]. Private collection. Photo: N. Heke.

Sixth Sense

In *Sixth Sense* (see Figure 154), the white dog astride an airbrushed horizon symbolises the people who once inhabited the area south of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa to Te Mahia. The upside-down *Endeavour* alludes to the Northern Hemisphere view that the people of Aotearoa were out of step. The term antipodes (opposite-footers) was employed at the time to describe "people who lived on the opposite side of the globe and displayed bizarre, anti-human qualities…" (Salmond, 1991, p. 63). The naturalistic white dog gazes back at a silhouette of the *Endeavour*, whose sails are painted with symbols of foreign disease – an import from the Northern Hemisphere. Beneath the blue depths of the ocean, a red-patterned hoe waka blade rises from the depths, while the other half remains submerged, adorned with remnants of pattern swirling in the ocean current. The vibrant colour contrast enhances the hoe waka pattern with kurawaka-an evocation of primordial origin.

The ocean is filled with sea life in the form of millions of fish eggs, which are common in these waters during October, as a basis of designs found on several hoe waka acquired by the *Endeavour* crew, including Cook, as it left the coast for Te Mahia.

Figure 155
Gibbs, S. (2016). *Scent* (2017). [Acrylic on canvas]. Collection of Dame Anne Salmond. Photo: N. Heke.

Scent

The work titled *Scent* (see Figure 155) celebrates the resurgence of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri stories related to Te-Kurī-a-Pāoa at the southern tribal boundary of Paritū. This stretch of coastline was once home to several pā sites and settlements strategically placed along the coast to Te Mahia. It covers the territories of Rakaipaaka and Rongomaiwahine, with which Ngāti Rangiwaho and Ngāi Tāmanuhiri share close connections. Whareongaonga is a natural deep-sea port and was a thriving settlement before and during Cook's arrival in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. From here, a number of waka sailed out to sea to trade with the crew of the Endeavour, which was becalmed offshore. Traded items included a set of carved and painted hoe waka central to this thesis.

Scent features a dog smelling the earth to explore the history of the people. Among the traded items were nails, Tahitian tapa cloth, and blue glass beads. Ongaonga is the name of the large tree stinging nettle that was plentiful in the area. Ongaonga was used as a rongoā

(natural medicine). A naturalistic white dog occupies the top quarter of the painting. Airbrush cursive sweeps of pattern fill the sky, with a upoko manaia positioned to the right. A blue silhouette hoe waka sits above five white-line hoe waka patterns on the blackened ocean floor. To the left, mokomoko (gecko) and kakaru (jellyfish) emerge, linked to a whaling pot framed within a topographical map outlined with blue glass beads. The pot recalls the whaling station at Whareongaonga from the early 1900s and references the pot-plant paintings in Rongopai wharenui. A rārangi manawa flows from the pot, acting as a tāhuhu linking kakaru with mokomoko, indicating a place where many gathered along the coast. The profile kōruru beneath the ocean surface reminds us of the sea, not just as a food source but also as the realm of whakairo rakau, which inspired the hoe waka of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa.

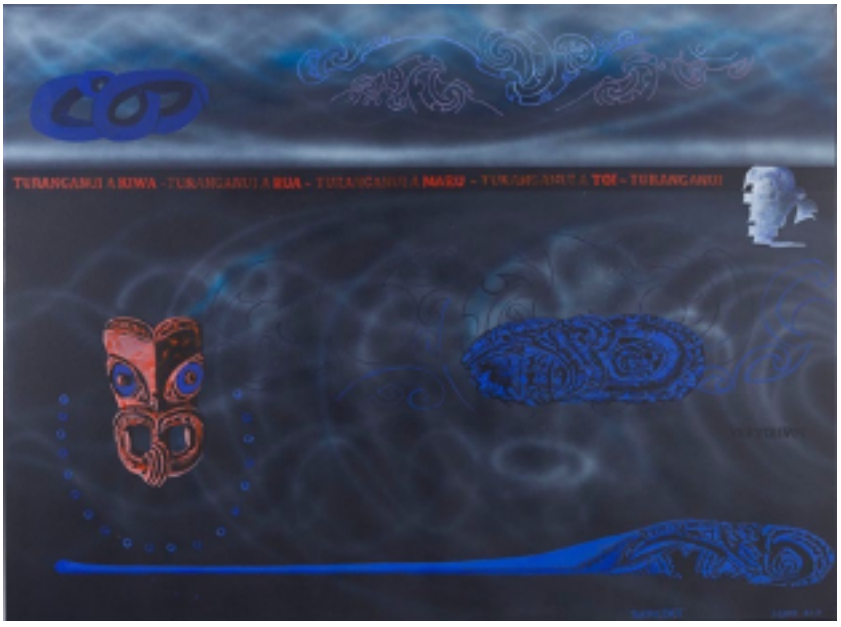

Figure 156
Gibbs, S. (2016). *Turbulence* (2017). [Acrylic on canvas]. Private collection. Photo: N. Heke.

Turbulence

Turbulence (see Figure 156) depicts the aftermath of Cook's three-day visit, which resulted in the renaming of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa as Poverty Bay, where several Māori were shot and killed. The former names of the region are lined across the horizon in blood-red on black. An upoko manaia and a linear hoe waka pattern drift in an air-brushed, tormented sky above a similarly troubled ocean, featuring the signature inverted *Endeavour* and taratara-a-kae patterned hoe; a reminder of the original inhabitants of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. The red-stained wheku (gable mask) commemorates Te Maro, one of the Māori murdered during

the attack on Kaiti Beach. The manaia forms on the hoe waka symbolise genealogy connecting us to the land both physically and spiritually. The imagery reflects the turbulence of that event.

Figure 157
Gibbs, S. (2016). *Kiwa* (2017). [Acrylic on canvas]. Collection of Sir James Wallace. Photo: N. Heke.

Kiwa

Te Moananui-a-Kiwa, the Pacific Ocean, is the largest expanse of ocean on the planet. *Kiwa* (see Figure 157) brings together the oral narratives that connect the Indigenous peoples of the North and South Pacific, along with the shared creation stories across the Pacific rim. Many similarities exist across cultures, particularly in arts, storytelling, customs, and traditions related to carving, painting, navigation, and a deep kinship with the natural world. The First Nations people of Vancouver Island are known as the Flying Frog People. This image is combined with a painting by Fred Graham depicting Maui, the renowned hero and trickster in Māori and wider Polynesian mythology. The painting acknowledges that Indigenous peoples from both the North and South Pacific engaged in conversations with Cook. Therefore, the artwork imagines a dialogue between these two Indigenous groups. Fred Graham's paintings, Maui Fishing Up the North Island and Canadian Spirit, symbolise these connections.

Since the 1980s, I have participated in various Indigenous symposiums and creative wānanga where artists have connected and collaborated, building strong links between traditional and modern art forms. Equally important is that most Pacific peoples hold a narrative about Cook and his visits. For example, Cook sailed from Canada to Hawaii on his third voyage, where he ultimately met his death.

Figure 158
Gibbs, S. (2016). *Current, ˈkʌr(ə)nt/* (2017). Acrylic on canvas. Collection of Libby Hakaraia. Photo: N. Heke.

Current

Current (see Figure 158) describes the language used when discussing taonga in museum collections globally, and how the social climate is gradually shifting to accept the perspectives of Indigenous peoples, which will ultimately be beneficial for all. Repatriation is an aspirational goal that requires a process of engagement and recognition of diverse cultural values and worldviews. The word artefact has a different meaning from taonga. Artefact is a term associated with anthropology, which studies human societies, cultures, and their development, while taonga refers to items that are sacred and important to cultures. Most of the taonga encountered in this project have deep and meaningful connections with people alive today. The significance of reconnecting with taonga has become a way of recognising creative genius and, at the same time, starting or activating

methods to maintain our identity with the work we are doing. The hope is that we can hold onto the same level of thought and care as we create new art that remains relevant in the world we live in today.

While white dogs featured in two of the previous paintings (Scent and Sixth Sense), a black dog appears on the upper quadrants of the horizon, offset by a red kōruru and red text lining the horizon with pseudonyms for artefact. A upoko manaia references whakapapa and belonging, while the eddying patterns of aramoana speak of currents that have carried taonga off into distant horizons.

Figure 159
Gibbs, S. (2016). *Whakaatu - To Reveal* (2017). Acrylic, harakeke paper on MDF. Collection of Neil Mackie. Photo: N. Heke.

Whakaatu

Whakaatu – To Reveal (see Figure 159) examines the cultural dislocation that happens when taonga are removed from iwi consciousness and become lost. It also shows the challenges we face when they reemerge and decide to be seen and rediscovered. While this provides an opportunity to reflect on the past to shape the future, it also reveals that some things are better left hidden and undisclosed. An example is the intentional ambiguity about where the remains of an ariki (high-born leader) were laid to rest.

Figure 160
Gibbs, S. (2016). *Whakawhitinga - To transform from one state to another* (2017). Acrylic, harakeke paper on MDF. Private collection. Photo: N. Heke.

Whakawhitinga

Whakawhitinga (see Figure 160) refers to a transformative state linked to water transition, from waka to ocean navigation, and then to land. The process of moving from one state to another is more about our evolutionary adjustments as we settled on land and started focusing on buildings.

> The kōwhaiwhai painting that had been used on paddles and monuments already carried the connotations of inherited authority and genealogical mana, so it was clearly a logical step to transfer this connotation to the new symbol of identity emerging in the form of the meeting house. (Neich, 1993, p. 73)

The shift in mana from waka to pātaka to wharenui reflects a form of whakapapa. The development of the arts is echoed in this process of transformation. Moving painting designs from hoe to heke in our ancestral houses, and into art galleries is part of the same creative genealogy of change.

Figure 161
Gibbs, S. (2016). *Haka Tane-Rori* (2017). Acrylic on harakeke paper. Private collection. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Haka Tāne-Rori

Haka Tāne-Rori (see Figure 161) tells the story of Hine-Raumati, the Summer Maid, whose presence is marked by curious quivering or heat waves in the air. This is said to be the haka (dance) of her son, Tāne-rore, who Tamanui-te-Rā, the Sun, fathered. The painted narrative references the haka pōhiri performed at Waikanae Beach as the crew of the *Endeavour* left Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, having murdered nine people. The patterns from a pītau dominant hoe waka (see Figure 139) appear above an aramoana frieze capped by asymmetrical pītau and pītau/kape patterns. The composition takes the form of a kakahu, which symbolises recloaking our art forms with the visual vocabulary of our tīpuna.

Rangiwaho: Ihu ki te Moana

> We the descendants of Rangiwaho honour the land and the sea of our Ancestors. At 3pm, October 11th, 1769, the first peaceful exchange of taonga in Aotearoa, New Zealand took place off our shores of Whareongaonga, we are here to give life and relevance to that time, the present and the future, as these taonga and our Ancestors now take us on a new journey of discovery. Mauriora! (Jody Toroa, Spokesperson for Hei Kanohi Ora, 2016)

see

Figure 162
Gibbs, S. (2016). *Rangiwaho: Ihu ki te Moana* (2018). Collaborative installation. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London. Photo: S. Gibbs.

Rangiwaho: Ihu ki Te Moana (see Figure 162) is based on a whakatauki that reflects our tribal links to the sea. The exhibition was a collaborative effort involving a group of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri artists to support the new work showcased in the A-Hoe! exhibition as part of the applied research component of the thesis. The project originated from developing a Toi Tāmanuhiri taonga database. Professor Khadija von Zinnenburg-Carroll from the University of Birmingham visited Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and showed interest in Indigenous repatriation of taonga. She offered the Rangiwaho hapū a space to present an iwi exhibition at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, London, in September 2018. I was invited to curate and lead the Rangiwaho project on behalf of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and Ngāti Rangiwaho. This project strengthened our international museum partnerships, celebrating and reaffirming our tribal connection to the sea.

The installation, *Rangiwaho: Ihu ki te Moana*, is named after a location at Whareongaonga. It honours the Ngāti Rangiwaho, a hapū of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, who paddled out to the *Endeavour*, creating a new chapter in the tribal histories of the Tūranganiui-a-Kiwa region. On that day, hoe waka, cloaks, and other taonga were exchanged and transported to England.

The installation was a visual story that depicted 1,000 years of trans-navigation across Te Moananui-a-Kiwa before European arrival in Aotearoa. The exhibition was the first to be displayed in the former Maritime Library owned by Elizabeth I, now known as the Endeavour Galleries Project. It was part of a broader exhibition called Pacific Encounters and featured works from the Pacific Islands acquired by Cook during his last voyage. Two bookcases were allocated for our installation project. The artists were current and former graduates of Toihoukura, iwi artists, while I took on roles as curator, exhibition designer, and artist. The artists included Katarina Kerekere (digital artist and silversmith), Jual Toroa (artist responsible for laser-cut acrylic tīpuna), Kay Robyn, and Jody Toroa (iwi artists responsible for tukutuku panels). Ihipera Whakataka Whaturaranga served as a tribal expert and educator. The kaupapa for the installation centred on our tribal connection to the sea while demonstrating our mana moana in the context of colonisation and reinforcing the message that "we are still here." We also aimed to share our tribal narratives about our engagement with Tupaia and Cook. Our stories begin with Kupe's whakatauki "ka huri te tau o te rā" (keep to the right of the rising sun), his directive for reaching Aotearoa. Kupe's association with waka traditions of Horouta, Takitimu, and Te Ikaroa-a-Rauru are also honoured.


Figure 163–164
Rangiwaho: Ihu ki te Moana (2018), Rangiwaho Marae blessing – Tawatapu at Bartletts, highlighting the importance of community involvement and inclusion of pakeke. Photos: S. Gibbs.

Influenced by Ngāi Tāmanuhiri's wharenui tīpuna paintings, Jual Toroa's laser-cut illuminated cobalt blue acrylic tīpuna acted as bookends in the upper tier of the bookshelves. One holds a hoe waka while the other holds a fish: symbols of our relationship to the sea. The tīpuna in the neighbouring bookcase also holds a fish while the other clutches a budding sprig, representing our connections to moana and whenua. Mana moana, and our link with the sea, was the underlying kaupapa. The colour blue was the

chromatic anchor referencing Tangaroa (ocean god), while the idea of an aquarium was central to the installation concept (see Figure 162).

Figure 165
Gibbs, S. *He Tipua, He Taniwha, He Tangata, Ihu ki te Moana* (2018). [Acrylic on tapa]. National Maritime Museum Collection. Photo: S. Gibbs.

He Tipua, He Taniwha, He Tangata

He Tipua, He Taniwha, He Tangata, Ihu ki te Moana (see figure 165) alludes to the spirit that lives within us as a connection to our ancestors. It features eight blue paintings on Fijian tapa cloth showing hoe waka in the form of tipua, broadening the figurative vocabulary of the pītau-a-manaia with eyes that stare at the viewer, symbolising the ever-watchful eyes of tīpuna. There are two wharenui submerged in the ocean realm of Tangaraoa, referencing Hui-te-ana-nui, the carved house of the ocean god. The origin of the art of carving is mentioned in the moteatea *Haere Ra e Hika i te Raumati e* (Ngata 2004). These works sit at the bottom of both bookcases. The paddles are still travelling across the world, hence the migratory fish in the display cabinets, which keep moving. Imagery develops from the start of the voyage to an ongoing connection between four British museums and the people of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and Rangiwaho. One of the aims of working with international museums was to show our ability to operate in non-Māori environments. We also aimed to make the taonga visible again after such a long absence from our tribal memories. For me, Rangiwaho: Ihu ki te Moana extends beyond being Māori and reaches into the deeper kaupapa of what it is to be human.

What was important about this project was iwi involvement throughout the whole process through hui with pakeke at our marae and Te Kura o Muriwai. It was also a rewarding extension of our iwi artist database, enabling active engagement in an international creative project and allowing our creative voices to be heard.

Dr Brett Graham (2018), who had been observing the project unfold, wrote a letter of support to Creative New Zealand to advocate for funding to assist with travel and accommodation:

> Maintaining such connections are vital, in order that visitors to the exhibition installation 'Rangiwaho Ihu Ki Te Moana' at the National Maritime Museum Greenwich, can see that the taonga in such galleries are not solely 'artefacts' but are part of the living history of a thriving culture. Likewise, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri artists are given the opportunity to revisit their taonga and also engage in the cultures that have collected them for prosperity. The purpose of the installation was to create a 'bookshelf' of objects that demonstrate Māori art making is alive and well in Aotearoa, and that the descendants of the hoe makers continue to create new art. (p. 1)

My hoe waka research and analysis led to an invitation from Amiria Salmond and Billie Lythberg to co-author the chapter "Hoe Whakairo: Painted paddles from New Zealand" in the Thomas et al edited *Pacific Presence Journal*. I was honoured to participate and share the knowledge I had gained during the research period. I appreciated the international exposure of my creative practice through the inclusion of the five A-hoe! paintings. I was also given the final word in the chapter, which evoked a deep sense of connection with my tīpuna who created the hoe waka:

> To physically touch them and hold them was magic. They are light, so beautifully balanced, it was like lifting up a small bird. Having photographs to share with our people at home, that's one thing, but laying hands upon the hoe and being with them, with the ancestors who made them… that's something else. (Gibbs, S et al., 2018, p. 328)

Conclusion

This chapter affirms the transformative power of engaging with ancestral hoe waka and their stories, demonstrating how Māori art serves as a pathway for cultural reclamation and empowerment. Through a combination of research and culturally grounded artistic practices, these efforts tell a story of resilience, highlighting the ongoing journey of Māori communities towards cultural strength and self-determination. By showcasing collaborative projects and international recognition, the chapter emphasises the importance of shared heritage in shaping a lively, intercultural future. Ultimately, it honours the enduring spirit of Māori art as a symbol of the strength and vitality of Māori communities in preserving and revitalising their cultural inheritance.

Conclusion

This research journey, culminating in this dissertation, has been a deeply personal and transformative experience. *Te Hoe Nuku Roa: The Long Journey of the Hoe* has explored the whakapapa of hoe waka traded in 1769, the visual language that animates them, and their continuing cultural significance.

Research Approach: A Synthesis of Methodologies

My approach was guided by a desire to honour Māori values and research principles, which led to the development of the "Whakapapa-a-hoe" methodology. This framework activated genealogical connections to tīpuna responsible for the hoe waka and complemented Kaupapa Māori research principles. In drawing from the work of Graham Hingangaroa Smith, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Tuki Nepe and Leonie Pihama, I ensured that Māori voices retained conceptual, methodological, and interpretive authority throughout the study.

Whakapapa became the foundation for connecting with tīpuna, whānau, whenua, iwi, and marae. Kaupapa Māori principles such as tino rangatiratanga, whakawhanaungatanga, mana reo, and kaitiakitanga shaped every stage of engagement, especially in curatorial and artistic collaborations. This ethos was embodied in hui-a-pakeke, monthly gatherings of iwi elders that provided spaces for dialogue, knowledge transfer, and validation, and in wānanga, which ensured inclusivity and respect for Māori language and tikanga.

In addition to community collaboration, this work drew upon direct sensory engagement with hoe waka in museums both in Aotearoa and abroad, where their physical qualities could be examined in relation to function and visual design. Creative practice was central to this process, allowing me to re-contextualise kōwhaiwhai patterns through contemporary painting and to weave Māori and European conventions into new visual forms. Design analysis and Jahnke's tātaitanga whakairo method offered further interpretive tools, enabling me to understand the sequencing, rhythm, and intrinsic design logics embedded in hoe waka.

Expectations and Findings

The initial expectation was that the research would trace the whakapapa of the hoe waka exchanged in 1769, identify their distinctive design features, and extend knowledge of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa kōwhaiwhai. These goals were largely achieved. The project identified defining stylistic elements, including the length and shape of the rapa, the taratu detail, the whiti upoko manaia composition, and the taratara-a-kae surface pattern. It also documented 23 hoe waka stylistically linked to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, tracing 14 directly back to the 1769 Whareongaonga exchange. In addition, the analysis of kōwhaiwhai revealed complex systems of symmetry, ranging from asymmetry to bilateral symmetry, translational symmetry, slide reflection, and bifold rotation, that underscored the cultural and symbolic centrality of the manawa line.

At the same time, the research produced unexpected insights. The significant role of Ngāti Rangiwaho and Rongowhakaata artists became clear, with evidence that most hoe waka were created in the vicinity of Whareongaonga, including several from Poverty Bay. This finding challenged early assumptions about attribution and reinforced the importance of iwi identity in understanding artistic authorship. Another revelation came from a close study of Sidney Parkinson's drawings, which showed that he had edited his kōwhaiwhai depictions, perhaps reshaping them to fit his own sensibilities or struggling to capture the intricacies of Māori design.

Key Contributions

This dissertation has made several contributions to both scholarship and practice. It has established the "Whakapapa-a-hoe" methodology as a framework for tracing the genealogies of taonga and affirming their continuing significance. It has expanded knowledge of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa kōwhaiwhai by identifying key design features and linking them to wider architectural traditions. It has also facilitated the return of taonga to their communities, enabling descendants to reconnect with their tīpuna and their creative legacies. More broadly, it has contributed to the reclamation of mana, the challenging of colonial narratives, and the amplification of Māori voices in both museum spaces and academic discourse.

Recommendations

The findings also open up directions for future research and practice. Further investigation into the whakapapa of hoe waka, especially in relation to specific hapū, would deepen our collective understanding. Continued development of Kaupapa Māori methodologies, including protocols for museum engagement with taonga, remains essential. There is also scope for exploring how kōwhaiwhai informs contemporary Māori art and how digital technologies might assist in cultural preservation and transmission. Supporting Māori artists and curators in reclaiming and reinterpreting taonga within contemporary contexts will be vital to indigenising museum practice and fostering cultural understanding.

Final Thoughts

Ultimately, *Te Hoe Nuku Roa* has been a journey of discovery, reconnecting me with my whakapapa and providing a deeper understanding of our art forms - an effort to honour tīpuna, reclaim suppressed histories, and reimagine futures through the whakapapa of hoe waka.

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Appendix 1: Ngāi Tāmanuhiri Tribal Boundaries

Before the Waitangi Tribunal
Te Roopu Whakamana I Te Tiriti O Waitangi Wai 814

In the matter of claims under The Treaty of Waitangi to the Waitangi Tribunal by the descendants and rightful successors to the chiefs and people of Ngäi Tāmanuhiri and

In the matter of the Gisborne District Inquiry under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 – WAI 814

Amended statement of Claim 27 April 2001

1.1 2.5 Prior to 1840, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri exercised mana and rangatiratanga from time to time over the Ngāi Tāmanuhiri rohe. That rohe extended, and continues to extend, generally from Kopututea (the outflow of the Waipaoa River, which in the early nineteenth century flowed into the Awapuni Lagoon) by the moana to Pakirikiri, Papatewhai, Rangihoua, Te Matamata, Ōrongo, Taikawakawa, Whareongaonga, and Tikiwhata then to Paritu. From there it extends inland to Te Toka a Haerengarangi, Whakaumuatutekauae Taumutu, Paparitu, Whakaongaonga, Tarewauru, Te Toka a Tutekawa, along Te Arai stream to Karaua thence to Kopututea. These rohe markers encompass Tawera, Te Taumata o Te Whare o Rata, Kaitoke, Tawatapu, Matiti, Tawhitinui, Pukehaua, Waikirikiri, Waiari, Waipuna, Waimakaweheru Mihimarino and Te Kurī-a-Pāoa.

As is evident from the description of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri's rohe above, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri tikanga did not operate on a system of fixed iwi boundaries.
(a) Fixed tribal boundaries, in their current form, are largely a product of the Native Land Court. The transformation of the legal status of land, from customary Māori title to individualised title derived from the Crown, was a primary factor in the destruction of tribal socio-political structures.

Appendix 2: Exchange of Hoe Waka at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa

EXCHANGE OF HOE & OTHER ITEMS BETWEEN CREW OF ENDEAVOUR & CREW OF 7 WAKA, SOUTH OF TŪRANGA-NUI-A –KIWA OCTOBER 12 1769 (Civil Time)

Distinguished Professor Dame Anne Salmond

DETAILED EVIDENCE OF EXCHANGES:

Ship's Log: the Endeavour set sail at 6am, at a speed of 3 knots, and headed S by E, sounding from 11- 13 fathoms with soft ground.

By 7.30am they were abreast of the 'Bluffhead' (Te Kurī-a-Pāoa / Young Nicks Head), one mile off, sounding 10-13 fathoms in hard ground.

By 8.30am they were heading south at 1 knot in westerly winds, sounding 13-17 fathoms in hard ground; at 9am the wind turned to WNW, sounding 17-20 fathoms in hard ground.

At 10.30am the wind turned NNW, and they were heading S by E at 1 knot: 'light airs & pleasant Wr. Sailing along shore dist. Off 3 or 4 Miles.

At noon it fell calm and the Bearings were:

'The extrems of the S.most land making like an Island from S.12.E. to S.13.W. The Bluff head Cape Table

N.22.W. The N. most land in sight NNE. Dist. Off the nearest shore 3 miles. Sounded 25 fm. Lat: obs. 39.13.95(/S?).'

At 1pm, calm and clear weather. From 2-6pm, 'the Ships head all round the Compass.'

At 3pm Saw several Canoes with the Natives coming off to the Ship, they were treated very kindly & after a short stay went on shore again.

Cook: At Noon the SW Point of Poverty Bay (which I have named Young Nicks head after the boy who first saw this land) bore NBW distant 3 or 4 Leagues [9 or 12 nautical miles, when1 nautical mile =1853 metres; ie. about 20 kilometers south-east of Young Nick's Head], being at this time about 3 Miles from the shore and had 25 fathom, the Main land extending from NEBN to South. Gentle breezes at NW and north with frequent calms. (p. 173)

Cook: In the afternoon while we lay becalm'd several Canoes came off to the Ship but kept at a distance until one who appear'd to come from a different part came off and put along side at once and after her all the rest. The people in this boat had heard of the treatment those had met we had had on board before and therefore came on board without hesitation. They were all kindly treated and very soon enter'd into a traffick with our people for George Island Cloth &c giving in exchange their paddles (having little else to dispose of) and hardly left themselves a Sufficient number to paddle a shore, nay the People in one Canoe after disposing of the Paddles offer'd to sell the Canoe. After a stay of about two hours they went away, but by some means or a nother three were left on board. In the evening a light breeze springing up at NW we steer'd along shore under an easy sail until midnight, then brought to.

Banks: Weather this day was most moderate: several Canoes put off from shore and came towards us within less than a quarter of a mile but could not be persuaded to come nearer, tho Tupia exerted himself very much shouting out and promising that they should not be hurt. At last one was seen coming from Poverty bay or near it, she had only 4 people in her, one who I well rememberd to have seen at our first interview on the rock: these never stopd to look at any thing

but came at once alongside of the ship and with very little persuasion came on board; their example was quickly follwd by the rest 7 canoes in all and 50 men. They had many presents given to them notwithstanding which they very quickly sold almost every thing that they had with them, even their Cloaths from their backs and the paddles out of their boats; arms they had none except 2 men, one of whom sold his patoo patoo as he calld it, a short weapon of green talk of this shape intended doubtless for fighting hand to hand and certainly well contrivd for splitting sculls as it weighs not less than 4 or 5 pounds and has sharp edges excellently polished. [detailed description of their tattoo, costume and canoes]

Their behavior while on board shewd every sign of friendship, they invited us very cordially to come back to our old bay or to a small cove with they shewd us nearer to it. I could not help wishing that we had done so, but the captn chose rather to stand on in search of a better harbour than any we have yet seen. God send that we may not have the same tragedy to act over again as we so lately perpetrated. After about a hour before sunset they canoes left us, and with us three of their people who were very desirous to have gone with them but were not permitted to return to the Canoes.

Monkhouse: In the afternoon, having little wind, several Canoes came off to look at us, and a Canoe from Poverty Bay was at the trouble to pay us a visit. She came along side without any ceremony, and now the others, who were afraid to approach us before, followed her example so that we had presently seven of them along side containing fifty people, about 20 of whom came into the Ship who continued above two hours with us, behaved very orderly, talked with Tupia, who gratified them with a sight of his tattaoued hips, were loaden with presents and returned to their Boats highly satisfied with their treatment. The people remaining in the Canoes had, in the mean time, traded very freely with our People, bartering their Cloathing, weapons and ornaments.

Detailed description of clothing and ornaments, as well as tattoo and canoes:

Parkinson: In the afternoon we were becalmed, and six canoes came off to us, filled with people; some of them armed with bludgeons made of wood, and of the bone of a large animal. They were a spare thin people, and had garments wrapt about them made of a silky flax, wove in the same manner as the cotton hammocks of Brazil, each corner being ornamented with a piece of dog-skin. Most of them had their hair tied up on the crown of their heads in a knot, and by the knot stuck a comb of wood or bone. In and about their ears some of them had white feathers, with pieces of birds skins, whose feathers were soft as down; but others had the teeth of their parents, or a bit of green stone worked very smooth. These stone ornaments were of various shapes. They also wore a kind of shoulder-knot, made of the skin of the neck of a large sea-fowl, with the feathers on, split in two length-ways. Their faces were tataowed, or marked either all over, or on one side, in a very curious manner; some of them in fine spiral directions like a volute (see pl. XVI[being indented in the skin very different from the rest; and others had their faces daubed over with a sort of red ochre. The bottom of their canoes was made out of a single tree; and the upper part was formed of two planks, sewed together, narrowed both at head and stern. The former was very long, having a carved head at the end of it painted red, and the stern ended in a flat beak. They had thwarts to sit on, and their paddles were curiously stained with a red colour, disposed into various strange figures; and the whole together was no contemptible workmanship. After we had given them a variety of beads and other trinkets, they set off in so great a hurry, that they left three of their people on board with us. We were at this time off a cape, which we named Table Cape: we made but little way that night.

Magra: On Thursday several of the natives came on board, and sold us some of their paddles, cloth, &c. we made them several presents, and they left us apparently well satisfied with their reception. (p. 69)

Gore: The middle and Latter [part of the day] light winds and fair. PM several of the Natives Came on board in their Canoes, one of the Natives was the Man who came To us at the salt rivulet, he with most of the rest came into the Ship, had some Trade with them for some of their Cloathing

and Trinketts or Ornament, in Exchange for Glass And Otehighei fine white cloth which we found to be valuable Commodities with them. They stay'd with us until near Night then went away leaving three of their company on board.

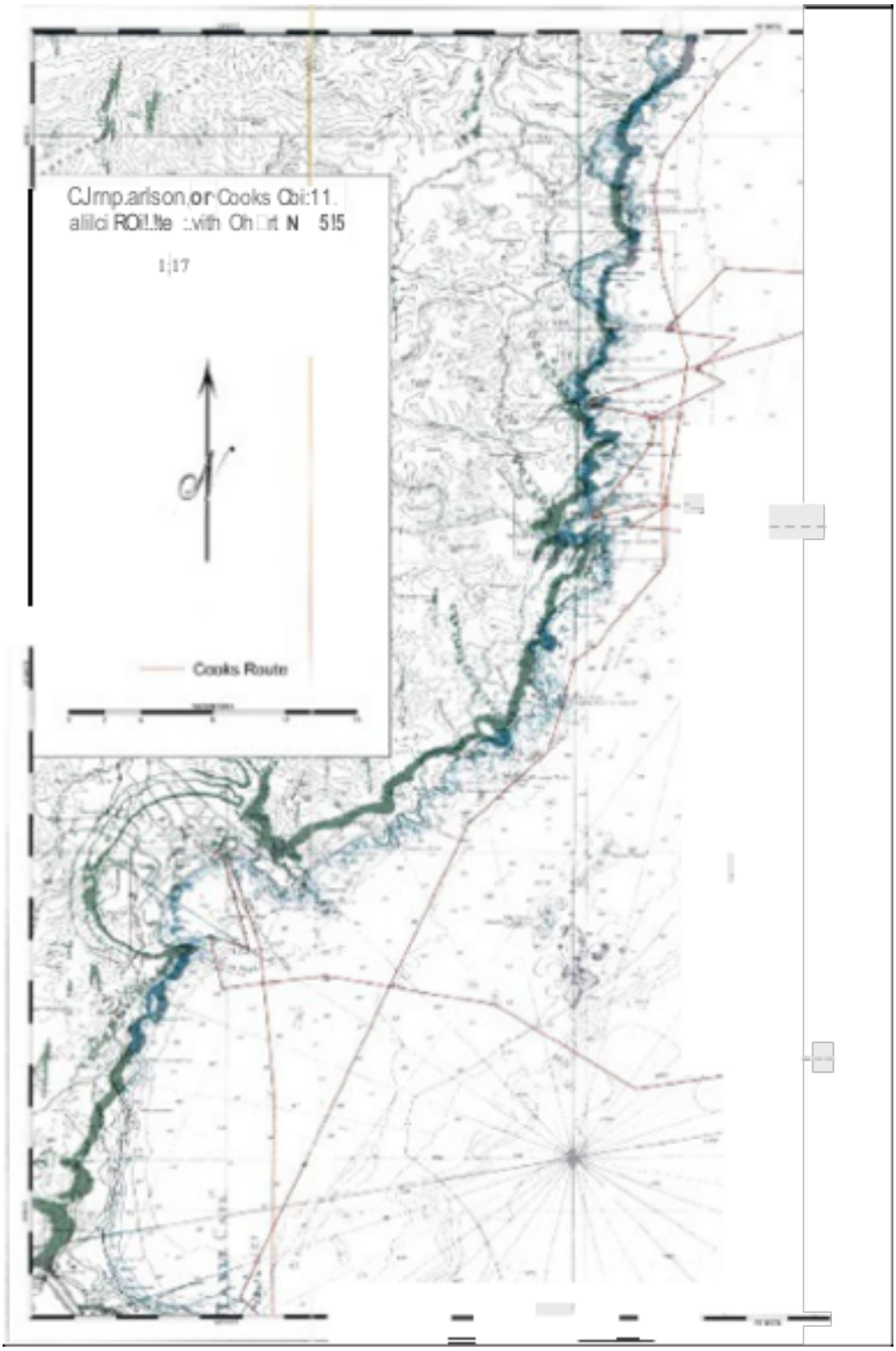
Ship's Log: By 6pm, 'The extremes of the land from S.15ºE to N.25ºE. & the Bluff head on the S.most part of the Bay N.58.W. dist. Off the nearest shore 4 or 5 miles. Sounded 24 fm. Haul'd up the foresail.

Wind became variable at 7pm, from the south.

SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE OF EXCHANGES:

1. LOCATION OF EXCHANGES:
   Began at 3pm October 12 (civil time) when the Endeavour was becalmed about twenty kilometres south east of Young Nick's Head, three miles from the shore, sounding 25 fathom, Latitude 39.13.95(/S?) – (This latitude appears to be incorrect)
2. PARTICIPANTS IN EXCHANGES (evidence in bold red): Seven canoes came out in all, with 50 men.
   Six canoes came out from the adjacent shore. The largest canoe had sixteen paddlers, and Monkhouse described the paddles as about 5 and a half or six feet long.
   Monkhouse: The largest of these Canoes had eight Seats for Sixteen people to paddle – the Steers- man sits close to the Stern and shifts his paddle on either side occasionally – the paddles are about 5 and a half or Six feet long – about three fifths constitutes blade whose greatest breadth is about Six inches – they are neatly made [rough sketch).
   One canoe with 4 people on board came from Poverty Bay, bringing the man who had crossed the Tūranganui river and greeted Cook. He invited them to return to Poverty Bay: bringing a man who I well rememberd to have seen at our first interview on the rock [Banks], the Man who came To us at the salt rivulet, he with most of the rest came into the Ship [Gore], who came on board without hesitation and invited the crew of the Endeavour to return to Poverty Bay.
   These people talked with Tupaia who showed them his tattooed hips
3. NATURE OF THE EXCHANGES:
   Monkhouse: 'we had presently seven of them alongside containing fifty people, about 20 of whom came into the Ship who continued above two hours with us, behaved very orderly, talked with Tupia, who gratified them with a sight of his tattaoued hips, were loaden with presents and returned to their Boats highly satisfied with their treatment. The people remaining in the Canoes had, in the mean time, traded very freely with our People, bartering their Cloathing, weapons and ornaments.
   Banks: Their behavior while on board shewd every sign of friendship, they invited us very cordially to come back to our old bay or to a small cove with they shewd us nearer to it. I could not help wishing that we had done so, but the captn chose rather to stand on in search of a better harbour than any we have yet seen. God send that we may not have the same tragedy to act over again as we so lately perpetrated.
4. ITEMS EXCHANGED (evidence in light red), which might be identified in museum collections: Cook and his men gave Tahitian bark-cloth, glass and beads in exchange for paddles (a canoe was also offered), clothing and a greenstone patu.
   a) Paddles, including one whole set from a canoe, stained red in patterns. Sketched by Parkinson.
   Cook: until one who appear'd to come from a different part came off and put alongside at once and after her all the rest. The people in this boat had heard of the treatment those had met we had had on board before and therefore came on board without hesitation. They were all kindly treated and very soon enter'd into a traffick with our people for George Island Cloth &c giving in exchange their paddles (having little else to dispose of) and hardly left themselves a Sufficient number to paddle a shore, nay the People in one Canoe after disposing of the Paddles offer'd to

sell the Canoe. After a stay of about two hours they went away, but by some means or a nother three were left on board.
Banks: At last one was seen coming from Poverty bay or near it, she had only 4 people in her, one who I well rememberd to have seen at our first interview on the rock: these never stopd to look at any thing but came at once alongside of the ship and with very little persuasion came on board; their example was quickly follwd by the rest 7 canoes in all and 50 men. They had many presents given to them notwithstanding which they very quickly sold almost every thing that they had with them, even their Cloaths from their backs and the paddles out of their boats.
Their behavior while on board shewd every sign of friendship, they invited us very cordially to come back to our old bay or to a small cove with they shewd us nearer to it. I could not help wishing that we had done so, but the captn chose rather to stand on in search of a better harbour than any we have yet seen. God send that we may not have the same tragedy to act over again as we so lately perpetrated.
Monkhouse: a Canoe from Poverty Bay was at the trouble to pay us a visit. She came along side without any ceremony, and now the others, who were afraid to approach us before, followed her example so that we had presently seven of them along side containing fifty people, about 20 of whom came into the Ship who continued above two hours with us, behaved very orderly, talked with Tupia, who gratified them with a sight of his tattaoued hips, were loaden with presents and returned to their Boats highly satisfied with their treatment.
Parkinson: In the afternoon we were becalmed, and six canoes came off to us, filled with people;…. The bottom of their canoes was made out of a single tree; and the upper part was formed of two planks, sewed together, narrowed both at head and stern. The former was very long, having a carved head at the end of it painted red, and the stern ended in a flat beak. They had thwarts to sit on, and their paddles were curiously stained with a red colour, disposed into various strange figures; and the whole together was no contemptible workmanship. After we had given them a variety of beads and other trinkets, they set off in so great a hurry, that they left three of their people on board with us.
Gore: several of the Natives Came on board in their Canoes, one of the Natives was the Man who came To us at the salt rivulet, he with most of the rest came into the Ship, had some Trade with them for some of their Cloathing and Trinketts or Ornament, in Exchange for Glass And Otehighei fine white cloth which we found to be valuable Commodities with them. They stay'd with us until near Night then went away leaving three of their company on board.
b) Clothing: Monkhouse: Fine cloaks, some with taniko border at the bottom 'about two inches & half broad, and worked in diamonds some half black, half white, others half black half brown or cinnamon colour. Some … had two or three threads of black in the warp disposed at wide distances. Some were very fine and Silky and of a bright flaxen Colour. Others were lined at the lower corners with a bit of dogs skin with the hair on. Most of these people wore the Matt belt round their loins which seems principally intended for the purpose of sticking their Patoo in.
c) Ornaments: Monkhouse: Combs about two inches broad, the tooth very long: some were made of wood, others of bone.
Many used human teeth by way of earring. Several had a flatted oval Shaped ball which had been thoroughly soaked in oil.. about the size of a chicken egg, hung round their neck.
One man had a triangular piece of green talk hung round his neck
d) Weapons: One greenstone patu weighing 4-5 pounds [rough sketch]


Cooks Route

Appendix 3: Inventory of Weapons

Inventory of Weapons, Utensils and Manufactures of various kinds collected by Cap[n] Cook of His Maj. Ship the Endeavour in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, & 1771, in the new discovered South Sea Islands & New Zeland, (the Inhabitants of which were totally unacquainted with the use of Metals, & had never had intercourse with any European Nation) – and given to Trinity College by L.[d] Sandwich Oct 1771.

Number of Specimens received	Type Number and Description	Provenance	Information from Trinity Labels	MAA Catalogue Number	Page Ref
2	N[o] 1 Padles from	New Zeland	Paddle No. 1, New Zealand, 1775 Paddle No. 4, New Zealand, 1775	D 1914.66, D 1914.67	292
n/a	N[o] 2 Club from *[Thomas Green notes at the end of the List that this item was not received by the College].*	Otaheite		Not Received	n/a
1	N[o] 4 Verrowhah, a kind of a Lance which they pitch at a Mark in one of their Games from	Otaheite	Verrowhah a kind of Lance No. 15, Otaheite	D 1914.33	303
1	N[o] 6 Spontoon of the first Rank	New Zeland	Weapon and Paddle of the 1st Rank No. 1, New Zealand, 1775	D 1914.61	291
2	N[o] 7 Spontoon 2nd Rank	New Zeland	Weapon and Paddle of the 2nd Rank No. 3, New Zealand, 1775	D 1914.62, D 1914.63	292
1	N[o] 9 Battle Axe	New Zeland	A Battle Axe & Javelin No. 2, New Zealand, 1775	D 1914.64	292
1	N[o] 10 Bow	Otaheite	A Bow No. 17, Otaheite	D 1914.97	303
1	N[o] 11 Quiver of 17 Arrows	Otaheite	Quiver for Arrows No. 3, Otaheite, 1775	D 1914.83	303
1	N[o] 12 Pike	New So. Wales	A Pike No. 1, New South Wales	D 1914.4	276
3	N[o] 13 Fish Gigg	New So. Wales	Fish Giggs No. 2, New South Wales	D 1914.1, D 1914.2, D 1914.3	276
4	N[o] 15 Fish Hooks from	New Zeland		D 1914.69, D 1914.70, D 1914.71, D 1914.72	293
1	N[o] 16 a Stone to sink the Line in Angling from	New Zeland		D 1914.68	292
1	N[o] 17 Combs from	New Zeland		D 1914.38	289
1	N[o] 19 Ear Ornament from	New Zeland		D 1914.39	289
1	N[o] 20 Ear Ornament from	New Zeland		D 1914. 43	289
3	N[o] 21 Necklaces from	New Zeland		?	n/a
1	N[o] 22 Whistle from	New Zeland		D 1914.55	291
1	N[o] 23 a Piece of carved wood *[Thomas Green notes at the end of the List that this item was 'omitted in the Inventory', so this entry was presumably inserted by him].*	New Zeland		D 1914.65	292
1	N[o] 24 Bodkins from	New Zeland		D 1914.44	289
2	N[o] 25 Edge Tools of green Stone from	New Zeland		D 1914.50, D 1914.51	290
1	N[o] 26 Black Agot 4 pieces of which they form their sharpest edge Tools from	New Zeland		D 1914.52	291
1	N[o] 27 Red Ochre from	New Zeland		D 1914.74	293
1	N[o] 28 Gimp from	New Zeland		?	n/a
1	N[o] 29 Points of Birds Spears, from	New Zeland		D 1914.73	293
1	N[o] 30 Platted Hair used by the Women for a head dress, of	Otaheite	Platted Hair used an an Ornamental Head-dress of the Otaheite Women, Otaheite, 1775	D 1914.5	300
2	N[o] 31 Tools with which they make black marks on their bodies	Otaheite		D 1914.35, D 1914.36	303
1	N[o] 32 Flutes from	Otaheite	A Nose-Flute No. 4, Otaheite, 1775	D 1914.27	302
2	N[o] 33 Towing Fish Hooks, from	Otaheite		D 1914.29, D 1914.30	302
3	N[o] 34 Common Fish Hooks, from	Otaheite		D 1914.31, D 1914.32, ?	302
2	N[o] 36 Coarse Dresses, from	New Zeland		D 1924.82, D 1924.81	294
1	N[o] 37 Mat Dresses, from	New Zeland		D 1924.87	294

Appendix 4: Notice of Meeting between Artefacts of Encounter Team and Iwi

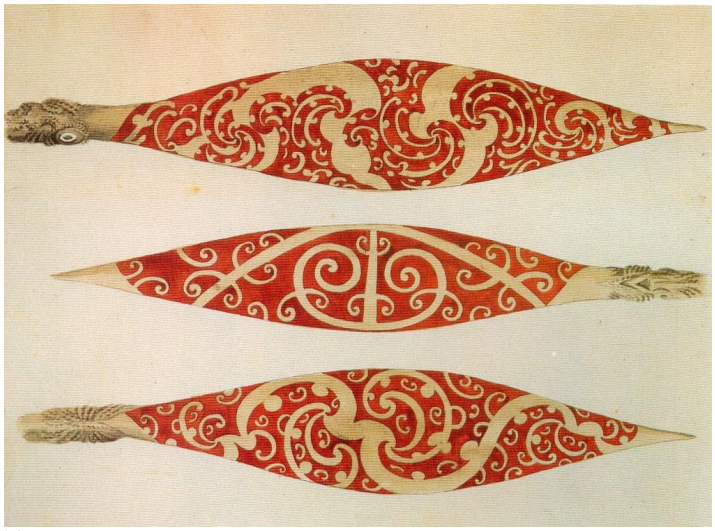
Artefacts of Encounter website updates February 2012

NEWS

Meeting with Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, 23 January 2012

In January, the Artefacts of Encounter team visited Muriwai, just south of Gisborne, to meet with representatives of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, a Māori tribal group whose ancestors may have exchanged intricately painted paddles with members of the Endeavour crew on 12 October 1769.

Photograph © Amiria Salmond



Three of these paddles were painted on board the Endeavour by draftsman Sydney Parkinson. His watercolour sketch is now in the British Library in London.

Amiria Salmond updated Ngāi Tāmanuhiri on her ongoing research into the current whereabouts of paddles from this set, which are now housed in various museums across Europe and in New Zealand, including the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge, and Te Papa Tongarewa the Museum of New Zealand. Photograph © Billie Lythberg

The meeting was also attended by project advisor Professor Dame Anne Salmond, who explained the relationship between various journal accounts of the exchange of the paddles, and the charts and ship's log records of the Endeavour's off-shore location at the time. Photograph © Amiria Salmond

Knowing exactly where the ship was positioned is important to establishing the likely identity of the people in the canoes that came out to the Endeavour from the coast south of Poverty Bay, and their connection to Ngāi Tāmanuhiri. This meeting followed an earlier visit by Amiria to Muriwai, and Hope Tupara's encounter with one of the paddles in Cambridge last year.

Appendix 5: Toi Tāmanuhiri: A Review in Three Parts: Damian Skinner, March 2014

1. Muriwai Hall

Sitting in Muriwai Hall, I realise it is impossible to review this exhibition in 'Art New Zealand style' as I had promised. Partly it is the lack of contextual information – very few labels, no wall texts to lay out the curatorial theme or rationale – and partly it is that I can't actually tell what is part of the exhibition, and what belongs permanently in the hall itself. And I realise that both of these things are related: this is not an art historical event so much as it is an iwi event. The framework isn't going to be expressed using the devices of art history and museums because this isn't an exhibition for that kind of audience. It is clearly for local people, for Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, not manuhiri like me. There are seats laid out around the walls and in powhiri style near the stage. I don't know if the chairs are always like this or temporarily arranged in this way for the duration of the exhibition, but whatever the case it is a good indication of what is important here. The knowledge that surrounds this exhibition, and the audience for it, will be found in powhiri and hui – events and processes in which tangata whenua, the locals, take part.

One of the things that frustrates my intentions to review this exhibition is the variety and diversity of art practices on display. There are sculptures on plinths that declare themselves as art through the way they are presented and also through the materials and processes used to make them, and the sense of polish and authority they have as objects. A few of the paintings have this same authority, even though they are unframed – it is about their construction, the materials, the kind of images and compositions, which are evidence of conversations with contemporary Māori art, as well as the idea of contemporary art and the art gallery.

Then there are examples of customary Māori art, especially weaving, that are probably part of the exhibition but might also be permanent features of the hall. The installation on the stage of whariki, poupou, kete and woven putiputi, with clay sculptures at each corner, is precisely this kind of ambiguous entity, transgressing the borders between exhibition and venue. A printed label for a 'kete collection' describes the maker as 'Dinah Hawea daughter of Lena and Hiwirori Maynard me Jack Robin,' which indicates clearly where the priorities lie – not in what these objects are, but in who made them, and how they whakapapa to the community, to this place.

And then there are photographs, some old, some new, but confusing because it is hard to know if they are intended to be part of the exhibition (as art) or if they are part of constructing identity and history for the iwi (hall decoration). Contemporary art collapses this distinction through its interest in the archive, so they could be either. One series of images and text could be art or a kind of intelligent publicity, a poster campaign for Ngāti Rangiwaho and their struggle to resist colonialism. Are the large digital prints of the East Coast District Tribal Register, elegantly framed in black, art works or permanently on display in the hall, reminding the people who use the building who they are and where they come from? The photographs of tupuna, the poupou from Toko Toru Tapu church nearby in Manutuke, and the adzes in a vitrine, are not part of the exhibition and yet are unable to be disentangled from it. And then there are a number of documentary photographs, of what looks to be a hikoi on Te Kurī-a-Pāoa. These are placed throughout the exhibition, acting both as art works (documentary photography) and assertions of place and identity, slipping into different roles because the same image functions in more than one way. In a sense, this is what all these objects do, whether art or not.

The mix of artistic quality and intentions is also discombobulating, and yet somehow appropriate, because Māori spaces like this quite often bring together the professional and the amateur – precisely because the point is not art in the sense of the art world, but art within a context of whakapapa. A watercolour of the local landscape by a Sunday painter, or a heartfelt but not visually outstanding example of Kowhaiwhai or tukutuku can have their place alongside a Rukupō masterpiece. This is a combination that typical art historical methods struggle to deal with, mostly because art history usually involves an urge to judgement, to decide what is the better, or best. In this situation, this judgement is irrelevant.

Ultimately, when you give up the model of art history that would produce an ‘Art New Zealand style review,’ this exhibition and these artworks become very satisfying. They argue their presence and right to belong not in terms of artistic excellence (that doesn’t matter) but in terms of a human claim. This is the diversity that makes up a community, an iwi, at a specific point in time. It reveals both the power and limitations of art as I know it professionally, and makes a great argument for broadening our focus in order to understand what art does in situations like this.

2. Tairāwhiti Museum

The introductory wall text for Toi Tāmanuhiri: Mana Whenua, Mana Moana, Mana Tangata says that 'The exhibition talks about the land, sea and people of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri. In each section we have strived to tell the story of who Ngāi Tāmanuhiri are; from historical accounts and oral histories, to the present day.' And: 'Each section is intended to illustrate our physical and spiritual connections to the land and the ocean. This relationship has been passed on from our tīpuna to the present day members of our tribe.'

This exhibition uses art – contemporary works as well as taonga, fine art and craft – to articulate the identity and historical connections of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri. It does this through connections to a specific landscape, and through whakapapa, so that individual artworks and objects manifest intangible connections. A whariki woven in the early 1900s, and usually on display in the Muriwai Hall, is a connector to place through its location (the hall, which stands on a marae), the makers (Tāmanuhiri weavers of the past), pattern (specific to the iwi), and purpose (it commemorates the sacrifice of soldiers in WWI). A poupou originally for Toko Toru Tapu church at Manutuke, and usually on display in Muriwai Hall, is a connector between Tāmanuhiri and Rongowhakaata, their neighbours and whanaunga. Matt Randall's Tamarangi is a connector to the hoe in the collection of Te Papa, the oldest known taonga of Tāmanuhiri, and to the contemporary expression and elaboration of Tāmanuhiri style in the present, as well to those contemporary artists who whakapapa to the iwi.

What we are dealing with here is art – different kinds of art, but all of a certain kind that is either intended for a museum/art context, or over time has become incorporated into the discourses of art. Here is where the mana of Toi Tāmanuhiri as art in a more defined sense is expressed and upheld. Its appeal or address, in this sense, is quite different to the exhibition at Muriwai Hall, even as similar ideals or agendas underpin each exhibition.

In terms of display strategies, this exhibition achieves its effects by placing different kinds of art practices in the same space, which has a number of effects. It collapses the chronological distance between objects, partly by placing them alongside each other but also by articulating the taonga as models and precedents for the newer work). The strategic use of photographs of Tāmanuhiri landscapes and Tāmanuhiri tupuna also create rich links between objects, place and whakapapa.

Various Māori patterns decorate the wall texts, and are also applied to the gallery walls, so the entire exhibition is surrounded by, or encased in, what becomes a kind of style manual or pattern book of Tāmanuhiri art. It never becomes intrusive, until you notice it, and then the blue/green colour of the walls becomes ocean, which makes the patterns the silhouette of coast, as if the various aerial photographs and topographies in the show have been dissolved and remade in Māori visual terms. All of these elements reinforce the primacy of the hoe, borrowed from the collection of Te Papa, which sits at the heart of this exhibition. As the label suggests, 'the hoe are compelling, physical objects that are clear statements about our mana whenua, mana moana, mana tangata. In terms of their importance to contemporary Tāmanuhiri art, that lies in their carving style and the rich example of Kōwhaiwhai on the blade.' This also relates to the strong archival impulse in some of the contemporary art: Matt Randall's hoe, Steve Gibb's No Ordinary Bird (also referencing hoe), and perhaps Drina Hawea's Past, Present, Future installation of woven potae, although the connection here might be to harakeke or pingao that has its own history as a material, rather than the quotation of older patterns and forms.

3. By Way of Conclusion

What's smart about these two exhibitions is the way they play across a spectrum of visual arts practices and strategies to maximise the potential of art for different audiences and diverse agendas. This is a project that asserts the mana of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri to a larger world through the exhibition at the Tairāwhiti Museum, while also channelling this mana taonga back to Ngāi Tāmanuhiri through the exhibition at Muriwai Hall. This is an understated but nevertheless extremely powerful vision of Toi Tāmanuhiri that balances a range of (sometimes competing) factors in order to demonstrate why art matters for Ngāi Tāmanuhiri as it moves into a post-Treaty settlement future.

Appendix 6: Kanohi Ora Governance Group – Terms of Reference

Kanohi Ora Terms of reference: May 2019

KO MATOU NGA KANOHI ORA O TATOU TUPUNA

WE ARE THE LIVING FACES OF OUR ANCESTORS

When Cook, Tupaia and those of the Endeavour left our shores in 1769 they took with them taonga of Te Aitanga Hauiti and Tūranga Iwi. For close to 248 years these taonga have sat in UK and European Museums and Institutions. The recent efforts made by Tūranga Iwi and Community to initiate a loan process in partnership with Tairāwhiti Museum are; June 2016 Te Rūnanga o Tūranganui a Kiwa hosted Dr Julie Adams of the British Museum,hui were held with our Whanau on our Marae and Community, the following kaupapa draws on their contributions as we reconnect ourselves again to our Taonga and Tupuna. (Dec 2017 Kanohi Ora report)

HEI KANOHI ORA IWI GOVERNANCE GROUP

TERMS OF REFERENCE

1.0 PURPOSE OF THE GROUP

1.1 The purpose of the Hei Kanohi Ora Governance Group is to provide the Iwi of Tūranganui a Kiwa with a mandated body, in partnership with Te Tairawhiti Whare Taonga, to facilitate the short term loan of Taonga Tuku Iho held in various museums across Britain, from the 1769 October encounters.

2.0 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GROUP

2.1 The Kanohi Ora Working Party was established in 2016 in response to a request from Rangiwaho Marae to Te Rūnanga o Tūranganui a Kiwa to lead the hosting of Dr Julie Adams (British Museum) in presenting to our people of the 'The Artefects of Encounter Project' (Cook, Endeavour engagement in the Pacific). Dr Adams visit was sponsored by Dr Damian Skinner who along with other Academics and Historians recognised the particular relationships Tūranga hapu and iwi have to the Taonga 1769.

Representatives from Iwi, Hapu, Academics and Museum Specialists escorted and assisted Dr J Adams in presentations to Iwi; Hauiti, Rongowhakaata, Ngāti Oneone, Ngāi Tamanuhiri and Community Organisations Toihoukura, Te Ha Board and Public Hui

From the Hui held on Marae with our people the challenge put to Te Rūnanga was 'Bring them Home'

Kanohi Ora working party membership; Rina Kerekere (Te Aitanga a Hauiti), Lisa Taylor & Karl Johnstone (Rongowhakaata), Tai Kerekere & Huia Pihema (Te Aitanga a Mahaki), Nick Tupara (Oneone), Steve Gibbs & Jody Toroa (Ngāti Rangiwaho me Ngāi Tamanuhiri), Jody Toroa – project managment TROTAK

Speciailist Advisors; Arapata Hakiwai, Dame Anne and Amiria Salmond, Dr Julie Adams, Dr Lissant Bolton, Eloise Wallace, Derek Lardelli, Dr Damian Skinner, Ronald Nepe

The Working Party developed an interactive Plan to facilitate the return of the Taonga to Tūranga;

- Kotahitanga Iwi and Museum relationships and intention to loan
    - Communication Plan with our own whanau
    - Initiate dialouge with relevant Ministries to enable funding

- Prepare for Iwi delegation to Taonga

- Matauranga
  - Develop indigenous intern relationship with Museums
  - Develop our own matauranga model for kura and community
  - Nga Whare Wananga research kaupapa
- Toi
  - Initiate 2019 Iwi Artist exhibition alongside the Taonga
  - Develop a data base to support Tūranga Artists
  - Foster contemporary Art forum alongside our Taonga in Britain
- Waka
  - TROTAK administrative body; Pipi,Tūranga FM, Poutama & Tūranga Ararau

The Working Party met monthly with engagement from Special Advisors when required.

Results for 2017

Kotahitanga

- Kanohi Ora host Dr Lissant Bolton, Keeper of Oceania, America and Africa's collections at British Museum – presentations to Iwi and Community, assessment of Museum for loans
- Steve Gibbs, Dame Anne and Amiria Salmond, Jody Toroa spending time at UK institutions, consolidating relationships and warm the 'Loan process'
- 'Letter of Intent for a Loan Process' to the British, Cambridge, Pitt Rivers and Hancock Museums from Tūranga Iwi; signed by the Chairs of Ngāti Oneone, Te Aitanga Mahaki, Ngāi Tamanuhiri with the support of Tairawhiti Museum, Te Papa and Te Rūnanga o Tūranganui a Kiwa

Matauranga

- Tapunga Nepe the first recipient of the British Museum 'Global Internship' program
- The first loan schedule of Taonga prepared guided by; Endeavour log records, research and advice shared by Academic's and Specialists and Hapu/Iwi kōrero. Distributed and finalised for consultation with Kanohi Ora, MCH, Te Papa and UK Museums

Toi

- Tairawhiti Museum confirm a contemporary exhibition space alongside the Taonga gallery

Waka

- monthly contributions to Pipiwharauroa, reports to Ronald, TROTAK CE

2.2 In November 2018 Hei Kanohi Ora was realigned to meet the expectations of Tairawhiti Museum and Tūranga Iwi as the responsible legal entities to engage formally in Loan Process with British Museums and Te Papa.Representation from; Te Aitanga Hauiti, Te Aitanga Mahaki, Ngāi Tamanuhiri, Ngāti Oneone, Tairawhiti Museum and Te Rūnanga o Tūranganui a KiwaHuia Pihema is chosen as Chair person 15,2,2019

2.3 A 'Hei Kanohi Ora' Workplan developed to focus primarily on the Short Term Loan Process

2.4 Ronald Nepe will be working with us in his capacity as CE of Te Rūnanga o Tūranganui a Kiwa. The Chairs of respective Iwi Groupings will also be overseeing the progress of this project; Te Aitanga a Mahaki, Ngāi Tamanihiri, Te Aitanga a Hauiti, Ngāti Oneone, Rongowhakaata.

It is acknowledged that Te Aitanga Mahaki are the lead Iwi of this kaupapa.

3.0 AIMS & RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE GROUP

3.1 The aims and responsibilities of this group include but are not restricted to:

- Maintain the mana and mauri of Tūranga Marae, Hapu and Iwi in discussions which require adherence to tikanga and kawa
- Implement sound cultural, academic and administrative processes to advance this project
- To enable wananga, whakapapa, matauranga, connection to whare wananga and seek affinity to the Taonga.
- Nurture positive relationships between Iwi and museums to progress
  - more loans of relevance
  - Internship programs to build Iwi capacity
- Foster positive relationships across Iwi as we consolidate our healing and learnings through this kaupapa
- Acknowledge the whare wananga and tohunga by way of research opportunities and compilations
- Support Marae, Hapu and Iwi in the research and exploration and expression of Taonga and Toi

4.0 MEMBERSHIP OF THE GROUP

4.1 The membership of this group can consist of any Tairawhiti Iwi wanting to participate in taonga loan and/or repatriation spaces.

4.2 Each Tairawhiti Iwi can have a maximum of two representatives within this group.

4.3 This group is not restricted to trustees of respective Iwi Trusts but must be nominated through the respective Iwi Trusts.

4.4 This group will work collaboratively with Ministry of Culture & Heritage Trust staff, Tairawhiti, Te Papa and British Museum staff and any sponsors where the project requires.

4.5 Once the project is successfully completed and the taonga have been returned safely to UK Museums, this group will cease operations.

5.0 ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE GROUP

5.1 Iwi representatives in this Group are responsible for information sharing with Marae, Hapu and Iwi.

5.2 Hei Kanohi Ora and TROTAK acknowledge the Te Tiriti protocols of Ngāi Tamanuhiri and Rongowhakaata and impending Mahaki Settlements in respect to MCH Relationships and Museum Relationship Agreements

6.0 WORKING METHODS OF THE GROUP

6.1 Hei Kanohi Ora approach to working collectively is shared learning and networks to achieve the purpose of the group.

6.2 There is an expectation that a working group of Tohunga Toi will be convened to advise the governance group on origin, matauranga, relationship to hapu and Tupuna when required.

6.3 There is also an assumption that a tira will go to Britain to receive the taonga and ensure they safely return home and then back to Britain.

7.0 MEETINGS

7.1 This group will hui fortnightly until further review.

7.2 The Project Coordinator in consult with the Chair will organise all hui.

7.5 Hui papers will be circulated within 5 working days post each hui.

7.6 The format of the hui will be an opportunity to feedback on delegated tasks, share information, review new information and delegate new tasks.

7.7 Non members will be invited to various hui as the project requires.

8.0 SHARING OF INFORMATION

8.1 Information will be shared to members via email, through hui and minutes.

8.2 Identified confidential materials and copyright issues will be dealt with with the guidance of TROTAK.

8.3 There is a possibility that a web space for this project may be created by the Project Coordinator. If that is the case, the Project Manager will ensure that space will be managed, facilitated and password protected.

8.4 Tūranga FM and Pipiwharauroa media will be utilised on a regular basis to inform Whanau