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HE WHARE MAIHI I TŪ KI TE PĀ-TŪWATAWATA

Kaitiekitanga—an eternal thread of Rangatiratanga
A Rongowhakaata Perspective

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“He kai nā te tangata, he kai tūtongitongi; He kai nā tōu ringa, tino kai, tino mākona.”

You can only nibble at another’s food, but with food you have cultivated yourself,
you can satisfy your appetite.

This proverb about food has relevance to Māori life today. For over 200 years the Māori has been nibbling at the food of the Pākehā basket. There have been times he has found it more satisfying than his own diet, times he has found it repugnant. Today he realises that although the food of the Western world is essential to his health, the food that sustained his ancestors is equally necessary for survival. If culture is substituted for food the truth becomes apparent.

(H. Sunderland personal archives)

Kaitiekitanga and taonga Māori held in museums are often decontextualised from source communities, and colonised alongside related concepts such as manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, and rangatiratanga, which have become bicultural hegemonic tick-the-box slogans. The holistic nature of kaitiekitanga and all its encompassing significance concerning taonga Māori is inextricably linked to tūrangawaewae. In the context of museums, it requires a form of reconciliation for it to be a living practice. This dissertation argues that ‘mana taonga’ represents a kin-based kaitiekitanga obligation and serves as a manifestation and affirmation of mauri whenua, mauri tangata, and mauri kōrero—reconnecting taonga with place, people, and knowledge. This all-encompassing approach preserves cultural identity and mātauranga Māori, empowering whānau, hapū, and iwi self-realisation and asserting self-determination.

There is a growing body of pertinent literature addressing kaitiekitanga within the museum context. What remains silent is a Rongowhakaata iwi-centric focused study. At the heart of this qualitative research is an examination of kaitiekitanga with respect to taonga through the concept of mauri as a fundamental means of sustaining cultural identity from a Rongowhakaata perspective. This perspective is explored through three key case studies - Te Hau ki Tūranga; the Rongowhakaata iwi exhibition series (2016-2022), and Rongowhakaata taonga held abroad in UK museum collections. With a Kaupapa Māori methodology at the forefront, this research also includes documentary research, semi-structured in-depth interviews, fieldwork, auto-ethnography, and participant observation methods.

This research asserts the importance of intergenerational, kin-based kaitiekitanga, expressed through the holistic takapau, inextricably linked to tūrangawaewae, interweaving taonga with place, people, and knowledge. Thus, kaitiekitanga is manifested through the involvement of source communities, where the authority, management, and control of taonga rest with whānau, hapū, and iwi. The research reveals that reconnecting taonga in this way also means restoring kaitiekitanga. Thus, the role of museums should not be a means to an end but rather a conduit for whānau, hapū, and iwi, empowering them as active agents and shapers of their own destiny. Kaitiekitanga remains relevant today as a pā tūwatawata of identity, clearing a pathway forward through enculturation, adaptation, and innovation: a seed for regenerative transformation, an eternal thread of rangatiratanga.

*Ngā whakataukī a Horomona, tama a Rāwiri, Kīngi o Iharaira
Ki te tahuri o tātou taringa ki te whakaaro nui
Ka anga anō hoki ō tātou ngākau ki te mātauranga
Kei whakarerea noa tātou i te pono, i te tika me te atawhai
Herea ki ō tātou kaki, tuhituhia, ā, ko ō tātou ngākau anō hei papa*

Mānawatia te kura, ko te kura nui, ko te kura roa, ko te kura nā Tūhaepō

E kui mā, e koro mā i te pō maioha ake i runga i te rangimārie.

Kāore hoki, ko te aroha e pūhakehake kino nei i roto, i te pūkaitanga o Mahara ka rau noa, ka rau ora

Ko te kahu o Wairau, o Taiwhetuki ki a koutou, ko Taiawatea ki a tātou. Tīhei Mauriora!

E oti rānei i te kupu, te nui, te inati o te kura mahora i te manaaki nui mai o te puna mātauranga, me he wairākau kua whāngaia ki te purapura, me kore i whanake ai tēnei tipu. Nāwai i timohea, kua tāmōre. Ehara i te mea, nōnanahi, nōnāianeī rānei, engari nō ōku kaumātua. Inā rā, me uaua te whakahua ingoa kei mahue i ahau ētahi. I pai ai, me kore ake ōku pakiaka o te kāenga, me ngā whakaawenga o te puna takiwa i rangiwhāwhatia. Kei te hunga i manaaki mai i te whakatutukitanga o tēnei tuinga, i taea rānei e au te toro, ngā whare taonga, ngā puna mātauranga o Rongowhakaata me Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa. Katoa, he mihi ka rere, he aroha nui i kore, nui atu, nui atu. Takarure tonu ēnei mihi ki te pou toko i taku manawa, ki taku whānau tonu, kua noho hei papa i ngā ākinga hau, i roto i ngā piki me ngā heke.

He whītau pani waha, he aho miro turi ahau nō ōku pā kāenga, ko te reo me ōna tikanga he mea kōtamutamu e ōku pakeke, whangainga iho ki te waha, ā, noho mai ai ko ēnei kai hei pua wānanga, hei kōrito tokakawa i te ao tūroa nei. Kia tiki atu ahau i ētahi whakataukī e rua e ngangahu nei i roto i ahau, me te aha, e noho nei hei huarahi whai mātauranga, ko te kōrero a Rongowhakaata Halbert (1999); *“The store of knowledge is by no means exhausted, but unless each generation restudies and rewrite the past for itself, history will either be lost or continue in a state of flux”*. Me te hāngai anō ki tētahi kōrero nā Te Wharehuia Milroy (2015); *“Ko te māra te rite o te mātauranga, ki te kore e marotiritiria, e kore hoki e māia ngā hua”* (Knowledge is like a garden, if it is not cultivated it cannot be harvested). Māna, e māia nei, me kore ngā taonga o Tūāuri, hei ara tōngakingaki i Tūatea, e tipu whakaritorito ai te pā harakeke ki Tūaronui. Whanokē ki te ao marama. Tū mai te Mauri, Haumi e, Hui e, Tāiki e!

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List of Abbreviations

AWMM	Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira
AOA	Africa, Oceania, and Americas Collections Department of The British Museum
BM	The British Museum
NMI	The National Museum of Ireland
NMNZ	National Museum of New Zealand (From 1992 Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa)
NZ	New Zealand
RCM	The Royal Cornwall Museum
RIC	Royal Institution of Cornwall
RIRG	Rongowhakaata Iwi Reference Group
RIT	Rongowhakaata Iwi Trust
Te Papa	Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa
TTMM	Tū Te Manawa Maurea at Te Matatini o Te Rā, in Gisborne, 2011
UK	United Kingdom
U.S.A.	United States of America
WRM	Whanganui Regional Museum

Readers' Note

Glossary

Two Glossaries are available.

Part One Includes words in te Reo Māori with an explanation in English.

Part Two Includes longer phrases and passages of text in te Reo Māori with a gloss in English.

The Glossaries are located immediately after Chapter Six - Conclusion

TE POU-KAIĀWHA

CHAPTER ONE



Te Takapau – Introduction



Image 1.1: *Te Hau ki Tūranga 150th Anniversary Commemoration in the Dominion Museum, 1992.* Image courtesy of Te Rūnanga o Tūranga nui a Kiwa.

*He whare tu ki te wa he kai na te ahi,
He whare maihi i tu ki te pa-tuwatawata, he tohu no te rangatira*
(Taharākau cited in Te Ua 1932, p. 50)

The resemblance of a pā-tūwatawata, the solidarity of intergenerational kinship embraced by a cloak of kaumātua—*he māhiti ki runga, he paepaeroa ki raro*—occupying the old museum courtyard at the Dominion Museum, Wellington, in front of Te Hau ki Tūranga. Capturing the essence of kaitiekitanga and rangatiratanga, this photograph was taken in 1992 to commemorate the 150-year anniversary of this prestigious whare whakairo, and it serves as a powerful reminder of unity.

The Hon. Parekura Horomia addressed Parliament in 2012 regarding the Rongowhakaata Treaty Settlement during its third reading, when the Crown also returned Te Hau ki Tūranga to Rongowhakaata. He emphasised that Rongowhakaata never lost their mana, *it was impinged on and wounded here and there, but that does not mean they lost it. Their tino rangatiratanga has certainly stood the test of time* (New Zealand Parliament, 2012).

The well-known proverb by Ngāti Maru ancestor, Taharākau, emphasises the takapau (foundation) of this research, translated as: *A carved house standing inside a palisaded pā is the mark of a chief; one standing in the open is food for a fire* (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 137). This was his reply to Ngāti Kahungunu ki Te Wairoa chief, Tapuwae when asked: What is the sign of a great chief? A whare maihi, or an elaborately carved house, is a symbolic representation of rank, mana rangatira, and tribal identity (Walker, 1996, p. 33). Taharākau's whakatauākī emphasises the importance of people interwoven through the social fabric or whakapapa, identified within whānau, hapū, and iwi as the *pā-tūwatawata*. Conceptually, it is through the collective strength and concerted efforts of the people that ensure the integrity of the whare maihi is protected and maintained. Kaitiekitanga has been described as a *community-based concept* (Waitangi Tribunal 2011, p. 116). It is an obligation that concerns the community and *lasts for as long as the community itself* (Waitangi Tribunal 2011, p. 116).

As a child, sitting at the feet of my kaumātua in this photograph inspires vivid memories traveling to Wellington quite frequently as an iwi, visiting Te Hau ki Tūranga. I distinctly remember, at eleven years old, carrying our taonga down the main streets of Wellington to Te Papa Tongarewa in 1996, led by our people, kaumātua, and kairākau. This connection with taonga continued through my previous role as Tairāwhiti Museum's Kaitieki Māori during the Rongowhakaata exhibition series that started on our marae in Tūranga, in 2016, titled: *Ruku i te pō, Ruku i te ao*. That same year, the *Ko Rongowhakaata: Mauri Whenua, Mauri Tāngata, Mauri Kōrero* exhibition opened at Tairāwhiti Museum and culminated at Te Papa in 2017 with *Ko Rongowhakaata, Ruku i te pō, ruku i te ao: The Story of Light and Shadow*. In 2020, the British High Commission's Scholarship: *He Whai Mātauranga* offered an opportunity to research taonga held in United Kingdom museums. These experiences have enriched my understanding of kaitiekitanga and taonga Māori, serving as the impetus for this research.

This thesis aims to explore and investigate kaitiekitanga as a *pā-tūwatawata* for upholding cultural identity manifested in taonga Māori. *A memory that does not aspire to be relevant is in danger of passing away* (cited in Butts 2021, p.2). The present is entrenched by its past that is *ever-present now* (Smith 2009, p.11) and continues to inspire the future. While many of the kaumātua in this photograph have passed on, the obligation and responsibility of kaitiekitanga continues in their descendants today.

Te Rangahau

Research Problem and Statement

If you take away the knowledge system of a people, if you take away the intellectual tradition of a people along with the land from which that intellectual tradition drew, along with the political ability to make decisions for the people of that land, then you remove the basic strength and integrity of that people's culture (Jackson, 2016).

Paul Tapsell (1997) conveyed a comparable argument in *The flight of Pareraututu: An investigation of taonga from a tribal perspective*, relating specifically to taonga tuku iho, which are manifestations of kōrero, divine energies, cultural praxis, purpose, and identity. Tapsell (1997) asserts that if taonga are disconnected from source communities, people, or associated lands, they are disconnected from where cultural knowledge systems are recited, and transmitted over time, then that knowledge will be lost.

Museums in Aotearoa have made substantial changes, in response to rangatiratanga and kaitiekitanga that sits with source communities, acknowledging that the taonga held in museums do not belong to the museums, but rather that museums have a stewardship responsibility that requires partnerships with respective whānau, hapū and iwi that have been identified as kaitieki (McCarthy et al., 2015). Mead (1985, cited in McCarthy et al., 2018, p. 125-126) explains:

The Māori people want to control their own heritage; they want to be the people who handle their taonga; they want to have the knowledge to explain them to other cultures; they want to explain them to their own people; they want to define their past and present existence; they want to control their own knowledge and they want to present themselves their way to the world and to themselves.

Kaitiekitanga finds its place in museums through mana whenua and tino rangatiratanga. The latter, enshrined in Te Tiriti o Waitangi Article Two, echoed in the Resource Management Act 1991, described as the *cornerstone statute for incorporating the term* (Kawharu 2018, p.100), central to Wai 262, and maintained in the Museums Aotearoa Code of Ethics 2013. Kaitiekitanga is operationalised in museums today due to the influential *Te Māori* exhibition, presenting *he toi whakairo, he mana tangata* to the world while implementing tribal kaitiekitanga practices into the museum sphere (Butts 2003; Hakiwai 1990; Mead 1984). Te Papa's mana taonga policy grew from this, emphasising cultural ownership and recognising whakapapa ties, that continued to evolve (Mahuika, 1991, p. 11). This approach, seen as a way to enact the Treaty's principles (Tamarapa, 2015), advancing the revival of taonga Māori and strengthens links with source communities. This is apparent in Māori and iwi exhibits, repatriations of

taonga, Māori and iwi involvement in museum governance, management, operations, cultural practices, inasmuch as establishing iwi cultural centres (Butts, 2002; McCarthy, 2011; O'Regan, 1997).

Kaitiekitanga is commonly described as guardianship, but this denies its holistic nature and all that it embraces. Kawharu (2000) says that although the principles of kaitiekitanga are fixed, its application continues to be developed to correspond with different circumstances and future aspirations. The Wai 262 Report (2011) denotes kaitiekitanga as an obligation through whakapapa *to nurture and care for the mauri of taonga* (p. 251). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2015) emphasises the importance of knowledge reconnected with source communities:

Knowledge is intimately connected to people, and we need the people to be revitalised for the knowledge to be revitalised. It can't come to life in a museum, it can't come to life in a glass case. It can't even come to life in a manuscript. It comes to life when it is reconnected with people. People make knowledge live.

Mead (1997) has suggested that a way to reclaim one's culture is by gaining control over how it is defined and described, the 'kōrero' of inherent whakapapa associated with taonga, that also entails a form of *enculturation* (p. 188) inspired by *Te Māori*. The Māori Queen, Dame Te Atairangikaahu (1992) poignantly says:

I hope that our child, Te Māori, who has grown in esteem and affection and aroha, will bear many children of like kind, each with their own distinctiveness, their own ambition, their own fulfilment. And I trust that their parents, foster-parents and god-parents will encourage enthusiastic, intelligent, caring young people on the marae, in the kōkiri, in the art galleries, in the museums, as artists and craftsperson's, and as curators and conservators, to nurture, to shape and to guide well a future generation of Te Māori.

(Dame Te Atairangikaahu 1992, cited in Ihimaera 1993, p. 213).

Mere Whaanga (1999) emphasises that *Māori participation in museums requires them to subjugating their values and systems to the prevailing museum culture* (p. 190). Brown (1996) refers to a recontextualised nature of taonga in museums *from tūrangawaewae to classification* (p. 16). The Wai 262 Report (2011) reflects this response, insofar that the claimants assert that kaitiekitanga needs to reconnect to its natural environment, stating that *...separating kaitiakitanga from its place would lead to its destruction* (p. 358). This concept extends to rongoā Māori, with continued relevance here, where *the greatest threat is the loss of contact with the natural world. That is the world out of which that knowledge grew and is sustained* (p. 248).

Kaitiekitanga is a pragmatic expression of rangatiratanga (Tapsell 1997; Kawharu 2000; Marsden 2003; Waitangi Tribunal 2011) and emphasised by Kawharu (2018) as a powerful tool that unifies fundamental paradigms, mana atua, mana whenua, and mana tangata – manifestations of identity and where kaitiekitanga today finds its rationale. Tapsell (2017) asserts that *the alchemy of the taonga is still accessible if and when they are performed on marae under the ancestral authority of the people who belong to the land: tangata whenua* (p. 97).

While concepts like ‘ownership’ are not synonymous with the principles of kaitiekitanga, kaitieki sometimes become legal owners, as exemplified in the case of Te Hau ki Tūranga (Waitangi Tribunal 2011, p. 87). Tapsell (1997) argues that the notion of taonga ownership contradicts Māori philosophy due to its mana tīpuna status. The Wai 262 Report (2011) underscores that the survival of Māori knowledge related to these taonga relies on the practice of kaitiekitanga. This Report envisaged *Māori control of taonga in a Māori way* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, p. 23). Likewise, Durie (2011, p. 168) suggests that *What is good for Māori is good for the institution as a whole*, implying that benefits to whānau, hapū, and iwi extend to the greater Māori community and also New Zealand. Therefore, the phrase *Power to the people* (Schorch & Hakiwai, 2014, p. 197) resonates as a call to reinstate kaitiekitanga by reconciling taonga with their source communities, including whānau, hapū, and iwi.

Although the literature concerning kaitiaki of taonga in museums is relatively sparse, contributions by Tapsell (2003); Colmer (2010); Tamarapa (2015); and Metzger (2022) are indicative of the scholarship offered by Māori working in museums over the past two decades. However, recognising the holistic nature of taonga necessitates acknowledging tūrangawaewae, the place of origin where the fundamental responsibility of kaitiekitanga within kin-communities is exemplified. Kaitiekitanga has been described as *a kind of equilibrium* (Waitangi Tribunal 2011, p.65) and *a matrix of genealogical connections* (Tapsell 2017, p.87) that is inextricably linked to tūrangawaewae, personified in pepeha; thus, identity is grounded in place as the placenta of identity. Only a few scholars have illustrated this fundamental connection of kaitiekitanga and taonga tuku iho, of which mauri is culturally imperative.

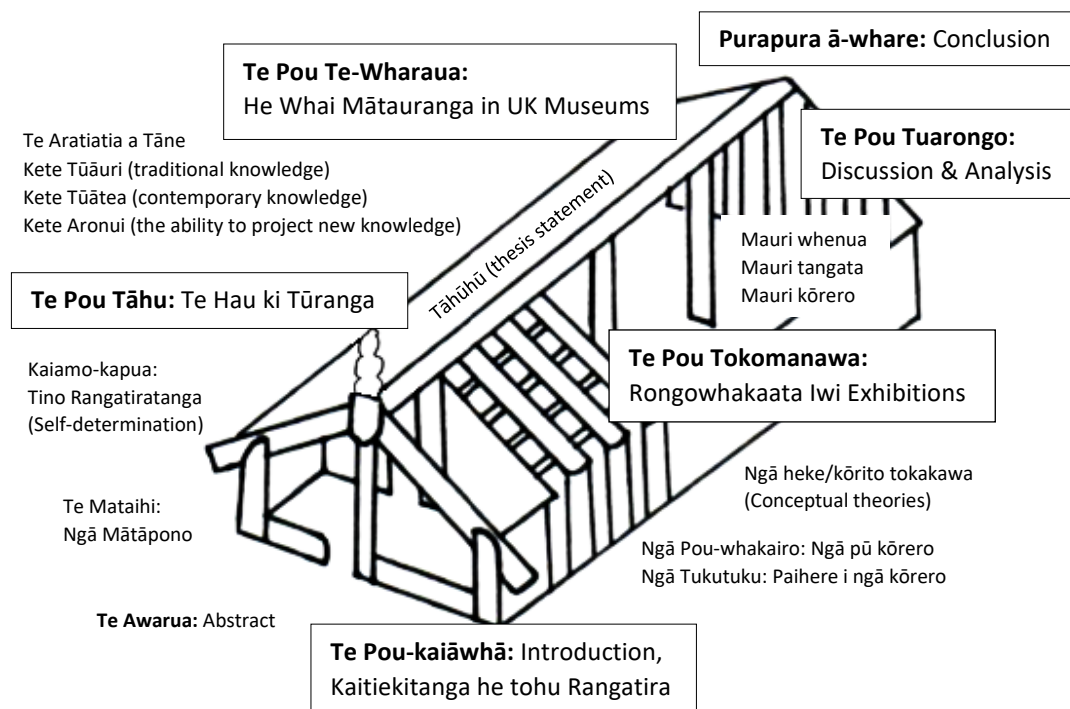
This thesis argues that mana taonga is a kaitiekitanga obligation, a manifestation of mauri whenua, mauri tangata, and mauri kōrero—reconnecting taonga with place, people, and knowledge, all-encompassing within taonga, of which cultural identity and mātauranga Māori are enshrined and empower whānau, hapū, and iwi self-realisation, and assert self-determination. The strong connection of these elements in relation to tūrangawaewae is demonstrated in this research, emphasising a Rongowhakaata perspective of kaitiekitanga as a pā-tūwatawata for upholding cultural identity manifested in taonga Māori.

Te Whare Kōrero

Conceptual framework and structure of the thesis

This whare kōrero embodies a whare whakairo framework, consisting of five pillars. Each pillar represents distinct chapters that explore the nature of kaitiekitanga concerning taonga Māori held in museums as a means of empowering cultural identity. Purapura ā-whare (Concluding Chapter) acts as the binding chapter, where the previous chapters contribute cohesively to the research outcome. Much like the components of a whare whakairo, the thesis chapters work in harmony. Within this framework, kaitiekitanga from a Rongowhakaata perspective on taonga Māori in museums is examined in relation to tūrangawaewae. The content of each chapter and the respective questions explored are as follows:

Figure 1.2 Whare whakairo framework



Activating The Whare Whakairo Framework

Te Pou-kaiāwhā (Chapter One) serves as the external pillar, facing nature's challenges with the strength to withstand the forces of Tāwhirimātea. This chapter establishes a strong base for the study by introducing its context and structure, clarifies the argument, outlines the main goals and methods used. With a broad perspective on kaitiekitanga, it embraces an external viewpoint while remaining anchored in a Rongowhakaata perspective of mauri whenua, mauri tangata, and mauri kōrero. This conceptual approach will be further explored as we step inside the whare, adopting an iwi perspective looking out.

Te Pou Tāhu (Chapter Two) symbolises the resonant voice of Te Hau ki Tūranga, reflecting the recontextualised nature of kaitiekitanga from tūrangawaewae to the museum setting. This pou holds great importance in the construction of whare whakairo as the first pillar erected (D. Lardelli, personal communication, 2020). Therefore, Te Hau ki Tūranga serves as the catalyst and the conceptual threshold of this research. The chapter examines the question: How are the principles of kaitiekitanga manifested through Te Hau ki Tūranga since the house was decontextualised into a museum-like role?

Te Pou Tokomanawa (Chapter Three) lies at the heart of this thesis. This chapter explores the regenerative responsibility of Rongowhakaata's kaitiekitanga, upheld through whānau, hapū, and iwi, and exemplified in the Rongowhakaata iwi exhibitions (2016-2022). This unique journey started on the marae, moved to Tairāwhiti Museum before coming together at Te Papa. It brought together taonga and people, serving as an exposition of kaitiekitanga concerning taonga Māori held within museums. The central question is: How do these exhibitions reflect and encompass the role of kaitiekitanga and demonstrate its practical application through collaboration with museums?

Te Pou-Te-Wharaua (Chapter Four) is based on research conducted in the United Kingdom (UK) in 2020 as part of the British High Commission's *He Whai Mātauranga Scholarship*. It explores Rongowhakaata taonga held in three different museums: The British Museum, Royal Cornwall Museum, and the National Museum of Ireland. This chapter enables further exploration and discussion regarding taonga Māori and the responsibility of kaitiekitanga in the context of museums abroad. It investigates: How museums in the UK that house taonga Māori recognise the philosophy and principles of kaitiekitanga?

Te Pou Tuarongo (Chapter Five) serves as the Discussion and Analysis section. It looks into the idea of moving from present to past to envision the future (Walker 1996a, p.14). By using Tūāuri, Tūātea, and Tūaronui (D. Lardelli, personal communication, June 1, 2023) as a framework, which emphasises continuity anchored in the past, this chapter discusses and integrates the phases of my research.

Purapura ā-whare (Chapter Six) *Conclusion*, represents the complete structure that binds the whare whakairo together cohesively. It reinstates the leading whakatauākī, instantiating kaitiekitanga as a pā-tūwatawata, as a fortification of cultural identity through taonga Māori and recognising rangatiratanga. It also acknowledges the limitations of the current study and suggests avenues for further research.

Tikanga Rangahau

Methodology

Kaupapa Māori

This research is guided by a Kaupapa Māori framework deeply rooted in mātauranga and tikanga Māori (Smith, 2006). This approach is intrinsic, embracing a Māori-centered paradigm (Powick 2002, p. 11), while grounded within a Rongowhakaata perspective, *looking from the inside out* (Smith 2003, p. 2). My previous role as Tairāwhiti Museum's Kaitieki Māori further influences this research, providing an outside within perspective (Hill Collins, 1991). It is vital to acknowledge the triad of Māori entities: iwi, hapū, and whānau, as they lend profound meaning and purpose to this study as a Rongowhakaata researcher.

The essence of Kaupapa Māori research lies in advancing Māori development and self-determination (Smith, 2006), putting autonomy into practice (Bishop, 1999). Framed within a Kaupapa Māori paradigm, this research is rooted in a distinctive epistemology and metaphysical framework—an embodiment of Māori knowledge conceptualised from a Māori worldview (Nepe, 1991). Walker (1996a) describes this paradigm as *travelling backward in time to the future*, where the present unfolds as a continuum into the past (p. 14).

Tā Derek Lardelli (personal communication, June 1, 2023) reinforces this notion, articulating kaitiekitanga as encompassing Tūāuri—ancestral wisdom and knowledge, Tūātea—our ability to fuse together the old with the new, and Tūaronui—nurturing potential for future generations. This knowledge, passed through generations, will distinctly shape the future beyond today's understanding. This philosophical tenet of Kaupapa Māori finds expression in the construction of whare whakairo, interwoven throughout this thesis, and forming a framework in the Discussion and Analysis chapter.

Documentary Research

A range of primary and secondary documents were analysed to support this research. Documents are identified as *social facts* (Atkinson & Coffey, 2004) because they provide meaningful and factual knowledge (Corbin & Strauss 2008; Rapley 2007). Primary data includes museum and iwi documentation, including photographs related to taonga Māori and exhibition development materials. Secondary sources, identified as situational, consists of relevant newspaper articles from various sources including *The Gisborne Herald*, *Pipiwaharoa* (Gisborne Māori newspaper) and the *New Zealand Herald*. Video and audio archival materials are sourced online from *Te Karere*, *Te Kāea*, *Tūranga FM* (Gisborne Māori Radio Station), *Te Whare Kōrero o Rongowhakaata* episodes, *Te Papa* audio-visual archives, *Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision*, and audio-visual materials developed by

Rongowhakaata Iwi Trust. Documentary sources are evaluated based on their authenticity, credibility, representativeness, meaning (Platt 1981; Scott 1990), and theoretical relevance (McCullough, 2004).

Case Study

The Rongowhakaata iwi exhibitions serve as the pou tokomanawa and lie at the heart of this thesis; they stand as the principal case study. Case studies reflect the power of conscientisation, providing insight into our social fabric and exploring complex situations with multiple variables under analysis, *advancing the field's knowledge base* (Queirós et al., 2017, p. 377). The case study approach features a real-life phenomenon, offering an immersive, in-depth, and holistic insight into recent events, meaningful relationships, intrinsic experiences, and processes (Denscombe, 2007; O'Leary, 2014). The outcomes of the case study are fundamentally inductive to the overall research, and its true value lies in understanding why certain outcomes transpired, which is more significant than merely identifying those outcomes (Denscombe 2007). The selection of the Rongowhakaata iwi exhibitions as a case study is based on its intrinsic value and its relevance to the underlying research argument of kaitiekitanga as a means of sustaining cultural identity, providing supportive evidence for theory (O'Leary, 2014). This case study is not only unique but also politically dynamic from a museum perspective, shedding light on museum practices and relationships with source communities, echoing the obligations and responsibilities of whānau, hapū, and iwi as kaitieki of their taonga. The in-depth focus on this case study provides a greater understanding of the details and how the many parts affect one another, bringing new variables to light (Denscombe 2007; O'Leary 2014).

Semi-structured and In-depth Interviews

This thesis employs semi-structured and in-depth interviews with two distinct participant groups: Rongowhakaata-affiliated participants and Museum-affiliated participants. The iwi-affiliated participants represent various generations, providing a wide spectrum of kaitiekitanga perspectives, including kaumātua, pū-kōrero, pou-tikanga, artists, marae representatives, and rangatahi. Their contributions cover all the subject areas within the study and play a crucial role in the Rongowhakaata iwi exhibitions. The museum-affiliated participants include Tairāwhiti Museum Director, Eloise Wallace, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Kaihautū Māori, Dr Arapata Hakiwai, and three museum professionals from United Kingdom museums. These participants are selected based on their understanding, roles in the research context, and availability to contribute as participants and guiding leaders in the pursuit of a deeper understanding of challenges of enacting kaitiekitanga in the museum context (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006). Rapport with my research participants is based on whanaungatanga relationships, through kinship and long-term professional associations.

Field Research

Field research is another essential qualitative method employed and reflected in *Te Pou-Te-Wharaua* (Chapter Five), which focuses on the investigations conducted in the United Kingdom as part of the *He*

Whai Mātauranga Scholarship. Field research involves conducting research in a natural setting (Frey et al., 1992, p. 55) to determine utility and acceptability (Chesebro & Borisoff, 2007). It includes firsthand observation of events as they naturally occur and interviewing relevant participants in environments familiar to them (Keyton, 2001).

The semi-structured interviews conducted with museum professionals from UK Museums, including the British Museum, Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Royal Cornwall Museum, and National Museum of Ireland, along with relevant documentation collected during this field research, are valuable resources. This type of data is crucial as it is only accessible through field research.

Auto Ethnography and Participant Observation

Ethnography, or *culture writing* (O'Leary, 2014, p. 133), adopts a Kaupapa Māori perspective, specifically from a Rongowhakaata researcher viewpoint. The method used is autoethnography, a purposeful study of the self, where Māori individuals identify as *we* rather than *I* (Rangihau, 1967). This approach acknowledges that transformation comes from within us (Smith cited in Hoskins & Jones, 2017). Participant observation and ethnography are similar methods (Nurani, 2008; Queirós et al., 2017). Combining participant observation with autoethnography allows the researcher, an indigenous individual, to experience and collect social research data firsthand (Denscombe, 2007) while immersed in a particular social setting for a longer period. This research also draws on rongo, a Māori perspective connecting to a deeper understanding and the deep beyond (Browne, 2005). This understanding comes not just from te ao Māori but also from te reo Māori, the language's worldview (Browne, 2005). The writer's research reflects lived experiences as Rongowhakaata and former Kaitieki Māori at Tairāwhiti Museum. Russell Bishop (1994) emphasises the significance of Māori taking control of investigations into their lives as an act of self-determination.

Tikanga Matatika

Ethical Consideration

Interviews were undertaken as part of the research and a low-risk ethics application was submitted to the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. The application was received by the ethics committee on 30th August 2022. The project was evaluated by peer review and was judged to be a low risk (Ethics Notification Number 4000026628). Consequently, it was not reviewed by the committee.

Te Wharehuia Milroy (16 August 2015, Panekiretanga wānanga tikanga) shared a Māori world view: *E toru ngā pou matua o te ao Māori, ko te tikanga, ko te whakapono, ko te manaaki me te aroha*. This saying serves as a reminder of how Māori conduct themselves beyond the marae. By normalising our core values outside the marae, we challenge the perception of marae being the sole preservers of Māori

culture (Duncan & Rewi 2018), and instead, we put Kaupapa Māori into practice as a living principle. These core values have guided the role of kaitiakitanga in conducting the interviews.

He Tirohanga Matawhānui

A Broad Perspective of the Essence of Kaitiakitanga

A broad perspective of the essence of kaitiakitanga, intricately woven with cultural identity and of profound importance to taonga Māori, is explored through an analysis of pertinent literature. This exploration is contextualised within the Rongowhakaata viewpoint encompassing mauri whenua, mauri tangata, and mauri kōrero. Together, these elements contribute to establishing a thorough understanding of kaitiakitanga, fostering a holistic grasp of its concept. Furthermore, this takapau lays the groundwork for further examination of kaitiakitanga in relation to taonga Māori housed in museums, all viewed through a Rongowhakaata lens, as elaborated in the forthcoming chapters.

“Toi te kupu, toi te mana, toi te whenua”

By language, self-esteem and land, a culture survives.

Hirini Moko Mead (1986) referred to this whakatauākī as an interpretation of Māori self-determination, stimulating the resilience and renaissance of Māori culture epitomised by the groundbreaking exhibition of Māoridom, *Te Māori*. It is an exemplar of cultural liberation, exhibiting *he toi whakairo, he mana tangata* to the world – a *self-fulfilling prophecy* coined by the late Piri Sciascia (Mead 1986, p. 24). This reflects Sir Apirana Ngata’s vision (1929), stating that *Māori philosophic utterances may exist in parallel columns alongside those of any other race* (cited in Akhter & Leonard 2014, p. 94). The leading proverb emphasises three key elements: language (kōrero) that also reflects mātauranga Māori encapsulated within multiple forms of tangible and intangible taonga; mana in this context represents self-esteem and the social element; and whenua, the placenta of identity. Mead claims that all three elements must be in harmony to ensure the survival and regeneration of cultural identity.

Speaking about cultural renaissance, Mead (2003) refers to Biggs' (1989) broken eggshell analogy. The fragmentation of Māori culture due to colonisation presents the complexities of cultural restoration because the culture itself continues to develop, grow, adapt, and change. Mead asserts that mātauranga Māori is a pivotal part that is being reconstructed. Royal (2007) notes that change and adaptation have always been part of mātauranga Māori. The whole dynamics of mātauranga Māori changed as a response to colonisation, metal tools, new technologies, language, literature, and worldviews (Royal 2007; Waitangi Tribunal 2011).

Mātauranga Māori is holistic and fundamental to kaitiekitanga. The Waitangi Tribunal (2011) claims that mātauranga Māori encapsulated in taonga Māori can only survive through the customary institution of kaitiekitanga. Nganeko Minhinnick (1988) stated *to know kaitiekitanga is to know the Māori world view* (p.1). Kaitiekitanga is an integral component in maintaining a rich tapestry of relationships rooted in whakapapa. It is manifested through mātauranga Māori, anchored in tūrangawaewae, and asserts *mana o te whenua* (Kawharu, 2018), maintained by ahikā as an affirmation of rangatiratanga. Likewise, Mason Durie (2010) states that indigenous people understand the world based on how humans relate to nature, the mix of real and unseen elements, the connection between living and non-living things, and how the past and future are linked. These fundamental dimensions are maintained in Rongowhakaata kōrero tuku iho that corresponds with a broad perspective of the essence of kaitiekitanga.

Ko Hinehākirirangi ka u kei uta
Te kowhai ka ngaora ka ringitia te kete ko Manawaru, ko Araiteuru.
(Halbert, 1999, p. 29)

Cultural identity is entrenched in our ancestral landscape, as *markers of mana* (New Zealand Heritage Council, 2017), upheld through intangible taonga, such as whakatauākī, pepeha, and waiata whakaoriori. An example of this is the renowned Pōpō, composed by Enoka Te Pakaru of Te Aitanga a Māhaki (Halbert 1999, Ngata 1961). In this waiata, Hinehākirirangi, a prominent ancestress, is celebrated for bringing the first kūmara to Tūranga on the Horouta canoe, captained by her brother Pawa (Binney & Chaplin 1986, Halbert 1999). Her mana kaitieki is reflected in kōrero tuku iho, whakairo, and waiata. Hinehākirirangi holds the distinction of being the first person to set foot in Te Muriwai (Halbert 1999) and was responsible for removing tapu from tohunga disembarking the canoe through her thighs. Furthermore, the waiata mentions her intellectual adaptability to a new temperate climate and environment, resulting in the success of her plantation at Manawarū. The name Manawarū signifies her delight in discovering the perfect location for her kūmara garden (Binney & Chaplin 1986) and providing sustenance for her people. Today, Manawarū is honored in waiata, Rongowhakaata pepeha, and tikanga when planting kūmara - for instance, when planting kūmara in Manutūkē, their roots should face Manawarū (H. Sunderland, personal recordings, n.d.).

Traditional songs like *Pōpō* continue to be sung today and play a crucial role in the intergenerational transmission of genealogical identity, fostering connections to ancestral lands, resources, and kinship groups. They also reflect the principles of kaitiekitanga through tipuna like Hinehākirirangi, who exemplifies an intellectual, social, and environmental understanding of her role and responsibility as a kaitieki for the kūmara. Therefore, exemplifying *Toi te kupu, toi te mana, toi te whenua*.

Mauri whenua, Mauri tangata, Mauri Kōrero

The three elements, kupu, mana, and whenua, correspond with a Rongowhakaata perspective of mauri: mauri whenua, mauri tangata, and mauri kōrero. *Te Mana o Tūranga* (Fowler, 1974), references mana and mauri, illustrated in the carving of the ancestor and upoko ariki Ruawhāro on the pou tuarongo, a representation of mana. He possesses three mauri: *These are the 'mauri tangata' (power over men), 'mauri whenua' (dominion over wide areas of land), and 'mauri kōrero' or mastery of the traditions, genealogies, and other verbally-recorded treasures of his tribe* (Fowler 1974, p. 3). Kani Te Ua (1955) refers to these elements as mana tangata, mana whenua and mana kōrero. This perspective of mauri was maintained by Rongowhakaata kaumātua, Hēni Sunderland (personal recording, n.d.) at a wānanga discussing Tairāwhiti kawa and tikanga, and her response to *pāeke* and upholding the mauri kōrero:

*Nō te mea ko te mauri mana kōrero,
koirā ki tōku nei rongo ki ōku tīpuna e kōrero ana, e toru ngā mauri,
ko te mauri whenua, ko te mauri tangata, ko te mauri kōrero.*

(Sunderland, personal recording, n.d.)

Mauri is identified as having a unique element (Durie, 2001; Henare, 2001; Marsden, 2002; Selby et al., 2010). According to Taina Pōhatu (2011), this perspective of mauri centres on identity and the pursuit of a greater understanding of mauri ora. This uniqueness corresponds with mauri whenua, mauri tangata, and mauri kōrero, while acknowledging that each whānau, hapū, and iwi have their own distinct narratives concerning people and place. This illustrates cultural praxis to maintain rangatiratanga, bound in the unique tapestry of ancestral identity rooted in the land, which is *the nurturing source of human physical existence* (Henare 2001, p. 207). This concept of mauri, intertwined with kaitiakitanga, forms a fundamental aspect of this research, threading throughout the entire thesis.

Mauri, Mana and Kaitiakitanga

Mauri and mana, and the *family of energy* (Nicholson 2019, p. 138) are fundamentally interconnected with kaitiakitanga embraces both a philosophical and pragmatic paradigm. Although kaitiakitanga has been described as a modern word (Kawharu 2000; Marsden 2003; Foster 2019) its root word 'tiki' has been essential to Māori culture for generations. Kaitiaki originated from Atua kaitiaki, manifested through spiritual guardians, tipua, apahau and tīpuna. Ancestral custodians, like Hinehākirirangi played a significant role, naming landmarks and embedding mauri and mana into the landscape, ensuring social and cultural wellbeing.

Kaitiakitanga is identified in relation to mana atua, mana whenua, mana tīpuna and mana tangata (Durie 2001; Matiu & Mutu 2003; Murton 2012; Roberts et al. 1995; Royal 2003; Selby et al. 2010) coastal tribes also include mana moana. Tangata whenua are whakapapa bound to the customary institute of

kaitiekitanga to preserve this cosmological relationship (Kawharu 2000, New Zealand Heritage Council 2017, Nicholson 2019, Selby et al. 2010). Kawharu (2000, 2010, 2018) maintains that kaitiekitanga remains a critical tool for Māori communities because it brings together these fundamental elements, ancestral, environmental and social that represents identity, purpose and practice.

Mana has a strong association with tapu, a cosmological kinship (Jackson, 1988) and a pragmatic understanding that tapu is a signification of mana (Henare, 2001; Marsden, 1988; Patterson, 1992). In a similar way, mauri has been described as having a strong association with hau *the very essence of vitality* (Henare 2001, p. 221) and *the breath of the divine spirit* (Marsden 1998, p. 24). According to Marsden (1988) *hau-ora* is the conduit for mauri to be transferred to inanimate creations, while *mauri-ora* and *hau-ora* are synonymous in relation to animate creations. Tāne and Hine-ahu-one (also called Hine-hau-one) is the origin of mankind imbued with the mauri of the gods, establishing hau-ora and mauri-ora through the breath of life – Tihei mauri ora. A link between tangata and whenua, providing sustenance from earth's bounty *hā-ū* (Awhitia, cited in Nicholson 2019, p. 147). Together mauri, hau and wairua are responsible for the preservation of tapu, upholding the mana of all animate and inanimate creations (Henare, 2001; Salmond, 1997).

Mana Tangata and Kaitiekitanga

Mana tangata recognises an individual's competency to acquire and develop knowledge (Barlow, 1991; Matiu & Mutu, 2003; Tate, 2012) for the collective progress of whānau, hapū, and iwi (Durie 2001; Tate 2012). Mana tangata and mana tīpuna are synonymous because the source of one's identity is in whakapapa, which includes the past, the present, and the unborn. Tate (2012) identifies *te mana o te tangata* in relation to mana atua, mana whenua, and other mana tangata. He asserts that mana rangatira is the underpinning expression of mana tangata, *having access to, or having control and management of, various taonga such as reo, tikanga, mātauranga, and whakapapa* (p. 85).

Rose Pere (1982) refers to *tangata mauri*, recognising the collective development and success through shared responsibilities with whānau and hapū. Emphasising that tangata mauri is critical because it recognises a whanaungatanga obligation. Whakapapa and whanaungatanga, in relation to kaitiekitanga, are core concepts perpetuated in the Waitangi Tribunal Wai 262 (2011), recognising that kaitiekitanga *is really a product of whaungatanga* (p. 105), timeless in the sense of intergenerational obligations, and that whakanaungatanga (re)generates kaitiekitanga obligations.

Mana Whenua and Kaitiekitanga

Mana o te whenua (Kawharu, 2000, 2010, 2018; Tate, 2012) recognises the kinship between tangata and whenua, as emphasised by Māori scholars Ngata and Te Rangi Hiroa (Buck, 1950), seen as the foundational philosophy of kaitiekitanga (Kawharu 2018). Kaitiekitanga is the responsibility of tangata

whenua, who uphold ahikā and mana whenua, preserving the mana and mauri of taonga (Roberts et al. 1995; Kawharu 2000; Marsden 2003; Royal 2007; Foster 2011; Waitangi Tribunal 2011). Marsden (2003) argues that mauri establishes harmony, and mana exists through the inseparable relationship between tangata and whenua, evident in mauri. Matiu & Mutu (2003) identify kaitiekitanga as mana whenua's duty to protect and enhance taonga's mauri, thus preserving their mana. Ranginui Walker (1987) refers to *iho whenua*, affirming an interconnectedness between tangata and whenua, also reflected in the concept of whenua as the placenta of cultural identity and purpose (Pere 1982; Roberts et al. 1995; Durie 2001; Marsden 2003). Kaitiekitanga involves custodial practices known as *tikanga tiaki* (Marsden 2003) that uphold the social fabric and well-being of tangata whenua (Minhinnick 1988; Roberts et al. 1995; Kawharu 2000, 2010, 2018; Marsden 2003; Royal 2007; Waitangi Tribunal 2011).

Kaitiekitanga *tikanga tiaki*

Mead (2003) asserts that tikanga is the transformative practice of Mātauranga Māori, based on whānau, hapū, and iwi social-environmental values to manage society and maintain interpersonal relationships. Pou Temara (2011) identifies *iho atua* as the origin of tikanga, differentiating two forms: *tikanga iho matua*, unchangeable philosophical principles, and *tikanga teretere*, which can be adapted by humans. Kawa combines tikanga iho matua to uphold the marae's functionality and the people's mana. A general understanding is that tikanga is about *applying what is right for a given context* (Pere 1991, p. 34), enabling kin-communities to pursue future endeavours (Temara 2012). Te Wharehuia Milroy stated, *Ki te kore he tikanga e kore ngā iwi e ora* (Milroy, 16 August 2015, Panekiretanga wānanga tikanga).

The evolutionary nature of Mātauranga Māori reflects the practicality of tikanga: *Me takahi te tikanga e ora ai te tikanga* (Milroy, cited in Duncan & Rewi 2018, p. 31). The Covid-19 pandemic exemplifies the need for a pragmatic shift in tikanga for survival. Māori have a sustainable culture rooted in tikanga tiaki (Marsden 2003), preservative the customary practice of kaitiekitanga (Foster 2019). Henare (2001) summarises that Māori philosophy is based on *humanism and reciprocity* (p. 197) core values evident in all tikanga Māori (Mead 2003) reflecting concepts like manaakitanga and whanaungatanga.

Kaitiekitanga entails the duty of manaakitanga, and diligently caring for taonga tuku iho, representing mana whenua, mana tīpuna, mana tangata, mana rangatira, and mana kupu (Tate 2012). The proverb *Tā te rangatira tāna kai he kōrero, tā te ware he muhukai* (Mead & Grove, 2001) emphasises the importance of kōrero that is encapsulated in taonga Māori (Ellis, 2016; Kawharu, 2018; Mead, 1997; Tapsell, 1997). Mātauranga Māori forms the foundation of kaitiekitanga, and rangatiratanga the expression of kaitiekitanga, but without kōrero to enhance mauri and uphold mana, it is futile. Taonga whakapapa (Ellis 2016) contains layers of kōrero, reflecting cultural significance and ancestral connections (Kawharu 2018). This notion is epitomised in the leading proverb: *Toi te kupu, toi te mana, toi te whenua* that also corresponds with mauri whenua, mauri tangata, mauri kōrero.

He Whakarāpopototanga

Summary

Jackson (2016) highlights the distinction between *what you know* and *how you know* within one's relationship with their ancestral landscape, shaping intellectual knowledge, identity, and purpose for cultural determination. Kaitiekitanga is a timeless obligation rooted in whakapapa, empowering kin-based communities as active agents in shaping their destiny. Harmony with the matrix of tikanga, manifested through customary practices, restores the mauri of all taonga. Mauri whenua, mauri tangata, and mauri kōrero are interconnected beliefs upheld by mana whenua and ahikā, maintaining cultural identity and wellbeing. Hinehākirangi exemplifies this, affirming the leading proverb: *Toi te kupu, toi te mana, toi te whenua* (Through language, self-esteem, and land, a culture survives). Therefore, the literature supports the inextricable relationship of kaitiekitanga concerning taonga Māori in museums with tūrangawaewae, kin-based community, and taonga kōrero, regenerating cultural identity.

These aspects will be further explored from a Rongowhakaata perspective within the museum context in the forthcoming chapters.

TE POU-TĀHU

CHAPTER TWO



Te Hau ki Tūranga—ki Te Motu

The maihi connect us to the whenua, the amo uphold its kōrero, the poupou reasserts its place in time through those tīpuna and through their stories, and so when you lift it up from its tūrangawaewae, instantly that balance is shifted, there is a disconnection.

(K. Johnstone, personal communication, May 30, 2023)

Te Hau ki Tūranga—the breath or vitality of Tūranga originally stood at Orakaiapu Pā. It was forcefully taken from its people and tūrangawaewae, and later recontextualised in museums. The whare represents the identity, intellect, and mana of Ngāti Kaipoho and Rongowhakaata. Ownership of the whare was returned to Rongowhakaata in 2012 as part of the iwi's Treaty Settlement and remains in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. Te Hau ki Tūranga has played a significant role in the evolution of whare whakairo and contributes its vitality to New Zealand's bicultural identity.

In this chapter, the concept of kaitiekitanga in relation to Te Hau ki Tūranga is explored in three parts. The first part, *Taku Manawa, Manapou* (Source of Identity) affords a historic context of the whare from tūrangawaewae. The second part, *Taku Manawa i Tīkarohia* (Severance and Disconnection of Identity), refers to the confiscation, reconstruction, and decimation of the whare, from taonga to curio and back. The third part, *Taku Manawa Kā Ngangare* (Reconciling Identity), refers to Rongowhakaata resilience, reconnection, and the return of ownership. These segment titles are taken from Tū Te Manawa Maurea (TTMM) haka *Te Hau ki Tūranga* from Te Matatini o Te Rā 2011, Waerenga-a-Hika, in Tūranga.

Taku Manawa, Manapou

Te Hau ki Tūranga, Source of Identity

Taku Manawa, Manapou emphasises the profound significance of Te Hau ki Tūranga as a symbol of identity and a source of cultural vitality for its people. It represents rangatiratanga in relation to land, people, tribal lore, and cultural history. Exploring these aspects provides insight into the crucial role of kaitiekitanga in the creation and connection of the whare to its tūrangawaewae.

Te Pā o Orakaiapu

The sacred site of Orakaiapu in Manutūkē, Tūranga holds significant cultural and historical importance for Ngāti Kaipoho, hapū of Rongowhakaata. It was the original location of Te Hau ki Tūranga, now the site of the Mormon Church. This pā has a history of inter-tribal and tribal battles that have produced generations of Ngāti Kaipoho leaders and warriors since the time of the eponymous ancestor Kaipoho (Halbert, 1999). The last prominent chief of Orakaiapu, Raharuhi Rukupō, fought to preserve the culture and way of life of his people in the face of colonialism. The history of Orakaiapu is entrenched in the land and its people, forever linked to the whare.

The Te Ārai valley, Manutūkē, had many pā along its riverbanks, including Umukapua and Taurangakoau, located near Orakaiapu. In May 1840, Tamati Waaka Māngere, Ngāti Kaipoho chief and Rukupō's elder brother, signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi at Taurangakoau. Missionary William Williams and his wife Jane used Hāmokorau, the residence of Ngāi Te Aweawe chief, Te Waaka Perohuka, at Umukapua, as a temporary church in 1842. Leonard Williams (1932), their son, described Orakaiapu as the principal pā in Tūranga at the time. The pā was well-fortified with palisades about 15-20 feet high. It had small huts and several larger buildings, mostly facing the northeast, which were held by different subdivisions of the tribe, including an elaborately carved house, Te Hau ki Tūranga.

The resources of Te Ārai nurtured Rongowhakaata carving, resulting in the creation of Te Hau ki Tūranga (NZ Government, 2011). Orakaiapu, located in proximity to Te Ārai and the Waipaoa highway, provided an abundance of natural resources, making it accessible for trade and engagements with other hapū, iwi, and Pākehā sailing vessels. In 1834, *The Sydney Herald* published an account describing this notable pā in the location of Orakaiapu, highlighting its fertile and picturesque surroundings, the presence of a fresh river, and ample space for growing food. The account noted that the name *Poverty* given by Cook was a misnomer. The cultural vitality in Tūranga, preserved in taonga, whakairo, waiata, and kōrero tuku iho, has always affirmed the fertile lands and thriving population of Tūranga— *Ka tere Rauwa, ka tere Pipiwhakao*. Orakaiapu Pā was active during the arrival of the *Endeavour* into Tūranga in 1769 (Williams, 1932). Rongowhakaata kairākau departed from the pā and engaged with Cook and his men, resulting in the death of Te Rākau and the subsequent kidnapping of Haurangi, Hikirangi, and

Marukawiti, kinsman of Te Rākau (Halbert, 1999; Williams, 1888). The impact of this encounter echoed through later generations, a whakapapa intimately linked to Rukupō and Te Hau ki Tūranga.

Tohunga Whakairo, Raharuhi Rukupō

Rukupō, signifies a process of immersion in the subconscious, a fertile darkness from where inspiration emerges and artistic expression finds light (D. Lardelli in Rongowhakaata Iwi & Keith, 2018). The self-portrait of Rukupō on the left of the entrance door inside the whare is positioned with mana associated to tūrangawaewae. Rukupō is holding a toki-poutangata in his right hand, with full facial moko and the pūwerewere pattern, which he was renowned for (Mead, 2017; Walker, 2008), adorning his body.

Rukupō was born in 1800 at Orakaiapu, the second son of Hinehou of Ngāti Kaipoho and Pītau Pohepohe of Ngāti Maru. He also has a whakapapa to Ngāti Kahutia of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri (Halbert, 1999; Ria, 1987; Rongowhakaata Trust, 2001). Rongowhakaata kaumātua, Hēni Sunderland refers to the whakatauaāki: *Haere e te whakarua e te hau whakatipu, tomokia te whare ki a Te Ikawhaingata, ki a Tūrehe kia tū rawa ake ai koe i te taha o te wai*, genealogically linked to Rukupō and Te Hau ki Tūranga. Halbert (1999) explains that this relates to the strategic marriages of Kahutia (of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and Raakaipaka) on the advice of Te Kohaki to Te Rangiwahipu (Kahutia's father) to cement alliances with the houses of Te Ikawhaingata and Tūrehe of Ngāti Kaipoho. Rukupō was born of this strategic alliance.

Rukupō is revered as a prominent Māori carver of the 19th century, due to his distinct carving style and pioneering use of steel tools that brought his figures to life (Ria, 1987), and his house remains a source of inspiration for modern-day carvers and artists (Mead, 2017). He received specialised training in carving and supervised significant architectural projects, all linked to his mana through whakapapa. Rukupō also helped carve Kaitangata, the house of Ngāti Toa chief Te Rangihaeata, on Mana Island (Harrison & Oliver 1993). He assisted Te Waaka Perohuka, said to have been his mentor, in carving the famous war canoe, Te Toki a Tāpiri. Subsequently, he led the carving of Te Hau ki Tūranga in the early 1840s and the Manutūkē Church from the 1850s to the 1860s, another exemplar of innovation.

Nonetheless, Rukupō also faced conflicts with his people as he attempted to navigate the challenges brought about by colonisation. Writing to Governor Grey in June 1851, he stated:

Ka ki mai rātou ki ahau, kia waiho tonu te ritenga i ngā kaumatua o mua. Ka mea atu ahau ki a rātou e kore rawa ahau e mau ki ēna ritenga, kua pau nā ēna ritenga i ngā ritenga a te Pākehā te kai.

According to Tā Derek Lardelli (personal communication, June 1, 2023), Rukupō's adoption of steel chisels likely faced strong criticism and challenged ancestral traditions; nevertheless, he managed to manifest his brilliance for the betterment of his people, and Māoridom as a whole. Karl Johnstone (personal communications, May 30, 2023), points out that while he is well regarded as a carver, his role as a gardener wields equal significance.

Initially befriending the missionaries in Tūranga, Rukupō became cynical of Pākehā intentions. He objected to the sale of land, the raising of the Queen's flag, and establishing the Poverty Bay township. Alongside other rangatira who shared his concerns, they invoked the proverb: *E ngaki atu ana a mua, e tōtō mai ana a muri*, which signifies that the missionaries arrived with promises, followed by the land grabbers. Unfortunately, his fears were substantiated when he suffered the loss of his son Te Waaka Rongotū and his protégé Pita Tamaturi, and later, his house Te Hau ki Tūranga following the battle at Waerenga a Hika in 1865 (Binney, 1997; Fowler, 1974; Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2004).

Raharuhi Rukupō passed away on September 29, 1873, and was buried near the Manutūkē Church. Following this, his younger brother, Pera Tawhiti, constructed Te Poho o Rukupō. Originally situated at Pākirikiri, the house was relocated to its current location in Manutūkē in 1913, under the guidance of Ōtene Pītau, Rukupō's adopted son. In his final words, Rukupō urged his people to restore the church, reside in its vicinity, avoid indebtedness, and safeguard the land (Turei, cited in *Te Waka Māori*, 1873). His legacy, vision, wisdom, and leadership endure through his whare—Te Hau ki Tūranga.

Ka tuhi te toki ka uira, ko wai te whare nei? – Ko Te Hau ki Tūranga

Te Hau ki Tūranga is widely acclaimed as a masterpiece and is the oldest surviving whare whakairo. Described by Ngata as *the finest flowering of Māori art* (Te Hau ki Tūranga, 1993), it stands as an exemplar of creative excellence (Mead, 1997). Constructed in the early 1840s under the leadership of Rukupō, Te Hau ki Tūranga serves as a memorial to his elder brother and chief, Tamati Waaka Mangere.

Te Hau ki Tūranga is closely tied to Hāmokorau, the house of Te Waaka Perohuka. The carving history and style of Rongowhakaata is inherently linked with Hāmokorau. Originally located at Hangaroa, inland of Tūranga, Hāmokorau originally belonged to Tamateamoa. Ranginui, the eldest son of Tamatea-pōkai-whenua and half-brother of Kahungunu, arrived at the residence of Tamateamoa at Tūpāpakurau. Ranginui's skill and craftsmanship in assisting with Hāmokorau saved him and his men from the umu, and he was given the hand of Kuraporī, Tamateamoa's daughter. This historic account is maintained in a Ngāti Kahungunu oriori (Ngata & Jones, 2006), also referred to by Wī Tako of Ngāti Awa (*Te Waka Māori*, 1865): *Ko te ritenga o ēnei kōrero, i taea e au, ko Rongowhakaata – e rite ana ki taua iwi*. The poutāhu in Te Hau ki Tūranga embodies the lineage of mātauranga whakairo, a whakapapa descending upon Perohuka (Halbert, 1999).

There were eighteen tohunga whakairo involved in carving Te Hau ki Tūranga under Raharuhi Rukupō (Barrow, 1965). While it is probable that women were involved in the original tukutuku work of the whare, there is no documented evidence. Rota Waipara (cited in Wyllie & Kiwa, 2008) claims that the original tukutuku work featured the poutama design.

The impact of Christianity clearly manifested within Rongowhakaata as the carvers were baptised and given Christian names, like Raharuhi, derived from the biblical figure Lazarus. This influence is also seen on the carvings in Te Hau ki Tūranga, where Roman-font text is used to depict tipuna names on chests and above carved figures on the heke. Additionally, it is important to mention that the heke in the whare features carved figures representing the children of the carvings along the side walls, which differ from other whare whakairo (Phillips, 1940).

Te Hau ki Tūranga emerged during an era of cultural change, marked by technological advancements, religious transformations, political shifts, and economic progress in Tūranga (Brown, 1996). Its design and purpose were deeply influenced by these dynamic forces. Te Hau ki Tūranga, a chief's house, endures as a symbol of rangatiratanga amidst colonisation, shaping the evolution of whare whakairo. As highlighted by Walker (2008), the whare signified a cultural shift, elevating the stand-alone meeting house to a symbol of tribal mana, representing strength, identity, and resilience in the face of adversity.

Taku Manawa i Tīkarohia

Te Hau ki Tūranga, Severance and Disconnection of Identity

Ko te inoi tenei o o koutou tangata pono, o o koutou tino hoa, o etahi o nga tangata o Turanga e mea ana, kia tirohia e koutou e te Runanga Rangatira tetahi o matou pouritanga, ko to matou taonga nui ko to matou whare whakairo kua mauria huhua koretia, e te Kawanatanga, kihai matou i whakaae.

(Raharuhi Rukupō, Petition, 8 July 1867)

Te Hau ki Tūranga experienced social and political changes during a turbulent period in the 1860s, which led to its confiscation and relocation to the Colonial Museum in Wellington, leaving the people stripped of their cultural identity; *Taku manawa i tīkarohia ko te iwi tū kirikau* (TTMM, 2011). Raharuhi Rukupō's petition, shortly after the house was taken, clearly stated; *kihai matou i whakaae*. The severance from tūrangawaewae to the museums is examined in relation to kaitiekitanga.

Confiscation and Removal 1867

In March 1867, led by J. C. Richmond, the Crown forcefully took ownership of Te Hau ki Tūranga and relocated the whare to the Colonial Museum in Wellington. This acquisition resulted from military

conflict between so-called rebel Māori and government forces supported by Māori loyalists, as a trophy of colonial conquest (McCarthy, 2007), with land being at its heart (Mead, 2017). The clash between expectations and reality was a significant factor in the NZ Wars (Belich, 1986), including Waerenga a Hika in 1865, known as the ‘hinge of fate’ in Tūranga (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2004). In a letter to McLean dated July 1861, Rukupō and other Tūranga rangatira expressed concerns and mistrust in the Crown and the anticipation of war:

He pai mehemea he pono te korero a te Kawana, ara, ‘kahore ia e hiahia ana ki te whawhai’ ki a matou kahore i te pono. Kei te marama matou ki nga tikanga o ou kupu, ara, e rua ke nga taha, kei roto i a matou ehara i te kupu pono, kahore ia e hiahia ana ki te whawhai, i te mea kei a matou te whenua e pupuri ana, e hua mai nei te momona, a, i runga hoki i te whenua momona, ka puta mai ko te moni. Koia nei te take ka whawhai tonu ia ki a matou.

(Raharuhi Rukupō and the Rūnanga o Tūranga, July 1861)

In November 1865, the Crown besieged the Pai Mārire defence at Waerenga a Hika, resulting in the deaths of 71 defenders and the deportation of 113 prisoners to Wharekauri. Impacting significantly on Te Aitanga a Māhaki and Rongowhakaata (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2004). During this period, Te Kooti Rikirangi, a prominent figure from Rongowhakaata, was accused of assisting the Pai Mārire and imprisoned without trial at Wharekauri (1866-1868). In his song *Pinepine Te Kura*, Te Kooti expressed how the Government's laws consumed Māori lands and eroded Māori culture, beliefs, and identity (Black, 2018). These laws, including the NZ Settlements Act 1863 and the Native Lands Acts (1862-1865) that established the Native Land Court, caused conflict among Māori tribes. Crown forces deployed to enforce these laws, such as the East Coast Land Titles Investigation Act (1866-1867), led by Captain Reginald Newton Biggs, aimed to weaken Tūranga Māori resistance and confiscate land, resulting in the removal of Te Hau ki Tūranga.

Biggs, played a notorious role in the Pai Mārire conflicts in Waiapu, where he was responsible for killing Pita Tamaturi, Rukupō's protégé, and led the Crown forces into Waerenga a Hika. He later settled in Matawhero on land that belonged to Te Kooti. James Crowe Richmond, who held influential roles including Commissioner of Customs, Minister of Native Affairs, and acting Director of the Colonial Museum, was sent to Tūranga to negotiate with tangata whenua. He took advantage of his position and acquired Te Hau ki Tūranga as part of the Crown's land confiscation strategy (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2004). Writing to his sister in April 1867, he states that his dealings in Tūranga were not very successful, but boasted about taking a beautifully carved house with military promptitude, and would be recorded to his glory. Rukupō's petition clearly states that he did not concede:

...ko nga korero pono enei o te mauranga o taua whare, ara; i te taenga mai o te Ritimona, ka tono mai kia hoatu e au te whare, kahore au i whakaae, mea atu ana ahau ki a ia, kahore, kei te iwi katoa te ritenga, ka mea mai ia ki au na ratou ranei te whare? mea atu ana ahau, kahore naku ano te whare erangi ko te mahi na matou tahi.

(Raharuhi Rukupō, Petition, 8 July 1867)

Despite Rukupō's petition, the government supported Richmond's view that Te Hau ki Tūranga was deteriorating and had been forfeited to the government due to its owners' rebellion (Stirling, 2001). Captain Fairchild, master of the Government steamer *Sturt*, was instructed by Richmond to dismantle the whare. However, Fairchild on October 22, 1878, revealed that the house was taken by force due to disapproval from the locals in the pā. He also admitted that a payment was made on that day without careful consideration of the recipients (Stirling, 2001).

In 1868, Te Kooti and the Whakarau escaped from Wharekauri and returned to Tūranga seeking utu. He accepted a tiwha from Rukupō to exact utu for Pita Tamaturi's death, eventually killing Biggs at Matawhero using a patu named Tawatahi, carved by Rukupō (Binney, 1997). Binney (1997) emphasised that both Te Kooti and Rukupō shared the same anger, having been deprived of everything they valued, including land, people, and taonga. Karl Johnstone (personal communication, May 30, 2023) states that if Te Kooti and other Tūranga tīpuna were not imprisoned and deported from their tūrangawaewae, there would have been a stronger resistance to the removal of Te Hau ki Tūranga.

Prior to 1865, the Turanga iwi thrived with rangatiratanga (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2004). However, the Crown's attack on Waerenga-a-Hika altered the social landscape, promising *te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua, o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa* (Orange, 2015, p. 251), but instead enforcing imperialism, taking land and taonga. Wī Repa (1927) poignantly expresses this impact; *Ngaro whenua, ngaro tangata, ngaro mana* (cited in Te Toa Takitini, p. 673). The loss of land affected Māori practices, as conveyed by Black (2018): *Ka ngaro rā aku whenua, ka ngaro rā aku tika* (p. 13), and as Te Kooti's moteatea emphasises seeking a path for tikanga to manifest as a means of cultural liberation: *Kimihia e te iwi, te ara o te tikanga e pai ai te noho i te ao nei*.

Reconstruction into The Colonial Museum

Te Hau ki Tūranga was registered with the Wellington Colonial Museum on June 12, 1867, and went on display in 1868. It was referred to as the *Māori house* (McCarthy, 2007, p. 22) and used to exhibit the curiosities of the world. Additionally, it served as a meeting venue for the Royal Society and the Wellington Art Society (Phillipps, 1940). In the mid-1930s, Sir Apirana Ngata, of Ngāti Porou and then Minister of Māori Affairs, played a key role in the second reconstruction as the Museum relocated to the Dominion Museum, which became part of his vision for Māori renaissance. Ngata also served on

the Museum's board at the time and worked closely with the Māori Purpose Fund Board (A. Hakiwai, personal communication, December 14, 2022).

Ngata's involvement with the School of Māori Arts and Crafts influenced their role in the renovations, which he supervised. Ngata selected nine tukutuku patterns from the East Coast, replicated across 48 panels woven by eight Ngāti Raukawa women (Barrow, 1965). These panels' dimensions and the depth of the concrete enclosure determined the new proportions of the whare, with additional elements incorporated (Brown, 1996). The carving of poupou and heke (carved and painted rafters) were led by tohunga whakairo Pine Taiapa of Ngāti Porou, along with carvers from Te Ātiawa, Te Arawa, and others (Stirling, 2001). In 1926, Thomas Herberly, under the mentorship of his uncle Jacob Heberley, took up the role of museum carver. Herberly crafted the pāpaka, and external features, including the kōruru and maihi. The original maihi from Te Poho o Rāwiri were used as a blueprint since the original ones were missing. These maihi are attributed to Natanahira Te Keteiwi, who also worked on projects with Rukupō, including the Manutūkē Church. The original amo from Te Poho o Rāwiri have also formed part of Te Hau ki Tūranga, while the paepae was carved by Ngāti Tarāwhai carvers from Rotorua (Mihaka & Wyllie, 2008).

The current tāhūhū is not original and comprises of three pieces, the original would have been one piece, and according to Rota Waipara (cited in Mihaka & Wyllie, 2008), the original was cut and re-used for the current pane due to its deterioration and re-modelled off the original. The original depth of the mahau was extended with additional pieces, for better visual appreciation of the artistry (A. Hakiwai, personal communication, December 14, 2022). Phillipps (1940) says that the bases of the original carvings along the side walls were cut down to size to fit into the concrete enclosure, which included the names of the tīpuna depicted in the carvings. This outrageous action was expressed in the haka (2011); *I tapahia ngā pou, kōraparapa kē te noho o ngā tīpuna*. Stirling (2001) and the Waitangi Tribunal Report (2004) asserts that prior to the late 1980s, Rongowhakaata were not consulted about the whare's renovations.

Te Hau ki Tūranga was the 'template' for the School of Māori Arts and Crafts, *it tells other artists that that's how you do it* (D. Lardelli, personal communication, June 1, 2023). According to Brown (2009), Ngata believed it was the pinnacle of Māori art and an ideal prototype for whare whakairo, for three reasons. Firstly, Rukupō's work reflects an impressive carving style during Cook's arrival. Secondly, predating the NZ Wars, it avoided referencing government conflicts. Lastly, as a museum piece, it had been separated from its tūrangawaewae and could be replicated without land restrictions at any time. Ngata played a significant role in shaping Te Hau ki Tūranga's museum-like identity, alterations that were exclusive of Ngāti Kaipoho and Rongowhakaata (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2004). However, Johnstone (personal communication, May 30, 2023) notes that Ngata also needs to be commended for preventing the whare from being left at the Wellington port or possibly sold abroad.

Several original pieces of the whare are missing since its removal and relocation to the Museum. Although some pieces in other museum collections have been identified as possible candidates, the location of the majority of the missing pieces remain a mystery. Mihaka and Wyllie (2008) have reported that the whare currently has 173 carved parts, 65 of which are non-original to the house. Since confiscation, the whare has been reconstructed three times in three different museum buildings.

Kua Ngaro Taku Iwi Ake – Disconnected from my People

Haere mai e te manuhiri tūārangi.

Haere mai, haere mai, haere mai!

He whare tino mokemoke ahau ināiane.

Kua ngaro taku iwi ake, kua riro ki te Pō.

This excerpt is from a descriptive piece titled *Whare whakairo* about Te Hau ki Tūranga at the Dominion Museum, written by Kāterina Mataira (1965). It offers a poignant reflection on the loss and detachment from the whare's original land and people. Mataira expresses, *Kore anō au e rongō ki te reo wahine e karanga ana*, and goes on to say, *whāwhātia ngā tipuna o Ngāti Kaipoho*, indicating the absence of kaitiekitanga. This reality left the whare open to objectification and vulnerable to external influences.

In 1974, the Lazarus Descendants Incorporated Society, representing descendants of Raharuhi Tāpore from Te Whānau a Karuao, a hapū of Ngāti Porou, were welcomed to the Dominion Museum in front of Te Hau ki Tūranga by the Museum. They presented the Museum with whakapapa plaques asserting their ancestor, Raharuhi Tāpore, was the same as Raharuhi Rukupō, the carver of Te Hau ki Tūranga. *The Dominion Post* covered this event, titled *They've a Master Carver in the Family* (26 January, 1974).

Te Rangiwhipū Halbert (son of Rongowhakaata Halbert) expressed his resentment, writing a letter to the Dominion Museum. He noted the Lazarus Society's failed attempts at making the same claim in the Gisborne Māori Land Court (*The Dominion Post*, 15 Feb, 1974). Rongowhakaata Halbert, an expert in Tūranga history and genealogy, had passed away a year prior to the Lazarus Society presenting their whakapapa plaques. While unwell, he was visited at his home by the Court, providing evidence against the society's claim, leading to its rejection (H. Whaanga, personal communication, Nov 24, 2022). He also aided the Museum with whakapapa related to the whare (Barrow, 1965; Te Papa, 1994). Despite this history, the Museum displayed the plaques inside the whare (Stirling, 2001). Lewis Moeau (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2004) regarded this as one of the most poignant instances highlighting the disconnect between Rongowhakaata and the Museum.

The Evening Post published an article on March 7, 1987, titled *Wedding revives tradition*, in Te Hau ki Tūranga at the Dominion Museum. Mrs. Erenora, the marriage celebrant and Museum's protocol officer at the time, conducted the ceremony and greeted the bridal couple with a karanga as they entered the whare. The couple explained that they chose to get married in the whare because it felt more personal than a registry office. Mrs. Hetet was quoted in the *Evening Post*, saying, *the museum welcomed such use of the meeting house as it brought life to the museum and encouraged visitors*. While unimaginable today, it has been a reality of the recontextualised nature of the whare.

Te Māori: Te Hokinga Mai 1986

The *Te Māori* exhibition, propelled taonga Māori and culture at an international level. The exhibition's return to Aotearoa inspired a significant shift in the relationship between museums and Māori. The marae ātea of Te Hau ki Tūranga in the Dominion Museum became the central gathering place for a series of pōhiri during *Te Māori: Te Hokinga Mai* exhibition in Wellington, in 1986. Rongowhakaata kaumātua were invited to sit on the paepae (E. Nepe, personal communication, April 26, 2023). Hēni Sunderland, was spiritually drawn to stand next to the whare to welcome Tākitimu;

I heipu noa i roto i te whare nei, ka rongu atu, ka mōhio. Katahi au ka pātai ake, ko wai hoki tēnei o wā tātou ope whakaeke. Ka kīia mai ko Takitimu, nō te mea i reira i te ata nei i te taenga mai o te hunga o te tekau karaka. Katahi au ka titiro pehea ana rā hoki rā tēnei āhuatanga? Ka rongu atu ahau i a Moko Mead e mea ana he ope nui rawa me haramai rawa ki roto nei. Ka aroha ki ngā tīpuna, ki te whare, nā reira ka whakapiri ki tōna taha. Engari uru mai ana tērā whakaaro - Te kotahi nā Tūrāhiri ripo ana te moana.

(H. Sunderland, in Williams, 1986)

During that time, Rongowhakaata kaumātua met with Hon. Sir Peter Tapsell and Bill Cooper, from the National Museum to discuss the future of the whare (E. Nepe, personal communication, April 26, 2023). In 1985, Tapsell had introduced the *Ngā Taonga o Te Motu Report*, proposing a new museum concept called *Te Marae Taonga o Aotearoa*. Then, in 1988, Māui Pōmare (Board of the Museum of NZ) formed *Ngā Kaiwawao*, the Māori Advisory Group to Te Papa, including respected Māori leaders who engaged with iwi in the development of Te Papa Tongarewa (McCarthy, 2011), including Rongowhakaata.

Te Hau ki Tūranga underwent significant changes after being taken from Orakaiaapu and Ngāti Kaipoho and displayed in the museum. McCarthy (2007) labels it an *entangled object* (Thomas, 1991), entering the museum as a *trophy of colonial conquest*, breaking its ties to land, people, and origins, shifting from *tūrangawaewae to classification* (Brown, 1996). While it now symbolises Māori cultural resurgence,

this transformation came at a cost, impacting both its tangible and intangible identity. Still, the whare remains a cultural inspiration for Ngāti Kaipoho and Rongowhakaata.

Rongowhakaata, Kā Ngangare Nei

Te Hau ki Tūranga, Reconciling Identity

Te whare o ngā tīpuna, Te Hau ki Tūranga nui e

Rukupō te tangata o te taiao Māori e

Te mana whakairo rā, Rongowhakaata te iwi

Maranga mai e taku whare e tau nei

Kua tae mai rā tō iwi ki te whakanui rā e

This excerpt is from a waiata composed by Rongowhakaata pū kōrero, Te Ohomauri Stewart, for Te Whānau Reo Māori o Manutūkē during the 150-year anniversary of the whare in 1992. The waiata captures the regenerative connection between Rongowhakaata and the whare, marking a significant milestone. *Rongowhakaata, Kā Ngangare*, reflects on this period of reconnection with the whare.

Re-invigorating Kaitiekitanga with Te Hau ki Tūranga

Rongowhakaata's Rota Waipara held the position of Pou Takawaenga (Māori Liaison Officer), and was pivotal in fostering strong relationships between Rongowhakaata and the Museum (Stirling, 2001), and more importantly, with the whare. Moeau (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2004) accredited his contribution in this reunion, empowering iwi to influence its future. In October 1992, Waipara led the 150th anniversary celebrations of Te Hau ki Tūranga, marking the first official reconnection with the whare since 1867. Te Ohomauri Stewart was interviewed by Maihe Nīkora (1992) of Rongowhakaata, reflecting on the event's significance and the emotions encountered during the pōhiri:

Neke atu i te rau mātou i haere, ka whakaeke atu mātou...ka pōhirihia mai mātou, te kapa haka a tērā o wā tāua whanaunga a Rota Waipara, i reira i te mihi i a mātou, i te karanga i a mātou kia whakaeke atu i mua i te tipuna rā. Nō te mea, ka pā mai te ihi, te wehi, te whakamataku ki a mātou, ka puta ake te wana i roto i tō rahi o Rongowhakaata. Ka tīmata a Rongowhakaata ki te haku, haka atu, haruru ana te whare...

(T. Stewart, in Nikora 29 November 1992)

Te Ohomauri also reflected on sleeping inside the whare, *koirā te wahanga whakamīharo rawa atu*, and reconnecting with the whare after many years of separation through kōrero, waiata and karakia. Rāpiata Ria (Rongowhakaata kaumātua and pūkōrero), was also interviewed by Nikora (1992) and spoke about Rongowhakaata wānanga held in Manutūkē. This wānanga included visits to significant locations in

Tūranga, like Pākirikiri and Orakaiapu, and reciting waiata, in preparation for the event in Wellington. Jody Wyllie (personal communication, Nov 30, 2022) mentions that, unbeknown to some of the whānau, it was a journey of rediscovery.

Another symbolic moment was when Rongowhakaata presented a whāriki for the whare (Stirling, 2001), symbolising this reunion and laying the groundwork for ongoing kōrero. In 1993, at a hui held in Manutūkē, Rongowhakaata approved the formation of a project group for the relocation. The following year, the Museum returned the kōwhaiwhai panels from the Manutūkē church as a gesture of partnership, marking the first repatriation of a Māori collection by the Museum (Te Papa, 1994).

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

In June 1995, the responsibility of lifting the tapu and removing nails from the whare was undertaken by Rongowhakaata and Tūranga whanaunga, alongside the Museum, led through karakia by Te Hāhi Ringatū, in preparation for the deinstallation and relocation of the whare to the new waterfront museum. Rongowhakaata kaumātua believed that the museum would provide the required care for the whare, and that its significance as a taonga would be admired by Aotearoa and the world (*Te Ara*, 2023).

The following year in November 1996, the iwi-museum collaboration continued. The carvings of the whare were transported from the Dominion Museum to Te Papa, carried in large open-topped crates, led by kaumātua and guided by Tūranga kairākau through central Wellington. This day held great spiritual and cultural reverence, as noted by Rota Waipara (cited in Bain, *Sunday Star-Times*, 03 Nov 1996). Cliff Whiting, then Museum Kaihautū, mentioned that the whare held immense significance in the museum's collection. Emphasising that this isn't just glass-cased relic but a living part of our nation's culture and identity (cited in Bain, *Sunday Star-Times*, 03 Nov 1996).

The iwi had a vital role in the deconstruction and reconstruction of the whare at Te Papa. The team responsible for this significant work included Rota Waipara, Moanaroa Zagrobelna (Museum Registrar), Dean Whiting (Lead Conservator), Tommy Ward (Builder), and three Rongowhakaata technicians, John Waipara, Regan Harrington, and Alister Brown. Brown recalls his involvement:

I went down with Aunty Hēni and Taranaki and them. I didn't really know the history of the house and who carved it, who was in there, and Balo (Rota Waipara) would come in and say this is one of your tipuna's, Kahutia. We started cleaning and pulling down all the pou, we would clean the pou, wrapped them in conservation paper and Tommy had built racks to store them inside the cavity at the museum. It was only meant to be a ten-month contract, but they kept us on to put it up at Te Papa. Everything went

smooth it was only a couple of new ones in the front that needed a push, otherwise there was no mishaps, nothing.

(A. Brown, personal communication, May 5, 2023)

He also mentioned that they were involved with harvesting the raupō for the whare just outside of Wellington with Toihoukura (Tairāwhiti School of Māori Visual Arts) and others working on Te Hono ki Hawaiki. Cliff Whiting, led the concept development of Te Hau ki Tūranga and the construction of his new modern whare on Rongomaraeroa, an operational marae purpose-built for all of Aotearoa. Cliff felt that it was not appropriate to hold certain events, in front of Te Hau ki Tūranga;

Nō Rongowhakaata tērā wharenuī, ā, he uaua ki ētahi o ō tātou kaumātua o iwi kē, kia tū hei kaikaranga, hei kaikōrero rānei...Kāore e tika ana kia whakahaerehia ētahi o ērā kaupapa [Pākehā, o iwi kē] i te aroaro o tētahi o ngā tino tīpuna whare o te motu...

(Whiting, cited in Christensen 2013, p. 111)

Cliff Whiting and his son Dean have a long-standing relationship with Rongowhakaata since the 1970s. Cliff dedicated his time and skills to restore Te Poho o Rukupō in Manutūkē until its completion in 1983, revealing the original kōwhaiwhai designs. He also worked on Te Mana o Tūranga, uncovering the original name of the tekoteko on the house *KO RONGO WHAKAATA* (Christensen, 2013). Dean has maintained these relationships and was involved in the restoration of the Manutūkē Church in 2015. Cliff believed that the home people, were central to all his restoration projects (Christensen, 2013).

Throughout the relocation, numerous meetings were held in Manutūkē. Dr Arapata Hakiwai, currently Kaihautū Māori at Te Papa and also of Rongowhakaata, was Collections Curator at the time and oversaw the curation of the new exhibit. He emphasised the crucial role of the iwi's voice, stating:

If the iwi didn't like it, we wouldn't have gone with it. I think our role...drastically changes from curators as authoritative voice to facilitators of a process. So, it [the exhibit] does speak with authority, it speaks with the authority of the people, and the people are engaged as participators, are fully involved in the process...

(Hakiwai 2000, cited in McCarthy 2007, p. 182)

Rongowhakaata played a significant role in deciding where to place the whare within Mana Whenua at Te Papa (McCarthy, 2007). However, there was some criticism about the interior design, particularly the kōpu, a lowered floor not part of the original structure. After several discussions among kaumātua, Rongowhakaata supported Whiting's concept, creating a space to appreciate the whare's interior beauty

(A. Hakiwai, personal communication, Dec 14, 2022). Wyllie (personal communication, Nov 30, 2022), stated that *we got caught up in that Te Papa kaitiakitanga tikanga as an edutainment space* for visitors.

Lewis Moeau (Waitangi Tribunal Report 2004), affirmed Rongowhakaata's unwavering ownership claim to the whare. He noted that in the 1980s, the iwi entrusted the museum with custodianship of the whare, due to the challenges of maintaining the current whare in Tūranga. During the relocation to Te Papa, kuia Hēni Sunderland presented a container of earth from Orakaiapu with a pounamu Kahutia, symbolising reconnection and the whare's enduring mauri within Rongowhakaata (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2004). This mauri stone, was taken from the whare. At her tangi, Moeau mentioned on the paepae that, despite the mauri stone being taken, she firmly believed that the mauri of the whare would be returned. Hakiwai (cited in McCarthy 2014, p. 76) recalled Hēni Sunderland's words *E pai ana ki a mātou i tēnei wā, Arapata, engari a tōna wā he rerekē te kōrero*, referring to the whare. While the mauri stone has not returned, the ownership of the whare has been returned to the iwi.

Rongowhakaata Treaty Settlement

In 2012, ownership of Te Hau ki Tūranga was returned to Rongowhakaata as part of its Treaty Settlement, alongside Ngā Uri o Te Kooti Rikirangi. This marked a critical milestone in reclaiming rangatiratanga. The Rongowhakaata Iwi Trust has been managing the Settlement to date. The whare currently stands as a central priority for the Trust (A. Hakiwai, personal communication, December 14, 2022; J. Moetara, personal communication, December 13, 2022).

Inside Te Hau ki Tūranga at Te Papa, in July 2011, Rongowhakaata and the Crown initialled the Deed of Settlement, where Hon. Chris Finlayson, then Minister of Treaty Settlements, apologised for the wrongful taking of the whare and *putting right a great wrong that has been done* (NZ Government, 2011). This apology extended in the Deed of Settlement (2011), depriving Ngāti Kaipoho and Rongowhakaata of *mana pupuri* and *tiakitanga* (1867-1990s), causing distress due to the absence of the whare from tūrangawaewae. The Deed also states that the whare will remain in Te Papa's care until March 31, 2017, or a mutually agreed-upon date; *returned by the Crown to a suitable environment in Tūranga* (p. 55), a standard that preserves its cultural and historical significance. It was also agreed that the financial redress from the settlement will not be used for the relocation. The Deed of Settlement was officially signed at Whakatō Marae, Manutūkē, in Tūranga, on 30 September 2011.

During the final reading of the Rongowhakaata Settlements Bill, Hon. Parekura Horomia expressed concerns about long-term care costs post-relocation. Finlayson assured commitment from the Ministry for Culture and Heritage and Te Papa, while acknowledging the need for central government to make a substantial contribution to the ongoing care and maintenance (NZ Government, 2012). Hon. Mahuta (NZ Government, 2012) stressed the importance of protocol implementation, to ensure effective

execution and prevent fading memories. Jody Wyllie (personal communication, November 30, 2022) maintains that Te Papa and the Ministry of Culture and Heritage have a responsibility to Ngāti Kaipoho and Rongowhakaata, that is bound by this Settlement.

Hineiromia Whaanga (personal communication, November 24, 2022) brings attention to the disparity between perception and reality, pointing out the challenges of iwi self-determination due to government-imposed constraints, obligations, and financial limitations. Wyllie (personal communication, November 30, 2022) explains how the claims process and Rongowhakaata's journey as a tribe, influenced by the Crown, have transformed the whare from a hapū-taonga to an iwi-taonga. While the whare has played a crucial role in uniting the people, its origins as a chief's house remain significant. Johnny Moetara (personal communication, December 13, 2022) notes the importance of whakapapa and whanaungatanga, and cautions against overvaluing material possessions, as it leads to a state of deficit. Similarly, Karl Johnstone (personal communication, May 30, 2023) underlines the value of kaitiekitanga, fostering a reciprocal relationship that goes beyond 'ownership' and allows tikanga to unfold harmoniously, that is tika and pono. Shifting our focus away from material possessions that enables a greater sense of abundance.

The journey of reconciliation identified during the Waitangi Tribunal claim is represented through the six R's—Relate, Repatriate, Restore, Return, Review, and Relationships. These principles encompass relating the kōrero associated with the whare, repatriating taonga both tangible and intangible according to tikanga, restoring the mauri mana motuhake according to tikanga, returning the whare to Tūranga, reviewing progress, and valuing respectful relationships (Hakiwai, 2014). Part of this reconciliation journey involves foresight, as Wyllie (personal communication, November 30, 2022) conveys, where *our kaitiaki is based on the fragments of knowledge that we have left over*, and the effort to piece them together is significant, emphasises the need to identify the next generation of Rukupō.

The interviews reveal the intangible value of Te Hau ki Tūranga, stating that kaitiekitanga goes beyond physical preservation; it involves ensuring taonga Māori thrive and live on through *other dimensions* (A. Hakiwai, personal communication, Dec 14, 2022). Johnstone (personal communication, May 30, 2023) argues that preserving taonga as artifacts in museums disconnects them from our present. While museums have a responsibility to preserve taonga, we must remember that our whare taonga are not merely time capsules; they are the spaces we occupy every day. He asserts that whare whakairo *exist to delineate our connection to our whenua, our whakapapa, and our kōrero*. Therefore, kaitiekitanga responsibilities cannot be met within museums. Johnstone suggests returning them to the land and redesigning to keep our artistry, ancestry, and connection to the land pulsating. However, *this requires unique problem-solving skills, causing tikanga to shift because you're working in reverse* (T. Waipara personal communication, Dec 17, 2022). Derek Lardelli (personal communication, Jun 1, 42

2023) says that Rukupō has provided the ‘template’, and our role is to adapt to the modern world as he did, *koinā te tikanga* embracing creativity as our tradition, and stating; *Whakahokia mai tō mātou manawa, ka whakahauora te manawa nei hei manawa ora mō te iwi.*

He Whakarāpopototanga

Chapter Summary - Māku ake tōku whare e whakatika

This title, drawn from the conclusion of the *Te Hau ki Tūranga* haka (TTMM, 2011), encapsulates a kin-based obligation to restore 'the heart' that was taken from its people and community. It suggests that repairing the whare is intricately linked with mutual cultural healing and determination. While kaitiekitanga is intertwined with ownership, it is argued that the essential kin-based principles of kaitiekitanga are regenerated within a whakapapa paradigm tied to tūrangawaewae, enabling tikanga to naturally unfold instead of being confined within museum walls and remaining in a time-bound capsule. Rongowhakaata's kaitiekitanga has evolved over time—a timeless journey—rekindled through the recent exhibition series: *Tēnā rukuhia, ruku-whiwhia, ruku-rawea, Rukupō* (Last line of haka).

TE POU-TOKOMANAWA

CHAPTER THREE



Rongowhakaata Iwi Exhibitions' Journey

The kāhui kaumātua, our tribal elders, dreamed of revitalising the iwi, calling upon the innate creative skills within Rongowhakaata, using Rukupō as the exemplar. Rangatahi, our young generations, caught the vision, bringing the creative arts and the iwi out of the darkness into the light. So that Rongowhakaata may stand with dignity

(H. Whaanga, cited in Rongowhakaata Iwi & Keith, 2018, p. 7)

The Rongowhakaata iwi exhibitions (2016-2022) embody iwi cultural determination, uniting whānau, hapū and iwi through the alchemy of taonga. This case study demonstrates kaitiekitanga's contemporary role in Aotearoa museums from a Rongowhakaata iwi perspective. This chapter explores the three interdependent exhibitions: Rongowhakaata marae-based exhibitions (2016); regional exhibition at Tairāwhiti Museum (2016); and the national exhibition at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (2017). This innovative concept, initiated by Rongowhakaata Kāhui Kaumātua, responded to Te Papa's iwi exhibition programme invitation in 2015, emphasising sharing, learning and engaging with taonga within the iwi before sharing the Rongowhakaata narrative with the world. The journey mirrors the Rongowhakaata Iwi Trust mission statement: *Kia tū rangatira ai a Rongowhakaata*, and honouring Te Hau ki Tūranga by embracing the whare with Rongowhakaata taonga, kōrero and people.

Ruku i te pō, Ruku i te ao

Marae-based exhibitions

The marae-based exhibitions were inspired by Raharuhi Rukupō, the exemplar of artistic excellence, empowering hapū and reconnecting with marae whānau and their taonga—a reawakening. Described as a time to revitalise both taonga and people, and bringing taonga both old and new out from the dark and into the light (H. Whaanga, Rongowhakaata Rautaki Reo, 2020), revealing an innovative and a natural evolution of kaitiekitanga (T. Karaitiana, personal communication, December 13, 2022). Each exhibition was unique, upholding marae kaitiekitanga, and setting a pathway that was *tika* in preparation for the exhibition at Te Papa (H. Whaanga, personal communication, November 24, 2022).

Rongowhakaata Iwi Trust (RIT) oversaw the five marae-based exhibitions, forming the Rongowhakaata Iwi Reference Group (RIRG), composed of kaumātua, rangatahi, artists and marae representatives. The marae exhibitions included Whakatō Marae, Pāhou Marae, Manutūkē Marae, Te Kurī a Tuatai Marae, and Ōhako Marae. The respective marae managed and curated their exhibitions, which opened and closed on different days and times from January 4 to January 10, 2016—five exhibitions within a week. The timing coincided with the holiday period when Rongowhakaata whānau were at home.

Whakatō Marae Exhibition

Whakatō Marae marks the establishment of the Mission Station in Tūranga, transferred from Kaupapa in the early 1840s, and primarily identifies with Ngāi Tīmata hapū of Ngāti Maru. The meetinghouse Te Mana o Tūranga opened in 1883. The marae exhibition *Ngā Puipuiaki o Whakatō* was the first marae exhibition to open on the morning of January 4, 2016. Like all the marae exhibitions, the opening started with a pōhiri to receive Āraihura, the mauri stone presented for the exhibitions, before commencing with karakia. Te Mana o Tūranga, encapsulating the essence of taonga and kōrero tuku iho depicted in the carvings, kōwhaiwhai, and tukutuku of the house, served as the focal point of the exhibition. This encompassed the stories, people, and events that have shaped the marae. These narratives were also portrayed through old photographs, digital film archives, and illustrations related to the marae and the restoration work on the meetinghouse. The revelation of the tekoteko as the eponymous ancestor of the iwi in 1980 was a momentous occasion that led to the naming of Rongowhakaata Kōhanga Reo in 1983. The house and its kōrero embraced many whānau taonga, mainly woven, including unique kākahu, along with other distinctive heirlooms that some whānau members had never seen before.

Pāhou Marae Exhibition

The Ngāti Maru Pā, Te Pāhou is currently situated on the Matakakā No.1 block on Tuaraki Road, Manutūkē. Matakakā, the taniwha, used to reside in a bend of the Waipaoa River called Poukokonga, that once flowed behind the marae. Te Poho o Taharākau is the meetinghouse named after the renowned

Ngāti Maru quick-witted war chief, Taharākau (1700-1740), built in the early 1880s. This rich history laid the base of *Ngā Mata o Maruawhakatipua* exhibit, that opened on the afternoon of January 4, 2016. Showcasing a plethora of Pāhou taonga reflecting the people, the taiao and kōrero. These taonga include taonga whawhai, kākahu, kupenga, hoe, a waka tīwai and a patu muka held at Tairāwhiti Museum, including a large image of a hīnaki pūrangi also held at the Museum, that was too fragile to transport and display. The unique kōwhaiwhai panels from the original whareniui came out, revealing the original colours and kōrero associated with them. The practice of kaitiekitanga extended from the ātea, to the mahau, into the whareniui and continued into the dining room, Mōkai. Pāhou exhibit lead David Jones recalls that the Aunties proposed an exhibition of kai (personal communication, December 13, 2022). This was a *living exhibition* (T. Stewart, personal communication, December 6, 2022) akin to the marae pepeha: *Tini whetū ki te rangi ko Ngāti Maru ki raro, tini kahawai ki te moana ko Ngāti Maru ki uta.*

Figure 3.1 Pāhou Marae exhibition, inside Te Poho o Taharākau, 2016.
Photograph courtesy of Alison Maynard.



Manutūkē Marae Exhibition

The Manutūkē Marae *Waewae Pākura* exhibition extended a captivating promenade *exploring the collective artistic identity of Kaipoho and Ngāi Te Aweawe descendants* (RIT, 2016, p. 19). The pākura footsteps began at the Manutūkē Church, tracing significant historical events leading to the exhibition's opening on January 6, 2016. The journey continued to the meetinghouse Te Poho o Rukupō, showcasing

an array of exquisite taonga that reflected the artistic expressions of Ngāti Kaipoho, including whāriki, kākahu and whakairo. Johnny Moetara (personal communication, December 13, 2022), the exhibit lead, noted that *the taonga selected reflected the whare they stood in*. The journey then moved to Te Poho o Hinehou, the dining room renamed Māori Battalion, where taonga were displayed. The Ngāi Te Aweawe meetinghouse, Te Poho o Epeha, became the fourth location for whānau taonga. Behind the marae, Te Hoko Kotahitanga whare showcased more whānau taonga including YMP (community sports club) taonga and finely woven whāriki crafted from kiekie and pīngao, belonging to Miriama Pōhatu. This exhibition extended into the manaakitanga space, where further conversations, reflections, and inspired memories from the many whānau who joined the waewae pākura journey.

Figure 3.2 *Manutūkē Marae exhibition, inside Te Poho o Rukupō, 2016.*
Photograph courtesy of Alison Maynard.



Te Kurī a Tuatai Marae Exhibition

Te Kurī a Tuatai Marae is located on the Awapuni Pā site southwest of the Tūranga township, identifies with Ngāi Tāwhiri and Te Whānau ā Iwi hapū. The original meetinghouse, Te Poho o Materoa, was inaugurated in 1884. While the original structure no longer stands, several of the original carvings and panels are still preserved. This rich history was well illustrated in the exhibition, that opened on January 8, 2016. Lisa Taylor, who was instrumental in the exhibition's development, explained that *with our marae, we decided to keep things simple and visual, by way of informative storyboards that reflected*

who we are and where we came from...illustrations about whenua, tangata and kōrero (personal communication, December 20, 2022). These storyboards also reflected tīpuna from the original meetinghouse, including the tekoteko, Kuriwahanui, the son of Tauwheoro and Iwipuru (eponymous tīpuna of Te Whānau ā Iwi). The two poutokomanawa, Tāwhirimātea (eponymous tīpuna of Ngāi Tāwhiri) and his grandson Rongoteuruora. The exhibition also included contemporary taonga and whakairo workshops. Taylor concluded that the exhibition fostered the values of kaitiekitanga, manaakitanga, and whanaungatanga, and inspired a sense of pride in relation to taonga.

Ōhako Marae Exhibition

The Ngāi Tāwhiri, Ngāi Te Kete and Ruapani Pā located on Papatū Road, on the northern side of the Te Ārai River, on Te Aohuna block is Ōhako Marae with Te Kiko o Te Rangi meetinghouse, adjacent to Whatatuna and Pīpīwhākao, renown pātaka kai. *Our Tīpuna, Our Awa*, opened on January 9, 2016, exhibiting a plethora of taonga belonging to whānau from Ōhako Marae, supported by an ability to trace ancestry to all marae within the Te Ārai region, and other external marae (RIT, 2016). The exhibition was curated as a waharoa to contextualise the different taonga, kōrero and interactive workshops, that included whatu kākahu and whakapapa sessions. This exhibition also featured photos of Te Ārai River, animation work done by Zak Waipara telling the story of Ruapani and Kahungunu. Tama Waipara, a key figure of the exhibition asserted that the marae exhibitions were the highlight, *the purity and simplicity of Ōhako and all the marae having their own flavour and doing it how they wanted to do it* (personal communication, December 17, 2022). He also reflected on the value of whanaungatanga, with contributions from other marae, individuals coming to support, evoking the way marae used to operate. Ōhako Marae concluded the exhibitions with performances by Tama Waipara and Rob Ruha.

Tikanga Kaitieki in Practice

Āraihura served as the mauri for the exhibitions, presented by Rongowhakaata rangatira Lewis Moeau. The mauri was carried from one marae exhibition opening to the next, accompanied by the previous marae and manuhiri in accordance with pōhiri, karakia and the tikanga established by each marae. Āraihura symbolised whanaungatanga unifying whānau, hapū and iwi through the exhibitions. Tikanga was centred on manaakitanga and whanaungatanga inspired in relation to people, taonga and kōrero. Besides the normal day to day practices on the marae, the marae took on the responsibilities as exhibition curators, designers, craftsmen, guides, facilitators, performers and security personnel. Pāhou Marae managed the security of taonga through a rotation schedule of whānau members who stayed overnight to look after the taonga. David Jones (Personal communication, December 13, 2022) asserts that kaitiekitanga is an inherent and eternal practice, *we didn't have to say we are kaitieki, but it was through the actions that reflected the practice of kaitiekitanga and the exposition of kaitiekitanga that*

was seen across all our marae for me is got to be the pinnacle. Through the marae, tikanga is determined and responsibilities are shared (E. Nepe, personal communication, June 30, 2023).

Ko Rongowhakaata: Mauri Whenua, Mauri Tāngata, Mauri Kōrero

Iwi Exhibition at Tairāwhiti Museum

The exhibition at Tairāwhiti Museum brought together the marae exhibitions, showcasing a significant number of taonga loaned from museum collections, private collections, artists, whānau, marae and iwi. This exhibition continued the involvement of marae, with taonga welcomed onto the marae before the exhibition opened. Thus, relationships with museums and iwi were built and strengthened through the power of taonga. The exhibition received the *Exhibition Excellence—Taonga Māori* Award from the Museums Aotearoa 2017. The Award citation read:

...from calling all taonga and artists to their marae, and then opening the waharoa to welcome the community in is unprecedented and the most innovative approach seen in indigenous museum practice in recent years. [...] an exemplar for how hapū and iwi are engaged and empowered through the exhibition process [...] allowing the expert voices within its community to be heard [...] claiming ownership of their taonga and their museum...

(Museums Aotearoa, 2017, p. 10)

Tairāwhiti Museum

Tairāwhiti Museum serves as a waharoa and community resource, fostering appreciation for Tairāwhiti arts, culture, and heritage (Tairāwhiti Museum, 2023). The Gisborne Art Gallery and Museum, as it was initially known, opened in 1955, was the first museum to form a Māori Committee under Leo Fowler's directorship (1953-1955) and chaired by Rongowhakaata Halbert, responsible for the Māori Wing. This led to significant taonga being deposited by the local Māori community. In 1999 the Museum became a charitable trust under Mike Spedding's directorship (1997-2005), and with the fortitude of local iwi-leaders solidifying the new governance structure. The Trust Board comprised five iwi representatives: Rongowhakaata, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Te Aitanga a Māhaki, Te Aitanga a Hauiti and Ngāti Porou; four appointees from Friends of the Museum and two members selected by the Gisborne District Council. Today, Tairāwhiti Museum firmly embeds itself in these relationships and has employed Māori in leadership and operational roles (Butts, 2003). The Kaitieki Māori position was introduced in 2000 guided by its kaitiekitanga policy (Colmer, 2010). This policy recognises the spiritual and cultural bonds with taonga, and ensures their care aligns with whānau, hapū and iwi values, and adheres to appropriate tikanga and respect (Tairāwhiti Museum, 2007).

Management Structure

The Rongowhakaata iwi exhibition at Tairāwhiti Museum was a collaboration with Rongowhakaata Iwi Trust (RIT), led by the Rongowhakaata Iwi Reference Group (RIRG). The representation of Rongowhakaata at the Museum was crucial in managing the exhibition. Hineiromia Whaanga, Deputy Chair and Rongowhakaata representative on the Museum's Board, also chaired the Rongowhakaata Kāhui Kaumātua and RIRG, was invaluable to the entire exhibition journey. Whaanga served as a poutokomanawa in this journey, a pou-whakawhirinaki at the Museum, offering steadfast support during my tenure as Kaitieki Māori (2013-2021) where the iwi entrusted me with the responsibility of leading the exhibition. The realisation of this responsibility was made possible through the support of both the iwi and Tairāwhiti Museum, and leadership of the Museum's Director, Eloise Wallace (2015-current). Wallace says that while no formal agreement existed between Tairāwhiti Museum and RIT, the whole operation was founded on goodwill and established relationships (personal communication, December 5, 2022), while acknowledging that:

Exhibitions on this scale rely on the skills, expertise and generosity of a huge number of people. Researchers, writers, translators, designers, carpenters, artists, technicians, narrators, event organisers - many of whom have worked in a volunteer capacity - it has been a truly collaborative effort by Rongowhakaata and our broader Tūranga community.

(Tairāwhiti Museum Newsletter, December, 2016)

Exhibition Concept and Development

The exhibition was a reinvigoration of identity through taonga, symbolising a profound relationship of mauri whenua, mauri tāngata and mauri kōrero. This concept strongly aligned with the overarching goal of the exhibition to share, learn, and engage with Rongowhakaata taonga, with our people and within our rohe, before extending to a global audience. Structured around three pivotal, but simple questions:

1. Ko wai a Rongowhakaata?
2. Nō whea a Rongowhakaata?
3. He aha ngā pūkenga me ngā kōrero o Rongowhakaata?

These questions guided the curatorial framework, with kōrero wove together with taonga from marae, whānau, artists, institutions, Tairāwhiti Museum and six other museum collections around the country. The exhibition was a significant undertaking for the Museum, representing one of its largest and most intricate projects at the time, encompassed three galleries and 94 taonga (Tairāwhiti Museum, 2017).

Former Tairāwhiti Museum Research Manager and Kaitieki Māori Jody Wyllie and Rongowhakaata carver Kiwa Mihaka initiated a database in 2005 of Rongowhakaata taonga held in museum collections as part of the Waitangi Tribunal Claims funded by Te Papa's Te Paerangi National Services. This information became instrumental in the development of the Rongowhakaata exhibition.

The exhibition concept, kōrero and taonga was managed through consistent communications and meetings with whānau, marae, hapū, iwi and RIRG to ensure an inclusive representation of the iwi.

Pōhiri for Taonga on Loan

A significant aspect of the exhibition's development included loan requests and pōhiri for taonga held at the five Rongowhakaata marae and Tairāwhiti Museum. Six institutional loan requests made to: Whanganui Regional Museum (WRM), Canterbury Museum, MTG Hawke's Bay, Auckland War Memorial Museum (AWMM), Te Papa National Museum and Whakatāne Museum. The loan requests were a collaboration with the respective whānau, RIT, and Tairāwhiti Museum. The RIRG insisted that the taonga be welcomed onto the marae, sharing the responsibility with all the marae before installation at Tairāwhiti Museum. Thus, prioritising our people was central to the journey guided by tikanga (H. Whaanga, personal communication, November 24, 2022), where *kaitiekitanga enabled us to be who we are* (T. Stewart, personal communication, December 6, 2022).

The pōhiri series commenced with the Hāmokorau amo on loan from WRM, held at Ōhako Marae on September 12, 2016, marked an *emotional homecoming* (Thompson, September 19, 2016). These amo exemplify the Tūranga carving style, absent for over a century. They were last photographed in 1903 by W. F. Crawford at Henry Williams' Kaiti residence in Tūranga before the WRM acquired them in 1933. A contingent from Rongowhakaata and Tairāwhiti Museum uplifted the amo from WRM. It was a spiritually significant trip, warmly welcomed by mana whenua and museum staff on arrival. Upon returning to Tūranga, the group stopped at the Manutūkē Fire Station, Umukapua Pā site, and the location of Hāmokorau, for a karakia before securing them overnight at Tairāwhiti Museum. The following morning, the amo were taken onto Ōhako Marae.

Figure 3.3 Ōhako Marae, pōhiri for amo on loan from Whanganui Regional Museum, 2016. Photograph courtesy of Alison Maynard.



Two journeys were arranged to retrieve taonga belonging to Te Kooti, in collaboration with Ngā Uri o Te Kooti, Te Hāhi Ringatū, Rongowhakaata, and Tairāwhiti Museum. The first trip was to MTG Hawke's Bay to uplift his prayer book, which is said to have been acquired by William Colenso. Colenso noted in the book that it was Te Kooti's constant companion while a prisoner at the Chatham, given to him by British troops during the NZ Wars. The second journey was to Canterbury Museum to retrieve a whalebone kotiate, also said to belong to Te Kooti, in relation to the events at Matawhero in 1868. These emotional and spiritual journeys reconnected the taonga with the descendants of Te Kooti, cloaked with Ringatū karakia. On the morning of November 28, 2016, the taonga were welcomed onto Pāhou Marae, and continued with karakia led by Wīrangī Pera, Te Aitanga a Māhaki kaumātua and Te Hāhi Ringatū Poutikanga, as the taonga were placed onto the mahau and accompanied by the whānau.

Tears of sorrow, joy, and pride were shed at Te Kurī a Tuatai Marae on November 7, 2016, as taonga from Auckland arrived (L. Taylor, personal communication, December 20, 2022). Rongowhakaata AWMM representatives, Linnae Pōhatu, former Director of Māori and Pacific Development, and Amorangi Sir Haare Williams, joined other museum staff to make this occasion special. These taonga included a carved panel fragment from the second Manutūkē Church (1849-1881), among others. Through a Memorandum of Understanding with Tairāwhiti Museum, taonga from Rongowhakaata whānau living in Auckland were also present, including the tokotoko of Rongowhakaata pūkōrero, Tom Dennis and several taonga from Professor Pare Keiha, which belonged to Rongowhakaata matriarch

Hēni Materoa Carroll. This assortment encompassed various kete, magnificent patu, and the OBE medal presented to Lady Carroll in 1918. Pōhatu (Thompson, November 10, 2016) delivered heartfelt kōrero about these taonga, a privilege that brought the people together.

Figure 3.4 *Te Kurī a Tuatai Marae, pōhiri for taonga on loan from Auckland War Memorial Museum, and taonga from Rongowhakaata whānau living in Auckland, 2016. Photograph courtesy of Alison Maynard.*



The pōhiri at Manutūke Marae on November 23, 2016, for taonga brought by MTG Hawke's Bay, was described as *taonga a vehicle for rebuilding relationships* (Thompson, November 29, 2016). These taonga included the poutokomanawa, Te Waaka Perohuka, carved by Ngāti Pakirehe master Timoti Tohi in the 1860s. Originally intended for Kahuranaki 1, Ngāti Kahungunu chief Te Hāpuku's house, it was withheld by Ōtene Pītau, because it represented his tīpuna. Including a tatā from the Waipare collection, bearing strong resemblance to Tūranga carving style, featuring the inscription *KO TE RIUKAHIKA*, similar to those in Te Hau ki Tūranga. These taonga were brought onto the marae by Horouta Wānanga, MTG Hawke's Bay, Ngāti Kahungunu kaumātua Jerry Hāpuku, Ngāi Tūhoe representatives tied to Perohuka, and descendants of G. J. Black who obtained Perohuka in 1912, eventually placing him into Napier Museum in 1937 because Gisborne had no museum then (Fea & Pishief, 1996). Hineioromia Whaanga emphasised that the pōhiri was *the opportunity to re-establish and rekindle Rongowhakaata ties with other whānau, hapū, and iwi* (Thompson, November 29, 2016).

Figure 3.5 *Manutūkē Marae, pōhiri for taonga on loan from Hawke's Bay MTG, 2016. Thelma Karaitiana with Te Waaka Perohuka, poutokomanawa. Photograph courtesy of Alison Maynard.*



The pōhiri at Whakatō Marae on December 14, 2016, marked a reconnection with taonga cared for by Te Papa and Muriwai Marae, led onto the marae by Te Apaapa o Te Rangi, the original poutokomanawa of Te Mana o Tūranga. Accompanied by rare taonga, the decorated hoe with ancient kōwhaiwhai designs collected by James Cook in 1769 and the Te Pōrere flag from Te Kooti's last major battle in Taupō 1869. Additionally, the second Manutūkē Church's significant carvings acquired by the Greacen Black family, held in the care of Muriwai Marae, were transported on the back of a trailer and led onto the marae by Ngāi Tāmanuhiri kaumātua and pūkōrero, Temple Issacs. This pōhiri reflected shared kaitiekitanga responsibility, rooted in whanaungatanga and manaakitanga, creating a deeply felt presence on the marae, during the pōhiri.

On December 16, 2016, Whakatāne Museum and Amoamo whānau, led by Te Whakatōhea kaumātua Teriaki Amoamo with Te Waiwharangi toki pou-tangata, were welcomed to Tairāwhiti Museum ahead of the exhibition opening. Te Waiwharangi, originally owned by Te Huki, tells the story of a battle between Ngāi Tāwhiri war-chief Kuriteko of Rongowhakaata and Te Whānau a Apanui war-chief Tamahae, over the death of his grandmother Kahukuramihiata. The battle took place on Te Ārai River in Manutūkē, led by Te Huki with the assistance of Kuriteko. According to Halbert (1999) Tamahae strategically anticipated when Kuriteko presented signs of fatigue before delivering the deciding blow. Te Huki fled and was found along the river, subsequently known as Te Kauanga a Te Huki where he was killed. Ngāi Tai acquired Waiwharangi, later acquired by Ngāti Rua (Rickard, 2015). Although taonga reflect stories of loss *without them we would not have a history* (Halbert 1999, p. 15). The pōhiri resembled the intertwined whakapapa of Rongowhakaata and Te Whakatōhea, through Rongopopoia, the son of Rongowhakaata and Uetupuke, who fled to Ōpōtiki.

Exhibition Opening and Tikanga Kaitiaki in Practice

At 5:30am on Saturday, December 17, 2016, the Rongowhakaata iwi exhibition opened at Tairāwhiti Museum with Ringatū karakia led from the museum entranceway by Wīrangī Pera. This was followed by a series of karanga led by the late Paku Brown (Tamaterangi, Rongowhakaata kaumātua) leading a wave of kaumātua and a crowd of Rongowhakaata and Tūranga whanaunga from near and far into the exhibition. Paku Brown described the early morning opening:

Tino mīharo, te kuhutanga atu ki roto i te whare nō te mea, ka mea au, hika, he aha rā taku karanga. Kuhu atu au, hā, muri mai ka puta te karanga. Kāre au i mōhio he aha taku karanga, engari i puta, ā, tae noa ki roto i reira a Derek me ana rau – ngā rau kawakawa, tērā te rau kawakawa o te aroha. Arā ētahi tikanga Māori ka puta mai i tērā āhuatanga.

(Brown in Jones, 2017)

Figure 3.6 *Ko Rongowhakaata, Mauri Whenua, Mauri Tangata, Mauri Kōrero* exhibition, morning opening at Tairāwhiti Museum, 2016, led by Rongowhakaata kaikaranga and kaikarakia. Photograph courtesy of Dudley L Meadows, Tairāwhiti Museum.



Tikanga was fundamental throughout the exhibition's development, opening and success Eloise Wallace (2022) notes: *how can I just ensure things kind of stay safe at the museum so that tikanga isn't compromised? [...] you're trying to clear a path so something can happen*. Despite the challenges, including the exhibition's installation by torch-light and generator during the power cut in Gisborne. Dr. Stan Pardoe, Rongowhakaata kaumātua, commended the Rongowhakaata rangatahi *young people doing this – give them the mandate, give them the right to do this and they've done us proud* (Tūranga FM, 2016b) emphasising that taonga may get comfortable. The early morning karakia was also an opportunity for Rongowhakaata and Tūranga iwi to connect with the exhibition before the public pōhiri.

The rangatahi again stepped forward and we had the most amazing pōhiri, the day was beautiful, the invitations had been sent out, kapa haka groups were ready, everyone was dressed in their finery, it was absolutely beautiful.

(H. Whaanga, personal communication, November 24, 2022)

The 10am public pōhiri for museum institutions, wider iwi relations and parliamentary representatives, including Tairāwhiti iwi and community leaders, strengthened relationships, kinship ties and support for this auspicious occasion. The practice of manaakitanga maintained as Rongowhakaata led exhibition

guides, catering, and performances throughout the day. Tā Derek Lardelli, Rongowhakaata pū kōrero, articulates the power of taonga as a source of unification *Tukuna mā ngā taonga tātou e whakakotahi i runga anō rā i te whakaaro, te kotahi nā Tūrāhiri ripo ana te moana* (in Jones, 2017).

Figure 3.7 Public pōhiri, for the opening of *Ko Rongowhakaata, Mauri Whenua, Mauri Tāngata, Mauri Kōrero* exhibition at Tairāwhiti Museum, 2016. Photograph courtesy of Dudley L Meadows, Tairāwhiti Museum.



Johnny Moetara also commented on the power of taonga: *You got to ask yourself how do these taonga pull people together* (Rongowhakaata Rautaki Reo, 2020). The series of pōhiri for taonga returning from museums onto marae were unprecedented times, yet conventional in terms of tikanga. Thelma Karaitiana expressed that the taonga inspired a desire within Rongowhakaata whānau and hapū to be active kaitieki *which in turn created a new space or ātea for whakawhanaungatanga with taonga and whanaungatanga not always apparent among the people* (personal communication, December 13, 2022). Hineiromia Whaanga also acknowledges the presence of whanaungatanga *Tāmanuhiri turned up with their pou on the back of their trailer and Māhaki turned up with [mānuka] poles for the palisades* (H. Whaanga, personal communication, November 24, 2022). She also declares that kaitiekitanga is the responsibility of all and knowing where everyone fits; *many have laboured behind the scenes to ensure that Rongowhakaata stands tall and proud for all to see* (Thompson, December 16, 2016). *Preparing our people for every step of the way* (J. Moetara, Rongowhakaata Rautaki Reo, 2020) leading toward the iwi exhibition at Te Papa.

Ko Rongowhakaata, Ruku i te pō, Ruku i te ao: The Story of Light and Shadow

Iwi Exhibition at Te Papa

The Rongowhakaata exhibition at Te Papa represents its journey, and the collectivity that nurtured its realisation—an expression of our kaitiakitanga (K. Johnstone, personal communication, May 30, 2023). The exhibition centred around Te Hau ki Tūranga, cloaked with Rongowhakaata taonga, kōrero and people in a national forum to a global audience. The narrative embedded in the concept of *Ruku i te pō*, *Ruku i te ao* symbolises an emergence, unfolding, and a rediscovery of our cultural distinctiveness (Rongowhakaata Iwi & Keith 2018), reflected in the Tūranga landscape, Rongowhakaata history, and its relationships. This narrative encompasses various encounters of disruption, resilience, adaptation, innovation, dispossession, and self-determination, exemplified within taonga. This exhibition provided a platform for Rongowhakaata to curate its own account about Te Hau ki Tūranga, centred in Mana Whenua and the heart of *Ko Rongowhakaata, Ruku i te pō, Ruku i te ao: The Story of Light and Shadow*.

Figure 3.8 Rongowhakaata kuia occupy the mahau of Te Hau ki Tūranga, in their finery, cloak the ware during the exhibition public opening, 2017. Photograph courtesy of Alison Maynard.



Te Papa Tongarewa and Iwi Exhibition Programme

Lewis Moeau (in *Piipiharauoa*, June 2017) acknowledged that the Iwi Exhibition Programme was a continuation of a relationship with Rongowhakaata in the early 1990s. In 1996 Rongowhakaata carried Te Hau ki Tūranga down the streets of Wellington from the Dominion Museum to Te Papa Tongarewa, before opening its doors to the public in 1998. Since then, Te Hau ki Tūranga has been central in Mana Whenua adjacent to the previous iwi exhibitions, including:

Te Ātiawa iwi exhibition (Feb 1998-Aug 1999)

Te Aupouri Iwi: People of Smoke and Flame (Aug 1999 - Oct 2001)

Tūhoe: Children of the Mist (Nov 2001 - Nov 2003)

Te Awa Tupua: The Whanganui iwi (Nov 2003 - May 2006)

Mō Tātou: The Ngāi Tahu Whānui exhibition (Jul 2006 - Aug 2009)

Tai timu, tai pari, Tainui: Journey of a People (Sep 2011 - Mar 2014)

Whiti Te Rā: The Story of Ngāti Toa Rangatira (Jun 2014 - Feb 2017)

While the *Ko Rongowhakaata, Ruku i te pō, Ruku i te ao: The Story of Light and Shadow* (Sep 2017 - Feb 2022) exhibition embraced Te Hau ki Tūranga. The Iwi Exhibition Programme is an expression of Te Papa's mana taonga policy and an intangible expression of its bicultural identity (Schorch & Hakiwai, 2014). The Rongowhakaata iwi exhibition journey is unique, the first to start from marae to regional museum before opening at Te Papa, and return to marae.

Rongowhakaata Uplift Taonga from Tūranga to Te Papa

The journey to Wellington *expressed and shared whanaungatanga, kotahitanga and manaakitanga*, and the sheer determination *to ensure the mauri of our taonga* were kept warm from when they left Tūranga and received at Te Papa Tongarewa was deeply moving (Rongowhakaata, June 2017, p. 8).

The exhibition began with a pōhiri for the taonga on June 12, 2017. The date marked 150 years since Te Hau ki Tūranga, was accessioned into the Colonial Museum. Upon arrival, the taonga remained in transport vehicles in Te Papa's loading bay overnight. David Jones emphasised that kaitiekitanga involves more than just the pōhiri, it encompasses everything leading up to the opening. He recalls Maewa Thornton (Rongowhakaata, Ngā Uri a Te Kooti) and Erica Jones (Rongowhakaata, Exhibition Intern) sleeping with the taonga to ensure *the mauri of those taonga didn't go cold* (D. Jones, personal communication, 13 December 2022). The kaitiekitanga responsibility was upheld (J. Moetara personal communication, 13 December, 2022) as everyone carried the taonga up the stairs, forming a continuous chain of kaumātua, parents, children and mokopuna (Rongowhakaata, June 2017). Dr. Arapata Hakiwai

declared that this pōhiri marked the initiation of a new chapter, allowing recognition of the past injustices and paving the way for reconciliation and healing to progress (*Te Ao Māori News*, June 2017).

Figure 3.9 *Rongowhakaata taonga arrive to Te Papa, placed on the mahau of Rongomaraeroa, 2017.*
Photograph courtesy of Robyn Rauna.



Exhibition Management and Curatorial Development

Rongowhakaata appointed Karl Johnstone as the Lead Exhibition Concept Developer, working alongside Erica Jones, who served as an intern, though her role and responsibilities differed (D. Jones, personal communication, 13 December 2022). The RIRG continued in a leadership capacity as Rongowhakaata collaborated with Te Papa's exhibition development team, and at times challenged the status quo. The iwi exhibition footprint is usually confined to a narrow space adjacent to Te Hau ki Tūranga. However, Rongowhakaata insisted that its exhibition also embraced the whare and adjoining exhibition spaces (H. Whaanga, *Pipiwaharauoa* October, 2017). Karl Johnstone also notes that the narrative's political aspects generated a sense of institutional nervousness (personal communication, May 30, 2023). Nevertheless, Johnstone (personal communication, April 22, 2022) emphasised that:

This idea of Rongowhakaata telling this story that was bound in history that was inextricable from the whenua that talked and celebrated who we were, who Rukupō was for example. As we moved closer to Te Papa that crystallised more and more into this kind

of galvanising idea of Ruku i te pō, Ruku i te ao and I think the journey of actually understanding the full meaning of that was part of the development.

The curatorial design of the exhibition was guided by the concept of light and shadow, featuring large screens portraying the iwi and landscape, a soundscape of waiata suspending time and space, new taonga alongside old taonga, with digital labels capturing diverse kōrero within the iwi (Te Papa, 2016). Johnstone emphasised duality as an intrinsic part of the iwi's unique identity, navigating the spaces between conscious and unconscious, illuminated through tangible and intangible outcomes of the exhibition. He asserts that while taonga hold significance, deeper importance lies in the kōrero, behaviours, values, and experiences that underpin them (personal communication, April 22, 2022). Similarly, Thelma Karaitiana (personal communication, 6 December 2022) acknowledges the intergenerational duty of kaitiekitanga, demonstrated through the exhibition's shared purpose, a powerful force born of passion. Erica Jones exemplified these qualities through her impactful contributions to the exhibition and its publication, even when faced with adversity due to her youthful confidence (K. Johnstone, personal communication, May 30, 2023). David Jones (personal communication, 13 December 2022). highlighted that the exhibition's ensured strong iwi involvement, and Erica adeptly navigated relationships between whānau lenders, Rongowhakaata, and Te Papa to ensure that the kōrero was tika – *he manaaki i te mauri kōrero*

Exhibition Opening

On the morning of Friday, September 29, 2017, marking 144 years since the passing of Rukupo, a large gathering of Rongowhakaata assembled on level 2 of Te Papa for the exhibition's opening. Guided by Tā Derek Lardelli, everyone commenced with karakia, ascending the stairway, Te Ara o Hine and paused at Rongomaraeroa to acknowledge Te Hono ki Hawaiki with a haka. The karakia continued with the support of mana whenua, as kaikaranga led the way through to the exhibition, concluding the first phase of formalities in front of Te Hau ki Tūranga.

Hei runga kō, hei raro kō.

E Rongo e. Rongo huakina. Rongo tākina.

Haere mai, haere mai ki runga Te Huia. Huihuia mai ai e

These are words from the haka pōhiri, composed by Tā Derek and David Jones, which resonated in Mana Whenua during the public pōhiri, the second phase of the formalities, alongside mana whenua and Te Papa staff. Johnstone (personal communication, May 30, 2023) noted that the opening prompted self-reflection. As whakairo invoke tīpuna, raranga weaves people together, waiata transcends emotions, the spirit of the exhibition lies in the people it represents, and the taonga serve as modes of expression (K. Johnston, cited in McDonald, September 29, 2017). Hineiromia Whaanga (personal

communication, November 24, 2022) likened the exhibition opening to the emotions felt on the marae, more so during tangi, when the heart of the marae speaks, the heart of people is heard. Tama Waipara (personal communication, December 17, 2022) states that the exhibition marked a reconnection with Te Hau ki Tūranga, extending beyond the exhibition itself. Johnstone (personal communication, May 30, 2023) emphasises that it was more about the journey of our people, likening this path to the flourishing of the kūmara, where its fruits are revealed over time.

Rongowhakaata Pou Tikanga in Residence

The Iwi Exhibition Programme includes iwi-appointed kaumātua, who also serve as ambassadors for both the iwi and Te Papa, ensuring adherence to tikanga. This means that the iwi in residence assumes the kawa and paepae on Rongomaraeroa (Schorch & Hakiwai, 2014; Sciascia, 2012). The iwi in residence model changed when Rongowhakaata took residence, however the obligations of the original model stayed the same (T. Stewart, personal communication, 6 December 2022). Over the exhibition's period, Rongowhakaata appointed three Pou-tikanga, Taharākau Stewart, Thelma Karaitiana and April Nepia-Su'a. Taura-here in Wellington were also integral and involved in hosting numerous events at Te Papa, while maintaining a strong relationship with mana whenua (A. Nepia-Su'a, personal communication, 8 December 2022). The Pou-tikanga were the kaitiaki during the exhibition and have contributed greatly to the cultural identity of the iwi, says Thelma Karaitiana (personal communication, December 6, 2022), while also recognising that this has also deepened their own cultural identity and self-determination. Taharākau (personal communication, December 6, 2022) emphasises the dual responsibility of *kaitiaki taonga* and *kaitiaki tangata*. This indicates that while there is a duty of looking after the exhibition and its taonga, it also requires looking after various relationships associated. More importantly it is a duty of self-care.

The Pou-tikanga shared a common perspective that *mana taonga is not a display case* (T. Stewart, personal communications, 6 December 2022). While kaitiakitanga is integral to the exhibition, it shouldn't be put on display (A. Nepia-Su'a, personal communication, 8 December 2022). Thelma Karaitiana (personal communication, December 6, 2022) states that tikanga often becomes prefabricated when confined within the museum's environment, restricting our natural practices. Schorch and Hakiwai (2014) acknowledge these challenges, where museology and Te Papa's mana taonga policy and operations, clash with tikanga Māori.

There are numerous instances shared by the Pou-tikanga that serve as examples of tikanga kaitiakitanga in practice. For example, Te Tira Whakaari, and Ngā Uri o Te Kooti were always present to do karakia when the pages of Te Kooti's prayer book were turned. April Nepia-Su'a (personal communication, 8 December 2022) mentioned a decision made to restrict public access into Te Hau ki Tūranga without formal engagement, and caused dissatisfaction within Te Papa. She noted that it was culturally

inappropriate that the public could enter the whare without consultation with Rongowhakaata. Taharākau (personal communication, 6 December 2022) argues that mana taonga is about empowering whānau, hapū and iwi, reconnecting taonga with source-kin-groups and making it a living practice beyond the museum wall; this is where it needs to be taken. He emphasises that innovative change requires stability and asserts that knowing taonga is not just about their intangible value but knowing the artist, then it becomes about the whenua. The whole matrix of taonga extends beyond display cases.

Exhibition Closing and Return

The impacts of COVID-19 presented unprecedented challenges, causing Te Papa’s closure and the extended period of the exhibition. This also impacted on the exhibition’s closing formalities with the wellbeing of the people a paramount concern. On February 3, 2022, a contingent of Rongowhakaata kaikarakia and kaikaranga, alongside mana whenua closed the exhibition, in a proactive response to Omicron. Though not ideal, this closure was the best decision at the time. Hineiromia Whaanga (personal communication, 24 November 2022) noted that it was time for taonga to return, *our taonga needed to come home*. Despite challenging weather conditions, on March 26, 2022, the taonga were ceremonially returned to Whakatō Marae, in Manutūkē, Tūranga. This return process involved proactive communication with all lenders and initiated a repatriation programme. Tama Waipara (personal communication, December 17, 2022) conveyed that this homecoming symbolised vitality, as the iwi within its respective roles—kaikawe, kaimatataki, puna-roimata, kaihaka, kaikōrero, kaiwaiata, kaikarakia and kaitakakai—united with a shared purpose, emphasising that *the [Kaupapa] is bigger than all of us but required all of us to be achieved*. This sentiment aligns with Whaanga’s statement that kaitiekitanga is the responsibility of all.

Figure 3.10 *Taonga return pōhiri at Whakatō Marae, Manutūkē, 2021.*
Photograph courtesy of Monika Fraider.



He Whakarāpopototanga - Chapter Summary

Ruku i te pō, Ruku i te ao—a reawakening, calling mauri whenua, mauri tangata, and mauri kōrero to unite Rongowhakaata, as we have done in the past in relation to Te Hau ki Tūranga and during the 150th anniversary of the whare in 1992. The foundation of our kaitiekitanga and rangatiratanga was shaped by generations past and woven into the very tapestry they fashioned—*he māhiti ki runga, he paepaeroa ki raro*.

The Rongowhakaata iwi exhibitions' journey was one of iwi self-determination, and became a self-reflective and regenerative embodiment of kaitiekitanga, that went hand-in-hand with the vision that became a self-actualising prophecy (K. Johnstone, personal communication, May 30, 2023). A vision cast by kaumātua and propelled by rangatahi, fostered a sense of unity and self-pride (H. Whaanga, personal communication, November 24, 2022). The exhibitions had elements that united our people: visibility, the strengthening of narratives, and the innate nature of taonga—*opening those mauri channels* is a significant part of identity (K. Johnstone, personal communication, May 30, 2023).

We were drawn in by a strong desire or want to touch, we grasped taonga to ourselves, we hongī, we tangi, often tangi hotuhotu, we waiata, we karanga, we haka, we desire to sleep near, we polish, we dust, we in fact inspire the presence of mauri, we yearn for the deeper connection, and it is a remarkable connection once made.

(T. Karaitiana, personal communication, 6 December 2022).

Therefore, mana taonga transcends the exhibition; it resides in the journey woven through the interplay of light and shadow, nurturing the very nature of kaitiekitanga. Much like the exhibition's journey, it grew from the unknown, guided through the light of the past and motivated by cultural determination. Kaitiekitanga is also about mutual belief. Hineiromia Whaanga (personal communication, November 24, 2022) emphasises the importance of drawing inspiration from our ancestors, recognising our strengths and weaknesses, and lifting each other up as a means to foster success.

Karl Johnstone (personal communication, May 30, 2023) emphasises the challenge of propelling these intangible values into the future. Similarly, Taharākau Stewart (personal communication, December 6, 2022) asserts that the journey does not have an endpoint, it must remain an active space. This space that David Jones (personal communication, December 13, 2022) refers to an *eternal thread*, shaping our self-perception and our vision beyond tomorrow. Consequently, these taonga manifest this identity. Tā Derek Lardelli (personal communication, June 1, 2023) articulates this sentiment:

*Whakatūwhera tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ngā tīpuna,
tauawhitia tauritotia ngā taonga i roto i te pāharakeke o te mōhio,
katahi, rarangahia te taura kia tō mai i te pō ki te ao, ki te ao āpōpō.*

TE POU-TE-WHARAU

CHAPTER FOUR



He Whai Mātauranga – Exploring the Representation of Rongowhakaata Taonga in UK Museums

In 2020, I had the privilege of receiving the *He Whai Mātauranga Scholarship*, established by the British High Commission for Māori students from Aotearoa universities to study taonga Māori kept in United Kingdom (UK) institutions. The Award, established to mark *Tuia 250 Encounters*, commemorated first meetings between Māori and Europeans in 1769.

This opportunity allowed me to visit several museums and libraries to view taonga associated with Rongowhakaata and meet staff responsible for their care. This chapter focuses on three museums that house taonga connected to Rongowhakaata: The British Museum (BM), London; the Royal Cornwall Museum (RCM), Truro; and the National Museum of Ireland (NMI), Dublin. This chapter explores the Rongowhakaata affiliated taonga they preserve in relation to the concept of kaitiekitanga.

The British Museum

In *The Māori Collections of The British Museum* (Starzecka et al., 2010), Neil MacGregor, former Director (BM), acknowledged the mauri inherent in taonga Māori, intertwined with gods, ancestors, tribal lands, and their descendants. Since the 1990s, the BM has maintained close ties with Māori communities in Aotearoa and the UK. The profound impact of the *Te Māori* exhibition, recognising the artistic significance of taonga Māori and the involvement of Māori culture and rituals in museums, resonated across UK museums, including the BM (Hooper et al., 2012). The BM's Oceania Curator, Dr. Julie Adams (personal communication, August 16, 2023) affirms that the BM's *Māori* exhibition in 1998 was a direct response to *Te Māori*. It was a milestone in its history, recognising taonga Māori alongside global cultures in the main Museum. Previously, the Africa, Oceania, and Americas (AOA) collections were separately displayed in the Museum of Mankind. Dr. Adams claims that the taonga Māori collection is the most visited within the AOA Department.

Despite being a small tribe, Rongowhakaata holds a notable collection of attributed taonga scattered among international museums, serving as ambassadors around the world, including taonga held at the BM (J. Wyllie, personal communication, November 30, 2022). The BM's Wellcome Trust Gallery currently displays two amo, and two whakawae attributed to Rongowhakaata. These architectural carvings were also part of the 1998 *Māori* exhibition (BM, 2023).

Figure 4.1 *Amo and whakawae (left side) attributed to Rongowhakaata. On display in the Wellcome Trust Gallery at The British Museum. © T. Nepe, 2020.*



In 2008, the Museum collaborated with Ngāti Rānana, the Māori cultural group based in London, to plan innovative ways to display taonga (Jessop, 2009). Brown (cited in Raymond & Salmond, 2008) notes that Māori artists have attempted to give ‘voices’ to taonga perceived as isolated in museums. The carvings attributed to Rongowhakaata, along with other carvings in the Māori cabinet, are recontextualised within a structural display model of a whare whakairo, with contemporary plexiglass pieces, created by George Nuku, of Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. The amo are labelled:

Front side posts, amo

The pair of wooden posts here are each carved with two male ancestors, probably of the Rongowhakaata tribe. They are decorated with rauponga patterns, named after the native New Zealand curling fern frond. The bold and confident carving style exemplifies the dynamism of the period in which they were made. Oc1894,0716.1 & Oc1894,0716.3 bargeboard supports, Poverty Bay, East Coast, 1830s-1850s.

The whakawae Oc1894,0716.4 and Oc1894,0716.5 attributed to Rongowhakaata, date to the 1820s-40s. These attributions are based on the assessments made by Roger Neich and David Simmons (Starzecka et al., 2010), indicate that the taonga bear a stylistic resemblance to those of Rongowhakaata. Neich (1996) claims that the amo originated from a whare whakairo, carved with steel tools. Taonga Māori in museum collections often lack clear provenance, with limited documentation establishing a direct connection to their source communities. However, what is certain is that these taonga were acquired by the BM from Lady Sudeley.

Lady Sudeley Collection

This small collection comprises Māori architectural carvings from Aotearoa collected by Lady Sudeley’s uncle, Hon. Algernon Tollemache, possibly between 1850s and 1870s (BM Collection Online, 2023). In a letter dated July 9, 1894, to Sir Augustus Franks, the Museum's first Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography (1866-1896), Lady Sudeley says:

I should be prepared to accept an offer of £70 for the New Zealand carvings – I part with them reluctantly because they were collected by my uncle, but I know he would approve of my doing so under the circumstances, and would prefer their belonging to the British Museum rather than to a private individual. (Sudeley, 1894)

Franks, contributed to the Museum's collection through the acquisition and donation of valuable items. He also played a role in acquiring the Lady Sudeley collection in 1894. Franks’ interest in the carvings began before their purchase, when he saw them at Algernon Tollemache's London residence, Ham House (Hussey, 1894).

Tollemache, a British politician in the 1830s, showed interest in the NZ Company, an organisation aimed at colonising Aotearoa. He acquired land in Nelson and Wellington, settling in Wellington in 1849. Before returning to England in 1876, Tollemache likely obtained his collection of taonga Māori. The amo, have been identified as potentially belonging to Te Hau ki Tūranga. However, further research is needed to establish a provenance to their original whare whakairo.

Kaitiekitanga Considerations at The British Museum

In 2017, as part of the *Ko Rongowhakaata* exhibition at Te Papa, Dr. Brinker Ferguson conducted doctoral research by performing a 3D scan of the amo and whakawae (Ferguson 2018). According to Karl Johnstone (personal communication, May 30, 2023), these amo represent as a crucial piece of the puzzle that we are still piecing together. The utilisation of 3D scanning becomes an innovative tool to identify taonga signatures, serving as a form of provenance that offer a digital blueprint for the structural architecture and form. Moreover, modern tools contribute to a deeper understanding these taonga, which highlights mātauranga and kaitiekitanga as a means of reconnection to their roots.

At the time, Lewis Whaitiri, of Rongowhakaata, Ruapani, and Ngāti Konohi, was residing in London and participated in this significant occasion. He is also associated with the Ngāti Rānana whānau in London. Lewis reflects on the profound connection made with the taonga:

I taku urutomo ki te rūma, e takoto ana aua amo. I te kitenga atu, i hari te ngākau, erangi i tangi, i te mōhio kua hipa i te 100 tau ēnei tīpuna e noho tahanga ana i te kāenga, e noho tahanga ana i ōna uri. Kua roa hoki te wā, kua āhei tētahi o ngā uri te toro atu, te pā atu ki a rātau. I te mea ehara noa iho i te whakairo, ehara noa iho i te taonga, erangi he tīpuna, he tangata. Koirā te heke o te roimata, ki aku tīpuna e takoto nei. Hoi anō, nōku te waimarie ko ahau tērā e hono nei i te ao o uki, ki te ao o nāiane.

(L. Whaitiri, personal communication, May 15, 2023).

Lewis engaged with the taonga through karakia, waiata, and mōteatea, serving as a distant portal to the past and home. The significance of the amo, potentially from Te Hau ki Tūranga, evoked memories for Lewis, when he was at Manutūkē School and travelling to Wellington, surrounded by many kuia and koroua, to re-establish ties with the whare. Jody Wyllie (personal communication, November 30, 2022) stresses the importance of nurturing relationships with institutions housing our taonga and involving multiple generations in identifying them.

Figure 4.2 Lewis Whaitiri with the amo, at The British Museum, 2017.
Photograph © Dr. Brinker Ferguson. Used with permission.



Dr. Julie Adams (personal communication, August 16, 2023) highlights that the practicality of concepts like kaitiekitanga in the BM resonates more at a curatorial level within the AOA Department. The Museum has embraced the practice of kaitiekitanga through recent exhibition loans to Aotearoa, including *Tū Te Whaihanga* at Tairāwhiti Museum (2019-2022) and the *Te Rā* exhibition (2023-2024) at the Christchurch Art Gallery and Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira.

The *Tū Te Whaihanga* exhibition, during the *Tuia 250 Encounters* commemorations, showcased taonga acquired by Cook during his first voyage to Aotearoa in 1769. It included finely decorated paddles with kōwhaiwhai designs from Tūranga (Gibbs & Wallace, 2021). This was the first time the BM transported taonga to a marae before the installation at a museum, that also involved a series of wānanga with local iwi and artists (J. Adams, personal communication, August 16, 2023).

According to Dr. Julie Adams (personal communication, August 16, 2023), some staff at the BM are gaining awareness that the concept of *shared-stewardship* extends beyond exhibitions and loans and involves recognising cultural practices in storage and the day-to-day care of taonga. She emphasises that the consultation process, including whom to consult and how those consultations unfold over time, is a complex task. While these ideas are gradually finding acceptance within the Museum, challenges persist in effectively allocating resources and respecting the diverse cultural aspirations. This reflects the shared challenges of kaitiekitanga regarding taonga Māori in museums, particularly from a distance.

Royal Cornwall Museum

On February 6, 2020, I had the honour and privilege of viewing a taiaha said to belong to Te Kooti Rikirangi of Rongowhakaata, held at the RCM in Truro, southwest England. The taiaha's existence was brought to light by Dr. Tehmina Goskar during her visit to Tairāwhiti Museum in 2017 as part of the Citizen Curators Programme with the RCM (Moluch, 2020). Being aware of this taiaha, this visit became a priority while researching taonga Māori in UK museums in 2020. Notably, my visit coincided with Waitangi Day, and the words of Te Kooti's mōteatea resonated with me on this emotional day.

Ko te mana tuatahi, ko Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Ko te mana tuarua, ko te Kōti Whenua

Ko te mana tuatoru, ko te mana Motuhake.

The RCM, established in 1818 by the Royal Institution of Cornwall (RIC), houses a diverse collection that encompasses Cornwall's mining and engineering heritage, a collection of Cornish art, and various artifacts from around the world, including taonga Māori. During my visit, there were concerns about the potential closure of the museum. In July 2022, Cornwall Council's decision to cease funding for the museum raised doubts about its future. However, in October of the same year, the Council approved funding to support the museum during its transition to alternative sources of funding (Adams, 2022).

The Te Kooti taiaha is a significant taonga within the collection of the RCM.

Figure 4.3 (L) *Te Kooti taiaha on display in the 'World-Wide Wonders' section of the 'Face to Face' exhibition at the RCM, 2020.*

Figure 4.4 (R) *Detail of the taiaha. © T.Nepe, 2020.*



Taiaha (long-handed fighting staff)

A Taiaha is a Maori weapon. It has a carved pointed end which depicts a head (upoko) with a tongue (arero) sticking out. The red eyes are made from sealing wax. Although we don't know how the staff arrived at the museum, there is an old label attached that may give us clues to its history: 'Carved Taiaha, a fine old one, taken from Te Kooti during the East Coast campaign (1868-1872)'. Te Kooti, or Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki (c.1820-1891) was a Māori leader and the founder of the Ringatu religion. He fought a campaign against the New Zealand government between 1868-1872, a period which became known as the East Coast or Te Kooti Wars. Te Kooti was eventually captured but was later released and pardoned. TRURI:1500.147.

(RCM digital label, 6 February 2020)

Figure 4.5 Detail of the taiaha with old labels, including a typed descriptive label "Carved Taiaha (a fine old one, taken from Te Kooti during the East Coast campaign) _____" and oval label with the number '15'. © T.Nepe, 2020.



It is interesting to note that the taiaha has a length of 139.05cm, which is relatively shorter than the standard dimensions for taiaha. Its length may suggest that it was specifically crafted to match the chin height of its original owner, as a taiaha's length is usually measured to a person's chin for optimal use. Another intriguing aspect is the use of red sealing wax for the eyes, which is more commonly seen in heitiki and other small pendants, whereas pāua shell is typically used for taiaha. However, while it is common for early acquisition records of provenance to be incomplete or absent, what is rare in this case is that the original owner has been identified, typed on an old adhesive label attached to the taiaha. What remains unclear, however, is the information about how, by whom, or when the taiaha came into the Museum's possession. Nonetheless, the dual label system depicted in Figure 4.5 offers compelling clues associated with a Cornish collector named John Davies Enys.

John Davies Enys (1837-1912)

Originally from Cornwall, Enys migrated to NZ in 1861 and settled in Lyttelton, Canterbury (Starke,1993). With a strong passion for natural science, he undertook extensive travels to collect specimens, including moa bones, fossils, plants, butterflies, and moths. He deposited many of these specimens in the Canterbury Museum and the Colonial Museum in Wellington, while also sending others back to museums in England. During his time in Canterbury, Enys forged a close friendship with Julius von Haast, the provincial geologist, and embarked on multiple expeditions together (Starke, 1993). He served as an original Trustee of the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury, establishing the Canterbury Museum, and appointing von Haast as its first Director (Abrahamson, 2018). In this group photograph below (Figure 4.6), taken in 1872 or 1873 in the *Colonial and Vienna Exhibition* held at the Canterbury Museum, Enys and von Haast can be seen in front of a display of taonga Māori. Notably, the background features a poupou from Te Hau ki Tūranga, lent from the Colonial Museum in Wellington. The photograph also includes James Hector, the first Director of the Colonial Museum.

Figure 4.6. Group including Dr A C Barker, R H Rhodes and W M Maskell, alongside a display of Māori artifacts. Creator unknown: Museum album. Ref: PA1-q-166-052. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

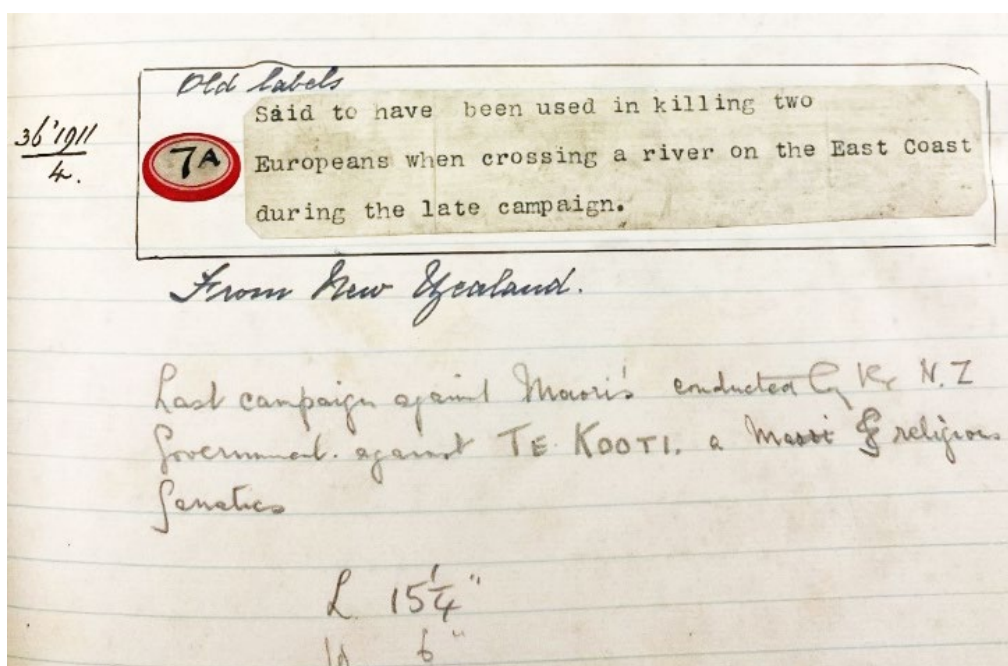


Enys returned to Cornwall in 1891 and served as president of the RIC twice, from 1893 to 1895 and again from 1911 until his death in 1912 (RCM label, cited on February 6, 2020). During his presidency, Enys deposited Māori taonga into the RIC, and this practice continued after his passing by his likely successor and relative.

The original RIC accession records associated with Enys from 1911, 1912, and 1947 are held at the National Library of New Zealand. These records include taonga deposited by J.D. Enys on December 19, 1911, a greenstone adze deposited shortly before his death on October 17, 1912, and a later collection of taonga presented by Rev. C.R.S. Enys, likely his grandnephew, on May 28, 1947. These original documents, along with the associated taonga, were acquired by K.A. Webster (1906-1967), a New Zealand antique dealer and collector of taonga Māori based in London. The majority of these taonga are currently held at Te Papa (Te Papa's Collections Online, 2023).

Although none of these records specifically identify the taiaha associated with Te Kooti, the accession records from December 19, 1911, indicate that the 'old labels' match those found on the Te Kooti taiaha. George Penrose (1877-1951), the curator at the RIC (1900-1951), who completed the 1911 accession record, states that: *These objects were obtained by the donor in New Zealand (probably by purchase). Some labels and numbers were attached to certain of the objects.* The records include nine Māori weapons. While a taiaha is mentioned, it is not the taiaha associated with Te Kooti. However, a patu parāoa associated with Te Kooti is documented and depicted in the accompanying image (Figure 4.7).

Figure 4.7 RIC Accession Record, December 19, 1911. Record held at the Turnbull Library.



This description of a whalebone patu deposited by J.D. Enys, with the dual label system, 7A and *said to have been used in killing two Europeans when crossing a river on the East Coast during the late campaign*. The pencil writing on the record states: *Last campaign against Maori, instigated by the N.Z Government against Te Kooti, a Maori religious fanatic*. The accession number 36'1911/4 became a replacement label attached to the patu, likely by G. Penrose. This patu is currently held at Te Papa and registered as WE001234. According to Te Papa's Collections Online website, this was a bequest of K.A. Webster in 1971 and previously owned by J.D. Enys. It bears an adhesive label 36'1911/4 that corresponds with the RIC Accession Record of 1911.

Te Papa also holds other taonga, such as another whalebone patu (WE001231) labelled 36'1911/5, and a whalebone kotiate (WE001233) labelled 36'1911/6 inscribed with *TAKAWHENUA*, matching the RIC Accession Record of 1911. These taonga are attributed to J.D. Enys before their acquisition by Webster. It is likely that G. Penrose attached these labels, removing the original ones now found in the RIC Accession Record 1911. Additionally, Te Papa possesses a mere pounamu (WE001235), not mentioned in the RIC Accession Records, obtained from Webster and previously owned by Enys. Interestingly, the mere pounamu shares a dual label system with the Te Kooti taiaha at the RCM, featuring a typed description with handwritten additions *Greenstone mere (10 inches)* and an oval-shaped label with the number "3" (Te Papa's Collections Online, 2023). The dual label system strongly indicates a connection to J.D. Enys, suggesting a high likelihood that the Te Kooti taiaha at the RCM is also associated with Enys. However, the exact timing and depositor of the taiaha into the RCM remains uncertain.

The RIC Accession Record from 1947 identifies two carvings, the tauihu (WE001202) and waka huia (WE001206), which are also held at Te Papa. These carvings were acquired from Webster and were previously owned by J.D. Enys. The tauihu was purchased by Webster in England in 1952 and repatriated to New Zealand as part of the Webster collection in 1958. It was acquired by Te Papa in 1971 (Te Papa's Collections Online, 2023). It is likely that all the taonga mentioned in the RIC Accession Records (1991, 1992, 1947) were purchased by Webster in the 1950s. Therefore, it is possible that the Te Kooti taiaha was deposited into the RIC at a later date by a family member, possibly by J.D. Enys's nephew Charles Reginald Saltren Enys (1897-1980), as it would otherwise have been acquired by Webster. Further archival research beyond the scope and timeframe of this study is required to establish this connection, confirm the taiaha's association with Te Kooti, and validate the information identified on the taiaha.

It is worth noting that before visiting the RCM, I also visited the Royal Albert Memorial Museum on 3 February 2020, 118km away in Exeter, also located near the coast. They have a *wahaika* in their collection with the accession number 1896/8/2. According to their records, this *wahaika* was taken during the battle at Ngātapa Pā, Tūranga, on January 6th, 1869, by Sgt. Howard Strong of the Poverty

Bay Volunteers, against the Hauhau led by Te Kooti. It is believed to have belonged to Chief Rangiaho of Te Urewera, reported to have been among the casualties at Ngātapa (Wellington Independent, 1869). Although there are no records connecting the acquisition history of this wahaika to the taiaha at the RCM, their geographical proximity and associations with Te Kooti are worth considering.

A significant number of taonga Māori acquired during East Coast military conflicts now reside in UK museums. These taonga have become *entangled objects* (Thomas, 1991) within a colonial acquisition system, where foreign institutions now determine their origin. Nevertheless, they embody a genealogical knowledge system deeply intertwined with the people, land, and cultural heritage they belong to. This enduring connection with taonga continues to regenerate cultural identity.

Kaitiekitanga Consideration at the Royal Cornwall Museum

While the concept of kaitiekitanga may be unfamiliar in UK Museums, there is growing recognition of its principles in terms of reconnecting source communities with their cultural material that also brings with it an awareness of cultural protocols, which the RCM accepted during my visit. Tamara Moluch, RCM Citizen Curator, says that this experience served as a realisation of *how unsatisfactory it was to simply place objects in cabinets or hang them on walls. Museums needed to find ways and means of bringing them to life* (Moluch, 2020).

Figure 4.8 (L-R) Anna Somner and Tamara Molunch (RCM Citizen Curators), Tapunga Nepe (Rongowhakaata Researcher), and Dr. Tehmina Goskar (Curatorial Research Centre, Director). Photograph RCM, 2020.



During my visit to the RCM, I had the privilege of interviewing Dr. Tehmina Goskar, who is also a member of the Ethics Committee of the UK Museums Association, which has a dedicated working group focused on decolonisation. Dr. Goskar emphasises that their Code of Ethics prioritises the involvement of source communities in interpreting and presenting cultural artifacts. And therefore, it is also mandatory for UK accredited museums to have policies addressing issues like restitution and repatriation. While large museums or university collections are bound by statutory regulations, she is determined that museums in Cornwall, including the RCM that is an independent museum, are involved in this process fostering dialogue with source communities that are genuine and not ad hoc. She stresses the need for open and honest conversations among museum professionals to drive progress in this area, while acknowledging that museums in the past have facilitated their collections and the artifacts in them have usually been dehumanised. Dr Goskar states that:

Because of the culture of our museums and how they've evolved over the last 250 years we have a very, literally objectifying way of viewing for example ancestral remains, either its art or its science to be investigated and we've never been under pressure to think differently, now I think we are absolutely under pressure to do that. But, I think within the sector, new generation of people are training as museum people, curators, researchers [...] I think generationally we will start to see those changes.

(T. Goskar, personal communication, February 6, 2020)

Dr. Goskar highlights that the RCM has initiated the process of repatriation, recognising the need to address past practices of colonisation, while acknowledging Cornwall's rich migration heritage, that provides an awareness of the broader impact of Cornish heritage. In an article titled *Collections, Colonialism, and the Ugly Truths of our Past* by RCM's Trainee Curator, Dan Wills of the *Ugly Truths* exhibit (RCM website, 2023), illustrates a collaborative exhibition with source communities and a generational shift mentioned by Dr. Goskar. The article acknowledges that UK museums, including RCM, have traditionally displayed cultural material from indigenous communities, reinforcing British dominance and colonialism. Wills emphasises the importance of these objects as reminders of Britain's violent past and advocates for repatriation as a way to foster reconciliation. He calls for museums to collaborate and prioritise decolonisation efforts, stating that *it is not about 'tearing up' or 'sanitising' history, but rather unwrapping a broader range of narratives so we can holistically understand our past and its repercussions* (Wills 2022).

National Museum of Ireland

The National Museum of Ireland (NMI), formerly known as the Museum of Science and Art, was established in 1877. Its founding collection comes from different institutions, including the Royal Dublin Society, the Royal Irish Academy, and Trinity College, Dublin. Initially, the Museum was under the control of the Science and Art Department in London (later known as the Victoria and Albert Museum). Following Ireland's independence in 1922, it officially became the NMI. The Museum's collections were influenced by military and colonial officers who served under the British Empire and returned home with a diverse range of items, including taonga Māori (R. Hand, personal communication, January 25, 2020). The earliest record of a taonga Māori displayed at the NMI is captured in this accompanying image from the 1970s. Taonga were organised geographically, presented in crowded display cases, serving a dual purpose as storage (Hand, 2012). Today, the taonga Māori collection is housed at Collins Barracks, the old Royal Barracks in Dublin.

Figure 4.9 *Case with taonga Māori at the National Museum of Ireland, 1970s.*
Photographer P. Gathercole. Image courtesy of Rachel Hand.



On February 20, 2020, I visited the Collins Barracks to view a selection of taonga Māori in the collection, which resembled Tūranga carving style, recorded as originating from Poverty Bay. During a previous visit to the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge University, I discussed the taonga Māori collection at the NMI with Rachel Hand, currently the Collections Manager and Curatorial Assistant in Anthropology at Cambridge and had previously worked at the NMI (2003-2006). Rachel Hand is very familiar with the taonga Māori collection at the NMI and has been involved in cataloguing its ethnographic collection. She provided pertinent documentation regarding the taonga Māori collection (personal communication, January 25, 2020).

Taonga Māori Collection

The NMI's Māori collection began in 1877 acquiring a large collection from the Royal Dublin Society. It also includes taonga Māori from Trinity College, consisting of various pieces obtained during Cook's second and third voyage by Dr. James Patten and Captain James King, and transferred to the Museum from 1882 to 1894. Additional items have been added to the collection through donations and individual acquisitions over time. Notably, the largest collection of taonga Māori, belonged to Captain George Meyler, a Dublin soldier who served in the New Zealand Wars. In 1909, the Museum purchased his entire collection from his son-in-law, Dr. Isaac Usher (Cherry, 1990). However, like other museum collections there is lack of knowledge and information regarding provenance. According to Rachel, the Museum's records are disjointed and inadequately catalogued, requiring extensive documentary research to identify original donors, establish provenance, and fill in missing details about the taonga's acquisition and history (R. Hand, personal communication, January 25, 2020). During my visit, I was able to view taonga accredited to Tūranga, including a kōruru and a pare.

Gable Ornament *Kōruru*



SCIENCE AND ART MUSEUM, DUBLIN.		REGISTER OF OBJECTS.
67		ART DIVISION.
REGISTRATION NUMBER.	DESCRIPTION AND CONDITION OF OBJECT AND GENERAL REMARKS.	
No. 377. 1886.	Piece of carved wood from the barge-board of a war-house; conical, horned head with protruding eyes; carved with spiral ornament; the eyes formerly inlaid with shell.	
Presented by	Poverty Bay, New Zealand.	
Purchased for £ 3 : = s = 2	H. = 1.5 1/2", W. = 1.2 1/2"	
from		
WHEN RECEIVED.		
of 18		
WHEN PLACED IN MUSEUM.		
of 18		

Figure 4.10 (left) *Kōruru* 1886:377, Poverty Bay, *Te Huringa 1* (1800-1900).

Figure 4.11 (right) Register, information about the *kōruru*. Images provided by Rachel Hand, 2020.

According to the Science and Art Museum Register, this *Piece of carved wood from the barge-board of a war-house; conventional head with protruding tongue; carved with spiral ornament; the eyes formerly inlaid with shell. Poverty Bay, New Zealand* was purchased from an unknown vendor in 1886. In the publication *Te Ao Māori: The Māori World* by Stella Cherry (1990), produced during a collaborative exhibition of taonga Māori at the NMI with the National Museum of New Zealand, the 'Gable Ornament Kōruru' is dated (1800-1900). David Simmons (1985) claims that the kōruru was likely collected during Cook's voyages, while also acknowledging its association with the Tūranga style of carving through cross-referencing carvings in *Te Mana o Tūranga*. Simmons travelled to Europe and North America in 1978 to study taonga Māori in museums, including the NMI. However, in his taonga Māori catalogue (Simmons 1997), he does not reference or associate the kōruru with the Cook collection, but simply states *1886:377 wood carving* as part of the Museum's general collection.

Lintel Pare

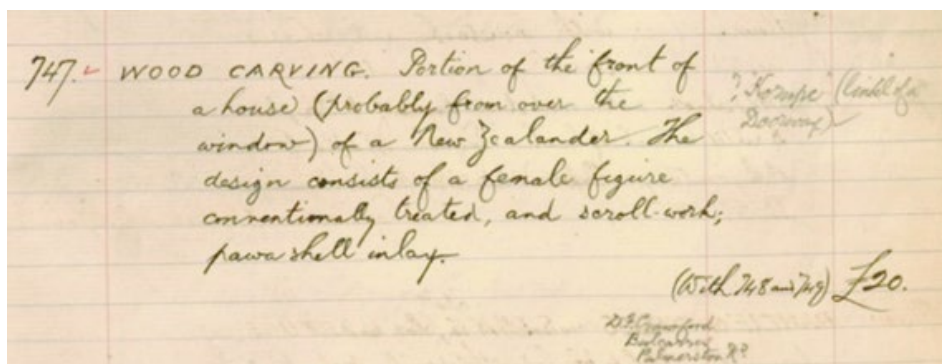


Figure 4.12 – Top Pare 1896:747 held at the NMI. © T.Nepe, 2020.

Figure 4.13 – Bottom Accession Register, NMI, information about the pare.

Image provided by R. Hand, NMI.

This pare is described in the Museum's Accession Register as a *Wood carving. Portion of a house (probably from over the window) of New Zealand. The design consists of a conventionally treated female figure and scroll-work with pāua shell inlay*. The Museum purchased it in 1896 from a vendor identified as *D.F. Crawford, Balcarres, Palmerston Road* (as inscribed on the Accession Register).

Daniel Foley Crawford (1843-1900), born in Tipperary, Ireland, migrated to New Zealand around the 1890s. He is the brother of William Fitzgerald Crawford (1844-1915), a well-known photographer, brewer, and the first mayor of Gisborne in 1877 (Robinson, 1993, cited in Te Ara, 2023). In the late 1890s, D.F. Crawford managed the Albion Club Hotel in Gisborne. It is possible that he acquired the pare during this time and returned to Ireland for a visit to Balcarres, the home of his brother John Shortt Crawford (R. Hand, personal communications, May 25, 2023). It was during this period that the NMI purchased the pare. Simmons (1985) records the pare as being from *Gisborne 1860* and describes the pare as being carved in the Tūranga style (Simmons, 2001).

Kaitiekitanga Consideration at the National Museum of Ireland

The NMI collaborated with the National Museum of New Zealand (NMNZ) in the development of an exhibition titled *Te Ao Māori* in 1990, showcasing a selection of taonga Māori from its collection at its main site on Kildare Street, Dublin. The exhibition commemorated the 150th anniversary of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, in recognition of the role played by Captain Hobson, an Irishman serving as the British consul (Rothwell, 1991; Jesso, 2009). The previously mentioned taonga from the collection, originating from Tūranga were also part of this exhibition, and featured in the catalogue with an introduction by Maui Pomare, Chairman of the NMNZ (Cherry, 1990). Ngāti Rānana and Te Rōpu Manutaki, from Aotearoa, led by Tā Pita Sharples, collaborated during the opening of *Te Ao Māori* exhibition (Jessop, 2009). Tā Pita also led a major role in the initial opening protocols of the *Te Māori* exhibition (1984-1987). *Te Ao Māori* exhibition is another testament to the legacy of *Te Māori*, and occurred in the same year as the Taonga Māori Conference in Aotearoa, at the NMNZ.

Figure 4.14 National Museum of Ireland's exhibition *Te Ao Māori*, 1990. Photograph by Ronan Quinlan (Irish Press, 21 November, 1990, p. 15). Image provided by the NMI.



Rachel Hand (personal communication, January 25, 2020) has been working on a catalogue for the Museum's ethnographic collection. She also noted that there had been very few Māori visitors to the collection in recent years, and accessing the taonga had been challenging due to the Museum's focus on Irish material, at the time there was no Oceanian Curator. She indicated that I was fortunate to have the opportunity to visit the taonga with the assistance of Matthew Seaver, Assistant Keeper at the NMI. The NMI has recently appointed a curator to care for the Oceanian collections, Dr Aoife O'Brien.

Figure 4.15 *National Museum of Ireland's store at Collins Barracks, Dublin. Viewing the taonga Māori collection with Matthew Seaver (Assistant Keeper). © T.Nepe, 2020.*



He Whakarāpopototanga - Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the three museums offer distinct responses to the concept of kaitiekitanga. The BM demonstrates kaitiekitanga through collaborative initiatives with Māori communities. This engagement extends to exhibition loans reaching marae, facilitating wānanga, and maintaining regular interactions with Māori stakeholders. Evolving curatorial roles also encompass the notion of shared stewardship, embracing cultural considerations in storage and the daily care of taonga. The RCM emphasises enhancing provenance by establishing meaningful dialogues with source communities and embracing concepts like repatriation and decolonisation, while maintaining operational costs. Rooted in Irish heritage, the NMI has expanded its scope by appointing a Curator of World Cultures, responsible for

overseeing taonga Māori. While comprehensive kaitiekitanga practices might not be fully established, a profound awareness and respect for Māori cultural protocols have evolved, influenced by the impactful *Te Māori* exhibition. A consistent thread is the shared challenges of kaitiekitanga, particularly from a distance. The struggle to maintain the original roots of kaitiekitanga and mātauranga regarding taonga Māori housed in these institutions remains apparent.

The taonga Māori examined in this chapter embody *entangled objects*, collected by historical figures such as colonial officials, missionaries, explorers, soldiers, and sailors, often sold or transferred over time. This intricate history complicates efforts to definitively trace their provenance. While potential clues emerge from museum records, stylistic associations, and oral traditions, the ultimate cultural determination by source communities remains paramount. From Rongowhakaata's perspective, these taonga hold an intergenerational responsibility, maintaining a spiritual connection across distance. They serve as ambassadors and a conduit to the past and future, offering solace and a connection to tūrangawaewae—a sense of place and belonging. Moreover, established relationships with UK museums through their respective staff caring for taonga Māori is integral to kaitiekitanga.

TE POU-TUARONGO

CHAPTER FIVE



Discussion and Analysis

...kia tū māro ai te tangata i tōna ake ao, kia mōhio a ia kei whea a tua-uri, kei whea tōna noho i tēnei ao nei, e kī ai ko te ao tū-ātea, me te mōhio anō rā, nā te kaha o te raranga i ngā tira katoa, mōhio tonu te rangatira kei whea a mua, ko te ao e kī nei ko te ao mau ki tū, mau ki tā, ko te ao aronui, koinā te ao kei tua, kei te pae o tawhiti e whanga ana ki a tatau.

(Lardelli, cited in Tapiata, R. et al, 2020).

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the nature of kaitiekitanga and its principles as a means of fostering cultural identity, specifically concerning taonga Māori and their presence within museums from a Rongowhakaata perspective. This perspective is examined by analysing preceding chapters and key subject areas: Te Hau ki Tūranga; Rongowhakaata iwi exhibitions; and He Whai Mātauranga in UK museums. These areas of study correspond with three primary research questions:

1. What is the nature of kaitiekitanga as reflected through Te Hau ki Tūranga?
2. How do the Rongowhakaata iwi exhibitions reflect and embody kaitiekitanga?
3. How do foreign museums in the United Kingdom recognise and enact kaitiekitanga?

This chapter is structured into three interdependent parts: *Tūāuri: Kaitiekitanga and Tūrangawaewae*; *Tūātea: Kaitiekitanga Recontextualised in Museums*; and *Tūaronui: Kaitiekitanga's Transformative Potential*. These sections build upon the key concepts explored in previous chapters. As articulated by Tā Derek Lardelli (personal communication, June 1, 2023), the essential precepts of kaitiekitanga are embodied in the notions of Tūāuri, Tūātea, and Tūaronui. Tūāuri encompasses our cognitive heritage transmitted through generations, while Tūātea embodies the ability to adapt the old with the new. Tūaronui, on the other hand, centres on nurturing the latent potential of generations yet to come. He raised the question; *He aha rā te puna e mokoia nei nā mo te āpōpō?*

Tūāuri: Kaitiekitanga and Tūrangawaewae

Pou-kaiāwhā: Tūrangawaewae, within Māori kin-based communities, holds profound significance as it embodies and affirms whakapapa, described as *he iho whenua* by Walker (1987), thereby anchoring cultural identity at its core. The customary institution of kaitiekitanga is also fundamental here, as it interweaves ancestral, environmental, and social elements of identity, purpose, and practice (Kawharu, 2000). In relation to taonga Māori, kaitiekitanga assumes a significant responsibility in ensuring the preservation and reverence of mātauranga Māori encapsulated in these treasured possessions, which are inextricably linked to the land, ancestors, and their kōrero. This ensures the continuity of their unique heritage and the vitality of their identity for future generations, as exemplified by Mead's (1986) interpretation of the proverb: *Toi te kupu, toi te mana, toi te whenua* (By language, self-esteem and land a culture survives). Emphasising the necessity for harmony among all three elements to regenerate cultural identity. These elements are central themes explored throughout this research.

Pou-tāhu: Te Hau ki Tūranga (Chapter 2) signifies the detrimental effects of colonisation on kaitiekitanga and tūrangawaewae, through land confiscation and cultural assimilation enforced by oppressive legislation. These actions not only instigated conflict and division within kin-communities but also led to the unjust dispossession of taonga, violating the promises outlined in Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Subsequently, in 1867, Te Hau ki Tūranga was *stolen from its people and wrenched from its roots* (Stirling 2001) following the unlawful imprisonment of Te Kooti in Wharekauri the previous year. As Binney (2012) points out, Te Kooti's anger mirrored Rukupō's anger, as he had been stripped of everything he valued. Karl Johnstone (personal communication, May 30, 2023), highlights there would have been greater resistance to the removal of Te Hau ki Tūranga if Te Kooti and other Tūranga Māori had not been sent to Wharekauri. The battle of Waerenga a Hika in 1865, known as the 'hinge of fate,' led to the loss of land, resources, people, taonga and ultimately an impingement of 'tino rangatiratanga' and the practice of kaitiekitanga – *Ka ngaro rā aku whenua, ka ngaro rā aku tika* (Black, 2018, p. 13).

Te Hau ki Tūranga emerged through colonisation and represents the resilience and fortitude of Ngāti Kaipoho and Rongowhakaata since the arrival of Cook in 1769 and the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi at Taurangakoau, Manutūkē in 1840. This period of cultural disruption witnessed significant change and innovation, including technological advancements, shifts in religious beliefs, political changes, and economic progress in Tūranga, all of which influenced the design and purpose of Te Hau ki Tūranga (Brown, 1996). Rukupō skillfully navigated this clash of two worlds by drawing upon ancestral customs and practices, employing steel chisels to breathe energy and vitality into the art of carving. Despite the negative impact of colonisation on Tūranga toi whakairo, it prompted challenges that led to adaptation and innovation. To effectively put theory into practice, kaitiekitanga becomes essential as it expresses and affirms rangatiratanga (Kawharu, 2000). However, Kawharu also asserts that kaitiekitanga requires

rangatiratanga as its authority. Subsequently, the confiscation of land and the imposition of oppressive policies disrupted the social and cultural structures that supported the practice of Tūranga toi whakairo. The loss of access to traditional resources and the imposition of a Eurocentric and monocultural hegemony marginalised the art form, resulting in the erosion of mātauranga. As a result, its practice declined over time, and fragments of this invaluable cultural heritage were placed into museums as *trophies of colonisation* (McCarthy 2007; Hakiwai 2014).

Pou-tokomanawa: Rongowhakaata Iwi Exhibitions (Chapter 3) traced a unique journey from marae-based displays to a regional exhibition at Tairāwhiti Museum, culminating in a national showcase at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. The identity of this journey lies in its commencement on marae: Pāhou Marae, Whakatō Marae, Manutūkē Marae, Ōhako Marae, and Te Kurī a Tuatai Marae. This tikanga-led approach, guided by the vision set out by Rongowhakaata Kāhui Kaumātua, entailed sharing and learning about our taonga on our ancestral land before presenting them to the world. It showcased indigenous innovation and a natural evolution of tiekitanga (T. Karaitiana, personal communication, December 13, 2022). The involvement of the marae exhibitions played a fundamental role in the success of the exhibition's at Tairāwhiti Museum and Te Papa, capturing the essence of mauri whenua, mauri tangata, and mauri kōrero. Each marae contributed to the journey in its own unique way, presenting exceptional exhibitions and offering support to one another.

These kaitiekitanga responsibilities in relation to Rongowhakaata marae continued throughout the exhibition at Tairāwhiti Museum, with formalities arranged for various pōhiri for taonga on loan. As noted by Thelma Karaitiana, the taonga ignited a sense of responsibility and stewardship within Rongowhakaata whānau and hapū, creating a new space or ātea for fostering connections with the taonga and fostering whanaungatanga. This sense of connection extended not only to the respective iwi associated with the taonga or museums but also within Rongowhakaata, where *whanaungatanga is not always apparent among the people* (T. Karaitiana, personal communication, December 13, 2022). This iwi-driven response to kaitiekitanga persisted at Te Papa despite the change in venue. The collective responsibility of iwi kaitiekitanga was maintained in the return of taonga to Whakatō Marae in 2022 after the closure of the exhibition at Te Papa. The marae is regarded as the last stronghold of Māori cultural practices (Reilly et al., 2018) and imparts duties and responsibilities that fosters manaakitanga.

The marae serves as a manifestation of tūrangawaewae, nurturing unity, collective decision-making, and cultural continuity. Within the realm of tūrangawaewae, individuals and communities embrace their whakapapa, assert their mana whenua, ignite the ahikā, and hold the marae dear as the core of their cultural identity. Preserving this relationship relies on whakapapa, with each generation playing a crucial role in upholding the social fabric of the kin group. These beliefs shape and are reshaped by each generation, embodying the essence of kaitiekitanga (Kawharu, 2000).

Pou-te-wharaua: Rongowhakaata Taonga in the UK (Chapter 4) presents taonga Māori that embody the concept of *entangled objects* (Thomas, 1991), serving as tangible reminders of the profound impact of colonisation. These taonga find themselves entangled in a complex predicament as collectors' items, which complicates the task of determining their provenance and tracing their journey from their respective source communities. While there may be indications of their connection to specific places, tribes, or individuals through documentation or stylistic characteristics, and while these institutions may possess relevant records, collaboration with source communities is crucial to establish their lineage and maintain kaitiekitanga responsibilities. As argued throughout this thesis, the true embodiment of mana taonga is realised when kaitiekitanga is embraced wholeheartedly, allowing taonga to be reconnected with their origins, the people, and the narratives from which they originated. This chapter provides only a glimpse into the nature of Rongowhakaata and Tūranga-associated taonga held within museum collections in the United Kingdom.

Tūātea: Kaitiekitanga Recontextualised in Museums

By embracing kaitiekitanga in museums, cultural heritage is revitalised, and the bond between taonga and source communities are strengthened, empowering communities to assert their cultural sovereignty. This integration fosters intergenerational learning and ensures the cultural care of taonga Māori are maintained as a means of enculturation and regaining cultural determination. Without kaitiekitanga and concepts like *mana taonga*, museums often prioritise museological perspectives and methodologies, that marginalise or misrepresent indigenous narratives, meanings, and values associated with taonga. Caution must be exercised to prevent kaitiekitanga from being reduced to tokenism or consumed by museology. As emphasised by Mere Whaanga (1999), the involvement of Māori in museums requires them to adjust their values and structures to fit within the existing museum culture (see also Schorch and Hakiwai, 2014). This adaptation stems from the disconnection of taonga from their tūrangawaewae, and recontextualisation to classification (Brown, 1996). This disconnection has an impact on the responsibility and practice of kin-based kaitiekitanga.

Pou-tāhu: Te Hau ki Tūranga (Chapter 2) illustrates this disconnection, and the impact on the customary practice of kaitiekitanga. From the time of confiscation from Orakaiapu until the late 1980s, there was an absence of consultation and meaningful relationships between the museum and iwi. This disconnection from tūrangawaewae led to the fragmentation of the whare's original structure and the loss of substantial components. Subsequent renovations, alterations, and additions were made by the Museum without consulting Ngāti Kaipoho and Rongowhakaata (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2004).

While there are differing opinions on the work done on Te Hau ki Tūranga under the leadership of Ngata, it is important to recognise that he played a significant role in preventing the whare from being

left at the Wellington port and potentially sold and shipped abroad, (K. Johnstone personal communication, May 30, 2023). Ngata's leadership should be understood within the broader context of Māori cultural renaissance, as he was instrumental in the revitalisation movement during a period of cultural degeneracy and urbanisation. Although Ngata identified Te Hau ki Tūranga as a paramount model for the revival of whare whakairo due to its artistic and historic significance predating the NZ Wars, its disconnection from tūrangawaewae was also a determining factor in distancing the whare from the customary practices of kaitiekitanga (Brown, 2009).

This disconnection from tūrangawaewae prior to the late 1980s resulted in the inappropriate use and representation of the whare. It was particularly hurtful and disrespectful when the Dominion Museum displayed the Rukupō Tāpore whakapapa inside the whare, despite subsequent court rulings (L. Moeau, cited in Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2004). Such culturally insensitive incidents highlight the consequences of the disconnection from tūrangawaewae and the absence of kaitiekitanga. However, during the court proceedings, Rongowhakaata embodied kaitiekitanga and maintained rangatiratanga.

When the Dominion Museum transitioned to a new bicultural museum, Te Papa Tongarewa, the governing body had significant Māori figures, including Māui Pōmare, Chair of the Museum Council, establishing a Māori Advisory responsible for engaging with iwi, including Rongowhakaata concerning Te Hau ki Tūranga. This initiative was inspired by the success of the *Te Māori* exhibition and transpired through the concept of *mana taonga*. Mead (1997) highlights that the genius of *Te Māori* lies in its presentation of taonga, culture, and people as an integrated entity. As a result of this landmark exhibition, Māori representation in museums has since strengthened, with increased participation at the governance, management, and operational levels. Rota Waipara of Rongowhakaata was integral in managing and relocating Te Hau ki Tūranga to Te Papa, enabling a reunion with iwi (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2004). This exposition of kaitiekitanga in Aotearoa museums today involves collaboration and consultation ensuring source communities' involvement in decision-making related to taonga Māori.

As part of the Rongowhakaata Treaty of Waitangi Settlement in 2012, Te Hau ki Tūranga was officially returned in statute. The Deed of Settlement, initialled inside Te Hau ki Tūranga at Te Papa, included an apology from the New Zealand government, acknowledging the injustice done to Ngāti Kaipoho and Rongowhakaata, with the aim of rectifying this wrong. The agreement stipulated that the whare would remain in Te Papa's care until March 31, 2017, or a mutually agreed-upon date, ensuring its preservation at a suitable standard due to its cultural, spiritual, and historical significance.

During the third reading of the Settlement Bill in Parliament in 2012, Hon. Parekura Horomia expressed concerns about the long-term management and maintenance costs of Te Hau ki Tūranga post-relocation. The Hon. Chris Finlayson confirmed the government's and Te Papa's commitment to collaborate with

Rongowhakaata, ensuring a sustainable future for the whare in its relocation (NZ Government, 2012). In 2014, Minister Finlayson reaffirmed his dedication to returning the whare and spoke about potential funding sources for its relocation, while emphasising that it would not come at the expense of Rongowhakaata (Morrison in *Marae*, 2014). During the third reading of the Bill, Hon. Nanaia Mahuta (Labour, Hauraki-Waikato) stressed the need for diligent implementation of protocols to prevent fading memories and to ensure effective implementation as intended (NZ Government, 2012). Jody Wyllie (personal communication, November 30, 2022) asserts that both Te Papa and the Ministry of Culture and Heritage carry a responsibility towards Ngāti Kaipoho and Rongowhakaata to ensure the proper return of the whare, bound in the settlement. A decade has passed, and these commitments persist only as recollections fading away—an example of government lip service.

Pou-tokomanawa: Rongowhakaata Iwi Exhibitions (Chapter 3) exemplified *mana taonga*. Johnny Moetara (Te Rautaki Reo, 2019) emphasised the profound significance of these exhibitions, extending far beyond the final polished outcome. They revolved around a transformative journey where the power of taonga acted as a unifying force for our people. The evolution of this journey, from marae to museums, embraced whanaungatanga, taonga, and kōrero, while the location changed the response to kaitiekitanga was maintained (J. Moetara, personal communication, December 13, 2022). Karl Johnstone (2022) highlights that the Te Papa exhibition, based on the concept of *Ruku i te pō, Ruku i te ao* manifested in a self-realisation of our identity through the exhibition's development, symbolising a greater importance of kōrero, behaviours, values, and experiences over the taonga themselves. The exhibition journey naturally embraced a Rongowhakaata kaitiekitanga response to the alchemy of taonga.

Hineiromia (Keith & Rongowhakaata, 2018) emphasised that the Kāhui Kaumātua provided the vision, while the rangatahi brought that vision to life. According to David Jones (personal communication, December 13, 2022), kaitiekitanga is naturally inherent and transcends verbal expression, finding its true significance in the practical manifestation of our actions. Erica Jones exemplified this principle, playing a vital role in the Te Papa exhibition, facilitating connections between the iwi and Te Papa, tūrangawaewae and the museum. Expositions of manaakitanga and tikanga, ensured a profound respect for *mauri kōrero* within the exhibition and a deep reverence for *mauri tangata* associated with the taonga. Kaitiekitanga, when recontextualised in museums, involves remaining vigilant during times of adversity and asserting what is tika. The Rongowhakaata exhibition footprint at Te Papa was one instance where the iwi challenged the status quo, insisting that the exhibition embrace the mauri of Te Hau ki Tūranga. Tama Waipara (personal communication, December 13, 2022) emphasised that the exhibition was more about reconnecting with the whare, than it was about an exhibition.

The voices of Rongowhakaata Pou-tikanga in residence at Te Papa during the iwi exhibition conveyed a powerful message that *mana taonga is not a display case* (T. Stewart, personal communication, 6 December 2022). Thelma Karaitiana (personal communication, December 13, 2022) noted that tikanga often becomes limited and preconstructed within the museum setting, restricting the natural expression of our customary practices. These sentiments emphasise that while kaitiekitanga is an integral part of the exhibition, it should not be treated as an exhibit (A. Nepia-Su'a, personal communication, 8 December 2022). This highlights the need to acknowledge that kaitiekitanga is not an isolated responsibility, it encompasses everything and demands active involvement from the outset.

Taharākau Stewart asserts that mana taonga lies in empowering people, reconnecting taonga with uri and breathing life into taonga outside the museum (personal communications, 6 December 2022). The revitalisation of taonga occurs through genuine engagement with whānau, as taonga Māori and kaitiekitanga go hand-in-hand. As emphasised by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2015), taonga cannot flourish within a glass case; its vitality emanates when it is reconnected with people. It is people who bring knowledge to life. This concept is also defined by Moana Jackson (2016) in the distinction between what we know and how we know, which is culturally determined, and shaped by the land, its people, and history, influencing how they see the world.

The Rongowhakaata iwi exhibition journey exemplified kotahitanga and a realisation that the kaupapa required collective efforts of all involved to achieve success (T. Waipara, personal communication, December 17, 2022). It highlighted that kaitiekitanga is the responsibility of everyone and necessitates the individual roles and contribution (H. Whaanga, personal communication, November 24, 2022) to uphold the Rongowhakaata Iwi Trust statement: *Kia tū rangatira ai a Rongowhakaata*. Whaanga (Rongowhakaata Rautaki Reo, 2019) noted that she felt a strong sense of unity during the exhibitions.

Pou-te-wharaua: Rongowhakaata Taonga in UK Museums (Chapter 4) sheds light on the significant role foreign museums in the United Kingdom play in preserving cultural heritage in the care of taonga Māori from Aotearoa at global, regional, and national levels. Although practices such as kaitiekitanga and mana taonga may not be widely embraced, there is a growing recognition and appreciation for Māori cultural customs and protocols, largely influenced by the *Te Māori* exhibition. The field of 'new museology' is currently in a state of flux, particularly in terms of engaging and collaborating with indigenous and source communities. The Royal Cornwall Museum is an independent institution open to discussions surrounding decolonisation, reconciliation, and repatriation. However, these endeavours are not without challenges. They present complexities and dilemmas that need to be addressed in the context of kaitiekitanga from a distance. There is a need for continuous collaborations with source communities to determine the provenance of taonga, lineage and kaitiekitanga descendants. As argued

in this thesis, mana taonga is only exemplified when kaitiekitanga is emphatic, when taonga are reconnected to place, people, and the kōrero from which they were created.

Tūaronui: Kaitiekitanga, Transformative Potential

Kaitiekitanga plays a vital role in shaping our unique identity, encompassing our ancestral connections, kinship, and the transmission of traditional knowledge, manifested through values like manaakitanga, which is evident in our customary practices maintained on the marae. The revitalisation of kaitiekitanga goes hand-in-hand with taonga Māori, as it requires us to recognise that our cultural treasures represent the very spaces in which we exist on a daily basis (K. Johnstone, personal communication, May 30, 2023). While incorporating kaitiekitanga into museums can lead to significant transformations, it is crucial to recognise that the authenticity of kaitiekitanga can be influenced and manipulated by foreign systems that impose their own interpretations. However, museums can play a role in facilitating the re-indigenisation of kaitiekitanga by providing a context for good practice, allowing whānau, hapū, and iwi to determine their own path, which is culturally determined (Jackson, 2016).

In *Pou-tāhu: Te Hau ki Tūranga* (Chapter 2), the concept of ownership is explored in relation to the Rongowhakaata Treaty Settlements concerning Te Hau ki Tūranga. While the settlement recognises iwi ownership of the whare, Hineioromia Whaanga (personal communication, November 24, 2022) asserts that the reality is that *it doesn't truly feel that way*, because Government-imposed obstacles, obligations, and financial constraints limits iwi self-determination. Jody Wyllie (personal communication, November 30, 2022) highlights the shift in kaitiekitanga associated with the whare, from a chief's house to an intertribal heirloom, and representing the revival of Māori culture. Through the claims process, the whare has transformed into a tribal taonga, symbolising unity and pride for Rongowhakaata. He maintains that it is important to acknowledge that the whare holds a special significance as a hapū taonga, reflecting Rongowhakaata's identity as a hapū-based community prior to the 1860s and unifying through shared genealogical connections in confronting common adversaries with the Crown.

Johnny Moetara (personal communication, December 13, 2022) signals that the essence of kaitiekitanga lies in the connections and whakapapa, rather than the singular aspect of ownership. By attaching too much value to material possessions, we often find ourselves in a state of deficit. Karl Johnstone (personal communication, May 30, 2023) highlights the transformative potential of kaitiekitanga, which reconnects us to our core identity and emphasises the importance of balance and harmony in our lives. This principle goes beyond our individual needs and establishes a reciprocal relationship that surpasses mere ownership, enabling tikanga to unfold harmoniously when we achieve equilibrium grounded in a customary value system that is tika and pono. Consequently, by shifting our attention away from material possessions, we unlock a greater sense of abundance and contentment. Johnny Moetara further

emphasises the need to redirect our focus towards revitalising the whare and embracing our role as kaitieki for these taonga, rather than using them as sources of personal energy or for political agendas.

Karl Johnstone (personal communication, May 30, 2023) has emphasised the importance of recognising our whare taonga as the environments we actively engage with in our daily lives. He acknowledges that despite the good intentions of Kaitieki Māori within museums, they are operating within a Western system that has limitations. This inherent disconnect prevents us from fully carrying out our kin-based kaitiekitanga responsibilities in the current state of museums. Similarly, Johnny Moetara (personal communication, December 13, 2022) shares concerns about museums being like zoos, where they appropriate and exhibit objects that do not belong to them, treating them as commodities for visual pleasure, rather than practicing genuine kaitiekitanga. This draws attention to the continuous interplay between iwi and museums, with the assertion that museum kaitiaki cannot fully embody the true spirit of kaitiekitanga that resides within source communities (McCarthy et al., 2018). In relation to Te Hau ki Tūranga, Johnstone says that we have two options: redefining our kaitiekitanga obligation within the museum context or bringing them back home. He says that both options have value, and we should avoid simplistic either-or choices. Understanding the context and finding a balanced approach is crucial.

Te Kooti is referenced throughout this thesis, which holds relevance today in the context of kaitiekitanga and its transformative potential. In his waiata *Pinepine te kura*, Te Kooti encourages his people to seek a path of tikanga for peaceful coexistence in the world. Karl Johnstone (personal communication, May 30, 2023) emphasises the importance of reinterpreting traditional narratives to make them relevant in the present rather than treating them as purely historical. Johnny Moetara recognises the value of preserving traditional practices while also advancing and innovating the art form. Embracing innovation and pushing boundaries are viewed as integral aspects of our creative identity. Figures like Rukupō and Te Kooti from Rongowhakaata history exemplify true kaitiekitanga, demonstrating innovative solutions in the face of cultural adversity to sustain cultural identity. The sentiment expressed by Rukupō in his petition, *kei te iwi katoa te ritenga*, aligns with Whaanga's belief that kaitiekitanga is a collective responsibility, and the decision regarding its return rests with the people.

Pou-tokomanawa: Rongowhakaata Iwi Exhibitions (Chapter 3) explored Rongowhakaata kaitiekitanga within the context of museum exhibitions. While the exhibition may have concluded, the ongoing journey of revitalising identity and practicing kaitiekitanga remains in a state of flux. Taharākau Stewart emphasises the importance of innovative change that requires stability, recognising that taonga are interwoven with dimensions beyond mere physical art, encompassing the artists and their connections to descendants and land. This notion highlights the dual aspect of kaitieki-tangata and kaitieki-taonga, which also recognises the importance of self-care. Faith and mutual belief are integral to kaitiekitanga, a concept emphasised by Hineiromia Whaanga (personal communication, November 24, 2022), who

advocates drawing inspiration from tīpuna, leveraging each other's strengths and weaknesses, and lifting one another up to foster success. The vitality of the iwi relies on the strength of hapū and whānau, as reflected in the marae-based exhibitions. The chapter affirms the importance of unity, belief, support, and self-reflection in the timeless journey of kaitiekitanga and the cultural well-being of the iwi.

Pou-te-wharaua: Rongowhakaata Taonga in UK Museums (Chapter 4) highlights the importance of developing and nurturing relationships with museums in the UK that house taonga Māori. Within this context, establishing a comprehensive understanding of kaitiekitanga and its importance to whānau, hapū, and iwi becomes paramount. These taonga become cultural ambassadors and therefore these relationships abroad serve as vital conduits for preserving and perpetuating the cultural significance of these taonga. By actively engaging with UK museums, we can effectively advocate for the proper care, interpretation, and presentation of these taonga, aligning their display, care, and management practices with the principles of kaitiekitanga. This collaborative approach enables the sharing of knowledge, facilitates the repatriation of taonga where appropriate, and empowers whānau, hapū and iwi to guide the representation and narratives surrounding their ancestral treasures. Ultimately, the establishment and maintenance of these relationships serve as a means of safeguarding kaitiekitanga and sustaining the enduring connection between Rongowhakaata and their taonga held in UK museums.

He Whakarāpopototanga - Chapter Summary

Throughout this thesis, with a focus on this chapter, Hirini Moko Mead's (1997) broken eggshell analogy elucidates the essence of kaitiekitanga. Mead portrays cultural identity as a fragmented eggshell, challenging us to reconnect the lost and broken pieces, some of which are held in museums. As we diligently work to piece together our identity, the eggshell undergoes transformation, symbolising the ongoing evolution of mātauranga Māori. The active responsibility of kaitiekitanga is to move beyond theoretical concepts and put them into action, nurturing our heritage and mending fragments to ensure the continuity of our practices and values. This revitalises our cultural identity, enabling it to thrive amidst societal changes with the tools presented to us. The dissertation argues that kaitiekitanga's obligation towards taonga Māori represents both a tangible and intangible manifestation of tikanga, nurtured through the interdependence of mauri whenua, mauri tangata, and mauri kōrero. By re-establishing taonga's rightful place, alongside people and their intellectual heritage, this holistic approach fosters cultural determination, shaped by whānau, hapū and iwi.

The introduction raises thought-provoking questions: *He aha rā te puna e mokoia nei nā mo te āpōpō?* emphasising our responsibility as kaitieki to consider the future of our cultural heritage. Through our dedicated pursuit of kaitiekitanga, we mend cultural fragments, nurture our heritage, and shape the future of Māori society.

PURAPURA Ā-WHARE

CHAPTER SIX



Conclusion

*Pō! Pō! E tangi ana tama ki te kai māna
Waiho, me tiki ake ki te Pou-a-hao-kai,
Hei ā mai te pakake ki uta rā, hei waiū mō tama...*

(E. Te Pakaru, cited in Ngata, 2006,p.219)

The cry of my child calls for nourishment and sustenance, provided through the ancestral knowledge and practices passed down through generations, retrieved from the Pillars-of-netted-food, a source from which ancestral wisdom flows. The whale, majestic and grand, comes ashore, offers its nourishing milk for my beloved child—a gift of eternal embrace. While this thesis draws to a close, the journey of kaitiekitanga is timeless. From the beginning of this research, the majestic photograph captured during the 150-year anniversary of Te Hau ki Tūranga at the Dominion Museum in 1992 reflects the profound intergenerational kinship of Rongowhakaata, demonstrating the essence of nurturing kaitiekitanga and illuminates the whakataūākī: *He whare maihi tū ki roto ki te pā tūwatawata he tohu nō te rangatira*. In conclusion, this chapter summarises the main research findings, explores their value in relation to this whakataūākī, acknowledges limitations, and suggests potential avenues for future research.

Ngā Hua o Te Rangahau

The objective of this research is to explore the significance of kaitiekitanga and its guiding principles in upholding the cultural identity of Rongowhakaata whānau, hapū, and iwi through the preservation of taonga Māori housed in the care of museums. The thesis addresses the deep-seated challenges faced by museums and Rongowhakaata due to the decontextualised nature of taonga Māori in museums. Despite the magnitude of these challenges, the thesis captures kōrero and case studies that shed light on the hand-in-hand necessity for iwi-enacted kaitiekitanga practices to be at the heart of changes in museums.

Drawing inspiration from the whakataūākī: *He whare maihi tū ki roto ki te pā tūwatawata he tohu nō te rangatira*, this research conclusion finds expression in three interdependent sections: *Whare Maihi: Kaitiekitanga and Tūrangawaewae*; *Pā Tūwatawata: Resilience, Adaptability, and Innovation*; and *Tohu Rangatira: The Enduring Relevance of Kaitiekitanga*. This chapter envelops the whare whakairo framework within the pā-tūwatawata, offering a robust structure and symbolising self-determination.

Whare Maihi: Kaitiekitanga and Tūrangawaewae

The heart of this research lies in the profound connection between kaitiekitanga and tūrangawaewae. This connection corresponds with the statement (Kawharu, 2000) that kaitiekitanga stands as a powerful embodiment and affirmation of rangatiratanga and is, therefore, inextricably linked to tūrangawaewae, representing the essence of mauri whenua, mauri tangata, and mauri kōrero. While museum policies like mana taonga recognise cultural connections with source communities, the kin-based kaitiekitanga finds true expression when taonga are reconnected with tūrangawaewae. This research highlights the innate nature of kaitiekitanga in this respect, rather than a conceptual expression. The three case studies in this research—*Te Hau ki Tūranga*, *Rongowhakaata Iwi Exhibitions*, and *He Whai Mātauranga*—demonstrate the nature of taonga recontextualised within museum settings and their impact on the delicate fabric of kaitiekitanga, also determining rangatiratanga.

The museum-like role of Te Hau ki Tūranga illustrates both a fracturing of kaitiekitanga due to the severance of tūrangawaewae and the unwavering determination of Rongowhakaata in upholding and pursuing rangatiratanga within the challenges of this context. The karanga of the whare to its people prompted a series of exhibitions that offered an unparalleled journey, commencing from the marae and reinvigorating kin-based kaitiekitanga. The marae's significance as a stronghold of cultural practices, imparting tikanga and kaitiekitanga responsibilities, reinstates the fundamentals of tūrangawaewae, mana whenua, and ahikā. The research on taonga held in UK museums, on the other hand, demonstrates challenges due to disconnection from tūrangawaewae, particularly in determining provenance and establishing enduring kaitiekitanga relationships from a distant location.

This intimate relationship between kaitiekitanga and tūrangawaewae, firmly anchored in the customary value system encompassing whakapapa, whanaungatanga, and manaakitanga, plays an integral role in activating mātauranga Māori through tikanga (Mead, 2003). Therefore, emphasising the importance of recognising our whare taonga as the spaces we actively embrace daily. This unbreakable link fortifies the cultural identity of Rongowhakaata whānau, hapū, and iwi, creating a timeless legacy.

Pā Tūwatawata: Resilience, Adaptability, and Innovation

Colonisation has had a damaging impact on the cultural identity and customary practice of kaitiekitanga, particularly due to land confiscation and the assimilation of Māori culture. However, amidst these challenges, it has also fostered resilience, adaptability, and cultural innovation. Rukupō and Te Kooti are leading examples demonstrating their ability to pursue excellence in the face of adversity. Te Kooti's message, *Kimihia e te iwi te ara o te tikanga i pai ai te noho i te ao nei*, urges his people to embrace tikanga for cultural fortitude despite social and political challenges. This enduring manifestation of identity continues to embody resilience, adaptation, and innovation in indigenous communities today.

The research highlights the significance of collaboration in fostering resilience, adaptation, and innovation, which also encompasses enculturation as a means of cultural resurgence and development (Mead, 1997). The groundbreaking *Te Māori* exhibition (1984-1987) brought a transformative shift in how Māori culture is perceived within museums, and this influence extended to museums in the UK. Following the *Te Māori: Te Hokinga Mai* exhibition in 1986 at the Dominion Museum in Wellington, a collaboration between the Museum and Rongowhakaata emerged, determining the future and the relocation of Te Hau ki Tūranga during the establishment of the new National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. This vision was forged in partnership with Rongowhakaata kaumātua, ensuring iwi representation in decision-making, management, and implementation while adhering to iwi cultural protocols. The involvement of iwi within museums had a profound transformative impact. This reconnection between Te Hau ki Tūranga and Rongowhakaata ultimately led to the statutory return of the whare as part of the Rongowhakaata Treaty Settlement in 2012.

In 2015, Te Papa initiated discussions with Rongowhakaata, leading to the iwi's residence in 2017. Once again, Rongowhakaata kaumātua set the vision to start from the marae and move to Tairāwhiti Museum, before culminating at Te Papa, embracing taonga, people, and kōrero at home before sharing them with the world. This vision was manifested with a strong intergenerational representation of Rongowhakaata. Throughout this journey, the process of enculturation through taonga reconnection was coupled with the empowerment of whanaungatanga internally and externally, backed by museum collaboration and robust iwi representation. However, the research noted that as the exhibition moved away from tūrangawaewae, the response to kaitiekitanga didn't change, though its context continued to evolve. Rongowhakaata pou-tikanga at Te Papa during the exhibition, emphasised that *mana taonga isn't a*

display case. This concern reveals that tikanga becomes limited and constrained within the museum setting, restricting the natural expression of the customary practice of kin-based kaitiekitanga.

The research also highlights that kaitiekitanga, tikanga, and mātauranga Māori are not static, they evolve over time, remaining relevant and in tune with the shifting political dynamics, creating a state of continuous development that nurtures social progress and cultural well-being. Mātauranga Māori comes alive through tikanga Māori, and kaitiekitanga puts those principles into action, while also being shaped by each generation (Kawharu 2000; Mead 2003). Therefore, the intergenerational responsibility of kaitiekitanga, embracing 'kotahitanga' or unity, becomes instrumental in recognising rangatiratanga.

Tohu Rangatira: The Enduring Relevance of Kaitiekitanga

As we delve deeper into the essence of kaitiekitanga, this research underscores its vital importance not just for the current generation but also for generations yet to come. The intergenerational responsibility inherent in kaitiekitanga aligns with the concept of kōtahitanga—a unifying force that bridges the past, present, and future. In the ongoing transformative journey of Rongowhakaata, the Rongowhakaata exhibitions serve as enduring milestones, fostering an unbroken connection with taonga held in museums both in Aotearoa and abroad, while steadfastly upholding cultural identity and integrity.

The essence of the whakataukī employed in this conclusion emphasises that collective strength is pivotal in ensuring a sense of self-determination. This perspective of kotahitanga based on whakapapa finds both a tangible and intangible expression through Te Hau ki Tūranga and the Rongowhakaata iwi exhibitions. These exhibitions emphasised that the self-realisation and self-determination of the iwi are intrinsically linked to the self-determination of whānau and hapū, as exemplified through the marae exhibitions and their continuous involvement throughout the exhibitions' journey. Empowering whānau and hapū enables the true essence of kin-based kaitiekitanga to flourish.

The research emphasised the significant intangible values embraced by Te Hau ki Tūranga, and the legacy left behind by Raharuhi Rukupō in advancing the art of carving for the betterment of his people, and therefore became an aspirational blueprint for Māoridom. Thought-provoking questions were raised: Where are the Rukupō of today and tomorrow? —prompting the quest for nurturing the next generation of visionary leaders. The exhibitions drew inspiration from Rukupō, reinstated in the exhibition at Te Papa, *Ko Rongowhakaata, Ruku i te pō, Ruku i te ao: The Story of Light and Shadow* (2017-2022). The research highlighted that the journey held greater significance than the ultimate destination, and exalted the importance of collective participation, narratives, behaviours, and experiences.

However, the extent of the proverb employed challenges our commitment to kaitiekitanga, emphasising; *He whare tu ki te wa, he kai na te ahi* (A house that stands out in the open is food for fire). The journey of kaitiekitanga is an *eternal thread*, and while it is argued that kaitiekitanga is inextricably linked to tūrangawaewae, our commitment to its preservation and nurturing is of utmost importance for the cultural resilience of future generations, determining what rangatiratanga may look like tomorrow.

E ngaki ana a mua, e tōtō ana a muri: Discoveries from the Research and Beyond

Cultivating an understanding of kaitiekitanga, the complexities of iwi-museum relationships have emerged as a significant area influencing its practice. However, due to the scope of this research, delving deeply into the nuances of these relationships was not feasible. These complexities extend beyond Aotearoa museums, as seen in *Te Pou-te-wharaua: Taonga Held in UK Museums* (Chapter 4), where challenges in solidifying taonga provenance and addressing missing pieces from Te Hau ki Tūranga highlight the need for further investigation and collaboration between Rongowhakaata and museums to ensure comprehensive cultural representation and knowledge. While Te Hau ki Tūranga played an integral part in this research, the thesis did not intend to fully uncover all complexities surrounding the whare, particularly its relocation home, and ongoing care. Although the research provided a range of Rongowhakaata perspectives through interviews, the vastness of the topic calls for additional interviews and perspectives to achieve a broader understanding of Rongowhakaata whānau, hapū, and iwi's viewpoint and knowledge of kaitiekitanga in relation to the topics covered in this study.

Therefore, the limitations encountered in this research provide fertile ground for future research endeavours. Addressing the ongoing debate surrounding Te Hau ki Tūranga and its relocation will require collaborative efforts and open dialogue between Rongowhakaata, Ngāti Kaipoho, and other stakeholders. Further exploration of iwi-museum relationships will aid in understanding how these dynamics influence the practice of kaitiekitanga, offering valuable insights to strengthen the connection between iwi and taonga held in museum collections. Additionally, efforts to solidify provenance and fill gaps in the knowledge of taonga will be crucial to ensuring a more comprehensive understanding.

The intergenerational transformation and the continuous journey and responsibility of kaitiekitanga, as demonstrated in this research, is not static but rather dynamic, evolving over time to remain relevant and aligned with the shifting political dynamics of the world. This intergenerational responsibility requires continuous engagement and dedication from each generation to nurture the cultural identity and self-determination of Rongowhakaata whānau, hapū, and iwi. Rongowhakaata Halbert (1999) says: *The store of knowledge is by no means exhausted; but, unless each generation restudies and rewrites the past for itself, history will either be lost or continue in a state of flux* (p. 14).

This resonates deeply with the concept of kaitiakitanga, highlighting the importance of ongoing learning, adaptation, and active preservation of cultural knowledge to ensure vitality and a thriving future. The journey of kaitiakitanga is a continuum, guided by the wisdom and teachings of the past, embraced by the present, and carried forward by the generations to come, forming an unbroken thread of cultural resilience and identity.

Kupu Whakakōpani: Concluding Words

This dissertation maintains that the obligation of kaitiakitanga concerning taonga Māori held in museums encompasses both tangible and intangible expressions of tikanga, fostered through the interdependency of mauri whenua, mauri tangata, and mauri kōrero. By reconnecting taonga with this eternal thread of whakapapa, this more comprehensive approach regenerates Māori knowledge and identity, empowering whānau, hapū, and iwi to realise their potential and exercise self-determination.

"E ngaki ana a mua, e tōtō ana a muri"

(When those leading perform their duties effectively, those following can fulfil theirs, and together, they can attain their shared objective)

This proverb, originally expressed by Tūranga chiefs during the time of Raharuhi Rukupō to describe the impact of colonisation and land confiscation, which led to the acquisition of Te Hau ki Tūranga and other taonga, remains relevant today in a more positive sense. It highlights that this research and the intergenerational responsibility of kaitiakitanga continue to evolve, much like the journey of the Rongowhakaata iwi exhibitions and the enduring milestones of the 150th anniversary of the whare, paving the way forward for what lies ahead. These events demonstrate the resilience and adaptability of Rongowhakaata in maintaining cultural identity.

Throughout this interconnected journey of kaitiakitanga, this research emphasises that pursuing cultural vitality, embracing intergenerational responsibility, and being adaptable in the face of adversity are crucial in expressing and asserting cultural identity and self-determination. Guided by tikanga Māori, kaitiakitanga translates principles into active practices, dynamically shaping cultural progress and ensuring a bountiful harvest for future generations.

Kuputaka – Tuatahi

Glossary – Part One

A

ahikā	title to land through occupation by a group, generally over a long period of time.
amo	bargeboard support - upright supports
apahau	spirit of the dead
ātea	open area in front of the <i>wharenuī</i>

H

hapū	kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe
heke	rafter
he toi whakairo, he mana tangata	where there is artistic excellence, there is human dignity
hīnaki pūrangi	bag, net attached to eel trap
hoe	paddle

I

iho atua	divide descent, descended from the gods
iho whenua	ancestral land, the umbilical cord that connects tangata (people) and whenua (land)
iwi	extended kinship group, tribe

K

kaihaka	person(s) responsible for performing the haka pōhiri
kaikarakia	person(s) responsible for reciting prayers
kaikawe	person(s) responsible for carrying, handling taonga
kaikōrero	speakers
kaimatataki	person(s) responsible for challenge during the pōhiri
kaitakakai	kitchen hands
kaitieki	Tūranga dialect for kaitiaki, trustee, minder, guard, guardian, custodian, keeper
kaitieki Māori	word designating Māori museum staff, responsible for the cultural care of taonga

kaitiekitanga	guardianship, stewardship of taonga Māori in museum collections
kaiwaiata	person(s) responsible for performing waiata
kākahu	cloak
karakia	incantation, ritual chant, chant, intoned incantation
karanga	formal call, ceremonial call, welcome call
kaupapa Māori	Māori approach
kiekie	<i>Freycinetia banksia</i> , a thick native vine which has long leaves used for weaving
kōrero	speech, narrative, story, news, account, discussion, conversation
kōwhaiwhai	painted scroll ornamentation - commonly used on meeting house rafters
kupenga	a net; fishing net
kupu	word, saying, talk, message, statement, utterance, lyric

M

mahau	porch, verandah
maihi	the facing boards on the gable of a house,
mana	prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power
manaakitanga	hospitality, kindness, generosity, support, reciprocity
mana taonga	the power, authority and responsibility associated with the possession of taonga
mana whenua	territorial rights, power from the land, authority over land or territory
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge - the body of knowledge originating from Māori ancestors
mauri	life principle, life force, vital essence; an energy which binds and animates all things in the physical world
mauri kōrero	life-essence associated with the mastery of traditions, genealogies, and other verbally-recorded treasures of the tribe
mauri stone	a stone believed to maintain mauri (life force)
mauri tangata	life-essence associated with people
mauri whenua	life-essence associated with land
mere pounamu	a short, flat weapon of greenstone
mokopuna	grandchildren, grandchild
mōteatea	lament, traditional chant, sung poetry

P

pātaka kai	food storage
pā-tūwatawata	main fence of a pā; fort defended by a stockade
patu	short club
patu muka	flax pounder
pāua shell	flattened, ear-shaped shells of pāua (abalone)
pepeha	set form of words known for their economy and metaphorical language
pīngao	golden sand sedge, used for weaving and 'tukutuku' panels
pōhiri	welcome ceremony on a marae
pou kaiāwhā	external post in front of a meeting house
poupou	post, pole, upright slabs forming the framework of the walls of a house
pou tāhū	post supporting the ridge pole in the front wall inside a meeting house
poutama	stepped pattern of <i>tukutuku</i> panels and woven mats
pou te wharaua	penultimate post inside supporting the back of a meeting house
pou tokomanawa	centre pole supporting the ridge pole of a meeting house
pou tuarongo	back wall post of a meeting house
puna roimata	the accompanying wailing of women, ceremonial call during the pōhiri, kaikaranga

R

rangatahi	younger generation, youth
rangatiratanga	chieftainship, right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy, chiefly authority
raupō	bulrush, <i>Typha orientalis</i>

T

taiaha	long wooden weapon of hard wood with one end carved and decorated
taiao	the natural world
takapau	floor mat
taonga tuku iho	something handed down, cultural property, heritage
taonga whawhai	weapons, fighting implements
tauihu	bow, prow, figurehead (of a canoe)
tekoteko	carved figure on the gable of a meeting house

tikanga	correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, set of beliefs associated with Māori cultural practices
tikanga iho matua	tikanga derived from Māori beliefs and knowledge
tikanga teretere	tikanga that can be changed, and not fixed with tikanga iho atua
tipua	guardian spirit
tīpuna	ancestors, grandparents
tiwha	appeal for assistance in war
tohunga whakairo	master carver
tukutuku	ornamental lattice-work - used particularly between carvings around the walls of meeting houses
tūrangawaewae	domicile, place where one has the right to stand - place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship

U

umu	oven, earth oven
upoko ariki	paramount chief
utu	reciprocity, revenge

W

waiata whakaoriori and tribal history	lullaby, song composed on the birth of a chiefly child about his/her ancestry
wahaika blade	short club of wood or whalebone with a carved figure on one side of the blade
waharoa	entrance to a <i>pā</i> , gateway, main entranceway
waka tīwai	dugout canoe without attached sides
whakapapa	genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent
whakatauākī	proverb
whakawae	carved uprights on either side of the door of a meeting house
whakairo	carving
whakatika	set out (on a journey); to prepare
whānau	extended family, family group
whanaungatanga	relationship, kinship, sense of family connection - a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging

whare whakairo	carved house, meeting house
whāriki	floor covering, ground cover, floor mat
whatu kākahu	weaving of cloaks

Kuputaka – Tuarua

Glossary – Part Two

Chapter One

He whare tu ki te wa he kai na te ahi,
He whare maihi i tu ki te pa-tuwatawata, he tohu no te rangatira

A house in the open is food for the fire, but an adorned house standing within a stockaded pa is the sign of chieftainship.

(Taharākau cited in Te Ua 1932, p. 50)

Ko Hinehikirangi ka u kei uta
Te kowhai ka ngaora ka ringitia te kete ko Manawaru, ko Araiteuru

It was Hinehikirangi who reached the shore
And, with the kowhai in flower, emptied the kit at
Manawaru and Araiteuru

(Halbert, 1999, p. 29)

Nō te mea ko te mauri mana kōrero, koirā ki tōku nei rongo ki ōku tīpuna e kōrero ana, e toru ngā mauri,
ko te mauri whenua, ko te mauri tangata, ko te mauri kōrero.

Because, the essence of authoritative discourse, that is what I have heard my old people talk about, that there are three mauri, the life force associated of the land, the life force of the people, and the life force of discussion.

Hēni Sunderland (personal recording. n.d.)

Ki te kore he tikanga e kore ngā iwi e ora

Without customs, the people will not prosper

(Milroy, 16 August 2015, Panekiretanga wānanga tikanga).

E toru ngā pou matua o te ao Māori, ko te tikanga, ko te whakapono, ko te manaaki me te aroha

The Māori world stands on three pillars, custom, worship, charity

Tā te rangatira tāna kai he kōrero, tā te ware he muhukai (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 362)

The chief's sustenance is discussion, but the low born is inattentive.

Chapter Two

Ka ki mai rātou ki ahau, kia waiho tonu te ritenga i ngā kaumatua o mua. Ka mea atu ahau ki a rātou e kore rawa ahau e mau ki ēna ritenga, kua pau nā ēna ritenga i ngā ritenga a te Pākehā te kai.

Raharuhi Rukupō to Gov Grey June 1821

They said to me to let the customs of the elders of old remain. And I said to them that I would certainly not maintain those customs, that they had been superseded by Pakeha ways.

Wī Tako (Waka Māori, 1865);

Ko te ritenga o ēnei kōrero, i taea e au, ko Rongowhakaata – e rite ana ki taua iwi.

The likeness of these narratives, which I can comprehend, is akin to that of the Rongowhakaata tribe.

Ko te inoi tenei o o koutou tangata pono, o o koutou tino hoa, o etahi o nga tangata o Turanga e mea ana, kia tirohia e koutou e te Runanga Rangatira tetahi o matou pouritanga, ko to matou taonga nui ko to matou whare whakairo kua mauria huhua koretia, e te Kawanatanga, kihai matou i whakaae. (Raharuhi Rukupō, Petition, 8 July 1867)

This petition of your true and faithful friends, some of the people of Turanga, prays that you will look into one of our troubles. Our very valuable carved house has been taken away, without pretext, by the Government; we did not consent to its removal.

He pai mehemea he pono te korero a te Kawana, ara, kahore ia e hiahia ana ki te whawhai ki a matou kahore i te pono. Kei te marama matou ki nga tikanga o ou kupu, ara, e rua ke nga taha, kei roto i a matou ehara i te kupu pono, kahore ia e hiahia ana ki te whawhai, i te mea kei a matou te whenua e pupuri ana, e hua mai nei te momona, a, i runga hoki i te whenua momona, ka puta mai ko te moni. Koia nei te take ka whawhai tonu ia ki a matou.

(Raharuhi Rukupō me te Rūnanga o Tūranga, July 1861)

It is good if what the Governor says is true, that is, "that he does not wish to fight", to our knowledge it is not true. We are aware of the proper view of your word, namely, it has two sides, and within ourselves your word will not abide true, that he does not wish to fight, because we have the land in possession from which flows fatness, and from the fatness of our land we derive what we are now possessed of, namely money. This will be the cause or the reason for which he will fight us.

...ko nga korero pono enei o te mauranga o taua whare, ara; i te taenga mai o te Ritimona, ka tono mai kia hoatu e au te whare, kahore au i whakaae, mea atu ana ahau ki a ia, kahore, kei te iwi katoa te ritenga, ka mea mai ia ki au na ratou ranei te whare? mea atu ana ahau, kahore naku ano te whare erangi ko te mahi na matou tahi.

(Raharuhi Rukupō, Petition, 8 July 1867)

This is a true account of what took place in reference to the removal of that house: at the time of Mr. Richmond's visit here, he asked me to give up the house; I did not consent, but told him, "No, it is for the whole people to consider." He then asked me if the house belonged to them all. I answered, "No, the house is mine, but the work was done by all of us."

Haere mai e te manuhiri tūārangi.

Haere mai, haere mai, haere mai!

He whare tino mokemoke ahau ināiane.

Kua ngaro taku iwi ake, kua riro ki te Pō.

Welcome visitors from afar

Welcome, welcome, welcome!

I'm a very lonely house now

My own people have been lost, they have departed into the night.

Kore anō au e rongō ki te reo wahine e karanga ana

I will never again hear the voices of women performing the karanga

whāwhātia ngā tipuna o Ngāti Kaipoho

touch as you please the ancestors of Ngāti Kaipoho

I heipu noa i roto i te whare nei, ka rongō atu, ka mōhio. Katahi au ka pātai ake, ko wai hoki tēnei o wā tātou ope whakaeke. Ka kīia mai ko Takitimu, nō te mea i reira i te ata nei i te taenga mai o te hunga o te tekau karaka. Katahi au ka titiro pehea ana rā hoki rā tēnei āhuetanga? Ka rongō atu ahau i a Moko Mead e mea ana he ope nui rawa me haramai rawa ki roto nei. Ka aroha ki ngā tīpuna, ki te whare, nā reira ka whakapiri ki tōna taha. Engari uru mai ana tērā whakaaro - Te kotahi nā Tūrāhiri ripo ana te moana.

(H. Sunderland, 1987)

I was moved to do so, while in the building I felt it and understood. And then I asked, who is this group coming on. The response was, Tākitimu. Because I was there in the morning when the people arrived at 10am. I then observed and thought - What is going to happening here? I heard Moko Mead say that it was a big crowd, and to gather inside. I felt for the ancestors, and the house, so I held to standing near the house. I was reminded of that proverb – The one child only of Tūrāhiri, who causes the rippling of the sea.

Te whare o ngā tīpuna, Te Hau ki Tūranga nui e

Rukupō te tangata o te taiao Māori e

Te mana whakairo rā, Rongowhakaata te iwi

Maranga mai e taku whare e tau nei

Kua tae mai rā tō iwi ki te whakanui rā e

Our great ancestral house, Te Hau ki Tūranga,
Rukupō the man of the Māori natural world
The artistry of carving, of the Rongowhakaata people
Arise, my house that stands here
Your people have come to celebrate, indeed.

Neke atu i te rau mātou i haere, ka whakaeke atu mātou...ka pōhirihia mai mātou, te kapa haka a tērā o wā tāua whanaunga a Rota Waipara, i reira i te mihi i a mātou, i te karanga i a mātou kia whakaeke atu i mua i te tīpuna rā. Nō te mea, ka pā mai te ihi, te wehi, te whakamataku ki a mātou, ka puta ake te wana i roto i tō rahi o Rongowhakaata. Ka tīmata a Rongowhakaata ki te haku, haka atu, haruru ana te whare...

(T. Stewart, 29 November 1992)

There were over a hundred of us that went...we were welcomed, by the performance group of our cousin Rota Waipara, there to greet us, call for us to enter onto and in front of our ancestral house. For, as the power, the awe, and the intimidation enveloped us, the energy surged within your people of Rongowhakaata. Rongowhakaata began to lead, to dance forth, the house resonating...

Nō Rongowhakaata tērā wharenuī, ā, he uaua ki ētahi o ō tātou kaumātua o iwi kē, kia tū hei kaikaranga, hei kaikōrero rānei...Kāore e tika ana kia whakahaerehia ētahi o ērā kaupapa [Pākehā, o iwi kē] i te aroaro o tētahi o ngā tino tīpuna whare o te motu...

(Whiting, cited in Christensen 2013, p. 111)

That meeting house belongs to Rongowhakaata, and it is challenging for some of our respected elders from other tribes to stand as callers or speakers... It is not appropriate for some of those matters [Pākehā, from other tribes] to be conducted in front of one of the most significant ancestral houses of the nation...

E pai ana ki a mātou i tēnei wā, Arapata, engari a tōna wā he rerekē te kōrero,

To us, its all right at this time (for the house to remain in Wellington), but when the time comes the talk might be different.

(cited in McCarthy 2014, p. 76-77)

koinā te tikanga

that is the way it is done

Whakahokia mai tō mātou manawa, ka whakahauora te manawa nei hei manawa ora mō te iwi.

Return our heart, and we will breathe life back into this heart, so that it may beat again as a living heart for the people.

Tēnā rukuhiā, ruku-whiwhia, ruku-rawea, Rukupō (Last line of haka).

Let us go back to wānanga, to talk and delve deeply and sort ourselves out, diving into the depths of the night... to satisfy those longings of our ancestor Rukupō.

(Hakiwai, 2014, p. 218)

Chapter Three

Tini whetū ki te rangi ko Ngāti Maru ki raro, tini kahawai ki te moana ko Ngāti Maru ki uta.

As there are multiple stars in the sky, so are Ngāti Maru below; as there are many kahawai in the sea, so to are Ngāti Maru ashore.

Tino mīharo, te kuhutanga atu ki roto i te whare nō te mea, ka mea au, hika, he aha rā taku karanga.

Kuhu atu au, hā, muri mai ka puta te karanga. Kāre au i mōhio he aha taku karanga, engari i puta,

ā, tae noa ki roto i reira a Derek me ana rau – ngā rau kawakawa, tērā te rau kawakawa o te aroha.

Arā ētahi tikanga Māori ka puta mai i tērā āhuatanga.

It was amazing, stepping into the museum I thought to myself, what am I going to say in my karanga.

As soon as we entered, my karanga naturally emerged. I couldn't remember the words of my karanga,

but it flowed, all the way until we reached Derek and his leaves – the kawakawa leaves, the kawakawa of love. Thus, certain Māori customs manifest in that situation.

(Te Whare Kōrero o Rongowhakaata Ep1, 2016)

Tukuna mā ngā taonga tātou e whakakotahi i runga anō rā i te whakaaro, te kotahi nā Tūrāhiri ripo ana te moana.

Allow these taonga to bring us together as one, just as the one of Tūrāhiri who caused the rippling of the sea.

(Te Whare Kōreo o Rongowhakaata, 2016).

Hei runga kō, hei raro kō.

E Rongo e. Rongo huakina. Rongo tākina.

Haere mai, haere mai ki runga Te Huia. Huihuia mai ai e

[NO TRANSLATION – HAKA]

*Whakatūwhera tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ngā tīpuna,
tauawhitia tauritotia ngā taonga i roto i te pāharakeke o te mōhio,
katahi, rarangahia te taura kia tō mai i te pō ki te ao, ki te ao āpōpō.*

Tā Derek Lardelli (personal communication, June 1, 2023)

Open your heart to the treasures of our ancestors, embrace the treasures within this cloak of knowledge, then, weave the eternal threads to pulled forth from the night into the world of enlightenment, and our tomorrow.

Chapter Four

I taku urutomo ki te rūma, e takoto ana aua amo. I te kitenga atu, i hari te ngākau, erangi i tangi, i te mōhio kua hipa i te 100 tau ēnei tīpuna e noho tahanga ana i te kāenga, e noho tahanga ana i ōna uri. Kua roa hoki te wā, kua āhei tētahi o ngā uri te toro atu, te pā atu ki a rātau. I te mea ehara noa iho i te whakairo, ehara noa iho i te taonga, erangi he tīpuna, he tangata. Koirā te heke o te roimata, ki aku tīpuna e takoto nei. Hoi anō, nōku te waimarie ko ahau tērā e hono nei i te ao o uki, ki te ao o nāiane.

(L. Whaitiri, personal communication, May 15, 2023).

Upon entering the room, the amo were present. Upon seeing them, my heart rejoiced, and tears welled, knowing that these ancestors have for over a hundred years been away from home, a distant from their descendants. Much time has passed, and one of their descendants has now been able to visit them, to

touch and connect with them. Not merely a carving, not merely a treasure, but rather an ancestor, a person. That's where the tears come from, for my ancestors lying here. Once again, I am fortunate to bridge the world of the past with the world of today.

*Ko te mana tuatahi, ko Te Tiriti o Waitangi
Ko te mana tuarua, ko te Kōti Whenua
Ko te mana tuatoru, ko te mana Motuhake.*

The first authority is the Treaty of Waitangi; The second authority is the Land Court; The third authority is the Separate Māori Authority.

Te Kooti's mōteatea

Chapter Five

...kia tū māro ai te tangata i tōna ake ao, kia mōhio a ia kei whea a tua-uri, kei whea tōna noho i tēnei ao nei, e kī ai ko te ao tū-ātea, me te mōhio anō rā, nā te kaha o te raranga i ngā tira katoa, mōhio tonu te rangatira kei whea a mua, ko te ao e kī nei ko te ao mau ki tū, mau ki tā, ko te ao aronui, koinā te ao kei tua, kei te pae o tawhiti e whanga ana ki a tatau.

...so that individuals stand firm in their own world, aware of where their past lies, where they currently reside in this world, that present sphere, and understanding that through the strength of interweaving all groups, the leader is able to cast ahead, to the world described as the world of standing, standing with purpose, the world of enlightenment – that is the world beyond, the world that lies far on the horizon, reaching towards us.

(Lardelli, cited in Te Kai a Te Rangatira, 2020).

Ka ngaro rā aku whenua, ka ngaro rā aku tika
The loss of my lands, is the erosion of my rights
(Black, 2017, p. 13).

Chapter Six

*Pō! Pō! E tangi ana tama ki te kai māna
Waiho, me tiki ake ki te Pou-a-hao-kai,
Hei ā mai te pakake ki uta rā, hei waiū mō tama...*

Pō! Pō!

My son, Tama, is crying for food!

Wait until it is fetched from the Pillars-of-netted-food.

And the whale is driven ashore,

To give milk for you, my son...

(E. Te Pakaru, cited in Ngata & Jones, 2005, p. 219)

Kimihia e te iwi te ara o te tikanga i pai ai te noho i te ao nei,

The people search for the path of righteousness that leads to a harmonious existence in this world.

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Appendix 1 - Research Ethics

Information Sheet

Participant Consent Form

Transcript Release Form

Confidentiality Agreement

Transcriber's Confidentiality Agreement

Interview

INFORMATION SHEET

He kupu rāhiri tēnei, me e wātea ana kia uiuitia koe e au, otirā kia whai wāhi mai ki tēnei kaupapa rangahau. Ka rangatira tēnei rangahau i āu tāpaetanga.

I would like to invite you to take part in an interview that will assist me with this research project. Your participation would add great value and detail to this research.

Researcher Introduction

I am currently undertaking a Master of Arts (MA) in Museum Studies through Massey University, New Zealand. I am conducting research centered on kaitiekitanga in relation to Rongowhakaata taonga as a manifestation of cultural identity and self-determination, with a particular focus on the Rongowhakaata Iwi exhibitions (2015-2022).

Project Description and Invitation

The research explores the importance of kaitiekitanga as a means of sustaining cultural identity and an assertion of whānau, hapū and iwi self-determination. The scope of this research weaves together related subject aspects that include;

- The nature of kaitiekitanga - from an iwi and museum perspective
- Te Hau ki Tūranga – the significant Rongowhakaata taonga held in the National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, and the situation of kaitiekitanga
- Rongowhakaata iwi exhibitions journey - from marae to Tairāwhiti Museum and onto Te Papa, as a case study and reflection of kaitiekitanga
- Rongowhakaata taonga held in UK museum collections – exploring the sphere of kaitiekitanga in foreign museums

Participant Identification and Recruitment

He whare maihi tū ki roto ki te pā tūwatawata he tohu nō te rangatira.

Not only are your knowledge, skills and expertise pertinent to the scope of this research, your experiences, contributions and participation to related knowledge is significant and provides a breadth of knowledge to this project.

Project Procedures

If you are happy to proceed with the interview

- We can agree on a suitable date and time.
- The interview will take 45-60 minutes, and be an informal conversation.
- The interview can either be done in Māori or English, please let me know which you prefer.

- The interview can take place at a location that suits you. In a Covid 19 situation, we can conduct the interview through a virtual platform (I will email you an invite).
- I will email you the interview questions before the interview takes place.

I will email you a copy of the interview transcription and invite you to make any changes. If I do not hear from you within in a week, I will assume that you are happy to accept the transcript. Please return a signed copy of the transcript release form.

Data Management

- The information gathered in the interview will only be used for the purpose of this research project.
- The data will be recorded then transcribed, after which the recording will be deleted.
- A digital copy will be held on my personal computer (which is only accessed by me), and a hard copy will be held in a secured filing cabinet until the end of my thesis and examination. Following that both copies will then be deleted.
- After transcribing the information, I will email you a digital copy for any changes required, before including the data into my research. I appreciate that any required changes be made and returned before the end of (date).

Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any question;
- withdraw from the study (date specified).
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Project Contacts

If you have any concerns or further inquiries regarding this project please contact either myself or the supervisor.

E mihi nui ana

Tapunga Nepe

Cell phone number [redacted]

Email [redacted]

Dr. Susan Abasa (Programme Co-ordinator, Museum Studies and supervisor)

Phone number [redacted]

Email [redacted]

HE WHARE MAIHI I TŪ KI TE PĀ-TŪWATAWATA:
Kaitiekitanga—an eternal thread of Rangatiratanga
A Rongowhakaata Perspective
(Working Title)

Interview to Assist with Research Project

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I have read and understood the Information Sheet attached as Appendix I. I have had the details of the research and interview explained to me, any questions I had have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time. I have been given sufficient time to consider whether to participate in this study and I understand participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study.

1. I agree/do not agree to the interview (conducted through a virtual platform and) being recorded.
2. I wish/do not wish to have my recordings returned to me.
3. I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Declaration by Participant:

I _____ hereby consent to take part in this study.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

HE WHARE MAIHI I TŪ KI TE PĀ-TŪWATAWATA:
Kaitiekitanga—an eternal thread of Rangatiratanga
A Rongowhakaata Perspective
(Working Title)

Interview to Assist with Research Project
AUTHORITY FOR THE RELEASE OF TRANSCRIPTS

I confirm that I have had the opportunity to read and amend the transcript of the interview conducted with me.

I agree that the edited transcript and extracts from this interview may be used in reports and publications arising from the research.

Signature:

.....

Date:

.....

Full Name - printed

.....

**HE WHARE MAIHI I TŪ KI TE PĀ-TŪWATAWATA:
Kaitiekitanga—an eternal thread of Rangatiratanga
A Rongowhakaata Perspective
(Working Title)**

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

I (Full Name - printed)
agree to keep confidential all information concerning the project
.....
..... (Title of Project).

I will not retain or copy any information involving the project.

Signature: **Date:**

Tihei Mauri Ora Mana Taonga:
Breathing life through kaitiekitanga
A Rongowhakaata Perspective
(Working Title)

TRANSCRIBER'S CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

I (Full Name - printed) agree to transcribe the recordings provided to me.

I agree to keep confidential all the information provided to me.

I will not make any copies of the transcripts or keep any record of them, other than those required for the project.

Signature:

.....

Date:

.....