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*An Interface of Mātauranga Māori and Archaeology to  
Generate a Whakapapa of Pā Tawhito*

by

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2024

*A doctoral thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor  
of Philosophy in Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao (Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies) at The  
University of Waikato.*

## ABSTRACT

*Mātauranga Māori* (*Māori* knowledge, epistemology) is foundational to *iwi-Māori* pasts and is essential to generating new knowledge about those pasts. Archaeology (the study of the physical remains of past human activity) is also an invaluable tool in understanding human history in Aotearoa New Zealand. Few studies have explored an interface between the two forms of knowledge, yet such an approach has great potential to develop new insights about the past that are relevant to descendants today.

This thesis explores an interface between *mātauranga Māori* and archaeology to develop a *whakapapa* (relational genealogical framework) of the development of *pā* with a case study in Waikato. The word “*pā*” can refer to any *tangata whenua* (Indigenous people of the land, i.e., local Māori) settlement or village, but commonly refers to fortified forms, including villages, food stores and places of refuge. Many *pā tawhito* (historically occupied *pā*) have physical evidence that may simultaneously enhance descendant identity and well-being through ancestral connections and be a source of potential archaeological information. Researchers have recorded over seven thousand *pā* across the country (on the New Zealand Archaeological Association’s ArchSite database) at a much higher density than similar fortifications elsewhere in Oceania. Despite this proliferation, only limited and imprecise archaeological findings demonstrate when *tangata whenua* began constructing *pā* in their fortified form. We also do not sufficiently understand *pā* construction sequences through space and time.

This thesis is part of a broader Marsden-funded research project named ‘*Rua Mātītī Rua Mātātā*: A multidisciplinary investigation into the spatial-temporal role of *pā* in the development of *Māori* culture’. This project aimed to create a regional history of Waikato *pā* at the interface of archaeological science and *mātauranga Māori*. One side of the project included archaeological surveys and excavations in partnership with Waikato, Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Maniapoto *marae*. This thesis focuses on the *mātauranga Māori* associated with *pā* in these areas and the broader Waikato region, and how *tangata whenua* and researchers may theoretically interface that information with archaeological knowledge.

The thesis has five research questions – each targeting a different facet of the *whakapapa* of *pā* in Waikato: (1) Why do *kōrero* (oral histories) include *pā*? (2) To what extent can we relate calendar years to *whakapapa* (tribal genealogies)? (3) When did warfare and *pā* construction develop in Waikato based on *whakapapa*? (4) Why did warfare and *pā* construction in Waikato develop at these times? (5) How do descendants relate to *pā* today?

Mixed methods included a thematic analysis of *kōrero* about *pā* and *pakanga* (warfare) from unpublished *reo* Māori (Māori language) manuscripts, Māori Land Court records, published sources and research interviews; the application of a Chronological Network Analysis (CNA) using ChronoLog software to relate *whakapapa* to calendar years; and a qualitative thematic analysis of research interviews with several Tainui descendants.

The review of textual information identified previously unrecognised primary *reo* Māori written texts for the vast majority of published twentieth-century Tainui *kōrero* authorities. Identifying these commonly uncited sources is a considerable contribution for future historians. Using a functionalist analysis of these sources, I argue that *kōrero* refer to *pā* as both real historical places and symbols of *mana hapū* (authority in collectives of extended families) in areas of land, their depth and breadth of occupation, socio-political changes and the strength of a community. Relating calendar years to *whakapapa* demands a historicisation of those structures, which is possible if one accepts the postmodern perspective that neither archaeology nor *kōrero tuku iho* (intergenerational oral histories) generate empirical or objectively true histories. Nonetheless, pursuing new and comprehensive understandings of the past is valuable.

A CNA model generated a 40-year median birthdate estimate span for over one thousand individuals born during the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries. Based on this *whakapapa* structure, *kōrero pakanga* (warfare histories) up until the battle of Mātakitaki in 1822 had five periods of higher frequency: 1420–1540, 1550–1580, 1600–1640, 1690–1730 and 1780–1822 CE. More conservative estimates combine the second and third periods, but the others are consistent. Smaller scale increases and decreases in the frequency of *kōrero pakanaga* were also present based on localised histories. The earliest *kōrero pakanga* correlate, if not slightly precede, the earliest known radiocarbon dates of *pā* fortification in approximately 1500 CE. Relative densities of *kōrero pakanga* and recorded archaeological *pā* also generally correlate by district.

*Utu* (rebalance) was the most common cause of warfare in *kōrero* across all periods. Meanwhile, conflict over *mana rangatira* (authority, influence, control) between related communities were more common in earlier *kōrero pakanga*. Warfare between more distantly related groups was more common from the 1600s and was commonly driven by *utu* and the occasional competition over *whenua* (land) and *rawa taiao* (resources). Contrary to anthropological literature, conflicts rarely resulted in conquest. Furthermore, there was a general increase in conflict size and political complexity in the later periods. The most recent layers of *pā whakapapa* are relationships held by living descendants who formed the qualitative

interview group. I generated three themes based on interview responses: (1) *pā* (and *wāhi tūpuna* or ancestral places generally) are spaces of connection and identity affirmation; (2) colonising projects challenge those connections; and (3) descendants have *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship, through *whakapapa*) obligations to those places.

This thesis provides a *whakapapa* of *pā*, their origins, development, and importance to *ngā kanohi ora* (living descendants). It is only one among many potential interfaces between different ways to conceive and explain changes in time and space. The chosen method of exploring the interface treats it as multi-vocal, blurred, and complex. It exemplifies the potential avenues for fruitful knowledge generation between Western Science and Indigenous Knowledge Systems (in this case, *mātauranga Māori*). It also challenges the entrenchment of problematic terminology, such as “Prehistory” in Aotearoa New Zealand and demands space for, not only the protection of important *wāhi tūpuna*, but also the Crown’s development of resourcing, legislation, and policy to facilitate the exercise of *kaitiakitanga*. The results open potential ways in which archaeology may feedback into *kōrero tuku iho* in ways that are appropriate to the chronological *whakapapa* foundation of *mātauranga ā-hapū*.

## MIHIMIHI

*Tihei mauri ora! E wehi ana ki ngā atua o ō tātou mātua tūpuna e manaaki mai nei i a tātou. Kia whakahōnoretia te Kīngi Māori a Kīngi Tūheitia Pōtatau Te Wherowhero Te Tuawhitu. Ka mihi hoki ki te makau ariki, ki te kāhui ariki nui tonu. Pai māriri ki a rātou. E mihi ana au ki ngā mate kua nunumi ki te pō. Ko ngā tino mate ki tēnei tuhingaroa. Ko ngā mate kei runga i a au. Ko ngā mate kei runga i a koe. Haere atu rā, moe mai rā koutou. Ka nui te mihi ki ngā uri o te waka Tainui. Mōkau ki runga, Tāmaki ki raro, Mangatoatoa ki waenganui. Pare Waikato, Pare Hauraki. Ko ngā kanohi ora me ngā mokopuna e heke mai nei, mā koutou tēnei tuhinga roa.*

*Ki taku taha Māori, e hono ana tōku whānau ki a Ngāti Patu Pō, ki te Tai Hauāuru o Waikato. Nō reira, ko Karioi te maunga, ko Aotea te moana, ko Aotea te whenua, ko Tainui te waka, ko Pōtatau Te Wherowhero te tangata.*

*Ki tōku taha Pākehā, he uri tēnei nō Aerana, rātou ko Kōterana, ko Ingarani. Ko McIvor rāua ko Wilson ōku whānau. Ko Isaac (Zac) McIvor tōku ingoa.*

*Rātou ki a rātou, tātou ki a tātou, e ngā iwi, e ngā mana, e ngā reo, tēnei te mihi, tēnei te mihi, tēnei te mihi, ā tēnā koe e pānui mai nei.*

In the morning twilight of this project, one of my supervisors, Associate Professor Moana Waitoki, told me that “a PhD should be transformational—for the *kaupapa* and the researcher”. Time will tell whether this thesis contributes to the *kaupapa*. However, it has indeed transformed me as a professional researcher and person. I thank all who made it possible.

First and foremost, I sincerely appreciate my supervisors, Professor Tom Roa, Professor Alan Hogg, and Associate Professor Waikaremoana Waitoki, for their invaluable guidance, patience, and expertise. Their unrelenting support of my development as a researcher and general human being has been instrumental in binding me to this project and gave me the confidence to continue the long, rewarding, but challenging journey of completing this thesis. The doors that have been opened for me by my supervisors and their general conduct as community leaders and academics continue to humble and inspire me.

I thank my mentors, colleagues, and fellow researchers in the Rua Mātītī Rua Mātātā Research Project, including Dr. Warren Gumbley, Associate Professor Gretel Boswijk, Dr. Fiona Petchy, Professor David Lowe and Professor Atholl Anderson. Their intellectual contributions, engaging discussions, and camaraderie have significantly enriched my research

experience. In particular, I am grateful for the collaboration and friendship of my PhD buddy, Rowan McBride, who has made the journey fun, motivated me during difficult times and always been up for a trip to the tearoom.

My most memorable experiences from this project were during the *wānanga* interviews. I am so very cognisant of the extreme privilege of spending time with and hearing the *whakaaro* of the *kaumātua* and *kaitiaki* (in order of interviews): Pita Te Ngaru, Wiremu Puke, Tame Pōkaia, Kimai Huirama, Te Papi (Jack) Cunningham, Hazel Wander, Joe Barton and Tutukino (TK) George. Their willingness to share their experiences and insights has contributed to my deeper understanding of *pā tawhito*. I also sincerely acknowledge those *tāngata mōhio* who have shared their *whakaaro* (big or small) during this project, including Haupai Puke, Shane Te Ruki, Te Patupō Iwi Trust, Hano Ormsby, Professor Rangi Mātāmua and Professor Hēmi Whaanga. *Ka nui te mihi rawa atu ki a koutou katoa.*

Thank you to Dr. Eythan Levy for your patience, support, bug fixing and development of the Chronolog software for its use in this project. Thank you also Te Ngaru Wehi and Quinta Wilson your proofing efforts and Pedro Tokarski for your database design insights. I am also very grateful for Cathryn Barr's support in accessing Owen Wilkes' legacy files.

Thank you to the funding agencies and organisations that have financially supported this research, including the Royal Society's Marsden Fund and the University of Waikato Doctoral Scholarship. Further support was received from the Māori Psychology Research Unit Postgraduate Grant and Bruce Gradison Biggs Postgraduate Research Grant.

I am deeply grateful to my parents Nick and Robyn McIvor, my siblings Luke, Brooke and Claude, my partner Milena Janke, and my *kurī* Toko (not to mention his furry uncle and cousins: Tama, Khan, Atlas), for their unconditional love, encouragement, and understanding throughout this journey. Their unwavering support and belief in my abilities has simultaneously brought me to tears and motivated me. I am grateful for their sacrifices and always being there for me, providing the emotional strength I needed to persevere. Thank you also to my Hamilton friends for the music and the laughs, and the MAI ki Waikato *whānau* for their encouragement.

Lastly, I thank and express my *mihi aroha* for Pita Te Ngaru, who has been a rock and enlightening *puna* in connecting my grandfather, mother, siblings, and I with Aotea Moana and Ngāti Patu Pō. Your wisdom and *manaakitanga* is boundless. From catching up with me for fortnightly dinners to guiding me in *whaikōrero tika* before Waikato *paepae*; guiding *whānau* in *whīkoi* across Aotea to settling my *mauri* in our *wānanga* out back of Mōkai Kāinga Marae and on the slopes of Whakaotirangi's *māra*: I am forever humbled by what you continue to do for me. Thank you.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ACL	Auckland City Library
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
CE	Common era, (i.e., instead of A.D., meaning after the death of Jesus Christ)
CNA	Chronological Network Analysis (see Chapter Four for an explanation)
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
HL	Hocken Library
HNZPT	Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga
JKTL	John Kinder Theological Library, Auckland
LIA	Little Ice Age
LiDAR	Light Detection and Ranging
NZAA	New Zealand Archaeological Association
SRS	Site Recording Scheme (of NZAA)
UALSC	University of Auckland Library Special Collections

## TE REO MĀORI TERMS

<i>ea</i>	state of balance (see <i>take</i> , <i>utu</i> )
<i>haka</i>	ceremonial performances
<i>hapū</i>	collectives of <i>whānau</i> (families)
<i>iwi</i>	tribe
<i>kāinga</i>	home, settlement, village
<i>kaitiaki</i>	a guardian, steward
<i>kaitiakitanga</i>	guardianship
<i>kāanga</i>	sayings
<i>kōrero (tuku iho)</i>	orally codified forms of knowledge handed down from earlier generations
<i>kōrero pakanga</i>	histories associated with warfare
<i>maihi</i>	bargeboards of a <i>wharenuī</i> . Following Taonui (2005), I use the <i>maihi</i> as a metaphor of the narrowing in tribal <i>whakapapa</i> around the period of <i>hapū</i> and <i>iwi</i> eponymous ancestors.
<i>mana whenua</i>	<i>Tangata whenua</i> with recognised authority over particular lands
<i>marae</i>	community centre, meeting place
<i>Mātauranga Māori</i>	knowledge, language, and epistemologies
<i>Mātauranga-ā-hapū</i>	knowledge, language, and epistemologies specific to a <i>hapū</i>
<i>Mātauranga-ā-iwi</i>	knowledge, language, and epistemologies specific to an <i>iwi</i>
<i>Mātauranga-ā-Tainui</i>	knowledge, language, and epistemologies specific to Tainui
<i>ngā kete mātauranga</i>	baskets of knowledge, sources of information
<i>pā</i>	fortified place, colloquial of <i>marae</i>
<i>pēpeha</i>	<i>iwi/hapū</i> specific sayings
<i>rawa taiao</i>	resources of the land
<i>rohe</i>	tribal territory

<i>take</i>	cause of <i>utu</i> (see <i>ea</i> , <i>utu</i> )
<i>tātai</i>	<i>whakapapa</i> lineage
<i>tātai heke</i>	descent lineage
<i>tangata whenua</i>	people of the land, Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa
<i>tekoteko</i>	carved figure at apex of <i>whareniui</i> . Following Taonui (2005), I use the <i>tekoteko</i> as a metaphor of the fewer <i>tātai</i> recorded that precede eponymous ancestors positioned at the <i>maihi</i> of the <i>whareniui whakapapa</i> .
<i>tikanga</i>	the right and culturally appropriate way of behaving
<i>tōhunga</i>	specialist, expert, priest
<i>tongikura</i>	maxim
<i>tūpuna</i>	ancestor
<i>tūwatawata</i>	palisade (of a <i>pā</i> )
<i>utu</i>	process of attaining balance after a perceived imbalance, retribution, revenge, reciprocity
<i>waiata</i>	song
<i>waka</i>	canoe, migratory canoe
<i>whakapapa</i>	genealogy, an explanatory framework of <i>Mātauranga Māori</i>
<i>whakataukāki</i>	proverb about a specific person
<i>whakataukī</i>	proverb
<i>whānau</i>	family, extended family
<i>whareniui</i>	meeting house
<i>whareniui whakapapa</i>	Following Taonui (2005), I use the <i>whareniui</i> as a metaphor of the structure of tribal <i>whakapapa</i>
<i>whenua</i>	land

## **TE REO MĀORI Ā-TUHI – CONVENTIONS OF WRITTEN MĀORI LANGUAGE**

This thesis follows the orthographic conventions outlined by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo (Māori Language Commission) *Guidelines for Māori Language Orthography* (2012). Māori words within the body of the text are italicised to avoid confusion or ambiguity with English-adopted words with different or restricted meanings. All quotes, English or Māori, are reproduced in their original spellings, including double vowel or *tohutō* (macrons).

I acknowledge the preference of Waikato-Tainui organisations to use the double vowel over the macron (Papa, 2018; Roa *et al.*, 2019). However, I follow the general conventions of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo, which encourages the use of the macron. I used Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary online to check word vowel lengths.

Proper names are generally written without italics and without hyphens unless they are seven syllables or longer or follow other Te Taura Whiri i te Reo requirements. Where I did not know the intended vowel length of a proper name, I made a footnote to ensure my writing does not contribute to misunderstandings of word origins or meanings.

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Traditions and histories orally produced, maintained, and transmitted to descendant generations within Indigenous communities throughout the world contain significant historical information. However, in the absence of written histories, archaeology, as the study of the physical remains of past human activities, often plays an authoritative role in explaining those pasts – sometimes at the expense of the integrity of oral histories and the communities that hold them. In Aotearoa New Zealand, *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge) contains rich *kōrero tuku iho* (oral histories transmitted intergenerationally) about tribal pasts. The oral nature of its production and contemporary political purposes of demonstrating land and resource rights have led some researchers to focus only on its function in the society they are told in. Others have argued that Western notions of history cannot be related to *kōrero* about the period before European contact (before 1642–1769 CE) as the space-time construct of *tangata whenua* (Indigenous peoples, Māori, people of the land) is ahistorical. Meanwhile, recent critical historical approaches have demonstrated how *kōrero* can be historicised – analysed using Western historical techniques – by carefully examining *whakapapa* (tribal genealogies).

Voyagers crossed Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa (Oceania) from Hawaiki to Aotearoa (New Zealand) 700–800 years ago. The material culture associated with early archaeological sites of the first few hundred years is consistent with that of Central East Polynesia<sup>1</sup>. However, by European arrival in the late 1700s and early 1800s, Māori culture had developed its uniqueness. Scholars have wedged the “transitional” or “middle” phase between these two periods with a limited understanding of what was happening at this time. However, recent concerted efforts attempt to define the material culture, climate changes and behavioural processes during this period (Anderson, 2016).

One of the transitional period markers was the fortification of settlements, food stores and places of refuge. The word “*pā*” can refer to any *tangata whenua* settlement or village, but commonly refers to fortified forms, including villages, food stores and places of refuge. Many *pā tawhito* (historically occupied *pā*) have physical evidence that may enhance descendant identity and well-being through ancestral connections and be a source of potential archaeological information. Researchers have recorded over seven thousand *pā* across the

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<sup>1</sup> Jack Golson (1959) referred to this as the “Archaic” phase, which supplanted Roger Duff’s (1950) terminology of the “Moa hunter” phase.

country (on the New Zealand Archaeological Association’s ArchSite database) at a much higher density than similar fortifications elsewhere in Oceania. Despite this proliferation, only limited and imprecise archaeological findings demonstrate when *tangata whenua* began constructing *pā* in their fortified form. We also do not completely understand *pā* construction sequences through space and time.

The research in this thesis is part of a broader Marsden-funded research project named “*Rua Mātītī Rua Mātātā*: A multidisciplinary investigation into the spatial-temporal role of *pā* in the development of *Māori* culture”. Professor Tom Roa (Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Hinetū) gifted the name “*rua mātītī rua mātātā*” which refers to the process in archaeology of pegging out and excavating to generate new knowledge. This study aimed to create a regional history of Waikato *pā* at the interface of archaeological science and *mātauranga Māori*. This work represents a vital step toward a more extensive, accurate, and precise understanding of the role of *pā* in developing *Māori* culture. Under *tangata whenua tikanga*, project team members excavated and sampled the preserved wooden palisade posts (*tūwatawata*) at selected wetland *pā* in Waikato. Doctoral candidate Rowan McBride then conducted dendrochronological (tree ring dating) analyses of the preserved timbers to provide high-precision calendar age dating samples (e.g., Hogg et al., 2017). He used high-precision <sup>14</sup>C wiggle-match dating of the wood to develop a robust calendrical chronology within and between the wetland *pā*. Before starting this project, the team had already implemented a successful case study of this methodology for the Ngāti Mahuta *pā*, Otāhau (also referred to as Otahua) in Taupiri, where palisade posts were dated with 95% confidence between the years 1765–1775 CE (*ibid*). Together, the work conducted by other team members and the research of this current thesis work at the interface between *mātauranga Māori* and Western science to investigate the spatial-temporal role of *pā* in the development of *Māori* culture.

### Research aim and questions

The research in this thesis complemented the broader aim of *Rua Mātītī Rua Mātātā*. I aimed to demonstrate how we may interface *mātauranga Māori* and archaeology to produce new knowledge about cultural landscapes. I use the term ‘cultural landscape’ here to encompass all the layers of value associated with the past within the study area, including the physical remains or archaeological evidence of those pasts. The case study developed a *whakapapa* (explanatory origin framework) of *pā* in Waikato, beginning with when and why people began constructing *pā* from the arrival of the Tainui *waka* until the early nineteenth century and how descendants relate to these places today. My research questions were the following:

1. Why do *kōrero* include *pā*?
2. To what extent can we relate calendar years to *whakapapa* (tribal genealogies)?
3. When did warfare and *pā* construction develop in Waikato based on *whakapapa*?
4. Why did warfare and *pā* construction in Waikato develop at these times?
5. How do descendants relate to *pā* today?

### **Thesis structure and chapter outline**

Figure 1 graphically represents the chapter sequence of each research question's methods, analysis, and results. Chapter Two is a literature review of how previous studies have attempted to use *kōrero tuku iho* and archaeology to explain archaeological landscapes in Aotearoa. I follow this by briefly introducing Tainui tribal histories and previous archaeological studies in Waikato. Chapter Three overviews *ngā kete mātauranga* (sources of oral histories about *pā*) and explains symbolic dynamics within *kōrero*. Chapter Four is a more in-depth review of the genealogical method, which indexes *whakapapa* and calendar years. I present the Chronological Network Analysis method with examples here. Chapters Five to Eight present descriptions and minor discussions of the sources, narratives, and dynamics behind each *kōrero pakanga* within the study area. Chapter Nine presents the results of the Chronological Network and Thematic Analyses of *kōrero* from Chapters Five to Eight. Chapter Ten includes the background and methodology of the reflexive Thematic Analysis of research interviews with eight participants to capture how *ngā kanohi ora* (living descendants) relate to *pā* today. The results of this analysis are in Chapter Eleven. Chapter Twelve discusses the results from Chapters Five to Eight and Chapter Eleven in response to each of the research questions. Chapter Thirteen concludes the thesis with an overview of its potential broader research implications.

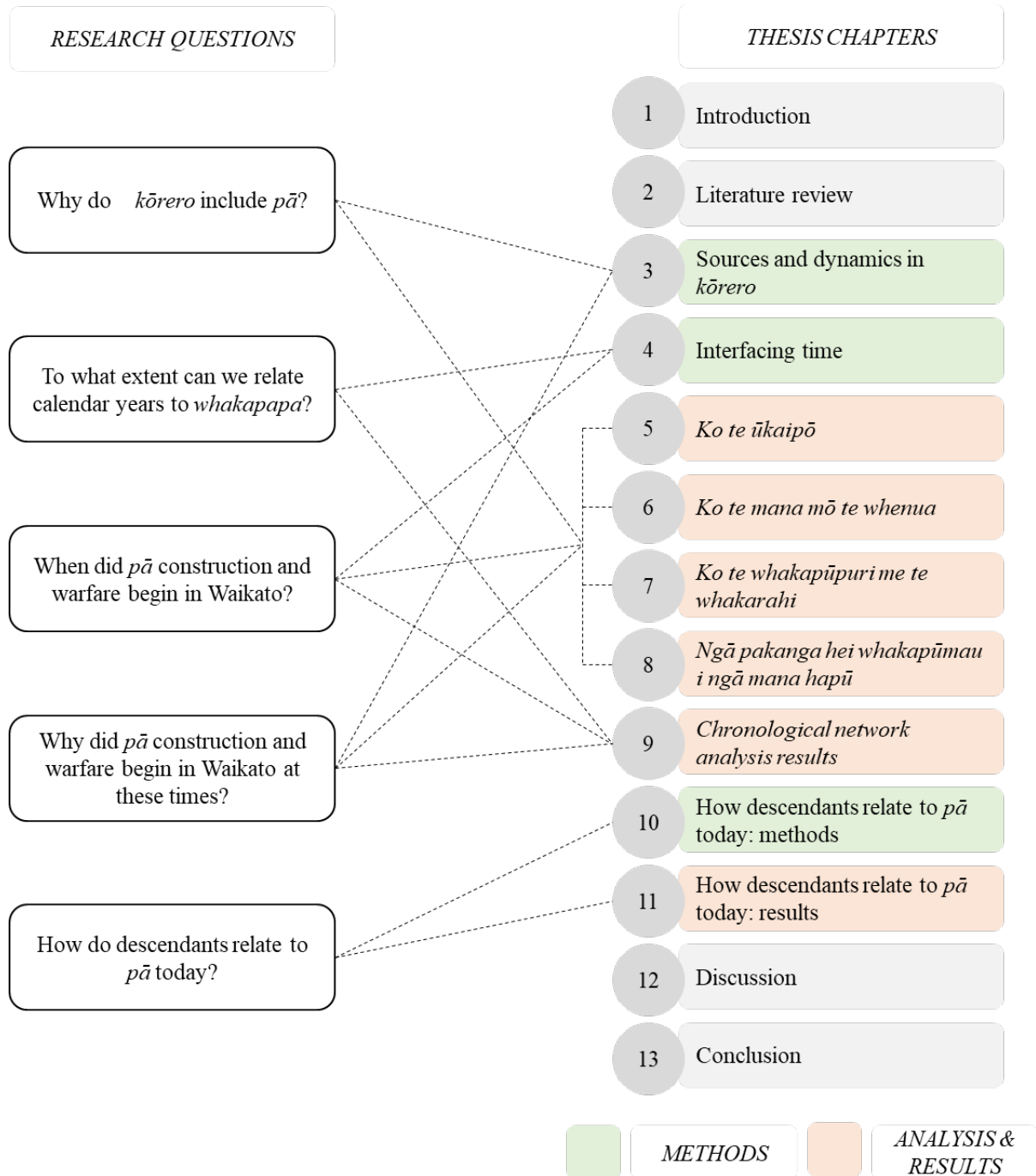


Figure 1. Graphical thesis chapter outline in relation to research questions.

## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to critically review previous scholarship, identify the research problem and situate this thesis to address that research problem. The chapter has two parts. In the first part of the chapter, I review the literature from researchers who have attempted to relate *mātauranga Māori* (Māori traditional knowledge) with archaeology in Oceania and Aotearoa, more specifically, to understand the past. I first define terms such as *mātauranga*, *kōrero* and *whakapapa* before reviewing late nineteenth and early twentieth century processes of writing down *kōrero*. Amateur historians and ethnologists had varied agendas and views of the historical validity of *kōrero*. Their efforts culminated in the romanticised, hybrid traditions of the early Polynesian Society that influenced contemporary archaeological scholarship – itself limited by the chronological techniques of the time. Partly in response to peer criticisms, archaeologists attempted to validate *kōrero* using archaeology, assuming that *kōrero* was not valid unless demonstrated so by positivist Western scholarship. With the growth of processual archaeology in Aotearoa, practitioners began to consider oral history and archaeology incapable of cross-validation and that specialists should develop appropriate analysis methods within their respective disciplines.

Parallel ethnological scholarship had dual analytical arcs. The first focussed on the symbolism in oral histories as either indications of their function in contemporary society or indicators of the inner structures of the human mind. The second focussed more on *kōrero* as a legitimate form of recounting actual historical events after critical evaluation. The latter arc enabled more recent archaeologists to use *kōrero* about the last few centuries like any other historical source. Māori scholars during and after the post-WWII cultural revitalisations either dismissed any historicization of *kōrero* as a colonial project or took inspiration from the earlier theoretical arcs: historicising *kōrero* in a postmodern space of relative truths or critical analysis of *kōrero* historical and functional values. This sets up my theoretical framework for generating a *whakapapa* of *pā*. In the second part of the chapter, I review current understandings of when and why Māori warfare and *pā* construction developed in Aotearoa with an emphasis on literature about Waikato and central Te Ika-ā-Māui. I introduce *kōrero* about the origins of the cultural landscape in Waikato and define the spatial limits of the study. The chapter ends by returning to the research aims and questions.

## Part one: Dialogue between *mātauranga Māori* and archaeology

### *Mātauranga Māori*

The ancestors of *tangata whenua* (peoples of the land, Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa) voyaged across Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa (the Great Ocean of Kiwa, Pacific Ocean) to Aotearoa, Te Waipounamu me Rēkohu (henceforth referred to as Aotearoa)<sup>2</sup> some twenty to forty generations ago. They intentionally navigated their voyages, using their expertise in perceiving changes in currents, cloud formations, bird and marine life behaviours, star positions and wind movements. Not only introducing seven plant species from tropical Hawaiki (their spiritual and ancestral homeland, Central Eastern Polynesia), they brought their language, knowledge and world views that had ensured their survival generation upon generation for thousands of years. Oral histories indicate movement to and from Aotearoa for up to two hundred years after arrival. However, this interaction eventually fell dormant until the late eighteenth century. Aotearoa has a markedly different climate from tropical Polynesia, ranging from sub-tropical to sub-Antarctic climates in the north and south. In their relative isolation from related descendants living in tropical Polynesia, the descendants who settled in Aotearoa interacted with and were influenced by these new environments. *Mātauranga Māori* encapsulates the languages, world views, cultures and knowledge that bloomed in this process.

*Mātauranga Māori* includes knowledge that consecutive generations pass down to the next within *whānau* (family), *hapū* (sub-tribe) and *iwi* (tribe) groups from the cumulative experiences of their ancestors (D. Hikuroa, 2017; N. Mahuika, 2011; Tau, 2001b). *Mātauranga Māori* and *mātauranga-ā-iwi* (*iwi* specific *mātauranga*) are epistemologies (world views, or ways of understanding the world) and knowledge itself. *Kōrero tuku iho* (or simply *kōrero*) are orally codified forms of knowledge in *mātauranga Māori* to be transferred between contemporaries and generations. *Kōrero* forms include *pūrākau* (narratives), *waiata* (songs), *tongikura* (maxims), *whakataukākī* (proverbs), *pepeha* (sayings), *kīanga* (expressions), *oriori* (lullabies) and *haka* (performance art forms). These different forms of orally codified *mātauranga Māori* refer to ancestors, places, events, and experiences to guide the current generation in how to behave, when to harvest food, how to welcome guests and who has authority over a situation or place. *Whakapapa* can be a form of *kōrero* and is the underlying

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<sup>2</sup> I acknowledge the multiplicity of names held by *iwi* (tribes) and *hapū* (subtribes) for different parts of the country subsequently named New Zealand or Nū Tīreni. I also acknowledge that Aotearoa was not originally a term necessarily encompassing Te Waipounamu/Te Waka-a-Māui (South Island), Rakiura (Stuart Island) and Rēkohu (Chatham Islands; Breen *et al.*, 2021).

structure of *mātauranga Māori*, tying narratives, identities, landscapes and culture to present generations (Keenan, 2000; N. Mahuika, 2019a, p. 3; L. T. Smith, 2000; Tau, 2001a; 2001b, p. 73). *Whakapapa* is a genealogical framework that explains the world and everything in it, including human genealogies that meld with the spiritual planes, landmarks, fauna, and flora - all relating to our relational self. From long before the European colonisation of Aotearoa in the nineteenth century and still today, *whakapapa* is critical to *iwi* and *hapū* worldviews, membership, and conceptions of the past, present, and future. I elaborate on *whakapapa* in Chapter Four.

*Tōhunga* taught *kōrero*, including *whakapapa*, orally in schools of learning or *whare wānanga* to individuals of esteemed social rank with the skills to memorise and retain information. *Tōhunga* were experts in *mātauranga* and served as both knowledge holders and spiritual or priestly leaders (N. Mahuika, 2019a, p. 4; H. M. Mead, 2003, pp. 73–76; Robertson, 1957). Today, *kōrero* is also an active and tribally specific practice. Although *tōhunga* were the primary conveyors of shared *kōrero*, orally transmitted knowledge is essential to personal and collective identities. In the words of the Ngāti Porou scholar, Nēpia Mahuika, *kōrero* (referred to as oral histories by Mahuika) are not merely historical narratives; “their outward expression represents an active connection that acknowledges a cultural and spiritual inheritance essential to who we are” (N. Mahuika, 2019b, p. 6).

I continue this chapter and thesis using the term *kōrero* to refer to *tangata whenua* oral histories, regardless of whether the source of that *kōrero* is a written document or a living person’s voice. Here, *kōrero* is consistent with Mahuika’s (2019b) definition of Māori oral history, enveloping the multi-sensorial context of knowledge transfer within contemporary *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau*, and histories about ancestors from Te Kore (the period of nothingness before the Universe’s creation) through to Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) and embodied in eponymous ancestors of a collective through to descendants living today. In this thesis, *kōrero* or oral history encapsulates the “oral traditions” referred to elsewhere as only being about earlier events not observed by living people. I use “oral history” to include histories from non-Māori oral-knowledge-based societies and “*kōrero*” specifically for *tangata whenua* histories. As *kōrero* (the practice) is the primary means of recording, experiencing, defending and sharing different ideas about *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* pasts, European historians, ethnologists and archaeologists working after the formal British colonisation of Aotearoa in the mid-nineteenth century, have sought to determine its historical value within a Western notion of historical time.

### ***Kōrero ki te tuhi* - Speech to writing**

*Pākehā* (European settlers in Aotearoa and their descendants) ethnologists began collecting *kōrero* in the nineteenth century for several reasons. George Grey collated *kōrero* to understand and govern Māori when serving as the Governor of New Zealand. On the other hand, John White sought to document oral histories of Māori, who he thought were dying out and their knowledge at risk of being lost. Whatever the reason, extensive compendiums of *kōrero* were collated, edited, and rewritten in publications authored by those ethnologists. Similar efforts were made elsewhere in Polynesia, such as Abraham Fornander (1878) collecting Hawaiian *mo'olelo* (histories or traditions; Kirch, 2018). The published texts are variably consistent with those histories provided by the original oral knowledge holders. I discuss these manuscripts in greater detail in Chapter Three.

The records of the Māori Land Court (formerly Native Land Court) established under the *Native Lands Act* of 1862 and 1865 are the most extensive collection of tribal histories. Individuals and communities claimed title to land blocks, evidenced by the *kōrero* they gave orally during court proceedings. Māori Land Court judges treated histories in oral testimonies as intelligible, historically reliable and comparable to other historical evidence (Boast, 2017). For instance, in the Māori Land Court Orākei decision of 1868, Chief Judge Fenton remarked, “members of a civilized race [...] possessing written documents, are not required and are little accustomed to trust facts of importance to their memories”. In comparing *whakapapa* told by claimants, Fenton found “the general concord perfectly astonishing” (Fenton, 1879, p. 60). Judges critically examined the different versions of *whakapapa* and tribal tradition, summarising them in their Court Judgements, which became works of history in themselves (Boast, 2017).

Some nineteenth-century Europeans questioned the historical validity of *iwi* and *hapū* oral histories, particularly regarding ‘the whence of the Māori’ (from where Māori ancestors travelled to Aotearoa). For example, the missionary William Colenso referred to Māori oral histories about migrations to Aotearoa, saying that “in all this mythical rhapsody there is scarcely a grain of truth” (Colenso, 1869, p. 59). On the same subject, the statesman William T.L. Travers wrote that such histories “are, so far as they pretend to give historical accounts of contemporaneous events, pure fictions” (Travers, 1872, p. 55). Later critics assessed the misgivings to be based on Eurocentric, pre-conceived notions of the inadequacy of human memory from a society where knowledge was dominated by the written word (Buck, 1926).

Nonetheless, such perspectives did not dispel the ethnologists Sorrenson Percy Smith and Elsdon Best from their belief that such oral histories described actual past events. In

Smith's words, "the European Ethnologist is frequently too apt to discredit tradition. It is an axiom that all tradition is based on fact – whilst the details may be wrong, the main stem is generally right" (S. P. Smith, 1910a, p. 19 ). The compilation and academic exploration of tribal tradition culminated in the formation of the Polynesian Society in 1892. The primary goal of the Polynesian Society was to determine "the whence of the Māori" – a pursuit that dominated its scholarship for some 100 years (Robertson, 1956, 1958; Sorrenson, 1992, p. 21).

### **The Great Fleet Myth**

Smith (mentioned above) was one of the Polynesian Society's founders who attempted to qualify and unify oral histories across Aotearoa into monographic and romantic accounts that matched dominant Western notions of the past – that of linear time. The most prominent synthesis was a narrative of several Polynesian arrivals to Aotearoa, by Kupe in 925 CE, *Tangata Whenua* (local people) in 975 CE, Toi in 1150 CE and the "Great Fleet" of canoes in 1350 CE. Pākehā scholars developed this theory from the 1840s onwards based on assumptions and manipulations of different lines of authentic tradition into a unilinear model of history (Anderson, 2014, p. 52). These narratives culminated in the Great Fleet narrative of Smith (1898–1899, 1904, 1910a, 1915, 1921) and Hoani Te Whatahoro Jury<sup>3</sup> (Ngāti Kahungunu). Māori intellectuals, such as Apirana Ngata (2011 [1944]), Pei Te Hurinui-Jones (1958) and Te Rangi Hīroa (Buck, 1949 [1925]), took up these hybrid histories and fed them back into scholarship with implied cultural legitimacy (N. Mahuika, 2019a; Taonui, 2005). However, Simmons (1969b, 1976), Sorrenson (1977, 1979) and Taonui (2005) later deconstructed these narratives, showing them to contain obfuscations and fabricated genealogies. They considered them to be oversimplifications of complex accounts that were valid to specific regions and tribes. Tribal groups emphasise different peoples, places, and events; meanwhile, a speaker portrays a narrative in a context-dependent way. As such, they considered the Great Fleet narrative an erroneous Western myth of Māori history.

At this time, intensive ethnological research in Aotearoa and Oceania generally documented histories based on oral histories and genealogies. Archaeology contributed little to these academic understandings because there was no means of establishing an independent chronology (Kirch, 2018, p. 278). Cultural historian scholars developed European and American cultural sequences from pottery "seriations"<sup>4</sup> due to its potential variety of forms

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<sup>3</sup> See discussion by Taonui (2005, p. 16) about Te Whatahoro Jury's involvement.

<sup>4</sup> Seriation is the notion of quantifying relative frequencies of material cultural forms to determine change through time in that material culture.

and decorations through time and space. Pottery is absent from the archaeological record in Polynesia<sup>5</sup>, meaning seriation was not as powerful in documenting material cultural change through time. Stratigraphy (the study of layers of sediment) is also less effective in Aotearoa to record change through time in material culture due to the rarity of highly stratified archaeological sites indicating repeated occupations of the same place. Meanwhile, Willard Libby's advent of <sup>14</sup>C radiocarbon dating – the faithful pack mule of modern archaeological chronologies in Oceania – was not until 1950. As a result, the dialogue between *mātauranga Māori* and archaeology was one-sided until the second half of the twentieth century.

### **External validation through indexing**

During the twentieth century, archaeologists who saw the value of oral traditions attempted to relate them to archaeological data to create more holistic cultural histories. Taonui (2005, pp. 88–89) suggested that these were projects of “Western indexing”, whereby the Western scholars premised that traditions lack the sufficient structure to allow for internal assessment of validity or authenticity despite potentially having elements of empirical truth (or “traditional information” *sensu* Damm, 2005). With this premise, only through indexing oral tradition against Western disciplines such as archaeology, linguistics or ethnography can those historical elements be accepted. Perhaps some scholars indeed desired to test traditions, as Taonui claimed. However, the attempt to relate archaeology to oral tradition also undoubtedly stemmed from a desire to explain the archaeological record more completely. Either way, the process of “Western indexing renders oral tradition as a secondary partner in dialogue” (Taonui, 2005, p. 89).

Duff (1950) used Percy Smith's hybrid arrival traditions to interpret the difference between the material culture retrieved during excavations at the mouth of the Wairau and Rakaia Rivers in Marlborough and Canterbury, respectively, and that observed by Pākehā in the late 1700s and early 1800s. He classified the former as the “Moa-hunter” culture, taking von Haast's (1872) descriptive term, which he argued developed from a “pre-fleet” Polynesian people and the latter as the descendants of the Hawaikian fleet arrivals. Meanwhile, instead of an exemplary archaeological assemblage, historical accounts and museum artefact collections from the North Island defined the later “Classic Māori” culture (Bell, 1957). Duff also noted the apparent ignorance of the giant extinct flightless bird, *moa* (Dinornithiformes), in Māori

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<sup>5</sup> Approximate triangle of island peoples with similar languages, cultural practices and beliefs with common ancestry stretching from Aotearoa in the southwest through Tonga and Sāmoa in the West, to Hawai'i in the north, to Rapanui in the East, and back down to Aotearoa.

oral histories and suggested that the earlier and distinct Moa-hunter people had hunted them to extinction. New Zealand's first academic archaeologist, Jack Golson (1959), subsequently laid the argument (since accepted in scholarship) that the people who created the earlier "Archaic" material culture were the ancestors of the later people exhibiting the "Classic" culture. Golson (1961) later attempted to ascribe his culture historical classes to phases of occupation interpreted in Bay of Plenty archaeological sites and explain these phases as evidence of migration and arrival of different groups referred to in oral traditions. Simmons (1969a, 1976) and Groube (1970) made similar attempts when arguing that Northland communities first constructed earthwork fortifications and *kūmara* (*Ipomoea batatas*) storage pits and disseminated these practices southwards. Their arguments were based on questionable archaeological evidence and followed Andrew Sharp's (1956, pp. 56–60) arguments that oral histories depicting arrivals from Hawaiki described internal migrations within Aotearoa.

Archaeologists Jack Golson and Robert Carl Suggs, respectively working in Aotearoa and Marquesas, concurrently highlighted the limitations in the above approaches of using oral histories in archaeology. Golson (1960) critiqued Adkin's (G. Leslie Adkin, 1948; 1960) use of social groups from traditions to classify material culture in the archaeological record. Golson argued that different social groups mentioned in oral histories may not have different material cultures and would be indiscernible in the archaeological record. He argued that "tradition and archaeology are concerned with appreciably different aspects of prehistoric activity and the degree of overlap between them is often surprisingly small" (Golson, 1960, p. 380). Where tradition relates to events of individuals and social groups, archaeology relates to the physical remains of daily activities.

Similarly, Suggs (1960) observed that the Bishop Museum's ethnographer, E.S.C. Handy's (1923) first settlement estimate at Nuku Hiva, Marquesas, of 950 CE was 1000 years younger than recent <sup>14</sup>C dates of materials retrieved through archaeological excavations<sup>6</sup>. He laid similar critiques at estimates of the first settlement in Hawai'i, Aotearoa and Sāmoa based on genealogical and radiocarbon dates. Suggs concluded that archaeologists had uncritically used oral histories as gospel to support unstable hypotheses. Archaeology revealed elements of economy and culture not alluded to in oral histories, such as *moa* hunting in Aotearoa or pottery making in Marquesas and Sāmoa. He claimed that oral traditions based on genealogies were

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<sup>6</sup> Kirch (2018, p. fn. 2) remarked on the irony that the radiocarbon dates that Suggs referred to were undoubtedly from old wood with substantial in-built ages associated with the tree's death well before its use or deposition in the archaeological context associated with human activity.

mythical and should not form the basis of scientific understandings of Polynesian history. Golson and Suggs concluded that the classification of either form of information should depend on the characteristics of its own data, but oral histories must be evaluated independently from archaeology.

Later archaeologists, such as Peter Bellwood (1978b, pp. 17–19), saw the difficulty of determining valid historical events from tradition and placed it as a dated study like comparative ethnology and craniology, giving way to linguistics and archaeology to understand the Polynesian past. Similarly, Orbell (1985, p. 3) considered the “Actual History” of the Polynesians to have “now been established by archaeologists, linguists and other scholars”. Henceforth, New Zealand archaeologists adopted a new form of interpreting past Māori cultural change based primarily on archaeology. Distrust in oral history paralleled the implementation of “Processual Archaeology” in Aotearoa – a paradigm applied in Aotearoa to prioritise scientific rigour and economic explanations of culture change (e.g., Green, 1963, 1970). By the 1980s and 1990s, such strong views tempered, but caution remained at the interface of archaeology and oral history. For example, in her submission to the Waitangi Tribunal Te Roroa Claim Wai 38, the archaeologist Janet Davidson (1990) expressed concern about the *tangata whenua* claimants’ expectations that archaeology could validate traditions. In her view, neither form of information could prove or disprove the other, but tradition may provide valuable frameworks for interpreting archaeology (Davidson, 1984, pp. 9–10; 1990).

Although archaeological scholarship largely abandoned casual linkages between *kōrero* and archaeology in the last few decades of the twentieth century, several scholars retained the intent to cross-validate these forms of knowledge. I discuss these perspectives in the “Historical archaeology” section below.

### **The symbolism within functionalism and structuralism**

Along a parallel theoretical arch to those archaeologists seeking to index oral histories within archaeological information, some ethnologists of the twentieth century targeted their study of contemporary culture and oral history on its symbolism within the society that maintains those histories. I raise these arguments here as they became influential in some aspects of the interface between *kōrero* and archaeology. Inspired partly by the pioneering anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski’s functionalism<sup>7</sup>, Raymond Firth (1961) collated oral histories and

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<sup>7</sup> Functionalism was a common theoretical framework amongst anthropologists of the early twentieth century who were interested in how beliefs, norms and practices functioned within each society as part of an overarching system to support that society.

genealogies from Tikopia (in Solomon Islands) during two excursions in 1928–1929 and 1952. He aimed to reconstruct what he considered to be “quasi-histories”, potentially containing “a reflection of some incidents that occurred in the past” but which eluded independent validation (p. 5). Perhaps more important than their historical validity, to Firth, the Tikopian traditions’ value was in their insights into the social structure and operations when his informants shared them. He considered that historical, mythical, or legendary delineations in the meaning of traditions were arbitrary due to the continual remoulding at each utterance concerning the present context. The oral history’s primary function was not as a record of empirical events but as a “manipulative instrument for defending and enhancing social status” (p. 183). Therefore, Firth considered version disparity in Tikopian traditions to be less about “differential memory” than “differential interests” at the time of their telling (Firth, 1961, p. 175). “A coherent reality in the distant past” is resultingly impossible to extract from the set of “competing tales”. However, in reducing tradition to a quasi-historical pedestal, Firth still considered himself a “modified empiricist”<sup>8</sup> (Firth, 1989, p. 50) and had relatively literal readings of oral history compared to his critics to whom I will return.

Through a similar functionalist lens, Sissons (1988; 1991a, p. 54) argued that *kōrero* do not necessarily reflect historical truth but are political constructs from the more recent past or present projected onto the distant past with meaning to the contemporary political environment. Recorded accounts may have been constructed after the reported events and serve to personify political rivalries. In other words, the oral histories did not function to recount empirical events of the past but were instead an operation of the contemporary society at the time of their telling. To Sissons, the transmission process within contemporary society further clouds the historical validity of *kōrero*. As the famous Belgian oral traditionalist Jan Vansina (1985, pp. 195–196), working in Central Africa, noted, oral histories<sup>9</sup> are not only messages from the past that involve the subjectivity of the initial encoder and the modern decoder but are continuous encodings of aggregate interpretations as the tradition is transmitted orally between

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<sup>8</sup> “My own position here is still that of a modified empiricist. The world may be an illusion – I know of no means of proving it is not. But it is expedient to behave *as if* there be a substantial reality that can be encountered, with chartable effect and some possibility of prediction” ([emphasis in original], Firth, 1989, p. 50).

<sup>9</sup> To avoid confusion, note that Vansina’s (1965, 1985) focus was on “oral traditions” in the conventional sense of orally transmitted histories about events that the teller was not alive to observe. To Vansina, “oral histories” were orally transmitted histories about events within living memory. As stated earlier in this chapter, I follow Nēpia Mahuika’s (2019) terminology of “oral history” or *kōrero* to encapsulate Western scholarly conventional definitions of “oral history” and “oral tradition”.

generations. Each utterance of a historical passage is but one contextually contingent “performance” by a cognizant knowledge holder with intent. As such, a performance is but one materialisation through speech of a broader body of oral history from which the performance derives. Whatever apparent minimalization of the historical value of *kōrero* from functionalist rhetoric, structuralist claims went even further in the pursuit of symbolism.

Influenced by Ferdinand de Saussure’s structural linguistics, Claude Lévi-Strauss introduced structuralism to cultural anthropology most famously in his landmark book, *La Pensée Sauvage* – “The Savage Mind” (Lévi-Strauss, 1966 [1962]). He argued that the human mind makes myths with hidden structured symbols consistent between cultures. These messages speak to truths of the human condition, posed in paradoxical oppositions, such as nature versus culture and life versus death. To Strauss, the details of cultural texts, in this case oral histories, are arbitrary or at least secondary to the hidden structural meanings that speak to the workings of human thought. The British anthropologist Edmund Leach continued the Lévi-Straussian structuralism in his quest for hidden meanings in cultural texts, which he exhibited in his review of Firth’s (1961) Tikopian ethnography. Leach (1962) critiqued Firth’s classification of Tikopian oral histories as quasi-history, instead claiming they were “true mythology”, representing the hidden structures of their culture. He dismissed Firth’s relative positioning of events in narratives for being earlier or later than one another in the minds of the Tikopians. To Leach, such a linear view of history was a post-sixteenth-century construct directly related to the written word. Instead, he considered it “equally plausible” that the people and events spoken of in tradition existed in an “undifferentiated past” to the Tikopians (p. 274)<sup>10</sup>. As such, the structural critique of oral history considers them historically meaningless and their ethnographies as works of “fiction” that shed light on the values of the specific culture, if not the totality of the human condition (E. Leach, 1989).

Lévi-Strauss (1966 [1962], pp. 233–234) introduced another influential notion that a society’s perception of time distinguishes it into two types: “hot” and “cold”. “Hot” societies have cultural institutions with an internalised literal historical sense of time that drives development through the pursuit of innovation. Members of such societies conceive of

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<sup>10</sup> In 1977, Patrick Kirch (2018, p. 287) noted during his time on Tikopia that former inhabitants of the island: Nga Faea, who Edmund Leach dismissed as “an entirely mythical people filling an entirely mythical role” (Leach 1962, p. 276) were not considered mythical by the contemporary Ariki Tafua (traditional chief of the Faea district). The Ariki Tafua and his sons also told Kirch that the archaeological remains he was observing were village foundational remains of those very Nga Faea people.

themselves along a growth timeline away from their predecessors. In contrast, “cold” societies have cultural institutions that maintain ahistorical time and fix their pasts in the present to retain stability. In effect, cold societies maintain equilibrium by negating change through time and constantly refixing ancestors and past events in the present. To Lévi-Strauss, hot and cold societies both experience societal changes; the difference is in how they “react to this common condition” (p. 234). The ethnographer Marshall Sahlins (1985) developed the notion of cold societies when referring to Prytz-Johansen’s (1954) observations on Māori history. Sahlins considered that the same organising structures were present in Māori history from cosmic origins to doings of people on earth, from ancestral group formations to the present. Sahlins argued that events in oral histories are not considered new but perceived within the organisational structure: “The Maori world unfolds as an eternal return, the recurrent manifestation of the same experiences” (p. 59). Contemporary practices are continuities of mythic explanations in the cosmic realm, from birth, sex, death, and illness. Through this argument, Sahlins called on anthropologists and historians to “explode the concept of history by the anthropological experience of culture” (p. 72). In this, he sought to demonstrate the diachrony (temporal nature of change) in apparently synchronic structures argued for by Saussurean modes of anthropology and vice versa.

Functionalist and structuralist interpretations are less interested in the oral histories' content as valid accounts and explanations of past events and more about what they tell us about the societies that maintain them. In the above examples, symbolism in oral histories dominates the value of those histories, so much so that scholars have rendered them ahistorical or at least resistant to historical change. Such a view effectively shuts down any conversation of interfacing archaeology (or any notion of Western history, which is inherently diachronic) with those oral histories. In Aotearoa, nineteenth-century Pākehā writers often considered that although there may be some historical basis to oral histories, they are more readily suited as a subject for philosophy and symbolism than history (Taonui, 2005, pp. 85–86). Later scholars drew attention to the symbolism of oral histories, treating them as “a dynamic body of belief, reflecting and validating social relations, attitudes and values within the society or segments of it” (Piddington, 1956, p. 202) and early migration narratives as “myths, or religious narratives” (Orbell, 1985, Preface).<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Admittedly each of these writers did qualify their critiques on the historical validity of oral histories to refer to only the early periods of life in Hawaiki and migrations to Aotearoa. They each respected the potential historical plausibility of more recent tribal narratives.

Other scholars were sceptical of the value of structural historicism, such as the anthropologist Steven Webster (1987, 1989) on Sahlins or the political historian Adrian Kusminski (1979) on the structuralist historiographer Peter Munz, to whom I will return. They took a more positivist stance that postmodernism risked reducing history to an illusion where idealist dualities of structure and practice replace “socially objective histories” – i.e., those events that really occurred (Thompson, 1978, pp. 39–40). In their views, self-affirming postmodern theories resulted in multiple views without “critical depth” (Webster, 1987, p. 63; 1989, pp. 33–34). Ultimately, the historian should strive for socially objective histories. Most historians now strive to describe and explain an empirical past while acknowledging its illusivity (Ballara, 2001).

### ***Kōrero* as history**

At the same time as symbolic functional or structural assessments of oral history, there was a tradition of ethnologists, historians and archaeologists that encouraged the interrogation of oral histories like any other historical source. Te Hurinui-Jones (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 6) suggested that Western academics used personal scepticism to excuse their naivety. He argued that recent oral histories were demonstrably historically valid. The minimalist notion that *kōrero* is entirely symbolic derived from absent methodologies to evaluate historical validity and the lack of specialist training to do so (Robertson, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1962, 1965, 1969a; Taonui, 2005; Te Hurinui-Jones, 1958; Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 7). Below, I identify three general factors argued by these scholars to be necessary for exploring the historical validity of oral history narratives.

In his landmark book, *Vikings of the Sunrise*, the Ngāti Mutunga scholar Te Rangi Hīroa wrote about how genealogies structure oral histories and that the recital of genealogies “was an established technique in social life and served as a chronology of historical events associated with the sequence of ancestors” (Buck, 1964 [1938], p. 23). He considered that the European mistrust of Polynesian oral histories lay in the distant replacement of memory with writing. He noted that “it has thus become difficult for civilized man to adequately realize what the human memory is capable of amassing or to credit the vast amount of information uncivilized man has handed down to posterity unwritten” (Buck, 1926, p. 181). To explore the historical validity of oral history, one must first consider traditional accounts on par with written texts and give them the credit of historical examination.

Secondly, one must evaluate source authenticity. Authentic traditions are those that *tōhunga* learned, kept, transmitted and were not subject to hybridisation. Simmons (1976)

developed guidelines for assessing oral tradition manuscripts in Aotearoa. Generally, documents that have been informed or written by Māori individuals who lived before Pākehā arrival are more acceptable as having been less influenced by that arrival. Furthermore, individuals who contributed to larger bodies of information allow for internal cross-examination. The intent, language ability, education and attitude toward Māori of the compiler are also essential to evaluate the extent of errors in interpretation and methodology and their influence on what words were written (Simmons, 1976, pp. 8–9). Taonui (2005) furthered these guidelines by comparing the source manuscript with reproductions.

The third and last factor to consider when evaluating traditions is consistency within and between accounts to determine their historical validity. Several scholars have claimed that authentic traditions are generally consistent, such as that of Tainui – despite *hapū* having vested interests in differing accounts (Robertson, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1962, 1965, 1969; Taonui, 2005; Te Hurinui-Jones, 1958; Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 7). Similarly, Māori Land Court judges treated tradition in oral testimonies as intelligible, historically reliable and comparable to other historical evidence (Boast, 2017).

Founding Polynesian Society ethnologists accepted that *whakapapa* and tribal narratives were oral accounts, authentically transmitted and laterally consistent. Therefore, they tried to index these histories with Western calendar years. In pursuing “the whence of the Māori” mentioned above, they developed the genealogical method of counting and dating generations in Māori *whakapapa* based on assumptions of parents’ ages, sibling birth intervals, and descendants’ birth dates in the 1800s. I review this method in more detail in Chapter Four. This method demanded the researcher to assign average intervals to each generation ranging between 20 and 30 years (Shortland, 1856; S. P. Smith, 1898–1899, 1910a; Thomson, 1859). Māori scholars, such as Apirana Ngata (2011 [1944]), Pei Te Hurinui-Jones (1958) and Te Rangi Hīroa (Buck, 1949 [1925], 1964 [1938]) embraced the genealogical method. They considered *whakapapa* as central to any Māori history, and historicising tradition was essential to retain tribal credibility – sentiments that Tipene O’Regan (1992) of Ngāi Tahu shadowed in negotiating the Ngai Tahu Waitangi Tribunal settlement.

### **Historical archaeology**

Historical archaeology has various definitions that boil down to an archaeology of the last 500 years, usually focussing on modern capitalism with roots in Renaissance and European colonialism (Orser, 2017, pp. 5–8). In Europe, such archaeology depended on written documents to study Roman, Medieval and post-Medieval periods, resulting in dissolved

barriers between the disciplines of archaeology, anthropology and history (Funari, 1999, p. 40). Conversely, like in North America, Australia and Oceania, scholars in Aotearoa have separated “pre-history” and “history”, as the Indigenous peoples did not write (in the conventional sense of words on a page) to communicate prior to the uptake of European literacy. Therefore, the term “historical archaeology” is effectively used to refer to the archaeology of European colonialism throughout the world. In his volume, *Historical Archaeology*, Orser (2017, p. 9) explained, “all cultures – regardless of when they existed in time – made history, just as we do today”. However, he still exemplified historical archaeology as one of the post-1415 (or “modern”) era rather than one that uses historical sources. The academic prioritisation of the colonial over the colonised or pre-colonial is a negation of non-literate historicity. Terms such as “pre-historic”, “proto-historic” and “historic culture” have limited analytical power. Instead, these terms marginalise orally remembered and transmitted knowledge and deny history in non-Western cultures (P. R. Schmidt & Mrozowski, 2013; P. R. Schmidt & Pikirayi, 2018). Despite this, a quick search through the archaeological literature of the last five years in Aotearoa shows these terms to be alive and well.

In Aotearoa, Campbell (2008) considered the privileging of writing to disregard the historical validity of oral conceptions of the past. He agreed with Golson (1960) and Davidson (1990) that archaeology cannot validate oral histories by proving a certain *tupuna* (ancestor) or *hapū* occupied a specific place; instead, we should accept such claims of legitimacy in oral histories based on their own terms of validity. However, he argued that researchers may critically examine both oral and written sources to help the interpretation of archaeology. Campbell (2008) explained that archaeologists regularly use traditions and a broader body of textual sources as part of historical archaeology in Aotearoa. One must determine the credibility and reliability of any historical source, acknowledging that all are partial and contextually contingent (Tosh, 1984). The job of the historian is to evaluate each source on its own merits and triangulate as many independent sources as possible to develop a more informed and nuanced understanding of past events (Ballara, 1998, p. 49; 2003, p. 37; Campbell, 2008; C. Phillips, 2000; Soutar, 1996).

Many archaeologists, historians and ethnologists have recognised the historical value of the tribal traditions up to ten to twenty generations before 1900 CE. This literature has grown from Orbell's (1985, p. 65) recognition that later traditions have more readily interpretable historical information, including *whakapapa*, tribal politics, battles, alliances, and migrations. Avoiding synthetic traditions of the early twentieth century, archaeologists have often used early, relatively undistorted manuscripts and Māori Land Court records. I explore the

limitations of these sources in Chapter Three. Ballara (1998, pp. 40, 50) said that court evidence included “prosaic matters”, such as “names of local features, the crops grown, the resources made use of”, as well as “customs and institutions” that were not the subject of conjecture. Similarly, Sullivan (n.d.) considered the “incidental detail” in tradition useful for archaeological reconstruction in New Zealand. C. Phillips (2000, p. 169) continued that these sources included “changes in the physical environment, a list for economic practices, the description and location of settlements [...] the length of occupations (the gardening cycle), patterns of land use (*mana whenua, ahi kā*), residential groupings, and finally association with names ancestors who could be used for genealogical dating”.

As an example of this approach, Anderson (1998) undertook a more detailed ethnohistorical study of Southern Māori history between A.D. 1650 and 1850. He used widespread historical sources to cover topics including *whakapapa* and political history, social group distribution, *rangatiratanga*, resource management, settlement patterns, food storage, transport, exchange, and trade. Anderson made limited attempts to tie tradition and archaeology despite his archaeologist background for several reasons (1998, pp. 7–9):

- 1) Many archaeological sites containing evidence of occupation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries do not have associated traditional references.
- 2) Conversely, there were relatively few place names related to settlements in historical evidence that one can confidently link to specific archaeological sites.
- 3) The nature and chronology of “Classic Māori material culture” are hazy, making it challenging to relate sites to periods based on material culture.
- 4) The calibration curve that produces calendrical ages from radiocarbon determinations is not precise enough to determine the ages of materials after the 1500s, which archaeologists usually associate with “Classic Māori” culture (Anderson, 1998, pp. 7–9). Therefore, it remains problematic to associate genealogical dating from tradition with archaeological methods such as artefact seriation or radiocarbon dating.

Phillips’ (2000) edited version of her 1994 PhD thesis, *Waihou Journeys: The Archaeology of 400 Years of Māori Settlement*, is another example of historical landscape archaeology in practice. She explored multiple lines of evidence, including archaeological surveys and excavations, environmental information, and oral traditions from Māori Land Court Minute Books. She observed that the oral traditions included in the Māori Land Courts were very political, containing a complicated lattice of people, places, and events. Alongside these narratives, Phillips used information that could inform her interpretations of the archaeological record, including economic practices, settlement names and locations, and

Māori concepts of use, occupation, and land ownership. She used the results from the different analyses to contrast, combine and compare findings within a broad historical narrative of cultural and natural changes through time. As Crosby (2003) pointed out, Phillips illustrated that archaeology and history are not periods but methodologies and that cultural changes – even before and after the arrival of Pākehā – are episodic in space and time.

New directions in historical archaeology acknowledge oral history as a vital source for understanding the past of oral-knowledge-based societies. Moving away from discussions on “the whence of the Māori” and genealogically dating the arrival of specific *waka* (migration vessels), the following hundreds of years of history have great potential for interfacing archaeology and *kōrero*. The summarised case studies suggest ways to explore the relationship between the two sources of information. Given the rich volume of both, Aotearoa has the potential to lead the way in historical archaeology (C. Phillips & Campbell, 2004).

### **Relativity, sovereignty, and constellated time**

Following the Māori cultural revitalisation movement of the post-World War Two era, several Indigenous scholars re-emphasised the purpose of *kōrero* within contemporary society and resisted its misuse in scholarship. On one side of this discussion, scholars considered *mātauranga Māori* and *kōrero* generally bound in space and time as tribal identity-affirming discourses. Takirirangi Smith (2000) of Ngāti Kahungunu defined “*whakapapa korero*” to be “discourses held by *tangata whenua* as being important narratives which define their identity” and “rationalises existence through interconnectedness” (p. 53). “Truth” for *tangata whenua* is relative to the tribe based on “relationships and interconnectedness which defines the uniqueness of things and individuals” (p. 59). In Te Maire Tau’s (Ngāi Tahu) 2001 book chapter, “Mātauranga Māori as an epistemology”, he considered Peter Munz’s (1971) structuralist arguments that Indigenous societies had conceptions of the past, but not in a linear Western sense. Tau argued that knowledge of the Māori past was relative, serving to augment the *mana* of the ancestors and the contemporary community, not to discern when and where an empirical event happened. Tau (2001b, p. 64) considered such community “truisms” to act as “cohesive binding agents” within the community. This “community orthodoxy” or “mirror knowledge” connected the present to the past not vertically through time but laterally across the landscape (Tau, 2001a, p. 139). Ranginui Walker (1992, p. 182) of Whakatōhea similarly argued that the “myth-messages” “fulfilled explanatory, integrating, validating, historic and socializing functions for the people who owned them” and that it was difficult to determine which elements were historical and which mirrored contemporary society.

At the same time as having a conception of the past, *mātauranga Māori* was never intended to follow the same norms of Western historical methodology (Tau, 2001a, 2001b; Tau *et al.*, 2000). Takirirangi Smith (2000) explained that the historicisation of *kōrero* decontextualizes it from its space-time context and leads to discarding elements as “mythical” that do not fit Western criteria of historical validity. The former Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Whakaue parliamentarian Donna Awatere-Huata (1984) similarly argued that assimilating the Māori present into linear time is a colonising process. The Western colonial quantification of time separates it from the “cyclic rhythm of nature and to the ancestor’s rhythm of life and death” (Awatere, 1984, p. 61). In another example, Nēpia Mahuika (2019b) of Ngāti Porou argued that one should only understand the *kōrero* of his *iwi* within the lived oral context in which they produce and maintain them today. *Whakapapa* and *kōrero* are grounded in cultural protocols and tribal ethics to centre local cultural knowledge under *whānau* and *hapū* sovereignty, ensuring that knowledge is transmitted appropriately (N. Mahuika, 2019a). As such, Mahuika considered that Western-framed historicisations of *mātauranga ā-hapū* should be withstood (N. Mahuika, 2011).

The relative truth, constellated structure, *tikanga* of production and maintenance of *kōrero* has not stopped several scholars from exploring the interface of *kōrero* and Western history. In his 1992 *New Zealand Journal of History* article, “Old Myths and New Politics”, Sir Tipene O’Regan (1992) of Ngāi Tahu took the pragmatic view of considering recorded *kōrero* as being historical texts like any other, produced in specific contexts with intention. He considered *whakapapa* as “not a mystery” but “essentially a task of intellectual management” that stores information in a “network” or “skeletal framework”, including descent lines and lateral relationships that may be “the vehicle of history” (p. 24). *Whakapapa* becomes a tool of authentication, whereby *kōrero* not supported by *whakapapa* “has to be regarded as suspect” (p. 25). As such, scholarly historicization of *kōrero* “is the only weapon we have to defend the integrity of the Maori memory” (p. 24). O’Regan’s Ngāi Tahu relation, Michael Stevens (2015), endorsed this view and claimed: “a historicist approach is not inconsistent with *whakapapa*-centred history” (*ibid*, p. 63). In continuing this discussion, I explore two avenues taken by Māori scholars, interfacing *kōrero* and Western notions of time. The first example is Te Maire Tau’s (Ngāi Tahu) take on structuralist and post-modernist history. The second is Rawiri Taonui’s (Ngā Puhī, Ngāti Maniapoto) historical and functionalist approach.

Tau (2011) was inspired by the historiographer Peter Munz’s 1977 book, *The Shapes of Time*, in his exploration of how “*ngā-rā-o-mua*” (the past before us) might be related to Western linear histories. Like Lévi-Strauss, E. Leach and Sahlins, Munz was interested in the

“structures of the mind”. To him, how a historian organises arbitrary events in a historical narrative is more instructive of the historian’s agenda and context than the actual events that occurred in the past. Ultimately, an account’s credibility lies in its coherence with the broader history. This broader history consists of “historical time” in the human mind and is quite different from any empirical or “physical time”. Munz’s stance here is “post-modern”: a rejection of the positivist or “modern” notion that we may form a singular truth about the external “real” world. Instead, to a post-modernist, there is a plurality of “truths” from different perspectives with different arrangements of historical information contextualised in different narratives. Each history, from a post-modern perspective, is none other than only one version of many. As Munz (1977) argued, the truth is simply not there. Our inability to create “true” histories is not due to evidence gaps or researcher and source biases. Instead, actual past events are just unobservable.

Tau (2011) considered *mātauranga Māori* conceptions of time as “cold” in a Lévi-Straussian sense. In this context, time is ahistorical — a “synchronic whole” (p. 50) of “sacred time” (p. 52) inhabited by *atua* (gods) and *tūpuna* (ancestors) that exist in a constellation, “*Ingā-rā-o-mua*” or before oneself in a pervading and continuous present (McKay & Walmsley, 2003, p. 92; Tau, 2011). “Hot” societies perceive time to pass linearly as a river or an arrow moving from the past to the present in a manner that a historian may quantify. Munz argued that historians who attempt to measure time linearly still cannot directly observe the past; they simply organise events into a sequence that fits within their broader narrative. Proceeding with Munz’s argument, Tau considered *kōrero* and textual histories to be both contextually contingent organisations of past meaningful events. Chronological time is not a necessity of a historian’s writing nor an orator’s *whaikōrero*. They are both organisations of “befores” and “afters” that denote a relative “historical time”. In this space of postmodern absolution from objective truth, Tau considered that *kōrero* is historical and could be used to construct historical narratives.

The second avenue that I explore in which Māori scholars have explored the interface of Māori and Western understandings of time is by Rawiri Taonui (2005). He was strongly influenced by the Belgian oral traditionalist Jan Vansina’s (1965, 1985) functionalist and historical views on Central African traditions. In his doctoral thesis, Taonui (*ibid.*) evaluated *kōrero* dynamics along a spectrum of symbolism and historical truth. He stressed the importance of evaluating the context in which *kōrero* was provided and recorded, and how that might influence its interpretation outside of that original context. *Kōrero* may recount historical events while alluding to multiple meanings through culturally embedded symbolism,

metaphors, veiled expressions, sexual overtones, cultural motifs, and imagery. Individuals across multiple generations have altered, contoured, and interpreted traditions to produce even the most authentic example we have of a former eyewitness account. Recognising that *kōrero* has elements of historical validity, Taonui considered the exploration of both symbolism and history within *kōrero* as a valid venture. I explore these dynamics within *kōrero tuku iho* further in Chapter Three. In particular, Taonui suggested that relatively recent traditions about around ten to twenty generations before 1900 CE depict “chronologically sequential historical time” and contain the most sophisticated form of genealogy with attached narratives (Taonui, 2005, pp. 481–482). Te Maire Tau also observed that recent narratives are consistent with “human history”, while the “distant past” is the “realm of myth” (Tau, 2003, p. 17). Narratives linked to these genealogies trace relationships between geographies, sub-tribe politics and origins. They pertain to tribal proliferations, intermarriages and alliances, and land and resource rights. Earlier traditions include broader regional narratives relating to eponymous ancestors in the context of growing or dividing family groups, political alliances, and conventional love stories.

#### ***Hei kōrerorero tonu: continuing the dialogue at the interface***

Acknowledging that there are now many archaeologies (Zimmerman, 2006, p. 86), most archaeologists would nonetheless contend that there was an empirical past (Johnson, 2019). Therefore, the archaeologist's goal is to make interpretations of the past based on the physical remains of those events that exist in the present. There has been considerable debate over the historical relativity behind archaeological interpretations (see reviews on post-processualism and post-modern archaeologies, e.g. Johnson, 2019). However, more robust interpretations – those that are closer to past events that indeed occurred – are more thoroughly supported by empirical observations of archaeological remains and other historical sources than weaker interpretations.

We have come to a crossroads in how this understanding of archaeology may be interfaced with *mātauranga Māori*. At the risk of oversimplifying each perspective, I see three options for this interface:

1. There should be no attempt to historicise *kōrero* alongside archaeology – each should generate its own form of knowledge.
2. The interface may occur based on the assumption that there is no empirical truth and whatever reconstruction results from the interface project is contextually contingent.

3. We should aim to understand an empirical past despite its undeniable elusiveness.

Seeing merit in each option, I conclude this part of the chapter aiming to set up an analysis of *kōrero* that facilitates historical archaeology under the guidance of *Kaupapa Māori* principles — themselves admittedly influenced by the same postmodern philosophy driving option two above.

For a genuine engagement of equals to occur, researchers must acknowledge that Western epistemologies do not hold a monopoly on truth, nor can they test the validity of Indigenous knowledge systems (Atalay, 2006; Durie, 2004; D. Hikuroa, 2017; D. Hikuroa *et al.*, 2011; Royal, 1998). The critique of Indigenous knowledge using Western scientific principles and vice versa leads to practitioners in both dismissing the other's ways of knowing. Without complementary spaces between history, anthropology, archaeology, and *mātauranga Māori*, scholars risk “epistemological arrogance” (Salmond, 1983, p. 311). Therefore, for any fruitful attempts to integrate the two forms of knowledge, each must be afforded methodologies based on its own integrity.

*Kaupapa Māori* theory is a way forward in interfacing *mātauranga Māori* and archaeology. However, *Kaupapa Māori* is not a new research methodology (R. Mahuika, 2008). Scholars and practitioners have variably defined the theoretical framework as having epistemological foundations stemming from the beginning of time and the universe (Nepe, 1991); a philosophy and practice of being Māori (G. H. Smith, 1992, p. 1); a social project (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 233); and a theory of change (G. H. Smith, 1995, p. 21). It is a theoretical framework that embraces Māori values, while being academically rigorous in practising research by, for and with Māori communities. In doing so, the movement both decolonises and empowers (L. T. Smith, 2012). This framework does not develop universal truths nor dominate other epistemologies. The framework challenges established knowledge and the power structures that produce that knowledge by privileging Māori ways of knowing and being (Lopez, 1998, p. 226). The parallel movement of “Indigenous archaeology” aims to decolonise archaeology, turning it into a transformative service for descendant communities (Atalay, 2006; C. Phillips & Allen, 2010). Practitioners must deconstruct the colonial context in which archaeology developed and actively engage with descendant Indigenous communities. Decolonial archaeology is conducted with, for and by Indigenous peoples (Nicholas & Andrews, 1997). Consistent with *Kaupapa Māori* theory in Aotearoa, the prioritisation of community interests by the Indigenous archaeology movement shifts the power from the researcher to the researched (L. T. Smith, 2012).

Using *tikanga* and *reo* Māori as fundamental ethics of historical research, Nēpia Mahuika (2011, 2015) argued that researchers must close the gap between post-colonial historical research and Māori communities, thereby rendering the study understood, relevant and potentially transformative to those communities. The same goes for “bridging the divide” between the colonial space of archaeology and *mātauranga* held by individual *hapū* and *iwi* (C. Phillips & Allen, 2010). As there is a trend toward regional archaeological studies, there is a need to engage with local *mātauranga*, *reo* and *tikanga*. Archaeologists must be reflexive of the past-present dichotomy fundamental to general archaeological method and theory. Where they study the empirical remains in the present to interpret the past, there is a striking contrast to the constellated space-time construct experienced by many *tangata whenua* today.

*Whakapapa* offers creative potential as a research framework in this current research. Expanding on earlier definitions of *whakapapa* in this chapter, *whakapapa* is genealogy, historical structure, identity, and the foundation of the *mātauranga Māori* epistemology. In Nēpia Mahuika’s (2019a) review of research approaches to *whakapapa*, he elucidated how it is “consistently being tested and applied to new situations” (p. 10). For example, James Graham (2009) explored the multi-layered *whakapapa* connections that define Te Aute College Māori boys boarding school. This included the physical and spiritual connections of the community to the land and its history, the local *kawa* (protocols) observed by the school and the relatedness between the researcher and the researched community. Paki and Peters (2015) used *whakapapa* as a “cultural tool” for “research discourse” in investigating children’s learning journeys from early childhood to school (p. 49). Meanwhile, Salsano (2016) demonstrated the merits of *whakapapa* as a form of literary analysis in high school English classrooms. She said that *whakapapa* encourages critical and perceptive connections, validates Māori ways of knowing, and is a deconstructive tool that creates “meaningful, connected knowledge” (p. 39). Marshall (2020) explored a *whakapapa* approach to archaeology by looking at potential relational ways of defining and understanding *rei niho* (chevron pendants) in museum collections. Following this trajectory, I aim to generate a *whakapapa* of *pā* in Waikato. This approach fosters creative space to explain the origins and identities of *pā* by recognising the *kōrero*’s historical validity, relative truths, present function of *kōrero*, particularistic contexts of performance and the continuous present of the space-time relationships to *ngā kanohi ora* (living generations).

## Part two: *Ko ngā pakanga me ngā pā* - warfare and fortifications

The remainder of this chapter summarises current understandings of the development of fortifications and warfare in Oceania and more specifically in Aotearoa, thus contextualising the research of this current thesis.

### Warfare and fortifications in the South Pacific

Oral traditions are explicit about the warfare in Polynesia (e.g., Hommon, 2013; Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995) (Figure 2). European observations at the time of contact also described the importance of warfare for chiefdoms across the region (Kirch, 2017, Chapter Eight). Despite common practices in warfare, wooden, earthen, and stone fortifications were not universal in Polynesia (Green, 1967). Hillforts (as archaeologists refer to them) are common in Western Polynesia, including Fiji, Sāmoa and Tonga, but are few in Eastern Polynesia, with limited examples in Rapanui, Marquesas and Tāhiti (see review by Clark & Litster, 2022; Nunn *et al.*, 2021). Aotearoa has the greatest density and expanse of traditional fortifications in the region. Traditional fortifications in Fiji began to be constructed from 1200–1400 CE (Nunn, 2012; Robb & Nunn, 2012), while hillforts in Tonga were constructed after 1450 CE (Burley, 1998). In the east, Rapanui hillforts began fortification during the 1300s (Anderson *et al.*, 2012) and probably from the 1500s CE in the Marquesas Islands (Molle & Marolleau, 2022). Current evidence suggests *hapū*-Māori did not fortify settlements in Aotearoa until approximately 1500 CE (McFadgen *et al.*, 1994; M. Schmidt, 1996) – some 200 to 250 years after initial voyager settlement in the mid-late 1200s CE (Anderson, 1991; Bunbury *et al.*, 2022; T. F. G. Higham & Hogg, 1997; T. Higham *et al.*, 1999). All examples of fortifications in Polynesia appear to have been constructed in the last 800 years. Although it has been argued that region-wide mechanisms of climate change or variability, food shortages and population increases drove societal competition around this time (Field & Lape, 2010; Nunn *et al.*, 2007), radiocarbon date chronologies suggest that the phenomenon of fortified settlement likely developed independently from one another.

Archaeologists refer to the overall fortified complexes in Aotearoa, including the inner defended spaces and the remains of the defences themselves, as ‘*pā*’. Although *pā* construction began around 1500 CE, there appears to have been regional variation in the frequency of fortification through time (e.g., McCoy & Ladefoged, 2019). Archaeologists have obtained radiocarbon dates from a small sample of the approximately 7,000 recorded *pā*. Resulting sequences often indicate multiple phases of past activity, including initial undefended settlement, fortification, movement away, reoccupations and modifications. In this way, the

remains of fortifications visible today were not necessarily built or occupied contemporaneously (Sutton *et al.*, 2003). *Pā* were part of a broader settlement system of regional interaction, exchange of materials, cultivation, seasonal gathering, and occupation of other undefended settlements. Depending on the degree of a threat to the local community, food may be collated and stored within a *pā*'s defences or people may retreat to live temporarily inside it. Large *pā* may reflect district-wide societal organisation in response to external threats. However, this centralisation of wealth, labour and power remained fluid (e.g., Irwin, 1985; C. Phillips, 2000).

A general spatial correlation exists between the physical remains of fortifications and warmer climates, arable soils, coastlines, and inland waterways (Figure 2). As such, archaeological *pā* are most densely distributed in the northern half of Te Ika-ā-Māui (North Island), including coastal and inland central Waikato. The margin of favourable climates for the cultivation of tropical food root crops limits the southern extent of *pā* construction in any great density. These introduced food crops include *kūmara* (sweet potato, *Ipomoea batatas*), *taro* (*Colocasia esculenta*), *uwahi* (yam, *Dioscorea spp.*), *hue* (gourd, *Lagenaria siceraria*) and *tī pore* (cabbage tree, *Cordyline fruticosa*). Taumutu, Canterbury, is commonly accepted as the southern limit of *kūmara* production, where archaeologists recorded evidence of “borrow pits” interpreted to be associated with early local cultivations (Trotter & McCulloch, 1999). However, recent archaeological investigations suggest that South Island *hapū* tested *kūmara* cultivation in micro-climates as far south as the Otago coastline (Barber & Higham, 2021). Mean air temperatures below 8°C led to stored *kūmara* rotting in subterranean pits (*rua kūmara*), limiting its southern storage margin (Davidson *et al.*, 2007).

There are several dynamics in current understandings of what caused warfare and the genesis of *pā* construction some two hundred years after human arrival to Aotearoa. Population pressure is a central causal theme in archaeological literature. The American anthropologist Andrew Vayda (1960) popularised economic explanations for Māori warfare of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century based on ethnographic accounts and oral traditions. In his model, *hapū* primarily fought in competition for accessible and favourable land for cultivation. As populations increased or land became “temporarily exhausted” (p. 113), groups could chop or burn virgin forests, or take arable land from another group. He surmised that the latter option was easier due to deforestation’s high labour demand. These expansions into other territories often led to them departing and sometimes displacing another group elsewhere (pp.110, 115). In a refinement of this model, Vayda (1976) later suggested that “chain reactions” of “aggressive territorial expansion” (p. 77) developed between unrelated

groups. Although there were wars of “vengeance” (p. 74), Vayda said that offenders may have merely been “expressing the need of their groups for more territory” (p. 79). Despite these social nuances, his explanation was primarily materialistic, which was common in mid-twentieth-century scholarship about Māori society (e.g., the concept of hau; Hēnare, 2018). Population pressure has since been a primary explanation of Māori warfare and *pā* development (McCoy & Ladefoged, 2019).

Climate change was also a potential factor in promoting food scarcity and competition. Central-east Polynesian voyagers settled Aotearoa during the “Polynesian Warm Period”. The environment suddenly changed at approximately 1400 CE, to colder, wetter, cloudier and windier conditions that dominated for the period from 1500–1650 CE. This was the onset of the “Little Ice Age” (LIA), which spanned from 1385–1710 CE. Anderson (2016) suggested the difficult conditions during the early period of the LIA rendered the climate in the lower North Island marginal for *kūmara* cultivation. Indeed, archaeological studies of the Wairarapa District suggested the area became unproductive and prompted a migration southward (H. M. Leach & Leach, 1979). Results from a recent study including Ahuahu (an island east of the Coromandel Peninsula) suggested that *taro* was an important cultigen up to the 1500s before a change in dominance to dryland *kūmara* cultivation (Prebble *et al.*, 2019). Recent work on dating horticultural complexes in Waikato showed that dryland *kūmara* cultivation began during the 1500s (Gumbley, 2021). However, as this largely correlates with first migrations inland, it may not so much demonstrate change in cultivation practices at this time as a marker of first settlement in the region. Comparative coastal studies may be able to test this hypothesis (*ibid*).

Any economic stress induced by climate change and growing populations would have been coupled with faunal losses. Particularly in the south, early economic foci were in hunting the large avifauna, *moa* (order *Dinornithiformes*), and marine mammals. Within two hundred years of first settlement, *moa* became extinct through predation and human-induced environment change (Perry *et al.*, 2014). Marine mammals were also heavily hunted. It is not yet clear to what extent climatic changes and *moa* extinctions affected the lifeways of Central and Northern Te Ika-a-Māui. These major environmental and economic changes likely brought great uncertainty. Populations in the central and northern zones peaked due to migration away from southern marginal areas into Te Ika-ā-Māui and inland deforestation and horticultural expansion (Bunbury *et al.*, 2022). The uncertainty may have also promoted the need for the physical and spiritual protection of people, food and their connection to their lands, which *pā* provided (Barber, 1996).

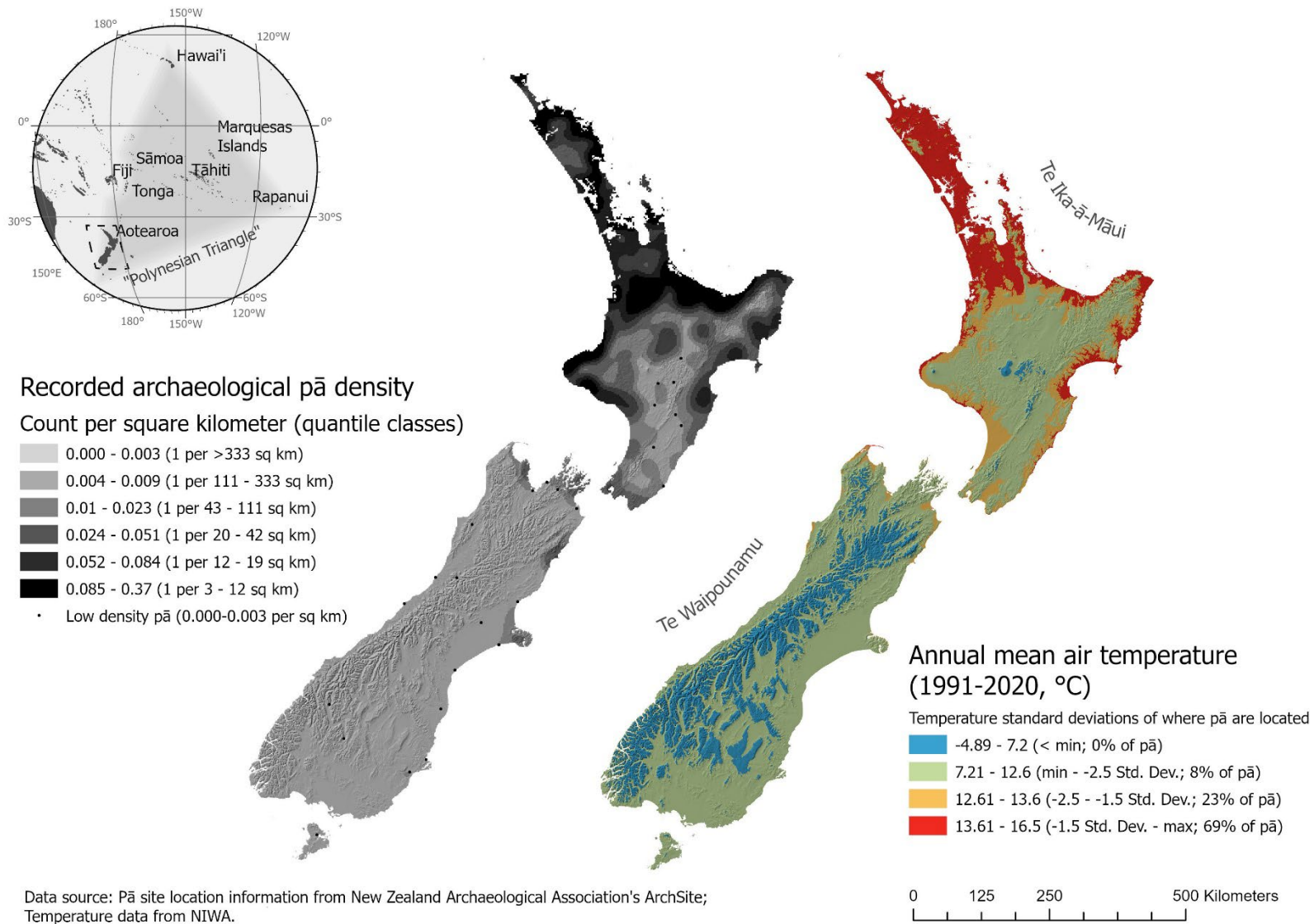


Figure 2. Density of pā in Aotearoa compared to recent annual mean air temperature (1991–2020).

Political reorganisation is another possible factor that drove Māori warfare (Anderson, 2022). By the eighteenth century, several *hapū* had established political power. According to Anderson (*ibid*) this was part of a process of weakening power by kinship ties and greater emphasis on political relationships and the formation of *iwi*. He suggested these political changes influenced the rise in warfare of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. *Pā* themselves likely contributed to the consolidation of power by social elites. The division of horizontal and vertical space through the formation of open areas, connecting pathways and the inhibition of movement through the construction of scarps and erection of fences and palisades contributed to a physical experience of one's social standing, which further promoted unity and *mana* (power, control, authority) of the *rangatira* or *ariki* (chief) in caring for the security of their people (McIvor, 2015). The investiture in communal labour, centralisation of food storage and affordance of protection by a leading *ariki* may suggest *pā* were a political mechanism of control (Allen, 1994, 1996, 2008, 2016). However, given the fluidity of *hapū* organisation and *mana ariki*, the remains of individual *pā* that we observe today do not necessarily reflect contemporary, independent polities in the past with fixed territories (Marshall, 2004).

In contrast to Vayda's economic model of Māori warfare and *pā* development, Māori warfare rarely involved conquest. A common cause of conflict in ethnohistorical accounts and oral traditions is *utu* — compensation, revenge, reciprocity or equivalence (H. M. Mead, 2003, p. 31). As Metge (1996) described it, *utu* is the “need to maintain *mana* by obtaining compensation for actions which diminished it” (p. 9). The breach of *tikanga* is a *take*, which demands resolution. *Utu* is the gesture or action to resolve the *take*. The nature of *utu* depends on various dynamics, including the severity of the *take*, the *mana* of the people involved and their economic situation. The enactment of *utu* achieves a state of *ea* or satisfaction for the *take*, whereby the initial breach of *tikanga* is settled (H. M. Mead, 2003, pp. 27–28). The *take* may be an insult to someone's *mana*. The latter term relates to one's standings in the social group and dictates personal and group relationships. *Mana* has a range of meanings, including authority, control, influence, prestige, power and psychic force. There are several forms of *mana*: *mana atua* (from the gods), *mana tupuna* (bestowed from one's ancestors through high-ranking *whakapapa*), *mana whenua* (control or authority within an area of land) and *mana tangata* (achieved by one's actions). Processes that diminish another's *mana* may be a verbal insult, sleeping with their spouse, defeat in battle, public shaming or inadequately enacting *manaakitanga* (caring for relationships or hospitality). Meanwhile, *utu* may be enacted to the offender or their kin through sharing of wealth, political marriage, or *taua muru* (plundering

parties). Where there was no close relationship with the offender, the offended party may declare and wage war. In this way, successful battles restored community *mana* (Ballara, 2003, p. 26). Anderson (2022) considered that organised warfare, sometimes driven by *utu* was often against distant groups, which further challenges Vayda's explanation of conquest-driven warfare.

Māori warfare and *pā* development are subject to various interwoven cultural and environmental factors, including population increase and resource stress, climate change and food source collapse, *utu*, chiefly influence, and communal solidarity. However, we currently have a limited understanding of the contexts within which these dynamics operate across different time periods. Growing bodies of archaeological data allow researchers to build a picture of large-scale patterns, while little is known about the chronological patterns that may exist in *kōrero* about warfare and *pā* construction. Studies of late eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century histories paint a picture of *utu* driving warfare, while archaeological models suggest there was little variation in warfare between 1650 and 1800 CE. Resulting perceptions of constant, habitual, or random warfare in Māori society are potentially too simplistic. Anderson's (2022) recent study of primarily southern oral traditions suggests that this information source may provide information about the smaller scaled periodicity of warfare. A similar detailed approach is here applied to Waikato *kōrero*.

### ***Kōrero ā-Waikato***

The human descendants of Ranginui and Papatūānuku lived in the ancestral homeland, Hawaiki. Māui was one such human (also a god in his own right), famous for his various exploits. In one episode, he ventured with his *tuākana* (elder brothers) into the great sea of Tangaroa and Hinemoana. With the *mātauranga* of his ancestors and *atua*, and his own skills, Māui hooked and hauled up this land now known as Te Ika-ā-Māui (Māui's Great Fish). As such, and in contrast to *kōrero* from other areas, Tainui *kaumātua* maintain that Māui, not Kupe was the great explorer who first discovered Aotearoa (Kelly, 1949, p. 8). Generations after Māui, the navigator Kupe came to Aotearoa in pursuit of the great octopus, Muturangi, and he travelled the west coast of Waikato in the process. According to the Ngāti Tāhinga chief, Wirihana Te Aoterangi (1923, pp. 3–4), Kupe returned to Hawaiki and left his slave, Pōwhetengū, with the inhabitants of Karioi who were digging and eating *aruhe* (fern root). The latter tried to follow Kupe but fell victim to Kupe's enchanted *tātua* (belt) that he had cast into the water. Pōwhetengū's *waka* was turned to stone where it remains at the mouth of Aotea Harbour. After Kupe's return, Turi set out in the Aotea *waka* and ended up in Aotea Harbour,

from where it got its name and travelled on to the Pātea River in Taranaki. Other *kōrero* refers to *waka*, such as the Moekakara coming to the district before the arrival of the Tainui *waka* (Te Hurinui-Jones, 2010 [1959], pp. 40–41).

Like those *waka* that had gone before, Tainui travelled from the spiritual ancestral homeland of Hawaiki to Aotearoa, first arriving at Whangaparāoa, near East Cape, around the time of Te Arawa *waka* who went on to settle at Maketū (Figure 3 marks the approximate journey). Depending on the version, Tainui travelled north along the coast to Ahuahu, Whitianga and into the Waitematā, where the crew named several places after themselves and in recollection of ancestral places in Hawaiki: Motutapu (sacred island, in Hawaiki), Te Kurae-a-Tura (Tura’s forehead), Te Tāhuna-a-Taikehu (the sandbank of Taikehu), Wai-o-Taiki (the waters of Taiki, Tāmaki inlet), Waihāhā and Waihīhī (near Ōtāhuhu, hills of Hawaiki). The crew then dragged Tainui across the isthmus from the headwaters of the Tāmaki River to the western harbour, which became Te Mānukanuka-o-Hoturoa (the apprehension of Hoturoa, the *waka*’s captain; now referred to as Manukau). In some versions, Tainui then travelled as far south as northern Taranaki before returning and ending its voyage at Kāwhia (Figure 3), where its bow and stern are marked by the limestone pillars, Puna, and Hani. This district became the homeland and source of the various migrations of the Tainui crew’s descendants along the coast and inland. Hence, Tainui also refers to the confederation of *iwi* who descend from the *waka* crew, comprising Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Hauā, Hauraki, Ngāiterangi and those tribes united under the Kīngitanga (King Movement). At the same time, Tainui sometimes refers to a subset of hapū that descended from the Tainui *waka* crew and occupied the western coastline around Aotea and Whāingaroa. In this thesis, I use the general term ‘Tainui’ to refer to the crew descendants unless otherwise stated. The boundary of the Tainui confederation covered a large area by the 1800s and is recited in the pepeha (tribal saying):

<i>Mokau ki runga</i>	From Mokau in the south
<i>Tamaki ki raro</i>	To Tamaki in the north
<i>Mangatoatoa ki waenganui</i>	Mangatoatoa at the centre
<i>Ki te kaokaoroa o Patetere</i>	The long armpit of Patetere
<i>Ki te Nehenehenui</i>	The big forest of Maniapoto
<i>Pare Waikato</i>	From the mouth of the Waikato River in the west
<i>Pare Hauraki</i>	To all of Hauraki (Muru-Lanning, 2018, p. 143)

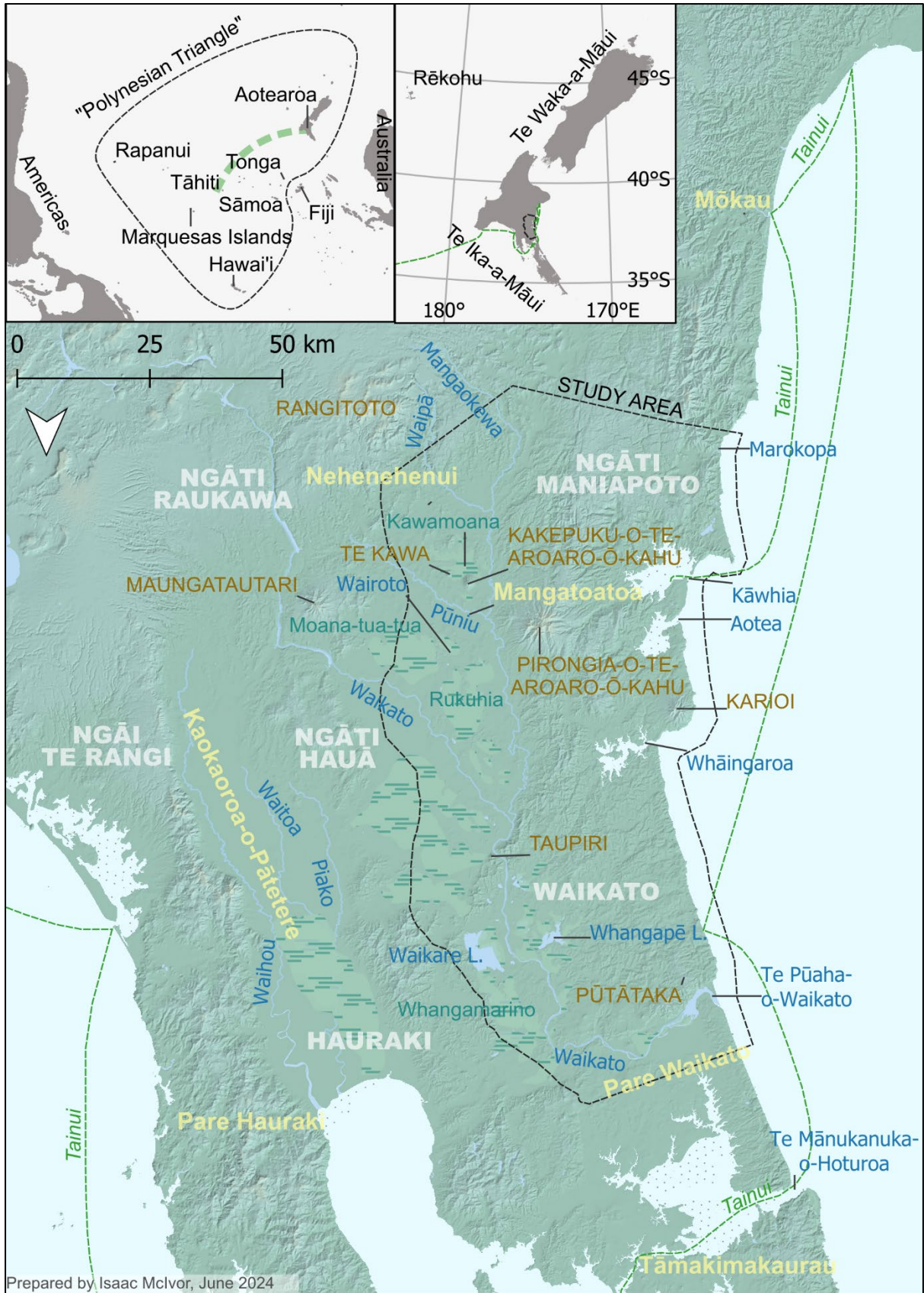


Figure 3. Study area, place names, Tainui iwi and Tainui waka in the Waikato Region and Polynesia with indicative pre-1840 wetland extents. South-North orientation reflects the orientation of the Tainui cognitive map represented by the pepeha referred to in text.

The region, ‘Waikato’, is within the Tainui *rohe* (territory) described in this pepeha. Waikato is first an *awa tupuna* (ancestral river) that flows from Taupō-nui-ā-Tia to its mouth, Te Pūaha-o-Waikato (otherwise known as Port Waikato or Pare Waikato). The Waikato Region takes its name from the river and, under the *Local Government Act 2002* (Schedule 2, Part 1), includes Moehau (Coromandel) and Hauraki under the Waikato Regional Council administration. Waikato is also a term that refers to either an *iwi* or collection of *iwi* and *hapū* identifying as Waikato, with a *rohe* including the lands around the Waikato River from around Kēmureti (Cambridge) or Maungatautari to Te Pūaha-o-Waikato. The study area within this thesis is smaller than the general Tainui *rohe* and the broader Waikato region (Figure 3). It focusses on *kōrero* about the Middle and Lower Waikato River Basins to the north and east, and areas around and including the Waipā, Pūniu and Mangapū River Basins extending south to Te Kūiti and east to Te Kawa Mountain. In Te Tai Hauāuru (the western coast), I include from Marokopa in the south to Te Pūaha-o-Waikato in the north. I do not go into Hauraki and Tāmaki, although several *kōrero* that I discuss extend into these areas. Ultimately, the limits of this study are defined by what was practically achievable within the scope of the doctoral research, areas where I have *whānau* connections, or are areas investigated by others in the broader Marsden research project (see Chapter One for background). The boundary is not from any meaningful limits of the *kōrero* and *whakapapa* itself.

Waikato has a rich cultural landscape comprising ancestral rivers and mountains named by Tainui *waka* crew or their descendants who explored, settled, and lived dozens of generations before today. The Waipā and Waikato Rivers converge at Ngāruawāhia and drain the western basins and were once shouldered by extensive wetlands since drained and reduced to several lakes and low-lying pastures (Figure 3). Resting on either side of these rivers are the mountains Maungatautari, Kakepuku-te-aroaro-ō-Kahu, Pirongia-o-te-aroaro-ō-Kahu and Taupiri. Further east at Pare Hauraki are the Piako and Waihou Rivers that empty Te Kaokaoroa-o-Pātetere. Tainui *waka* descendants have lived on this land since their first arrival. Their *mātauranga* is specific to their shared experiences; each place’s personhood is woven into the landscape’s fabric and embedded in *hapū* and *whānau* identities. Former centres of ancestral communities, *pā* are key reference points in both *mātauranga ā-Tainui* and recognisable places in the modern landscape. They are one form of *ngā tapuwae o ngā tūpuna* (footprints of the ancestors) and provide a framework with which to understand the political and economic development of Tainui *iwi*. Tainui *kete mātauranga* (baskets of knowledge) used in this thesis are discussed in more detail in Chapter Three.

### Waikato archaeology and recorded *pā*

The archaeologist Owen Wilkes (1997) provided a helpful overview of archaeological work undertaken in Waikato up to the late 1990s, which I briefly summarise here. Archaeologists have worked in Waikato since the late 1920s, followed by the Te Awamutu Historical Society surveys from 1935 to 1945 and the establishment of what was later called the Waikato Archaeological Society in 1958. The amateur society undertook extensive fieldwork across Waikato, slowing down in the 1970s and going into recess in 1994 when professional archaeology took over with growing scientific investigations from the University of Auckland and the advent of the *Historic Places Amendment Act* 1975. Significant contributions were made by Ken Gorbey and Steve Edson in the 1970s using aerial photographs from the early 1940s, followed by oblique aerial photographs in 1978. The Historic Places Trust, Forest Service and Department of Conservation funded later surveys. Archaeology in the twenty-first century has been largely undertaken by consultants operating under the provisions of the *Resource Management Act* 1991 and *Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Toanga Act* 2014 (repealed the *Historic Places Act* 1993). Practitioners have inconsistently compiled survey and excavation results in the NZAA SRS (site recording scheme), known as ArchSite.

Archaeologists have recorded more than 500 *pā* along the Waikato and Waipā Rivers and inland lakes and wetlands. Local *hapū* positioned *pā* in relation to resources, such as forests, fernland, freshwater and horticultural soils (Cassels, 1972a, 1972b; Pick, 1968). Most radiocarbon dates from Waikato *pā* were sampled from unreliable archaeological contexts and materials in the 1970s and went unreported (Anderson, 1991). A *pā* at Mangakaware (S15/18) is the only one in Waikato with a reliable  $^{14}\text{C}$  date (NZ1125) (Bellwood, 1978a, p. 71; see "chronometric hygiene" by M. Schmidt, 1996, p. 453). The sample was from a tree fern (unidentified species) log once used as a dwelling wall and had an uncalibrated date of  $286 \pm 84$   $^{14}\text{C}$  years BP. I recalibrated the date using the SHCal20 curve (A. G. Hogg *et al.*, 2020) in the Oxcal v4 (Ramsey, 2001) computer programme with 68.3% confidence to three intervals of 1505–1593 CE (24.7%), 1617–1685 CE (22.2%) or 1732–1805 CE (21.4%). Obsolete 1970s dating techniques and atmospheric  $^{14}\text{C}$  fluctuations between 1500 and 1950 CE caused the imprecise result. However, it aligns with the earliest  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates in national studies in which culturally fortified places began to be constructed in approximately AD 1500, with little indication of a particular regional origin (McFadgen *et al.*, 1994; M. Schmidt, 1996). Before starting this current project, the team had already implemented a successful case study of this methodology for the Otāhau Pā (also spelled Otahua) in Taupiri, where palisade posts were dated with 95% confidence between the years 1765–1775 CE (A. Hogg *et al.*, 2017). However,

the local spatial and chronological context of *pā* development in Waikato is still poorly understood.

Archaeologists have recorded extensive deposits of “made soils” along the banks of the Waipā and Waikato Rivers, reflecting the horticultural practice of introducing sand and gravel quarried from underlying alluvium to topsoils above. The sands and gravels are visible within soils, and the ground surface also indicates the localised presence of quarries, referred to by archaeologists as “borrow pits” (Gumbley *et al.*, 2003; Gumbley & Hoffman, 2013; Gumbley & Hutchinson, 2013). The broad coverage of these soils near *pā* supports the notion that horticulture was crucial to the local economies. Recent work on dating horticultural complexes in Waikato showed that dryland *kūmara* cultivation began during the 1500s (Gumbley, 2021). However, as this largely correlates with first migrations inland, it may not so much demonstrate a change in cultivation practices at this time as a marker of the first settlement in the region.

### Chapter summary and restatement of research aim and questions

Part one of this chapter began exploring how *kōrero* have been used in various ways by ethnologists and archaeologists from the nineteenth- to the twenty-first century to understand the Māori past. Early ethnographers created romantic and monographic hybrid traditions. Minimalist interpretations of tradition followed, considering *kōrero* to have no historical value. During the mid to late twentieth century, archaeologists indexed selected elements of tradition that Western archaeological and linguistic studies could evidence. Meanwhile, others advocated for archaeology and tradition to be kept separate. Around the same time, growing ethnological literature argued for traditions to be considered historical sources of information with greater validity as events and ancestors approached the present. Landscape and historical archaeologists in Aotearoa from the 1990s to the 2000s also recognised the historical use of traditional sources. Their focus was on elements in the *kōrero* that political dynamics were less likely to impact and that might be complementary to archaeological interpretations. Recent Māori scholarship exemplify the interface between *kōrero* and history as either (1) colonial, (2) approachable through a post-modern and structuralist perspective of historical time, or (3) historicised like any other form of historical information while understanding the functional context of the *kōrero*’s performance and maintenance. Taking ethical guidance from *Kaupapa Māori* methodologies is a way forward of interfacing *kōrero* and archaeology while taking useful parts of the three aforementioned arguments.

In part two of this chapter, I reviewed current understandings of Māori warfare development and *pā* based on archaeological and ethnohistoric information. Both warfare and

*pā* construction are markers of potential competition over land and resources. They also mark changes in the structure of fluid social units temporarily unified in defence of people and place. I set the scene of *mātauranga ā-Tainui* in Waikato and locally recorded archaeological evidence of *pā* construction and its relation to root crop production.

To remind the reader, I now repeat the thesis research questions mentioned in Chapter One. This research aimed to demonstrate how we may interface *mātauranga Māori* and archaeology to produce new knowledge about cultural landscapes and the past. The case study is a *whakapapa* (explanatory origin framework) of *pā* in Waikato, including the function of *kōrero* at the time of its performance and the historical information about past events from the arrival of the Tainui *waka* until the early nineteenth century. My research questions were the following:

1. Why does *kōrero* include *pā*?
2. To what extent can we relate calendar years to *whakapapa* (tribal genealogies)?
3. When did warfare and *pā* construction develop in Waikato based on *whakapapa*?
4. Why did warfare and *pā* construction in Waikato develop at these times?
5. How do descendants relate to *pā* today?

In the next chapter, I deconstruct the sources and dynamics within *kōrero* about *pā* within Waikato.

## **CHAPTER THREE: SOURCES AND DYNAMICS IN *KŌRERO***

In the previous chapter, I reviewed the history of how researchers have interfaced *mātauranga Māori* with archaeology to understand the past to inform this current research. This chapter has three parts. In the first part, I introduce sources of *kōrero ā-Tainui* (knowledge about or held by descendants of the *Tainui waka*). For each source, I analyse who recorded the information, why and within what context they did so. I also briefly analyse how subsequent sources used information from earlier sources but explore detailed examples in later chapters. The second part of the chapter discusses the various dynamics within the *kōrero tuku iho* that impact how we might conceive of *pā*. In the third part of the chapter, I describe my analysis method of *kōrero* about *pā* in Waikato to specifically address the research questions “why do *kōrero* include *pā* in Waikato?” and “why did warfare and *pā* construction in Waikato develop?” Chapters Five to Eight present the results of this analysis.

### **Part one: Sources of *kōrero ā-Tainui***

In this section, I describe the source, where the original *kōrero* is from, the context in which scribes, authors and publishers recorded that *kōrero* and the limitations in using that *kōrero* in the current study. This section only introduces these sources to contextualise their later reference in this thesis (particularly Chapters Five to Eight). I refer readers to more thorough discussions of different forms of *kōrero* and sources (e.g., J. McRae, 2017; Taonui, 2005). The types of written sources of *kōrero* in this thesis include the following:

1. unpublished manuscripts,
2. Māori Land Court and Compensation Court testimonies,
3. early ethnological publications,
4. published tribal histories between 1940s to 1990s,
5. proceedings and articles of the Te Awamutu Historical Society, and
6. *mana whenua* management plans and Waitangi Tribunal reports.

#### **Unpublished manuscripts and their publications**

Unpublished manuscripts from the nineteenth century are often the earliest written records of *kōrero*. For this reason, they are the least likely records to have been affected by edits, reproductions, and changes by scholars during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

(as discussed in Chapter Two). Pre-1840 sources are often only partially preserved or recorded, while the most substantial and useful transcripts are from the period between 1840 and 1890. After this time, hybrid traditions become more common (Taonui, 2005, p. 95). George Grey<sup>12</sup>, John White<sup>13</sup> and George Graham<sup>14</sup> compiled primary manuscripts relating to the Waikato before 1890 to facilitate more effective governance over Māori or preserve knowledge (Grey, 1855, p. iii; White, 1874, p. v). Public archives now hold the physical copies of these manuscripts, which are handwritten and usually in *te reo Māori*.

Early manuscripts have limitations. The transfer of orally held knowledge into writing can change original or intended meanings. Meanwhile, any single account only captures the perspective of one individual (albeit usually a *tōhunga*) on behalf of the community with little assurance that the orator has not intentionally misconstrued the content (Tau, 2001b), like any form of oral history. Early Pākehā collectors predominantly lacked the cultural competency and academic training to understand tradition's dual historical and symbolic nature. Their cultural and intellectual notions of superiority over the Māori compounded the issue (Taonui, 2005, p. 8). The often-Christian background of these early collectors and writers influenced their writing of the 'Other'. Single narratives were combined from multiple informants from different tribes with deliberate omissions, editing of particles, diction and proper names and not acknowledging the informants (see review by Taonui, 2005). However, despite these limitations, these early manuscripts are invaluable sources of knowledge held by *tōhunga* in the nineteenth century.

### ***George Grey collection***

Sir George Grey was Governor of New Zealand first in 1845–1853 and again in 1861–1868. Pertinent to this current study, he instigated the Waikato invasion in 1863 and the subsequent massive confiscation of Māori land. However, before this, Grey had collated manuscripts from many sources containing many forms of *kōrero tuku iho*. He compiled and edited these into his book, *Nga Mahinga a Nga Tupuna* (Grey, 1854), which includes some references to Tainui descendants.

Simmons (1966) conducted a thorough overview of Grey's sources in *Nga Mahinga a Nga Tupuna*. Within Grey's manuscript collection is Mātene Te Whiwhi's transcript of Te Rangihaeata's dictation in 1852 (Grey, 1852a), including Ngāti Toarangatira *whakapapa* from

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<sup>12</sup> Grey Collections (Auckland Public Library and Te Hukatai – University of Auckland Library)

<sup>13</sup> John White Papers (Auckland Turnbull Library).

<sup>14</sup> George Graham Manuscripts (Auckland Institute and Museum Library, Auckland Public Library)

Ranginui and then Hoturoa to Te Rauparaha. Grey (1857a) wrote another manuscript with *kōrero* about Pāoa's settlement at Taupiri as dictated by Wiremu Hoeti [sic] of Ngāti Tamaterā to Judge William Martin (see further discussion in Simmons, 1976, p. 367). GNZMMSS 31 (Grey, before 1854, pp. 38–43) is also the earliest written version of Horeta's murder of Te Atāirongo during a fishing expedition, which led to the latter's son Kaiihu seeking *utu*. Notes on the cover of the manuscript state that Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikāheke of Ngāti Rangiwewehi may have dictated this *kōrero* to George Grey.

### ***John White collection***

John White's peers considered him an expert in Māori language and culture. He came to Aotearoa in his youth with his parents in 1835 before returning to England to complete his formal education. He later returned and learnt *Te Reo Māori*. White moved to Auckland in 1851, where he worked as an interpreter for George Grey and Thomas Gore Browne and then Generals Pratt and Cameron during the Taranaki land wars. White became Resident Magistrate and officer to the Māori Land Court in different parts of Aotearoa. In 1876, the New Zealand Government commissioned him to compile and write a Māori history entitled *The Ancient History of the Maori* (White, 1887, 1888a, 1888b, 1890). Volumes four and five include Tainui *kōrero*.

White requested manuscripts from knowledge holders throughout Aotearoa. Michael Reilly's (1990) research showed that these requests had mixed responses, including knowledge being withheld or hidden, or *tōhunga* no longer living to fill the manuscript pages. Many of White's contacts, however, did indeed supply him with information they knew or had collected from their relations. White wrote both Māori and English versions within each volume. He attributed each *kōrero* to a *hapū* or *iwi* without referencing the people who supplied him with the manuscripts. Furthermore, as has been found with other nineteenth-century Pākehā compilers of *kōrero*, White edited the Māori language versions, so there are variations between the texts he published, and those manuscripts sent to him. For this reason, we cannot assume White's texts are authoritative or authentic traditions without undertaking a careful textual comparison with the original manuscripts.

The Auckland Libraries Archives and the Alexander Turnbull Library hold John White's collection of manuscripts. It includes a lengthy and detailed manuscript written by Wiremu Te Wheoro (1871) of Ngāti Naho and Ngāti Pou, titled *Ngā Kōrero Onamata* that either John White or George Graham later titled *Ancient History of the Tainui Tribes*. Te Wheoro's *kōrero* covers events from the arrival of the Tainui *waka* to the rivalry between

Whatihua and Tūrongo, through to Hongi Hika's attack on Mātakitaki Pā in 1822. Te Wheoro also demonstrated his understanding of *kōrero tuku iho* and *whakapapa* in his detailed testimonies to the Māori Land Court throughout the late 1800s. John White published much but not all of Te Wheoro's manuscript, referencing it as a nameless Ngāti Mahuta source. However, not all *kōrero* that White referenced to Ngāti Mahuta were from Te Wheoro.

In other examples, White (1888b, pp. 161–163 [Māo.]) published and translated (pp. 171–173 [Eng.]) *kōrero* about Kōkako, Tamainupō, Maikao and Tanangawhanga, referencing a Ngāti Mahuta source. This was from an undated manuscript written by Apera Kiwi (pre-1888) of Ngāti Tāhinga to John White. An anonymous (pre-1888) author wrote a handwritten *reo Māori* manuscript to White regarding Manutongatea and his father Peha, which White (1888a, pp. 14–17 [Māo.], 18–20 [Eng.]) published and attributed to a Ngāti Mahuta source. Hoane Nahe (1860) also wrote an extensive transcript in *reo Māori* about the arrival of the migration *waka* to Aotearoa with ending *kōrero* about the ancestor Pāoa (pp. 97–101). White (1888b, pp. 218–221 [Eng.], 211–214 [Mao.]) attributed this *kōrero* to a Ngāti Maru source. Outside of the above *kōrero* about Tainui descendants, White's published *kōrero* about Whatihua and Mangō, Hiapoto and Kaihamu, Tūpāhau, Tūāhumāhina and Toarangatira came from Ngāti Toa sources for which I have failed to identify original manuscripts.

### ***George Graham collection***

George Graham was born in Auckland in 1874. He developed a lifelong interest in Māori culture. Focussing on the Auckland area, Graham gathered and translated expansive *kōrero*, which he published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* and independently. Key works pertinent to this thesis were the manuscripts from Wirihana Te Aoterangi of Ngāti Tāhinga, Tukumana Te Taniwha of Ngāti Whanaunga and Ngāti Pāoa, and Tamihana Te Rauparaha of Ngāti Toarangatira.

Wirihana Te Aoterangi was a Ngāti Tāhinga chief from Whāingaroa (Raglan). He wrote a manuscript in *reo Māori* before 1923 (Te Aoterangi, c. 1860). Gordon-Burns and Taonui (2011) stated that this was in approximately 1860. George Graham translated Te Aoterangi's manuscript and published it with credit to the original author as *Fragments of Ancient Māori History from Kaipara to Kāwhia* (Te Aoterangi, 1923). This includes *kōrero* relating to several wars and instances of *pā* construction in Kāwhia, Aotea and Whāingaroa in particular.

Tukumana Te Taniwha (1929b) wrote an unpublished manuscript, later published with a foreword by George Graham in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Te Taniwha, 1929a). Graham stated that “some of the tribal history herein narrated” is in Grey's and White's

publications. However, some differences indicate that Tukumana had independent *kōrero* from that published earlier.

Tamihana Te Rauparaha wrote a biography of his father, Te Rauparaha, which contains some of the events leading up to Ngāti Toarangatira and parts of Ngāti Koata leaving Kāwhia in 1819–1820. Graham attempted to translate this manuscript into the Sir George Grey Special Collections at Auckland Libraries (GNZMMS 27). Tamihana Te Rauparaha’s descendant, Ross Calman, found Graham’s translation flawed and incomplete and co-authored his own translation and commentary of the biography (Te Rauparaha, 2020 [1857?]).

### ***Elsdon Best collection***

Elsdon Best is a well-known Pākehā ethnographer who published widely on Māori culture in the late 1800s to early 1900s. Of interest to this thesis are two handwritten *reo* Māori (Māori language) manuscripts that he documented, containing *kōrero* about Te Tai Hauāuru. The first is a manuscript by Elsdon Best (c. 1893–1895) from Te Paki Ihaia and Te Karehana’s dictation. The *kōrero* was about Ruapūtahanga and Hiapoto concerning the latter’s sons Kaihamu, Uenuku, Ngū and Wheke. The second is an account that Elsdon Best (1894) recorded about Te Ataiōrongo’s death from Te Karehana Whakataki of Ngāti Toa, which he later published (in Best, 1982, pp. 483–484).

### ***Te Atanatiu Te Kairangi manuscript***

Atanatiu Te Kairangi was a nephew of Nōpera Te Ngiha of Ngāti Toarangatira. Te Kairangi compiled an account of Ngāti Toa *kōrero*, and the resulting manuscript was *Ko te Pukapuka o te Whakapapa o nga Tupuna o Ngati Toarangatira* (Te Kairangi, 1881). This account includes extensive history from the arrival of the Tainui *waka* to approximately 1853 and includes *whakapapa* and supplementary material. It includes much *kōrero* about Te Tai Hauāuru from a Ngāti Toarangatira perspective who had departed the region by the time of the Māori Land Court sittings and, as such, provided limited evidence of their histories in that context. This means that Te Kairangi’s manuscript is the sole source of many *kōrero* discussed in this thesis, which limits the critical analysis of comparing other versions of events.

Nonetheless, like Te Wheoro’s and Te Aoterangi’s, Te Kairangi’s manuscript is invaluable for its breadth, depth, and origin as a handwritten document about an author’s own people in *te reo* Māori. Sir Māui Pōmare (1930) of Ngāti Toa later translated and published the majority of this manuscript with John Cowan as editor. However, Pōmare did not explicitly reference Te Kairangi’s manuscript.

## Court minute books

### *Māori Land Court*

The records of the Māori Land Court (formerly Native Land Court) established under the Native Lands Act of 1862 and 1865 are the most extensive collection of tribal traditions. Individuals and communities claimed customary title to land blocks, evidenced by their *kōrero* during court proceedings. Scribes translated oral evidence in real-time and handwrote them in English into the official court hearing minute books. In some cases, hearing attendees and the judges themselves recorded independent minutes. In court judgements, judges also compiled testimonies into historical narratives and discussed their historical validity by comparison. These judgements were effectively works of history (Boast, 2017).

The use of Māori Land Court testimonies as historical sources demands caution due to the context in which they were presented. Witnesses sometimes modified their testimonies to support their claims better (Reilly, 1985; Salmond, 1985; Simmons, 1976; Van Meijl, 1996). At times, tribal members held meetings outside the court to deliberate acceptable tribal histories, genealogies, and claims before hearings (Ballara, 1998, pp. 44–47, 329). Judges often favoured claimant willingness to sell land over claim authenticity (Sorrenson, 1951, pp. 55–65). Furthermore, judges in earlier cases often did not wish to challenge the status quo established by recent conflicts. Resultantly, judgements favoured conquerors over subsidiary rights of *hapū*, who maintained an occupation in the area before, up to and after 1840 (Ballara, 2001, p. 141). By the 1870s, agents representing different *hapū* interests structured their case's evidence strategically around conquests (Durie, 1994, pp. 48–49). On a practical level of comprehension, some records appear contradictory, confusing, illegible, and out of chronological order (Ballara, 1998, p. 98). Meanwhile, sometimes, the omission of genealogies and historical details by some informants was intentional (Taonui, 2005, p. 97). Ultimately, the dominant challenge of using Māori Land Court Records is comprehending the sheer wealth of complex information, which is also their primary strength. The researcher may account for most limitations by carefully cross-checking accounts from different court hearings (Ballara, 1991, p. 504; 1998, pp. 43–51) and *kōrero* written outside the courts.

There are several critical cases for this current research. The Rohe Pōtae Title Investigation was one of the largest and most significant cases and began in 1886. Subsequent cases were effectively partitions of the Rohe Pōtae Block, which were investigated between

1887 and 1910. The last major case pertinent to this study was the investigation of the Moerangi Block between Pirongia Mountain and Aotea Harbour.

### ***Compensation Court***

The Kīngitanga Movement was set up with the coronation of the first king, Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, at Ngāruawāhia in 1858 to unite Māoridom under a single sovereign to protect their interests in response to the growing Pākehā population and demand for Māori land. In 1863, the New Zealand Government passed the *New Zealand Settlements Act*. Section II and III of this bill gave the Governor (George Grey at the time) discretion to seize land from *iwi* and *hapū* that he considered were “engaged in rebellion against Her Majesty’s authority” and to “set apart within any such District eligible sites for settlements for colonizations”. Claiming that the Kīngitanga Movement, by then under the second king Tāwhiao, was in rebellion against the Crown, the New Zealand Government and British Colonial forces invaded Waikato from 1863—1864. This resulted in the unjust Crown *raupatu* (confiscation) of large swathes of land from Māngere to the Pūniu River. The Central Waikato block became a district under the Act in 1865 and adjoined the Waikato “military settlements” block to the south. Under Section V of the Act, the Crown could grant compensation to *iwi* and *hapū* whose land the Crown had confiscated if they had not raised arms, “aided”, “assisted”, “comforted”, or “counselled” any groups who had. The Compensation Court began to hear and decide on compensation requests in 1867. Early in the year, the court heard cases for the Central Waikato Block at Ngāruawāhia. The minute books contain some *kōrero* relating to Waikato *pā*, but testimonies often relate to histories after the scope of this research in the nineteenth-century. The Crown appears to have attempted to prove all Waikato tribes with interest in the block had gifted their lands to King Pōtatau Te Wherowhero after his coronation in 1858, and they had no compensation case under the Crown’s false premise that the Kīngitanga rebelled (Boast, 2017, pp. 359–361).

### **Early Publications and Journals**

Occasionally, early Pākehā recorded *kōrero* in publications. For example, William Richard Wade’s (1842) account is one of the earliest written narratives of the Tainui *waka*. The Polynesian Society was established in 1892 to document the knowledge held by tribal elders that Society members considered was at risk of being lost forever (Sorrenson, 1992). The Journal remains one of the world's oldest and continuous ethnographic periodicals, including early histories written on, by, or about Tainui peoples (e.g., Cowen, 1905; Graham, 1919; Nahe,

1894; Tauwhare, 1905). Often, these are sourced from, or are reproductions of, earlier unpublished manuscripts written down decades before.

Sorrenson Percy Smith was a leading contributor to the what has been considered the ‘Great New Zealand Myth’, as outlined in Chapter Two. The Polynesian Society published chapters of his *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast* as articles from 1909 to 1910 and then as a complete monograph. One should treat Smith’s text itself with suspicion. For example, S. P. Smith (1908, pp. 113–114; 1910b, pp. 188–189) presented the earliest large-scale conflict of Tainui descendants by Mōtai with Te Āti Awa. However, he confused *whakapapa* from people in Hawaiki with those in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Robertson, 1962, p. 305). One may (and should) identify his sources for direct investigation. For example, Smith (1910b, pp. 189–192) did not reference his source for *kōrero* about Hiapoto and Kaihamu, but it is consistent with a handwritten *reo* Māori manuscript by Elsdon Best (c. 1893–1895) from Te Pake Ihaia and Te Karehana Whakataki.

Edward Henry Schnackenberg (son of the Aotea Harbour missionary Reverend Cort Henry Schnackenberg) collected *kōrero* about *pā* and the people who made them in and around Kāwhia and published them in *Maori Memories as Related by the Kaumatuas of Kawhia to E.H.S., Kawhia* (Schnackenberg, 1926). Writing in English with considerable creative licence, Schnackenberg includes *kōrero* from earlier sources and from conversations he had with “kaumatuas of Kawhia”. His narrative is sectioned into *pā* “biographies” about the “birth and building” of *pā* on the western coast (*ibid*, p. 1). Schnackenberg’s writing style suggests that he considered the content “of interest” to a Pākehā audience, potentially referring to contemporary ethnographic scholarship from the Polynesian Society. However, he does clarify in closing that his words are for Pākehā and Māori alike – despite the occasional derogatory language of his time. Schnackenberg’s text serves as a valuable addition.

Māui Pōmare of Ngāti Toarangatira and James Cowan published two volumes of *Legends of the Māori* (Pōmare, 1930; Pōmare & Cowan, [1930] 1987) with illustrations by Stuart Peterson. In the first volume, James Cowan considered the *kōrero* included to be literature at its finest, on par with “Greek literature or Scandinavian Saga” (p. VII–VIII). The primary purpose of the texts was to publish several versions of *kōrero* that were already published and provide Peterson with an avenue to illustrate the *kōrero* “in a more comprehensive and artistic manner than has hitherto been attempted” (p. VII). Cowan generally attributed the *kōrero* to his sources. Volume one also includes *kōrero* from around the country, including relevant narratives for this study, such as “The Legend of the Den of the Wild Dogs” (pp. 106–108), the wars between Mōtai and Mākino (pp. 255–258), Taraao and Kārewa (pp.

125–132), and Taitengāhue and Ngāti Maru. The second volume of *Legends of the Maori* was penned or dictated by Sir Māui Pōmare and published by James Cowan after the former died in 1930. Part one of this volume, also written in English, contains previously unpublished material about the arrival of the Tainui *waka* and the history of its descendants along Te Tai Hauāuru. Although not stated in the published text, it is a translation of Atanatiu Te Kairangi's (1881) unpublished manuscript mentioned above with some editing to its structure.

### **Published Tribal Histories**

Pei Te Hurinui-Jones wrote the most well-respected Tainui history in a series of manuscripts in the mid-twentieth century. Bruce Biggs later compiled, translated, and published these as *Nga Iwi o Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui people* (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995). Queen Te Atairangikaahu gave her salutations in the foreword of the work, which remains a widely referenced authority on authentic Tainui history. Jones and Biggs use *whakataukī*, *pepeha*, *whakapapa*, *mōteatea*, *kōrero tuku iho* and *īngoa ā-wāhi* (place names) in a detailed history associated with numerous ancestors. The book links peoples, places, and events together, but it also explains the causes of events from *mātauranga ā-Tainui* – often relating to insults to *mana* and *utu*. Biggs' footnotes on Te Hurinui-Jones' sources and alternative versions of *kōrero* from earlier sources are invaluable.

Before the *Nga Iwi o Tainui* 1995 publication, the Polynesian Society published Leslie Kelly's (1949) book, *Tainui: The Story of Hoturoa and his Descendants*. Biggs remarked how Kelly, of Ngāti Mahuta, based his book on Te Hurinui-Jones' manuscripts without due recognition (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 2). Aside from lacking tribal endorsement, Kelly included less emphasis on tribal relationships and had a different style, having been written in English. Therefore, it did not contain the essence of Tainuitanga in Jones and Biggs' text (Durie, 1996). In addition to Te Hurinui-Jones' manuscripts, Kelly referenced witness testimonies from Māori Land Court minutes.

The Otorohanga lawyer Fin Phillips produced a two-volume geographic history of Tainui titled *Nga Tohu a Tainui, Landmarks of Tainui: Historic Places of the Tainui People* (F. Phillips, 1989, 1995). Using oral accounts from *kaumātua* and evidence from his research, Phillips collected histories and names relating to places in Tainui landscapes, histories for each with supporting photographs. Phillips provided map references from NZMS1 and NZMS260 topographical series issued by the Department of Survey and Land Information for each location. The archaeologist Owen Wilkes (Ritchie, 2005 referencing Wilkes; Wilkes, 1996) observed that although he contributed significantly to the geographic documentation of Tainui

places, Phillips undertook little archaeological analysis of these sites that would be a fruitful complement to the *mātauranga ā-Tainui*. Furthermore, Phillips rarely referenced his sources. He also did not acknowledge the New Zealand Archaeological Association's Site Recording Scheme (now ArchSite) numbers nor previous archaeological research, which Wilkes considered led Phillips to make numerous errors in both volumes, which ended up in the public arena. Lastly, he rarely explained the evidence or reasoning for identifying places, making it difficult to trust.

### **Te Awamutu Historical Society**

The Te Awamutu Historical Society was established in 1935, amongst other things, to:

*[...] prepare a map of the upper Waikato district and mark thereon all ancient pahs, settlements, battlegrounds or places of tribal or historical interest with tribal boundaries and land marks, eel weirs, burial grounds and tracks, [and] to mark out the important Maori pahs and battlefields on scale plans prepared as accurately as possible, the present day appearance to be preserved by photographic records (Robertson, 1975).*

Over their early functions as a society, they amassed a large amount of historical information, site locations, newspaper articles, historical maps, photographs, archaeological evidence and *kōrero* from *hapū* knowledge holders, such as Raureti Te Huia of Ngāti Maniapoto and Tūwharetoa, Tauī Wētere of Ngāti Hikairo and his son Tita Tauī Wētere. The Society collated these loose materials into an unpublished more than 369-page leatherbound *Proceedings Book of the Te Awamutu Historical Society* (TAHS, n.d.), for which the Te Awamutu Museum now cares. In 1966, the Society established the *Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society*, which includes much material originally in the *Proceedings Book*. In 1988, the *Footprints of History* became the combined journal of the Te Awamutu, Otorohanga and Te Kuiti Historical Societies and the Waitomo Caves Museum Society.

James B.W. Robertson was the editor of the *Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society* and was a respected amateur genealogist and historian. Robertson (1965) wrote the *Maori Settlement of the Waikato District*, published by the Te Awamutu Historical Society in 1965. He aimed to explore gaps of information in Kelly's (1949) book (before Te Hurinui-Jones and Bigg [1995] was published) to emphasise the historical sequence in the collection of genealogies and narratives. He openly discussed the veracity of different lines of evidence. In doing so, his work had a different aim than Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs' (1995) tribal histories – i.e., Robertson sought to determine a positivist, “true history” of events (see Chapter Two for

broader context). Robertson (1956, 1957b, 1958, 1962, 1969a) wrote several additional papers in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* exploring the historical validity of Tainui genealogies and narratives.

### **Mana whenua reports**

In 1975, the Crown passed the *Treaty of Waitangi Act*, under which the Waitangi Tribunal became a permanent commission of inquiry to hear Māori claims relating to Crown breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840. Claimants provide historical reports to support their cases. These reports are helpful overviews of regional histories that reference a range of early manuscripts, Māori Land Court records, published histories and oral accounts from contemporary oral tradition *wānanga* (learning workshops). However, as Tipene O'Regan (1992) of Ngāi Tahu noted, the reports are inherently political and biased by the adversarial context within which they were commissioned. Tribal members may favour contemporary oral claims over historical sources, advance narratives of one *whanau* or *hapū* over another and prejudice against the Crown (Taonui, 2005, p. 100). Despite these limitations, the reports and transcriptions of oral tradition *wānanga* provide useful syntheses of *kōrero*, include some *kōrero* not otherwise published and provide overviews of what current descendants view as authentic *kōrero*.

Te Rohe Pōtae Claim is relevant to this current research. The enquiry district extends from the Waikato River and Taumarunui to the western coastline from Whāingaroa to northern Taranaki. What became the Wai 898 claim enveloped 278 smaller claims submitted to the Tribunal between 1987 and 2014. To support those claims, *iwi*, *hapū*, *whānau*, and independently commissioned researchers prepared historical reports that pertain to this study. These include oral tradition reports for broader Tainui (Ellison *et al.*, 2012); Ngāti Te Wehi (De Silva, 2012); and Ngāti Māhanga (Collins *et al.*, 2012).

Outside the Waitangi Tribunal process, District Councils have also commissioned reports. For example, Ngā Mana Tōpu o Kirikiriroa and Hamilton City Council prepared *Nga Tapuwae o Hotumauea* (NaMTOK & HCC, 2003) as a management plan for significant sites in council land along the Waikato within Hamilton City. Hayward *et al.* (2015) later critiqued this report on its lack of reference to Ngāti Māhanga presence to the west of the river. Both reports contain unpublished *kōrero* from *kanohi ora* and *whānau* manuscripts. The Waikato District Council commissioned Des Kahotea (2018, 2020) to research and recommend Māori Sites of Significance for scheduling on the Waikato Proposed District Plan. Furthermore, *iwi*

and *hapū* have prepared cultural management plans for *taonga* (treasures) and *wāhi tūpuna* within their *rohe*, such as that for Ngāti Hikairo (Barton & Thorne, 2010).

### **Part two: *kōrero* dynamics**

Having outlined the various written repositories of *kōrero* used in this thesis, I now discuss some of the symbolic dynamics that operate within *kōrero* and dictate their symbolic and literal role in recording Māori pasts. I am strictly discussing the period of human settlement in Aotearoa. However, as I have noted in this thesis already, *whakapapa* and *kōrero* also connect *tangata whenua* in Aotearoa to ancestors in Hawaiki, *ātua* and all other things in the world. I explore Rawiri Taonui’s metaphor of the *whareniui whakapapa* to explain the structure of *whakapapa* and *kōrero*. I also explore the symbolic dynamics of several themes of *kōrero*, including land boundaries, *tuakana* and *teina* lineages, intermarriage, exploration, and conflict (*kōrero pakanga*). I use these examples of symbolic dynamics to frame my method of analysing *kōrero* about *pā*.

#### **Form of *whakapapa***

Narrative prose of *kōrero tuku iho* covers themes of first arrival and settlement, establishing a claim to land, intermarriage, formation of political alliances and social groups, and much of those actors' personalities. To summarise, they pertain to all past events relevant to those in the present. *Kōrero* is structured by the individual people in them, who, by their very mention, place that *kōrero* within the tribal *whakapapa* framework. Rawiri Taonui’s (2005) doctoral thesis includes a detailed discussion of the dynamics of Māori oral tradition in Aotearoa. Informed primarily by Vansina’s (1965, 1985) analysis of oral tradition form and function in Africa, Taonui observed how the complexity and detail of traditions and genealogies change according to the number of generations separating the person recalling the information and the ancestors that they spoke about (see Chapter Two for broader context). The number of ancestors within a recorded *whakapapa* from any period indicate the relative number of remembered traditions associated with that period. In Taonui’s words:

*Tribal genealogies, as the taxonomic backbone of tribal tradition, stimulate corresponding formal and informal prose, thereby providing a good indication of the overall quantum and complexity of tradition retained at each generation extending from the present into the past. (pp.122–123)*

Taonui recognised that, when “mapped” out, tribal genealogies took the form of a *whareniui* (meeting house), which I refer to as the *whareniui whakapapa* (Figure 4). The *whare*

(house) stands on the ground of the present and the world of the living descendants and their recent ancestors. The *whare* holds the highest number of individuals with often the most complex relationships between them. Above the *whare* and further into the past is the *maihi* or apex barge boards. The *maihi* is the point within the recorded *whakapapa* that individuals and their relationships become fewer and often comes to a point at an individual or individuals from whom common descent identities stem in the present<sup>15</sup>. From the ground of the *whare* to the *maihi*, generations interlock and form a coherent matrix of related individuals. Above the *maihi*, is the *tekoteko* or singular spire of the *whare*, which constitutes a single lineage from the *maihi* back in time and connects to the ancestors who arrived on the migration *waka*. *Tekoteko* within any recorded *whakapapa* vary in length. It is also often where in the *whakapapa* different generation orders are most common between sources. However, intermarriages often contribute to greater consistency. For this reason, *whakapapa* within the *whare* are mainly consistent within bodies of collective memory.

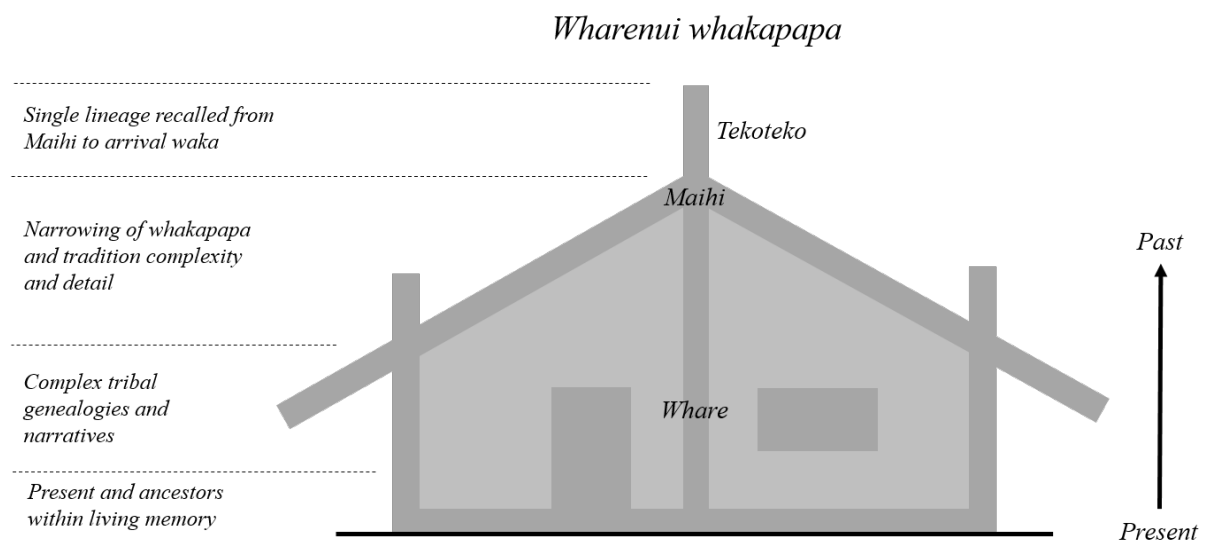


Figure 4. *Whare whakapapa* diagram explaining the form of tribal tradition and genealogies in relation to the *whare*, *maihi* and *tekoteko*.

An individual's *whare whakapapa* situates them at the centre of the floor within the *whare*. Different individuals of the same descent group might share elements of the same *whare whakapapa*, while complementing gaps in the other. As such, the collective memory of related individuals can increase the breadth and complexity of the *whare*. In addition to within the minds of the collective, collective memory may partially be recorded in manuscripts, and multiple sources may be compiled to increase the size of the *whare whakapapa*.

<sup>15</sup> Vansina (1985) recognised the phenomenon of “narrowing” within his hourglass model of oral traditions.

However, each recounting or performance of a *kōrero* is only one expression of that collective memory in relation to the context of that performance – be it during the *whaikōrero* (oratory) at a modern *tangi* (funeral-like process) or the writing down of a dictation to an ethnographer during the nineteenth century.

Vansina (1985) considered that the limits of human memory dictate the location of the apex and singularity of oral traditions (see also Ballara, 1998, pp. 161–178). This “floating gap” shifted forward in time with each passing generation so that individuals at the ceiling of the house of tradition funnelled into the apex (*maihi*), and some ancestors became forgotten. Indeed, fewer individuals, narratives and intermarriages recorded above the apex suggest that memory influences the form of oral tradition. At the same time, selective forgetting and remembering also interacted with what each generation passed on to the next (Ong, 1986; Sissons, 1988; Ngata [1931] in Sorrenson, 1988; Stokes, 1930; Taonui, 2005, pp. 127–128, 151–153). Selective remembering has several dynamics. Individuals who conducted significant deeds are remembered in more detail over those who did not. Descendants selectively remember ancestors associated with outlining genealogical, political, or geographical relationships relevant to those descendants. Senior lines are also remembered in detail and descendants prioritise or emphasise their descent from esteemed ancestors. Taonui stated that in Māori society, the *maihi* of oral history is positioned approximately 10 generations before 1900 CE, but several factors influence its exact location for any group. For example, larger groups that were established earlier were more likely to have a *maihi whakapapa* further back in time. Merging of several groups may also require selective remembering of particular lineages, with contemporary *maihi whakapapa* being measured – some being celebrated and emphasised, and others being forgotten or marginalised. Political dynamics of the continuous present influenced the relational collective memory of the *wharenuī whakapapa*. This selective remembering gives the *wharenuī whakapapa* its overall form of being broad at the base and narrow at the *maihi* and *tekoteko*.

Historians have recognised the singularity or *tekoteko* of oral tradition and have defined this line to divide “tradition” from “myth” (Biggs, 1969; Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995; Walker, 1992), or “hard” from “soft” tradition (Belich, 1996). There is general agreement that the transition from tradition in its historical form occurs during the *waka* arrivals to Aotearoa. However, Taonui (2005, p. 157) noticed that the greatest variability in *whakapapa* is between the migration *waka* crew and the *maihi* of the *wharenuī whakapapa*. The *tekoteko* constitutes this space, and sources often record this as a *taotahi* (single line of descent) or sometimes as a *whakamoe* (including marriage partners).

*Table 1. Whakapapa variations within the wharenuī whakapapa of Tainui from Hoturoa to Tāwhao displayed as taotahi.*

<u>Taotahi 1</u>	<u>Taotahi 2</u>	<u>Taotahi 3</u>	<u>Taotahi 4</u>	<u>Taotahi 5</u>	<u>Taotahi 6</u>	<u>Taotahi 7</u>	<u>Taotahi 8</u>
Hoturoa	Hoturoa	Hoturoa	Hoturoa	Hoturoa	Hoturoa	Hoturoa	Hoturoa
Hotumatapu	Ue	Hotumatapu	Motai-mamana	Hotuhope	Hotuhope	Hotuope	Hotu-ope
Ngarue	Raka	Motai	Ue	Hotumatapu	Hotumatapu	Hotumatapu	Hotu-aawhio
Motae	Kākati	Ue	Raka	Hotuawhio	Ue	Mōtai	Hotu-matapuu
Ue	Tāwhao	Raka	Kakati	Motae	Raka	Ue	Mootai
Hairoa		Kakati	Tawhao	Ue	Kakati	Raka	Ue
Raka		Tawhao		Raka	Tawhao	Kakati	Raka-maomao
Kakate				Kakati		Tāwhao	Kaakaati
Tawhao				Tawhao			Taawhao
(Hamlin, 1842, pp. 261–262)	(Te Rauparaha, 2020 [1857?])	(Matene Te Whiwhi in Grey, 1852a; S. P. Smith, 1908; Wilkinson, 1888)	(Gudgeon, 1893b, p. 203)	(Kamanomano Māhu in MacCormick, 1909a, p. [24 November] 327)	(Pōmare, 1930, p. 22)	(Buck, 1910; Kelly, 1949, pp. 171, 446, 480; Te Paehua Matekau [Ngāti Raukawa] Puckey, 1890, p. 255; Robertson, 1956, Chart 1; 1965, p. 9; Te Hurinui-Jones, 1945, p. 10; 1962, Table 14; 2010 [1959], p. 281; Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 103)	(Kelly, 1940a, Table IV; R. Te Huia, 1945b, n.d. [c. 1948]; Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, in several charts)

The dynamics of the *tekoteko* are different from the *whare whakapapa*. Truncation, name order changes and elongations are common. However, the names at the top and bottom of the *tekoteko* are usually consistent. Common prefixes to names may indicate the elongation of a lineage. One may compare these cases with lines that only include unique names. The *tekoteko* of Tainui is generally between Hoturoa, Whakaotirangi, Mārama-kiko-hura, and Rakataura at the distant end and Tāwhao, Tuhianga or Puhaanga at the *maihi*. The *tekoteko* varies from 5 to 9 generations long, with at least eight variations that I have identified (Table 1). Ue, Raka and Kākāti are consistently directly above (before) Tāwhao. The first few generations often have the suffix “Hotu”, including Hoturoa, Hotuoep, Hotuāwhio and Hotumatapū. Taonui (2005) suggested that they may be an elongation of one person into several or a symbol of group identity. He also offered that as “Hotu” means to “pant”, “sob”, “heave”, or “long for”, it may signify ongoing procreation. Meanwhile, the lack of any *kōrero* associated with Hotuoep or Hotumatapū suggests that their names could represent a Hotu group. Taonui further explores this idea when considering Hamlin’s (1842) recorded information that Hotunui, Hoturoa and Hotumatapū arrived together on the *waka* Tainui. Taonui suggested these “Hotu” individuals may not have been within the same lineage. Similarly, Ngāti Toarangatira *kōrero* claims that these men were brothers, not fathers and sons (e.g., see Taotahi 2 in Table 1) (Kelly, 1940a; 1949, p. 67).

### **Relative truth**

I introduced the concept of relative truths within *kōreru tuku iho* in Chapter Two. Therefore, I will only briefly remind the reader of this dynamic. *Kōrero* always has a specific space-time context that augments the *mana* of ancestors and the contemporary community. In this way, what is ‘true’ to one *hapū*’s tradition may not be so of another’s. Therefore, relative truths are part of *kōrero* that never purported to describe empirical pasts. On the other hand, some scholars observe that even though most historians attempt to write histories as close to an empirical past as possible, the result is unavoidably partial. Whether or not one follows a post-modern philosophy that historians cannot approach universal ‘truth’, I consider that careful scholarship that acknowledges where contested or alternative versions exist may still generate useful works of history.

### **Functional political projections**

Taonui (2005, p. 217) recognised how “genealogical geo-political alignments” in *kōrero tuku iho* reflected past-present projections from those political relationships experienced by the provider of the *kōrero* back on earlier times. These political *hapū* alignments and distinctions

in the present are explained within the *kōrero* by themes including land boundaries, shared ancestry, intermarriage, exploration, and conflict.

### ***Land boundaries***

*Kōrero* prose often includes accounts of when and how tribal territories were established. These accounts may have symbolic aspects that legitimise one's claim to an area, either through the description of the event of boundary laying or in reference to its antiquity. One may investigate the symbolism of a boundary establishment narrative when comparing the *whakapapa* of the individuals involved in the *kōrero*. Frequently, boundary laying is attributed to individuals who lived well before the land in question was occupied. Contested narratives may also refer to boundaries being laid.

For example, a central political alignment within Tainui tradition involves Tāwhao and his two sons, Whatihua and Tūrongo. Tāwhao was a son of Kākati who married the sisters Pūnuiātekore and Marutehiakina, and by each had Whatihua and Tūrongo, respectively. When the sons grew to adulthood, Ruapūtāhanga from Taranaki was intended as a wife for Tūrongo. Hearing of Ruapūtāhanga's impending arrival, Whatihua convinced his brother to build a smaller house while he built a larger one in secret. Ruapūtāhanga married Whatihua, while Tūrongo was humiliated, and he eventually left Kāwhia, married Māhinaarangi from the East Coast and settled near modern Ōtorohanga at Rangiātea. Recognising the dispute between his sons, Tāwhao drew a boundary between them and their interests, separating what later became Te Rohe Pōtae (King Country) from the middle and lower Waikato region. Tūrongo and his descendants had the southern portion, while Whatihua and his descendants had the northern portion. Modern *hapū* and *iwi* descend and often take their name from the close descendants of these brothers. For example, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Rereahu, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Hauā descend from Tūrongo, while Ngāti Mahuta, Ngāti Te Ata, Ngāti Tipa and Ngāti Tamaoho descend from Whatihua.

Taonui (2005, p. 221) observed that these tribal divisions did not exist until some generations after Tūrongo and Whatihua. As such, the sibling rivalry depicted political tensions between related descent groups as they expanded out of Kāwhia and established their own identities and interests. Tāwhao's decision symbolically called for peace between the tribes and marked a point of division amongst Tainui descendants. These distinctions became partly ideological as descendants on both sides descended from both brothers through intermarriage. For example, Tūrongo's son, Rereahu, married Rangianewa and Hineaupouamu, who were great-granddaughters of Whatihua through his sons Uenuku-tū-whatu and Uenuku-te-rangi-

hoka. Similarly, Hourua, a granddaughter of Mahuta of the Whatihua descent group, married Pakaue, son of Hauā of Tūrongo's descent group.

### ***Tuakana and teina lineages and intermarriages***

Another dynamic of the political alignment is how the different descent groups negotiate seniority. *Ariki* (high chiefly) descent lines were often established through *tuakana* (elder) and *teina* (younger) sibling relationships —the senior *mana* often passing through the *tuakana* line. *Kōrero* serve the purpose of negotiating which lineage possesses the *mana tuakana*. Negotiations of Tūrongo and Whatihua's relative *mana* include differences in the order of the brothers' birth (e.g., Te Nguha Huirama in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 65), actions of the brothers (e.g., Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 64), the order of marriage between the brothers' mothers to Tāwhao, and the order of birth of the mothers (Rore Eruera, Te Hurinui Te Wano and Wahanui in Kelly, 1949, pp. 69–70; Moke, 1959; Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 64–65). These dynamics cause variability in the emphasis and sometimes ordering of *whakapapa*, which gives the illusion of inconsistency. However, negotiating the past in respect to modern politics is a central purpose of Māori oral history. This example of contesting *mana tuakana* reflects the long-lasting and continued contest of political power between descendant *hapū* and *iwi*. For example, the 'true' order of birth is of secondary importance in the tradition of Whatihua and Tūrongo. The primary importance is how each descent group claims seniority in the present, as this is the desire of both, while acknowledging close *whakapapa* relationships through those brothers. At the same time, both sides have an interest in maintaining the tradition of the rivalry between the two brothers as this maintains political stability in the present or at the time the *kōrero* was recorded.

Marriages outside of Tainui descent groups were also political and often signal remembered political connections that remained relevant in the present. Marriage examples between Tainui descendants and other descent groups include those between Whatihua and Ruapūtāhanga of Taranaki, Tūrongo and Māhinaarangi of the East Coast, Rereiao and Pikiao of Te Arawa, Tapaue and Te Atairehia of Te Wai-o-Hua, Mangō and Hiapoto from Taranaki, and Reipae and Reitū to Tāhuhupōtiki and Ueoneone of Ngāpuhi.

### ***Exploration***

A theme common to many tribal traditions after the arrival of Hawaikiian *waka* to different parts of Aotearoa is how settler communities explored and settled local landscapes and the broader region. Taonui (2005, p. 231) observed several motifs of exploration traditions. Firstly, explorations usually relate to a single tradition of an individual within the *tekoteko* of

the *wharenui whakapapa*. Ancestors above and below the ancestor associated with exploration have little *kōrero* associated with them and traditions often only record their names. Taonui explained this pattern as a “bubble” (p. 231) of heightened detail within the *tekoteko*, where stories of multiple explorers from different generations were likely attributed to one ancestor. The bubble phenomenon could have served for expediency, to aid memory, and to accumulate more *mana* to that person and their descendants. A narrative of a tribe’s single early exploration has more *mana* than one of several smaller journeys of exploration; as such, the former gives more weight to land interests in later years. *Kōrero* about exploration have often grown into epic narratives with symbolic imagery involving the explorer to create geographic landforms, named places and establish wildlife or resources in their new-found lands. Some narratives are shortened with assertions of supernatural transport over unoccupied lands. Taonui suggested this was to limit detail in already long narratives.

Past-present projections within the *kōrero* exist in how the traditions function to explain and justify the occupation of land by a tribe, portraying that it has always been so. Present political boundaries are often said to have been established by these early explorers and their claims were solidified with them being attributed to naming places in the landscape. Taking the past-present projections, the details of the explorer’s journey and the place names they have been associated with, *kōrero* about explorer ancestors can often be more detailed than some of their descendants, despite the explorers being located at the *tekoteko* of the *wharenui whakapapa*. Exploration *kōrero*, therefore, bridges the *waka* traditions that depict the journeys and settlements of Hawaikiian ancestors to the later *whare* of tradition that explain the politics of more recent histories. Therefore, Taonui warned that one must be careful when separating historical events from symbolic images within exploration traditions.

Taonui (2005, p. 234) provides the example of Kahupekapeka’s (Kahu) journey inland from Kāwhia as an example of the past-present dynamics of exploration traditions. One narrative version<sup>16</sup> is that Kahupekapeka’s husband, Ue, died, after which Kahu and her son, Rakamaomao, travelled inland from Kāwhia to the Central North Island. First, she reached the

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<sup>16</sup> See accounts of Raka and Kahu’s early explorations by Te Oro Te Koko (in Mair, 1888a, p. 255) and Rīhari Tauwhare (in Mair, 1888a, pp. 322, 354). Pōmare and Cowan ([1930] 1987, pp. 43–47) published the latter’s account. Later published accounts include (Kelly, 1949, pp. 65–66; F. Phillips, 1995, pp. 35–41; Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 58–60). There are two general versions.

mountain east of Kāwhia, which became Pirongia-o-Kahu<sup>17</sup> after the stench of her afterbirth. Then she travelled to Te Kakepuku and Te Kawa before heading to Hauraki and climbing the highest peak of the Kaimai. She turned west and, in her grief, sang a lament of her husband who had passed away. The mountain was hence named Te Aroha-o-Kahu. She then travelled to and named several other places, including Te Whakamaru-o-Kahu (a place where she took shelter), Rangitoto-o-Kahu, and Pureora-o-Kahu, and then she died at Puke-o-Kahu.

These places that Kahupekapeka visited are mostly high points in the landscape. We may never know whether Kahu ascended each summit herself. However, each later formed territory boundaries, trade routes or other important landscape markers for the *whakapapa* of descent groups that came to settle in those regions. The places that Kahupekapeka named are also the general areas that Tainui descendants went on to settle. For example, Pirongia overlooks the first inland areas settled by Tainui, and Te Aroha looks over the Hauraki lands that Hotunui and Pāoa's descendants expanded into. Past-present projections show how many lands that Kahupekapeka visited and named in the *kōrero* were not settled by Tainui descendants until several generations later.

These places are also important resource centres that later generations sought after. Taonui observed that Pirongia, Kakepuku at Te Kawa form one cluster of places visited by Kahupekapeka that signpost the junction of the Waipā, Pūniu and Mangawaero rivers. This area was favoured as a trade route and had important resources, such as birds, fish and eels. The naming and claiming of this area in the *kōrero* of Kahupekapeka's exploration, therefore, foreshadows the latter conquests by Tainui descendants on this area – first by Tama-a-Io and then by the grandsons of Raukawa.

Instead of recording Kahupekapeka's journey from Kāwhia, other versions describe how she first visited Karioi and set off from there. The different versions are political statements that give more *mana* to the descendants of those parts and those descendants who later expanded inland – each claiming a more direct connection to the ancestor or event in question. The exploration from Kāwhia ascribes *mana* to *Tāwhao* and his children, while the exploration from Whāingaroa (Raglan) ascribes *mana* to Tūheitia's and Māhanga's

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<sup>17</sup> Ngāti Unu through Ngāti Kahupungapunga know Pirongia's earlier name as Pūawhe, referring to the southerly winds felt there (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). Shane Te Ruki of Ngāti Unu recall Kahurere in the *whakataukī*, *Ko ngā hūhā o Kahurere* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). Pūawhe and Kakepuku are the thighs of Kahurere — a reference to Kahurere's maternity, her status as an important ancestress to Ngāti Unu, and describing their *rohe* including, around and between the mountains. The name Pūawhe has now been given to the second highest peak of Pirongia.

descendants. Other versions do not relate the exploration to Kahupekapeka but to Rakataura's wife, Kahukeke or Kahurere. These variations source from testimony given by witnesses in the Otorohanga Māori Land Court and reflect the contestation of *mana* by the descendants of Hoturoa – the captain and chief of the Tainui *waka*, and from whom descends Kahupekapeka – and Rakataura – the high priest of the Tainui *waka* and to whom Kahukeke or Kahurere directly relates through marriage. The Kahukeke version has similar symbolic foreshadowing of later events, including expansion inland, claim to land and resources and boundary formation. For example, the latter version attributes the flourishing of birds at Pureora to Rakataura, who established several *tūāhu* (altars) to attract them there.

These different versions are not inconsistencies in histories claiming to record past empirical events. Although we may not be sure who first visited and named each mountain and the surrounding landscapes, each *hapū* and *iwi*'s *kōrero* about the exploration is valid. Each is part of their relative truth yet part of a contested history, where the *kōrero* foreshadows later political interests relevant to the particular 'performance' of that *kōrero*.

### ***Conflict***

As Taonui (2005, p. 196) observed, historians often explain conflict narratives of *kōrero tuku iho* as “perpetual cycles of utu or vengeance”. Taonui deconstructed this literature, and I refer the reader to his thesis for further reading. I turn here to summarise how to reconstruct narratives of conflict, which I refer to as *kōrero pakanga*.

*Kōrero pakanga* dominate as a theme in *kōrero tuku iho*, generally occurring within the *whare* of the *whare whakapapa*. These forms of *kōrero* may undergo multiple changes as they are passed down between generations, resulting in the repetition of common motifs. Such repetitions may indicate the presence of implicit and explicit meanings, which call on the audience's understanding of broader *whakapapa* and *kōrero* for comprehension. Slightings of *mana* are a common cause of these disputes based on competition between descent lines. Both explicit and implicit meanings are relevant in understanding the dynamics around conflict traditions.

The implied meaning of *kōrero pakanga* may be read in terms of where the events occur and the context of an insult that caused the conflict. Individual disputes mentioning *kūmara* may indicate competition over cultivations. Meanwhile, dunking of someone in a stream evokes imagery of competition over water or marine resources. Disputes between relations may indicate the breakdown of family ties, while non-related group involvement indicates the development of inter-tribal politics. The source of the *kōrero* also impacts its content. Victors

often do not exclusively record events of a conflict. Losers of a conflict often also record their own versions of events. Therefore, the agendas of both sides of any conflict can colour the recording of those events. Victors may embolden the accomplishments of their ancestors, while losers may reverse the cause of the conflict or limit the severity of the defeat. Taonui (2005, p. 199) stated that interpretations should be consistent with implied and literal meanings when analysing conflict traditions. Over time, details of resource competition are underemphasised in exchange for explanations based on the personal contexts of the actors. Literal meanings alone render the tradition as being purely about *utu* and vengeance. However, symbolic readings may reveal important political metaphors passed on to subsequent generations or emphasised when the *kōrero* is shared and reveal past-present projections within the *kōrero*.

### **Part three: method of analysing *kōrero***

This section breaks down my analysis method into sections related to the research questions I outlined in Chapter One. This section relates to my analysis method for research questions one (“why do *kōrero* include *pā*?”) and four (“why did warfare and *pā* construction develop in Waikato?”).

#### **Why does *kōrero* include *pā*?**

In this chapter, I have introduced different sources of *kōrero* and explained that it is important to identify the earliest version of *kōrero*, which is most reliable in unpublished manuscripts written in *reo* Māori in the nineteenth century. I have also introduced examples of symbolism and past-present projections in *kōrero*. To recognise both implied and explicit meanings within a *kōrero*, I consider several factors:

1. The source of the *kōrero* and their political or *hapū* affiliations (in each case, it is best to identify the original handwritten manuscript written by a *tangata mōhio* or under their dictation);
2. The context within which the *kōrero* was provided or recorded (including the intended audience of the text);
3. The position of the individuals recounted in the *kōrero* within the broader *wharenuī whakapapa*; and
4. The form and thematic content of the *kōrero*, including references to land boundaries, disputes over descent seniority, settlement of new areas, general conflict and important resources.

I use the four factors above to identify the potential contemporary functions of the *kōrero* at the time of its telling or recording through the analysis of symbolic dynamics. In doing so, I deconstruct later changes in published *kōrero* from early unpublished manuscripts. The analysis and results of this method for each *kōrero pakanga* are included in Chapters Five to Eight.

### **Why did warfare and *pā* construction develop?**

I now explain my method to address “why did warfare and *pā* construction develop in Waikato?” I based this analysis on *kōrero pakanga* as the causes of conflict indirectly explain why people constructed *pā*. Studying patterns in the causes of warfare across the region and generations may explain corresponding patterns in *pā* construction that we may then interface with archaeological information about those places. This method also tests Atholl Anderson’s (2022, p. 46) suggestion that conflict traditions no longer relevant to later generations may be discarded or forgotten through time. On the other hand, *kōrero* about migrations may be less likely to be forgotten or obscured and are, therefore, more helpful in understanding warfare patterns through time.

I analyse two elements for each *kōrero pakanga* that contribute to the understanding of their historical causes:

1. how the wording in the *kōrero* itself explains the cause of the conflict; and
2. how closely related conflicting parties are.

### ***Cause of conflict***

To address the first dimension, I explored the presence and absence of different causes of warfare as expressed in each *kōrero pakanga*. I generated three mutually inclusive thematic causes, whereby the presence of one cause of conflict in a *kōrero* did not prevent the presence of another cause in the same *kōrero*. This mutually inclusive categorisation recognises the relational characteristics of key concepts within the *mātauranga*. A single event may have several causes expressed in a particular telling of a *kōrero* depending on the speaker, audience and context. Similarly, the concepts of *utu* and *mana* described below are codependent and interwoven and should not be separated (Salmond, 1983, p. 317). Each causal theme was based on previous observations of conflict drivers in the literature. These causes were (1) *utu*, (2) competition over land and resources and (3) competition for *mana tangata*.

*Utu* is the notion of compensation, revenge, reciprocity or equivalence (H. M. Mead, 2003, p. 31). As Metge (1996) described it, *utu* is the “need to maintain *mana* by obtaining compensation for actions which diminished it” (p. 9). The breach of *tikanga* is a *take* (cause,

purpose), which demands resolution. *Utu* is the gesture or action to resolve the *take*. The nature of *utu* depends on various dynamics including the severity of the *take*, the *mana* of the people involved and their economic situation. The enactment of *utu* achieves a state of *ea* or satisfaction for the *take*, whereby the initial breach of *tikanga* is settled (H. M. Mead, 2003, pp. 27–28). The *take* may be an insult to someone’s *mana* – one’s authority, control, influence, prestige, power, and psychic force that dictate personal and group relationships. There are several forms of *mana*: *mana atua* (from the gods), *mana tupuna* (bestowed from one’s ancestors through high-ranking *whakapapa*), *mana whenua* (control or authority within an area of land) and *mana tangata* (achieved by one’s actions). Processes that diminish another’s *mana* include a verbal insult, sleeping with their spouse, defeat in battle, public shaming, or inadequately enacting *manaakitanga* (caring for relationships or hospitality). *Utu* is a common cause of warfare in *kōrero pakanga*.

The second cause of warfare within *kōrero* that I investigated was competition over or desire for *whenua* (land) or *rawa taiiao* (resources), such as cultivations, trees for timber, fishing places, birding forests or eel weirs. This tests Andrew Vayda’s (1960) reduction of Māori warfare to have been driven by economics alone (refer to Chapter Two, Part Two).

The last cause of conflict in *kōrero* that I investigated was competition over *mana tupuna* and *mana rangatira*. Among children of a family, the *mātāmua* (first-born) has the most *mana* at birth, while the following children receive *mana* at birth according to their *tuakana-teina* relationships. The *tuakana* is an elder sibling of the same sex, while the *teina* is the younger. The dynamic expands to *tuakana* or *teina* descent lines, whereby one has lesser or greater *mana* according to the seniority of their descent. Often individuals of *tuakana* lineages (those lineages often following the first-born male) became *ariki* (high chiefs). However, friction over leadership and renegotiating *mana tupuna* could lead to conflict and a rearrangement of *mana tangata*. These conflicts were usually within related or intermarried groups. Sissons (1991b) suggested that the pursuit to establish *mana* caused most inter-group conflict.

### ***Relatedness***

*Whanaungatanga* (kinship) between *rangatira* within *kōrero pakanga* indirectly contributes to answering why *pā* construction and warfare developed in Waikato. Warfare between closely related *rangatira* are often instances of leadership rivalries within the same or closely related communities. These may be after a community has become too large, *tuakana-teina* relationships are questioned, or related *rangatira* challenge new leadership resulting from

recent political marriages. The conflict between unrelated or distantly related *rangatira* suggests these familial dynamics are not at play and tribal boundaries were being challenged or conquests made. Large-scale conflict between distantly or unrelated social groups may also indicate periods of greater social complexity, whereby greater hierarchical structure was afforded to the *rangatira* during these times of greater stress. Investigating conflicting *rangatira* relatedness across several *kōrero pakanga* through space and time may indicate the context in which *pā* construction and warfare developed.

Exploring changes in *whanaungatanga* through time and space is problematic on at least two counts. Firstly, at any point in time, two opposing parties may consist of descendants from different *waka* and groups that have travelled from another region, at the same time as having members who are siblings, first cousins or relations through intermarriage. Therefore, saying one party is more closely related than another depends on whom one is discussing. I try to avoid this issue by only analysing the *whanaungatanga* of the leading members in the conflicting communities. Secondly, one might use concepts of *whānau* (extended family), *hapū* (collection of *whānau*), *iwi* (collection of *hapū*) to determine whether *rangatira* are of the same community. However, the relative crystallisation of these social units is a recent phenomenon that developed in the context of nineteenth and twentieth-century colonialism. In particular, *hapū* are relationally and continuously constructed at any time concerning present circumstances (Ballara, 1998; Kensinger, 2019; Webster, 1997). The position of the *maihi* (apex) within the *wharenuī whakapapa ā-hapū* is an indicator of the eponymous ancestor recalled as a founding figure of the group. Sometimes, group fissions and formations may occur in more recent generations than the eponymous ancestor preserved in the group's collective name. It would be an error to assume that the *hapū* developed during or directly after the life of the person they were named after. At the other end of the time scale, it is unclear how long after the first settlement in Kāwhia the *waka* crew descendants developed into such groupings. They likely waxed and waned through time according to local social and political factors.

I developed three general relationship types between conflicting *rangatira* in each *kōrero pakanga*: (1) between *whānau* members, (2) distant relations of shared descent and (3) unrelated groups. *Whānau* are siblings, parents, uncles, aunts and cousins. I have not determined the degree of cousin that defines the margin of this group. Direct relations are usually of common descent or have intermarried within a small community and are a precursor to warfare between *hapū*. Distant relations are descent groups of the same migration *waka*, but not necessarily connected by more recent intermarriage. These included wars between *hapū* - parties with a unified identity through common descent from an identified ancestor. *Kōrero*

often refers to individuals within the same *hapū* without stating their direct relationships. There were significant changes to socio-political structure in the nineteenth century. However, major changes were already developing in the eighteenth century (Durie, 1996; Sissons, 1988). Unrelated groups are from different migration *waka* or have no apparent common descent.

### Summary

This chapter has three parts. In part one, I introduced several written sources of *kōrero* about *pā tawhito* from the last 150 years. These included unpublished manuscripts and their associated publications in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; minute books from the Māori Land and Compensation Courts; early publications; published tribal histories; the works of the Te Awamutu Historical Society; and *mana whenua* reports to support Waitangi Tribunal Claims, District Council schedules and management plans. In each example, the provider and the information recorder operated within specific socio-historical contexts. Frequently, the contents of the resulting texts give more details on contexts of warfare than *pā* themselves. Nineteenth-century researchers wrote down and commonly recrafted information from their Māori informants for their own sensibilities. Māori Land Court witnesses provided evidence of their historical relationships to newly defined land blocks to bolster their claim to those blocks. Secondary authors collated large amounts of information that were commonly not referenced.

In the second part of this chapter, I introduced the notion of historical and symbolic *kōrero* dynamics. I discussed Rawiri Taonui's functionalist and historical ideas around how *whakapapa* and *kōrero* have variable complexity and detail depending on when they are situated within the *wharenuī whakapapa*. The *wharenuī whakapapa* connects the present and recent generations from the floor and inside the *whare* to apex ancestors at the *maihi* of the *whare*, and the singular and sometimes variable lineages of remote ancestors that form the *tekoteko*. I discussed how *kōrero* often reflects the social dynamics when the *kōrero* was shared or recorded and are not necessarily pure accounts of empirically true historical events. However, they remain *pono* or true within individual *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* contexts. *Kōrero*, therefore, has a negotiating function of contesting *mana tuakana*, supporting claims to land and resources, and retaining information about relationships between descent groups – both within and without Tainui *waka* descendants. Land claim themes through exploration and conflict often have symbolic meaning and are not intended as historical accounts of actual events.

In the last part of this chapter, I outlined the *kōrero* analysis method. To address the question of “why does *kōrero* include *pā*?”, I analyse the source of the *kōrero*, the context

within which it was recorded, the position of the *kōrero* within the *wharenuī whakapapa* and the form of the thematic content of the *kōrero*. I analysed *kōrero pakanga* to answer the historical question of why warfare and *pā* construction developed. For each *kōrero pakanga*, I identify the cause of conflict and the relatedness between leading *rangatira* in the conflict as they are described in the *kōrero*. I used these elements to explain why warfare and *pā* construction developed and changed over time. In the next chapter (Chapter Four), I introduce the Chronological Network Analysis method of indexing *whakapapa* to calendar years. The subsequent five chapters (Chapters Five to Nine) present the results of the *kōrero pakanga* analysis outlined in this current chapter and Chapter Four.

## CHAPTER FOUR: INTERFACING TIME

In the previous chapter, I introduced sources of written *kōrero*, their symbolic and historical dynamics and my method of answering why *kōrero* includes *pā* and why *pā* construction and warfare developed in Waikato. Chapters Five to Nine include the corresponding analysis and results. In this chapter, I introduce and discuss my method to investigate how we may relate *whakapapa* to calendar years and hence when warfare and *pā* construction developed in Waikato. To give context, I examine the various critiques of relating calendar dates to *whakapapa*. These follow methodological, epistemological, and ethical lines. In response to these critiques and further limitations of previous approaches that I identify, I define biological parameters based on cross-cultural generation interval studies. I then introduce a “Chronological Network Analysis” (CNA) approach to *whakapapa* using recently developed ChronoLog software. I conclude the chapter by discussing the ethical implications of this form of digital analysis on *whakapapa* Māori.

### *Whakapapa*

*Whakapapa* is the structuring framework of *mātauranga Māori*. Genealogical relationships connect the past to the continuous present and organise Māori history (Keenan, 2000). Everything in the universe has a *whakapapa*. All things directly or indirectly connected in a genealogical matrix that funnels down to the self in the present (Tau, 2001a; 2001b, pp. 66–68). Descendants find identity, knowledge, and well-being through *whakapapa*. This engagement with *kōrero tuku iho* maintains indigenous ways of being and knowing (Te Awe Awe-Bevan, 2013). Furthermore, shared descent from an ancestor or group of ancestors defines modern tribal affiliations, kin groups and shared histories. Accessing *whakapapa* following appropriate *tikanga* and *kawa* is also a decolonial process for descendants (Ngawhare, 2019).

Before European arrival in Aotearoa, *tōhunga* (experts) were the gatekeepers of *whakapapa* and transmitted that knowledge orally. *Whakapapa* was, and remains, a powerful determiner of *mana* over people and land, tribal membership and accepted accounts of the past, so *tōhunga* held important positions within their tribe (N. Mahuika, 2019a; J. McRae, 2017). Pākehā colonisation destabilised the power of the *tōhunga*. John White, George Grey, Elsdon Best, Walter Edward Gudgeon and Stephenson Percy Smith filled their published works with genealogical tables from Māori Land Court testimonies and situated themselves as experts in

traditional lore. This textualisation of culture by Pākehā was effectively “cultural colonization” to “better know the people they were displacing”, who they treated as “Others” in their own lands (Gibbons, 2002).

At the same time, Māori began committing their oral records to print in the form of family manuscripts and newspaper print of *whakapapa*, songs and traditions (Jane McRae, 2002). They did so while maintaining oral conventions in the reproduction of that knowledge. Āpirana Turupa Ngāta (2011 [1944]; see also Ngata & Ngata, 2019), for example, explained the terminology of different types of *whakapapa* and when to use them. Terms included *whakamoe* (intermarriages), *taotahi* (descent lines without partners), *tararere* (single descent line without recalling intermarriage to kin), *tāhū* (main descent lines or ancestors of the tribe), *whakapiri* (connection to another lineage), *kauwhau taki* (to recite or declare *whakapapa*), *raraka kōrero* (traditions and noted differences between junior and senior lines), *tatai* (to arrange or set in order), *hikohiko* (to skip names vertically), *ure tane* and *whakaparu wahine* (tracing through male or female lines). For Ngata, *whakapapa*, should be both a written and oral practice.

### The Genealogical Method

In Chapter Two, I discussed the theoretical arguments around whether *kōrero* and *whakapapa* can be considered histories. Should we accept *whakapapa* as an ordered sequence of genealogies of real people who lived before and after one another in an identifiable arrangement, we may approximate in calendar years when each individual was born. The Polynesian Society, established in 1892, sought to do just that with the primary goal of determining “the whence of the Māori” – a pursuit that dominated its scholarship for some 100 years (Robertson, 1956, 1958; Sorrenson, 1992, p. 21). In this pursuit, they implemented the Genealogical Method<sup>18</sup> of averaging generation lengths and multiplying that span by the number of generations in a lineage from the nineteenth century to crew members who migrated to Aotearoa from Hawaiki. Early scholars averaged generation lengths to c. 28 years (Shortland, 1856), 22.3 years (Thomson, 1859), 25 years (Halbert, 1962; S. P. Smith, 1898, 1898–1899, 1910c), 26.3 years (Stokes, 1930) and 25 to 30 years (Gudgeon, 1893a). Smith, in particular, developed an influential sequence of Polynesian arrival dates, including Kupe in 950, Toi in 1150 and the Great Fleet in 1350. David R. Simmons (1976) called this sequence

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<sup>18</sup> Edward Shortland (1856, p. 29) used this method decades before in passing when estimating that first colonisation of Aotearoa was around 18 generations or approximately 500 years before the time of his writing.

the “Great New Zealand Myth” when he illustrated the lack of genealogical consistency between Smith's sources, which the latter often manipulated or ignored to support his hypotheses. Simmons’ critiques were consistent with Andrew Sharp’s (1958, 1959) earlier assertions that generation lengths and count averages mask the range of possible dates that target ancestors were born.

Pearce’s (2004) statistical analysis of a small sample of *whakapapa* showed no statistical difference in the mean lengths or variance in lineages to each *waka*. He calculated the average number of generations in each line to be  $17.5 \pm 0.3$  and that the *waka* arrivals were likely contemporaneous at  $AD\ 1412 \pm 8.6$  years. Atholl Anderson (2014, pp. 63–65) then analysed the frequency distribution of 156 *whakapapa* lines from the nineteenth century to the ancestors associated with *waka* arrivals. Approximately 80 per cent of the *whakapapa* were between 16 and 22 generations long. He also noted two peaks of higher frequency *whakapapa* lengths to *waka* arrivals at 17 and 20 generations. Meanwhile, there were considerable differences in *whakapapa* lengths between different *waka*. Anderson used generation interval data from Fenner’s (2005) cross-cultural study of generation intervals. He then took the 29.5-year average generation interval appropriate to pre-European Māori and concluded that the migration period to Aotearoa began in the late 1200s to around 1300, peaked in the 1300s and ceased in the 1400s.

Applications of the genealogical method discussed so far focussed on dating *waka* arrivals to Aotearoa by counting generations with fixed average lengths. Recently, Anderson (2022) employed a similar analysis for understanding the patterns of migratory warfare, primarily in southern Te Ika-a-Māui (North Island) and Te Wai Pounamu (South Island). In doing so, Anderson generated a three-phase model of migrations across Aotearoa:

1. migration to Aotearoa from Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa in 1280–1340;
2. “early tribal migration” from 1460–1640; and
3. “late tribal migration” from 1820 and included several southward migrations.

Anderson’s analysis suggested that these migration phases had intermissions of approximately two hundred years, during which time there was less frequent warfare and little record of migration. Within these phases, there were activity peaks at 1300, 1500–1600 and 1820.

Others have warned that average generation lengths alone do not account for the variability of any single generation. Hoani Nahe (1893) of Ngāti Maru wrote a series of letters in *reo* Māori to Sorrenson Percy Smith of the Polynesian Society about published articles in the Society’s journal. In one letter, Nahe explained how long and short lineages descended to himself from individual ancestors. Female dominant lines had more generations (“*e tere te*

*tokomaha o ona uri whakapapa*” [p. 59]). Male dominant lines had fewer generations (“*ka puhoi o ona uri whakapapa*”). Nahe explained that this was because men could bear children in their old age (“*ka ata tae pea te taane ki tona kaumatuatanga ka moe wahine*”). In contrast, females were more restricted (“*e mohiotia ana e moe wawe ana te wahine i te taane i mua o tonono kaumatuatanga*”). Much later, Robertson (1956), Te Hurinui-Jones (1958) and Biggs (1969) applied maximum and minimum age limits for each generation to estimate the birthdate of an individual ancestor. Robertson, followed by Biggs, discussed several guidelines to constrain these birthdate estimates further:

1. Paternal ages range from 20<sup>19</sup> to 70 years.
2. Maternal ages range from 15 to 50 years.
3. Add 1.5 years to the parent’s minimum maternal or paternal age at the birth of each child after the parent’s first child. A parent’s maximum age may not breach those mentioned.
4. The average age estimates for males and females are 30 and 25 years, respectively. They did not explain the use of the average parent age in their calculations.
5. One may further adjust an individual’s birthdate range by comparing ranges calculated between different descent lines. Introducing several descent lines of long and short lineages can significantly refine the birthdate range of an individual.
6. Contradictions between *whakapapa* lineages of ancestors living in earlier times restrict this method’s reliability to approximately 20 generations.

Using this technique, Robertson reproduced many *whakapapa* charts with individuals’ names positioned in relation to calendar century markers (e.g., Figure 5). Agnes Sullivan (n.d.) applied this same approach to develop an aggregate *whakapapa* chart in a comprehensive study of the pre-1840 Māori history of Tāmaki. Robertson, Sullivan and Simmons considered their resulting date estimates indicative, not absolute.

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<sup>19</sup> Robertson’s choice of 20 years as a minimum generation interval was influenced by it being a round number. He suggested that including a minimum interval of 18 years in his charts would “make charting unnecessarily complicated, and nobody could possibly say that it would be more accurate” (Robertson, 1965, p. 2).

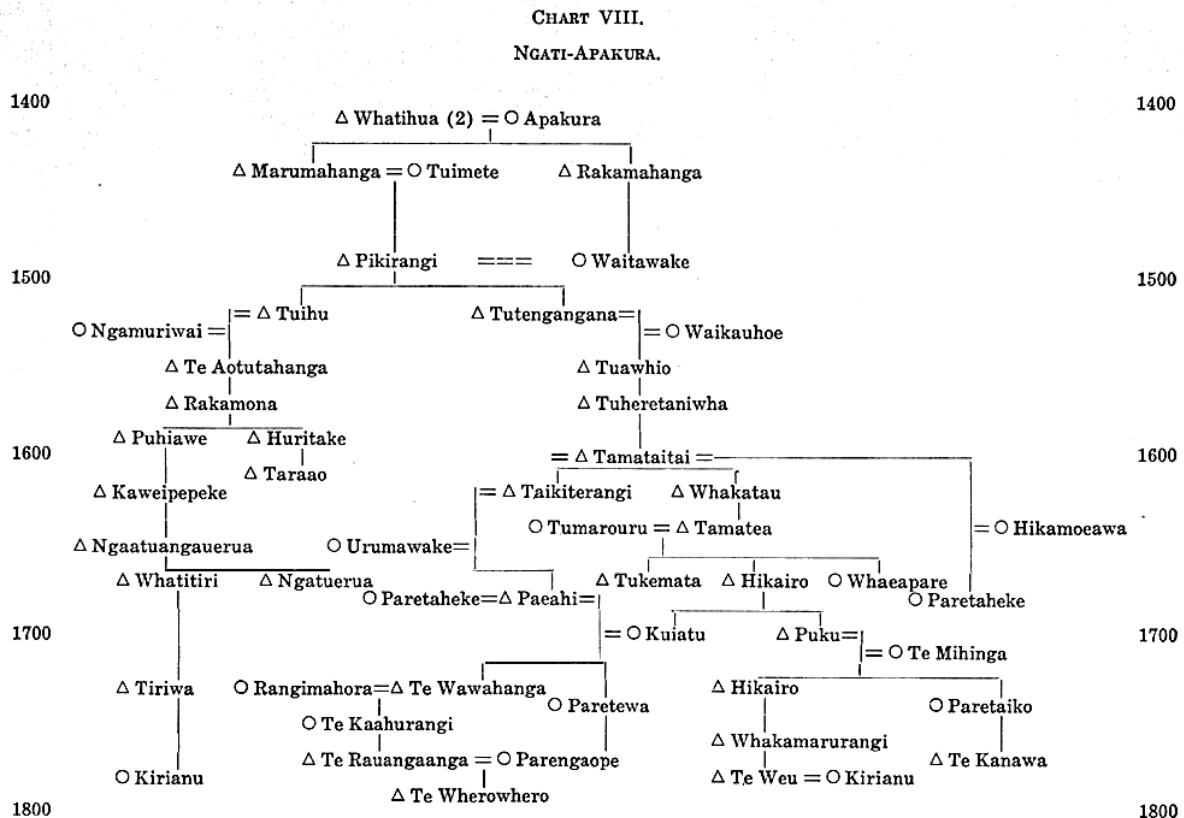


Figure 5. Example of indexed whakapapa chart produced by Robertson (1956, Chart VIII).

Whakapapa authorities such as Hoani Nahe (1893), Āpirana Turupa Ngata (1929, 2011 [1944]), Pei Te Hurinui-Jones (1958), Tita Tauu Wētere (in Robertson, 1956) and Te Rangi Hīroa (Buck, 1949 [1925]) embraced the genealogical method. They considered that *whakapapa* should be central to any Māori history and that historicising tradition was essential to retain tribal credibility – sentiments that Tipene O'Regan (1992) shadowed in negotiating the Ngai Tahu Waitangi Tribunal settlement. Biggs (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995) argued that “Maori tribal traditions are not located in some timeless past but are invariably diachronic narratives linked precisely to detailed genealogical lattices defining a chronology that is internally consistent and in conformity with biological constraints” (p. 7). Similarly, Wētere’s (in Robertson, 1956) “critical examination” of Tainui assumed there was a valid form of the *whakapapa* from his perspective. Later, Taonui (2005, pp. 481–482) argued that tribal traditions from twenty generations before AD 1900 depict “chronologically sequential historical time”.

### Critiques of the Genealogical Method

There are three primary critiques of the Genealogical Method that I have discerned from Mahuika’s (2019a) recent review of different approaches to *whakapapa* in research. The first

is practical, the second is ontological, and the third is ethical. I summarise each critique here and suggest how we may proceed.

Addressing the practical critique first, scholars publishing in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* criticised Robertson's analytical Genealogical Method when first published in the 1950s. Andrew Sharp (1958) claimed Robertson's rationale for stretching and shortening generation lengths was circular and that he could position lineages to suit any argument. Indeed, Robertson did not describe his birthdate estimates as ranges of possibility, which gave a false sense of precision. Sharp (1959) claimed that the genealogies "cannot either prove or disprove various views in reference to their time-depth". In another point of critique, Ralph Piddington (1956) considered that knowledge transmitted by *tōhunga* was not automatically historically valid. He referred to the disparity between lore in Aotearoa and Tāhiti as an example of how traditional knowledge has drifted over time. Plausible causes for *whakapapa* disparities include faulty recording, incomplete knowledge, different individuals of the same name being assumed to be the same person, and intentional manipulation to suit present politics after the disestablishment of *tōhunga* (Tita Tauī Wetere in Robertson, 1956; Te Hurinui-Jones, 1958).

The ontological critique is that one cannot historicise the Māori past. I explored this issue in Chapter Two of this thesis, which I will summarise here to remind the reader. Scholars such as Takirirangi Smith and Te Maire Tau have argued that knowledge of the Māori past is relative, augmenting *mana tupuna* and the that of the contemporary community. It does not have the purpose of history to discern when and where empirical events happened. Contradictions of *kōrero* between groups do not mean they are inauthentic nor invalid, just separate and relative to the community. Furthermore, applying a time continuum with ancestors at the other end contradicts the spiritual communications with our *tūpuna* standing before us in the present. Therefore, attempting to position *whakapapa* and *kōrero* along calendrical timescales removes them from their original contexts. This severing of the past from the present may also compromise connective dynamics afforded by fluid conceptions of *whakapapa*.

The last critique of the Genealogical Method discussed here is an ethical one. During the 1970s, Māori research graduates began contesting how *whakapapa* had been used by Pākehā researchers and conceived of as a methodology. This was in the context of growing political awareness of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Māori rights movements to reclaim ownership of history and knowledge (N. Mahuika, 2019a). In this context, *whakapapa* research focused on land claims and historical grievances instead of anthropological questions. Māori academics and thought leaders demonstrated how *whakapapa* is grounded in cultural protocols

and tribal ethics to centre Māori cultural knowledge under the sovereignty of Māori and ensure that knowledge is transmitted appropriately (*ibid*).

In response to the practical critique, we can improve the Genealogical Method by expressing date estimates as ranges of possibility. Lineage crossovers can refine estimates. We can also support generation interval limits by reviewing cross-cultural evidence of what pre-European Māori generation lengths were likely to be. Furthermore, one may evaluate each source of *whakapapa* for disparity and assess the possibility of manipulation (see Chapter Three for a discussion of sources used in this thesis). Regarding the ontological critique, there are grounds for acknowledging multiple truths of the past while generating inter-generational and district-scale explanations of change through time. As concluded in Chapter Two, there is space for historicising *kōrero*, understanding its function at the time of its performance or recording, and recognising the atemporal constellated space-time construct of *mātauranga Māori*. Lastly, I recognise that tribal ethics of descendant *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* ground the retention, sharing, and discourse of *whakapapa*. However, I consider this *tikanga* to be compatible with including *whakapapa* in historical research of Aotearoa. The interface between *mātauranga Māori* and archaeology can contribute to new understandings of the past. Each epistemology or knowledge source demonstrates its own value — neither being neglected through epistemological arrogance.

### Generation length

Human biological assumptions of when males and females may have children are foundational to all Genealogical Methods. In the following discussion, I review cross-cultural generational interval data with tentative support from human skeletal remains that may inform parenthood limits estimates in Māori society during *Te Ao Tawhito*.

#### Cross-cultural studies

Population genetic studies have significantly contributed to understanding the timing and order of human island colonisations in the Pacific (e.g., Ioannidis *et al.*, 2021). They estimate the dates when past populations diverged by counting genetic mutations between modern descendant groups to determine the number of generations since the divergence event and then multiplying this by the generation interval - the average number of years per human generation (Fenner, 2005). Therefore, the generation interval is an important statistic that can significantly influence the date estimate of a divergence event. Researchers have estimated human generation intervals to range from 30 to 32 years based on information sources, such as nineteenth-century parish records, nineteenth-century census data and pedigree data from the

last 250 years in different parts of the world (Helgason *et al.*, 2003; Matsumura & Forster, 2008; Tremblay & Vézina, 2000).

Jack Fenner (2005) collated cross-cultural generation interval data and found that in the 40 surveyed “less-developed nations”, the generation interval for males was 31.8 years and for females was 28.3 years. Meanwhile, in 157 “hunter-gatherer societies”, the generation interval for males was 31.5 years and for females was 25.6 years. Fenner also reported that the average female age at first and last birth in “less-developed nations” was 20.5 to 36.1 years, while in “hunter-gatherer societies” was 19.4 to 34.6 years. Studies like Ioannidis *et al.* (2021) used the average male and female generation interval for “less-developed nations” of 30 years. Atholl Anderson (2014) studied the frequency of different *whakapapa* lengths to estimate when different *waka* arrived in Aotearoa. Assuming that traditional Māori socio-economics was consistent with a blend of “less-developed nations” (using the term “subsistence-agriculturalists”) and “hunter-gatherer”, Anderson estimated the traditional Māori female generation interval was 27 years and the male’s was 32 years. He then calculated that the average male and female generation interval was 30 years (rounded from 29.5 years).

### **Osteoarchaeological evidence**

Osteoarchaeologists in Aotearoa have studied *kōiwi tangata* (human skeletal remains) in antiquarian and museum collections, research excavations and salvage investigations (Buckley & Petchey, 2018; B. Hudson, 2020). Since the nineteenth century, *tangata whenua* have had little control over this work, which has been another seen graves desecrated, human remains unceremoniously fossicked and exported or stored in colonial museums (Aranui, 202). More recent contexts of cultural resource management ideally allow descendants to decide what specialists might analyse from the remains of their ancestors and the *tikanga* around exhumation and reinternment. Descendant communities are more commonly becoming research partners in these projects (Ruckstuhl *et al.*, 2016). I evaluated to what extent osteoarchaeological evidence may serve as an independent proxy of generation intervals. I assess the certainty that current specialists estimate three variables from skeletal evidence, which I then discuss below.

1. Maximum ages at death across many individuals may suggest a maximum generation interval unless otherwise limited by markers of menopause (point 3 below).
2. Minimum ages of females to have markers of childbirth may suggest a minimum female generation interval.

3. Maximum ages of females with markers of menopause may suggest a maximum limit of the female generation interval.

Specialists use pelvis, teeth and various skeletal markers of wear and tear over time to estimate an individual's age at death. Osteoarchaeologists at the University of Otago conducted several studies on extensive collections of *kōiwi tangata* in the 1970s to 1990s (Brewis *et al.*, 1990; Houghton, 1980, p. 97; Phillipps, 1980; Simpson, 1979). Houghton (1996, p. 191) conducted the largest study, including results from earlier analyses. He reported that mean age at death for males and females above 15 years is 29 years based on 341 individuals. Houghton was precise with his estimates, often giving an age range of 1–2 years. Recent studies are more cautious of the inaccuracies of estimating an individual's age from skeletal remains. Age categories are common practice, such as infant (0–3 years), child (3–12), adolescent (12–20), young adult (20–35), middle adult (35–50) and old adult (50+) (e.g., Buckley *et al.*, 2010; Campbell & Hudson, 2011; Campbell *et al.*, 2019). In each case, age categories for adults are broad, and older adult categories often have no explicit upper margin. The error associated with estimating age from skeletal remains restricts our confidence in estimating population ages at death. Averages between studies also mask the variability of mortuary practices and population dynamics through space and time. In summary, current osteological techniques cannot reliably estimate maximum ages at death.

Ovarian and placental hormones released during pregnancy and childbirth and mechanical stresses produce distinctive pits on the dorsum of the pubic bone adjacent to the symphysis and the pre-auricular groove of the ilium (Houghton, 1996, p. 194). Osteoarchaeologists in Aotearoa have used these markers to indicate whether a female has birthed a child and sometimes the number of pregnancies (Campbell & Hudson, 2011; Campbell *et al.*, 2019; Houghton, 1976, 1977a, 1977c; Jacomb *et al.*, 2012; Sutton, 1979). Houghton (1980) analysed fertility markers in *kōiwi tangata* from several locations and estimated that the youngest mothers were about 20 years old. Phillipps (1980) conducted a similar study on 33 females and found the youngest mother was about 19 years old at death. There are few other remains of teenagers that had given birth. One example is a sixteen-year-old that Houghton (1976) noted may have borne children at Takahanga, Kaikoura. The other example is from Kaiarara, Aotea (Houghton, 1977b). Houghton did not clarify the osteological evidence he used to support his claims on both occasions.

More recent studies have shown that while pregnancy and childbirth may produce bony modifications to the pelvis, other factors can produce similar features and may be present in

men (Ubelaker & De La Paz, 2012). A recent Japanese study of 295 female skeletons showed that the extent of scarring does not reliably indicate an exact number of pregnancies and births (Igarashi *et al.*, 2020). However, there is a general relationship between scarring extent and the number of births, and the absence of scarring consistently indicates no pregnancy. Their method is yet to be tested elsewhere and depends on the improved categorisation of scarring morphology (Nowell *et al.*, 2021). Therefore, Phillipps and Houghton’s estimates of birth age limits for Māori women in *Te Ao Tawhito* are inconclusive.

Finally, in response to the last point, Houghton’s method compared the extent of pelvis pitting between females of different ages at death to determine the ages at which females stopped having children. Houghton (1996, pp. 194–195) noted that these pits are evident in one in forty to fifty pre-European Māori female pelvises. Scars are deeper in females who died in their twenties and thirties, while bone growth over pits from earlier pregnancies was present in the pelvises of females who died in their fifties. Phillipps (1980) calculated the mean age at death of those females he studied to be 37 years. She also noted that the extent of pitting stopped increasing in mothers who died above 35 years, indicating that females commonly stopped having children at this age. However, again more recent osteoarchaeologists rarely give exact age at death estimates, especially for older adults.

In summary, current osteoarchaeological techniques do not produce precise enough estimates for age at death and childbirth patterns to significantly impact generation interval assumptions. Cross-cultural studies of developing nations and hunter-gatherer societies suggest that the average female age at first and last birth was 20 to 35, with an average of 27 years. Meanwhile, the mean male generation interval was 32 years.

### ***Whakapapa as a Chronological Network***

Levy *et al.* (2021) introduced the idea of “Chronological Networks” in archaeology to represent temporal units called “time periods”<sup>20</sup> that relate to one another by “chronological relationships” (“synchronisms”). One may model Chronological Networks within the software ChronoLog (*ibid*). I briefly explain periods and chronological relationships here, but I refer the reader to the article above to grasp the broader capabilities of Chronolog. I refer to this technique as Chronological Network Analysis (CNA). A time period is a continuous phase in time, characterised by a “start date”, an “end date”, and a “duration”. Only the start date is

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<sup>20</sup> An important feature of ChronoLog is the “sequence”, but which does not have a use in my analysis. A sequence is a consecutive set of time-periods with no gaps between them.

relevant to this analysis. The start date ranges between two dates that delimit an individual's earliest and latest possible birth dates. Chronological relationships are temporal links between two time periods with explicit mathematical functions. The Chronological Network can include tens to hundreds of periods linked by chronological relationships. The chronological relationships simulate family relationships, such as a mother being born at least 16 years before a daughter, a *tuakana* (older sibling of the same sex) being born before a *teina* (younger sibling of the same sex), or of two individuals being contemporaries.

I created two Chronological Networks: the “Possible Model” generated less precise but potentially more accurate chronological estimates, while the “Probable Model” generated more precise estimates at the risk of being less accurate. The Possible Model was based on the following default chronological relationships between individuals informed from the cross-cultural averages discussed in previous sections:

1. Females had children between the ages of 16 and 40, based on rounded cross-cultural averages.
2. Males had children between the ages of 18 and 60, assuming that the minimum age of males having children was slightly older than females based on cross-cultural averages. It is possible that some males had children when they were older than 60 years. However, I suggest they were a minority, given the cross-cultural average for male intervals in comparable societies at 32 years.

Given the combined male and female cross-cultural mean of 30-year generation intervals, I increased the minimum parent age from 16 and 18 years to 20 years in the Probable Model. This resulted in slightly more precise birthdate and event date estimates throughout the model. For some lineages, the older parent age limits of the second model created chronological inconsistencies. For relationships within these lineages, I altered the 20-year minimum parent age back to the 16- and 18-year minimum mother and father ages, respectively. All other relationships remained the same between the two models. I report the Probable Model results first, followed by the Possible Model results in brackets.

I made further chronological relationships between people and events by assuming that people were politically active between 20 and 60 years but may have lived to 80 years. This was necessary when estimating when events such as *pakanga* in the *kōrero* occurred. Where sibling and marriage order is not disputed within the traditions, later siblings receive a one-year minimum gap in birth year. Other relationships, such as individuals known to have been contemporaneous, have chronological relationships to reflect that.

Known dates within the Chronological Network are primarily birth dates of known descendants in the nineteenth century. The Chronological Network can calculate the possible ranges of unknown birthdates (start dates) of directly and indirectly related people based on defined chronological relationships. For example, Tūkāroto Pōtatau Matutaera Tāwhiao became the second Māori King after his father, Pōtatau Te Wherowhero. The current king, Tūheitia Pōtatau Te Wherowhero VII is Tāwhiao's direct descendant. Tāwhiao was born between 1822 and 1825 CE, after the battle of Mātakitaki in May 1822 CE (Mahuta, 1993). We can, therefore, begin to estimate the birthdates of his father, Te Wherowhero, and paternal grandfather, Te Rauangaanga, based on their chronological relationships<sup>21</sup> (*whakapapa*) to Tāwhiao using the following parameters (see also Figure 6):

1. Tāwhiao was born 20 to 60 years using the Probable Model (18 to 60 years using the Possible Model) after his father, Te Wherowhero. Therefore, Te Wherowhero was born between 1762 and 1805 CE (1762 and 1807 CE).
2. Te Wherowhero was born 20 to 60 years (18 to 60 years) after his father, Te Rauangaanga. Therefore, Te Rauangaanga was born between 1702 and 1785 CE (1702 and 1789 CE).

If we were to continue this simple *taotahi* (single lineage) back seven generations before Matutaera, the ancestor Te Kawairangi II would have a birthdate estimate range of 233 years (243 years), between 1462 and 1705 CE (1462 and 1685 CE; see Figure 6). These estimates are accurate but imprecise. We can continue building the Chronological Network and include more known dates from other known descendants to increase the precision of birthdate estimates without sacrificing accuracy. For example, we can build the network to include indirect connections to Te Winitana Tupotahi of Ngāti Paretekawa, who fought at Ōrākau in 1864 and testified in the Māori Land Courts later in the century. Te Winitana Tupotahi and Matutaera are both descendants of Tamatatai (Chart B within Figure 6), whose great-great-granddaughter, Paretekawa, married Te Kawairangi II and had Te Kanawa Kawa by him. Te Winiana Tupotahi descended from a short lineage (in this example) with longer generations on average, while Matutaera descended from a longer lineage with longer generations on average. Including this second lineage within the Chronological Network refines Te Kawairangi's birthdate estimate 2.5 times to a 93-year range (243 years) between 1592 and 1685 CE (1578 and 1685 CE). This example shows how birthdate estimates may be refined up and down

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<sup>21</sup> Note that this example could also be expressed as a simple Sequence in ChronoLog.

*whakapapa*, and the optimal propagation paths resulting in the narrowest birthdate estimate spans (the highest precision) are not necessarily through direct descendants.

The average generation interval method sometimes generates inconsistent birthdates with the CNA of these two lineages. For instance, Te Kanawa Kawa was born six generations before Matutaera (Figure 6). Taking the median of Matutaera's birth in 1823 CE, and assigning the mean 30 years per generation, the estimate for Te Kanawa's birth is 1643 CE, which is nine years earlier than the Probable Model's result of 1652 and 1705 CE, but within the Possible Model's result of 1638 and 1723 CE. In another example, Tamatatai has a long descent line of 11 generations to Matutaera and a short one of 5 generations to Te Winitana Tupotahi. Depending on which lineage we follow, the average generation interval method would result in a birthdate estimate for Te Kanawa of either 1493 or 1688 CE – both outside the CNA results of 1552–1605 CE (1552–1637 CE; see Chart B within Figure 6).

Further historical information may refine these estimates. For example, Te Wherowhero waged war in Kāwhia against Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Koata leading up to the battle of Te Kakara and in defence from Ngāpuhi at Mātakitaki in the early 1820s. Assuming political and warfare activity from age 20, Te Wherowhero's birthdate may be further refined to 1772–1801 CE. The adjustment of Te Wherowhero's birth estimate refines estimates for his relations in turn.

I further refined calendar year estimates by containing tribal *whakapapa* within the known sequence of occupation in Aotearoa. Rore Edwards of Ngāti Mahanga (in Robertson, 1948a) claimed that four generations were on the *Tainui* waka from Hoturoa and Whakaotirangi to Hineauru. The latter bore Puhaanga from Hawaiki to Aotearoa and gave birth to him after reaching Kāwhia. Therefore, Puhaanga's birth is a chronological marker for the arrival of the *Tainui* waka. By some lineages, he was born 23 generations before Matutaera. The earliest radiocarbon dates of human settlement in Aotearoa are from Wairau Bar during the late thirteenth century, while more expansive settlement occurred in the early fourteenth century (T. Higham *et al.*, 1999; Walter *et al.*, 2017). A more recent Bayesian statistical study of thousands of <sup>14</sup>C dates from across the country suggests that the North Island was occupied as early as 1250–1275 CE (Bunbury *et al.*, 2022). No early radiocarbon dates have come from Kāwhia, but *Tainui* traditions refer to several waka arriving in Aotearoa before *Tainui*, such as Matawhourua and Aotea. Therefore, I gave Puhaanga a rounded early birthdate limit of 1250

within the CNA models. I left the models to generate the late birthdate limit of Puhaanga at 1314 CE (1367 CE)<sup>22</sup>.

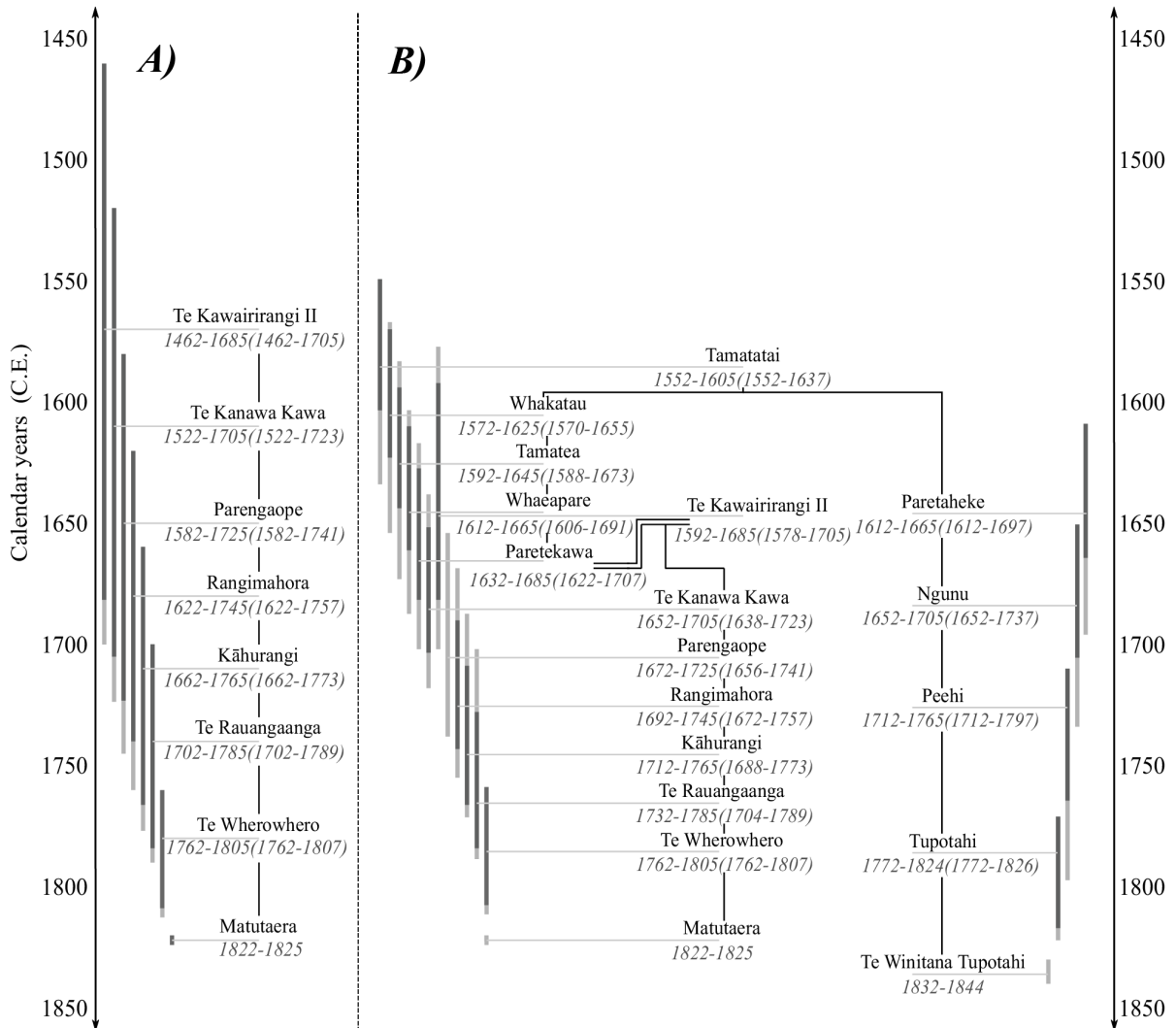


Figure 6. Whakapapa chart and CNA results of Te Kawairangi II and descendants before and after refinement. Chart A) shows birthdate estimates between Te Kawairangi II and Matutaera (Tāwhiao) without refinement. Chart B) shows the same individuals with birthdate estimate refinements by including an indirect connection to Te Winitana Tupotahi. Dates in bold black have been refined in reference to Chart A). “Probable Model” results are outside of brackets and represented graphically by a dark grey vertical line. “Possible Model” results are inside brackets and represented graphically by a light grey vertical line before and after the Probable Model results’ line. Double lines are marriages and vertical connections are parent-child relationships. All relationships presented in this whakapapa example are derived from published sources (e.g., Kelly, 1949, Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs, 1995) and supported by earlier nineteenth century manuscripts (e.g., Māori Land Court minute books).

<sup>22</sup> Consistent with *Tainui* arrival dates suggested by Robertson (1956) of 1300 and 1350 suggested by S. P. Smith (1904) and Te Hurinui-Jones (1958, p. 165).

The above examples express date estimates as a calendar year range. These ranges may also be considered uniform probability distribution models. In other words, the actual event date has an equal probability of having occurred within any single year within the age range. Given the event calendar year estimates are uniform probability distributions, they can also be expressed as a median plus or minus half of the overall year span. For example, Figure 6 shows calculation birthdate estimate of Te Rauangaanga as 1732–1785 CE (1704–1789 CE), which may be expressed as 1759 CE  $\pm$  27 years (1747 CE  $\pm$  43 years) with all half years rounded up. In the remainder of the thesis, I use the second convention as it is easier to compare dates at a glance. However, readers should strictly avoid simplifying these dates to the median alone.

Applying the Chronological Network analysis to *whakapapa* Māori has several key benefits.

1. Hundreds to thousands of individuals with increasingly complex relationships can be included in the model to explore how precise we may be in estimating when individuals were born and lived.
2. Inter-marriage between long and short lineages results in more precise birthdate estimates.
3. The minimum and maximum birthdate estimates are always optimal as the network grows. ChronoLog automatically calculates the optimal propagation path to make the most refined birth estimate possible for every individual. The automation reduces the risk of calculation error and the user selecting a sub-optimal propagation path. The propagation path does not necessarily follow direct descent lineages.
4. One may check the consistency of *whakapapa* reported from different sources, given that we accept explicit constraints of biological limits and Chronological Relationships. One may use this consistency check function to evaluate chronological hypotheses, such as whether or not two individuals could have been contemporaries. Often, secondary sources provide *whakapapa* relationships without providing their source. It, therefore, becomes difficult to evaluate the authenticity of that information. The consistency function can enable us to check the historical possibility of that *whakapapa* given the body of other authentic *whakapapa*. It also allows us to check hypotheses other scholars provided regarding when particular events occurred.
5. Explicit assumptions and calculations inform the Chronological Network that users and researchers can view. Calculations are often untraceable in previous attempts at the Genealogical Method. The overall chronological model and the *whakapapa*

behind it is not reproduced entirely in this thesis. What *whakapapa* is illustrated comes from already published sources. Unpublished *whakapapa* is included in the model but not shared in text or graphics to protect that information for descendants.

6. One may include independent chronological information, such as the earliest archaeological evidence of human settlement in Aotearoa to cap the arrival of the Tainui *waka*.

### Summary

In this chapter, I defined *whakapapa* and outlined how previous researchers have attempted to index it with calendrical time. I discussed methodological, ontological, and ethical critiques of the Genealogical Method and how these pitfalls may be overcome. I reviewed cross-cultural studies on generation intervals and the feasibility of osteoarchaeological evidence contributing to these. I then introduced the Chronological Network Analysis approach to *whakapapa*, which uses modern computing to calculate optimal propagation paths to estimate each ancestor's likely birthdate range. I then gave an example of how CNA may be used and its advances from previous Genealogical Methods. This is a completely new approach to genealogical and historical research and offers great potential for the chronological interface of *mātauranga Māori* and archaeology. The models produced in this thesis include unpublished *whakapapa*. However, only published *tātai* (lineages) are presented to the reader to protect that information. In the following chapters (Chapters Five to Nine), I present the results of the CNA analysis alongside the thematic analysis of *kōrero* outlined in Chapter Three.

## CHAPTER FIVE:

### *KO NGĀ ŪKAIPŌ*

*(The homelands from which Tainui descendants spread)*

In the previous two chapters (Chapters Three and Four), I outlined the method of analysing *kōrero* about *pā* to address why *kōrero* includes *pā*, to what extent we may relate *whakapapa* to calendar years, and when and why *pā* construction and warfare developed in Waikato. In this chapter, I present the results of my analysis of *kōrero* relating to the earliest *pā* constructions and *pakanga* in the Waikato study area. I divide *kōrero tuku iho* (traditions) into sections by the *tūpuna* involved in the order of their *whakapapa*, beginning from the arrival of *Tainui*. This chapter covers the *kōrero* about the original homelands (*Ko ngā ūkaipo*) of the descendants of the *Tainui waka* along the coastline of Te Ika-ā-Māui, from first arrival and the establishment of Rangiāhua Pā as early as 1250 CE to Tamaaio's conquests inland in 1511 CE ± 28 years (43 years). Each section corresponds to one or several *kōrero pakanga*. For each, I state the sources, general narratives, the potential past-present dynamics, and their function in the context of them being recorded in the sources mentioned. The CNA results are reported for each section, while Chapter Nine compiles and reports overall trends in those results, with occasional mention for chronological context in Chapters Five to Eight. *Kōrero pakanga* are given identifier numbers based on their chronological order. The Appendix includes a summary table of these results.

#### **(#1) Early occupation of Kāwhia**

*Tainui* is one of several *waka* that travelled from the ancestral homeland of Hawaiki to Aotearoa. The crew ended their voyage on the north side of Kāwhia (harbour), where they settled and spread out. The crew first established the settlement Rangiāhua on the north side of Kāwhia, near the modern township of the same name.

Several early written accounts describe the Tainui descendants' early occupation of Kāwhia. The first is the manuscript titled "*Ko te pukapuka o te whakapapa o nga Tupuna o Ngati Toarangatira*", handwritten in *te reo* Māori by Atanatiu Te Kairangi (1881) of Ngāti Toarangatira. Second are oral testimonies in the Native Land Court Title Investigations of the Rohe Pōtae Block (Mair, 1886a) and Kōpua-Pirongia-Kāwhia Block (Mair, 1888f), as well as the Partition of Kāwhia Block (Gudgeon, 1892a). Schnackenberg (1926) later recorded several oral accounts from *kaumātua* (elders) around Kāwhia, which appear independent from earlier

written sources. Pōmare (1930) translated and published Te Kairangi’s manuscript. Subsequent publications citing Rangiāhua sourced their information from these earlier accounts (e.g., F. Phillips, 1995).

According to Te Kairangi (1881), followed by Pōmare (1930, pp. 22–25) and Raureti Te Huia (1944), Rangiāhua was the central place of occupation for the *ariki* lineage for several generations from Hoturoa and Whakaotirangi. Te Kairangi wrote:

*Ka noho a Hoturoa ratou ko ana wahine me ana tamariki ki Rangiahua ko te Pa hoki tena o Hoturoa i whakatapurua ai nga iwi katoa e karangatia ana no Tainui (p. 60).*

(Hoturoa, his wives and their children settled at Rangiahua, the pā of Hoturoa, which the people of Tainui spread from [my translation]).

Te Kairangi also described Rangiāhua as “*te taone nui o tenei awa o Kawhia ko ana tangata kihai i taea te tatau. No reira tenei pepeha te kainga o Meeto*” (p. 61). This translates to Rangiāhua being the greatest town of Kāwhia with countless people<sup>23</sup>. In different statements, Te Kairangi referred to Rangiāhua during this early period as a *kāinga*, *tāone* and *pā*. The use of the word *pā* alone does not necessarily mean Rangiāhua was fortified at this time, while the word *tāone* is a transliteration of the English word, “town”. *Kāinga* can broadly mean “habitation”, “village”, “settlement”, “home”, “habitat”, or “dwelling”. Without a contextual indication of warfare, it is unlikely that Rangiahua was fortified then. There was a minor threat to people, *mana*, land rights and stored food. Fortification of earthworks and palisades require significant cooperation, labour, and time. As such, early references to Rangiāhua as a *pā* may be projections from later fortified occupations of that same place.

*Kōrero* about the first few generations after the arrival of Tainui in Kāwhia describe peace. In Te Kairangi’s words:

*“I noho rangatira ratou ki Rangiahua[,] kaore he kino[,] kaore ano he pakanga i aua ra[,] [K]o te mahi a te tangata i taua wa he ahu whenua anake[,] he Taa kupenga hei hao ika” (p. 64 of pages with text)*

(While these chiefs and their people lived at Rangiahua, there was no evil, there was not yet warring in those times. The work of the people in those times

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<sup>23</sup> “*Meeto*” means to be extinguished or to be extinct, which may refer to the people’s impact on their environs or it may be a person’s name given that it is capitalised, meaning the settlement of Meeto.

was cultivating (mounding earth) food only and weaving nets to catch fish [my translation])

Te Kairangi elsewhere used the phrase “*he mahi ahu whenua*” (one’s work is in cultivation) or “*mahi a te kai*” (preparation on food) to describe periods of peace. This contrasted Te Kairangi’s phrasing about particular mens’ work in later periods as “*he mahi pakanga*” (warfare, conflict or quarrelling).

Occasional *kōrero* captures how *whānau* members challenged each other’s *mana* in this early period. For example, Te Kairangi (1881, pp. 60–62 of pages with text) recorded an episode when Hoturoa humiliated Mārama-kiko-hura’s son, Mōtai, as a child<sup>24</sup>. Mārama left Kāwhia for Aotea, where Mōtai grew up and sought *utu* in adulthood with support from his mother’s family in attacking Hoturoa. Hoturoa’s curses<sup>25</sup> caused Mōtai’s *waka* to overturn, and they turned to stone at the mouth of Aotea Harbour. Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 54–55), followed by Kelly (1949, pp. 62–64), recorded another version with reference to Wirihana Te Aoterangi’s manuscript and George Graham (who later translated that manuscript); however, Te Aoterangi’s manuscript did not refer this *kōrero*, so Te Hurinui-Jones, Biggs and Kelly’s sources are unclear. In their version, Tānenui, not Mōtai, was Mārama’s humiliated son. They stated that Mārama settled in Tāmaki and not Aotea, and it did not record an attack on Hoturoa. In another unreferenced version, F. Phillips (1995, p. 6) said that Mārama settled with people already living in Tāmaki at Paretaiuru Pā from where Mōtai travelled to seek *utu* from Hoturoa. Te Kairangi’s *kōrero* captures Hoturoa’s supreme *mana atua* in being able to call on his gods to sink his aggressors’ *waka*. This is distinct from other capsizeings that other *kōrero* attribute to *taniwha* (spiritual dragons, guardians), which operate of their own will. The distinction in status of Hoturoa’s wives also increases the *mana* of Whakaotirangi’s memory as Hoturoa’s senior wife, from whom Ngāti Toarangatira (and many other Tainui *iwi*) descend. In doing so, the *kōrero* identifies a split in this early period between the descendants of the two ancestresses. The *pakanga* was amongst *whānau* and Te Kairangi mentioned one *waka* of warriors gathered in Aotea to attack Hoturoa.

Based on the CNA, a conflict between Hoturoa and his son, Mōtai or Tānenui, (*kōrero pakanga* #1) would have been in 1301 CE ± 33 years (1331 CE ± 63 years)

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<sup>24</sup> This followed the *kōrero* about Marama-kiko-hura’s “*hara*” (p. 16)

<sup>25</sup> “...*te kitenga mai ano o Hoturoa i taua waka kanga iho i runga i te ingoa o tona atua kotahi mai ano te ngaru kua tahuri mate ake nga tangata...*” (ibid, p. 63 of pages with text).

## (#2) Tānetinorau and Ngāti Hia

The *kōrero* about Tānetinorau and Ngāti Hia is the earliest claimed conquest provided in Māori Land Court evidence that I have identified. Critical cases about Hia and his descendants include the Title Investigations and Partitions of Te Rohe Pōtae, Ōrāhiri-Ōtorohanga, Kōpua-Pirongia-Kāwhia and Pukenui Blocks during the 1880s and 1890s (Gudgeon, 1892c, 1892d; Mair, 1886a, 1886b, 1888b, 1888c, 1888e, 1888f). Pōmare and Cowan ([1930] 1987, pp. 106–108) published *The Legend of the Den of the Wild Dogs*, referring to Tānetinorau and Ngāti Hau. Phillips (1989, pp. 22–28) published an unsourced version of *kōrero* about Tānetinorau, likely from Court testimonies.

Hia<sup>26</sup> is the ancestor who first occupied inland from Kāwhia, from Pūkarameanui and Ōhura in the west to Rangitoto in the east and Mōkau in the south (Hīkaka, 1894, p. 247; Keepa, 1888, p. 230; Te Whanonga, 1892). Some witnesses claimed that Hia was a son of Raka I (Rakataura)<sup>27</sup>, who travelled on the Tainui *waka* (e.g., Matetoto, 1888, p. 272; Te Huatare, 1888, pp. 253, 261) (Figure 7). Others claimed that Hia came on the Tainui *waka* himself (Kaitangata, 1894, pp. 98, 101). Several witnesses claimed to be descendants of Hia, mainly through intermarriages with Rereahu’s descendants, who later settled in the area (e.g., Keepa, 1888, p. 219; Tangitihau, 1888, p. 134). Hia had a *tūāhu* or *pā* at Pūkarameanui, which attracted birds for snaring and a bird-catching stage called Tūroto (Keepa, 1888, p. 234; Kupe, 1888, p. 172; Matetoto, 1888, p. 262; Papara, 1888a, p. 5; Tangitihau, 1888, p. 134). He also had several settlements called Ongarahu [sic], Waimihia, Kohitane and Tūroto (Hīkaka, 1894, p. 247; Keepa, 1888, pp. 220, 221; Matetoto, 1888, p. 263).

According to Te Kanawa Tangitihau (1888, p. 141) and Ngatoke Kupe (1888, p. 172) of Ngāti Maniapoto, Tānetinorau<sup>28</sup> was Hoturoa’s son by a lesser-known wife named Tanemitiparaheka [sic] (Figure 7). He attacked Hia’s descendants (not stating the *take*), who travelled eastwards to the Rangitoto ranges that border the Waipā River Valley. Tangitihau (*ibid*) claimed that Tānetinorau killed Hia, the person. Others refuted this evidence and argued that Hia died naturally in Mōkau, but Tānetinorau attacked his descendants (Haereiti, 1889, p.

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<sup>26</sup> Also referred to as Hiahapumauri.

<sup>27</sup> See accounts of Raka and Kahu’s early explorations by Te Oro Te Koko (in Mair, 1888a, p. 255) and Rīhari Tauwhare (in Mair, 1888a, pp. 322, 354). Pōmare and Cowan ([1930] 1987, pp. 43–47) published the latter’s account. Later published accounts include (Kelly, 1949, pp. 65–66; F. Phillips, 1995, pp. 35–41; Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 58–60). There are two general versions.

<sup>28</sup> Spelled variably as Tane Tinirau, Tanetinirau, Tanetinorau [sic].

392; Te Huatare, 1888, p. 248; Te Whanonga, 1894, p. 194). Witnesses named several *pā* that Tānetinorau captured from Ngāti Hia, including Owhawhe, Mokoraukawa, Pukututu and Matuhu. Pōmare and Cowan ([1930] 1987, pp. 107–108) also published an account given to them in approximately 1890 by Tānetinorau’s descendant and namesake. This version states that Tānetinorau attacked Ngāti Hau, who lived around Waitomo<sup>29</sup>. During this attack, he captured a “hill fort” that the authors did not name, and Tānetinorau settled around Te Ruakurī in the area.

Phillips (1989) published an unsourced version of this *kōrero* that Ngāti Hia occupied from Te Kawamoana (the great Te Kawa swamp) to the headwaters of the Mōkau for “at least six generations before the Tainui people penetrated inland” (p. 22–23). He wrote that Tanetinorau’s attack on Ngāti Hia occurred “about twenty years after the arrival of Turongo”. Phillips may have posited this claim to account for his assumption that Tūrongo’s son, Raukawa (born at the time of Tūrongo’s move), was involved in the conflict because the name one of the Ngāti Hia *pā* was “Moko Raukawa”. Should we accept that Tānetinorau was a son of Hoturoa, Tūrongo could not have been his contemporary (see Figure 7). Phillips also stated that Tānetinorau attacked the Ngāti Hia *pā* named Owhawhe [sic], Moko Raukawa [sic], Matutu [sic] and Pukututu [sic]. He later said that other *pā* of Ngāti Hia, including Kakamutu, Te Arero, Mataiwhetu, Kourapirau and Tuitahi, were occupied after Tānetinorau’s attacks (p. 27-28).

Several factors about Tānetinorau’s attack on Hia or Ngāti Hia indicate contested dynamics in the *kōrero*.

1. The conquest would have been very early if Hia was a son of Rakataura and Tānetinorau was a son of Hoturoa – much earlier than any other conflict identified in this current study.
2. Tangitihau named four Ngāti Hia *pā* that Tānetinorau attacked, indicating that Ngāti Hia had constructed these four settlements within a generation of Tainui arriving in Aotearoa.
3. Court testimonies include no cause for Tānetinorau’s attack. Te Kanawa Tangitihau (1888, p. 141) even said, “Tanetinirau had no reason for killing Hia and his people; he found them here and attacked them”.

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<sup>29</sup> The *kōrero* explains the origin of Te Ruakurī (“the Den of the Dogs”) and Te Horahanga-o-te-kahu-o-Tanetinorau [sic] (“the place where Tane-Tinorau spread out his garment”) (*ibid*, p. 108)

4. Under an alternative counterclaim, Patupatu Keepa and Wahanui Te Huatare, who claimed partly through Te Wharautahi of Ngāti Hia, said that they had never heard of Tānetinorau's attack on Ngāti Hia and that Hia had died naturally in Mōkau (in Mair, 1888b, pp. 234, 251). This supported their claim that Hia's *mana* to the land had passed to Te Wharautahi and his son, Puha. Others testified that Ngāti Hā of Te Arawa descent from Taupō defeated and drove Ngāti Hia from the district and made no mention of Tānetinorau.
5. This is the only reference I have found to Tāne-miti-paraheka as a wife of Hoturoa, whose more famous wives were Whakaotirangi and Marama-kiko-hura. Biggs and Jones (1995, p. 161) provided a *whakapapa* of Tūpāhau, which positioned Tāne-miti-paraheka as a child of Marama-kiko-hura and Hoturoa.

It is not possible to know for sure whether there was such an early conquest by Tānetinorau as it is a contested history with contrarian versions. Descendants of Hia claim that he was a son of Rakataura, suggesting they may not have been a pre-Tainui group, as Phillips wrote<sup>30</sup>. Within the broader *kōrero* of *pā* construction and conflict, it seems unlikely that the Tānetinorau's attacks were on a string of fortified settlements. This does not mean the *kōrero* is inauthentic or without value, as it may have increased Hoturoa's descendants' *mana* over Hia's and supported Ngāti Maniapoto's claims to the district in the Māori Land Court.

Based on the CNA, a conflict at the time of Tānetinorau (*kōrero pakanga* #2) would have been in 1358 CE ± 98 years (1378 CE ± 124 years).

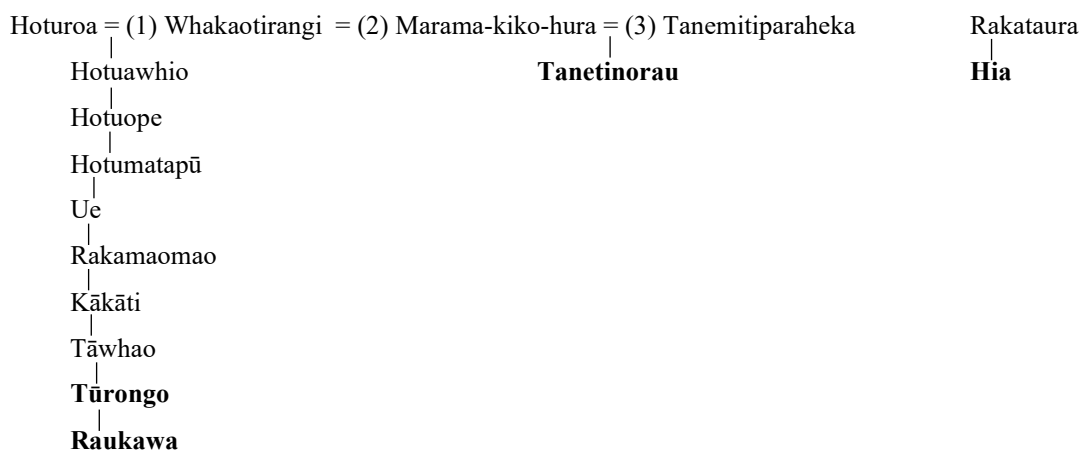


Figure 7. *Whakapapa* from Hoturoa and Tanemitiparaheka to Tanetinorau, and from Rakataura to Hia.

<sup>30</sup> It remains possible that Rakataura married into a group who descended from pre-Tainui people.

### (#3) Tūrongo and Whatihua

The rivalry between Tāwhao's sons, Whatihua and Tūrongo, is a famous example of an early quarrel. Versions of this *kōrero* appear in early unpublished manuscripts (Te Kairangi, 1881, p. 64; Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1871, pp. 10–13) and Māori Land Court testimonies (e.g., Mahu, 1909, p. 333). Schnackenberg (1926) published a version from unnamed elders in Kāwhia, while Pōmare (1930) published Te Kairangi's 1881 *reo* Māori manuscript. Tūkōrehu-te-ahipū (Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa, Whanga-nui and Ngāti Tūwharetoa) told an account to Te Hurinui-Jones in 1934. It was recorded as a post-1936 manuscript (Te Hurinui-Jones, n.d. 1, pp. 53–60) and later published (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 70–73). Te Huia (1944) wrote a similar brief account in the *Proceedings of the Te Awamutu Historical Society*. Te Hurinui-Jones' (1945) gave the most detailed narrative on Tūrongo and Māhina-a-rangi in *Mahinarangi (The Moon-Glow of the Heavens): A Tainui Saga*. Later writers, including Roberton (1948, 1957a; 1965, pp. 11–14), Kelly (1949, pp. 76, 83) and F. Phillips (1989, pp. 21–22, 200; 1995, pp. 77–79) followed these early publications.

As summarised in Chapter Three, Whatihua succeeded in courting Tūrongo's intended wife, Ruapūtāhanga, from Taranaki. Tūrongo's humiliation led him to leave Kāwhia, marry Māhinaarangi from the East Coast and settle at Rangiatēa<sup>31</sup>, east of Ōtorohanga. Meanwhile, Whatihua remained at Te Wharenui in Aotea before later moving to Manuaitū on the north side of the harbour (Kamanomano Māhu [Ngāti Reko, Ngāti Te Wehi] in MacCormick, 1909a, p. [24 November] 333; Pōmare, 1930, pp. 21–25; Schnackenberg, 1926, pp. 24–27; Te Hurinui-Jones, 1945; Te Kairangi, 1881, p. 64 of pages with text; Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1871, pp. 10–13). Descendants of Tūrongo recall a slightly different narrative that emphasises Whatihua's shame instead of Tūrongo's (e.g., Te Koko, 1888, p. 257).

Each version refers to Rangiatēa as a peaceful settlement without reference to fortifications. Tūrongo established it peacefully while other communities of non-Tainui descent lived in the middle Waipā basin. Furthermore, Tūrongo and Māhina-a-rangi are considered to have lived long and peaceful lives at Rangiatēa (Huia, 1944; Te Hurinui-Jones, 1945, p. 19). The Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tuwharetoa and Ngāti Rangatahi claimants of the Māori Land Court Te Rohe Pōtae Case partly claimed the land through their descent from Tūrongo, who was the primary ancestor through whom they claimed the land. In later cases, claimant witnesses in the 1886 Rohe Pōtae case explained that

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<sup>31</sup> F. Phillips (1989, p. 21) recorded the location as east of Happy Valley and Cottle Road junction in Kōrakonui

they had strategically set Tūrongo as the primary ancestor due to his *mana*. Wahanui Te Huatere (Mair, 1888b, p. 247) explained during the Orāhiri-Ōtorohanga Title Investigation that Tūrongo had *mana tangata*, *mana ariki*, *mana atua* and *mana rangatira* and *mana* over battles. However, he did not so much have *mana* over land. He said that it was not until the time of Maniapoto's son, Te Kawairirangi, that boundaries were laid or “any thought was taken about allocation of land” (*ibid*, p. 247). However, during the Rohe Pōtae Title Investigation, Poutama Hauauru (1886, p. 311) of Ngāti Matakore, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Koura, related Tūrongo directly to several *pā*, including Kororeroro, Patokotoko, Manutapu and Rangiatea [sic].

The *kōrero* about Whatihua and Tūrongo's quarrel captures a symbolic political schism between the descendants of these brothers<sup>32</sup>. The *kōrero* does not describe physical conflict or formal warfare, yet it is a crucial *kōrero pakanga* in understanding Tainui political developments. Tūrongo's occupation inland became a political foundation for many *iwi* who claimed the land through the Māori Land Court in the 1880s. Court witnesses listed several *pā* associated with Tūrongo to demonstrate the antiquity of their *mana whenua* in the district and their ability to hold it. However, most of the *kōrero* agree that Tūrongo experienced peace in his lifetime.

A conflict between Tūrongo and Whatihua (*kōrero pakanga* #3) may be approximated by the birth of Raukawa, which was directly before Tūrongo and Māhinaarangi settling at Rangiatea. The CNA estimate of Raukawa's birth was in 1455 CE ± 20 years (1458 CE ± 42 years).

#### (#4) Whatihua and Mangō

White (1888b, pp. 76–77 [Māo.], 79–80 [Eng.]) recorded the next earliest conflict of *Tainui* descendants from an unnamed Ngāti Toa informant. The account describes a fight between Whatihua at Kāwhia and Mangō at Te Whena Pā, at an unidentified location. Whatihua was son of Tāwhao (Figure 9). White does not state Mangō's parentage, but Ngāti Toa sources know him as a son of Poutama and Panirau (Matene Te Whiwhi in Grey, 1852a, pp. 45–47; Pōmare, 1930, p. 70; Te Rauparaha, 2020 [1857?], p. 118). Poutama was a son of Tuhianga, brother of Tāwhao, while Panirau was the great-granddaughter of Rakamaomao. Therefore, Mangō's father, Poutama, was a cousin of Whatihua. The *kōrero* details how Mangō stole

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<sup>32</sup> Testimonies during the Māori Land Court Title Investigation of the Kōpua-Pirongia-Kāwhia Block in 1888 often referred to Whatihua and Tūrongo's boundary line that crossed the block (e.g., T. M. Hikuroa, 1888, p. 317; Te Koko, 1888, p. 266; Te Mapu, 1888, p. 291).

Whatihua’s comb in secret. Whatihua discovered Mangō due to the distinctive footprints from his crooked leg. Whatihua gathered a war party of one-thousand warriors (“*kotahi mano*”)<sup>33</sup> and attacked Mangō’s nine-hundred (“*e iwa rau*”) in his *pā*. Mangō’s force sallied before the *pā* and defeated Whatihua, killing all his followers. Mangō then humiliated Whatihua by passing over his head and urinating on him. According to White’s source, Whatihua then left Kāwhia and went to the interior of Waikato with his *mana* diminished.

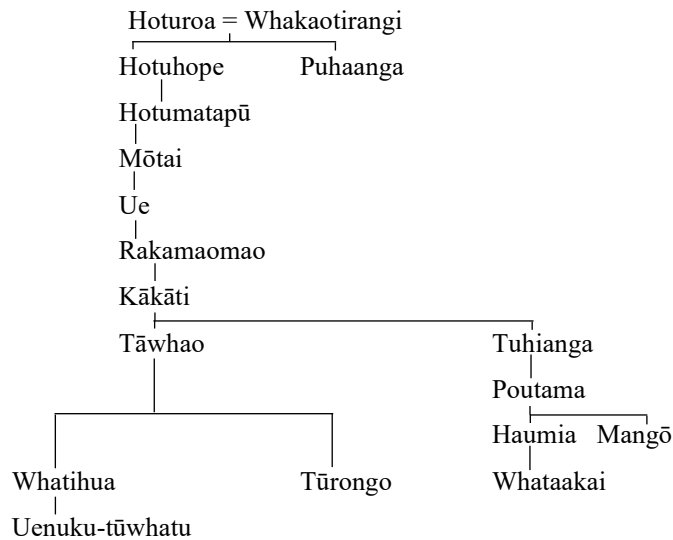


Figure 8. Whakapapa from Hoturoa and Whakaotirangi to Whatihua, Tūrongo, Haumia, Mangō, Whataakai, and Uenuku-tūwhatu.

I have not identified White’s source for this passage. Nor have I identified another independent manuscript that describes Mangō’s humiliation of Whatihua. Several accounts state that Whatihua settled at Te Wharenuī<sup>34</sup> in Aotea with Ruaputāhanga and later Apakura before settling at Manuaitū on the north side of Aotea (Kelly, 1949, pp. 71–72; MacCormick, 1909a, pp. [24 November] 332–338; Schnackenberg, 1926, pp. 24–27; Te Hurinui-Jones, 1945, pp. 4–10; 1962, p. 11; Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 66–68). Whatihua and his descendants continued to occupy Aotea for generations. There is also no other reliable example of large-scale warfare involving almost two-thousand warriors at this early time. The anonymity of White’s source challenges the evaluation of authenticity and symbolic dynamics

<sup>33</sup> White translated these numbers as decimals, not vestigial, which would result in doubled numbers.

<sup>34</sup> Te Wharenuī became a well-known boundary. Te Wahanui gave testimony for Ngāti Maniapoto (Te Huatare, 1886, pp. 46, 263) and who associated it with Tūrongo instead of Whatihua. This supported the *mana* of his claim through his ancestor Tūrongo. Hone Kāora of Ngāti Hikairo (1886, p. 337) testified to Tūrongo occupying Te Wharenuī to support his land claim through him. Hapeta Turingenge of Ngāti Reko (1887, p. 135) also gave it Te Wharenuī as a boundary among others of this case.

within the *kōrero*. However, Whatihua was an ancestor of Tūirirangi, Te Ikatāmure, and Tūāhumāhina, who had *mana* in Kāwhia and rivalling Mangō’s descendants, Tūpāhau and Toarangatira. Mangō’s cunning in stealing the comb, victory with fewer warriors and subsequent humiliation of Whatihua could, therefore, be maintained as an authentic Ngāti Toa *kōrero* that enhances the *mana* of their ancestor and people.

Based on the CNA, the conflict between Mangō and Whatihua (*kōrero pakanga* #4) would have been in 1465 CE ± 30 years (1473 CE ± 60 years).

#### (#5) Haumia and Mangō

Te Kairangi (1881, pp. 67–68) recorded the next *kōrero pakanga*, which Pōmare (1930, pp. 26–27) translated and published. This *kōrero* recounts the conflict between Haumia and Mangō, both sons of Poutama. Mangō left Kāwhia and married Hiapoto in Taranaki. He then returned to Kāwhia with his wife to find that his brother, Haumia, had taken over his lands. Mangō attacked Haumia and his people in his *pā*. Haumia fell and was carried away on a stretcher. The defenders protected themselves from Mangō by gathering by Haumia’s stretcher, under his *tapu*. Such was Haumia’s *mana* that Mangō spared his followers and peace was restored. Te Kairangi stated the following:

*“No reira ta nga kaumatua korero i ki ai no a raua ra i timata ai te pakanga ki te taha ki te moana. Otira ra e hara tenei i te pakanga kino tenei ano te pakanga tino kino ko tomuri iho” (p.68).*

*And so, as our knowledge holders say, from those days began the battles on the coast. However, these were not yet great battles like those that came after (my translation).*

Te Kairangi refers to Haumia’s settlement using the word *pā* without a specific place name, so it is unclear where it was. The *kōrero* details a *whānau* land contest. Competition over cultivations may symbolise the growing population around Kāwhia at this time and the need for more land. Haumia challenged Mangō’s *mana* by taking his lands and not returning them to him, while Mangō restored his *mana* through *utu*. Mangō also demonstrated his willingness for peace after a state of *ea* was reached, which encouraged unity in future. This *kōrero pakanga* enhances the *mana* of the Ngāti Toarangatira ancestor Mangō over Haumia.

Based on the CNA, the conflict between Mangō and Haumia (*kōrero pakanga* #5) would have been in 1482 CE ± 40 years (1489 CE ± 53 years).

### (#6) Tamaaio and Ngāti Hā

Several witnesses in the Title Investigations (and Rehearings) south of around the Ōrahiri-Ōtorohanga and Pukenui Blocks testified on Tamaaio's conquest over Ngāti Hā (Gudgeon, 1892c, 1892d; Mair, 1888b, 1888c; O'Brien & Von Sturmer, 1894b). Pei Te Hurinui-Jones' narrative was told to him by his grand-uncle, Te Hurinui Te Wano, and was later published (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 98–100). Kelly (1949, pp. 83–85) closely followed Te Hurinui's narrative. However, Phillips' (1989, pp. 23–25) account contained some discrepancies, indicating he used other sources – likely Māori Land Court testimonies.

There are two documented sides of this contested history relevant to the interests of the claimants and counter-claimants in Māori Land Court Title Investigations around modern Te Kuiti and Ōtorohanga, which follow on from the discussion above about Ngāti Hā and Tānetinorau. The Ngāti Hā version emphasises the *mana* of Hā's descendants, maintained since his time. According to Hari Whanonga (1892; 1894, p. 194) and Whaaro Kaitangata (1894, p. 63), Ngāti Hā were descendants of Tia of the Te Arawa *waka*. They travelled from the Taupō district to Hurakia, where they heard there were many pigeons. They defeated a people called Ngāti Kahupungapunga<sup>35</sup> there in a dispute over a *pā ika* (fishing weir) near Rewarewa at Ngaurukēhū. The remnants under chief Te Mauri went to Ngāti Hā at Ongarahu [sic]<sup>36</sup>, west of the Mangawhero River, who sought assistance from Whatihua's sons, Uenukūtū-whatu and Uenuku-te-rangi-hōkā, who refused support. The latter's son, Tama-āio agreed to help and travelled to Ongarahu, gathered Ngāti Hā warriors and attacked Ngāti Hā at their *pā* around Hurakia. Some of the chiefs were away fighting Ngāti Kahupungapunga in Waikato or building weirs along the Waipā, but when they returned Ngāti Hā and Tama-āio killed them all using a series of ambushes and cunning. Hari Whanonga (1892) and Tutahanga Te Maapi (1892) said that the conquests did not involve Ngāti Hā lands, which supported their claims by descent from Kumikumi, a descendant of Hā.

Ngāti Maniapoto argued the other version of the *kōrero*. Pepene Eketone (1894) and Te Naunau Hīkaka (1894, p. 248) claimed an interest in the Pukenui Block through descent from Maniapoto's son, Rōrā. They said that Ngāti Hā from Taupō conquered Ngāti Hā and Ngāti Apa (also descendants of Hā), who fled to Mōkau<sup>37</sup> and Rotoaira. They did not recognise

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<sup>35</sup> Also written Ngāti Pongaponga or Ngāti Pungapunga [sic].

<sup>36</sup> Hari Whanonga said they went to Tama-āio who was at Ongarahu after having already married Hinemata of Ngāti Hā. Te Naunau Hīkaka, on the other hand, said their marriage was after the conquest.

<sup>37</sup> An affiliated group Ngāti Apa fled to Rotoaira

Ngāti Kahupungapunga's former occupation in the area. Tama-āio then conquered Ngāti Hā at Ongarahu and took the land from them without any involvement from Ngāti Hia. The remaining Ngāti Hā fled to Taupō and Whanganui (Haereiti, 1889, p. 392) – his *mana* eventually descended to his grandson, Te Ihingaarangi. In the Ōtorohanga-Ōrāhiri-Tūroto Block Title Investigation, Te Kanawa Tangitihau (1888, p. 141) even claimed that Tama-āio defeated the remnant Ngāti Hā, earlier overcome by Tānetinorau, as well as the other people in the area known as Ngāti Hā or Ngāti Hau. Ngāti Maniapoto witnesses supported these claims by listing the Ngāti Hā chiefs that were killed, including Hāketekete and Hākuhunui (Kupe, 1888, p. 172; Te Huatare, 1888, p. 251).

Te Hurinui Te Wano (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995) explained the cause of Tama-āio's attack on Ngāti Hā within Ngāti Maniapoto *kōrero*. Rereahu, a grandson of Tūrongo, came across Ngāti Hā when on a *ponga* frond (*Cyathea medullaris*) collection expedition around Te Tiroa. Believing that Ngāti Hā had come to challenge Rereahu and his people, he sent word to his relation, Tamaaio, in Kāwhia to raise a war party and support him. Tamaaio gathered his warriors and went to attack Ngāti Hā at their *pā* in the headwaters of Mōkau. Through cunning, Tamaaio feigned possessing a larger force, so Ngāti Hā left their fortress for another *pā* at Te Tiroa. Again, Tamaaio tricked them – this time to sally forth from their refuge – and defeated them. Most of the Ngāti Hā survivors fled and settled on the western side of Taupō, while some travelled up the Whanganui River. Tamaaio followed the latter to a fort on the Ōngārue River, where the chief Te Hoata offered his daughter Hinemata to be Tamaaio's wife and made peace. In a similar explanation, Te Whaaro Kaitangata (1894, pp. 129–130) explained that Rereahu first lived in Kāwhia and came inland to eat *aruhe* (fern-root) and *pohue* (a name given to several climbing vine plants). In this account, he travelled inland after Tamaaio's defeat of Ngāti Hā. He travelled first to Kawa, cultivated food, and gathered eels for a while but was not satisfied with the area and so went to Hikurangi, where Ngāti Hia lived.

The *kōrero* demonstrates the early ties between Whatihua and Tūrongo's descendants. It also shows Ngāti Hā as a people who settled the area perhaps earlier than Tainui and developed several fortified places at this time. The causes of the attack are either in *utu* of Ngāti Hā attacking Ngāti Hia, or through a desire for forest foods and lands by Rereahu, whose interests were being challenged by other groups. Both causes increased the instigator's *mana* and supported descendants' claims to land blocks in the 1880s and 1890s. The extent of the conquest involves conquering several Ngāti Hā *pā*, the migration away of the remaining people and the migration inland of Tainui descendants. This is one of the earliest conflicts between the Tainui people and unrelated communities that descend from another founding *waka*. The

absence of family relationships with Ngāti Hā may also explain why such severe warfare was involved.

Based on the CNA results, Tamaaio's conquest (*kōrero pakanga* #6) occurred in 1503 CE  $\pm$  28 years (1504 CE  $\pm$  51 years).

### Summary

In this chapter, I introduced several of the earliest *kōrero pakanga* in the Waikato area involving the descendants of the Tainui *waka*. These were primarily from late-nineteenth-century handwritten *reo* Māori manuscripts and Māori Land Court testimonies. Each *kōrero* increases the *mana* of descendant *hapū* and *iwi* and supports their land claims in the Courts. Therefore, *kōrero pakanga* are political, as is their information about *pā*. At the same time, they have historical elements that explain migrations inland from the coast and the development of conflict amongst *whānau* and between unrelated groups after the initial period of peace in the generations immediately after when the Tainui *waka* first arrived in Kāwhia. I continue this analysis in the next chapter on *kōrero pakanga* about *iwi* and *hapū* foundation narratives at the *maihi* of the *wharenui whakapapa*, beginning in approximately the mid-late 1500s with the wars of Mangō, Haumia and Tūirirangi.

**CHAPTER SIX:**  
***KO TE MANA MŌ TE WHENUA***  
*(Claims to land)*

This chapter presents my analysis of *kōrero* about *pā* and *kōrero pakanga* at the *maihi* (bargeboards or apex) of the *wharenui whakapapa*. The period is the mid to late 1500s and contains much *kōrero pakanga*. I have divided the *kōrero* by the founding ancestors of later *hapū* and *iwi*. These *hapū* had not necessarily formed by this time; however, their later formations and political dynamics depend on these founding traditions. The sections cover *kōrero* about:

1. Mangō and Haumia’s descendants, Tūirirangi and Ngāiwi, particularly along Te Tai Hauāuru between Marokopa and Aotea;
2. Mōtai’s settlement around Kakepuku, conquests and political dominance of Maniapoto and his family, and Raukawa’s descendants through Takihiku;
3. Apakura’s descendants’ occupation of Ngāroto; and
4. the inland settlement and conflicts of Māhanga, Tamainupō and Píkiao of Te Arawa.

**Tūpāhau, Ikatāmure, Taongaiwi, Kārewa, Tūirirangi and Ngāiwi**

This section includes focusses on *kōrero* on along the western coastline.

**(#11) Tūpāhau and Te Ikatāmure**

This depicts a conflict between Tūpāhau and Te Ikatāmure. The only early written version I identified is Te Kairangi’s (1881, pp. 35–36) manuscript, which Pōmare (1930, pp. 40–43) translated and published.

Te Kairangi wrote how Tūpāhau was a skilful warrior: “*he nui ana mahi pakanga*”, and a *tōhunga* like his father, Kaihamu<sup>38</sup>. He lived on the south side of Kāwhia at Rākaunui. On one occasion, the *tōhunga* Te Ikatāmure<sup>39</sup> from Rangīāhua visited Tūpāhau. Te Ikatāmure uttered *karakia*, during which time Tūpāhau insulted him. Seeking *utu*, Te Ikatāmure returned to Rangīāhua and said to his people “*ko te mea tika, me haere tatou ki whawhai ki a ia*” (the

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<sup>38</sup> There are *kōrero pakanga* involving Kaihamu in Taranaki, outside of the study area. They are not included in this thesis.

<sup>39</sup> Tamure in Te Kairangi’s (1881, pp. 35–36) manuscript.

correct thing to do is for us to fight Tūpāhau [my translation]). He assembled “*nga hapu katoa o Kāwhia e rua mano*” (all the sub-tribes of Kāwhia, including two-thousand people; p. 36) and went to Tūpāhau’s *pā* at Rākaunui. Tūpāhau successfully defended his *pā* with “*hokowhitu*” (one-hundred and forty) warriors but chose not to kill his aggressor. Instead, he bit him on his head, increasing his *mana* at Te Ikatāmure’s expense. Tūpāhau’s grandson’s name, Toarangatira – chiefly warrior, records this chivalrous act, from whom Ngāti Toarangatira descend.

Te Kairangi did not explicitly state the relationship between Te Ikatāmure and Tūpāhau. They both descended from Whatihua’s and Ruapūtahanga’s son, Uenuku-te-rangi-hoka. Te Ikatāmure was Uenuku’s great-grandchild through Mangohikuroa and Maniatēmi, while Tūpāhau was his great x 4 grandchild through Hotunui, Paaka, Te Kahureremoa, Tūparahaki and Te Urutira. Tūpāhau also descended from Mangō and Kaihamu, both powerful *rangatira* in Kāwhia, which may explain his rivalry with Te Ikatāmure, also a powerful *rangatira*, for *mana* in Kāwhia. Once more, *utu* was the explicit cause of this *pakanga* within the *kōrero*, which also records how all of Kāwhia was involved against Tūpāhau of Ngāti Mangō at Rākaunui. Tūpāhau’s victory against all odds demonstrates his supreme *mana rangatira*. The *kōrero* explains the foundation of Ngāti Toarangatira’s dominance in Kāwhia by the 1700s although they were known at this time through their shared descent from Mangō.

Based on the CNA, the conflict between Te Ikatāmure and Tūpāhau (*kōrero pakanga* #11) occurred in 1555 CE ± 1 years (1559 CE ± 21 years).

### **(#12) Tūpāhau in Marokopa**

Tūpāhau’s movement into and settlement of Marokopa was recorded by Te Kairangi (1881, pp. 35–38), an unknown Ngāti Toa source in White (1888b, pp. 91–93 [Māo.], 96–98 [Eng.]) and S. P. Smith (1908, p. 117). The latter may have sourced his information from Elsdon Best’s 1894 record of Karihana Whakataki of Porirua’s *kōrero*. Witness testimonies during the Māori Land Court Title Investigation of the blocks south of Kāwhia also referred to Tūpāhau’s *mana* being the primary source of their claim to those areas (e.g., the Title Investigation of the Kinohaku West Block, Mair, 1888d). Te Nguha Huirama of Ngāti Tamainupō also provided a version of Tūpāhau’s settlement in Marokopa to Te Hurinui-Jones (in Te Hurinui-Jones, n.d. 6, pp. 58–64; Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 154–160).

In this *kōrero*, Tūpāhau went to Marokopa with his people for the *kahawai* fishing grounds there and built a *pā* in the process. Te Kairangi (1881, pp. 36–37) wrote that he went seeking *utu* for the local people, “Ngati Taranga” [sic], having taken a *kōhatu* (sacred stone)

from his ancestors in Kāwhia. Rakapare and Tamaoho were two local Marokopa leaders when Tūpāhau established his *pā* at Marokopa. According to Te Nguha Huirama, Tūpāhau was a descendant of Manu-Tongaatea who lived at Marokopa before Rakapare and Tamaoho invaded from Waikato, captured the district, established Heipipi Pā and snared birds (I discuss Manu-Tongaatea later in this chapter). In this version, Tūpāhau sought *utu* for Rakapare and Tamaoho’s attack on his mother Kearangi’s (or Tikikāwehi) people of Ngāti Awa<sup>40</sup>. It had Tūpāhau’s mother (Takikāwehi or Kearangi) as a great-granddaughter of Tamainupō (Manutongātea’s grandson), as reported by Jones (Te Hurinui-Jones, n.d. 1, p. 110) and Kelly (1949, p. 121). This is inconsistent with other events (Figure 10). For example, according to Wirihana Te Aoterangi (c. 1860) of Ngāti Tāhinga’s *kōrero* (discussed below), Tūpāhau’s son, Kārewarewa’s conquest over Ngāiwi in Aotea was with Te Ikatāmure, who was a father of Paratai – Tamainupō’s mother-in-law. The link between Tūpāhau and Tamainupō also creates an inconsistent 9 generations between Māhanga and Puakirangi through Tūkōtuku and 2 generations through Atutahi. Robertson (1967b, pp. 33–34) critiqued the connection between Manutongaatea and Tūpāhau (referencing Kelly) by arguing that Urutira, son of Kaihamu and father to Tūpāhau, was not Urutira, daughter of Tūparahaki and wife of Takikāwehi (also referred to as Kearangi). He also suggested that Tamainupō’s father, Kōkako, visited Marokopa after Tūpāhau’s settlement there. Unfortunately, Robertson did not reference his sources aside from Kelly, and his claims go against *whakapapa* elsewhere that recognise Urutira as a son of Kaihamu and Tūparahaki (Te Hurinui-Jones, 1962, p. 10; Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 154–161; Te Kairangi, 1881, p. 32). Even if there are different versions of the *kōrero*, the *whakapapa* serves to connect Tūpāhau and Manutongaatea and explains the *take* (cause) Tūpāhau’s occupation of Marokopa through *utu*.

The versions generally agree that when at the mouth of the Marokopa River, Tūpāhau took offence to the tiny apportionment of one fish for each of his one-hundred-and-forty people. He then claimed land and constructed a *pā* at Maungaroa [sic] (*ibid*). In a sequence of events, Rakapare and Tamaoho attacked Tūpāhau in his *pā*, who successfully defeated his attackers. Some of Ngāti Taranga then went to Waikato and some to Ngāti Raukawa territory (Te Kairangi, 1881).

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<sup>40</sup> S. P. Smith (1908, p. 117) attributed the move to Marokopa as an avoidance of the “troubles [...] with the other Waikato tribes”. However, the only Waikato people involved in this *kōrero* was in the suggestion that Rakapare and Tamaoho were from there. In going to Marokopa, Tūpāhau was heading towards “troubles”, so Smith’s meaning is not clear here.

This *kōrero* serves to explain how Ngāti Toarangatira settled in Marokopa, and their field of influence grew along the coast. The cause of the conquest was Tūpāhau’s interest in the fishery and the land at Marokopa, as well as Tūpāhau seeking *utu* for the poor *manaakitanga* by Ngāti Taranga for his people. The *kōrero* does not clarify who Rakapare and Tamaoho were other than them being from Waikato, so it is difficult to assess their relationship with Tūpāhau. However, some versions make Tūpāhau’s *take* clear through Rakapare and Tamaoho conquering (*raupatu*) his mother’s ancestral lands. Te Kairangi mentioned how Tūpāhau beat off thousands of attackers with only 140 people, which also serves to increase Tūpāhau’s *mana* as an eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Toarangatira.

Based on the CNA results, Tūpāhau’s conflicts in Marokopa (*kōrero pakanga* #12) were in 1555 CE ± 1 years (1559 CE ± 21 years). The precision of this estimate is unrealistically high and should be accepted as an approximation of when these events occurred.

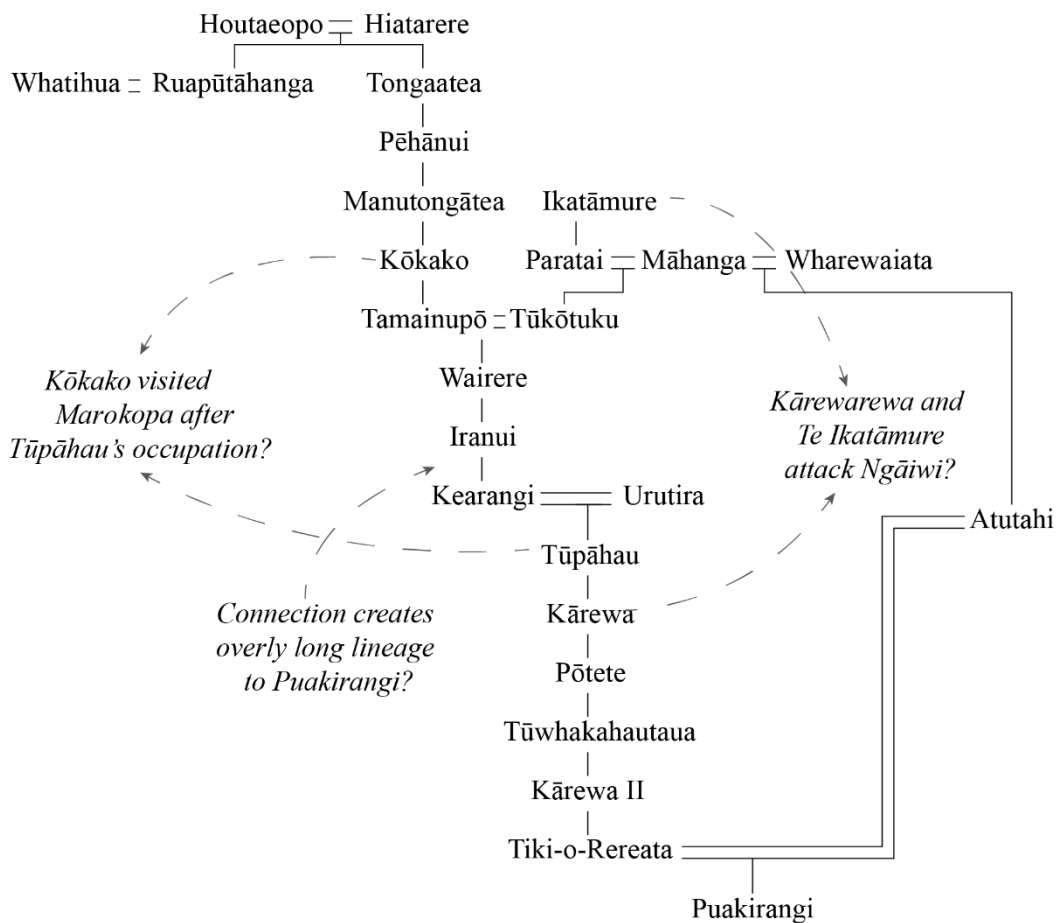


Figure 9. Whakapapa between Tongaatea and Tūpāhau indicated by Te Hurinui Jones and Biggs (1995) and Kelly (1949) with contrasting *kōrero* indicated.

#### (#14) Taongaiwi and Kārewa

Te Kairangi's (1881, pp. 28–31) manuscript described an early conflict involving Haumia's son, Taongaiwi, and a *rangatira* named Kārewa in Kāwhia (Figure 11). Pōmare (1930) translated this *kōrero* but repositioned the *kōrero* to follow on from the conflicts associated with a Kārewa in the time of Toarangatira mentioned later in Te Kairangi's manuscript. Pōmare possibly assumed the two Kārewa were the same person and overlooked the *whakapapa* of Taongiwi as a son of Haumia and this other Kārewa as a son of "Mapauatuirangi"<sup>41</sup> [sic] (Te Kairangi, 1881, p. 29).

According to Te Kairangi, Kārewa lived at Rangiāhua, while Taongaiwi and Mirakorehe lived at Taungatara (Albatross Point, Taharoa) in Kāwhia. The latter two made *kupenga* (nets) on a *rātapu* (sacred day) designated for the activity when two men named Iroiro and Kakawera arrived at Taharoa. Iroiro and Kakawera became angered at not being welcomed into Taongaiwi and Mirakorehe's *kāinga*, so the newcomers went to Kārewa at Rangiāhua to provoke him. They told him a lie that they had heard Mirakorehe cursing Kārewa by saying that they had made their nets from Mirakorehe's hair, floats from his topknots, and the *moki* fish fat was his fat<sup>42</sup>. Kārewa became so angry that he sent his warriors and destroyed five *pā*. Taongaiwi left Kāwhia and settled at Te Karu-o-te-whenua in Upper Mōkau, where he stayed for many years. Te Kairangi wrote, "*ko te parautanga tuatahi tenei o Kawhia ururua iho te whenua*" (p. 30). Pōmare (1930) translated this metaphor as "the first great war expedition in Kawhia" (p. 65). However, "*parau*" may also interpreted as the first deceit or falsehood. Te Kairangi's history continues with Taongaiwi travelling to his mother's (Mawake) people in Taranaki, where he gathered a war party and recaptured his former lands in Kāwhia.

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<sup>41</sup> Confusingly, I read this name to literally mean, "Māpau of Tūirangi". However, Māpau was the mother of Tūirangi, not the other way round (Kāora, 1886, pp. 332–333; Pouwharetapu, 1887, p. 15). Kamanomano Mahu (1909, p. 337) of Ngāti Te Wehi referred to Tuwharemapau [sic] as Tūirangi's father. Bruce Biggs (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 219) provided a *whakapapa* chart with Tūirangi as son of Māpauinuhia (mother) and Huiao (father; see also Kelly, 1949, pp. 141, 463; Tauī and Tita Wētere in Robertson, 1948b; Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 226, 277).

<sup>42</sup> "*ka rongo maua i tetehi korero kino i reira i mea te kupu a te Mirakorehe ko nga kaha o tana kupenga ko nga uru o te mahunga e Karewa ko nga pouto o te kupenga, ko nga tikitiki o to mahunga, [ko] ngako o roto i a koe*" (*ibid* p. 29).

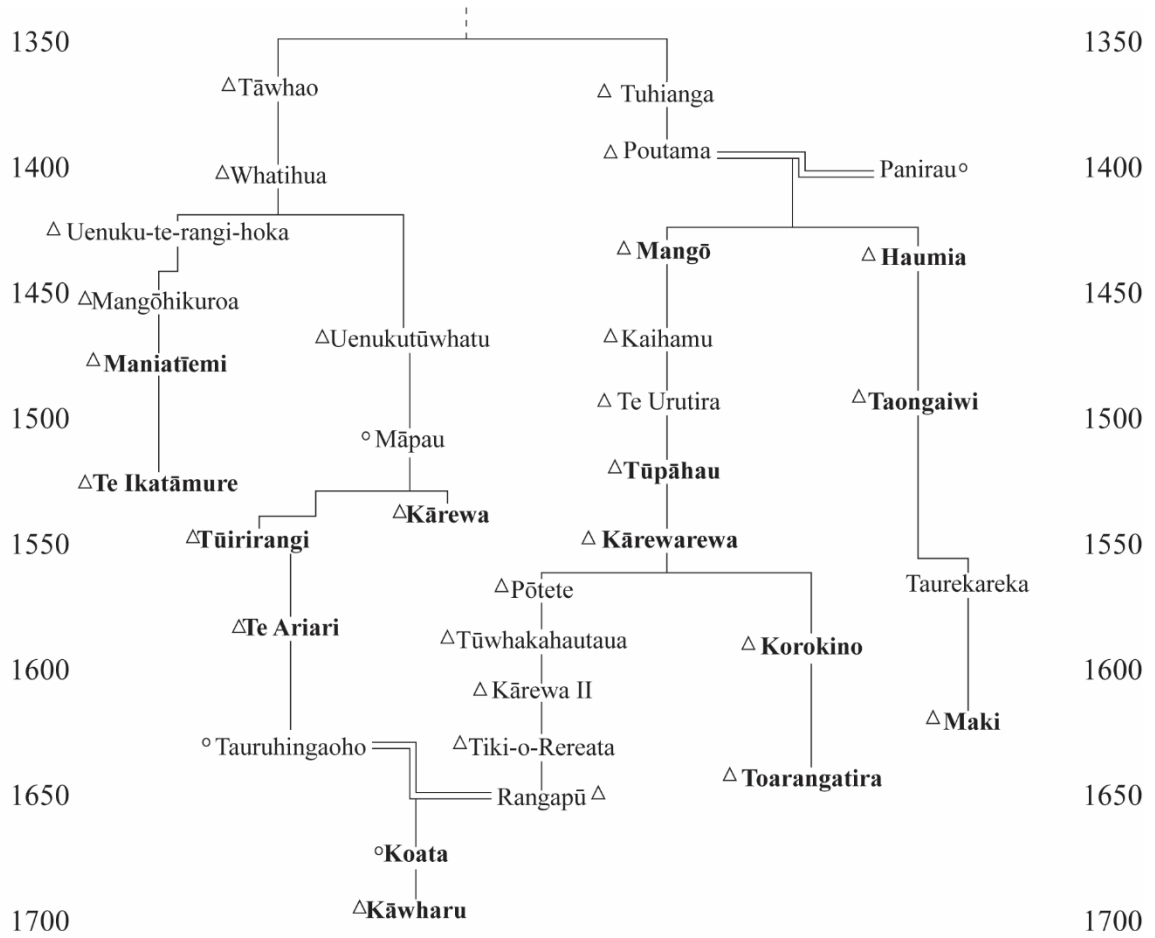


Figure 10. Whakapapa from Kākāti to Kāwharu. Circles signify females; triangles signify males. Key individuals mentioned in text are bolded.

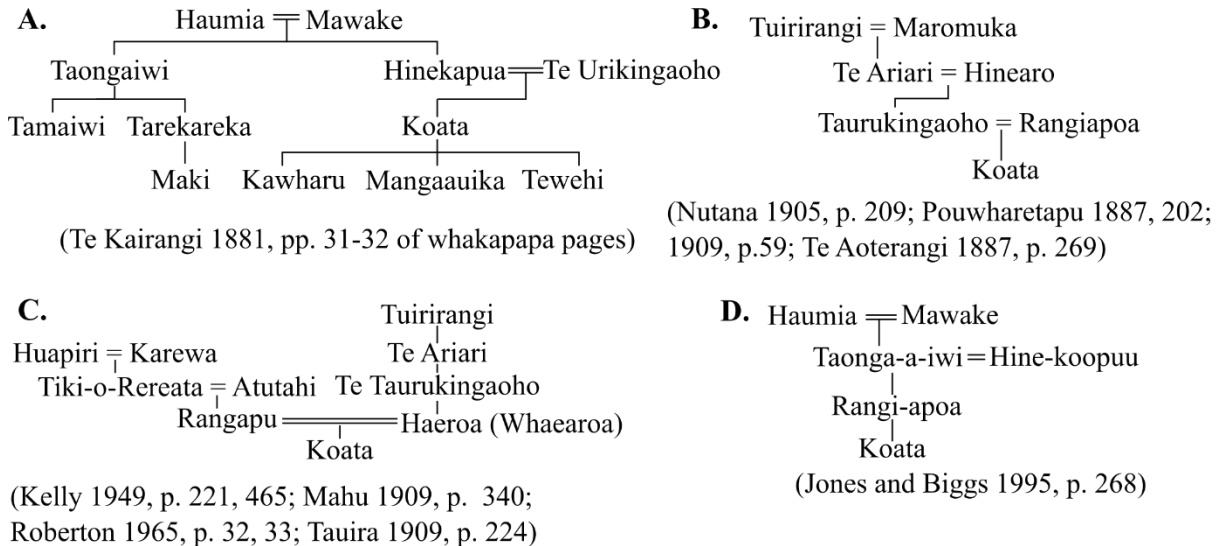


Figure 11. Four versions of Koata's whakapapa with references. Te Urikingaoho (A) is likely the same person as Taurukingaoho (B and C). Rangīapoa (B and D) and Rangapu (C) may also be the same person, as they are not referred to in the same whakapapa. Hinekapua (A), may be the same as Hine-koopuu in (D).

Rangiāhua Pā and Taungatara locate the *kōrero* and the political domains of Kārewa in the north, Mirakorehe and Taonga-a-iwi in the south of Kāwhia. Meanwhile, Te Kairangi measured the extent of Kārewa's attacks and victories over Taonga-a-iwi and Mirakorehe regarding the five *pā* he destroyed (“*ngaro iho*”). The *pā*, therefore, served to situate and illustrate a conquest's extent in this *kōrero*. Te Kairangi recorded this Kārewa as a brother to the Ngāti Toarangatira enemy, Tūirangi, and Taonga-a-iwi as the grandfather of the later Ngāti Toarangatira ally, Maki. Some versions of *whakapapa*, including Te Kairangi's, recorded Taonga-a-iwi as either an uncle or grandfather of Koata (mother of Kāwharu and Te Wehi, who later fought alongside Ngāti Toarangatira; Charts A and D in Figure 12). Kāwharu married Toarangatira's daughter, Waikauri, and so Taonga-a-iwi was also a Ngāti Toarangatira ancestor. Therefore, the *kōrero* about Taonga-a-iwi's ultimate victory in Kāwhia supports the historical Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Koata *mana* claim in Kāwhia at the expense of their later rival, Ngāti Tūirangi. The rivalry is despite Koata's sons also effectively descending from Tūirangi through Te Ariari and Taurukingaoho (Charts B and C in Figure 12). The *kōrero pakanga* causes are consistent with others of this time in Te Kairangi's manuscript. *Utu* and *mana rangatira* in Kāwhia were the primary drivers in the *kōrero*. Taonga-a-iwi's later victory may have also been driven by conquest to retake his former lands.

Based on the CNA, the conflict between Taongaiwi and Kārewa (*kōrero pakanga* #14) would have been in 1562 CE ± 20 years (1569 CE ± 33 years).

### **(#26, 18 & 19) Tūirangi, Kārewa and Te Ikatāmure**

Claimants from the various *hapū* within the west coast Tainui<sup>43</sup> *hapū* claimed the Manuaitu-Aotea Block (western Aotea) through their ancestor Tūrongo, followed by Tūirangi (Mair, 1887). Ngāti Māhanga evidence supporting their claim to the Moerangi Block widely referenced Ngāti Tūirangi's occupation of Aotea, west of their land (MacCormick, 1909a, 1909b). Wirihana Te Aoterangi (c. 1860) of Ngāti Tāhinga's *reo* Māori manuscript recorded the death of Tūirangi and the subsequent warfare along the coast. Atanatiu Te Kairangi's (1881, pp. 35–38) of Ngāti Toarangatira's manuscript records *kōrero* following the death of Tūirangi.

Tūirangi was originally from Kāwhia but moved inland to Ngākuraho Pā, in Hangatiki, to marry and live with his wife, Kinohaku. They later separated, and Tūirangi returned to Kāwhia, where he eventually married Māmaua. Te Aoterangi (c. 1860) described

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<sup>43</sup> Sometimes written Ngāti Tainui and not to be confused with all peoples that descend from the Tainui *waka*.

how Whanowhanoake of Ngāiwi from Manuaitu Pā in northern Aotea killed Tūirirangi when the latter was collecting *whau* wood around Waitetē Stream in southern Aotea. Tūirirangi's followers then gathered a war party from Kāwhia to attack the Ngāiwi *pā* of Tātahi, Kōreromaiwaho and Te Rauotehuia in northern Aotea. Te Hurinui-Jones (followed by Kelly [1949] and Phillips [1995]) wrote that Tūirirangi's son, Te Ariari, led these attacks, while Te Aoterangi did not state who led them.

Te Aoterangi's account continued that after the Kāwhia warriors were unsuccessful in several attacks in Aotea, a man named Te Ikatāmure sought the aid of *mākutu* (witchcraft and sorcery) that his father, Maniatemi, possessed (Figure 11). Through a series of trials, Te Ikatāmure became a powerful *tōhunga matataketake*<sup>44</sup>. He then instructed his nephew Kārewarewa to gather a war party from as far away as Te Āti Awa in Taranaki. The force, together with Te Ikatāmure's *matataketake*, attacked and defeated Ngāiwi at Te Rauotehuia, Kōreromaiwaho, Pūangi, Manuaitu, Pukerangaranga and Pukewhārangi Pā. Te Aoterangi recounted how Whanowhanoake escaped, and Kārewarewa<sup>45</sup> pursued him. During Whanowhanoake's escape with his companions, they reached Whāingaroa, where they joined a war party of Tāhinganui's. When Kārewarewa arrived, Tāhinganui's war party attacked the *pā* of his brother-in-law, Tuku, where his family were housed<sup>46</sup>. The *pā* was captured, which avenged Tuku's earlier defeat of Tāhinga's people. Whanowhanoake escaped once more to Kaipara and as far as Te Hokianga and Muriwhenua in Te Tai Tokerau (Northland) before his party eventually turned back. Some of the party went to Whakatāne, Te Ākau, Kāwhia, Mōkau and Taranaki. Tāhinga settled in Kaipara, while Pōtete's children settled from Te Pūaha-o-Waikato to Aotea as Ngāti Tāhinga.

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<sup>44</sup> The earliest accounts of Te Ikatāmure developing his skills in *matataketake* and rivalling the *tōhunga*, Kīkī, are in recorded by Grey (before 1854) in GNZMMSS 31, which he later published (Grey, 1854, pp. 172–174). White (1888b, pp. 58–61) republished the account recorded by Grey and attributed it to a Ngāti Mahuta source. Neither detail the events of Te Ikatāmure's life in Kāwhia. Grey (1853, p. 126), taken from *kaumātua* in Ōtaki (in Grey, 1852b, p. 51), includes the *waiata*, “*He tangi na te iro, no te hekenga i mataketake*”, which references “Hikatamure”. See Biggs' (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. [fn.3] 222) footnote for English translation.

<sup>45</sup> Robertson (1967c, pp. 58–61) later reviewed the *whakapapa* provided by Kelly, which indirectly appears to have come from Te Aoterangi (unknown to Robertson). Te Aoterangi (followed by Te Hurinui-Jones and Kelly) said that Kārewarewa was the *rangatira* who attacked the Aotea and Whāingaroa *pā*. In contrast, Robertson said Kārewa was the war leader, while Kārewarewa was his sister, who married Te Ariari.

<sup>46</sup> Within the *pā* was Tāhinga's first son, Kiriura, his first wife, Rawaenge, who was Tuku's sister, and Kārewarewa's children by Pōtete (Kārewarewa's daughter), named Tūwhakahautaua and Hinaki.

Te Kairangi's (1881) manuscript placed Kārewa's conquests much later and with a different cause than Te Aoterangi's *kōrero*. Te Kairangi recorded Kārewa as a son of Tūpāhau and that he had three children, one being Potete [sic] (p. 18 of the *whakapapa* at the start of the manuscript). Kārewa was a warrior, unlike his *tuakana*, Korokino, who was a skilled cultivator (p. 39). At a later part of the manuscript, Te Kairangi said a man named Kārewa went north with his war party after Ngāti Tūirirangi killed Maki in Kāwhia, when Toarangatira was on his deathbed in Marokopa and while Kāwharu was a leading *rangatira* in Kāwhia. Te Kairangi placed Maki as a son of Tarekareka [sic] and grandson of Taongaiwi (see Figure 12). Maki and Toarangatira were, therefore, distant cousins through their shared descent from Poutama and Panirau (Figure 11). Other *whakapapa* places Maki as a child of Taongaiwi (e.g., Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 272, 277).

In Te Kairangi's version, Kārewa requested Tūpāhau's *taiaha*, which was in Toarangatira's possession, to lead the forces from southern Kāwhia, Marokopa and Taranaki to attack Ngāti Tūirirangi and pursue their survivors. Two noted survivors were Honohonoiho and Honohonoake, the latter likely the same person that Te Aoterangi called Whanowhanoake. In both versions, Kārewa followed them to Hokianga<sup>47</sup>. If this Kārewa was the same as the man, Kārewarewa son of Tūpāhau, this Kārewa could not have been younger than Toarangatira, let alone a contemporary (Figure 11). I suggest that the cause of Kārewa's contest may have indeed been Maki or Tūirirangi's death, but that Maki did not die when Toarangatira was an older man but much before.

*Utu* was the cause of the conflicts in both versions, which supported descendants' interests. The first version involved *utu* by Te Ariari and Te Ikatāmure, with support from Kārewa, against Ngāiwi, who had killed Tūirirangi. Whanowhanoake murdered Tūirirangi, perhaps because he thought the latter was encroaching into Ngāiwi territory in Aotea. Alternatively, he may have taken the opportunity to kill a chief of a rival community and increase his *mana tangata*. The subsequent conquests explain how Ngāti Tūirirangi came to occupy Aotea under Te Ikatāmure's leadership, who, like Tūirirangi, descended from Tūhianga's brother, Tāwhao, and Ngāti Tāhinga spread in Whāingaroa. In contrast, the Ngāti Toarangatira version diminishes Ngāti Tūirirangi *mana* in the area and focuses on the

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<sup>47</sup> Te Aoterangi included more detail about the events before reaching Hokianga. In Te Kairangi's version, the Ngāti Tūirirangi survivors warned Ngāpuhi (the ancestors of Ngāpuhi) to ambush Kārewa from the Tangihua Ranges, while in Te Aoterangi's version, this was Kārewa's warning to the people of Kaipara. The Tangihua Range is north of Kaipara and west of Whangārei.

leadership of Tūpāhau’s son, Kārewa, who descended from Tāwhao’s younger brother, Tūhianga. Both versions record extensive warfare involving the capture of several named *pā*, the involvement of thousands of warriors from as far as Taranaki and a campaign trail that reached the Hokianga.

Based on the CNA, Tūirangi’s death and Te Ariari’s attack on Ngāiwi (*kōrero pakanga* #26) would have been in 1621 CE  $\pm$  17 years (1626 CE  $\pm$  27 years). Although positioned later in the *kōrero*, Kārewa’s attacks in Aotea (*kōrero pakanga* #18) and Whāingaroa (*kōrero pakanga* #19) were in 1578 CE  $\pm$  4 years (1581 CE  $\pm$  25 years). The discrepancy in the dates comes from Te Ikatāmure being an earlier figure than Tūirangi and Te Ariari in the *whakapapa*. Regardless of the discrepancy, the *kōrero* capture a period of tension in the late 1500s and early 1600s between the Tainui descendants in Kāwhia and Aotea, which is differentially recorded by different descendant *hapū* and *iwi*.

### (#29) Ataiōrongo and Kaiihu

Ataiōrongo was a grandchild of Whatihua through his son Uetapu (or Uenukutūwhatu). Kaiihu was Ataiōrongo and Rangiwaewa’s son (Figure 13). The GNZMMSS 31 manuscript is the earliest recorded version of the narrative involving these people and was written before 1854 (Grey, before 1854, pp. 38–43). Te Aoterangi’s (c. 1860) manuscript includes a similar account, which George Graham later translated (Te Aoterangi, 1923). Elsdon Best (1894) recorded an account from Te Karehana Whakataki of Ngāti Toa, which he later published (in Best, 1982, pp. 483–484). Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 86–92) published Te Hurinui-Jones’ (n.d. 1, pp. 66–69) earlier manuscript, which followed Te Aoterangi’s. Biggs (in *ibid*) explained that Kelly (1949, pp. 145–150) closely followed Te Hurinui’s manuscript. Later works include Schnackenberg’s (1967) article in the *Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society* and a section in Phillips’ (1995) *Nga Tohu a Tainui*. The latter referenced Kelly’s work and Wilson’s (1932) *Legends and Mysteries By the Maori*. However, as Firth (1932) observed, Wilson’s text was heavily romanticised and should not be considered an authentic tradition.

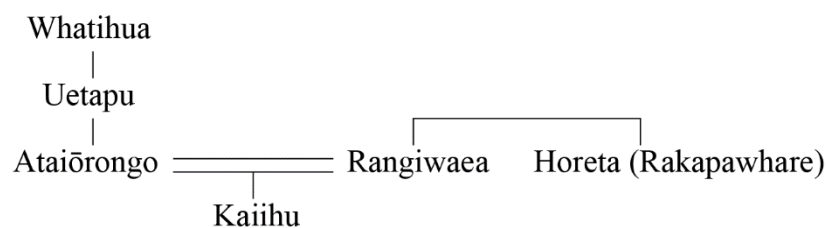


Figure 12. Whakapapa from Whatihua to Kaiihu.

The *kōrero* is that Uetapu's son, Te Ataiōrongo married Rangiwaea of Ngāiwi. Te Aoterangi (c. 1860, p. 35) said that she lived at Tairutu<sup>48</sup> Pā at Te Ākau, while Whakataki described the settlement as a “*kainga*” without stating its name (in Best, 1894, p. 10). On one occasion, Te Ataiōrongo went fishing with Rangiwaea's brother at Te Papa-o-Tairutu (according to Whakataki), near Karioi. His name was either Horeta (Te Aoterangi, c. 1860) or Rakapawhara (Te Karehana Whakataki in Best, 1894; Grey, before 1854). Te Ataiōrongo's fishing successes prompted Horeta's jealousy, and Horeta killed Te Ataiōrongo by striking his forehead with a fishhook. Rangiwaea later learned of her husband's death by Te Ataiōrongo's *wairua* or *taniwha* (spirit) visiting her in the form of his hand. According to Te Aoterangi, Te Ataiōrongo told her of his death and that she should leave for Kāwhia. Rangiwaea set off and stopped at several landmarks, including Te Iringa<sup>49</sup>, Tapuaeharuru, Ōtakahi, Rangipū<sup>50</sup> in Whāingaroa, Ruaoteata stream, Kōreromaiwaho Pā in Aotea, Papaiōrongo, Te Maika in Kāwhia and Tokatapu Pā. Here, she gave birth to her son by Ataiōrongo named Kaiihu. In contrast, according to Whakataki (in Best, 1982), Kaiihu travelled to Kāwhia once he had grown up and did not record these locations.

Kaiihu's elders trained him in warfare and *karakia* in Kāwhia. According to Whakataki, “Maniatieni” was Kaiihu's guiding elder. When he was a boy, his people set off to avenge his father's death at the hands of his uncle. According to Te Aoterangi (c. 1860), Horeta had since killed himself in shame. However, Whakataki's account and that recorded by Grey (before 1854) position Rakapawhare as the uncle or father who had committed murder. Whakataki stated that the elder had the people fell a tree, fashioned it into a canoe, and transported it to Rangīāhua Pā, from where they started their journey. They tried to paddle out of Kāwhia Harbour several times in the war canoe named Te Waruhanga<sup>51</sup>, but each time the *taniwha* of Te Ataiōrongo held them back. It was only once Kaiihu's elder snuck Kaiihu aboard the war canoe that they had free passage. To quicken their journey, Kaiihu stood up and recounted a *tauparapara* (incantation, chant) and *karakia* (Whakataki in Best, 1894, pp. 12–13; included in Kelly, 1949; Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995). By nightfall, they landed at Te Muruwai beach, north of Rakapawhare's *pā*, Te Huaki, at Te Pūaha-o-Waikato (Waikato River Mouth). They ambushed Rakapawhare and his warriors the next day while fishing at sea, and by killing

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<sup>48</sup> Published as Tairuta by Graham (Te Aoterangi, 1923, p. 13)

<sup>49</sup> Te Irirangi Pā in (Schnackenberg, 1967)

<sup>50</sup> Pūrangi Pā in *ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> From Schnackenberg (1967)

Rakapawhare, Kaiihu avenged his father's death. The *ope taua* then returned to Kāwhia. Before the sea attack, Whakataki stated that Kaiihu and his company seized and burned down Rakapawhara's *pā*.

Best's record of Whakataki's account refers to Rangiahua Pā in Kāwhia and the unnamed *pā* of Rakapawhara. Te Aoterangi mentioned several *pā* as details of the narrative, including Rangiwaea's *pā* at Tairutu, those that Rangiwaea visited during her journey to Kāwhia and Rakapawhara's *pā*, Te Huaki. *Utu* and the preservation of Kaiihu's *mana* drove the attack on Rakapawhara. The murder of Te Ataiōrongo and subsequent attack on Rakapawhara during fishing expeditions may also symbolise competition over rights to the fishing grounds at this time, which may have resulted from Te Ataiōrongo settling amongst Rangiwaea and Rakapawhare's people. On the other hand, the *kōrero* records how the Kāwhia people returned home, suggesting that it was not a conquest.

Another dynamic of Whakataki's version of the *kōrero* is the reference to Maniatieni (sic) as the elder who guided Kaiihu. Maniatieni (note spelling) was the father of Te Ikatāmure (see next section; Figure 11) and gave the latter his powers of *matataketake* (dark magic). Maniatieni lived earlier than Kaiihu but had the same purpose as a *tōhunga* in Kāwhia. It is possible that Whakataki's *kōrero* served to link ancestors from different periods, giving an apparent timelessness to the *kōrero*. It is also possible that Best's recording was mistaken or Maniatieni was not the same person as Maniatieni.

Based on the CNA, the attack by Kaiihu on the people of Te Pūāha-o-Waikato (*kōrero pakanga* #29) would have been in 1630 CE ± 70 years (1638 CE ± 78 years). The limited known intersecting *tātai* (lineages) from Kaiihu limit the current calendar year estimate precision.

### **Mōtai, Maniapoto and Raukawa**

Having completed the discussion about Tainui descendants making initial conquests along the western coast, this section includes *kōrero* in and around Te Nehenehenui — the great forests and swamps of what later became Ngāti Maniapoto.

#### **(#7 & #41) Mōtai and Mākino**

Several witnesses gave evidence about the conflict between Mōtai and Mākino during the Kakepuku-Pokuru Block Title Investigation, Kakepuku Block Partition and Ouruwhero Block Relative Interests Case (Gudgeon, 1892b; Mair, 1889, 1890). No witnesses claimed through

Mākino<sup>52</sup>, but some claimed through Unu, who was son of Mōtaiweherua (or Mōtaitangatarau; see Figure 14). Pōmare and Cowan ([1930] 1987, pp. 255–258) published a similar version of this story. At least some of their text was from “Poupatate of Te Kopua”. Raureti Te Huia (1936) shared a version of this *kōrero* with the Te Awamutu Historical Society. The origin of Te Huia’s manuscript appears to have been lost by the Society, as Robertson (1949) then supplied the same version in the Society’s *Proceedings Book* without reference to Te Huia, but including the statement, “was copied from a manuscript in the possession of Mr. Gifford” (p. 94). Robertson stated, “This account is patently unreliable on account of the characters mentioned, who are drawn from widely different times. [...] The author is not known” (p. 94). Robertson included a version shared with him by Tita Tauī Wetere of Ngāti Mākino that he later published in *Māori Settlement of the Waikato District* and the *Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society* (Robertson, 1965, pp. 26–27; 1969b). Shane Te Ruki, Rovena Maniapoto and Harold Maniapoto (in Waitangi Tribunal, 2010) of Ngāti Unu and Ngāti Kahu also shared their *kōrero* at the first oral traditions *hui* of the Waitangi Tribunal inquiry into Te Rohe Pōtae claim (Wai 898).

A man named Mōtai and his people settled on the land and plentiful swamps around Kakepuku, and Kawa. Māori Land Court testimonies, as well as Te Huia (1936) and Wetere (in Robertson, 1949) referred to this man as Mōtaitangatarau and as Unu’s father without stating his origins (Gudgeon, 1893b; T. M. Hikuroa, 1889, p. 117; Tupotahi, 1889, p. 145; 1892, p. 60). H. Maniapoto and Te Ruki (in Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, pp. 62, 67) know this man as Mōtaiweherua, a grandson of Tāwhao’s younger son, Uetapu (born after Tūrongo and Whatihua; see Figure 14). Te Ruki (in *ibid*, p. 67) explained that the mist from Kakepuku (the male) periodically envelops Te Kawa (the female), marking the *tuna heke* (eel migration), when various peoples would travel to the district under Mōtai’s *mana*.

In one *kōrero*, Mākino<sup>53</sup> and her people came from Matawhaura, around Rotoehu and Rotomā within Tapuika (between Bay of Plenty and Rotorua)<sup>54</sup>. Te Huia (1936) said that they

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<sup>52</sup> Ngāti Mākino are now a hapū of Te Arawa descent.

<sup>53</sup> Te Huia, Wetere, H. Maniapoto and R. Maniapoto and Te Ruki recorded Mākino as a woman, while Pōmare and Cowan’s source and the various witnesses of the mentioned Māori Land Court cases referred to Mākino as a male.

<sup>54</sup> Both Te Huia (1936) and Wetere (in Robertson, 1965, pp. 26–27; 1969b) stated that Mākino’s people had heard of the poor soils around the swamps of Te Kawa and brought soil for their *kūmara* seeds from Tapuika. R. Maniapoto (in Waitangi Tribunal, 2010) also alluded to this act, when she said “*te haerenga mai o te kuia nei a*

settled at Tapairuaahau [sic] on the east side of Kakepuku Mountain shouldering the Waipā River, planted their *kūmara*, built a *pā* and gathered eels. Several different versions describe what caused Mākino to have Mōtai killed<sup>55</sup>. In simple form, Mākino had pathways, *whare* or *pā*, that she made *tapu*. This outraged Mōtai, as he considered himself to have *mana* in the area. However, Mākino had him killed when he breached that *tapu*.

Seeking safety from Mōtai’s people, Mākino and her people left Kakepuku<sup>56</sup>. However, Mōtai’s people caught them across the Waipā, on the eastern side of Pirongia<sup>57</sup>. Mākino then fought off or defeated Mōtai’s people there and Ngāti Mākino remained on the land at Kakepuku or Pirongia<sup>58 59</sup>. Wetere (in Robertson, 1965, pp. 26–27; 1969b) said that Ngāti Mōtai then travelled to a valley at Matamata named Kaokaoroa-o-Patetere<sup>60</sup>. In Te Huia’s (1936) version, Mākino then went to Pukepongo [sic] Pā to “claim the forest and the fishing streams from Taratiao”, who latter fought and defeated Mākino’s warriors there. During the Māori Land

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*Mākino mea ana ko te kūmara ka puta ai ko aku whanaunga e noho nei i Te Kōpua* (“the coming of Mākino and her kūmara kit who bestirred my progeny that resides at Te Kōpua”; p. 7).

<sup>55</sup> Te Maaha Hikuroa ([Ngāti Rahupupuwai, Ngāti Te Kanawa]1889, pp. 103–104) said that after Mākino had settled at Kakepuku for a while, he began making a dog skin mat and covered the entrance of his home as it became a *tapu* space in this act. Te Huia (1936) similarly said that Mākino made her *pā tapu* when she was making her *huru-kurī* and no man could enter. According to Pōmare and Cowan’s source, it was a certain route to the swamps, which contained valuable eels, that Mākino made *tapu*. Te Ruki (in Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, p. 68) provided the most comprehensive written description that Mākino was dissatisfied with the place allocated to her as she wanted Kakepuku. First, her people then laid feathers along the pathways of the swamp as a warning not to transgress her *mana*. She then built her *whare* named Te Tini-o-Ohitu on Kakepuku and made it *tapu* so that no man could enter.

<sup>56</sup> Te Maaha Hikuroa said this was because he feared the repercussions of having killed Mōtai, while Pōmare and Cowan’s version was that Mōtai’s people gathered a war party from their *pā* around Kakepuku and attacked Mākino and his people, driving them off. See footnote <sup>52</sup> for comment on Mōtai’s gender.

<sup>57</sup> At a place called Putariki (partially scribbled out name, so the spelling is not clear) according to Te Maaha Hikuroa. Te Huia (1936) recorded that Mākino’s warriors ambushed Mōtai’s people at “Putaratii (now Hikurangi)”.

<sup>58</sup> Te Oro Te Koko (1889, p. 245) said Mākino feared returning to Kakepuku and so resided at Pirongia.

<sup>59</sup> There is a comment in Robertson’s (1969b) text also including Tita Wetere’s *kōrero* that Mākino’s people intermarried “with the people of Ingoa who had displaced Ngati Puhiaawe. These occurrences were after the defeat of Ngati Puhiaawe, i.e., after 1700”. It is not clear how much of this was Robertson’s own commentary.

<sup>60</sup> The eastern boundary of the Tainui *tongikura* (saying) meaning “the long armpit of Pātetere”: “*Ko Tāmaki ki runga, ko Mōkau ki raro, ko Mangatoatoa ki waenganui. Pare Hauraki, Pare Waikato, Te Kaokoaroa-o-Pātetere ki te nehenehenui*”.

Court Title Investigations of the Ouruwhero and Kakepuku-Pōkuru Blocks, Te Oro Te Koko (1889, p. 244), Makereti Hinewai (1890, p. 312; 1892, pp. 66–67), Karipa Kiharoa (1890, p. 321) and Te Anga Toheroa (1892, p. 115) emphasised the involvement of Kōwhao and Taratioa in the defeat of Mākino. Their evidence supported the claim that Kōwhao and his descendants had land interests as a gift from Ngāti Unu (Mōtai’s people) for his protection. In another version, Mōtai’s son, Unu, was the one to return and defeat Mākino (Te Ruki in Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, p. 70). Ngāti Unu then possessed the area between Kakepuku and Pirongia, which became known as “*ngā takahanga o Mōtai*” (the stomping grounds of Mōtai).

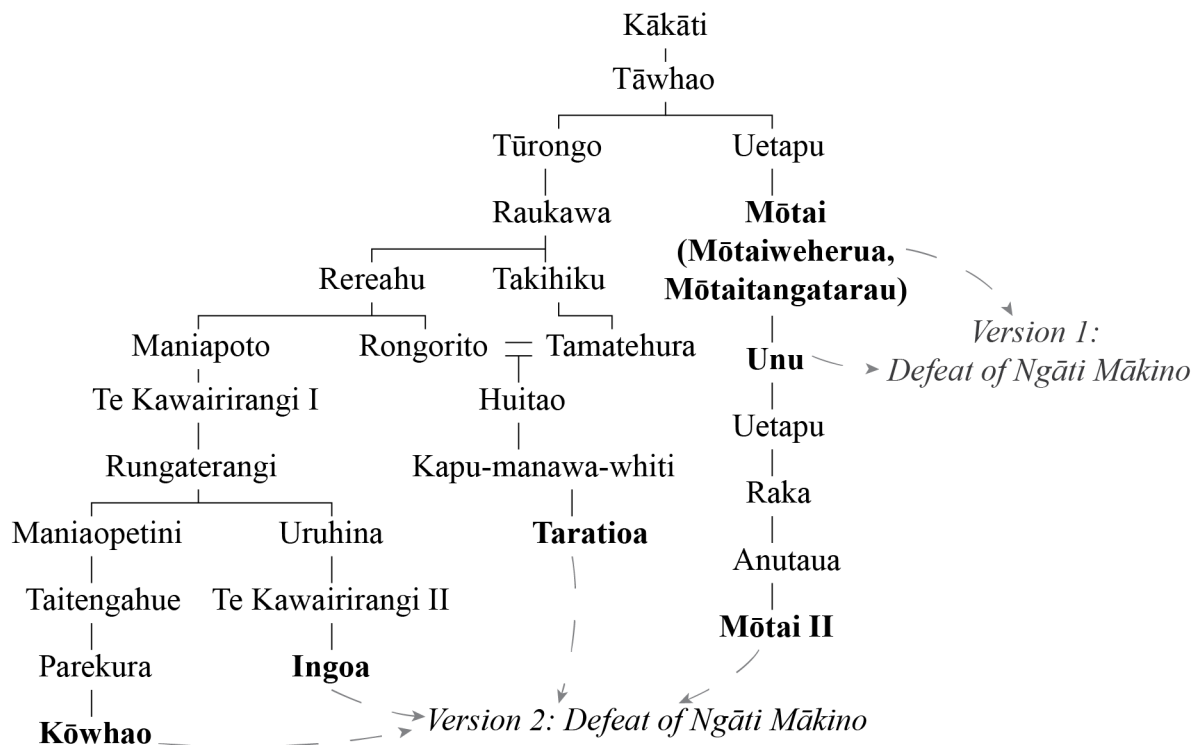


Figure 13. Whakapapa from Kākāti to Mōtai (Mōtaiweherua/Mōtaitangatarau) and Mōtai II in relation to the two versions of conflict against Ngāti Mākino at Kakepuku and Pirongia.

Te Oro Te Koko (1889) of Ngāti Ngāwaero, Ngāti Kahu and Ngāti Unu, conversely, was adamant that the Mōtai of this narrative was not the founding ancestor, Mōtaitangatarau or Mōtaiweherua, but Mōtai II, son of Anutaua (Figure 14). This put the conflict with Mākino in the time of Ingoa, Te Kōwhao<sup>61</sup>, and Taratioa, who were generally referred to by other Māori Land Court testimonies, and Te Huia and Weterere. Similarly, Poupatate (in Pōmare & Cowan, [1930] 1987, pp. 255–258) positioned the war with Mākino during or after the time of the Ngāti Maniapoto chiefs who lived after Mōtai I, named Tai-te-Ngahue, Ngaupaka and Taihoropaki. Robertson (1969b) also criticised the historical validity of Te Huia’s narrative (although he did

<sup>61</sup> Written Kohao or Kowhao in the minute books.

not know it was Te Huia's) and some of Tita Weterere's given the *whakapapa* of the people involved.

Different *whānau* and *hapū* contested Kakepuku, Pōkuru, Te Awamutu and Mangawhero. Whoever controlled this space controlled plentiful forests and swamps, and the transport routes from north to south via the Waipā and from east to west via the Pūniu (not to mention the other streams and waterways). This contested space perhaps contributed to different versions of when events occurred and who was involved. Meanwhile, the combative context of the Māori Land Courts further exacerbated the dynamics behind using *kōrero* to demonstrate *mana whenua*. There are two versions of when Mākino fought with what later became Ngāti Unu: during the time of Mōtaiweherua (or Mōtaitangatarau), grandson of Tāwhao, or Mōtai II, who was Taratioa, Ingoa and Kōwhao's contemporary (Figure 14). It is also possible that Mākino killed Mōtaiweherua and *utu* was served against Ngāti Mākino in later generations. However, no sources offer this explanation. Aside from when these events occurred and which Mōtai was involved, the cause of the conflict was consistently *utu* for challenging Mōtai's *mana* and competition over the resources around Kakepuku. *Utu* also explains the subsequent warfare against Mākino for killing Mōtai.

In the CNA, I included both versions of the *kōrero pakanga* as separate events. The earlier conflict including Mōtaiweherua is here referred to as *kōrero pakanga* #7 and occurred in 1507 CE ± 83 years (1513 CE ± 106 years). The later conflict including Mōtai II is *kōrero pakanga* #41 and occurred in 1692 CE ± 8 years (1701 CE ± 20 years).

### **(#16) Ngāti Kahupungapunga**

Māori Land Court testimonies include some of the earliest written *kōrero* about Ngāti Kahupungapunga<sup>62</sup>. Relevant cases include the Title Investigations of the Tokoroa (Symonds, 1880), Whakamaru-Maungaiti (Symonds, 1881a, 1881b), Waotu North (O'Brien & Williams, 1882), and the Rohe Pōtae (Mair, 1886a, 1886b) Blocks. Judge Walter E. Gudgeon (1893b) published a *Journal of the Polynesian Society* article using information about Ngāti Kahupungapunga from Court evidence (without explicitly referring to witnesses and cases). According to Bigg's footnote, Te Hurinui Jones sourced his information from the Waotu Block evidence (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 138–142). Meanwhile, Kelly (1949, pp. 133–138), Grace (1959, pp. 59, 80–85), Robertson (1948c; 1965, pp. 20–21; 1967a) and F. Phillips

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<sup>62</sup> Scribed as 'Ngatikaupungapunga' in (Mair, 1886a, pp. 134–141), but written as Ngāti Kahupungapunga in all other sources. Translated as "People of the Pumice lands" (Douglas, 1986, p. 20).

(1989, pp. 49–54) worked from these earlier manuscripts and publications. *Te Awamutu Historical Society Proceedings Book* also includes an article by Raureti Te Huia (1945a) of Ngāti Paretekawa about the conquest of Ngāti Kahupungapunga along the Pūniu River. Lastly, Stafford (1967) comprehensively discussed the various sources relating to Ngāti Kahupungapunga from a Te Arawa perspective.

Ngāti Kahupungapunga lived around the Pūniu and Upper Waikato Valley to Pūtāruru and Atiamuri. Researchers have theorised about their origins over the last century or so. Kelly (1949, p. 133) stated that Ngāti Kahupungapunga were the last remaining “aborigines” formerly numerous, having settled from Pūtāruru to the west coast. Similarly, Grace (1959, p. 59) described the interactions of Tia from Te Arawa with the “aboriginal” tribe of Ngāti Kahupungapunga north and west of Taupō. “Erueti of Taupō” (in Fletcher, 1915) stated that the ancestor named Kahupungapunga came to Aotearoa, where he found no people and settled at Waimahana on the Waikato River. Ngāti Kahu and Ngāti Unu descendants of Ngāti Kahupungapunga through Hinemarama (who married Unu), describe Ngāti Kahupungapunga as an *iwi toi whenua*, meaning an Indigenous people to the district (e.g., Harold Maniapoto in Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). Others have suggested that Ngāti Kahupungapunga descended from Te Arawa *waka*, which journeyed to Aotearoa at the same time as Tainui, and had separated from their relations in the Bay of Plenty (Robertson, 1966, p. 5; 1967a; Stafford, 1967, p. 75).<sup>63</sup> Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata witnesses also explicitly testified that Ngāti Kahupungapunga were from Te Arawa (Piripia, 1881, p. 123; Te Kume, 1881, pp. 18, 26; Wirihana, 1886, pp. 135, 140). Nonetheless, Stafford (1967, p. 488) attested that Te Arawa scholars did not know their origin.

Claimant and counter-claimant Māori Land Court witnesses generally agreed that the Ngāti Kahupungapunga conquest was led by several *rangatira* descendants of Raukawa, including Whāita and his cousins, Tama-te-hura, Ūpoko-iti, Pipito and Wairangi (e.g., Piripia, 1880, p. 257; Te Mahirahi, 1880, pp. 278–279; Te Ngaru, 1882, p. 8; Te Paerata, 1880, pp. 259–263; Wirihana, 1886, pp. 133–136). Some also mentioned the involvement of Pipito’s son, Tamatewhana, and Ūpokoiti’s son, Whitipatatō (Figure 15). There are different versions of where these chiefs were living before the attacks, including the west coast (Gudgeon, 1893b; Te Kume, 1881, pp. 18–19); Marae-o-hine (F. Phillips, 1989, p. 49; Wirihana, 1886, p. 134); Ōtorohanga district (Robertson, 1967a, p. 4); Wharepūhanga and Rangitoto districts (Te

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<sup>63</sup> Stafford (1967, pp. 483–488) provided a thorough analysis of Ngāti Kahupungapunga origins and sources.

Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 138); and Kakepuku (information supplied by Judge Gilbert Mair to Anonymous, 1915; Te Kume, 1881, pp. 18–19; Te Ngaru, 1882, p. 8; Te Puni, 1882, p. 198; Te Rangi, 1880, p. 256). Most evidence suggests they were living in the lands settled by Mōtaiweherua and Tūrongo’s children, east of Pirongia and south of Pūniu.

There are at least two versions of Whāita’s parentage (Figure 15). Generally, Ngāti Unu Māori Land Court witnesses in the Kakepuku and Ouruwhero Title Investigation cases claimed that Whāita was a grandson of Mōtai I (Mōtaiweherua) and son of Hekeitewaru. Gudgeon (1893b, p. 203) repeated this relationship based on unstated Māori Land Court evidence. Without recognising that there are simply two authentic versions, Robertson (1969b, p. 5) completely dismissed Gudgeon’s reported *whakapapa* as “of course, completely wrong”. Robertson instead followed Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Raukawa sources that Wharerere and Kurawari were Whāita’s parents. This relationship has been documented by various witness to the Māori Land Court (e.g., Haereiti, 1889, p. 113), as well as Waikato, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Raukawa publications (Kelly, 1949, pp. 151–155, 463; Luke & Te Momo, 2019, p. 62; Tau and Tita Wetere in Robertson, 1948b; Robertson, n.d; R. Te Huia, 1945b; e.g., Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 143, 193, 277).

There are several explanations of what caused the conquest of Ngāti Kahupungapunga. One is that Whāita’s lover, Waiarohi, was the wife of the Ngāti Huarere (Te Arawa) chief, Te Ruamano, who put her in the care of Ngāti Kahupungapunga. They killed her, which was Whāita’s *take* to attack them in *utu* (Anonymous, 1915; Gudgeon, 1893b; Stafford, 1967, pp. 79–81). The more common Ngāti Raukawa explanation is that Korekore<sup>64</sup>, Whāita’s sister, was married to Parahore<sup>65</sup> of Ngāti Kahupungapunga (Figure 15). The people of the latter feared Korekore’s influence over Parahore and killed her (Te Kume, 1881, p. 19; Te Mahirahi, 1880, p. 279; Te Puni, 1880, p. 1; Wirihana, 1886, p. 134). At this time, Tamatehura had also just taken Te Horanga Pā from Ngāti Kahupungapunga due to one of his own grievances (Gudgeon, 1893b; R. Te Huia, 1945a; Wirihana, 1886, p. 134). Another cause is that Whāita

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<sup>64</sup> Spelled Korekore (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 138), Korokore (Gudgeon, 1893b, p. 203; Wirihana, 1886, p. 134), Poroukore (Te Puni, 1880, p. 2), Korokoro (Grace, 1959, p. 85) and Koroukore (R. Te Huia, 1945a, p. 279; Te Mahirahi, 1880).

<sup>65</sup> Spelled Parahore by Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, p. 138) and Purahore by Gudgeon (1893b, p. 203), R. Te Huia (1945a) and Robertson (1948c; 1965, pp. 20–21).

or Tamatehura also coveted the rich bird hunting grounds at Whakamaru, where Ngāti Kahupungapunga were living (F. Phillips, 1989; Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995)<sup>66</sup>.

The order of the Ngāti Kahupungapunga *pā* that were attacked varies slightly between the sources. The most detailed early accounts of campaign include those recounted by Te Rangikari Piripa (1881) and Aperahama Te Kume (1881) in the Whakamaru-Maungaiti case, Aukatera Te Puni (1882) in the Waotu case and Hori Wirihana (1886) in the Rohe Pōtae case. Gudgeon (1893a, p. 204) most closely follows, Te Rangikari Piripapia's account without explicit reference, but does not include all details. The general sequence of events was that *pā* along the Pūniu River were taken first, including Te Horanga, Te Pohue and Taka-ahiahi<sup>67</sup>, as well as the “very large kainga”, named Te Arowhenua<sup>68</sup>. Then Hapenui Pā was taken, followed by a series at Te Waotu: Pīraunui<sup>69,70</sup>, Hōkio, Pawa-iti and Puketōtara. Other battles occurred at Te Ana-kai-tangata and along the Whakamaru range at Te Ahuroa Pā. A battle with Te Arawa people halted the advancement of Tainui people towards Taupō and Rotorua (Pango, 1883, p. 63; Te Rangikaheke, 1881, p. 151). Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995) stated that the last stand of Ngāti Kahupungapunga was at Pōhatu-roa<sup>71</sup>, where the inhabitants were all

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<sup>66</sup> Parete Te Rirituku (1882) of Ngāti Ahuru gave contrasting evidence that his ancestor, Marumoko of Whanganui led the conquest over Ngāti Kahupungapunga at least around the block in question and Panetutahi Pā and claimed to know of no other conquest over them. While Ngāti Raukawa witnesses sometimes acknowledged the ancestor Marumoko and Ngāti Ahuru's presence in the district, they disregarded his involvement in the conquest over Ngāti Kahupungapunga (e.g., Te Kume, 1882, p. 223; Te Puni, 1882, pp. 192,206). Judges O'Brien and Williams (1882, p. 258) dismissed the Ngāti Ahuru evidence altogether.

<sup>67</sup> Scribed as Kakeahiahi from Te Rangi Piripia's (1881, p. 106) testimony, Takahanga-ahiahi by Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 138–142) and Takanga-ahiahi by Kelly (1949, pp. 133–138).

<sup>68</sup> Te Kume (1881, pp. 19–20) was recorded to have said Arowhenua [sic] was a place “where the N'Kahupungapunga had pas” and not necessarily the name of a *pā* itself.

<sup>69</sup> Wirihana (1886) referred to another *pā* called Motukākāpō that was also taken. F. Phillips (1989, p. 51) suggested this was an earlier name for Pīraunui Pā, which was renamed by the victors for the stench of the rotting bodies cast over the defences after the battle.

<sup>70</sup> Not to be confused with Pīraunui Pā on the Pūniu River (NZAA S15/248, see input by Owen Wilkes on January 2005; R. Te Huia, 1935b).

<sup>71</sup> Hipirini Te Whetu (1881) of Ngāti Tama claimed that his hapū occupied Pōhatu-roa at the time of the Ngāti Raukawa conflict with Ngāti Kahupungapunga.

killed<sup>72</sup>. As a result, the grandchildren of Raukawa took lands around Te Awamutu, Maungatautari and the upper Waikato valley to Taupō, each laying down their own *pā*. For example, witnesses for claims based on descent from Whāita and his sons, Huiao and Ngutu, stated that Whāita constructed Whakapirimata Pā around the Pūniu River (T. M. Hikuroa, 1889, p. 104; Raureti Te Huia in Robertson, 1948c; Tupotahi, 1889, p. 152; Wareki, 1889, pp. 186, 189, 194). Huiao and Ngutu were then associated with other *pā* around Kakepuku, including Tokatoka, Tupapakunui and Haereawatea – each reoccupied in later periods (Taira, 1889, p. 236; Tikitini, 1889, pp. 205, 227; Tupotahi, 1889, pp. 152, 173; Wareki, 1889, pp. 180, 195).

The generally Ngāti Raukawa *kōrero* recorded how Ngāti Kahupungapunga had at least ten *pā* that Tainui descendants attacked. Often several defending chiefs are listed to have been killed in each battle. Ngāti Unu and Ngāti Kahu claim descent from Ngāti Kahupungapunga through Unu's marriage to Hinemārama before the conquest (Shane Te Ruki and Harold Maniapoto in Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). However, Ngāti Kahupungapunga *kōrero* does not appear to be preserved about these events, which challenges the evaluation of symbolic dynamics within them. The *kōrero* supports claims to land through conquest. Therefore, similar to Tama-āio's earlier conquest of Ngāti Hā, the lists of *pā* that were taken and the chiefs that were killed may enhance the *mana* of those chiefs leading the conquest and strengthen their claim to the land. Subsequent *pā* constructions by the victors further solidified those claims and demonstrated the antiquity of those *hapū* occupations there.

Even though there are two versions of Whāita's *tātai heke* (descent lineages), they are chronologically consistent within the CNA models. Based on the CNA, the *raupatu* of Ngāti Kahupungapunga occurred in 1574 CE ± 8 years (1576 CE ± 20 years).

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<sup>72</sup> This battle was not recounted by Gudgeon (1893b), but was repeated by Kelly (1949, pp. 133–138), Stafford (1967, p. 78), Douglas (1986, p. 20) and F. Phillips (1989, pp. 51–54).

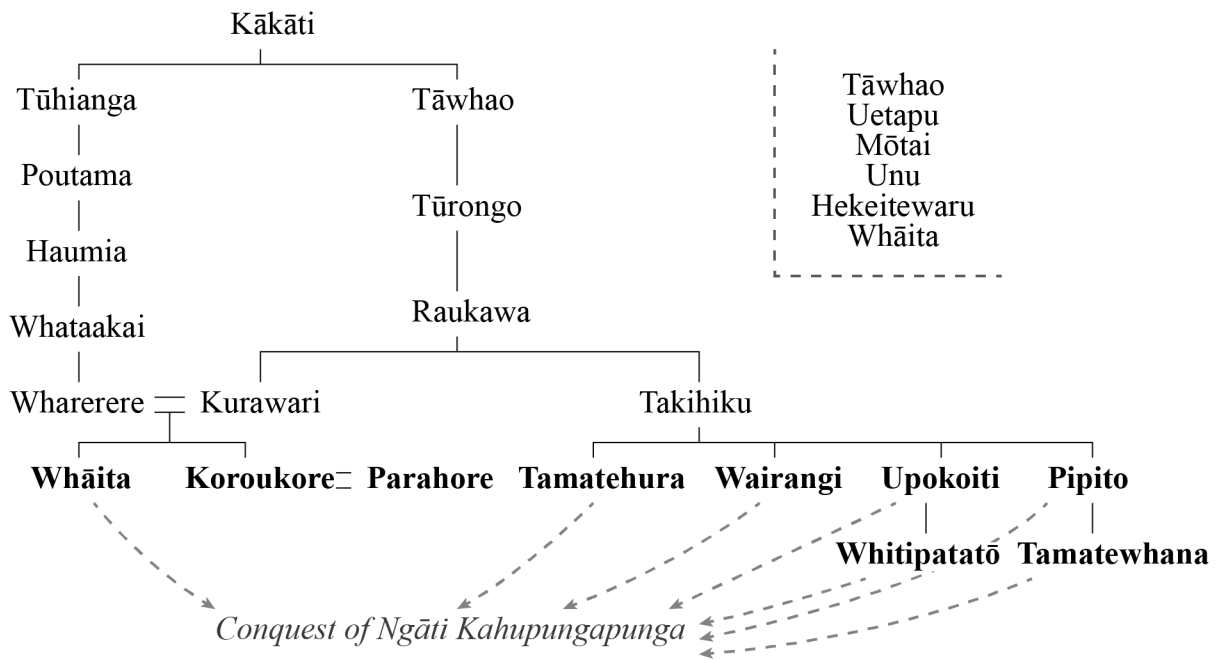


Figure 14. Whakapapa connecting the rangatira involved in the Ngāti Kahupungapunga conquest. The top-right taotahi (single lineage) is an alternative version of Whāita's whakapapa.

### (#15) Te Kupapa

Pei Te Hurinui-Jones (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 170–176) recorded the *kōrero* about Rereahu passing his *mana* to his children from several unnamed Tainui elders. It is consistent with Hari Te Whanonga (1894) of Ngāti Maniapoto's testimony in the Pukenui Block Rehearing case. The battle at Te Kupapa (or Te Papa) was also commonly referred to by witnesses in the Ōtorohanga Māori Land Court. Bruce Biggs wrote that Kelly's (1949, pp. 85–88) text closely follows Te Hurinui-Jones' (n.d. 1, pp. 125–128) unpublished manuscript.

Rereahu was a son of Raukawa (Figure 16). His first son Te Ihingarangi was born to Rangiaanewa<sup>73</sup>, daughter of Tama-āio and Hinemata of Whanganui. Te Ihingarangi was raised inland at Te Marae-o-Rereahu in Maraeroa, at Hurakia and around Te Kuiti (Hīkaka, 1894, p. 249). Te Ihingarangi had become an adult before Rereahu had eight children by his second wife, Hineapounamu<sup>74</sup>. According to Te Naunau Hīkaka (1894, p. 249) of Ngāti

<sup>73</sup> He was born at Ō-Kahukura (Te Ruki & Crown, 1994, p. 25).

<sup>74</sup> According to Te Ruki and Crown (1994, p. 31), she was left behind by Tama-āio's people and resided at Tihikōrero Pā. Te Ihingarangi travelled back to Rereahu's lands and reunited with his father at Te Kawa, before they all travelled to stay at Ōmarueke, at Rangiaatea. Te Ihingarangi later married Haea and they had many homes around Waikato included Te Waitōtara, Te Wai-nui-a-Rua (at Ngāpourua). He also stayed at the many villages of his grandfather, Tama-āio. Including Ō-Tamatea, Ō-Tama-kahi, Te Tarata, Wai-Tarata, Ō-Kahukura, Te Tieke, Te Tawa-a-Te-Ihingarangi and Kirikiriroa in Waikato.

Maniapoto, Hineapounamu raised her children in Kāwhia, before they travelled inland. Maniapoto was the eldest son of Hineapounamu, followed by Matakore, Tūwhakahekeao, Tūrongo-tapu-ārau, Te Iowānanga, Kahuariari, Kinohaku and Te Rongorito. In his wisdom, Rereahu allotted his children different lands — often a peace keeping strategy. Te Ihingarangi had land at Rangīātea, Maniapoto had land around Ōtorohanga, Kinohaku was at Te Kuiti, while Matakore was south of that. Te Rongorito received Marae-o-Hine between Rangīātea and Ōtorohanga.

In Rereahu's old age, he passed his *mana* to Maniapoto instead of his eldest son Te Ihingarangi<sup>75</sup>. The latter saw this as a slight on his own *mana* as the *tuakana* (older brother), who should inherit their father's *mana*. Seeking to lower his brother's status, Te Ihingarangi saw to humiliate Tūtarawa, Maniapoto's uncle (brother of Hineapounamu), who was visiting from Kāwhia for Rereahu's funeral rites (Te Whanonga, 1894). Rereahu's bones were rested at Pungarehu and Tūtarawa then went to visit Te Ihingarangi at his home at Ōngārahu, located east of Ōtorohanga. In hosting Tūtarawa, Te Ihingarangi insulted him by presenting him only the heads of preserved birds to eat, meanwhile sharing of his intention to kill Tūtarawa's nephew, Maniapoto. Tūtarawa visited Maniapoto, who lived at Mohoaonui<sup>76</sup>, up the Waipā River, who shared whole birds with him. Tūtarawa shared Te Ihingarangi's intention to kill Maniapoto, so Maniapoto told his uncle to tell Te Ihingarangi that Maniapoto was leaving Mohoaonui for the east. Te Ihingarangi went to occupy Mohoaonui with a war party, but Maniapoto ambushed him, killing several of his warriors. This became known as the battle of Te Kupapa. Maniapoto spared his older brother but spat on his head to diminish his *mana*

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<sup>75</sup> Pei Te Hurinui-Jones (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995) wrote “it appears to me that the reference is to the fact that when Rereahu married Rangī-aanewa he had already decided that Hine-au-pounamu would become his wife. Moreover this second wife was senior to Rangī-aanewa in the genealogies, and this too, is a possible reason for Rereahu thinking as he did” (p. 172). Furthermore, Te Hurinui-Jones explained that Hineapounamu's children grew up in the Kāwhia area. Maniapoto also married Hinemania, a daughter of Tūpāhau's younger brother, Te Tūeke. On the other hand, Te Ihingarangi grew up inland and, therefore, did not have the same support from the Tainui people as Maniapoto. According to Te Ruki and Crown (1994, pp. 27–29), Tama-āio and Hinemata visited Rereahu and Tama-āio demanded land for Te Ihingarangi, but mainly for himself. His excessive demands and anger at his pets dying under Rereahu's care, led Rereahu to banish Tama-āio from his lands. Te Ihingarangi then fell from favour.

<sup>76</sup> “A small fortified village on the north bank of the Waipā River, close to the great swamp which once lay parallel to the Waipā River, east of Ōtorohanga” (F. Phillips, 1989, p. 29).

further and augment his own. Te Ihingaarangi then left the Waipā area and settled at Maungatautari<sup>77</sup>.

The division of land at this time suggests that competition over land was rising, but there were attempts by *rangatira* to retain peace within family groups. Māori Land Court testimonies also indicate that one may interpret the effects of the conflict in different ways. According to Wahanui Te Huatare (1886, pp. 262–269) and Hauāuru Poutama (1886, p. 320) of Ngāti Maniapoto, giving testimony in the Rohe Pōtae Title Investigation, this was the first *mana* contest in the district. Te Huatare (1888, p. 248) later testified in the Ōtorohanga-Ōrāhiri Blocks Title Investigation that Te Kupapa was not a conflict over land, but *mana*. Although Te Ihingaarangi left the district, Maniapoto's *mana* was not over the land, but certain *pā* – his children later divided the land and *mana whenua* developed. Hari Te Whanonga (1894, pp. 198, 226) also said Te Kupapa was about Rereahu's *mana*, not land. This supported his claim for the Pukenui Block thorough Ngāti Hia's *mana*, which he considered they had not ceded to Ngāti Maniapoto through this conflict. On the other hand, Ngāti Maniapoto testimonies during the Pukenui and Ōtorohanga-Ōrāhiri cases emphasised Te Ihingaarangi's *mana* over the land had extinguished there (e.g., Tangitihau, 1888, pp. 123, 135). Te Kupapa, therefore, has versions of *kōrero* emphasising different outcomes of the conflict that support later claims to *mana whenua*; although the different versions agree on who was involved.

Based on the CNA results, Te Kupapa (*kōrero pakanga* #15) occurred in 1569 CE ± 5 years (1577 CE ± 28 years).

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<sup>77</sup> In one version, he returned to Ōngārahu in his old age, where several of his children settled around Waimiha and Ōngārue. Kurī was born to Te Ihingaarangi at Maungatautari and from him descend Ngāti Korokī and Ngāti Hauā who remain in that district. In another version, Te Ihingaarangi died at Maungatautari (Te Whanonga, 1894, p. 198).

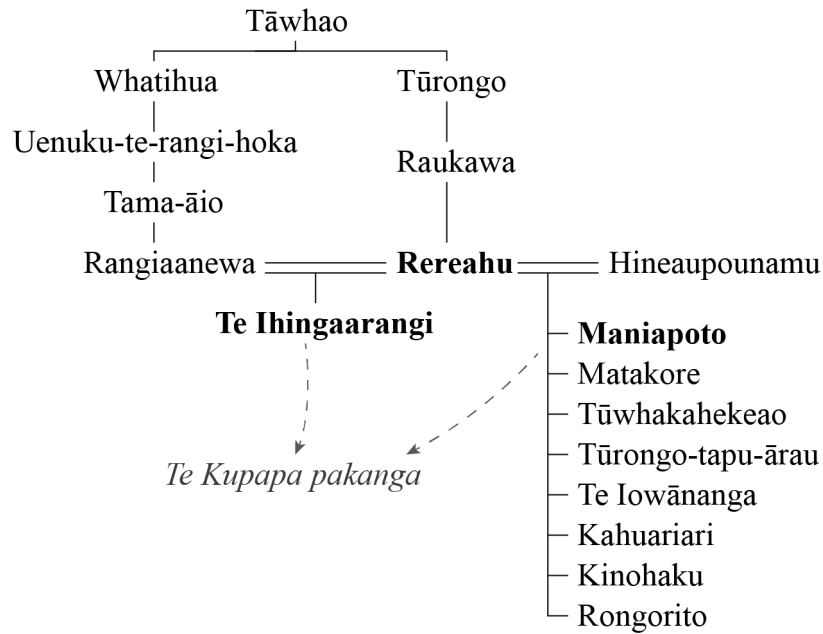


Figure 15. Whakapapa from Tāwhao to Te Ihingaarangi and Maniapoto concerning Te Kupapa.

## (#20) Houtaketake

Maniapoto was the eponymous ancestor for Ngāti Maniapoto. Testimonies in the Pukenui Block Title Investigation or Rehearing specifically refer to Maniapoto’s war with Houtaketake (Gudgeon, 1892c, 1892d; O’Brien & Von Sturmer, 1894b). Bruce Biggs referenced (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 178–181) *kōrero* about Houtaketake that “Rīhari of Mōkau” gave to S.P. Smith<sup>78</sup>. Te Ruki and Crown (1994, pp. 39–46) provided additional *kōrero* about Maniapoto.

Maniapoto was the first child of Rereahu’s second marriage to Hineaupounamu and was born and brought up in Kāwhia and Aotea (Haereiti, 1889, pp. 384, 392; Kaitangata, 1894, p. 93; Tangitihau, 1888, p. 123). Maniapoto had three wives: Hinemania, Hinewhatihua and Paparauwhare. The latter two were a great-granddaughter and great-great-granddaughter of Maniapoto’s older half-brother, Te Ihingaarangi<sup>79</sup>. He later became a skilled war leader and is associated with several *pā*: Hikurangi between the Waipā and Mangaorongo Rivers (Haereiti,

<sup>78</sup> The Smith 1909 text is not included in the bibliography of Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995). There are several JPS articles that Smith wrote in 1909, but none of them refer to Houtaketake. Therefore, the text identity that Biggs referred to is not clear.

<sup>79</sup> Pei Te Hurinui-Jones explained that this practice of older men marrying younger women was common and had the purpose of “*hei whakamana i te koroua*” (to ennoble the older husband).

1889, pp. 381–382; Poutama, 1886, p. 273)<sup>80</sup>; Mohoanui next to the Waipā; the former Ngāti Hia *pā*, Tuitahi, located west of Ōtorohanga (Haereiti, 1889, p. 372; Keepa, 1888, p. 220; Tangitihau, 1888, pp. 123, 135, 142); and Kopakanui overlooking the Mangaorongo River (Te Naunau, 1888, p. 312).

One *kōrero* involved Houtaketake from Ngāti Kahungunu and Maniapoto, which several court testimonies described as the second conflict in the district following Te Kupapa between Maniapoto and Te Ihingarangi. According to Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995), Houtaketake and his people first lived by Mōkau Falls, near Piopio, then moved to Te Kuiti and constructed a *pā*, named Pāoneone at the end of the Puketohe ridge<sup>81</sup>. They also built a second *pā* called Pātohe (ibid, 1995, p. 178) or Manuka (Hīkaka, 1892, p. 174; 1894, p. 250). According to Ngāti Rōrā *kōrero*, Maniapoto lived at a house named Taupiri-o-te-rangi at Pukenui, and Ngāti Hia lived elsewhere (Hīkaka, 1894, p. 250). Houtaketake and his people lived there for a year, cultivating, while Maniapoto and his people suspected no aggression from them and let them live there. After a year, Houtaketake believed the locals feared him and his warriors, so they decided to provoke Maniapoto. One of his men claimed a wooden ridgepole for a storage structure was a rib of Rereahu – a direct insult to Maniapoto’s father. Maniapoto sent a relation to seize the ridgepole and have it returned to Taupiri-o-te-rangi. In turn, Houtaketake came to kill Maniapoto. According to Rīhari’s account (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 178–181), after throwing sand in his eyes and stunning him, Maniapoto threw Houtaketake to the ground, knelt on him and bit his head, thus humiliating him and lowering his *mana*. Maniapoto gave the son of Tūirirangi and Kinohaku’s (Maniapoto’s sister), Tangaroakino, the privilege of killing Houtaketake. All of his people were also killed<sup>82</sup>.

In contrast to the claimants’ version, the Ngāti Maniapoto *hapū*, Ngāti Kumikumi posited another, which emphasised the *mana* of Hia’s descendants in holding the land and defeating Houtaketake’s people. For example, Te Whaarau Kaitangata (1894, p. 62) testified that Houtaketake seized *kūmara* cultivations from Ngāti Hia, led by Kumikumi, at Pukenui and Taunarua – i.e., not from Maniapoto’s people. Kumikumi gathered their warriors to attack

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<sup>80</sup> Wahanui Te Huatare (1886, p. 38) and Hami Haereiti (1889, p. 392) associated Hikurangi with Maniapoto’s father, Rereahu (“Te Rerihahu, son of Raukawa”).

<sup>81</sup> Another slight variation is that they first came to Marueroa [sic] where Ngāti Mauri drove them away. They were descended from Mauri, who was a descendant from Tūrongo (Te Whanonga, 1894, p. 199).

<sup>82</sup> Hīkaka’s (1892, pp. 174–175) version was that Maniapoto killed Houtaketake himself and the latter’s followers fled.

Houtaketake and Maniapoto joined them and killed Houtaketake himself after the curse against his father. In a slightly different account, Hare Whanonga (1894, pp. 199–201) said Houtaketake was allowed to stay at Pāoneone, cultivate and receive food from the local people under Te Wharautahi’s *mana* (father of Kumikumi). Houtaketake’s people then became troublesome, stealing *kūmara* from Te Wharautahi’s people, so he built Te Whaukotuku Pā to protect his people. Whanonga said there were no *pā* in the district before Houtaketake came and “Ngāti Hia lived in the open” (p. 227). They observed Ngāti Houtaketake removing timber for a *kūmara* storehouse from one of the Ngāti Hia *wāhi tapu*. At this insult, they gathered the Ngāti Hia warriors including Tangaroakino, Kahui-Tangaroa and Whakapautangaroa<sup>83</sup>. Maniapoto heard of this and joined the assembly. Te Matakiora Pā was built, as Te Whaukotuku was not big enough to house the warriors. At a war council, Maniapoto also took offence by the curses, which he interpreted to be directed at his father’s bones. The ridgepole was removed and burned, and eight hundred Ngāti Houtaketake came down from their *pā*. At this, Maniapoto threw sacred earth into Houtaketake’s eyes and handed him to Tangaroakino to kill, and they all struck his head. Ngāti Houtaketake’s people then fled eastwards, and Maniapoto returned to Hikurangi Pā.

*Kōrero* about the defeat of Houtaketake was contested in the Māori Land Court, as it formed a foundation of *mana whenua* for both Ngāti Hia, through Wharautahi, and Maniapoto and his descendants. Both hosting groups first showed *manaakitanga* towards Houtaketake and his people, who took advantage of that and challenged them. Both the claiming of land and *kūmara* cultivations and *utu* for the *tapu* breach at the *urupā* or cursing of Rereahu’s bones caused the battle. Houtaketake’s people were unrelated to Maniapoto or Ngāti Hia and came from outside the district. Ultimately, war parties were assembled, which led to Houtaketake’s death, and his people being driven from the land.

Based on the CNA analysis, the *kōrero pakanga* #20 about Houtaketake describes events in 1587 CE ± 23 years (1590 CE ± 41 years).

### **(#21) Pākira and Ngākuraho Pā**

Te Whare Hotu (Ngāti Maniapoto) and Te Nguha Huirama (Ngāti Tamainupō, Ngāti Maniapoto) related the history of Tūirirangi to Te Hurinui-Jones (n.d. 1, pp. 161–165) – later

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<sup>83</sup> These are the sons of Tūirirangi and Kinohaku. The latter was Maniapoto’s younger sister, so it is unclear how they were related to Ngāti Hia. In relation to a later battle with Ngāti Tama, Te Whaaro Kaitangata (1894, pp. 67–68) said that Tuwhakangatau [sic], Tangaroakino and Kahuetangaroa [sic] were married to Ngāti Hia wives, which may explain why Hare Whanonga referred to them as Ngāti Hia warriors.

published by Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 188–192). Biggs (in *ibid*, p.188, fn.1) explained that Kelly’s (1949, pp. 161–165) version followed Te Hurinui-Jones’ record closely. Kelly’s (1934) *Journal of the Polynesian Society* article also referenced information from Whare Hotu, Newton Moerua and S. P. Smith (1910b).

The *kōrero* is that Tūirirangi, son of Huiao and Māpau, married Kinohaku, daughter of Rereahu and sister to Maniapoto. Tūirirangi was originally from Kāwhia but moved inland to Ngākuraho Pā, in Hangatiki, to be with his wife’s family, including her elderly father Huiao<sup>84</sup>. At one time, Pākira of the Whanganui tribes came to Ngākuraho Pā in the late summer when most local people were gathering food from the coast. Pei Te Hurinui-Jones’ recorded *kōrero* suggests that the cause of this incursion was in *utu* for Tamaaio’s earlier attacks on Whanganui people. Tūirirangi, Huiao and their people held off Pākira’s warriors before Huiao offered his daughter, Hinemoana, and a Whanganui chief named Tūpito stepped forward to marry her and establish peace. Pākira’s war party returned to Whanganui with Hinemoana, who soon had a child. Tūirirangi’s sons, Whakapautangaroa, Kāhuitangaroa and Tangaroakino, thought their *mana* might be challenged should the child be a male, so they visited Hinemoa. She managed to trick her brothers into thinking her son was a girl. Tūpito became angry at their visit and tried to pursue them, but Tūirirangi’s sons escaped back to Ngākuraho.

This *kōrero pakanga* captures several political marriages between Rereahu’s descendants, people of Kāwhia through Tūirirangi and Ngāti Tama of Whanganui. The *kōrero* also demonstrates the ability of Kinohaku and Tūirirangi’s people to defend and hold onto their territory at Ngākuraho. Te Hurinui’s explanation of *utu* connects this *kōrero pakanga* to Tamaaio’s conquests several generations before and shows how *utu* can be served several generations after an injury.

Based on the CNA results, Pākira’s conflict (*kōrero pakanga* #21) occurred in approximately 1590 CE ± 28 years (1596 CE ± 36 years).

### **(#23) Battle of Waiponga**

Bruce Biggs (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 368–375) translated and edited the following *kōrero* from Wahanui’s (1898) manuscript. During Māori Land Court testimonies, Hauāuru Poutama (1886, p. 320) and Wahanui Te Huatare (1888, p. 259) described the battle

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<sup>84</sup> It is during this time that Maniapoto came to stay in the area and urged his people “*kia mau kite kawaumārō!*” - hold onto the “straight-flying cormorant”, which is a reference to a tactical charge when in battle (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 186–187). It refers to the strength of Ngāti Maniapoto as a warring people, even though at that time there was peace.

of Waipongo (Waiponga) at Kāreanui as Maniapoto's second major conflict after Te Kupapa, while Hari Te Whanonga (1894, p. 226) said it was the first.

The kōrero details the relationship between the descendants of Maniapoto and his uncle Takihiku, whose children conquered the lands of Ngāti Kahupungapunga. There were several marriages, such as Maniapoto's sister, Te Rongorito, marrying Takihiku's eldest son, Tamate-hura. The couple lived on the eastern side of the Mohoanui swamp. Later, Kinohaku's daughter, Rangipare married another of Takihiku's sons, Wairangi, and lived at Wharepuhunga. After a time, Rangipare fell in love with her cousin, Tūtakamoana (a son of Maniapoto) and they eloped and hid at Mangawhero. Maniapoto's people from Hikurangi Pā discovered them, and Maniapoto gave his blessing for them to marry. Hearing of this, Wairangi gathered a party of 900 warriors, travelled to the Waipā and began burning *kūmara* storepits, such as Kāreanui, near to where, Maniapoto, his sons and 370 warriors occupied Waiponga Pā. Ngāti Takihiku then attacked Waiponga, but Ngāti Maniapoto repulsed and pursued them. At this time, Maniapoto called:

*Kei hewa ki Te Marae-o-hine. Ki te whiti i Waipā, ki te taha ki te Waka, kaua e patua te tangata, engari anoo ki te peka ki Kāreanui, kei te taha tonga o Waipā a Kāreanui, me patu*

*Do not desecrate Te Marae-o-hine. If they cross Waipā to the Te Waka side, do not kill them, but if they turn aside to Kārea-nui, kill them* (Translated by Biggs in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 372–373).

Maniapoto here referred to the *tapu* of Te Waka, versus the *noa* of Kāreanui, and it is from this event the *whakatauki* arised: *Kei hewa ki Te Marae-o-hine* (do not desecrate Te Marae-o-hine).

During the battle that became known as Waipongo or Waiponga, Tūwhakahekeao called out “*kei au a Kākāti-ku-tehe [sic], he pā tuna*”, while another son cried “*kei au a Kete-onehea [sic]*”. These were claims by Maniapoto's sons to eel weirs and lands. Wairangi's party were defeated, and they retreated home. However, Whakatere's descendants also supported Ngāti Takihiku's contest against Ngāti Maniapoto.

This conflict describes the presence of several *pā* around the Waipā area associated with Maniapoto and his people. He and Tūwhakahekeao also had another *pā* named Waiponga, which they occupied to protect their cultivations from Wairangi and his warriors, who had already set alight to several storage pits. The battle was between closely related parties who had occupied different areas of the Waipā and Waikato basins for a few generations. Wairangi instigated the battle by seeking *utu* after his *mana* was reduced by his betrothed wife,

Rangipare, marrying another man of Ngāti Maniapoto. The recorded sayings from the chiefs who partook in the battle also indicate the battle related to land interests involving cultivations and eel weirs and lands in general. I have only identified the Ngāti Maniapoto *kōrero*, which positions Maniapoto with a smaller force but claiming victory and the lands.

The CNA results of Waiponga, recorded here as *kōrero pakanga* #23, estimate that these events occurred in 1613 CE  $\pm$  8 years (1612 CE  $\pm$  23 years).

### **Manu-Tongaatea, Māhanga, Tamainupō, Pikiaio**

Having completed the discussion about Tainui descendants making initial conquests and settling in Te Nehenehenui, this section discusses *kōrero pakanga* in the middle and lower Waikato River Basin, focussing on the *tātai* (lineages) of what later became Waikato, Ngāti Māhanga and Ngāti Tamainupō.

#### **(#8 & 9) Kaiahi and Manu-Tongaatea**

Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 94–96) published Te Hurinui-Jones' (n.d. 1, pp. 70–73; n.d. 6, pp. 40–42) manuscripts, which recorded Te Nguha Huirama's *kōrero*, provided in 1932. This narrative is consistent with Te Aoterangi's (c. 1860) brief comments on Wāwara, Kōkako and Manu-Tongaatea. John White (1888a, pp. 14–17 [Māo.], 18–20 [Eng.]) published a contrasting version from an unnamed Ngāti Mahuta source. The original *reo* Māori manuscript is addressed to White, but is unnamed and undated (Anonymous, pre-1888). Kelly's (1949, pp. 79–82) version copied Te Hurinui-Jones', while Robertson (1965, pp. 14, 18, 19; 1968, p. 6) and Phillips' (1995, p. 73) followed Kelly's account. Biggs (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 5 [fn. 5]) also referred to an audio record of Elsie Turnbull reading from a manuscript, which gave a substantively different version to Huirama's and White's unnamed Ngāti Mahuta source.

According to Nguha Huirama, Tongaatea was a brother of Ruapūtāhanga from Taranaki. He settled with the people of Marokopa and married Manu and had Pēhā. A man named Kaiahi<sup>85</sup> and a Ngāti Awa party visited Marokopa from Whakatāne. Kaiahi was son of Awatopea of Ngāti Apa (Te Aoterangi, 1923, p. 9). By Kaiahi, Pēhā gave birth to Manu-Tongaatea, who was named after Pēhā's parents. According to the Anonymous (pre-1888) manuscript that White (1888a, pp. 14 [Māo.], 18 [Eng.]) referenced to be from a Ngāti Mahuta source (possibly Wiremu Te Wheoro), Pēhā, son of Kaiahi, was the man who came from the

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<sup>85</sup> Kaiaho in (Te Aoterangi, 1923, p. 9).

east and slept with the woman named Peho of Kāwhia, who gave birth to Manu-Tongaatea. Turning back to Nguha Huirama’s account, Kaiahi left Marokopa, but returned with a war party when Manu-Tongaatea was a boy. The Marokopa people abandoned their villages at the arrival of the war party, but Kaiahi’s warriors captured Manu-Tongaatea. Kaiahi wept in shame and withdrew to the east upon recognising his own son.

According to White’s source, Manu-Tongaatea was not captured in his mother’s settlement but in Pēhā’s district south of Kāwhia. When he was older, Manu-Tongaatea sought out his father with a war party. According to Nguha Huirama, he eventually arrived in Rotoiti, where he married the local chief’s daughter, Wāwara<sup>86</sup>. According to Te Aoterangi (1923, pp. 8–9), Wāwara was a daughter of Hua, a descendant of Poutukeka and from whom descend Te Wai-o-Hua. This was partly a strategic marriage to bind Manu-Tongaatea to a community recently attacked by Kaiahi. Manu-Tongaatea gathered more warriors and attacked Kaiahi, taking two *pā* before meeting Kaiahi in his *pā*. Peace was made between the father and son before Manu-Tongaatea and Wāwara had two children, Kōkako<sup>87</sup> and Te Matau.

There are two instances of conflict in this narrative. For the first, Nguha Huirama said Kaiahi came from Whakatāne and raided Marokopa (*kōrero pakanga* #8). In contrast, White’s Anonymous manuscript said that Manu-Tongaatea’s father, Pēhā, humiliated Manu-Tongaatea and his mother’s people while hosting them south of Kāwhia. The second conflict told by Nguha Huirama was the attack by Manu-Tongaatea on three *pā* associated with Kaiahi in Whakatāne. White’s source said Pēhā’s *pā* was “south of Kāwhia” (*kōrero pakanga* #9). The cause of the first conflict appears to have been a raid, while *utu* drove the second conflict, which involved attacking three *pā*. Neither *pakanga* saw loss or gain of land rights. The *kōrero* nonetheless demonstrates Manu-Tongaatea’s *mana*, who was an ancestor of Ngāti Tamainupō, including Te Nguha Huirama, who provided the *kōrero* to Te Hurinui-Jones.

Based on the CNA, Kaiahi’s raid on Marokopa (*kōrero pakanga* #8) would have been in 1516 CE ± 61 years (1522 CE ± 82 years). Manu-Tongaatea’s later conflict with his father (*kōrero pakanga* #9) cannot be separated chronologically based on the current model and the same date estimate.

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<sup>86</sup> The song of Wāwara’s betrothal is recorded in *Nga Iwi o Tainui* (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 96–97).

<sup>87</sup> Named after the crows that were eaten by Manu-Tongaatea’s party on their journey from Marokopa to Rotoiti.

### (#10) Pīkiao, Rereiao and Hekemaru

This *kōrero* relates to the marriage between chiefly lineages of Te Arawa and Tainui descendants through Pīkiao and Rereiao respectively. Many Waikato *hapū* claim descent from this union. It is also one of the earliest recorded occupations east of Pirongia, alongside Māhanga. Early written reference to the *kōrero* about Pīkiao and Rereiao comes from witness testimonies in the 1889-1890 Hoe-o-Tainui and 1909-1910 Moerangi Block Title Investigations (MacCormick, 1909a, 1909b; Scannell, 1889; Scannell & Gudgeon, 1890a, 1890b). During the 2021 interviews as part of this research, Tutukino George of Taupiri Marae also shared his *kōrero* on this topic.

Kamanomano Mahu (1909, pp. 334–335) of Ngāti Te Wehi and Ngāti Reko said that Whatihua’s children first settled the lands around Pirongia. Rereiao was born at Mangauika (southeast of Pirongia Mountain and west of the Waipā River) to her parents Kuranui and Ruaroa. Pīkiao was a descendant of the Te Arawa *waka* and travelled from the East Coast in search of a wife that would bear him a son. There are several versions how Pīkiao met his wife Rereiao<sup>88</sup>. Mahu’s version was that they married at a settlement called Puehunui and they had their son Hekemaru. Meanwhile their son’s future wife Hekeiterangi lived with her parents Waituruki [sic] and Tumanawahoe [sic] at Tahaanui [sic] and Waihakari [sic]. Hekeiterangi and Hekemaru married at the latter settlement. Their children and grandchildren grew up at the settlements between Waipā and Pirongia.

Henare Kaihau of Ngāti Te Ata led a counterclaim to the Moerangi Block partly through descent from Hekemaru. In support of Kaihau’s counterclaim, Tangataiti Maru (1909, p. 1) of Ngāti Whare testified that Hekemaru lived at Puehunui on the east of the Moerangi Block and married Hekeiterangi. Witnesses of the Ngāti Māhanga claim generally acknowledged that Pīkiao and Hekemaru died at Pirongia<sup>89</sup>, but that Hekemaru’s children lived at Taupiri (e.g., Pukekura, 1909, pp. 170–173). In the claim through the ancestor Kākāti, Kauki Tauira (1909, pp. 223–224) and Hamuhamu Te Putu (1909, p. 290) of Ngāti Te Wehi testified that Pīkiao

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<sup>88</sup> In their judgement of the Moerangi Block Title Investigation Case, the Court also referred to Te Arawa *kōrero* that Rereiao was from Te Arawa also but Hekemaru travelled to Waikato and married the Waikato woman Hekeiterangi and Pīkiao later died at Pirongia when visiting his son (MacCormick, 1909b, p. 165).

<sup>89</sup> Hekemaru’s bones were placed in a rātā tree at Pukehoua, southern Pirongia. Mahuta’s son Uerātā received his name from this event (Pukekura, Rewi Tahana in MacCormick, 1909a, pp. 170, 173, 306). Some testified that his full name was Uerātā-ki-Taupiri and that his bones were actually in a tree at Taupiri, not Pirongia (e.g., Te Aopouri Waata [Ngāti Māhanga] in MacCormick, 1909a, pp. 52–54).

and Rereiao settled at Te Pēpepe in Taupiri. On one occasion Pikiāo went fishing on the coast with some of the Waikato people and gifted some of his catch away. Rereiao's brothers were angry at this and Pikiāo left the district. He later returned with a war party and attacked Tukupoto Pā. Pikiāo took his wife back to the East Coast, but they later quarrelled and Rereiao returned to Taupiri with Hekemaru<sup>90</sup>, where their descendants lived.

Tutukino George (2021) of Ngāti Mahuta shared his *kōrero* that he had gathered partly from the late Ngāti Hikairo historian, Meto Hopa, and Timitepō Hōhepa of Ngāti Pikiāo that Pikiāo came from Puketāwhero in Rotorua and settled in Taupiri, where he built his *whare*, named Te Aowhāki<sup>91</sup>. The bird, Korotau, who was the eyes and ears of the *atua*, Ranginui, guided Pikiāo on his journey to find a wife to bear him a son. It was at Taupiri that he observed men going up the river and not returning. After some time, he built a *pā* in Ngāruawāhia and later followed the men who were paddling up the Waipā River and he came to Harapepe, at the foot of Pirongia Mountain. Then he observed people travelling up the mountain and he followed them to Rereiao's settlement under the protection of the Patupaiarehe. They married and had their son, Heke-maru-maru-a-Ranginui (Hekemaru).

Like the *kōrero* around Māhanga, the *kōrero* about Pikiāo and Rereiao portrays a sparsely occupied Waikato interior. Māhanga and Pikiāo's settlements in the area were around the same time, while Hekemaru was born after Wairere based on the CNA results (Figure 17). At this time, there were several settlements between Pirongia and the Waipā, where Hekemaru grew up and married his wife Hekeiterangi. The *pā* mentioned are part of contested histories in the Moerangi Block Title Investigation. The *pakanga* between Pikiāo and his unnamed brother-in-law at Tukupoto and his return to the east, supported the Ngāti Te Wehi effort to diminish the claim of Hekemaru's descendants at Moerangi. On the other hand, witnesses speaking for Henare Kaihau's case associated Pikiāo and Hekemaru's with Pirongia settlements to enhance that *mana*. Pikiāo's settlement at Taupiri may have an element of symbolic foreboding of his grandchildren's later occupation of that area.

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<sup>90</sup> Little is recorded of Hekemaru. Although, the following *whakataukī* illustrates his *mana*, whereby he would not accept hospitality offered to the back of his head or once he passed: “*E kore te kī e whai i te tua o Hekemaru*” (Words are not said behind Hekemaru's back) (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 162). Another version is “*E kore te kai e whai i te tua o Hekemaru*” (Food will not follow the back of Hekemaru) (Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1871, pp. 13–14).

<sup>91</sup> Hone Nuku Tarawhiti (2018) shared some of his *kōrero* about Te Aotāwhaki in an interview on Te Kaea, Māori Television.

Based on the CNA results, Pikiāo's conflict (*kōrero pakanga* #10) likely occurred in 1544 CE  $\pm$  47 years (1543 CE  $\pm$  56 years).

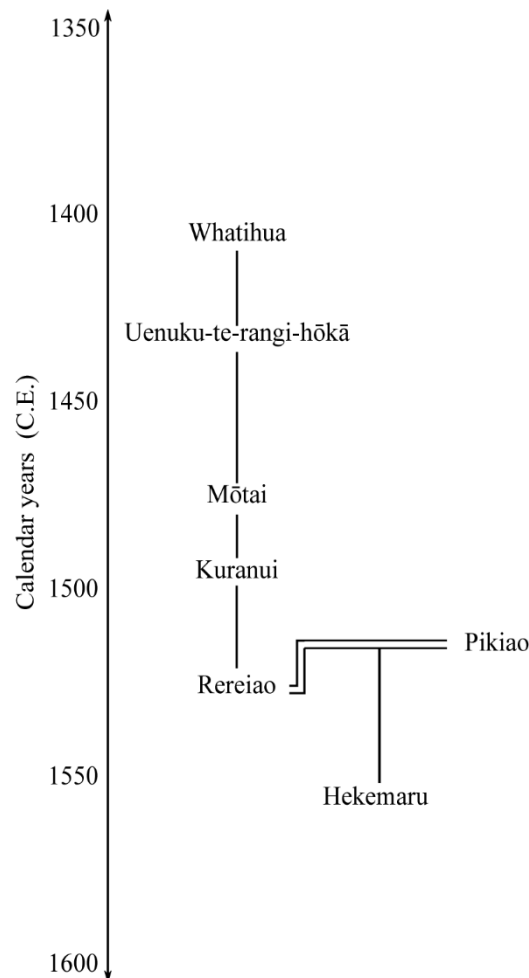


Figure 16. Whakapapa relationships and CNA results for Rereiao, Pikiāo and Hekemaru including the estimate of when the pā were established in association with Pikiāo.

### (#13) Tūheitia and Kōkako

The earliest accounts of the life of Kōkako are Te Wheoro's (1871, pp. 14–21) and another from an undated *reo* Māori manuscript written by Apera Kiwi (pre-1888) of Ngāti Tāhinga. White (1888b, pp. 161–170 [Māo.], 171–179 [Eng.]) edited, translated and published both of these accounts, strangely attributing Kiwi's to Ngāti Mahuta and Te Wheoro's to Ngāti Awa. Biggs (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. [fn.1] 113) mistakenly concluded that both were Te Wheoro's. Testimonies during the 1887 and 1909 Māori Land Court Title Investigations of the Manuaitu-Aotea and Moerangi Blocks also referred to the conflicts between Tūheitia and Kōkako (MacCormick, 1909a, 1909b; Mair, 1887). Te Nguha Huirama provided an account consistent with Te Wheoro's to Te Hurinui-Jones in 1932 (Te Hurinui-Jones, n.d. 6, pp. 41–42), which Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 110–111) later published. Kelly (1949, pp.

89–90) followed Te Hurinui-Jones, while Robertson (1968, pp. 6–7) and Phillips (1989, pp. 20–21; 1995, p. 73) followed Kelly.

Tūheitia was a son of Tamapoto and Takoto-nui-a-rangi and a descendant of the crew of the Tainui *waka* (Maru, 1909, p. 16; Tauwhare, 1888, pp. 350–353). Kōkako was son of Wāwara and Manu-Tongaatea and was born at Rotoiti (Te Aoterangi, c. 1860). According to Te Nguha Huirama, Kōkako first married Punanga and had two children, Urutonga and Te Awheto (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 110). Sometime after their birth, Kōkako visited his father's people in Marokopa. He then travelled to Te Āwhitu at Mānukanuka-o-Hoturoa (Manukau Harbour), fought with the local people there and settled in the lands of Tūheitia to establish plantations around the settlement of Karoro-uma-nui<sup>92</sup>. Tūheitia seized Kōkako's cultivations and quarrels broke out. Kōkako then left for Kāwhia, where he met and slept with Whāeatāpoko. He told her to name their child Tamainupō (son of the drink at night)<sup>93</sup>, referring to her bringing Kōkako water at night (Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1871, pp. 14–15).

According to Kelly (1949, p. 90), Kōkako returned north and lived at Karoro-uma-nui Pā and a *pā* at Mānukanuka that Kelly referred to as Te Pā-o-Kōkako (“Kōkako's Pā”). Tūheitia meanwhile occupied Waikaretu in Te Ākau, where there was a famous house named Papa-o-Rotu, where his son Māhanga was born. Tai Rakena (1909, p. 162) of Ngāti Māhanga also claimed Tūheitia's interests included Kaiparira in Waipā, Te Ākau and Aotea. Tūheitia invited people in conflict from the East Coast or Hauraki to stay with him at Papa-o-Rotu, where there is peace. He uttered the *whakataukī*:

*Haere mai ki ahau, ki te Papa-o-Rotu, ki te urunga tee taka, ki te moenga tee  
whakaarahia. Ahokoa iti taku iti, he rei kei roto*

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<sup>92</sup> Wiremu Te Wheoro (1871) noted Karoro-uma-nui as Kōkako's settlement without calling it a *pā*. Kamanomano Māhu (1909, p. 333) listed this as point on the coast south of Te Pūaha-o-Waikato belonging to Tūheitia when listing the boundaries set out by Tāwhao for his sons, Tūrongo and Whatihua.

<sup>93</sup> If it was to be a girl, Kōkako told her to call her Hineinupō (Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1871, p. 15), or Pareinupō (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 111).

*Come to me, to the Papa-o-Rotu [at Wai-karetu], to the unstirred current, to the pillow that falls not, and the undisturbed sleep. Although I am small I have teeth (Te Hurinui-Jones, n.d. 6, p. 135)<sup>94 95</sup>*

Tangataiti Maru (1909, p. 5) explained that Tūheitia’s claim of *mana whenua* angered Kōkako, so he had Tūheitia killed. On the other hand, Kelly (1949, p. 90) wrote that Tūheitia was the one who was angry with Kōkako’s encroachments – either way, Tūheitia was killed. Ngāti Māhanga claimants in the Manuaitu-Aotea Title Investigation and Rohe Pōtae case claimed that Tūheitia’s death was the earliest cause of dispute between them and the coastal tribes (e.g. Mahanga, 1887, pp. 36–37).

This *kōrero* mentions two *pā*. Karoro-uma-nui is located on the south side of Te Pūaha-o-Waikato. Te Wheoro did not refer to it as a *pā*, but Kelly, following Te Hurinui-Jones, did. Te Pā-o-Kōkako was the second *pā* located at Te Āwhitu, but Kelly said that it has since eroded into the sea. Phillips (1995, p. 73) associated Karoro-uma-nui with the remains of a *pā* south of Te Pūaha-o-Waikato, previously recorded as NZAA site R13/110. Kōkako settled in the area from Rotoiti and Marokopa to claim use rights and challenged Tūheitia in the process. The nature of the conflicts between Kōkako and Tūheitia are vague but were significant enough to force Kōkako to leave the district temporarily. The Māori Land Court testimonies contested the extent of Tūheitia’s *mana* in the district and inland Waipā and how much his son Māhanga inherited through him. However, witnesses generally agreed on the scope and nature of the conflict as well as Tūheitia’s death.

Based on the CNA results, the conflict between Tūheitia and Kōkako (*kōrero pakanga* #13) occurred in 1556 CE ± 1 years (1560 CE ± 21 years).

### **(#17) Māhanga, Kōkako and Tamainupō**

The following *kōrero* follows from Kōkako’s conflict with Tūheitia. There are several versions of the *kōrero* about Kōkako’s conflict with Māhanga. One of the earliest written versions is Wiremu Te Wheoro’s ([Ngāti Naho] 1871, pp. 14–21) handwritten *reo* Māori manuscript, which White (1888b, pp. 163–170) used but attributed to unnamed Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Mahuta sources. Mohi Te Rongomau (1886, pp. 164–171) of Ngāti Māhanga and Ngāti Hourua later shared a version in the 1886 Title Investigation of Te Rohe Pōtae to contextualise

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<sup>94</sup> The Native Land Court scribe translated the *whakataukī* uttered by Tangataiti as “though my people are small in number yet they have power” (p. 5)

<sup>95</sup> Tai Rakena (1909, p. 134) said this *whakataukī* was addressed to a Hauraki chief who sought his aid.

eighteenth and nineteenth-century conflicts. Te Nguha Huirama of Ngāti Tamainupō told Te Hurinui-Jones a similar account in 1932, which was published in 1995 (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 116). Kelly (1949, pp. 90–98) copied much of Te Hurinui’s earlier manuscript containing Huirama’s *kōrero*. Meanwhile, F. Phillips (1989) largely relied on Kelly’s narrative.

There are several *kōrero* versions about Māhanga’s inland movement from Te Ākau to Waipā and the establishment of Pūrākau Pā. Mohi Te Rongomau (1886, p. 165) of Ngāti Māhanga, testified that Haumia<sup>96</sup> escorted Māhanga inland to Pirongia after his father, Tūheitia, was killed<sup>97</sup>. Roore Erueti (in Kelly, 1949, p. 93) said Māhanga’s move inland was peaceful and was one of the first migrations inland by Tainui descendants. In a slight variation, Tai Rakena (1909, pp. 162–165) of Ngāti Māhanga testified in the 1909–1910 Title Investigation of the Moerangi Block, in which Tūheitia already had an inland settlement at Kaiparira [sic] in Waipā. Māhanga’s mother<sup>98</sup> brought him in her womb inland to Kaiparira, where Māhanga was born. Māhanga lived at Kaiparira and Te Maraе-o-hine, and later married his three wives at Pūrākau<sup>99</sup> Pā, which went on to be his main residence and where he established his *hiahuroa* (place of incantation). Heruika Te Wharepuhi (1909, pp. 183–184, 185) of Ngāti Māhanga gave another version in the same case that Māhanga had already moved to Kaiparira with his grandfather Tamapoto when Tūheitia was still alive. These testimonies supported part of the Ngāti Māhanga claim to the land by their descent from Māhanga who established his *pā* at Pūrākau.

Ngāti Te Wehi counter-claimants asserted that Hinetepei and Wharewaiata possessed the land before Māhanga and his claim there was only through marriage. They claimed that Māhanga married his first wife, Paratai, at Te Ākau before travelling to Pūrākau and marrying Hinetepei and Wharewaiata (Mahu, 1909, pp. 335–336; Maru, 1909, p. 6; Taurira, 1909, pp. 206, 222). Ngāti Māhanga witnesses meanwhile testified that Hinetepei and Wharewaiata were descendants of Kākāti who lived on the coast and only lived in the area because of their marriage to Māhanga (Pukekura, 1909, p. 172; Rakena, 1909, p. 126).

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<sup>96</sup> A descendant of Rakataura (Collins *et al.*, 2012, p. 110).

<sup>97</sup> Spelled as Tuwheiti in text.

<sup>98</sup> During Henare Kaihau’s cross-examination of Tai Rakena (1909, p. 165), Kaihau suggested that Tūheitia’s widow and Māhanga’s father was Te Ata, while Te Rakapawhare was the brother of Te Ata who killed Tūheitia. He may have been referring to the drowning of Te Ataiōrongo. However, the version of that *kōrero* generally refer to Te Ata as the male victim of a killing and either brother or husband to Rangiwaea. The same imagery of the victim being struck on the head with a fishhook while at sea is present in both Te Ata’s and Tūheitia’s deaths.

<sup>99</sup> Variably written as Kaniwhaniwha, Kaniwaniwa, Purakau, Purakautahi, Parakau, Parakautahi and Huraukau.

The *kōrero* continues with the meeting of Māhanga and Kōkako’s children. Previously, Kōkako slept with Whaeatāpoko of Kāwhia, who gave birth to their son, Tamainupō<sup>100</sup>. Kōkako left Kāwhia for the Lower Waikato<sup>101</sup> before Tamainupō knew him. According to Te Wheoro (1871, p. 16), as an adult, Tamainupō sought out his father of his own accord. During his journey, he met one of Māhanga’s daughters, Tūkōtuku, in a bird-hunting party. She welcomed him back to their “*kainga*”, which Te Wheoro did not name. White (1888b, p. 175 [Eng.]) translated Te Wheoro’s account to include the term “*pa*” to describe Māhanga’s settlement. He sometimes translated “*kainga*” as “home”. Te Wheoro’s *kōrero* continued that both of Māhanga’s daughters, Tūkōtuku and Waitawake wanted to marry Tamainupō, but Māhanga gave his blessing to Tūkōtuku alone, so Waitawake left and lived with the Ngāti Maniapoto people<sup>102</sup>. Tūkōtuku gave birth to Wairere, who, unbeknownst to Māhanga, was grandson of both Māhanga and Kōkako.

According to Te Wheoro (*ibid*) and followed by Kamanomano Mahu (1909, p. 368) of Ngāti Reko and Ngāti Te Wehi, Tamainupō joined Māhanga’s party and they paddled to Pūtataka at Te Pūaha-o-Waikato (Waikato Heads), where Kōkako’s *pā* was located. Kauiki Taurira (1909, p. 206) of Ngāti Te Wehi and Tangataiti Maru (1909, p. 6) of Ngāti Whare, meanwhile said this *pā* was named Okarahea<sup>103</sup> [sic]. The war party assaulted the *pā* and a battle waged before it. During the assault, Tamainupō let Kōkako escape, later claiming before Māhanga to have killed him. At this point, Tamainupō shared his identity as son of Māhanga’s enemy, Kōkako. After the battle, Tamainupō went to see Kōkako in his settlement referred to interchangeably as a *pā* and *kāinga*. Te Wheoro was not clear whether this was the *pā* that had just been assaulted or another one. Tamainupō and Kōkako reunited, and the son then returned to his family at Māhanga’s home.

Mohi Te Rongomau (1886, pp. 164–166) of Ngāti Māhanga’s version is generally consistent with Te Wheoro’s. He included a separate attack by Māhanga on a Ngāti Tāhinga *pā* called Okarahau [sic] at Te Pūahu-o-Waikato from his *pā* named Hurakau [sic] (Pūrākau)

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<sup>100</sup> Sometimes spelled Tamainu.

<sup>101</sup> To find Ngāti Awa people under Tamaaho who Tūpāhau had dispossessed from Marokopa (Robertson, 1968, pp. 6–7).

<sup>102</sup> Tangataiti Maru (1909, p. 6) said that she married Pikirangi of Ngāti Maniapoto. More commonly, Pikirangi, son of Marumāhanga and Tuimete of Ngāiwi is said to have married another Waitawake, who was daughter of Rakamāhanga – in turn, Whatihua and Apakura’s son (Rore Eruera in Kelly, 1949, p. 139; F. Phillips, 1995, p. 91; Robertson, 1965, p. 15; Tita Wetere in Robertson, n.d.).

<sup>103</sup> Also spelled Okarapea.

near Pirongia. The attack was in response to Ngāti Tāhinga killing his father, Tuwheiti [sic] (Tūheitia) before returning to Pūrākau. The rest of the account was generally consistent with Te Wheoro's, including the attack on Kōkako's *pā* at Te Pūaha-o-Waikato <sup>104</sup>.

Te Nguha Huirama's version (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 112–122) contained two relevant variations. Firstly, Huirama recounted that Kōkako built a *pā* near Kāniwhaniwha called Kiriparera [sic]. Māhanga's war party then attacked Kiriparera and not the *pā* at Pūtataka. Secondly, Kōkako's *pā* where Tamainupō reunited with him was Taipōuri, an island at Rangiriri in the Waikato River. Kiriparera here is likely the same place that the 1909 Ngāti Māhanga testimonies referred to as Kaiparira, which was one of Tūheitia's and then Māhanga's settlements. Kōkako's association with Taipōuri may show an early interaction with the Ngāiwi people who lived in this district.

According to Tangataiti Maru (1909, pp. 6–7, 19–20), Te Rere, a descendant of Uenukuwhāngai, lived at Rangīāhua (what later became Ngāruawāhia). Māhanga captured Rangīāhua in Te Rere's absence and went to live there with his people. Maru said that Māhanga felt shame that he was the first to bring conflict to the Waikato and so he left with Paratai to the East Coast, then to Moehau. Paratai then returned to the Waipā with her children. Ngāti Māhanga witnesses did not refer to this particular *kōrero*. However, it may indicate that several chiefs were beginning to settle inland around the time of Māhanga. Maru did not explain why Māhanga wanted to move to Rangīāhua.

The early settlement of Māhanga's at Pūrākau is part of a contested history. Much of the *kōrero* comes from court testimonies that were used to support different land claims in 1886 and then 1909–1910. Taken together with Te Wheoro's manuscript written in 1871 and Te Nguha Huirama's version recorded by Pei Te Hurinui-Jones in 1932, the different versions generally agree on the *whakapapa* connecting the main *tūpuna* of the *kōrero* (Figure 18). Māhanga is at the centre of one of the Tainui *maihi* within the *wharenuī whakapapa*. The *kōrero* links him to the first or early settlement of the lower Waipā and northern Pirongia area, as well as one of the first fortifications inland at Pūrākau. *Utu* is the explicit driver of the warfare within the *kōrero*. However, once Māhanga realised his daughter had married Kōkako's son, peace was restored and a state of *ea* resumed.

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<sup>104</sup> Te Rongomau also stated that Tamainupō left Kāwhia after committing adultery with the wife of his elder brother, Taiko. Wairere was later baptised there by Kōkako, which refers to the same *tohi* ritual mentioned by Te Wheoro by Kōkako on Tamainupō.

Based on the CNA results, the conflict between Kōkako and Māhanga (*kōrero pakanga* #17) occurred in 1574 CE  $\pm$  19 years (1573 CE  $\pm$  33 years).

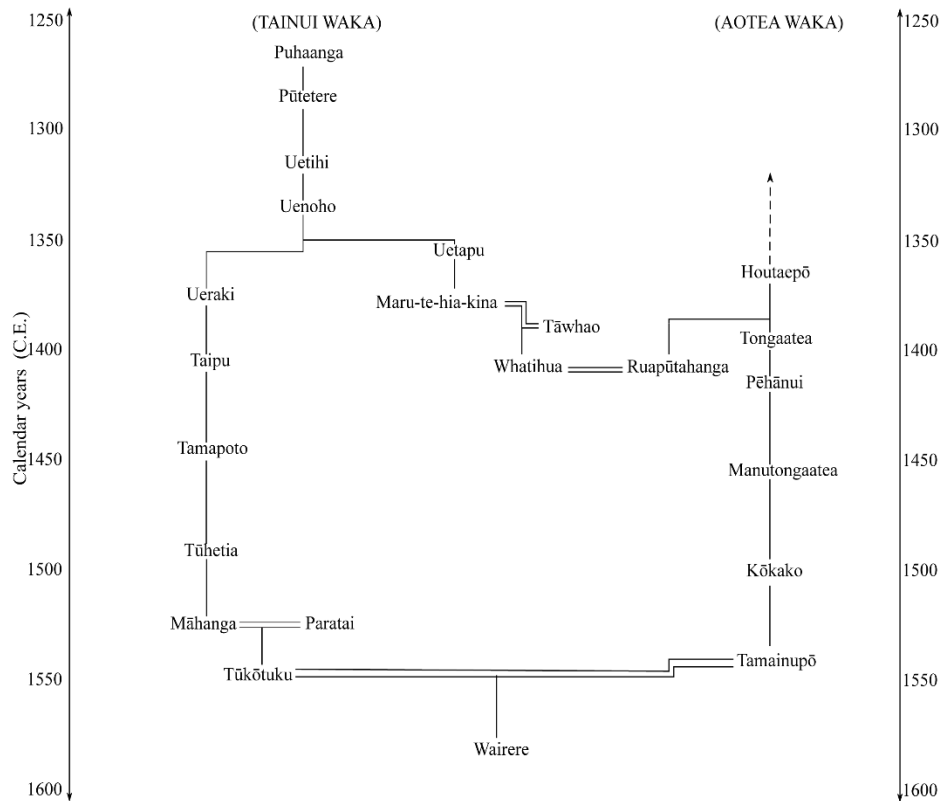


Figure 17. Whakapapa relationships from Pūhaanga and Houtaepō to Wairere. Calendar year estimates are based on the CNA results. All date ranges are possible years in which an event occurred not the overall duration of the event. Each person in the chart has a corresponding birthdate estimate range expressed as a vertical bar in relation to the calendar years shown on the y-axis. Whakapapa relationships are black lines including parent-child (vertical single line), siblings (horizontal single line) and marriages (horizontal double line). Events are dotted lines with a single line cap and are labelled with a black bordered text box. Person names are vertically positioned by in the centre of their birthdate estimate bars.

## (#22) Tamainupō and Tānangāwhanga

Apera Kiwi (pre-1888) of Ngāti Tāhinga provided the following *kōrero* in an undated handwritten *reo Māori* manuscript. White (1888b, pp. 161–163 [Māo.], 171–173 [Eng.]) edited, translated and published Kiwi’s account and attributed it to an unnamed Ngāti Mahuta source. Biggs (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 122–125) republished White’s published account with minor commentary and editing.

Tamainupō was a son of Kōkako and Whaeatāpoko. He had a sister named Maikao, who married a Ngāiwi chief named Tānangāwhanga. Tamainupō’s brother-in-law cursed or insulted him, so he sought *utu*. Tamainupō gathered warriors, travelled north along the coast

and crossed Te Pūaha-o-Waikato. He met his *teina*<sup>105</sup>, which Kiwi did not name, and their people set about building a *pā* called Tarata-piko [sic]. Under nightfall, they crossed the river to reach Tānangāwhanga's *pā* on the slopes of Pūtātaka. They attacked the *pā*, cut their enemy's head off and chased the remaining people northwards while capturing several principal chiefs of the *pā*. Tamainupō seized and killed both of Maikao and Tānangāwhanga's sons and said the following:

<i>E kore koe e ora,</i>	<i>You must not live,</i>
<i>Kei whea hoki koe</i>	<i>As you, a nephew,</i>
<i>I te iramutu</i>	<i>In the days of evil,</i>
<i>Tu ke mai</i>	<i>Stand on the river's opposite brink,</i>
<i>I tarawahi awa</i>	<i>And give not help,</i>
	<i>To those of kindred blood</i>
	(White's translation)

This *kōrero* situates Tamainupō as a leading *rangatira* of *mana*, as son of Kōkako. The conflict arose because Tamainupō's brother-in-law challenged him through insult. Tamainupō, therefore, assured his *mana* and descendants in constructing the *pā* at Pūtātaka and defeating Tanangawhanga and his sons, who offered him no support and might later challenge him. A list of eight chiefs' names who Tamainupō's warriors killed also supports the extent of the victory. There is only one early written version of this *kōrero*, effectively a founding history of Ngāti Tamainupō; however, it was likely not for several generations until Tamainupō's people assumed that name.

Based on the CNA results, the conflict between Tamainupō and Tānangāwhanga (*kōrero pakanga* #22) occurred in 1605 CE ± 28 years (1607 CE ± 39 years).

#### **(#24) Tonganui at Manuaitu**

Early sources for this *kōrero* are testimonies during the Māori Land Court Title Investigations of Te Rohe Pōtae (Mair, 1886a, 1886b), Manuaitu-Aotea (Mair, 1887) and Moerangi Blocks (MacCormick, 1909a, 1909b). Court witnesses cited this conflict as the first of several between inland and coastal *Tainui* descendants that continued into the nineteenth century. Outside of the Land Courts, Aihe and Te Nguha Huirama in 1932 and Roore Erueti in 1942 provided Te Hurinui-Jones (Te Hurinui-Jones, n.d. 6) with the most detailed narrative, which Te Hurinui-

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<sup>105</sup> Biggs suggested that this was Marutūāhu, a possible half-brother of Tamainupō.

Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 126–134) later published. Roore Eruera also shared *kōrero* with Kelly (1949, pp. 112–115).

The cause of the conflict was that Tūirangi’s people and Tonganui both claimed possession of a tōtara tree, Whare-o-huarara-tahi<sup>106</sup>, which marked the boundary of their lands near the Pākōkō Stream in northern Aotea (Patene, 1887, pp. 28–29; Pouwharetapu, 1909, pp. 58, 61; Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1887, p. 191). Tonganui’s base was Pūrākautahi and Kāniwhaniwha, on the northern side of Pirongia (Mahu, 1909, p. 340). Other settlements associated with him include Te Kauere, Te Ruapueru, Tihi-o-Tonganui<sup>107</sup> (Waata, 1909, pp. 28, 44, 49). Mohi Te Rongomau (1886, p. 191) of Ngāti Māhanga testified that Te Pūhara-o-Tainui and Paiāriki felled the tree. Te Pūhara-o-Tainui was a son of, and Paiāriki was a half-brother of Tūirangi (Pouwharetapu, 1887, pp. 15–21, 201–209; Te Koko, 1886, p. 36). Tonganui, Taiakeake, Rauparu and other chiefs with a party of 140<sup>108</sup> warriors chased Te Pūhara and Te Paiariki to Aotea, then killed them at Te Kawauora in Kāwhia. Te Rongomau said that Tonganui’s force returned to Pirongia and then attacked Mōwhiti, Puketoa and Herangi Pā in Aotea, before attacking Manuaitu Pā. Wiremu Te Wheoro (1887) only mentioned the attack on Manuaitu, while Kamanomano Māhu (1909, pp. 340–341) claimed Tonganui captured several *pā* (Tupa, Porōkiore, Heirangi<sup>109</sup>, Tahere and Whakamaru) before the survivors retreated to Manuaitu. All sources state that Manuaitu was the location of the final battle.

Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs’ (1995, pp. 126–134) information from Aihe and Te Nguha Huirama, and Roore Erueti Kelly (in Kelly, 1949, pp. 112–115) stated that Tūirangi’s son, Tūpaengaroa<sup>110</sup>, was at Manuaitu when Tonganui besieged the *pā*. During the seige, Tonganui and his *ope tāua* were caught in a storm, and they began preparing *raupō* shelters. Tūpaengaroa sallied from the *pā* and killed all but Terewai<sup>111</sup>, younger brother of Ngārueitehotu (killed) and nephew to Māhanga (Maru, 1909, p. 21; Te Rongomau, 1886, pp. 166–167). Kamanomano Māhu (1909, pp. 340–341) and Kauiki Tauira (1909, p. 225) claimed that Pakaue from Kāwhia came to assist the defenders, who were led by Te Rakaupukupuku and did not mention

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<sup>106</sup> “Huarare tahi” in (MacCormick, 1909a, p. [15 November] 273)

<sup>107</sup> A *pā* on a hill within the “*papatupu* land”. It was “not entrenched” but defended with a “log fence”.

<sup>108</sup> Hokowhiti

<sup>109</sup> Herangi

<sup>110</sup> Taupaengaroa in Schnackenberg (1926, pp. 24–27)

<sup>111</sup> Makuterewai recorded during Aperahama Pātene’s testimony (Patene, 1887, p. 29).

Tūpaengaroa. After the battle, Terewai<sup>112</sup> was tied to a rope from the *pā* and forced to gather water from a nearby spring. On one journey, he tied the rope to a *kōtukutuku* (fuchsia) and escaped to the Waipā district where his uncle's people sent word to Māhanga, who was at Moehau (Coromandel) at the time. This tree was hence called Heretukutuku (Patene, 1887, p. 30). Upon hearing of his son Tonganui's death, Māhanga said:

*'Kia whakatupu te tangata i tana tamaiti rangatira hei takitaki i te mate o Tonga-nui! Whakamau! Whakamau ki Manuaitu, ki Pukerengarenga! Tūtū kau ngā pūruru kahikatea e tū ki Ōmaero! Oraora kau ngā kākaho o Te Kaharoa!*

(Let the people raise young chiefs to avenge the death of Tonganui! Remember, remember Manuaitu and Pukerengarenga! The close growing kahikatea stand erect at Ōmaero! The reeds of Te Kaharoa rustle and stir! [Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 130–131]).

This *whakatauākī* shows the grief of Māhanga following the death of his son, Tonganui. It was a call to *rangatira* of Māhanga's former home at Ōmaero and Te Kaharoa around the confluence of the Kāniwhaniwha and Waipā Rivers (both now names of Ngāti Māhanga marae) to reclaim Pukerengarenga<sup>113, 114</sup> and Manuaitu. Both *pā* were associated with Ngāti Tūirirangi in Aotea.

Te Hurinui-Jones (1962, pp. 17–18) and Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 130–131) recorded how Māhanga also sought support from Waikato hapū. He took his *taiaha* named Tikitiki-o-rangi and laid it before the *rangatira*, Tapaue and Wharetīpeti, but Manupīkare of Māhanga's own people took up the *wero* (challenge). According to Aperehama Pātene (1887, p. 30), Tonganui's death was never avenged by Ngāti Māhanga and Ngāti Hourua. Through *whakapapa*, Māhanga was a great-grandfather of Tapaue and Wharetīpeti by a later wife, Wharewaiata (Figure 19). One of Tapaue's wives, Rauwhārangī, was also a great-great-granddaughter of Māhanga through his first wife Paratai. Terewai, who survived the attack on Manuaitu, was the father of Rauwhārangī. It is possible that Te Hurinui-Jones' *kōrero* was a

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<sup>112</sup> Schnackenberg's (1926) account is of a women instead of Terewai.

<sup>113</sup> Also written as Pukerangaranga.

<sup>114</sup> Hotereni Te Rangitakaia (1887, p. 133) of Ngāti Uakau testified that Ngāti Naho later occupied Pukerengarenga "on the coast side" of the Manuaitu-Aotea Block after the death of Waitapu in the early nineteenth century.

projection of the similar *kōrero* of Te Wehi from Kāwhia seeking Tapaue and Wharetīpeti's aid in Waikato. However, it seems unlikely that Tapaue and Wharetīpeti were leading *rangatira* when Māhanga was alive.

Based on the CNA results, Tonganui's death and the resulting conflict (*kōrero pakanga* #24) likely happened in 1614 CE  $\pm$  3 years (1619 CE  $\pm$  23 years).

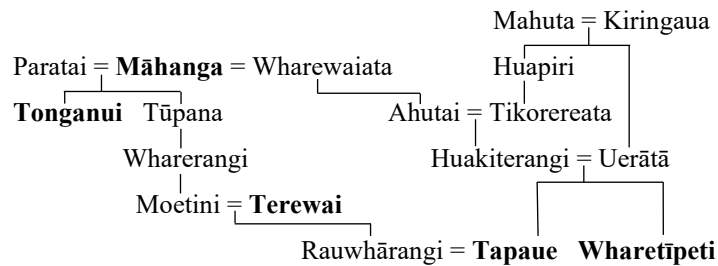


Figure 18. Whakapapa connection Māhanga to Tapaue and Wharetīpeti

### Summary

In this chapter, I introduced *kōrero pakanga* in the Waikato area involving individuals at the *maihi* of the *wharenuī whakapapa*. These were from late-nineteenth-century handwritten *reo* Māori manuscripts and Māori Land Court testimonies. Each *kōrero* increases the *mana* of descendant *hapū* and *iwi* and supports their land claims in the Courts. Therefore, *kōrero pakanga* are political, as is their information about *pā*. At the same time, they have historical elements that explain migrations, group formations and the grounds of *mana whenua*. Battles and conquests by individuals at the *maihi* of the *wharenuī whakapapa* are commonly the ancestors of groups who lived on the land in the nineteenth century. Warfare between unrelated groups is often recalled in a greater scale and result in seizing of lands. On the other hand, warfare between close relations rarely led to killing or conquest – *pakanga* were a way to negotiate *mana rangatira* that were often pre-empted by the previous generation dividing lands amongst descendants. I continue this analysis in the next chapter on *kōrero pakanga* about *iwi* and *hapū* solidification narratives at and below the *maihi* of the *wharenuī whakapapa* from the early to mid-1600s.

**CHAPTER SEVEN:**  
***KO TE WHAKAPŪPURI ME TE WHAKARAHĪ***  
*(Retention and strengthening)*

In the previous chapter, I presented the analysis of *kōrero pakanga* about ancestors at the *maihi* of the Tainui *wharenui whakapapa* in the Waikato Region. This chapter describes the same form of analysis of *kōrero* at the tail end of *pakanga* that secured *mana whenua*, or those later *pakanga* about *maihi* ancestors securing *whenua* further inland. The sections cover *kōrero* about:

1. Maniapoto's close relations fighting people from Mōkau.
2. Close relations of Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Unu and Ngāti Maniapoto disputing land interests between Ngāroto, Kakepuku and Pirongia.
3. Tainui descendants spreading along the Waikato River, intermarrying and quarrelling with previous inhabitants.

**Ngāti Maniapoto**

This section discusses *kōrero pakanga* of the immediate descendants of Maniapoto.

**(#28) Matakore and Mania-taka-mai-waho**

Matakore was the second-born child, after Maniapoto, of the parents Rereahu and Hineaupounamu. Matakore had lands south of the Waipā River and the lands of the Rangitoto ranges. He and his people experienced peace, partly due to his marriage with the Te Arawa princess Waiharapepe – a great-granddaughter of Pīkiao through Hekemaru and Paretāhuri. The *whakataukāki* of Matakore is “*kia whakaara ana koe i taku moe, ko te whatu turei a Rua*” (“If you wake me up, let it be for the *whatu turei* of Rua”) (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 194). *Whatu turei* is a “kind of cake made from the berries of the *hīnau* tree, separated from the husk” (Grey, 1857b, p. 51). Biggs explained that the reference has been suggested by others as sexual innuendo. Te Hurinui also referred to the peace that Matakore and his people experienced.

The following *kōrero pakanga* relates to the death of Matakore's son, Mania-taka-mai-waho, who lived at Ōtewa, on the banks of the Waipā River, above Ōtorohanga. Perhaps the earliest written accounts are from Māori Land Court testimonies during the Puketarata Block Title Investigation (e.g., Te Ngare, 1890, p. 256). Gudgeon (1904, p. 242) briefly referenced this *kōrero* amid a racist article about *The Toa Taua or Warrior*, while adding no further detail

already provided in other sources. Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 214–217) published a version of this *kōrero* told by Tainui elders, “including one by Te One Haere-iti recorded at Te Kuiti on 12/5/33”. Biggs (in *ibid*) noted that Kelly (1949, pp. 205–207) copied Te Hurinui-Jones’ (n.d. 1, pp. 142–144) unpublished manuscript. Phillips (1989, p. 195) published a similar account with added details.

The general *kōrero* is that Mania-taka-mai-waho was Matakore’s son. He married his uncle Tūtarawa’s grandchild, named Torekauae. Her father, Tūteaomārama, lived at Maraе-o-Hine near Ōtorohanga and was Mania-taka-mai-waho’s cousin. Mania-taka-mai-waho hit his wife, Torekauae, so she left him to be with her father. Tūteaomārama sought *utu*, ambushed and killed Mania-taka-mai-waho while hunting *kiwi*. Some of Mania-taka-mai-waho’s people raised their warriors and pursued Tūteaomārama, who fled to Puketarata. Phillips (1989, p. 195) wrote that he was killed at Pāiti, at the northern end of the Puketarata Range<sup>115</sup>.

This *kōrero pakanga* did not include open warfare but involved *utu* between two closely related communities living around Puketarata, a generation or two after those communities had settled the area. It is possible the *kōrero* also shows the negotiation of *mana rangatira* through *whakapapa* in the area, as Tūteaomārama and Hineaupouamu were cousins, both being grandchildren of Tuatangi-roa and Pakuraarangi.

Based on the CNA results, Tūteaomārama’s *utu* (*kōrero pakanga* #28) occurred in approximately 1625 CE ± 11 years (1634 CE ± 41 years).

### (#29) Rōrā

Rōrā was one of Maniapoto’s sons by his younger wife, Paparauwhare. The following discussion relates to conflicts with Kuramōnehu’s people from Mōkau and the death of Rōrā. Early written versions of this *kōrero* come from Māori Land Court testimonies during the Title Investigation and Rehearing of the Pukenui Block (Gudgeon, 1892c, 1892d; O’Brien & Von Sturmer, 1894b). Wehi-te-ringitanga of Ngāti Maniapoto told a version of this *kōrero*, which was later published by Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 182–187). Te Ruki and Crown (1994, p. 45) also briefly reference this *kōrero*.

There are two primary versions of the *kōrero* about Rōrā’s death. They each support the claim of Ngāti Hia descendants and Ngāti Rōrā to the lands around Pukenui and Te Kuiti. The Ngāti Hia version is that Te Kawairangi was a son of Maniapoto and Hinemania, while

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<sup>115</sup> Gudgeon (1904:242) recorded that it was Tore-kauae herself who killed her father for killing her husband. However, his writing should not be given too much credence since, in this particular paragraph, he was trying to demonstrate the “bloodthirsty disposition” of Māori.

Rōrā was the son of Maniapoto and his younger wife, Paparauwhare. In their adulthood, they were invited to a feast of Te Wharautahi at Mōtakiora Pā<sup>116</sup> in recognition of Maniapoto's aid in killing Houtaketake, as discussed in Chapter Six (#20) (Te Whanonga, 1894, pp. 201–202). Following the feast, Rōrā married a young local woman of the pā named Kuramōnehu and lived with her there<sup>117</sup>. After some time, she became impatient with Rōrā and visited her parents in Mōkau. According to Wehi-te-ringatanga and Whanonga (*ibid*), upon her return, she brought a large party of Ngāti Tama people. Through a series of events, Rōrā learned that Kuramōnehu had slept with a man of the party named Tuatini<sup>118</sup>. Rōrā had Tuatini killed and the Ngāti Tama group left Mōtakiora, travelled north over the Pukenui Range and built Tihimānuka Pā. Kuramōnehu remained with Rōrā in fear<sup>119</sup>. Kuramōnehu followed a plan to signal her husband was sleeping to an awaiting party of Ngāti Tama from Tihimānuka by throwing gravel against the wooded palisades of the pā (Te Whanonga, 1894, pp. 202–203). Rōrā was killed, but not long afterwards, Maniapoto gathered his warriors and encircled the Ngāti Tama party in Mōtakiora. His son, Tūwhakahekeao, climbed a *rata* tree that was in flower, disguising him (indicating this occurred in summer). Maniapoto's warriors then ambushed them while they were eating their food and captured the *pā*. The Ngāti Tama leaders Te Heru and Pōwhero were spared and a peace was arranged, resulting in no further fighting in the district.

In the Ngāti Rōrā versions, Ngāti Hia did not hold a feast to thank Maniapoto for his involvement in defeating Houtaketake. Instead Rōrā already lived on the land of his father at Motakiora and Whatukotuku Pā (Hīkaka, 1894, p. 251). Another variation is that when Rōrā killed Tuatini or Kuramōnehu's brother, Ngāti Taaki of Mōkau had *pā* at Taonarua and Pukaingahau on the block (Hīkaka, 1892; Maratini, 1892). Furthermore, in this version, Tūtaimārō was son of Rōrā by his first wife, Kuranui, not Kuramōnehu. Hīkaka (1894, p. 251) directly refuted the claims of Hare Te Whanonga and Te Whaaro Kaitangata to the contrary.

Pei Te Hurinui-Jones recorded that Maniapoto did not kill them because they had not killed Rōrā's son, Tūtaimārō, and Maniapoto thought that Rōrā's murder was justified, given

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<sup>116</sup> “Mootaki-ora [sic] is a prominent peak at the northern end of Te Kuiti township in Colin Brook Park” (Biggs in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 184).

<sup>117</sup> Another version is that Tūtaimārō was child of Rōrā and Kuramonehu, not Kuranui (Kaitangata, 1894, p. 66).

<sup>118</sup> In Whanonga's (1894, p. 202) version, Kuramōnehu gave birth to Tutaemaro (not Kuranui) at Matakiora Pā. Word was sent to her mothers tribe of Ngāti Taaki (of Ngāti Tama) .

<sup>119</sup> According to Kaitangata (1894, p. 67), Ngāti Hia and Rōrā had built Mōtakiora Pā just while Ngāti Tama were away in contrast to Whanonga's testimony that it Te Wharautahi built it in defence from Houtaketake at an earlier time.

his behaviour. Te Naunau Hīkaka's (1892, pp. 174–175) version did not include Maniapoto in this attack. Instead, he said Maniapoto's brother, Tūwhakahekeao, came from Puketarata, attacked and killed the occupants, and Rōrā's descendants possessed the land. The different versions describe how those involved then dispersed to their various *pā* in the district Whanonga's (e.g., Kaitangata, 1894, pp. 67–68; Wehi-te-ringatanga in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 182–187; Te Whanonga, 1894, p. 203).

This *kōrero* identifies several named *pā* in Te Kuiti district. These were places of residence and were associated with leading *rangatira* at the time. Relations lived in different *pā*. For example, Maniapoto was associated with Hikurangi, Tūwhakahekeao was at Puketarata, Rōrā settled with Kuramōnehu at Mōtakiora, and the Ngāti Tama people also had two *pā* in the area. The cause of the *pā* construction by Ngāti Tama reflects their belief that they had some interest in the area, in competition with the descendants of Rereahu. The conflict itself is explained in the *kōrero* to have resulted from an insult to Rōrā and ended with Maniapoto or Tūwhakahekeao reclaiming Rōrā's *pā* after Kuramōnehu's people had taken it. In turn, these events were critical to the Ngāti Rōrā claims in the Māori Land Court.

Based on the CNA results, Maniapoto or Tūwhakahekeao's conflict (*kōrero pakanga* #29) occurred in approximately 1627 CE  $\pm$  3 years (1630 CE  $\pm$  21 years).

### **(#31) Ngāti Tama and Tukemata**

This account was collected by Pei Te Hurinui-Jones from Tainui elders and written as an unpublished manuscript (Te Hurinui-Jones, n.d. 1, pp. 153–155), later published by Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 228–229). Kelly (1949, pp. 201–202) closely followed Te Hurinui-Jones' work. Bruce Biggs also referred to Wahanui's (Wahanui, 1898, p. 21) earlier unpublished account.

Te Kawairangi was the eldest son of Maniapoto. He first married Hinekahukura and had four children. Sometime later, Te Kawairangi travelled to Tāmakimakaurau and married the twins at Maungakiekie (One Tree Hill) of the Wai-o-Hua tribe, Maroā and Mārei. Wahanui (1898) wrote that one of Te Kawairangi's brothers-in-law of Wai-o-Hua feared the *mana* of the tribe would pass onto Te Kawairangi's descendants and had him killed at Maungarei. Before this event, however, Maroā had a child called Tukemata, and Mārei had Rungaterangi by Te Kawairangi. Te Hurinui's account continues with Tukemata growing to adulthood in Tāmakimakaurau before travelling to Tūirirangi's former *pā*, Ngākuraho, at Hangatiki (pp. 232–233).

Tukemata's daughter, Parekārau, fell in love with her cousin and Tūirirangi's descendant, Tangiwharau. However, Tukemata had alternative plans for his daughter and eventually became angry. Parekārau left her father to live with Ngāti Tama in the Hākerekere district. A war party of Ngāti Tama then came to the Ngāti Maniapoto territory and killed Tukemata. Te Hurinui's recorded *kōrero* does not state why Ngāti Tama attacked Tukemata. However, it resulted in further conflicts between the two tribes<sup>120</sup>. These *kōrero* are outside the scope of this thesis, being mainly in Taranaki.

Based on the CNA results, Tukemata's death (*kōrero pakanga* #31) occurred in approximately 1631 CE ± 7 years (1633 CE ± 30 years).

### **Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Unu and Ngāti Maniapoto**

The following section includes *kōrero* in the north of Te Nehenehenui during the seventeenth century where several primary lineages were firming up their positions of power as recorded in *kōrero tuku iho*.

#### **(#25) Tikitiki and Ngutu**

The following *kōrero* comes from *kōrero* provided to the Te Awamutu Historical Society by Raureti Te Huia (1945b) and Tita Wetere (1945?). Robertson appears to have typed up their *kōrero* with added date estimations and commentary. He later published a summary of the account in *Maori Settlements of the Waikato District* (Robertson, 1965, pp. 24–25).

Whāita had Huiao, Hinetuparaoa and Huiao. According to Te Huia (1945b), the eldest son, Huiao, travelled away from their home around the Pūniu River and their *pā*, Whakapirimata, while Ngutu became the local chief. Indeed, Huiao appears in other *kōrero* at Ngākuraho Pā in Hangatiki with his son, Tūirirangi. Te Huia said that Ngutu defeated the Ngāti Apakura chief, Tikitiki, for rights to Ngāroto and subsequently, Ngutu and his people had *mana* from Ngāroto in the north to Mangatutu Stream in the south, which flows into the Pūniu Stream.

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<sup>120</sup> Rungaterangi, Te Kawairirangi's son by the other princes of Wai-o-Hua, Mārei, travelled with his great, grand-nephew, Te Kanawa to Ngāti Tama territory. This may have been to avenge the death of his brother Tukemata. Rungaterangi was, however, slain. Kinohaku's children Tangaroakino, Kāhui-tangaroa and Whakapau-tangaroa assembled another war party to attack Ngāti Tama; they too were defeated. The brothers Kapu-manawa-whiti and Hae were grandchildren of Rongorito, youngest sister to Kinohaku and Maniapoto. They lived in Mōkai, between Taupō and Whakamaru, where they heard of the various deaths their relations at the hands of Ngāti Tama. They gathered a war party and attacked Ngāti Tama, taking seven *pā* at Hākerekere and avenging the deaths of Kāhui-tangaroa and Whakapau-tangaroa (if not Tukemata and Rungaterangi).

Meanwhile, Wetere (1945?) said that “Te Huia’s story of [...] is partially right”. He considered that Tikitiki was not from Ngāti Apakura, but “was a well-known aggressor against Ngāti Apakura and Ngutu’s people”. Tikitiki was from Ngāti Kauwhata and was a son of Hounuku (Kauwhata’s grandson). After a quarrel, Tikitiki and Ngutu made peace, laying down a boundary that took in Ngāti Apakura land at the “twin lakes” (now Rotomānuka), where there was a vital eel weir named Whārikirauponga. Ngāti Apakura challenged Tikitiki and killed some of his men in a skirmish. Tikitiki then gathered a warparty of Ngāti Kauwhata and attacked Ngāti Apakura at Taurangatahi Pā, where Tikitiki was killed and Ngāti Kauwhata defeated.

The cause of the conflict between Tikitiki and Ngutu is unclear, but it may have been in conjunction with the Ngāti Apakura dispute. Robertson (1965, pp. 24–25) interpreted them as the same event. Ngāti Apakura’s involvement was recorded to be over their eel weir, included in a Ngāti Kauwhata boundary with Ngutu. *Utu* then drove the subsequent attack on Ngāti Apakura at Taurangatahi Pā. The extent of the conflict is not clear, given it was shared in isolation within the *Te Awamutu Historical Society Proceedings Book*. The *kōrero* shows how people were establishing territorial boundaries and *hapū* polities at this time.

Based on the CNA results, Tikitiki and Ngutu’s conflict (*kōrero pakanga* #25) occurred in approximately 1618 CE ± 23 years (1623 CE ± 33 years).

### **(#27) Taraao and Kārewa**

Wiremu Te Whēoro (1871, pp. 27–32) wrote one of the earliest manuscripts about the rivalry between Kārewa and Taraao. John White (1888b, pp. 187–191) then translated and published this account, attributing it to an unnamed Ngāti Mahuta source. There is brief mention of Kārewa and Taraao in testimonies of Te Rohe Pōtae Title Investigation in the Māori Land Court (Mair, 1886a, 1886b). Later published accounts include Schnackenberg’s (1926, pp. 5–6), which was sourced from elders around Kāwhia, followed by Pōmare and Cowan ([1930] 1987, pp. 125–132) from “old Ngati-Maniapoto legend-keepers who live on the Puniu south bank”<sup>121</sup>. Unpublished manuscripts largely from Raureti Te Huia in the 1930s and 40s were also included in the *Te Awamutu Historical Society Proceedings Book*, extracts of which Robertson (1965) later published. Phillips (1995, pp. 117–119) also included a passage about this *kōrero* in his book, *Nga Tohu a Nga Tupuna*.

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<sup>121</sup> Owen Wilkes (2005, February), suggested that this phrasing indicated Cowan was the author, describing it as “a distinctive Cowan flourish”.

The general *kōrero* is that Taraao lived on Te Kawa Mountain, while his brother-in-law Kārewa lived in Kāwhia. According to Te Whēoro, each married the sister of the other (unnamed in the mentioned sources). A dispute arose between the two over which food was better – the coastal foods of Kārewa, or the inland foods of Taraao. They compared the speed at which a *pipi* versus a *kōura* (fresh-water crayfish) were cooked. In this exchange, Kārewa’s *pipi* remained closed, while the *hihi* (feelers) of Taraao’s *koura* turned red at once – hence the *whakatauki*: “*Ka whero ta Taraao, e kopī ana ano ta Karewa, engari tau kua whero*”.<sup>122, 123</sup>

Te Wheoro (*ibid*) wrote that this dispute became a “*take pakanga*” (p. 29) – a cause of war between the brothers-in-law. On one occasion, Taraao visited Kārewa in Kāwhia. The different sources refer to Kārewa’s settlement as a *kāinga* (Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1871), Otururu [sic] Pā near Kawarua (Schnackenberg, 1926, p. 6) or Pounui Pā (Pōmare & Cowan, [1930] 1987, p. 126)<sup>124</sup>. Without reference to the *kōrero* about Taraao, Hapita Matini Te Awaitaia (1887, p. 57) also described Otururu Pā to be of a *rangatira* named Kārewa after the death of Te Ahooterangi, which occurred some 150 years later than the current *kōrero*’s events. Phillips (1995, p. 117) followed the earlier sources with the added detail that Taraao’s settlement was Te Putere [sic] Pā, which may be a confusion with a *pā* at Ngāroto of the same name<sup>125</sup>.

According to Schnackenberg’s and Pōmare and Cowan’s accounts, Taraao marvelled over the strong defences and proclaimed, “*teitei awatea, papaku po*” (“High in the daylight, shallow in the night”) (Pōmare & Cowan, [1930] 1987, p. 126)<sup>126</sup>. Taraao meant the defences would be for nothing through cunning and in the night. After his party left the *pā*, Taraao snuck back inside while Kārewa was asleep and swapped their clubs without waking him before

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<sup>122</sup> John White translated this as “Tara-ao’s has become red. And Kārewa’s is still closed. But mine is red”. The *whakatauki* may be used to refer to the relatives of someone who has been killed or in reference to a chief in a red garment (Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1871, p. 29).

<sup>123</sup> From this incident, Taraao was also known as Taraaowhero (“Marae Edward’s book” referred to in Robertson, 1969b, p. 4).

<sup>124</sup> Likely based on Raureti Te Huia’s *kōrero*, Oliphant (1935) and Robertson (1965, pp. 24–25) did not name Kārewa’s settlement, but said it was a *pā* at Ōpārau, Kāwhia.

<sup>125</sup> Referenced by Te Maaha Hikuroa (1889, p. 104) of Ngāti Rahupupuwai, Ngāti te Kanawa with regard to an attack by Ngāti Maniapoto on Ngāti Puhiaawe. See further discussion of these events in later section regarding Tautepō.

<sup>126</sup> Schnackenberg (1926) recorded how Kārewa sent “a triumphant message to his friend Taraao that the walls of the new fort ‘mount to the dark clouds of heaven Aopongi’. The answer came back prompt, pithy and prophetic: ‘tikitiki ao-papakupo!’ (‘lofty by day – lowly by night’).

returning to Te Kawa<sup>127</sup>. Kārewa was greatly insulted by this act and proclaimed, “*kua mate au i te mokai*”<sup>128</sup> (Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1871, p. 30), meaning that his lesser had overcome him. Te Wheoro wrote that Kārewa then attacked Taraao directly. In Schnackenberg’s version (followed by Phillips), he explained that this offence did not justify an attack on Taraao. Kārewa was later given cause after a fight between his people (who had travelled inland for eels) and Taraao’s people.

Te Wheoro’s version, followed by Pōmare and Cowan, included the narrative that Taraao saw the threat to his smaller community. Therefore, he and his people set about constructing a tunnel from the upper platform of the *pā* to the forest below, through which they could escape should they need to. Kārewa gathered his warriors and attacked Te Kawa, during which time Taraao and his people escaped through the tunnel. In Raureti Te Huia’s (in Oliphant, 1935; R. Te Huia, 1945b) version (followed by Phillips), Taraao and his people travelled to Ngutu’s *pā*, Whakapirimata, on the Pūniu River<sup>129</sup>. Kārewa pursued him there and besieged the *pā* for two months before returning to Kāwhia. Ngutu removed Taraao from Whakapirimata and the latter then went to a *pā* called Te Tiki-o-te-Ihingarangi and then to Katikati. According to Pōmare and Cowan, Taraao travelled to a place between the headwaters of the Mōkau and Whanganui Rivers. On the other hand, Schnackenberg’s version was that Kārewa retreated from Te Kawa after witnessing Taraao’s preparedness to watch the night assault. In his version, peace ensued between the two groups, and Taraao kept possession of Te Kawa.

Te Huia (1945b) placed Taraao as a grandson of Māhanga and son of Atutahi (see consistent whakapapa in Tauira, 1909, p. 224). Te Huia also mentioned Ngutu, son of Whāita in the *kōrero*, as a contemporary. Robertson (in Oliphant, 1935; Robertson, 1965, pp. 24–25; 1968, p. 47) suggested that there were two Taraao. One son of Atutahi, who would not have been at Te Kawa. The other was Huritake’s son and Puhiaawe’s nephew, who would have had a claim to Te Kawa<sup>130</sup>. The latter seems more likely to have been involved in the dispute with Kārewa. Raureti (1935a) described this Kārewa to be of Ngāti Mahuta at Ōpārau<sup>131</sup>. Te Oro Te

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<sup>127</sup> Te Wheoro’s version did not include that Kārewa first hosted Taraao before the latter exchanged the clubs.

<sup>128</sup> White (1888b) translated this as, “I have been murdered by that man of low birth” (p. 189).

<sup>129</sup> Formerly Whāita’s *pā*, as mentioned in the next section, who was Ngutu’s father

<sup>130</sup> See *whakapapa* provided by Hemi Erueti (1894, p. 188). Note spellings of Huritaki and Te Rao [sic] (Taraao).

<sup>131</sup> There was a Kārewa who married Huapiri, daughter of Mahuta.

Koko's (1886, p. 33) testimony in Te Rohe Pōtae Title Investigation also claimed descent from the Kārewa in this *kōrero*.

Despite the differences between the *kōrero* versions, the same theme carries through of Taraao being a cunning man who either deceived his brother-in-law or was very watchful in defence of his people before the attack of Kārewa. Te Huia's version emphasised the involvement of his ancestor, Ngutu, in fighting off Kārewa. Meanwhile, Pōmare and Cowan's version may have come from a descendant of Taraao who they recorded never left Te Kawa. The *kōrero* describe *pakanga* over *mana* between related groups with some mention of dispute over eels. The *whakatauki* and *kōrero* about the coastal and inland foods may be a symbolic code for the competition over these food sources and their associated lands, at the same time as both parties boasting the *mana* of their people.

Based on the CNA results, the conflict between Taraao and Kārewa (*kōrero pakanga* #27) occurred in approximately 1623 CE  $\pm$  18 years (1630 CE  $\pm$  26 years).

### **(#32) Hie, Pae-o-Ruahine and Paewhenua**

This *kōrero pakanga* involving Hie is from witness testimonies during the Māori Land Court Title Investigation of the Kopua-Pirongia-Kawhia Block in 1888. Hie was a son of Paiāriki from Ngāti Maniapoto and Kuo from Ngāti Unu, who lived at Te Kawa.

One dispute involved Hie and Ruatemarama to the south and Ngāti Huritake, Ngāti Horotakere and Ngāti Puhiawe, led by Taringa, to the north. Te Oro Te Koko (1888, p. 266) of Ngāti Ngāwaero said Pukehoua was an important hill and bird catching station located between the two groups, west of the Waipā River on the southern slopes of Pirongia. The dispute was over a tree, a favourite resting place for birds later named Paewhenua<sup>132</sup>. Hie and Taringa agreed that it would serve as a boundary to halt the quarrel, and they could both access their side of the tree. It is not clear whether this quarrel involved any open conflict or fighting.

During the 1888 court case, the Ngāti Paiāriki and Ngāti Hikairo claimants were unconvinced of Ngāti Ngāwaero's claim through their ancestor Hie to the block, west of the Waipā River (e.g., Papara, 1888b, p. 383). Rihari Tauwhare (1888, p. 332) presented *kōrero* about another quarrel involving Hie in which he lived at Te Kawa Mountain, east of Kakepuku. In Tauwhare's *kōrero*, Te Autehe and his son Taheke were the first to use Te Pae-o-Ruahine, either a *pā* or an eel weir, at Mangauika, west of the Waipā River. They were from Ngāti Maru,

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<sup>132</sup> This was where Rotu in Rakataura's party left a talisman to entice birds to the area when they first explored it (Kāora, 1886, p. 338; Tauwhare, 1888, p. 323).

but Tauwhare did not explain their connection to Hauraki or Taranaki, where Ngāti Maru are better known. Hie travelled from Te Kawa to the mouth of the Pūniu River, from where he told his people to use the Pae-o-Ruahine eel weir at Mangauika. A “quarrel”<sup>133</sup> ensued involving Hie’s people throwing down the Ngāti Maru people and urinating on them to diminish their *mana*. Hie was also thrown and nearly killed, which fuelled quarrelling between the groups that lasted several generations. Te Koko (1888, p. 259) said Te Pae-o-Ruahine was one of Hie’s *pā* but did not refer to the Ngāti Maru *pakanga*.

The *kōrero pakanga* associated with Hie are examples of where territory margins were negotiated through quarrelling, physical wrestling, public humiliation and boundary establishment. The *kōrero* described *pakanga* at a small scale that did not lead to open warfare and demonstrated Ngāti Unu’s *mana* at the time in the area of Te Kōpua and Mangauika.

Based on the CNA results, Hie’s *kōrero pakanga* (#32) occurred in approximately 1643 CE ± 48 years (1647 CE ± 62 years).

### **(#36) Tipi, Punga and Tukitaua**

The following *kōrero* comes from witness testimonies during the Māori Land Court Title Investigation of the Kōpua-Pirongia-Kāwhia Block (Mair, 1888e, 1888f). The *kōrero pakanga* in this section is between the siblings, Tipi, Punga and Tukitaua, from whom several claimants and counter-claimants sourced some of their *mana*.

Witnesses in the Ngāti Matakore counter-claim claimed part of the block through their descent from the siblings, who were children of Kowhewhe and Pohuturangi (Te Ngare, 1888, p. 99; Tukitaua, 1888, p. 121). The lead Ngāti Matakore counter-claimant, Te Anga (1888) said that “their *mana* over this land was equal; there was no *rohe* division between them”. Furthermore, their *mana* “was theirs originally through their ancestors, not through conquest” (p. 92), i.e., through descent from Rakataura (Te Ngare, 1888, pp. 103, 110). Ngāti Hikairo and Ngāti Paiāriki witnesses suggested that these siblings quarrelled. Rihari Tauwhare (1888, p. 332) claimed descent from Tipi, and his uncle, Whatihua (II), who quarrelled with Punga over bird catching places at Te Pekanui-o-Tipi and Moko-o-Tipi (see also Papara, 1888b, p. 385). Tauwhare also said that Tipi quarrelled with his Tukitaua over the Whakataupoko cultivations.

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<sup>133</sup> Translators and scribes of the Native Land Court commonly used the term “quarrel” to refer to disputes ranging from wrestling to armed combat resulting in the loss of life. The term quarrel is vague making it sometimes difficult to grasp the intensity of the dispute that the speaker may have suggested in their oratory within Te Reo Māori during the cases.

Very little detail was included about these quarrels. However, they are indicative of *whānau* disputes, perhaps regarding resource use and *mana rangatira* between siblings. The *pakanga* do not appear to have included open warfare nor the death of any of the siblings.

Based on the CNA results, *kōrero pakanga* #36 about Tipi, Punga and Tukitaua occurred in approximately 1677 CE ± 38 years (1688 CE ± 49 years).

#### **(#40) Taihoropaki, Ngaupaka, Taitengāhue and Ngāti Maru**

The following *kōrero* comes from three sources. The first is a testimony during the 1888 Māori Land Court Title Investigation of the Kopua-Pirongia-Kāwhia Block. Pōmare and Cowan (in [1930] 1987) published the second version from *kōrero* that Poupatate of Te Kōpua shared. Lastly, Raureti Te Huia (1936) briefly mentioned the Ngāti Maru incursion into the district amongst his *kōrero* about Mākino and Mōtai.

Te Wi Papara (1888b, p. 366) of Ngāti Paiāka and Ngāti Hikairo testified that Te Ngaupaka was a chief who lived in a *pā* at Tapuaeharuru [sic]. During Te Ngaupaka's occupation, Ngāti Maru "sojourners" lived at Te Aririmu [sic] Pā on Mangawhero's western bank. Taihoropaki was another chief from Te Angaanga and stayed with Te Ngaupaka for a time at Tapuaeharuru. Upon his return, Taihoropaki asked Ngāti Maru to bring a canoe across the river for him to cross it. Instead, Ngāti Maru denied him passage and cursed him. Taihoropaki then gathered his warriors, attacked and defeated the Ngāti Maru, killing one of their chiefs named Pokopoko.

Poupatate's *kōrero* was similar to Papara's with some clarifying details. He said that the newly arrived group were a party of Ngāti Maru-kai-moko-moko from Taranaki, who built two "stockade camps" or "villages" named Ararimu and Parahamuti [sic] near the Mangawhero Stream. Te Huia's (1936) account corroborated that this was Ngāti Maru-kai-moko-moko. He said the Ngāti Maru impeded Taihoropaki and his younger brother, Te Ngaupaka, from travelling eastwards, which was similar to Papara's account. Taihoropaki and Te Ngaupaka told their relation, Tai-te-Ngahue, of the events. Together they led a Ngāti Unu war party of 140 warriors against Ngāti Maru-kai-moko-moko, who they attacked in their *pā* and drove away.

This *kōrero* parallels those about the new arrivals of Mākino to Te Kawa swamp and Houtaketake to Pukenui. The plentiful eels drew Ngāti Maru of Taranaki to the area. Meanwhile, the new arrivals showed no *manaakitanga* for the local Ngāti Unu chiefs. As a result, the locals sought *utu* and defeated them. It also increases the *mana* of those chiefs for being able to defend their lands from incursion.

Based on the CNA results, *kōrero pakanga* #40 about Taitengahue’s conflict with Ngāti Maru occurred in approximately 1691 CE ± 10 years (1701 CE ± 20 years).

### ***Hapū of the Waikato River***

Having discussed *kōrero pakanga* of the seventeenth century about solidifying *hapū mana* in Te Nehenehenui, this section discusses *kōrero* about the same processes within the middle and lower Waikato Basin.

#### **(#33) Koroki, Taowhakairo**

This *kōrero* comes from Te Wheoro’s (1871, pp. 32–34) manuscript, which White (White, 1888b, pp. [Māo.] 184–186, [Eng.] 191–193) later published and attributed it to an unnamed Ngāti Mahuta source. White’s *reo* Māori version is not a direct transcript of Te Wheoro’s handwritten *reo* Māori version. As I have noted elsewhere, White commonly reworded sentences or elaborated on Te Wheoro’s meaning. Robertson (1965, p. 3; 1969c, pp. 51–52) also referred to this *kōrero* without stating his source, which would have been White’s publication. Witness testimonies in the Manukatutahi-Otautahanga Title Investigation also included reference to this *kōrero* (Puckey, 1884a, 1884b).

Korokī lived on the south side of the Waikato River (referred to as Horotiu), while Taowhakairo lived on the opposite side, slightly below what became Cambridge and Taowhakairo’s *pā*<sup>134</sup> being on the side of Pukerimu. Korokī was drawn to Taowhakairo’s wife, Hinepawhero, for her beauty. He often watched her urinating in front of her *pā*, across the river from his own. At one time, Korokī visited Taowhakairo’s wife while he was absent from his *pā* at eel working settlements or places — “*nga kainga mahi tuna*” (Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1871, p. 32). Upon his return, Taowhakairo found fibres from Korokī’s cloak in one of the *kūmara* stores<sup>135</sup>. He called across the river to Korokī that he would kill and cook him. Later that day, Korokī then left his settlement to share Taowhakairo’s threat with his Waikato relations. War parties were sent, and they attacked Taowhakairo’s *pā* and killed him (Korokī cooked Taowhakairo as he had threatened him in this way). Te Wheoro (*ibid*, p. 34) explained that this event was the root of the many battles that followed between Waikato and Ngāti Raukawa.

Korokī’s defeat of Taowhakairo was the foundation of Ngāti Korokī’s claim to the Manukatutahi ki Otautahanga (Maungatautari) Block. Piripi Whanatangi (1882) of Ngāti

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<sup>134</sup> Korokī’s *pā* was Tikapu, while Taowhakairo’s was named Maungatautari (Whanatangi, 1882, p. 165).

<sup>135</sup> According to Te Whanatangi (1882, p. 165) of Ngāti Korokī, Taowhakairo’s son, Horauta, said the guest had worn a dog skin mat and Taowhakairo knew from that that it was Korokī.

Korokī said that Korokī gathered “thousands of Waikatos” from Te Pūaha-o-Waikato to Maungatautari and attacked Taowhakairo in Maungatautari Pā and captured several other *pā* and chiefs in an extended war, which lasted into the 1800s. The source of the Ngāti Korokī claim was that the Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa departure from the district in the 1800s stemmed from Korokī’s initial attack on Taowhakairo – Kauwhata’s direct descendant (Ngamu, 1882; Whanatangi, 1882). All sides acknowledged that the fighting between Korokī and Taowhakairo was the first in the area. However, there was disagreement over the outcome of the battles.

*Utu* is the explicit cause in the *kōrero* of the battle between Taowhakairo and Korokī. In this case, Taowhakairo insulted Korokī for stalking his wife, who then gathered his relations to defeat Taowhakairo. However, Ngāti Korokī’s subsequent occupation of Taowhakairo’s side of the river suggests that they had a desire to conquer those lands. The reference to Taowhakairo collecting eels at the time of Korokī visiting Hinepawhero may also symbolise the resource that Korokī’s people were after in taking those lands.

Based on the CNA results, Korokī and Taowhakairo’s conflict (*kōrero pakanga* #33) occurred in approximately 1648 CE ± 32 years (1650 CE ± 36 years).

### **(#35) Ngāiwi, Paretāhuri, Mahuta and Pāoa**

This *kōrero* relates to the early settlement of the Taupiri area, Hekemaru and Hekeiterangi’s children and their intermarriage with the Ngāiwi people. There are several written versions of this *kōrero* from the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Wiremu Hoeti [sic] of Ngāti Tama-te-rā provided one of the earliest written accounts of Pāoa’s settlement at Taupiri to Judge William Martin, which Grey then included in *Nga Mahinga a Nga Tupuna* (Grey, 1854, pp. 194–222 (Eng.), 180–199 (Mao.)). GNZMMSS28 (Grey, 1857a, p. 140) contains further *kōrero* that Hoeti may have also provided. White (1888b, pp. 222–232 [Eng.], 215–236 [Mao.]) republished Hoeti’s *kōrero*, attributing it to an unnamed Ngāti Pāoa source. Hoani Nahe (1860) of Ngāti Maru wrote a further account, which White (1888b, pp. 218–221 [Eng.], 211–214 [Mao.]) published as being from an unnamed Ngāti Maru source. Witnesses in the Hoe-o-Tainui Title Investigation Case gave further *kōrero* around these events to support their claims to that block between Taupiri and Piako, north of Hangawera (in Scannell, 1889; Scannell & Gudgeon, 1890a, 1890b). Tukumana Te Taniwha (1929b) of Ngāti Whanaunga and

Ngāti Pāoa wrote an unpublished manuscript partly published by Te Taniwha (1929a) with a foreword by George Graham in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*<sup>136</sup>.

Later publications sourced information from these earlier manuscripts, but with sparing reference. Biggs did not identify Te Hurinui-Jones' source (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 162–169). There are, however, clear parallels with Te Taniwha's manuscript. Minor details of Te Hurinui-Jones' text are consistent with the earlier Hauraki accounts that Grey and White published. Kelly (1940b) did not reference anyone. However, the phrasing of Kelly's (1940b, p. 152) *reo* Māori is consistent with Te Taniwha's manuscript<sup>137</sup>. Kelly (1949, pp. 186–191) later wrote a detailed narrative closely following but without referencing Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs. Later publications primarily followed Kelly's work<sup>138</sup>.

One of the first groups to occupy the area were Ngāiwi, meaning “people” or “tribes”. This grouping refers to people across several districts, including the following:

- Aotea Harbour (Te Aoterangi, c. 1860, p. 42),
- Tāmaki (Maru, 1909, pp. 18–19; Tautau, 1868, pp. 271–282; Te Iwi, 1868, p. 192; Tuhaere, 1868, pp. 108–130),

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<sup>136</sup> Graham stated that “some of the tribal history herein narrated” is in Grey's and White's publications. However, there are differences, which indicate his knowledge may have come from other sources.

<sup>137</sup> For example, he stated that when Paoa realised he had not food to offer Mahuta, he said “*He aha te pai o te korero; ma roto kia tika, ka pai ai te korero; me hoki*” (“What is the use of talking; if the inside is in order, then it will be well to talk; you had better return”). This was Te Taniwha's exact wording in his manuscript. Both Grey's record of Hoeti and Te Hurinui have different phrasing for this sentence.

<sup>138</sup> Robertson (1965, pp. 22–23, 29) added little further detail aside from claiming Tauhakari [sic] was of Ngā Iwi descent from Tāmaki. In a whakapapa chart, he showed her as a daughter of Huirae and granddaughter of Whaturoto (p. 31). Kelly (1949, Table 54) placed the latter as child of Poutukeka of *Tainui* waka and son of Hoturoa and Whakaotirangi, whose descendants were indeed Wai-o-hua or Ngā Iwi in Tāmaki (Kelly, 1949, pp. 62–64; Te Aoterangi, 1923, pp. 7–10; R. Te Huia, 1935c). However, given this whakapapa has Tau-hākari as three generations after the crew of *Tainui*, while Pāoa is some fifteen<sup>138</sup> generations, there may be some members missing from Kelly and Robertson's whakapapa of Tau-hākari. F. Phillips (1989, pp. 60–62; 1995, pp. 114–117) confused some details when changing the narrative in Volume 2 from Volume 1 of *Nga Tohu a Tainui*. Considered that Pāoa lived at Te Uapata, not Kaitōtehe. He argued this because after the later conflict, Pāoa and Horowhenua [sic] escaped on foot along the Mangawara and no mention is made of crossing the Waikato. He may have been influenced by the Ngāti Maru narrative provided by White (1888b, pp. 218–221 (Eng.), 211–214 (Mao.)), that stated Pāoa lived at Ua-pata [sic]. However, Phillips did not explicitly reference him, nor did he include any other details from this source.

- Lower Waikato River around Taupiri (Kerei Te Whetuiti, 1890a, p. 317; Manukau, 1890, p. 195; Whanatangi, 1890, pp. 222, 264), and
- Horotiu (Wiremu Puke pers. comm.; Waharoa Te Puke in NaMTOK & HCC, 2003, pp. 36, 39, 69; Rotokauri North Tangata Whenua Working Group, 2001).

In the 1889–1890 Te Hoe-o-Tainui Title Investigation, there was a general acceptance amongst all parties that Ngāiwi originally occupied this block and the area around Taupiri before Pikiāo and Rereiao’s grandchildren settled there. Ngāiwi were a group that descended from Tainui, but witnesses were unsure which Tainui ancestors Ngāiwi descended from (e.g., Kerei Te Whetuiti, 1890b, p. 38). Others testified that Ngāiwi was a general name that referred to many *hapū*<sup>139</sup> (Kerei Te Whetuiti, 1890a, pp. 317–318, 320; Manukau, 1890, p. 196).

Having been born in the Pirongia area, the children of Hekemaru and Hekeiterangi settled in Taupiri. The eldest child, Paretāhuri, married Wairere’s son Maramatutahi at Whatawhata, and their great-granddaughter, Kiringaua (also of Ngāiwi descent), married Hekemaru’s second child, Mahuta<sup>140</sup>. Pāoa was the last-born and married Tauhakari of Ngāiwi<sup>141</sup>. Pāoa had two wives. His first wife was Tauhakiri with whom he had three children, Toawhena, Toapoto and Kōuraweherua (Kōura)<sup>142,143</sup>.

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<sup>139</sup> Including Ngāti Mokohape, Ngāti Kinekehu, Ngārīki, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Tamihana, Ngāti Rakawera, Ngāti Te Whio, Ngāti Pokai and Ngāti Waitarure.

<sup>140</sup> Robertson (1956, pp. 50–53) and Tita Tauī Wetere (in *ibid*) critiqued Kiringaua’s descent from Paretāhuri through Tūteiwi, which Te Hurinui-Jones (1962, p. 22) later referred to.

<sup>141</sup> The early Hauraki written versions of this *kōrero* from Wiremu Hoeti and Hoani Nahe (1860) said that Pāoa was not a child of Hekemaru and Hekeiterangi, but was from Ngāti Kahungunu<sup>141</sup> at Waipaoa<sup>141</sup> (in Gisborne). In these versions, he travelled to the West Coast and then inland to Waikato in search of his wife who had left him after an argument. He met his second wife and settled with her at Kaitōtehe Pā on the western side of the Waikato River, across from Taupiri Mountain. Ngāti Mahuta and Ngāti Pāoa testimonies in the Hoe-o-Tainui Title Investigation, and Te Taniwha’s (1929b) manuscript, however, agreed that the Pāoa at Taupiri was a child of Hekemaru and Hekeiterangi (in Scannell, 1889; Scannell & Gudgeon, 1890a, 1890b).

<sup>142</sup> Wini Kerei Te Whetuiti (1890a, p. 343; 1890b, pp. 2, 44–45) said that Pāoa married Tauhakiri, who bore her children at Te Hoe-o-Tainui where she lived. After a time, Pāoa sought to live closer to his siblings who had settled in Waikato, and the family moved to Kaitōtehe Pā, across the Waikato River from Taupiri Mountain. Kiringaua and Mahuta, meanwhile, lived at Te Upata Pā.

<sup>143</sup> Tukumana Te Taniwha (1929b) wrote that they settled in villages along the banks of the Waikato River, but did not name them.

At one time, Pāoa and Tauhakiri received Mahuta at Kaitōtehe Pā<sup>144,145</sup>, but did not have food to provide his guests. The different versions offer several reasons for this. Wiremu Hoeti (in Grey, 1854) and Timoti Te Huia (1890) said that Pāoa had a younger wife (before Tukutuku), and Tauhakiri was jealous of her. Tauhakiri refused to share the food stores with Pāoa's other wife to provide for the guests, which humiliated Pāoa. In Te Taniwha's (1929b) version, Tauhakiri and Pāoa had no food because so many guests frequented Kaitōtehe, it being on the highway of the Waikato River. According to Piripi Whanatangī (1890, p. 220) of Ngāti Huakatoa, Mahuta caught a *tuna* (eel) and *kōura* (crayfish) at Mangaotoka on his way to Kaitōtehe. Tauhakiri's third child was near birth, and she did not prepare any food for Mahuta. Kōura was named after the food that Mahuta brought. Meanwhile, Wini Kerei (Kerei Te Whetuiti, 1890a, p. 343; 1890b, pp. 2, 44–45) merely said the Tauhakiri was “stingy”<sup>146</sup> and did not wish to open her *kūmara* stores. Either from shame or anger, Pāoa left Kaitōtehe, travelled up the Mangawara Stream, through Te Hoe-o-Tainui and on to Piako. Pāoa then married the daughter of chief Ruawhea<sup>147</sup> named Tukutuku. Hauraki sources state that Tukutuku was very hospitable and gave birth to many children (Grey, 1857a, p. 140).

When Pāoa's children with Tukutuku grew to adulthood, Pāoa travelled back to his family of Tauhakiri. Te Ngahoa Ripikoi (1889, p. 31) testified that Toawhena and Toapoto took Pāoa. In the other versions, Pāoa missed his elder children and wished to visit them. The different versions record Pāoa's elder children to have been at Waitawheta Pā or Kāinga (Grey, 1857a, p. 195), Te Upata (Nahe, 1860), or either Waitawheta, Waikere and Mangamutu Pā (Whanatangī, 1890). Toapoto and Toawhena put Pāoa to work uttering *karakia* (incantations) over their *māra kai* (cultivations). Fearing their elder half-siblings were taking advantage of their father, Horowhenua, his older brothers, and their warriors went to claim him back. After seizing Pāoa, the war party began travelling back to Piako. Toawhena and Toapoto pursued them and fought their younger brothers but were killed. Pāoa then returned to the Piako with his younger family.

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<sup>144</sup> Hoeti recorded that it was Tauhakiri's parents, not Mahuta.

<sup>145</sup> Wini Kerei (1890a, p. 343; 1890b, pp. 2, 44–45) said Mahuta was accompanied by Paretāhuri's husband Maramatūtahi.

<sup>146</sup> Phrase used by translator.

<sup>147</sup> A descendant of Hotunui and Marutuahu, who descended from the Tainui *waka* and moved to Hauraki from Kāwhia generations before.

There are several contested elements within the *kōrero* versions posited by the claimants and counter-claimants of the Hoe-o-Tainui Title Investigations. The Ngāti Horowhenua counter-claimants said that Pāoa's wife, Tauhakiri of Ngāiwi, had *mana* over the block. At the death of Toapoto and Toawhena, their relations gathered a war party to attack Horowhenua at Mirimirirau Pā on the Piako River. He repulsed this attack and conquered lands up to Te Hoe-o-Tainui before Kōuraweherua (sister to Toapoto and Toawhena) made peace, laying her weapon, Taiaha-a-Huakatoa, as a boundary. They asserted that Ngāiwi only had one *pā* in the area at Waitāwheta at the headwaters of the Mangawhara River, which further diminished any *mana* of any Ngāiwi remnants over the land. They further emphasised the large numbers of warriors in the war parties to support their conquest claims. The Ngāti Rurangi counter-claim was similar but emphasised their ancestor Tipa's (Horowhenua's brother) role in the conquest, thus keeping their claim to the block. The last counter-claim was by Ngāti Huakatoa (Ngāti Hua), who received their name from Mahuta's grandson. Their claim through conquest relates to a later period, which I will discuss in the next section. The Ngāti Kōura claim Te Hoe-o-Tainui was partly through descent from Ngāiwi as the original carers of the land and that neither Horowhenua nor Tipa conquered Ngāiwi at Hoe-o-Tainui and that the quarrel between the brothers was just over their father, not over the land. They also claimed that Ngāiwi constructed all the *pā*, supporting their notion that Ngāti Kōura had the greatest claim to the block as Ngāiwi descendants that maintained possession of the land.

The cause of the *pakanga* between Pāoa's children was their respective desires to retain and inherit their father's *mana*. In Hauraki versions, Tipa and Horowhenua also sought *utu* for Toapoto and Toawhena forcibly taking Pāoa and then abusing his *mana*. The extent to which Ngāiwi *mana* was preserved after the *pakanga* was also disputed. Ngāti Kōura versions suggest that the conflict was only between the brothers themselves, while descendants of Tipa and Horowhenua claimed they were large battles resulting in conquests over Ngāiwi. The *pā* on the block were also related to earlier or later occupations, depending on the case.

Based on the CNA results, *kōrero pakanga* #35 about Pāoa's children relates to approximately 1675 CE ± 34 years (1675 CE ± 46 years).

### **(#39 & 48) Conquest over Ngāiwi at Taupiri**

Following the death of Toawhena and Toapoto, testimonies in the Hoe-o-Tainui case describe subsequent quarrels between Ngāiwi and the descendants of Paretāhuri, Mahuta and Pāoa, who married into Ngāiwi. These refer to several *pā* at Taupiri and the adjacent lands, including Taipōuri on the Waikato River, Hukanui, Tauhei, Hangawera and Te Hoe-o-Tainui. Reports

prepared by *mana whenua* working groups also include previously unpublished *kōrero* about the conquests of Ngāiwi based on *kōrero tuku iho* and unpublished manuscripts like Waharoa Te Puke's of Ngāti Wairere (Wiremu Te Puke pers. comm. and in NaMTOK & HCC, 2003; Rotokauri North Tangata Whenua Working Group, 2001, 2020). Hayward *et al.* (2015) also prepared a report outlining Ngāti Māhanga's cultural footprint in Hamilton.

In the Hoe-o-Tainui case, the Ngāti Huakatoa counterclaimants partly based their claim on the conquest of Ngāiwi (Manukau, 1890; Whanatangī, 1890). Mahuta married Kiringaua, who was described in the case as Ngāiwi. She was also a granddaughter of Mahuta's elder sister, Paretāhuri. Kiringaua had a son, Uerātā, who had a son, Huakatoa. Uerātā lived at his parent's *pā* at Te Uapata on the Kōmakorau Stream, while his mother's relatives were at Otahua [sic] Pā to the south. People of the two *pā* engaged in sports at Otahua, during which Uerātā was thrown down and his hair was pulled out. Wiremu Puke (2021) shared another version that Ngāiwi dragged Uerātā through fire ashes. Both acts humiliating and diminishing Uerātā's *mana*. Paretāhuri's son, Hānui, and his relation, Ngaupaiaka<sup>148</sup>, assembled a war party and travelled to Otahua [sic]. Ngaupaiaka broke a calabash (*hue*) to signal the war party to attack. In this version, Hānui, Huakatoa and Hotumauea joined the war party conquering the land from the Waikato to Piako, bordered by Te Au-o-Waikato (Morrinsville) to the south and Tikioneone in the north. The war party leaders then divided the lands amongst themselves (Whanatangī, 1890, pp. 215–217, 245).<sup>149</sup> According to Waharoa Te Puke (in NaMTOK & HCC, 2003, pp. 29–31), Kōura's grandson, Hotumauea, and her cousin, Hānui (son of Maramatutahi and Paretāhuri), at a later time first attacked Ngāiwi at Paraureroa Pā near Mangatāwhiri and drove them southwards to Horotiu. Hotumauea and Hānui then attacked and captured several *pā* along the Waikato River. This *kōrero* is generally consistent with the Ngāti Huakatoa claim that Hotumauea was involved in this conquest.

On the other hand, acting partly for Ngāti Kōura and Ngāti Pāoa, Wini Kerei (1890a, 1890b) said that Ngāti Mahuta did not conquer Ngāiwi. He recognised the humiliation of Uerātā but noted that Ngaupaiaka settled the dispute by breaking calabashes (*hue*) – neither killing anyone nor taking land from Ngāiwi. Their close relationships stopped any conflict - Uerātā's mother and Hānui's wife were both of Ngāiwi. Hānui went on to settle at Hukanui, and his descendants were known as Ngāti Hānui. Wini Kerei (1890b, pp. 28–29) said this was

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<sup>148</sup> Also spelled Ngapaeaka.

<sup>149</sup> Hānui was elderly at this time, according to Piripi Whanatangī (*ibid.*, p. 259), who disagreed with Rawinia Manukau's (1890, p. 196) statement that Mahuta was also involved in this conquest.

not through conquest but by marrying Kuiamoko [sic] of Ngāti Mokohape – a *hapū* of Ngāiwi. He also noted that Huakatoa and Hotumauea – both of whom Ngāti Huakatoa claimants said led the conquest – were not adults at this time. Meanwhile, Uerātā could not have been an old man as Piripi Whanatangi suggested if he was partaking in the sports (Kerei Te Whetuiti, 1890a, p. 328; 1890b, p. 28). Therefore, in this version, the war parties were only led by Ngaupaiaaka and Hānui, and the dispute ended at Otahua Pā.

Waikato hapū occupied pre-existing Ngāiwi Pā and built new ones following their conquest (NaMTOK & HCC, 2003). Iranui settled at Mangaharakeke Pā, at Te Rapa, Hamilton<sup>150</sup>. Hānui had several *pā* including Miropiko and Te Tupari Pā. His wife was Paretaua and her descendants lived at Ōpoia Pā. Hotumauea's eldest son, Tutumua, was one of the people who settled in the Ngāiwi Pā, Pukete (*ibid*, p. 36). Ngāti Wairere also settled Owhango Pā after Ngāiwi. Ngāti Māhuta later settled in this *pā*, but Ngāti Wairere reoccupied it after the former group left it (*ibid*, p. 39). Hotumauea constructed the large Te Rapa Pā and Te Kourahi Pā nearby may have been a nearby place to host guests (*ibid*, pp. 55-59). Te Wheoro (1871, pp. 61–63) recorded a *kōrero*<sup>151</sup> about how Hotumauea's brothers-in-law saw to check his newborn child was not male<sup>152</sup> who might later compete with themselves in the leadership of the tribe. They led a war party to encircle Hotumauea, but he escaped due to his athleticism. Ngāti Wairere *kōrero* is that Hotumauea gathered his warriors and attacked his pursuers. He captured them, brought them to Te Rapa Pā and killed them there (NaMTOK & HCC, 2003, p. 56). At Rotokauri, Ngāti Ngāmurikaitaua<sup>153</sup> occupied the Ngāiwi *pā*, Te Uhi, and Kahikawaka Pā (at Te Ohote Stream; Rotokauri North Tangata Whenua Working Group, 2001). Ngāti Ngārape and Ngāti Hourua also occupied Te Uhi Pā<sup>154</sup> (Hayward *et al.*, 2015).

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<sup>150</sup> Ngāti Māhanga *kōrero* is that this was also a *pā* of Ngāti Koura, which they consider a Ngāti Māhanga *hapū* (Hayward *et al.*, 2015, p. 20).

<sup>151</sup> Later translated by Biggs (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 376–377).

<sup>152</sup> This involved her hiding her son's penis from her brothers. A similar event occurred when Tūirangi's daughter, Hinemoana, had a child to the Whanganui chief, Tūpito. Tūirangi's sons then went to visit her and her child to make sure it was not a boy. She then hid her son's penis between his legs to save him (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 188–192).

<sup>153</sup> A *hapū* of Ngāti Māhanga (Hayward *et al.*, 2015, pp. 5–6).

<sup>154</sup> Ngāti Māhanga *kōrero* also refers to Te Ara-o-Kāroro Pā, as being one Ngāti Hourua's first. Hourua was a daughter of Uerātā and Puakirangi, and sister to Huakatoa. Hourua and her brothers were therefore a generation after Hānui and Kōura. Hourua married Pakaue before Koata. Ngāti Hourua descend from that union and were a *hapū* of Ngāti Māhanga (Hayward *et al.*, 2015). The name Te Ara-o-Kāroro refers to the *ara* (path) between Te



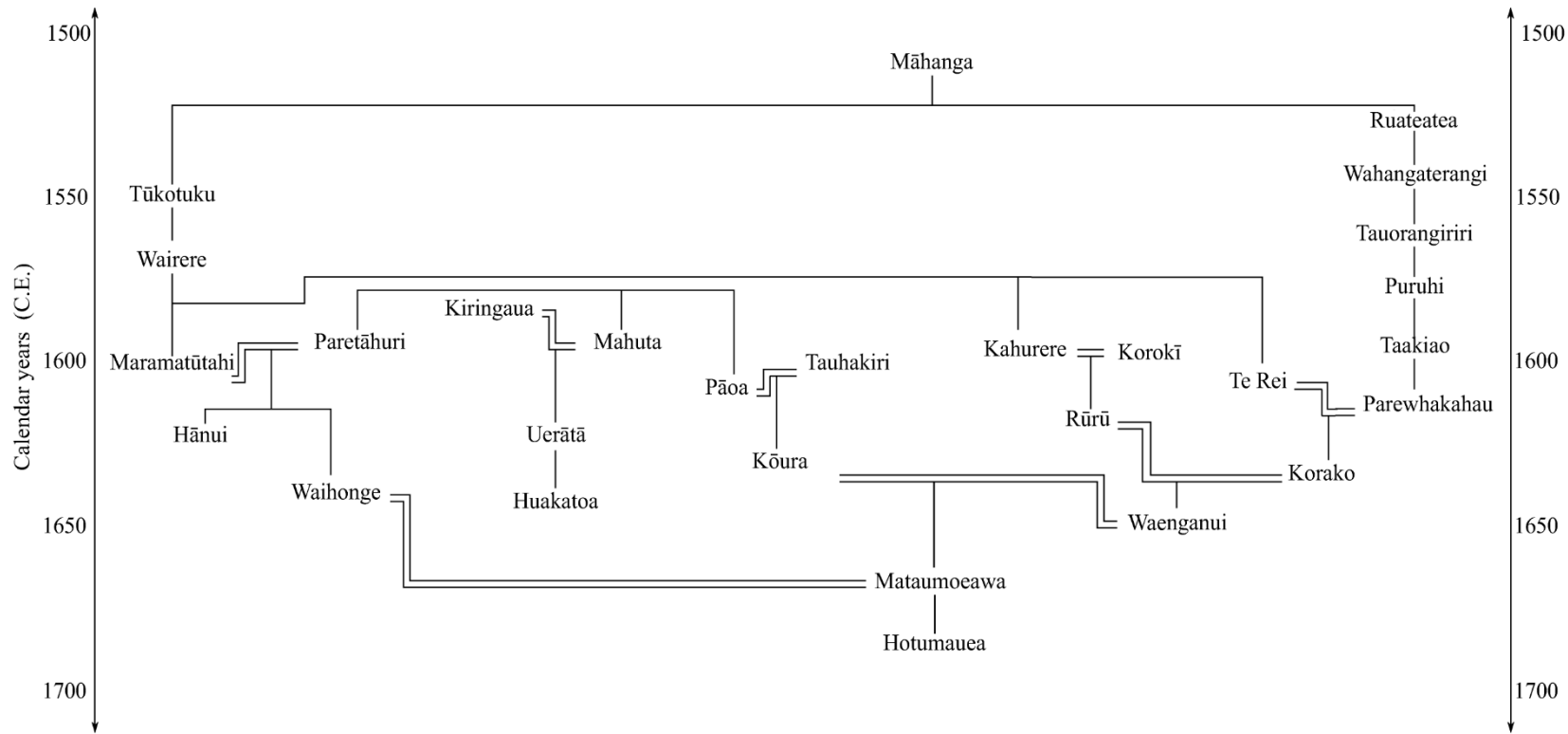


Figure 19. Whakapapa relationships and CNA results for Hānui, Uerātā, Huakatoa, Hotumauea, Kōrako and Waenganui.

The extent of the conquest is clearly part of a contested history. Descendants of Ngāiwi through Kōura claimed that there was little to no conquest and that Hānui simply married into Ngāiwi. The Ngāti Huakatoa and Ngāti Wairere *kōrero* state there were significant conquests. Each *pā* capture serving as a symbol of *mana whenua* in that area by the descendants of the conquerors since that time. It is possible that several conflicts between different generations were collapsed into one to increase the magnitude of the battles and the *mana* of the victories, much like Horowhenua's descendants did in sharing their *kōrero* about Mirimirau.

Based on the CNA results, the conflict with Ngāiwi in Waikato (*kōrero pakanga* #39) occurred in approximately 1683 CE  $\pm$  26 years (1681 CE  $\pm$  35 years). Hotumauea's later quarrel around Te Rapa Pā (*kōrero pakanga* #48) occurred in 1708 CE  $\pm$  13 years (1710 CE  $\pm$  26 years).

### **(#38) Hānui and Waenganui**

Shortland (1882, pp. 96–97) recorded a further *kōrero* in English about Hānui outside of his relationship to Horotiu. I did not find an original manuscript of this text. White (1888a, pp. [Māo.] 101–103, [Eng.] 117–119) published a consistent but not a word-for-word matching version four years later in English and *reo Māori*, which he attributed to an unnamed Ngāti Hauā source. The texts are so similar that it is possible that White's Māori text is a transcript of a hand-written manuscript that Shortland and White independently translated and published. This is not certain, however, as I have demonstrated that White occasionally elaborated on the hand-written manuscripts in his possession. The authenticity of Shortland's and White's accounts require further investigation. Kelly (1949, pp. 193–197) followed White's version in his book *Tainui* with some contextual information from Rore Eruera and small commentary of his own.

To provide some context, after Maniapoto received his father Rereahu's *mana*, his *tuakana*, Te Ihingarangi left the Waipā district to settle in Maungatautari. His descendant Korokī became the leader of the people in that area with a central *pā* called Horotiu in modern Cambridge. Korokī married two of Wairere's daughters, Te Kahurere and Tumataura (Figure 20). Te Kahurere gave birth to a daughter named Rūrū, who married her cousin, Kōrako, and they had a son named Waenganui, whom Kōura married, and they had Hotumauea. Kōrako and Hānui were therefore, both grandsons of Wairere. Kōrako was a cousin to Kōura.

The *kōrero* that Shortland and then White published is that Hānui was with his companion, Heketewānanga, when they came across Hānui's cousin, Kōrako, resting in the hollow of a tree trunk somewhere near to the Waikato River. Presumably, this was in the

Maungatautari district where Kōrako and Waenganui were living, perhaps before he married Kōura. Heketewānanga proceeded to humiliate the older man, Kōrako, by urinating on his head. Hānui was angered at this but left the scene with Heketewānanga. Kōrako meanwhile sent word across the Waikato River for his son, Waenganui, to come from his *pā* to meet him. Kōrako then explained what Heketewānanga had done to him. Waenganui shared his father's humiliation with his people, and they gathered a war party. Three-hundred-and-forty warriors set out for Hānui's *pā*<sup>155</sup>, which contained six hundred warriors. A battle waged in front of the *pā* before Waenganui's force breached the defences and he called to Hānui and his *whānau* to climb upon their house to escape death<sup>156</sup>. This act was in recognition of their relationship and that Hānui himself did not humiliate Kōrako.

There were at least two *pā* mentioned – Waenganui's and Hānui's. Across the Waikato River from one another. The *kōrero* does not include why they were constructed there and when. However, the conflict between the two groups rose over acts to humiliate and renegotiate the standing of different lineages within related groups of the area. There do not appear to be further dynamics in the *kōrero* that might relate the conflict to competition over particular resources.

Based on the CNA results, Hānui's conflict with Waenganui (*kōrero pakanga* #38) occurred in approximately 1683 CE  $\pm$  26 years (1682 CE  $\pm$  34 years).

### Summary

This chapter outlined my analysis of written forms of *kōrero tuku iho* about *pakanga* in Waikato after initial settlements in those areas. This generally related to the 1600s. These *kōrero* were contested in Māori Land Courts – each contributing to different claims to land interests in the late nineteenth century. The *kōrero* of this period is less concentrated than those associated with first settlement and the later wars between *hapū*. *Utu* is the main explanation for the *pakanga*. However, *kōrero* also includes references to particular resources were sought by different descent groups. Disputes between closely related groups were often small scale.

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<sup>155</sup> Shortland's version states "the Pa at Hanui", while White's English version is "the pa of Ha-nui" (p.119 [Eng.]). His Māori version states "*a haere ake kotahi ma rima ki te tau i te Pa a Ha-nui*" (p. 102 [Māo.]). Shortland's version indicates there was at the place, named Hānui, but White's indicates it was merely at the person, Hānui's, *pā*.

<sup>156</sup> A similar motif of a message being sent to relations within a *pā* about to be attack is included in Te Wheoro's (1871) record of Pāpaka's attack on his uncles at Te Pūāha-o-Waikato, where his mother was saved in this way.

However, some versions of *kōrero* portrayed them as large conflicts to support their interests in later generations. Where *pakanga* were argued to result in conquest of land, the number of chiefs captured or killed, number of *pā* attacked and warriors involved were much larger. There were no *kōrero pakanga* that I found about Te Tai Hauāuru in the 1600s. In this next chapter, I outline the results of the analysis of *kōrero pakanga* in the 1700s.

**CHAPTER EIGHT:**  
***NGĀ PAKANGA HEI WHAKAPŪMAU I NGĀ MANA HAPŪ***

*(Wars to establish subtribal authority)*

In the previous chapter, I reviewed *kōrero pakanga* in Waikato at the tail end of the *maihi* in the *wharenuī whakapapa* up until the formation of *hapū* that were later recognised in the 1800s. This current chapter analyses *kōrero pakanga* of the 1700s to early 1800s (below the *maihi* and within the *wharenuī whakapapa*) and is organised into four sections based on general areas of conflict and time periods:

1. Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Koata
2. Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Puhiaue, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Hikairo
3. Ngāti Mahuta, Ngāti Tāhinga and Ngāti Raukawa
4. Late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century *kōrero pakanga*

**Part one: Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Toarangatira, Ngāti Koata**

The focus of this section is on the political developments along the coast from Marokopa in the south to Aotea and Whāingaroa in the north. *Kōrero pakanga* from this period explain the rise to dominance of the allied and related tribes, Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Koata. *Hapū* of Ngāti Maniapoto, such as Ngāti Te Kanawa were also involved in these disputes to some extent. However, their main rivals in the below *kōrero* were the descendants of Tūirirangi, often referred simply as Ngāti Tūirirangi.

**(#37 & 42) Paruparu and Toarangatira**

This *kōrero* comes from the Pukenui Block Title Investigation and Rehearing Māori Land Court cases. Rōrā had Tūtaimārō, who had Paruparu. Te Naunau Hīkaka (1894, pp. 252–253) testified that after the warfare between Maniapoto and Ngāti Taaki of Mōkau, during the time of Paruparu I and Tūtaimārō, a Ngāti Toarangatira war party travelled inland from Kāwhia to Te Kuiti, to Waititi and attacked Paruparu at Te Tumutumu Pā. Failing to capture the *pā*, they settled down below it and attempted to starve the local people by pulling out their crops. Toarangatira's wife, Parehounuku, was from Ngāti Matakore and was therefore related to the inhabitants. She entered the *pā* and saw the inhabitants were starving. She shared the Ngāti Toa plans of heading further inland to dig *kūmara*. With this knowledge, Paruparu and Tūtaimārō ambushed them while they were digging the cultivations and killed several Ngāti Toa people

including Taraiwi, Nanua, Matangi, Matapururua, Te Pukenui, Tokapuhuki, Te Heuheu, Te Pahunui. Their names were bestowed on different parts of the Pukenui Block after this event.

Hikaka (1894, p. 253) said that after this victory, Paruparu and others went to attack Ngāti Toa in Kāwhia but were killed at Waikaraka. Hone Kāora (1886, pp. 323–344) similarly testified in the 1886 Rohe Pōtae Title Investigation case that Tūkawekai and Paruparu of Ngāti Maniapoto went to attack Ngāti Te Ariari. Kāora said that about 200 men marched to Kāwhia, where the local people saw them and pursued them in canoes at Te Motu and overtook them at Okaroro, where they defeated Paruparu. The Ngāti Maniapoto survivors fled to Te Kanawa's settlement, which I assume was Whitiura in eastern Kāwhia. Evidently, Tūkawekai survived this conflict as he was later involved with Te Kanawa in battles against Toarangatira and Kāwharu (Kelly, 1949, pp. 226–260).

Hikaka's testimony supported the Ngāti Maniapoto claim to the land around Te Kuiti including the Pukenui Block. Tūtaimārō and Paruparu's successful defence of their lands supported this claim. Hikaka's testimony also briefly mentioned Paruparu's subsequent death in Kāwhia. On the other hand, Hone Kāora's testimony provided more detail around the nature of the Ngāti Maniapoto defeats in Kāwhia at the hands of Ngāti Te Ariari, from whom Kāora's *iwi*, Ngāti Hikairo, claim descent (Kāora, 1886, p. 375). The cause of the Ngāti Toarangatira attack on Ngāti Maniapoto is recorded in the mentioned accounts. However, it resulted in Paruparu seeking *utu* by attacking Ngāti Toarangatira or Ngāti Te Ariari in Kāwhia. These conflicts resulted in no loss of land. They were primarily negotiations of *mana* by leading *rangatira* of neighbouring and related *hapū*.

Based on the CNA results, the Ngāti Toarangatira attack on Paruparu (*kōrero pakanga* #37) occurred in 1682 CE  $\pm$  8 years (1684 CE  $\pm$  26 years). The subsequent attack by Paruparu on Ngāti Te Ariari or Ngāti Toarangatira (*kōrero pakanga* #42) occurred in approximately 1695 CE  $\pm$  20 years (1700 CE  $\pm$  34 years).

#### **(#49) Kāwharu and Te Huaki**

Te Nguha Huirama told Pei Te Hurinui-Jones (n.d. 6, pp. 76–81) a *kōrero* about Ngaere's elder brother Toakōtara and his son Toroa-ihuroa in 1932, which was later published (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 253–260). In the latter volume, Biggs identified that Kelly (1949, pp. 217–221) followed another of Jones' (n.d. 1, pp. 168–174) manuscripts literally.

Mamaku, a third child of Keteiwi and Hinemata, was the younger brother of Toakōtara and Ngaere. Mamaku married Waitāwhiti (daughter of Ruateatea) and they had Te Huaki. The latter grew up at Waikeria Pā. Te Huaki's cousin, Kāwharu (elder brother to Te Wehi) was

born to Ngaere and Koata. He grew up at Te Whakapaku Pā on the Waipā. When they were of fighting age, Te Huaki and Kāwharu fought under the Ngāti Raukawa leader, Ngātokowaru, in the battle of Te Tumu, near Maketū, in the Bay of Plenty, where a Te Arawa force was defeated<sup>157</sup>.

When Te Huaki and Kāwharu returned, they went to Whāingaroa and were welcomed by a Ngāti Tāhinga *rangatira*, Uatītahi, to Horongārara Pā. One of their relations let them know that their host intended to have them killed, so they escaped. Kāwharu then asked Te Huaki to avenge how Uatītahi treated them. Te Huaki then returned to Waikeria and married Ngātokowaru's daughter Toreheikura. He then asked a Ngāti Raukawa warrior named Ahutūrama to avenge their earlier ill treatment in Whāingaroa. The latter agreed and travelled to the harbour with a raiding party. They first camped at Kaingapipi Pā near to the present location of Waingaro Marae. They later attacked the local people from Pātikirau Bay and killed all apart from Kāwharu's relation, the child named Pouhoromoana. After Ahutūrama attacked and captured Horongārara Pā, Kāwharu and Ahutūrama went to Marohema, near Ngāruawāhia, before Kāwharu went to live with his foster father Pakaue in Kāwhia.

This single written version of this *kōrero* limits the analysis of its symbolic and political dynamics. The people mentioned in the *kōrero* were contemporaries. Kāwharu went on to be an important figure in the politics of Kāwhia and was a primary ancestor of what became Ngāti Koata. This *kōrero* captures a successful repulsion of Ngāti Tāhinga's offence to Te Huaki and Kāwharu's *mana* in Whāingaroa. The conflict arose with the Ngāti Tāhinga leader challenging Te Huaki and Kāwharu. This insult was then avenged. Te Huaki and Kāwharu's subsequent departure from Whāingaroa demonstrates their intent of *utu*, not conquest.

Based on the CNA results, Kāwharu and Ahutūrama's conflict (*kōrero pakanga* #49) occurred in approximately 1710 CE ± 6 years (1712 CE ± 22 years).

#### **(#50) Pakaue, Kāwharu, Tūāhumāhina, Toarangatira and Te Kanawa**

There are several versions to this *kōrero* that I briefly summarise here. They are as follows:

1. Atanatiu Te Kairangi's (1881, pp. 42–47) manuscript, which Pōmare (1930, pp. 54–59) later translated without reference.
2. Hone Kāora (1886, pp. 343–345), which Wiremu Te Wheoro (1886, pp. 192–193) and Wetera Te Rerenga (1886, pp. 3–4) partly followed.

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<sup>157</sup> This was a different Ngātokowaru from that which killed Te Putu as will be discussed later.

3. John White (1888b, pp. 99–102 [Eng.], 194–197 [Māo.]) recorded from an unnamed Ngāti Toa source.
4. Karihana Whakataki of Ngāti Toa told another version to Elsdon Best in 1894 that Percy Smith (1908, pp. 118–121) later published.
5. Schnackenberg (1926, pp. 3–4) reported *kōrero* from elders in Kāwhia relating to this conflict.
6. Kelly (1949) gave details from an unknown source.
7. F. Phillips (1995, pp. 61–68) published edited versions from Pōmare; an account attributed to Māori Land Court evidence (likely from Kāora’s testimony); and Kelly’s version.

Several *rangatira* contemporaneously occupied different *pā* and associated lands around Kāwhia:

- Tūāhumāhina<sup>158</sup> occupied Motungāio Pā,
- Pakaue<sup>159</sup> occupied Kārereatua Pā,
- Te Kanawa occupied Whitiura Pā,
- either Toarangatira or Puorooro occupied Te Tōtara Pā, and
- Toarangatira’s wife Manahaki’s father, Tūhorotini was at Rangiāhua Pā.

Tūāhumāhina and Tūhorotini were descendants of Tūirirangi, Pakaue was son of Hauā and Tamangārangi, Te Kanawa was of Ngāti Maniapoto from Waipā, Puorooro brother of Koata and descendant of Tūirirangi and Māhanga, while Toarangatira was a grandson of Tūpāhau and of Ngāti Mangō.

Te Kanawa or an unnamed *rangatira* in Waipā possessed a particular cloak or mat and stone club that Tūāhumāhina coveted, seeing himself as a *rangatira* of great *mana* in Kāwhia. For whatever reason, Tūāhumāhina failed to obtain the *taonga*, while Pakaue later succeeded. Tūāhumāhina was greatly offended at this, and he sought to obtain them for himself. In Te

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<sup>158</sup> Te Whare Hotu (Ngāti Maniapoto) shared with Te Hurinui-Jones (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 218) that Tūāhumāhina was son of Tūirirangi by his second wife Māmaua. Kelly (1949, pp. 166, 222) and F. Phillips (1995, p. 61) repeat this relationship. Robertson (1953) was meanwhile convinced that Tūāhumāhina involved in the conflict with Toarangatira could not have been the son of Tūirirangi without disclosing why he thought so.

<sup>159</sup> According to Robertson (1967c); Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 269, 271), Tūhorotini was father to Pakaue. Kelly (1949, pp. 242, 262, 458 and 459); Poutama (1886, p. 319); Robertson (1971, p. 2; n.d); Tamihana (1886); Tuwhenua (1886, p. 115) in contrast, state that Hauā and Tamangārangi were Pakaue’s parents.

Kairangi's (1881) version, Te Kanawa visited Pakauē<sup>160</sup> and asked his son, Kāwharu, what the food of Kāwhia was. He then belittled Kāwharu's responses of *ika* (fish) and *pipi* (*Paphies australis*) and said they did not compare to the *kōura* (freshwater crayfish, *Paranephros planifrons*) of the Waipā. Te Kanawa then set up a competition to see which would cook first the *pipi* or the *koura*. After touching the flame, Te Kanawa said the *kōura* was red, while Kāwharu said his *pipi* was already eaten! Te Kanawa took offence to this and sought to defeat Pakauē and Kāwharu in battle. In Schnackenberg's (1926, p. 4) recorded version, Tūāhumāhina stopped Pakauē's people from gathering water from the Pouawe Stream between their *pā*. Pakauē's son, Kāwharu then threw Tūāhumāhina into the water, nearly drowning him. The versions include different details of Pakauē's death, but the general narrative is that Pakauē was intercepted outside of his *pā* and was killed by one of Tūāhumāhina's followers named Tautinimoko.

After the death of Pakauē, Kāwharu (and his younger brother Te Wehi) temporarily left his settlement on the north side of Kāwhia to Te Tōtara Pā or as far as Harihari. Kāwharu and either Te Kanawa or Toarangatira eventually defeated Ngāti Tūirirangi. The latter then attacked Toarangatira's people Ngāti Mangō at Marokopa, killing his son Hounuku in the process. The ensuing conflicts involved tribes from outside of Kāwhia, including Te Kanawa from the Waipā and Taranaki people. These events saw the establishment of Toarangatira and his followers, who became Ngāti Toarangatira, in southern Kāwhia. Ngāti Koata and Ngāti Motemote retained a presence at Rangiāhua through Kāwharu as a son of Koata and husband of Motemote (also referred to as Waikauri). According to Hone Kāora, Ngāti Te Kanawa (Ngāti Maniapoto) retained rights around Whitiura and Ohaua.

There are several differences between the versions of these events. Firstly, Te Rerenga (1886) of Ngāti Maniapoto, followed by Hone Kāora (1886) of Ngāti Hikairo, said that Te Kanawa at Te Whitiura Pā at the outflow of Ōpārau, Kāwhia, first owned the coveted dogskin mat. Te Kanawa with a war party of Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Apakura supported by Kāwharu attempted an attack on Tūāhumāhina but were repelled and were attacked at Whitiura in the battle of Te Moanawaipū, where Tūāhumāhina was killed. The sources generally agree that Tūāhumāhina was killed at Te Moanawaipū. However, Te Rerenga's account emphasises the role of Te Kanawa of Ngāti Maniapoto in the conflict within a broader history of conflict

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<sup>160</sup> Pakaua in Te Kairangi's manuscript. One of the most diversely spelled names, I have identified fourteen different spellings of Pakauē. The adjacent vowels evidently have led to various interpretations on how the name is written after being heard spoken.

between Waipā and Kāwhia tribes. Witnesses in the Kopua-Pirongia-Kawhia Title Investigation also claimed that Te Kanawa was involved at Te Moanawaipū. On the other hand, the Ngāti Toa sources, emphasised Toarangatira as the person that aided Kāwharu against Te Kanawa and Tūāhumāhina. Each discrepancy in the *kōrero* versions increased the *mana* of the ancestor from whom the person providing the *kōrero* descended.

Rihari Tauwhare (Tauwhare, 1888, p. 327), testified in the 1888 Kōpua-Pirongia-Kāwhia Title Investigation that Rakataura III, Te Ariari, Rotakare, Puhiaue, Whatihua II and Tipi “subdivided” the land, which had not been divided since Tūrongo’s time. The second subdivision was in consequence of the wars involving Tūāhumāhina and Pakaue, and Whatihua II and Tipi against Punga. Whakamarurangi and Whareiaia subsequently refixed this division (*ibid*, p. 347). Tauwhare’s reference here to this conflict shows both the remembered importance and magnitude of this period of conflict to cause subdivision of territories and the fluidity of the *whakapapa* in referring to who subdivided the land. For example, Te Ariari lived before these events.

Based on the CNA results, *kōrero pakanga* #50 involving the death of Tūāhumāhina describes events in approximately 1710 CE ± 5 years (1712 CE ± 21 years).

### **(#34 & 53) Maki and Toarangatira**

An early written *kōrero* about the man named Maki is in Te Kairangi’s (1881, p. 47) manuscript, which Pōmare (1930, pp. 62–63) later translated and published without reference. Te Aoterangi’s (c. 1860) manuscript also describes the actions of Maki as he left Taranaki, Kāwhia and passed through Waikato to Tāmaki. George Graham (1918) published *kōrero* in English about Maki in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, attributing it to two sources: Matekino and Noka Hukanui [sic]. The narratives are very similar to Te Aoterangi’s manuscript, which Graham went on to publish (Te Aoterangi, 1923). It is possible that Matekino and Noka Hukanui had read the Te Aoterangi’s manuscript or Graham erroneously attributed the account published in 1918 to them.

Te Kairangi’s *kōrero* follows directly from Toarangatira returning to Marokopa after the defeat of Ngāti Tūrirangi. Maki was part of the group that travelled from Taranaki to assist the conflict in Kāwhia. He journeyed to Nukuhakari, south of Marokopa, where the local people called Mounuhia [sic] had a *pā* and insulted him for eating *karaka* (*Corynocarpus laevigatus*) berries nearby. Maki then travelled to Toarangatira who told him of frictions between Ngāti Mangō and Mounuhia and they decided to assemble a war party to attack Mounuhia at their *pā*. Toarangatira and Maki defeated the Mounuhia and seized their lands. At this Maki then

travelled to Te Pūaha-o-Waikato to visit his sister, Kaka [sic], who had married into Ngāti Tāhinga at Karahea. From there he travelled through Manukau, Tāmaki and Kawerau with his war party, which gives meaning to the place Tā-Maki and from whom the tribe Te Kawerau-a-Maki developed. Te Kairangi wrote that, after a time, Maki returned to Kāwhia, where he was welcomed. However, he was killed when visiting a *kāinga* of the remnant Ngāti Tūirirangi that had survived the earlier wars. I discussed this *kōrero* regarding Kārewa above and concluded this may have been a projection of Maki's death onto the time of Tūirirangi's death, which was also of importance to the people of Kāwhia, before the wars between Tūāhumāhina, Kāwharu, Te Kanawa and Toarangatira.

Te Aoterangi's (c. 1860) manuscript described how Maki was a descendant of Mauwake [sic]<sup>161</sup> and Haumia of Kāwhia and Ngāti Awa of Waitara. When Maki left Kāwhia, he passed through Waikato where he was challenged, and made war before being allowed to pass through. Maki travelled down the Waikato River to Tirangi and Purapura, near Manurewa, with three-hundred men. He was approached by Hauparoa of Kaipara, who enticed him north by telling of the bountiful fish and *toheroa* (*Paphies ventricosa*) there. Maki travelled first to Waiohua territory at Manurewa where he was allowed to settle by the *rangatira*, Whawhau. Following a slight by Whawhau's<sup>162</sup> people against Maki's relation, Taihu, Maki's people attacked and defeated Whawhau and Te Waiohua. Maki then travelled to Kaipara where he defeated Hauparoa's people.

Te Kairangi's *kōrero* about Maki and Toarangatira explains how Ngāti Toarangatira claimed such large territories along the western coast. The cause of that conquest was *utu* after an insult to Maki and a long-lasting dispute between Toarangatira and the Mounuhia. This resulted in the Mounuhia being killed and Toarangatira securing *mana* over the district for his people including his descendant Te Kairangi – the author of the manuscript. Te Aoterangi's manuscript includes Maki's brief conflict with people in Waikato before his journey to Tāmaki and Kaipara. There is little detail of the Waikato encounter. Meanwhile, Graham's two further sources appear to have originated from Te Aoterangi's text.

Based on the CNA results, Maki's conflict in Waikato (*kōrero pakanga* #34) occurred in 1638 CE ± 63 years (1645 CE ± 78 years). There are two possibilities for *kōrero pakanga* #40 about Toarangatira and Mounuhia.

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<sup>161</sup> Mawhake [sic] in Graham (1918, p. 219).

<sup>162</sup> Whawhau in Graham (1918, p. 220).

1. Maki was involved, as Te Kairangi described. However, in this case, the conflict could not have occurred after the defeat of Ngāti Tūirangi in Kāwhia by Kāwharu, Toarangatira and Te Kanawa. This is because, Maki lived earlier than the latter event. In this option, *kōrero* pakanga #53 occurred in 1688 CE  $\pm$  14 years (1693 CE  $\pm$  30 years). Including this option within the CNA model affects the chronological estimates of twelve sequences.
2. Maki was not involved and Toarangatira and his people defeated Mounuhia on their own. This option allows for the defeat of Mounuhia to occur after the defeat of Ngāti Tūirangi in Kāwhia (*kōrero pakanga* #53), as described in the various sources. Including this conflict in the CNA only affects the chronological estimate of one sequence — the Mounuhia conflict itself. In this option, the Mounuhia conflict would have occurred in approximately 1715 CE  $\pm$  1 years (1716 CE  $\pm$  18 years).

I chose to include the second option in the overall CNA model as it has a weaker overall impact on the overall CNA model.

#### **(#55) Toarangatira and Taituha**

This *kōrero* about Toarangatira's conflict with Taituha was in Te Kairangi's (1881, pp. 51–53) manuscript, which Pōmare (1930, pp. 60–61) translated and published. I have not identified further versions of this *kōrero*.

During Toarangatira's time, a woman named Kahukino married and lived with Taituha of Ngāti Rarekarau [sic]<sup>163</sup> on the Awakino coast. One of Toarangatira's people, named Pahautakere [sic] went to visit Kahukino and Taituha killed them. At this, Toarangatira called Kāwharu to join him to "*rapu utu*" (seek a rebalance for the death of their relation). They gathered their warriors and captured Taituha's *pā*. Before his death, Taituha lamented to which a man named Taitewhare explained "*he paua kai angatahi, he papaka tai horahia auahi tokarakara*" - "The haliotis of but one shell, the crabs spread by the tides and made savoury by fire, whose flavour long remains on the palate" (translation by Pōmare, 1930, p. 60). Taitewhare also explained through a *tauparapara* (ritual chant) how Taituha might be avenged should he be killed. Toarangatira and Kāwharu then allowed Taituha to show his skills in melee. He was given a *pouwhenua* (much like Ngātōkōwaru in front of Te Putu in a parallel

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<sup>163</sup> the "Parekarau tribe" in Pōmare (1930, p. 60).

Waikato *kōrero*) and took the opportunity to kill a man named Paraua. Taituha was then killed and Toarangatira claimed land to Te Awakino, while Kāwharu returned to his base in Kāwhia.

Like Toarangatira's victory over the Mounuhia at Nukuhakari, Te Kairangi's *kōrero* explains the Ngāti Toarangatira understanding of how they took lands from Kāwhia to Te Awakino. Kāwharu only assisted Toarangatira in his exploits and therefore returned to Kāwhia where his descendants included Ngāti Koata, who were a powerful ally to Ngāti Toarangatira. Once again, *utu* drove the conflict, which resulted in conquest by Toarangatira.

Based on the CNA results, the Awakino conflict (*kōrero pakanga* #55) occurred in approximately 1715 CE ± 1 years (1716 CE ± 18 years).

### **(#58) Kāwharu and Te Wehi**

The following *kōrero* explains the conflict between Te Wehi, Wharetīpeti and Tapaue on one side against Ngāti Tūirangi on the other in Aotea and the little involvement from Te Wehi's *tuakana* (elder half-brother), Kāwharu. The main sources are recorded testimonies during the Māori Land Court Title Investigations of the 1886 Rohe Pōtae, 1887 Manuaitu-Aotea and 1909 Moerangi Blocks (MacCormick, 1909a, 1909b; Mair, 1886a, 1886b, 1887).

After the death of Pakaue and Tūāhumāhina, Kāwharu made peace with the people of Te Motungāio, as his wife Waikauri (also referred to as Motemote) was daughter of Toarangatira and Mananaki<sup>164</sup>. The latter was son of Tūhorotini, who was a descendant of Tūirangi (see Patene, 1887, pp. 29–31; Te Kairangi, 1881, p. 42). Kāwharu's younger half-brother, Te Wehi, did not consent to this peace as the man who had killed Pakaue, Tautinimoko, had escaped to Aotea. Tautinimoko had also taken the club and cloak with him. Kāwharu settled the disagreement with Te Wehi, by uttering a *karakia* and suggesting that Te Wehi and his followers should live inland and Kāwharu should live on the coast. Te Wehi agreed (Mahu, 1909, pp. 341–342; Patene, 1887, pp. 27–35; Te Putu, 1909, pp. 282–283; Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1886, p. 194).

Kamanomano Māhu (1909, pp. 341–342) of Ngāti Reko and Ngāti Te Wehi testified in the Title Investigation of the Moerangi Block that Te Wehi married a woman named Mariu and moved to Taratiemi Pā in Matakōwhai on the eastern shore of Aotea. Seeking retribution for the death of his father and without the help of his brother, Te Wehi sought the assistance from the Waikato brothers, Tapaue and Wharetīpeti, who lived at Te Uapata Pā in Taupiri. In Te Wheoro's (1886, pp. 192, 193–194) testimony during the Rohe Pōtae Block Title Investigation

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<sup>164</sup> Manahaki in Pomare (1930, pp. 50, 54).

case, he explained that the ensuing conflict began the disputes between the people of Middle and Lower Waikato and the western coast that continued into the nineteenth century. Wharetīpeti and Tapaue agreed to support Te Wehi's attack on Tautinimoko when remembering the relations of his wife Wharangi (daughter of Terewai), who had died during Tonganui's failed attack on Manuaitu Pā in Aotea.

Mohi Te Rongomau (1886, pp. 164–171) of Ngāti Māhanga testified in the same court case that Whare, Tapaue helped Te Wehi in his quarrel against his older brother, Kāwharu. The latter began journeying inland (presumably to attack Te Wehi, while he was with his uncles) and they fought at Mangakirikiri Stream at Moerangi, where Kāwharu was defeated. On the other hand, Te Wheoro's version recorded no conflict between Kāwharu and Te Wehi directly. Instead, Wharetīpeti, Tapaue and Te Wehi's party travelled over the Kāniwhaniwha valley pass to Aotea and attacked several *pā* on the coast including Te Rauotehuia and Kōreromaiwaho on the northern side of Aotea<sup>165</sup>. Te Wehi saw Tautinimoko escaping across the harbour and intercepted him. He brought him back to Tapaue and Wharetīpeti to kill and claim the club and cloak that Tautinimoko had taken from Te Wehi's father, Pakaue. Peace was restored between Te Wehi and Ngāti Tūirirangi. During the Moerangi Block Title Investigation case, Kamanomano Māhu said Te Wehi formed an alliance with Wharetīpeti and Tapaue and gave his daughter, Reko, to marry Tapaue's son, Tāhauariki. Ngāti Reko descend from this union.

*Utu* drove Te Wehi's attack on Ngāti Tūirirangi. However, as his forces were not large enough alone, he sought out his *whanaunga* (relations) from Taupiri. The *kōrero* explains the close relationship between Ngāti Mahuta and Ngāti Te Wehi. The various testimonies in the Māori Land Court Title Investigations of the local blocks corroborate this narrative.

Based on the CNA results, Tapaue and Te Wehi's defeat of Tautinimoko (*kōrero pakanga* #58) occurred in approximately 1727 CE ± 19 years (1728 CE ± 37 years).

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<sup>165</sup> Pouwharetapu (1909, p. 63) testified that Te Wehi set out from his *pā* at Mōwhiti after Wharetīpeti and Tapaue arrived and they attacked Te Rauotehuia Pā. Te Hurinui-Jones's (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 268–271) version was consistent with Te Wheoro's with added detail in the manner of Te Wehi seeking his uncles' support. This version also only mentions an attack on Te Rauotehuia Pā like Pouwharetapu's version. Other *kōrero* was that Wharetīpeti and Tapaue were at Whakamaukau pā at Mangauika (Taua, 1886, p. 255), that Tapaue married Wai-Kāwhia and settled at Whakamaukau (Tauwhare, 1888, p. 354), Tahuanui and Whareoneone kainga at Moerangi (Mahu, 1909, p. 354). Others claimed that Waikato's presence south along the Waipā was not until Te Wherowhero's time. His people settled there after the Ngāpuhi attack on Mātakitaki in 1822 (e.g., Te Koko, 1888, p. 283).

### Part two: Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Puhiaawe, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Hikairo

The following section describes the analysis of *kōrero pakanga* that explained the political origins of tribes in the area from Kāwhia in the west, to Te Kawa in the east, Ngāti Maniapoto country in the south and as far north as Ngāroto and the Lower Waipā. These people have shared *whakapapa* with histories of intermarriage. However, the following *kōrero* explain divisions between related leaders and the development of separate but related polities.

#### (#43–46 & 57) Tautepō, Te Kanawa, Hikairo I, Ngātuerua and Ngātokorua

Hone Kāora's (1886, pp. 341–342) testimony in the Rohe Pōtae Title Investigation Case became one of the earliest written *kōrero* detailing the conflict between Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Puhiaawe at Ngāroto. Testimonies in later Māori Land Court cases provided further *kōrero*, including the Kakepuku-Pokuru Block Title Investigation (Mair, 1889), Kakepuku Block Partition (Mair, 1890), Ouruwhero Block Relative Interests Case (Gudgeon, 1892b) and Pirongia West Partition Rehearing (O'Brien & von Sturmer, 1894a). Schnackenberg (1926, pp. 8–9) later wrote about Ngāti Puhiaawe and Whakanamu Pā based on *kōrero* from Kāwhia elders. Te Hurinui-Jones recorded a manuscript from Tainui elders in 1942 and later published by Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 346–348). This manuscript follows Schackenberg's very closely. Robertson (1969b, pp. 6–8) included additional details not in the earlier texts, including some statements from Jim Edwards (Ngāti Puhiaawe). Phillips (1995, pp. 93–94) followed Robertson's text closely.

During Kāora's (1886, pp. 341–342) testimony, he explained that the later warfare between Ngāti Hikairo and Ngāti Maniapoto against the people of Kāwhia began with the dispute between the closely related people of Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Puhiaawe<sup>166</sup>. In Kāora's version the dispute was over the ownership of an eel weir called Tautepō at Ngāroto<sup>167</sup>. Ngāti Apakura killed Maniapoto<sup>168</sup> of Ngāti Puhiaawe, which led to the battle named Whakapaetai, where Ngāti Apakura were defeated, and several chiefs were killed. Schnackenberg (1926) wrote that the nearby Ngāti Apakura *pā*, Taurangamirumiru, was “destroyed” (pp. 8-9) in the process. However, the Ngāti Apakura chief, Hikairo I, escaped and stayed with his brother-in-law, Te Kanawa-Tūrongo, near Ōtorohanga (Kāora, 1886, p. 341)<sup>169</sup>. Te Kanawa then led a

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<sup>166</sup> Indeed, Puhiaawe was a descendant of Apakura.

<sup>167</sup> Robertson (1969b, pp. 6–8) explained that the eel weir was located on the Mangaotama Stream, which drains Wairoto Lake (Ngāroto) – the battle first beginning on the water before continuing onto the shore.

<sup>168</sup> Not to be confused with the much earlier Maniapoto, son of Rereahu.

<sup>169</sup> Te Maaha Hikuroa (1889, p. 104) said that Te Kanawa's *pā* was Araitaua.

force and defeated Ngāti Puhiaue “near Kakepuku” (Kāora, 1886, p. 341), or at Ngāroto, where “Te Putere *pah* fell” (T. M. Hikuroa, 1889, p. 105). Ngāti Puhiaue subsequently left the district to stay with relations in Kāwhia<sup>170</sup>. These events were before the wars involving Tūāhumāhina, Pakaue and others in Kāwhia, which I included in the previous section (Kāora, 1886).

*Kōrero* in later cases described a second bout of conflict, that Kāora did not mention in his testimony. This involved the chief, Ngatuera, of Ngāti Puhiaue leading a war party to try and claim land at Te Kawa and included an attack on Ngāti Unu at Puketarata (T. M. Hikuroa, 1889, p. 105; Te Koko, 1889, p. 244; Toheroa, 1892, p. 99; Tupotahi, 1892, p. 61). The Ngāti Unu survivors went to Te Kanawa and his brother Ingoa, and another chief named Kōwhao<sup>171</sup>, who, in turn, gathered a war party, attacked Ngāti Puhiaue and killed Ngatuera. In doing so, Ngāti Unu lands were resecured. Ingoa married Ngāwaero of Ngāti Unu and from them descend Ngāti Ngāwaero of Te Kōpua (T. M. Hikuroa, 1889, p. 122; see also Hinewai, 1892, p. 67; Tupotahi, 1892, p. 61). In this version, Ingoa and Kōwhao’s attack on Ngāti Puhiaue was after their and Taratioa’s earlier defeat of Mākino, as discussed in an earlier section (Toheroa, 1892, p. 99; Tupotahi, 1892, p. 61).

Kāora (1886) credited the Kāwhia tribes to have restored Ngāti Puhiaue to their former lands when they attacked Tūpāpakunui Pā on the Mangapiko River and killed the Ngāti Apakura chief, Hikairo<sup>172</sup>. Hēmi Erueti’s (1894, p. 190) testimony, followed by Schnackenberg’s (1926) and Te Hurinui-Jones’ (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995) manuscripts, on the other hand, stated that the Ngāti Puhiaue chief, Ngātokorua, made the decisions around his people’s care. He resettled with his people at the mouth of the Awaroa Creek in Kāwhia, where they constructed the fortress Whakanamu, which refers to his *whakatauākī*, “*waiho kia whakanamu au i ahu!*” (Wait until we are as numerous as sandflies). After one thousand followers had been assembled (10,000 according to Schnackenberg), they travelled inland to Tautepō Pā of Ngāti Hikairo, which stood on a bend of the Mangapiko River, near Te Awamutu. Te Hurinui’s account continued that, hearing of Ngātokorua’s pending attack on Tautepō, Ngāti Hikairo gathered their warriors under Hikairo II and Tainihinihi, who

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<sup>170</sup> During the Pirongia West Block Partition Rehearing, Hēmi Erueti (1894) of Ngāti Hikairo explained that Ngāti Puhiaue connected to Kāwhia through the marriage of Puhiaue’s ancestor Umuroa of Ngāroto and Te Uruorangi of Tirimatangi, Kāwhia.

<sup>171</sup> Also referred to as Kohao (sic). His *pā* was Te Kareiti on the Ouruwhero Block (Hinewai, 1892, p. 67).

<sup>172</sup> Robertson (1969b, pp. 6–8) similarly said Ngāti Maniapoto and perhaps more specifically Ngāti Paiariki assisted Ngāti Puhiaue. He also recorded the Ngāti Apakura *pā* as Tupapakurua instead of Tupapakunui (sic).

snuck into the *pā* to defend it during the night. Ngātikorua woke to find the *pā* heavily defended. He eventually decided to leave the assault and feign a retreat. He later laid an ambush for the Ngāti Hikairo force, who were defeated. Ngāti Puhiawe had earlier lost some of their land to Ngāti Maniapoto, but through this victory they claimed Ngāti Apakura lands between Pirongia and Te Rore and at Pāterangi. Tauranga-mirumiru Pā became an important boundary between Ngāti Puhiawe and Ngāti Apakura (Tauī Wetere, 1948)<sup>173</sup>. However, within a generation and by the time of Hikairo I's son, Puku, peace endured (Erueti, 1894, p. 191).

There are minor disagreements between the versions of this *kōrero*. For example, Hone Kāora did not refer to Ngātikorua and emphasised the role of the Kāwhia chiefs in restoring Ngāti Puhiawe's lands to them. He also said Tautepō was the name of the eel weir, while Tūpapakunui was the *pā* that Ngāti Apakura occupied on the Mangapiko River. Robertson's account was consistent with Kāora's, but mentioned Tūpapakurua as the name of the Ngāti Apakura *pā*. Hemi Erueti's 1892 testimony, followed by Schnackenberg's and Te Hurinui's manuscripts, on the other hand, stated that Ngātikorua had the *mana* around establishing Whakanamu and reclaiming the Ngāti Puhiawe lands at Ngāroto. Schnackenberg and Te Hurinui, in particular, said Tautepō was the name of the Ngāti Apakura *pā*, while Erueti did not clarify this. They also confusingly described the battles as between Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hikairo. It should be noted that Ngāti Hikairo were not known as an independent *hapū* (let alone an *iwi*) until Hikairo II, who was the grandson of Hikairo I, who was involved in this *kōrero*. Te Hurinui was, therefore, mistaken in referring to Hikairo II as the chief who reinforced the Ngāti Apakura *pā*, as it was his grandfather.

In summary, these *kōrero* describe several *pakanga* between closely related *hapū* with overlapping land interests. Friction over these land interests and then subsequent *utu* for past transgressions appear to be the fundamental causes of the warfare. Unity on the other hand was established through political marriages, boundary definitions and perhaps appealing to shared *whakapapa*. The following five *pakanga* were described. The first four were chronologically

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<sup>173</sup> Original article has “the boundary between them extended from the mouth of Mangaapouri crossed the Mangapiko midway between Waiari pa and a pa on high of which Tauī could not remember the name, then to an island in Ngaroto lake [...]” (Robertson in Tauī Wetere, 1948). The copied version of this Te Awamutu Courier article in the Proceedings of the Te Awamutu Historical Society has “Taurangai-mirumiru” handwritten and referring to the unnamed *pā*. Presumably, this was Robertson's writing, as he later referred to Taurangamirumiru as a boundary in his later publications (Robertson in Ballantyne *et al.*, 1966; Robertson, 1965, pp. 26–27; 1969b, p. 8).

indistinguishable within the CNA models. Therefore, the estimate of 1706 CE  $\pm$  11 years (1715 CE  $\pm$  26 years) relates to those four *kōrero pakanga*:

- #43: Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Puhiawe quarrelled over the eel weir referred to as Tautepō at Ngāroto, which led to the battle of Whakapaetai.
- #45: Hikairo’s brother-in-law, Te Kanawa, attacked Ngāti Puhiawe at Kakepuku or Ngāroto in *utu* for Ngāti Apakura’s earlier defeat.
- #44: Ngatuerua of Ngāti Puhiawe attacked Ngāti Unu perhaps trying to claim a foothold around Kakepuku and Te Kawa from Kāwhia.
- #46: Kōwhao, Ingoa and Te Kanawa attacked Ngāti Puhiawe in *utu* for their attack on Ngāti Unu and killed Ngatuerua at Waireinga.
- #57: Kāwhia people or Ngātokorua of Ngāti Puhiawe attacked Ngāti Apakura at Tūpāpakunui or Tautepō Pā and defeated them in a subsequent ambush. This *kōrero pakanga* relates to a later period, which the CNA estimates as 1726 CE  $\pm$  30 years (1732 CE  $\pm$  43 years).

#### **(#56) Te Kanawa and Ingoa**

Te Maaha Hikuroa and Te Oro Te Koko provided brief testimony on disputes between close relations over eel weirs in the Mangawhero Stream. These were in the 1889 Kakepuku Block Title Investigation.

Te Maaha Hikuroa (1889, p. 105) said that following the battles between Ngāti Puhiawe and Ngāti Maniapoto, Te Kanawa and his people returned to live at Araitaua Pā in Ōtorohanga. Te Oro Te Koko (1889, p. 243) said that Ingoa, Te Kanawa’s brother, went to live at Kakepuku with Ngāti Unu at Te Tokatoka Pā, where his children were born. Te Kanawa’s people then went to build an eel weir in the Mangawhero Stream, which flows into the Waipā River, southwest of Kakepuku. Ingoa and his sons, Te Maunga and Hikihiki, then burnt the weir and Te Kanawa’s people built another at the Pūniu River before returning to Araitaua. Te Maunga and Te Hikihiki then built an eel weir in the Mangawhero as well, so Te Kanawa’s sons tried to burn it and the two sides “squabbled” (p. 246). These were uncles and first cousins competing and testing one another over their claim to the plentiful waterways around Kakepuku. Evidently, as both groups were involved in supporting Ngāti Apakura and then Ngāti Unu in the area in defence from Ngāti Puhiawe, they sought to claim an interest. Hikuroa’s account does not describe the disputes involving open conflict.

Based on the CNA results, the dispute between Te Kanawa and Ingoa (*kōrero pakanga* #56) occurred in approximately 1716 CE  $\pm$  1 years (1724 CE  $\pm$  17 years).

**(#51 & 52) Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Unu and Ngāti Te Kanawa**

*Kōrero* about the conflict between Ngāti Apakura and Te Kanawa's people from Ōtorohanga was provided in testimony during the 1889 Kakepuku Block Title Investigation and 1892 Ouruwhero Block Relative Interests cases. These events are closely related to the conflicts between Ngāti Te Kanawa, Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Puhiawe described in the previous sections.

After the Ngāti Maniapoto chief Te Kanawa died, a Ngāti Apakura war party came to take possession of Kakepuku and Te Kawa and several of the local Ngāti Unu were killed at Kupenga Pā (at Te Kawa). Te Maaha Hikuroa (1889) explained that survivors including Tokirata or Te Aootewhenua (see Toheroa, 1892, p. 99) travelled to Totorewa at the time when Te Kanawa's children were alive. They gathered a war party and defeated Ngāti Apakura at Whareputa, who then returned to Ngāroto. Hikuroa (1889) and Tupotahi (1889) both claimed that this occurred after the death of Ngātuerua. Te Oro Te Koko (1889, p. 243) and Te Anga Toheroa (1892) gave similar evidence that Turawhiti and his people attacked Ngāti Apakura<sup>174</sup> at Te Kupenga Pā. The main variation is that Te Koko said this conflict occurred before the Ngāti Puhiawe and Ngāti Apakura conflicts involving Ngātuerua. Te Anga Toheroa (1892, pp. 98–99) said that Turahui and his Ngāti Matakore relatives went to the assistance of Ngāti Unu, but disputed the Ngāti Apakura attack on Ngāti Unu at Whareputa. They also said these events occurred before Ngātuerua attacked Ngāroto and Puketarata and before Mākino's attack on Mōtai.

This *kōrero* demonstrates the regular testing of the strengths and interests of neighbouring groups during the early eighteenth century. The causes of the attack by Ngāti Apakura on Ngāti Maniapoto at Kakepuku are unclear. According to Te Maaha Hikuroa and Tupotahi, Te Kanawa and his people had formerly supported Ngāti Apakura in their troubles with Ngāti Puhiawe. However, once Te Kanawa had passed away, Ngāti Apakura sought to claim lands settled by Ngāti Maniapoto in that former conflict. On the other hand, Te Koko and Toheroa's version was that the attacks by Ngāti Apakura were associated or before those involving Ngāti Puhiawe. As all testifiers on this *kōrero* were generally affiliated with Ngāti

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<sup>174</sup> Te Oro Te Koko (1889) said both Ngāti Puhiawe and Ngāti Apakura made this attack.

Maniapoto and Ngāti Unu, they were generally accepting that Ngāti Apakura were defeated, securing Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Unu interests there.

Based on the CNA results, the attack on Te Kūpenga Pā (*kōrero pakanga* #52) and Whareputa (*kōrero pakanga* #53) occurred in approximately 1712 CE ± 28 years (1718 CE ± 43 years).

#### **(#74) Ruku, Ruarangi and Te Iwituaroa**

Testimony during the Kōpua-Pirongia-Kāwhia Block Title Investigation case included a similar example of a minor quarrel over an important *mahinga mai* (food collection place). In this *kōrero*, Ruku and Ruarangi quarrelled over the bird catching rimu tree or stage called Hurumau, which belonged to Ruarangi at a place later called Whakairoiro (Papara, 1888a, p. 1; 1888b, pp. 368–369; Te Mapu, 1888, p. 310). According to Rihari Tauwhare (1888, pp. 322, 357), Ruku was Taihoropaki’s child and Ruarangi was Ngaupaka’s child (i.e., Ngāti Naupaka, Ngāti Paiariki). I have mentioned Taihoropaki and Ngaupaka as brothers and chiefs who fought alongside the Ngāti Maniapoto chief, Taitengahue, against Ngāti Maru-kai-moko-moko. As such, Ruku and Ruarangi would have been first-cousins. Ruku took possession of Ruarangi’s bird catching place, Hurumau, which prompted a quarrel lasting until a battle at Ratahi on the west bank of Moakurua Stream where Ruarangi’s people killed Ruku’s younger brother named Tongoroto. Ruku then sought support from Te Iwituaroa (along with Maunga) to avenge his brother’s death and gifted him land for doing so on the east of the Waipā at Te Angaangaorapakeao [sic] later known as Te Arataua. The Kōpua-Pirongia-Kāwhia claimants explained their *mana* over that area of land through Ruku’s gift to Te Iwituaroa.

This *kōrero* is an example of a dispute between close relations over a *mahinga kai* – in this case a bird catching location. The dispute led to a death of Ruku’s younger brother, which in turn led him to seek support from a more powerful chief in *utu*.

The CNA results estimate that the conflict described in *kōrero pakanga* #74 occurred in approximately 1780 CE ± 20 years (1799 CE ± 23 years).

#### **(#78) Rongoteawhea Pā**

Testimonies during the 1888 Kōpua-Pirongia-Kāwhia Block Title Investigation dispute the nature of a quarrel relating to Rongoteawhea Pā, which was located on the Waipā River between the mouths of the Mangawhero and Moakurua Streams. There are two primary versions of the *kōrero pakanga*.

The counterclaimants under Te Oro Te Koko’s case told the first version (Te Koko, 1888, p. 259; Te Mapu, 1888, pp. 290, 304). To summarise their testimonies about this quarrel,

Ngāti Waikaha and Ngāti Apakura came to take a weir called Rongoteawhea on the Waipā River. When they did so, the local people, including Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Ngāwaero and Ngāti Paretapoto, destroyed the weir and rebuilt Rongoteawhea Pā to the west of the river and the weir of the same name. Ngāti Waikaha and Ngāti Apakura under the chief named Te Katinga then built a *pā* named Kaihawa to the east of the river. In this version, no open battle broke out as Ngāpuhi attacked Mātakitaki and Ngāti Waikaha and Ngāti Apakura left for their home territories north of the Pūniu River. Therefore, the local *hapū* represented under Te Koko's counterclaim had an unbroken *mana whenua* in the area. This positions Ngāti Apakura actions at Rongoteawhea in or just before the year 1822, when the battle of Mātakitaki occurred.

The Ngāti Paiariki and Ngāti Hikairo claimants provided a second version of this *kōrero* that Ngāti Apakura under Te Katinga came to the district and constructed the Rongoteawhea eel weir, intending to take the land. Te Hiakai of Waikato and Te Ruarangi of Ngāti Paiariki (mentioned in previous sections) quarrelled with Ngāti Apakura, who soon left because of a rumour that Ngāti Raukawa were going to attack the district. All the local *hapū* including Ngāti Apakura went to Mangatoatoa Pā on the Pūniu River to defend against Ngāti Raukawa's attack, where Te Katinga was killed outside the *pā* (Papara, 1888b, pp. 378, 401; Tauwhare, 1888, pp. 331, 357). In this version, Ngāti Apakura's arrival at Rongoteawhea was much earlier than Mātakitaki in 1822. Witnesses speaking to both sides of this *kōrero* claimed testimonies on the other side were false.

In addition to the *kōrero* about the conflicts, some claimants and counterclaimants contested the historical occupation of specific *pā* by their ancestors. For example, as I have already mentioned, Ngāti Ngāwaero claimed that their ancestor Hie first occupied Pae-o-Ruahine Pā, while Rawiri Tauwhare claimed this was a Ngāti Maru *pā* first. Hone Kāora (1886, p. 334) of Ngāti Hikairo, on the other hand, said Whakamarurangi built Pae-o-Ruahine Pā, among many others in the district extending to Kāwhia. Various witnesses agreed that Te Pae-o-Ruahine was also occupied after the Ngāpuhi attack on Mātakitaki in 1822 (Kāora, 1886, p. 374; Te Koko, 1886, p. 25).

Te Oro Te Koko (1888, p. 259) similarly associated his ancestors Ruatemarama and Rahopupuwai with Ngāhuhu<sup>175</sup> Pā, Te Kawau with Nawenawe<sup>176</sup> Pā, and Ūpokotaua and Te Rururanga with Whakamaukau, Rongoteawhea and Ōngaru Pā. Other witnesses claimed that other people occupied these *pā*, while the witnesses generally agreed that they were all

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<sup>175</sup> Also spelled Ngahuha and Ngahuka [sic].

<sup>176</sup> Also spelled Ngawengawe [sic].

occupied after the Ngāpuhi attack on Mātakitaki Pā on the junction between the Miropiko and Waipā in 1822 (Tauwhare, 1888, pp. 329, 331; Te Koko, 1888, pp. 259–260; Te Mapu, 1888, p. 297). These examples may of course show that *pā* were re-occupied by different groups at different times as interests and strengths waxed and waned across the generations and between descent groups. However, witnesses often refuted the assertions of other claimants and counterclaimants indicating that these histories were certainly contested.

The CNA results estimate that the conflict described in *kōrero pakanga #78* occurred in approximately 1791 CE ± 10 years (1801 CE ± 20 years).

### **(#85 & 86) Whakamarurangi, Tukorehu, Te Moerua**

Another quarrel arose between the chiefs Whakamarurangi of Ngāti Hikairo (a closely related group of Ngāti Apakura) and Te Moerua of Ngāti Ngāwaero (a descendant group of Ingoa and Ngāwaero of Ngāti Unu) over the fishing weirs at Mangauika on the western side of the Waipā River. *Kōrero* about this conflict was shared during the 1888 Kopua-Pirongia-Kāwhia Block Title Investigation.

According to Te Koko (1888, pp. 266, 282), Te Moerua's people possessed the weirs and Whakamarurangi wanted them. A quarrel arose that resulted in the death of Patutahi of Ngāti Hikairo. A chief, Tukorehu, then made peace between Ngāti Hikairo and Ngāti Ngāwaero and the weirs were given to Ngāti Hikairo to settle the matter. However, the tension in this area of the Waipā continued into the 1800s.

The Ngāti Hikairo version is that Te Moerua and Tukorehu either built or already possessed a weir at Mangauika with 200 warriors supporting them from Mangatoatoa Pā on the Pūniu River (Tauwhare, 1888, pp. 329–330, 355; Te One, 1888, pp. 41–42). They fought 60 warriors of Ngāti Hikairo and Ngāti Horotakere, who fled to Waiari Pā. Ngāti Maniapoto pursued them and killed Patutahi at Ngaparierua [sic]. They then left but expected further conflict and built Nawenawe Pā to hold onto the Mangauika area and then built the Parangakitehe eel weir. Whakamarurangi heard of this and collected 1200 warriors and attacked Te Moerua and Tukorehu, killing Mangamanga. Ngāti Hikairo pursued the latter to Mangatoatoa Pā on the Pūniu River before the chief Whakamarurangi's younger brother, Pikia, broke off the pursuit<sup>177</sup>. They then returned to destroy Nawenawe Pā. Tauwhare also mentioned several contemporary *pā* of Ngāti Hikairo including Waiari, Taurakohia and Tauwhare further

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<sup>177</sup> Hone Te One (1888, p. 61) stated the Ngāti Paretekawa people of Mangatoatoa and Ngāti Hikairo then made peace and often visited one another at Taurakohia and Mangatoatoa.

north, and Okehu near to Pukehoua on the block. Tauwhare and Tupapakunui also belonged to Ngāti Apakura further north.

The *kōrero* explains the growing *mana* of Whakamarurangi who went on to be a founding chief of Ngāti Hikairo, named after Whakamarurangi’s father, Hikairo II. The disputes began over contested interests in eel weirs. The death of Patutahi (*kōrero pakanga* #85) became a source of *utu* for more substantial warfare led by Ngāti Hikairo against Ngāti Maniapoto *hapū* led by Te Moerua and Tūkorehu (#86). The conflict resulted in Ngāti Hikairo securing the eel weir at Mangauika. However, the two sides later joined forces against less closely related groups, such as the attack on Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Koata. All events are estimated within CNA to have occurred in approximate 1801 CE ± 16 years (1803 CE ± 20 years).

### **Part three: Ngāti Mahuta, Ngāti Tāhinga and Ngāti Raukawa**

The following section describes the analysis of *kōrero pakanga* that explained the political origins of tribes in the area along the Waikato River between the northern lake district of Rangiriri and Whangapē to Kēmureti and Maungatautari in the east. The primary focus is on the development of the various *hapū* affiliated to Ngāti Mahuta that descended from the siblings of Mahuta, Pāoa and Paretāhuri. The *pakanga kōrero* culminate in the rivalries between Ngāti Raukawa and Waikato.

#### **(#47 & 59) Tapaue and Wharetīpeti**

Te Wheoro’s (1871, pp. 21–27) manuscript includes one of the earliest written *kōrero* in Te Reo Māori about the Waikato brothers Tapaue<sup>178</sup> and Wharetīpeti. John White’s (White, 1888b, pp. [Eng.] 170–178, [Māo.] 179–186) version is based on Te Wheoro’s. However, White’s Māori text is not a word for word copy and includes some misleading elaborations on the original. White attributed his version to an unnamed Ngāti Mahuta source. Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 280–286) published *kōrero* given to the former as early as 1934 by Tainui *kaumātua*. Much of this version follows the style and events of Te Wheoro’s early manuscript with added details. Biggs identified that Kelly (Kelly, 1949, pp. 235–239) followed

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<sup>178</sup> The three adjacent vowels in Tapaue’s name mean that the spelling was quite variable in the Māori Land Court Minute Books (and other sources), which included Te Paue, Te Paura, Te Pauwe, Te Pauwhe, Te Pawe and Tapaue. A similar pattern is in the spelling of Te Wehi’s father, Pakaue’s, name, which has the same “aue” sound. These spellings can vary by the same scribe on the same page from oratory from the same person. Tapaue is now the accepted spelling (e.g., Bergham, 2009, p. 539; Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995).

an unpublished version of this *kōrero* by Te Hurinui-Jones (n.d. 1, pp. 232–237). Robertson and Phillips later followed Kelly’s publication. J. McRae (2017, pp. 143–151) independently translated and analysed the style of the first portion of Te Wheoro’s text about Wharetīpeti and Tapaue. Further references to these brothers are in testimonies in the Title Investigation of the Rohe Pōtae, Hoe-o-Tainui and Moerangi Blocks, which generally corroborate Te Wheoro’s version and add further events about their lives such as their assistance of Te Wehi (MacCormick, 1909a, 1909b; Mair, 1886a, 1886b; Scannell, 1889; Scannell & Gudgeon, 1890a, 1890b).

#### (#47) *Iranui and Hoepō*

Te Wheoro’s *kōrero* described how Wharetīpeti and Tapaue lived in their grandfather Mahuta’s *pā* called Te Uapata, located on a tributary of the Mangawara Creek at Kōmakorau, Taupiri. Piripi Whanatangi (1890, p. 222) of Ngāti Mahuta made consistent claims in the Title Investigation of the Hoe-o-Tainui Block. According to Te Wheoro, these lands were swampy and not favourable for *kūmara* cultivation, so the brothers lived on the *kowharawhara*, from which came the taunt against the Ngāti Mahuta descendants of Tapaue and Wharetīpeti: “*Haere ki te Uapata te kai a to tupuna he kowharawhara*” – “Go to Te Uapata and eat the food of your ancestors, the *kowharawhara*”. Ngāti Te Wehi composed the following *oreore* [sic]: “*E Mahuta! E Mahuta! E hoki ki te Uapata, he kowharawhara te kai o to whenua, e hinawa*” - “Hey Mahuta! Hey Mahuta! Return to Te Uapata, where the *kowharawhara* is the only food of the land, haha” (translation from J. McRae, 2017, pp. 144–145). Wharetīpeti and Tapaue assisted Iranui, son of Wairere and Hinemoa, and his people at Kaitōtehe Pā where they had a *māra* (cultivation) called Hoepō. This was the area formerly occupied by Pāoa, Tauhakiri and his children. Iranui agreed for them to plant half of the *kūmara* crop. Before the work began, Wharetīpeti and Tapaue instructed their people to sharpen their *kō* (digging implements) to be used as weapons. When the time came, they attacked and defeated Iranui’s people at Hoepō. Those who escaped gathered assistance from other Waikato tribes to attack Whare and Tapaue, but they were repulsed<sup>179</sup>. Te Wheoro said that the brothers claimed Hoepō for themselves and then set about attacking the people of Waikato for their land and tribute of crops and eels.

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<sup>179</sup> Iranui later settled at Mangaharakeke Pā in what is now Te Rapa, Hamilton (NaMTOK & HCC, 2003, p. 31).

Wharetīpeti and Tapaue’s conquests went as far as Manuka<sup>180</sup> [sic]. In his *reo* Māori text, White wrote “*i tae ana ta raua patu ki Manuka, a i mate ano nga tangata o aua tini pa ra i a raua*” (p. 173). He translated this as: “Whare and Tapaue had attacked and beaten all the tribes even to Manuka (regret), and all the occupants of the pas around Auckland had been conquered by them at that time, and Mount Eden and all the other pas taken” (p. 182). Te Wheoro wrote that their attacks stretched as far as Manuka, but he made no reference to taking “[ngā] tini pā” (many *pā*) of that area, not to mention conquering all of Auckland including Maungawhau (Mount Eden). White clearly elaborated on Te Wheoro’s *kōrero* here. It is possible that this influenced Te Hurinui-Jones’ (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995) *kōrero* that the war party of these brothers “*puta ana ki Taamaki*” - went as far as Tāmaki (p. 281). This claim was subsequently included by Kelly (1949, p. 235) and Phillips (1995, pp. 114–117) in their publications, but it appears to have been an inauthentic elaboration of Te Wheoro’s *kōrero* by John White.

The cause of this conquest appears to be desire for more favourable lands by Wharetīpeti and Tapaue, who captured those lands through warfare. Iranui was a son of Wairere and Hinemoa. Therefore, Wharetīpeti and Tapaue would be distantly related to Iranui through their aunty Paretahuri’s marriage to Maramatūtahi, who was another son of Wairere another of his wives named Tūkapua. Despite several authors having written mentioned this *kōrero*, they all follow similar details to Te Wheoro’s manuscript, which is a Ngāti Mahuta version of events.

The CNA results estimate that attack on Iranui described in *kōrero pakanga* #47 occurred in approximately 1705 CE ± 8 years (1707 CE ± 19 years).

### **(#59) Māoa and Rangihoto**

Te Hurinui-Jones’ *kōrero* from Tainui *kaumātua* sets the scene for what ended in Wharetīpeti and Tapaue’s death. These events occurred after their involvement in supporting Te Wehi in Aotea (see previous section on Kāwharu and Te Wehi). Once Wharetīpeti and Tapaue seized Te Iranui’s lands, they settled on the western bank of the Waikato River. They developed a famous enjoyment of eating human flesh that extended to their own relations. On

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<sup>180</sup> Short for Mānukanuka-o-Hoturoa, now known as Manukau.

one occasion, they killed their brother in law<sup>181</sup>, consumed part of him and fed his cooked penis to his wife, who was sister to Wharetīpeti and Tapaue, named Rangihoto. She became aware of what had happened when a fly struck her on her forehead. From this act, Kaitōtehe was named – meaning, “eat your penis”.

According to Te Hurinui’s version, Rangihoto’s son, Te Ruinga, and his friend Māoa then sought to kill Wharetīpeti and Tapaue<sup>182</sup>. After some preparation, Māoa gathered his war party from Te Ākau and met Wharetīpeti and Tapaue’s warriors between Wāhi Lake and Kaitōtehe. This was the same unnamed war party that Te Wheoro described to have a thousand warriors from groups that Wharetīpeti and Tapaue had previously attacked. The party attacked Wharetīpeti while Tapaue was at Te Uapata with his warriors. Wharetīpeti received eight spear wounds in combat before a messenger sent for Tapaue. The latter then came with his force, kicked his resting *tuakana* and uttered their mother’s *whakataukī*: “*He aha koe i kai koramuramu ai i te riri a nga tokorua a Puaki*” (why do you eat so greedily in the battle of the two of Puaki [my translation]). The *whakataukī* memorialises Wharetīpeti and Tapaue as Puakirangi’s sons who were renown in combat (see also S. M. Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 334). Wharetīpeti replied “*kaore ana e noho mai nei ano o tuakana*” (the deed is not yet complete, your elders still wait for you [White’s translation *ibid*, p. 182]). Tapaue and Wharetīpeti then fought, and a great battle ensued. Eventually Wharetīpeti died of his wounds and Tapaue was also slain. According to Remana Nutana (1909, p. 192), Kamanomano Mahu (1909, p. 356) and Tangataiti Maru (1909, p. 19), this battle occurred at Taipōuri on the Waikato River.

These *kōrero* about Wharetīpeti and Tapaue explain the foundations of Ngāti Mahuta’s growing influence in Waikato. The *pā* they first lived in was Te Uapata, which was first occupied by their grandfather and his wife Mahuta and Kiringaua, and may have originally been a Ngāiwi *pā*. They then expanded their sphere of influence by taking the western side of the Waikato River from Iranui, due to his more productive *māra kai*. Their *mana* was renown, resulting in Te Wehi seeking their support in his attack on Tautinimoko in Aotea. Te Uapata was again the place mentioned where Te Wehi sought their aid. However, with their growth in

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<sup>181</sup> Robertson (1965, pp. 29–30) wrote that Rangihoto’s husband was Kāwharu of Ngāti Tāhinga. Not to be confused with Kāwharu, son of Ngaere and Koata, and brother to Te Wehi. Presumably Robertson received this *kōrero* from one of his informants, such as Tauī or Tita Wetere, or Raureti Te Huia of Ngāti Apakura.

<sup>182</sup> In testimony during the Te Ākau Block Rehearing, Te Wheoro (1894, p. 145) claimed that Te Kapa, Mawa, Riki Korongata and Te Ngaue of Ngāti Tāhinga attacked Wharetīpeti and Tapaue and the latter’s wife, Te Kura, was taken back with them.

power they were challenged by Ngāti Tāhinga, who eventually defeated and killed them. This *kōrero* did not include episodes of *pā* construction, but only mentioned *pā* that had been occupied by earlier generations. There remain strong interactions between the coast and inland Waikato as well as along the Waikato River.

*Kōrero pakanga* #59 describes the death of Wharetīpeti and Tapaue, which occurred in approximately 1730 CE ± 16 years (1725 CE ± 36 years).

### (#60) Pāpaka and Te Putu

The following *kōrero* comes from Te Wheoro’s manuscript and his later testimony during the Te Ākau Partition Rehearing (Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1871; Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1894). Te Wheoro’s (1871, pp. 24–27) manuscript states that Tapaue had four wives. Te Atairehia was his last wife and was of the same people that attacked and killed her husband, Tapaue, and brother-in-law, Wharetīpeti. Her children by Tapaue lived with her and her people. Te Wheoro (1871) did not say where this was, but White’s (1888b, pp. [Māo.] 174, [Eng.] 183) version states that they lived at Te Paeokaiwaka where canoes were dragged between the Waiuku and Awaroa Creeks (i.e., between Manuka and Waikato). Te Wheoro also stated in his manuscript that Te Atairehia’s people collected Tapaue’s bones and fashioned a fishhook from them. This diminished Tapaue’s *mana* and increased their own. Te Atairehia’s youngest son by Tapaue, Pāpaka, learnt of this and went to live with his elder siblings by Tapaue’s other wives in Waikato. In Te Wheoro’s 1894 court testimony, he specified the tribe that had attacked Tapaue as Ngāti Tāhinga and Te Kura was the name of Tapaue’s wife that was taken by them and Tamaterā was her son by Tapaue. He repeated the same information around the Tapaue’s jawbone being used as a fishhook by the Waiohua people, who were clearly closely related to Ngāti Tāhinga.

After Wharetīpeti and Tapaue were killed by Ngāti Tāhinga from Waiūku, Tapaue’s son, Te Putu, became a powerful chief at Taupiri. According to Kelly (1940b, p. 152), Te Putu constructed the *pā* at the base of Taupiri *maunga* called Taupirikūao. At this time, Pāpaka came to Te Putu and the other descendants of Wharetīpeti and Tapaue in Waikato and sought their support. They all then gathered a war party and defeated Pāpaka’s uncles and their people<sup>183</sup>. The following *pepeha* recalls this act of Pāpaka forsaking and killing his own relations at Manuka: “*nga piripiri o Papaka riri whakawareware*” (Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1871, p. 27) (“the attendants of Papaka who were slain in forgetfulness” [translated by White, p. 186]). Te

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<sup>183</sup> Phillips (1989, p. 73) wrote that this occurred at Te Kauri Pā in Wattle Bay.

Wheoro's account does not mention Te Putu's involvement in this conflict specifically. However, given he was an older brother to Pāpaka and was a leading *rangatira* in Waikato it is likely that he was indeed involved. Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs' (1995) version mentioned how Pāpaka was a young man when he came to Te Putu for assistance without a *moko* (tattooed face) and had to endure several trials before Te Putu would consider helping him. After the conflict, Te Putu returned to Taupiri.

In this account, Pāpaka was not yet satisfied with his victory as Toaingina, the man who killed his father was still alive. Pāpaka had a younger brother named Pouate, who had a son called Horeta<sup>184</sup>. Toaingina had previously killed Horeta's father-in-law Korongoi at Pūtataka, Te Pūāha-o-Waikato. Te Huiararua demanded that Horeta do something about this and so asked Pāpaka for support. Pāpaka sought guidance from his elders at Manurewa Pā and Maungakiekie. He was then convinced that he could defeat his rival. With only one *waka* and a war party including Te Wehi and Te Horeta, Pāpaka paddled to Toaingina's home at Te Ahikaea. Toaingina had escaped shortly before the attack and Te Wehi eventually chased him down, allowing Te Horeta to kill Toaingina. According to Rōre Erueti and Te Puea Hērangi, this occurred at Tauranganui (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, p. 294).

The CNA results estimate that the initial *utu* by Pāpaka and Te Putu for the death of Wharetīpeti and Tapaue (*kōrero pakanga* #60) occurred in approximately 1733 CE ± 16 years (1734 CE ± 28 years). The subsequent attack on Toaingina (*kōrero pakanga* #63) occurred 1752 CE ± 14 years (1750 CE ± 25 years).

### **(#61) Toroa-ihuroa**

Te Nguha Huirama told Pei Te Hurinui-Jones a *kōrero* about Ngaere's elder brother Toakōtara and his son Toroa-ihuroa in 1932, which was later published (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 250–253). Kelly (1949, pp. 214–216) followed this version closely. Testimonies in the Moerangi Title Investigation also briefly mention the relationship between Ruateatea's daughter, Maharakirangi, and Keteiwi's son Toroa-ihuroa (MacCormick, 1909a, 1909b).

According to Rewi Tahana (1909, p. 298), Maharakirangi first lived with her family at Pūrākau, Kaharaumati and Wharapitoitoi at Kāniwhaniwha, as well as Manuera, Whakataki and Orongo. She then married Te Keteiwi's elder son, Toakōtara, and they moved to Whāingaroa. Te Nguha Huirama recounted how Toakōtara was a *tōhunga* and passed his skills onto his son, Toroa-ihuroa, who grew to adulthood at Ohautira [sic]. At one stage, Toroa-ihuroa

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<sup>184</sup> Rore Eruera [sic] (in Kelly, 1949, p. 245) said that Te Horeta was actually Pāpaka's son.

hosted another *tōhunga* and his party. Toroa-ihuroa decided to test the stranger by feeding him improperly cooked herrings. However, the man recited a spell to allow himself to consume them unharmed. He then bragged that Toroa-ihuroa's failure would be widely known and he further defecated nearby to express his contempt. Toroa-ihuroa then put the man in a pit nearby to kill him, but the latter escaped and warned his kin at Pukekura near Tamahere of his maltreatment. A war party of warriors related to the visiting *tōhunga* then attacked and killed Toroa-ihuroa in his *pā*, Te Whakaironga, on a bend of the Ōhautira River on the eastern side of Whāingaroa. After this event, parts of Ngāti Tamainupō moved to Te Kōpae near Ngāruawāhia.

*Utu* caused this attack by the Waikato war party on Toroa-ihuroa at Whāingaroa. However, the further dynamics of this *kōrero* are unclear. The single brief version of this *kōrero* limits the analysis of its symbolic dynamics causes.

Based on the CNA results, Toroa-ihuroa's conflict (*kōrero pakanga* #61) occurred in approximately 1736 CE ± 32 years (1736 CE ± 36 years).

#### **(#65 & 66) Riki Korongata, Te Ngaue and Waikato**

During the Te Ākau Block Partition Rehearing, Te Wheoro (1894) gave evidence to support the claim that Waikato *iwi* had an interest in the block. He said that after Ngāti Tāhinga and Te Waiohua had killed Wharetīpeti and Pāoa under Te Kapa, Māoa, Riki Korongata and Te Ngaue they made two further attacking campaigns. Te Kapa and Māoa led the first to Northland against Ngā Puhī, but were killed. Te Kapa's son, Riki Korongata then led the second war party against Waikato again at Taupiri but was defeated and fled. Presumably this second attack was associated with the *utu* of the first against Ngāti Mahuta.

Te Wheoro said that Waikato tribes then went to Manukau and took *pā* on the western side, where Waiohua, who were presumably related to Ngāti Tāhinga, were defeated. Te Ngaue was a chief at Tungitungia Pā and had married Te Kura, variably recorded as Tapaue's daughter or wife, and had several children by her. Te Ngaue was killed in the process and Te Kura's son, Tamatera, gave his mother and his half-siblings the *pā*. Waikato made a second attack on Kahuwera Pā near Waikawau and defeated Ngāti Tāhinga there.

The Ngāti Māhuta chief, Te Rauangaanga led a war party to Tairāia Pā and killed some people outside the *pā*. Takahuanui's son, Taiko, called out from the *pā* that his father was at Puketoa. Takahuanui was Te Rauangaanga's uncle. In turn, the latter brought Takahuanui and Taiko to Waikato to save them from further attacks and Takahuanui gave lands at Hōrea to Te

Rauangaanga. This ended the fighting between Waikato and Ngāti Tāhinga and the gift supported Te Wheoro's claim to the Te Ākau Block.

The CNA results estimate that the death of Riki (*kōrero pakanga* #65) and then Te Ngaue (*kōrero pakanga* #66) occurred in approximately 1755 CE ± 31 years (1755 CE ± 47 years).

### **(#62) Te Putu and Ngātokowaru**

The following *kōrero* describes the conflict of Waikato against Ngāti Raukawa during the time of Te Putu and his son, Tāwhiakiterangi. There are several versions of the conflict. A Ngāti Tūwharetoa version was published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* by Te Hata and Fletcher (1917). This article includes another account provided by Wahanui (presumably Te Huatare of Ngāti Maniapoto) to the Government Native Agent of Waikato, Mr. Wilkinson, in 1890. Grace (1959, pp. 182–185) published a very similar version, likely sourced from Te Hata's *kōrero*. Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 210–213) published a brief mention of a battle between Wharetīpeti and Tapaue against Tūtetawhā of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. It is not clear how much if any of this *kōrero* (of which this the reference to this battle is a small part) was from Tūturu Hōne Teri, who Biggs references at the start of the chapter. Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 294–296) published a parallel account involving Te Putu and Ngātokowaru, which Kelly (1949, pp. 239–243) followed closely.

Tūtetawhā was a chief of Ngāti Tūwharetoa from Taupō-nui-a-Tia. A Ngāti Tūwharetoa version of the *kōrero* is that this chief became boastful and urged his brothers, Manunui and Meremere to attack different *pā* with him (Te Hata & Fletcher, 1917, pp. 95–96). They made a brief excursion into Waikato before returning. Later, a war party including several Ngāti Tūwharetoa chiefs (Te Tawhioterangi, Ngātokowaru, Manunui, Meremere, Tūtetawhā and others) travelled deeper into Waikato country, where they took several *pā* (not named in the *kōrero*) before reaching to Paetōtara (near Cambridge). Hearing of this attack, Waikato *hapū* gathered their war parties together and paddled to Paetōtara. Seeing the growing number of warriors against him, Tūtetawhā was confident in waiting before giving word to commence the battle. According to Te Hata and Fletcher (1917, p. 95) the Waikato chief, Te Putu, came forward and engaged Tūtetawhā but was wounded. Waikato warriors then overwhelmed and killed Tūtetawhā and his brothers Meremere and Manunui. Waikato captured a man named Ngātokowaru and asked how he used his weapons in combat. After some demonstration, he asked the identity of the man who fought Tūtetawhā at which the warriors pointed out Te Putu. Ngātokowaru then speared Te Putu with his *tete* making sure to drench himself with his

victim's blood to ensure he was not eaten after being killed himself – such was the *mana* of the *rangatira*'s blood. According to Wahanui, Ngāti Raukawa were on Ngāti Tūwharetoa's side of the conflict, which occurred near Maungatautari. Ngātokowaru was captured and through a similar series of events killed Te Putu with the broken head of his *tete-paraoa* (whalebone spear).

In Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs' (1995, pp. 210–213) version, Tūtetawhā's war party reached Te Hautapu on the Waikato River (near Cambridge) and the two forces battled at Waitōtara. Waikato fled but ambushed Ngāti Tūwharetoa, when they pursued Waikato to their canoes waiting by the river. Tūtetawhā died there and peace followed between the two groups. This account does not mention Te Putu and Ngātokowaru, and clearly positions the battle before Te Putu's time.

The second account that Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 294–296) published refers to Te Putu and Ngātokowaru more specifically. In this account, Ngāti Raukawa encroached on Waikato lands including Nukuhau and Tamahere between Kirikiriroa and Ngāruawāhia. Then the Ngāti Raukawa chief under Ngātokowaru paddled downstream and attacked the chief named Kakeha at Pēpepe, on the western bank of the Waikato, south of Taupiri. Te Putu was an old man by this time and his son, Tāwhia-ki-te-rangi led the attack, joined by the Ngāti Te Ata, Ngāti Tipa and Ngāti Tāhinga from further down the Waikato River. They attacked the Ngāti Raukawa before the palisades of Pēpepe and Kakeha joined the battle. The Waikato warriors defeated Ngāti Raukawa and Ngātokowaru was taken prisoner, at which time he requested that he be allowed to see Te Putu<sup>185</sup>. Like the *kōrero* from Te Wahanui and Te Hata, Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs said that Ngātokowaru then killed Te Putu with a *tete* (in this case referred to as a stingray barb dagger). According to Kelly (1940b), this occurred at Te Putu's home named Te Mataotutonga, outside of his *pā*, Taupirikūao. After Te Putu's death, Kelly wrote that the *pā* at Taupiri was abandoned.

Waikato versions clearly emphasise the role of Ngāti Raukawa in this conflict instead of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Ngātokowaru was in the Ngāti Tūwharetoa account, but he was not described as from Ngāti Raukawa. If he was indeed the Ngāti Raukawa, son of Hae and Parekārewa, he would have been born long before Te Putu. It is possible for Te Putu and Ngātokowaru to have been contemporaries, but Te Putu would not have been an old man, and

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<sup>185</sup> After the battle, the victorious Waikato took the heads of the slain chiefs and staked them along the river bank below Taupiri. That part of the Waikato River received the name Te Rauangananga (hundred heads) in recognition of this. Te Wherowhero's father was named after this event.

Tāwhia-ki-te-rangi would not have been old enough to be involved in the battle, let alone to lead the Waikato warriors. Raureti Te Huia (in Robertson, 1965, pp. 35–37) said that there were two Ngāti Raukawa men named Ngātokowaru. The later man was son of Inurangi and Putearuru, and he was the one who killed Te Putu.

This *kōrero* shows the growing conflicts between Waikato and their neighbours including Ngāti Tāhinga in the north and Ngāti Raukawa in the south. At this time, Te Putu appears to have constructed a new *pā* at Taupirikūao in addition to Te Uapata Pā, where his ancestors lived. The reasoning behind this move is not included in the *kōrero*, but it may have been a result of growing conflict in the area and a need for a more elevated and defensible position with a greater view of up and down the Waikato River, which Te Uapata did not afford. Te Uapata may have also been avoided for a time after Tapaue and Wharetīpeti had been killed. The wars with Ngāti Raukawa, were part of a long dispute between the two groups stemming from the dispute between Korokī and Taowhakairo discussed above. This *kōrero* records claims to land and conquests at Tamahere, Nukuhau and an attack at Pēpepe by Ngāti Raukawa, which Tāwhia-ki-te-rangi answered.

The CNA results estimate that the conflict described in *kōrero pakanga* #62 occurred in approximately 1752 CE ± 15 years (1756 CE ± 32 years).

#### **(#67) Tāwhia-ki-te-rangi**

*Kōrero* about Tāwhia-ki-te-rangi's attacks on Ngāti Raukawa comes from Pei Te Hurinui's manuscript with *kōrero* from Tainui elders, written in 1940 (in Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 298–300). Kelly's (1940b; 1949, pp. 248–250) version follows Te Hurinui-Jones' closely with a few added details. Phillips (1989, pp. 84–86; 1995, pp. 151–152) followed Kelly.

After Te Putu was killed, Waikato sought to avenge his death and drive out Ngāti Raukawa from Waikato territory. Te Putu's son Tāwhia-ki-te-rangi gathered the Waikato warriors and paddled up the river to where the Ngāti Raukawa were<sup>186</sup>. They defeated and drove Ngāti Raukawa from their settlements on the Horotiu until they retreated to their territories at Maungatautari. Peace was ensured by Tāwhia-ki-te-rangi marrying the Ngāti Raukawa *puhi* maiden named Te Ata-i-rangi-kāhu, daughter of Te Kura-a-tai-whakaea and descendant of Ngātokowaru. The sources portray this conflict as a matter of *utu* to correct the perceived imbalance created by earlier Ngāti Raukawa attacks on Waikato and reclaim lands

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<sup>186</sup> Tāwhia-ki-te-rangi went to down river to Waingarō, behind Waahi Lake where a *tōhunga* imbued him with the *mana* of the lake. Later on the journey with his *waka taua* (war canoes), his company was visited by an invisible spirit canoe that paddled alongside them in their journey. This power helped them in defeating Ngāti Raukawa.

taken in those earlier conflicts. The *kōrero*, therefore, serves to support Waikato claims of *mana whenua* in the area.

The CNA results estimate that the conflict described in *kōrero pakanga #67* occurred in approximately 1769 CE ± 32 years (1765 CE ± 41 years).

#### **(#64, 84 & 69) Tuhaunga and his children**

Wini Kerei of Ngāti Pāoa (Scannell & Gudgeon, 1890a, p. 320; 1890b, pp. 8–9, 40) testified in the Hoe-o-Tainui Title Investigation case, providing evidence of three conflicts that supported his claim that his ancestors, Te Hiko, Tahunaraukawa and Tuhaunga defended and maintained their interest to the land block in question.

The first mentioned conflict occurred during Tuhaunga's time, who was a child of Tahunaraukawa and therefore a descendant of Paretāhuri and Pāoa. Kerei said that a Waikato group attacked and drove several *hapū* of Ngāiwi from Taipouri Pā on the Waikato River. Of Ngāiwi, Ngāti Te Whio, Ngāti Pokai, Ngāti Waitarure settled at Te Hoe-o-Tainui at the Paranui Swamp, east of Hoe-o-Tainui, while Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Tamahani and Ngāti Rakawera fled to Hauraki. Those that settled at Paranui did so under Tuhaunga's acceptance, who had *mana* over the land and people at this time. His *pā* were Hoe-o-Tainui and Te Ruakiwi. Tuhaunga allowed the Ngāiwi to collect eels there to distribute to the local people. After a time, they breached Tuhaunga's *tikanga* and he forced them off the land. This quarrel began through a challenge to Tuhaunga's *mana* and misuse of the *mahinga kai* (food collection place).

The second conflict that Kerei mentioned involved Te Tuhi from Ngāti Mahuta, who visited Kairi at Taraheahea eel weir on the outflow of the Paranui to the Mangawhara River. Te Tuhi thought that his hosts would give him eels according to this standing, but they did not and so he left to stay with Ngāti Maru in Hauraki. Ngāti Maru then went, killed and enslaved the Ngāti Ringatahi people of Ngāti Pāoa around Paranui, but did not capture Kairi. Ngāti Tahuna and Parengaherehere heard of the massacre of Ngāti Ringatahi and so built Waitawheta and Waikere Pā at Te Hoe-o-Tainui. When Te Hiakai, Te Tuhi and Tumohe heard of this development they assembled a Waikato war party and attacked Waitawheta but were defeated. This was in the time of Tuhaunga's children. The *kōrero* is another example of *utu* being enacted after a perceived insult to one's *mana* in the context of collection and distribution of eels. This *kōrero* supported Kerei's claim that Ngāti Pāoa (Ngāti Tahuna and Parengaherehere) defended their interest in the area against Waikato.

The third conflict that Kerei presented involved Te Hiko who was son of Tahunaraukawa's brother and Tuhaunga's uncle. When Te Hiko was an old man, he called for

Ngāti Tahuna, Ngāti Parengaherehere and Te Matetokoroa to see him before he died and they met him at Whareroa, Hoe-o-Tainui. Food was gathered from afar to support the gathering and feasting of the people and a man of Ngāti Huakatoa at Tauhei learnt of the food gathering from eel stores at Tauhei. He then informed Ngāti Mahuta and Ngāti Huakatoa at Te Uapata and they assembled at Tauhei to meet Te Hiko and his people gathering eels from their store. Te Hiko and his people then began returning to Hoe-o-Tainui and a battle was fought there between the Waikato pursuers and Ngāti Pāoa. The latter won the battle and captured many fleeing Waikato warriors – giving the name Tāpiriharakeke to the place the captives were bound. This was long before the Ngāpuhi invasion (Kerei Te Whetuiti, 1890a, pp. 322–357; 1890b, p. 44).

These disputes show *pā* construction was occurring well into the 1700s in around Taupiri and up the Mangawhara Stream in response to attacks being made by war parties outside the district. In this instance, Wini Kerei said that Waitāwheta and Waikere Pā were constructed to defend against Ngāti Maru and Ngāti Mahuta. Other sources said that Toawhena, Toapoto and Kōura occupied Waitāwheta several generations before as discussed above. The Waikato conquest of Ngāiwi at Taipōuri may have been by Hānui and Hotumauea who Waharoa Te Puke recorded drove Ngāiwi out of this area (Wiremu Puke pers. comm.). The later battle was similar to the testing of Waikato by Ngāti Raukawa in Te Putu’s old age, whereby Ngāti Mahuta sought to test Ngāti Pāoa in Te Hiko’s old age. The context of the battle was in the collection of eels from the weir at Tauhei, which may also allude to competition over this resource between these two groups.

The CNA results estimate that the conflict during Tuhaunga’s time (*kōrero pakanga* #64) occurred in approximately 1753 CE  $\pm$  40 years (1754 CE  $\pm$  52 years). The second conflict involving Tuhi and Waitawheta Pā (*kōrero pakanga* #84) occurred in 1801 CE  $\pm$  20 years (1802 CE  $\pm$  21 years). The last mentioned *kōrero pakanga* (#69) about Tauhei occurred in 1758 CE  $\pm$  23 years (1756 CE  $\pm$  31 years).

#### **Part four: Late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century *kōrero pakanga***

##### **Te Tai Hauāuru**

There is a large amount of *kōrero* about *pā* and *pakanga* in Te Tai-Hauāuru during the late eighteenth century and early twentieth century. The main written source of this *kōrero* is from the Māori Land Court Title Investigation cases of Te Rohe Pōtae Block (Mair, 1886a, 1886b), Manuaitu-Aotea Block (Mair, 1887) and Moerangi Block (MacCormick, 1909a, 1909b). Subsequent publications sourced their *kōrero* primarily from the written records of witness

testimonies during these cases in addition to *kōrero tuku iho* (Kelly, 1949; Robertson, 1967c; Schnackenberg, 1926; Te Hurinui-Jones, 2010 [1959]).

The events of this period include a complex series of battles generally between the coastal people comprising Ngāti Toarangatira, Ngāti Koata and Ngāti Tūrirangi (Ngāti Motemote, Ngāti Te Ariari) and the inland people comprising Waikato, Ngāti Hikairo and Ngāti Maniapoto *iwi* from along the Waipā District. The order, number of warriors involved, leadership and involvement of different groups, as well as the effects of the battles are contested. This was because the *kōrero* were presented within the Māori Land Court context to support claims to land. Over the period from the 1780s to the departure of Ngāti Toarangatira and parts of Ngāti Koata from Kāwhia in 1819, dozens of separate war parties attacked one another from Whāingaroa to Kāwhia and across to the Waikato and Waipā Rivers.

I summarise the key events here for context, including the corresponding CNA *kōrero pakanga* number in brackets preceded by “#”: for example, “(#x)”. The table in the thesis Appendix summarises the *kōrero pakanga* CNA estimates for this period. Not all *kōrero pakanga* within the CNA and Appendix are summarised in text.

Te Ririorangawhenua was a son of Te Kanawa mentioned above. Hone Kāora (1886, pp. 345–347) said that Te Ririorangawhenua was planting crops near the Mangamahoe Stream between the Pūniu River and Kakepuku with help from some people from Kāwhia. Te Ririorangawhenua later went to assist crop planting at Turangaarere, where he was killed (#68). Te Maaha Hikuroa (1889, p. 106) told a similar version that Taiko came over from Kāwhia on the pretence of sharing fish to kill Te Riri at Ngāmatawhaura Pā in revenge for his father having killed Tarahitaua. According to Kāora, the Kāwhia war party then went on to capture Tauwhare Pā of Ngāti Puhiaawe and Ngāti Hikairo (#71). A war party led by Te Ahooterangi, Te Iwituaroa, Hikairo II and Whati then set out to attack Motungāio Pā in Kāwhia. Te Ahooterangi was Te Ririorangawhenua’s brother-in-law, while Whati was Te Ririorangawhenua’s brother. Hikairo II also had cause for attack after the defeat at Tauwhare Pā<sup>187</sup>. Upon their arrival at Motungāio Pā, the defending warriors were away tending to their cultivations at Rākaunui and Waiharakeke in eastern Kāwhia<sup>188</sup>. Ngāti Koata then ambushed them at Kaipāpaka between

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<sup>187</sup> Hēmi Erueti (1894, p. 191) also said Hikairo II was avenging the death of his ancestor, Hikairo I, who was killed by Ngāti Puhiaawe with the assistance of the coastal people.

<sup>188</sup> Hēmi Erueti (1894, p. 191) said that the war party defeated the coastal people in the south of Kāwhia first in the battle of Te Waikaraka before the battle at Heahea.

Aotea and Kāwhia, and killed Te Ahooterangi and Whati, while Hikairo and Te Iwituraroa escaped and returned home<sup>189</sup>(#73).

With each death of a chief or high-ranking woman, the aggrieved group sent a war party to rebalance their loss of *mana*. For example, Ngāti Te Ariari, Ngāti Motemote and Ngāti Whangaparāoa killed the Waikato chieftainess, Wiri, at Kaitane, between Waipā and Waitetuna<sup>190</sup> (#79). Te Uerangi then led a Waikato force to defeat the local people at Whāingaroa, which became known as the battle of Huripopo (Mahu, 1909, pp. 345–348; Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1886, pp. 196–197) (#81). Another Waikato force captured Owhakarito Pā in Aotea and killed Te Waitapu and Te Wata (#82). Te Rauparaha then led a force from Kāwhia and attacked the Ngāti Māhanga who had settled in Whāingaroa after the Huripopo. After killing several chiefs, he returned to Kāwhia (Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1886, p. 197). During this conflict, the Kāwhia party killed Te Uira and Te Haonga of Ngāti Mahuta, while Rangipōtiki killed Te Aomārama via an inland route (Taka, 1887). Ngāti Māhanga then attacked *pā* on the south side of Aotea including Tāhuri and killed Rangipōtiki and Tokoua (#90). By this time, many of the former occupants in Whāingaroa and Aotea had left for the strongholds of Kāwhia (Te Rongomau, 1886, p. 180; Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1886, pp. 198, 121; Te Whitu, 1887).

Following this string of conflicts, attacks were made on the Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Koata *pā* in southern Kāwhia (#97–98, 103–106, 110). According to Mahu (1909, pp. 345–348) and Te Hurinui-Jones (2010 [1959]), Te Wherowhero of Waikato led these attacks as part of a string of attacks from Whāingaroa, to Ruapuke, to Te Tōtara Pā, Te Arawi Pā and Whenuapou Pā. Wiremu Te Wheoro (1886, pp. 202–203) said that there were many leading Waikato chiefs involved as well as Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Hikairo forces and that there was a dual attack over land and sea. Te Rongomau (1886, pp. 172–179) said the force comprised Ngāti Māhanga under Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Mahuta under Te Hiakai with a separate force from Waikato. Kāora (1886, pp. 354–355) similarly said that Pumatoto and Te Awaitaia led the war party, joined by Ngāti Mahuta and Ngāti Patu Pō mercenaries.

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<sup>189</sup> There are several versions to this *kōrero* with only minor variations. They generally agreed on the attack on Motungāio and the involvement of the different chiefs from inland (Eructi, 1894, pp. 190–191; Kāora, 1886, pp. 347–348; Pōmare & Cowan, [1930] 1987, pp. 201–209; Schnackenberg, 1926, pp. 9–11; Te Awaitaia, 1887; Te Rerenga, 1886, pp. 4–5; Te Rongomau, 1886, pp. 172–179; Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1886, p. 194; 1887, p. 186).

<sup>190</sup> Taka (1887) said Wiri was killed near Te Rore.

Each witness emphasised the role of their own people in defeating the locals of Kāwhia, to support their respective claim of conquest and subsequent occupation into the late nineteenth century during the sitting of the courts. For example, Kāora (1886, p. 371) of Ngāti Hikairo said that the Waikato's assisted in the attacks on Kāwhia, but they obtained no *mana* over the land and returned home after each fight. Te Rerenga (1886, pp. 7–8) of Ngāti Maniapoto similarly said that Waikato's only assisted Ngāti Maniapoto and themselves had no footing in Kāwhia. On the other hand, Te Wheoro (1886) of Waikato's (Ngāti Naho) evidence emphasised Waikato's leadership in each of the battles, often listing several Waikato chiefs that were involved. He also said that only the final victories resulted in conquest over territory in which Waikato were heavily involved, instead of the smaller earlier battles.

Claimants and counterclaimants contested the extent of the conquests along the coast in each of the Title Investigations of the Māori Land Court. In the Rohe Pōtae Title Investigation, Te Wheoro's counterclaim on behalf of Waikato was based on the notion that there was a great conquest over Ngāti Toarangatira culminating in the battle of Te Kakara, the siege of Te Whenuapō and Te Arawi Pā, and Te Rauparaha leaving the district. Conversely, the Ngāti Hikairo and Ngāti Maniapoto claimants said that although there were indeed battles between Waikato and Te Rauparaha, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Hikairo were closely related with Te Rauparaha's people and that there were only minor quarrels followed by periods of peace between them. They said that Te Rauparaha only left after Waikato killed his wife Marore during a peaceful period and that he saw advantage in occupying the lower North Island for its access to European trade and having partially overcome the area with Ngāpuhi in previous years. The court accepted the Claimants case in this question of conquest over Kāwhia (Mair, 1886b, pp. 55–70). Wiremu Nero, Hapeta Waaka, Wiremu Te Whitu and Wiremu Te Wheoro set up a similar counterclaim in the Manuaitu-Aotea Title Investigation case of 1887. They claimed that there was a general conquest by Waikato *iwi* over the coastal people including Ngāti Tūirirangi, Ngāti Whānga, Ngāti Motemote and other *hapū* of the Tainui grouping, as well as Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Koata in Kāwhia. The Claimants on the other hand said that there was no general conquest, that the battles had no relation to acquisition of land and that two *pā* of the local people were never taken (Ōrongaheke and Ōwhakarito). The Court decided there was no general conquest in both the Manuaitu-Aotea and late Moerangi cases (MacCormick, 1909b, pp. 152–177; Mair, 1887, pp. 304–319).

### Waipā and Waikato

Like Te Tai Hauāuru, the *kōrero* about Waipā and Waikato in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century has growing detail, which reflects a growing density of *pā* in the area compared to former times. Māori Land Court testimonies in Title Investigation Cases that cover this area are some of the earliest written records of these *kōrero*. In writing this section, I read the minutes from the following cases: Otautahanga-Manuka (Puckey, 1884a, 1884b), Rohe Potae (Mair, 1886a, 1886b), Kakepuku-Pōkuru (Mair, 1889). Te Hurinui-Jones (2010 [1959]) includes a section on Waikato chief, Te Rauangaanga, and the battle of Hingakākā, which is also included in his later publication (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995). Kelly (1949) also included several chapters on this later period, which Robertson and Phillips generally based their works on.

In the Title Investigation of the Kakepuku-Pōkuru Block, Te Maaha Hikuroa (1889, pp. 107–109, 118, 133) said that after the Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto war party left for Kāwhia in revenge for the killing of Te Ririorangawhenua, Te Ikahoungata became a leading chief of Ngāti Te Kanawa of Ngāti Maniapoto. During his time, a large war party came from Kāwhia, Taranaki and Whanganui by way of Mōkau to attack Ngāti Maniapoto. Te Kamaka (1884, pp. 298–299) of Ngāti Hinetu testified in the Manukatutahi-Otautahanga Title Investigation that Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata mustered the force, which was known as Tahuraho. They attacked Ngāti Maniapoto and captured all their *pā* except Wairere and Pakeho (#72). They then attacked Waikato and captured Tauwhare, Ngāroto and Parakoko and the locals fled to Taupiri. Te Oro Te Koko said that Waikato then conducted Ngāti Maniapoto to their lands and Mangatoatoa was built to protect the district (Te Koko, 1889, p. 247), as well as Waiari, Ngaohi, Nukuhau and Maniapoto Pā. Other versions are that Te Uaki was the first to construct Mangatoatoa Pā and it then fell under the *mana* of Te Ikahoungata and the Tūkorehu (Tikitini, 1889, p. 232; Wareki, 1889, p. 197). Mangatoatoa Pā is a large headland *pā* on the Pūniu River, which was one of the main transit routes for war parties and communication between Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Koata on in Kāwhia and Ngāti Raukawa around Maungatautari.

A war party then travelled from Kāwhia to attack Mangatoatoa under Te Horiwakanui of Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Whata, who was defeated (#75). Mangatoatoa was the central *pā* of Ngāti Maniapoto to where people assembled to defend the district. Tikitini (1889, p. 211) meanwhile said that Ngāti Ngutu and Ngāti Huiao occupied it during conflict, but in peace they cultivated at Pōkuru and north of the Pūniu River at Ō-Tāwhao (Te Awamutu). Te Maaha Hikuroa (1889, pp. 107–109, 118, 133) said that outpost *pā* were given *pahu* (wooden bells) to

warn of the approach of war parties. Once this defensive network was established, the Waikato returned home.

According to Te Kamaka (1884), several Waikato *hapū* as well as Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetu attacked Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa in the battle of Waipatoto (#76). This battle preceded a series of conflicts between these groups. Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata then collected a force of sixteen thousand warriors from Te Arawa, Te Urewera, Whanganui, Taranaki and Te Tai Hauāuru and marched first towards Hangatiki. The Waikato forces then gathered their allies from Tāmaki and other areas. Wahanui of Ngāti Maniapoto led the attacking force from Hangatiki to Mangatoatoa Pā<sup>191</sup> before continuing to Ngāroto. The Waikato forces of sixteen hundred warriors meanwhile went to Te Rore Pā, then Taurangamirumiru Pā at Ngāroto. The next morning the forces met at Te Mangeo Ridge and the defenders routed the attacking force in the battle known as “Hīngakākā”, which referred to the number of chiefs slain wearing *kākā* feathered cloaks (#99). Te Kamaka stated that more warriors fell in that battle than any previous battle in Waikato (p. 315).

Te Maaha Hikuroa (1889) said that at a later time, a war party of Ngāti Raukawa, Te Urewera and Marutuahu attacked Waikato when outside of Mangatoatoa Pā, but left once a defensive force had assembled at the *pā*<sup>192</sup>. Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto then attacked and defeated Ngāti Raukawa in return at Tangimania, Whakarekehourī, Te Tarua and Hangahanga<sup>193</sup> Pā at Maungatautari (#108–109). Several Māori Land Court testimonies referred to Hangahanga and Huirimoana (#83) as the battles that ended the conflicts with Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata and contributed to parts of these groups joining Ngāti Toarangatira and parts of Ngāti Koata in their migration to the Lower North Island (Mair, 1886a, 1886b). By this time Tukorehu inherited Mahuekiterangi’s *mana* and returned to Mangatoatoa.

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<sup>191</sup> Hikuroa (1889, pp. 107–109, 118, 133) said that the locals assembled at Mangatoatoa. Ngāti Te Kanawa learned that the party had passed by and joined the defending force at Te Mangeo.

<sup>192</sup> Te Kamaka (1884, pp. 299–306) said that Te Katinga was killed in one such attack by Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata on Mangatoatoa, but they failed to capture it. This led to the battles at Hurumutu, Totarahio, Herewhenua [sic], Te Iringa-o-kotari [sic], Paengawai, Okiri (Hurukuru), Piraunui and Hangahanga, etc.

<sup>193</sup> Phillips (1989, p. 105) suggested the date for the Huirimoana battle as 1798 and Hangahanga as 1816 based on the testimony of Hauauro in the Rohe Pōtae Title Investigation, whose father was born after the former battle, but received *tāmoko* (tattooing) before Tangimania, which preceded Hangahanga.

Te Rauparaha then attacked Mangatoatoa, reaching the innermost defences<sup>194</sup>, but the defenders rallied forward and defeated his war party there, almost capturing Te Rauparaha in the process (Te Koko, 1889, p. 247) (#107). Later, Ngātapa of Ngāti Te Kanawa burnt Mangatoatoa down and Tukorehu with Ngāti Huiāo, Ngāti Ngāwaero, Ngāti Paretekawa, Ngāti Ngutu, Ngāti Paia and Ngāti Kaputuhi then built Whareraurekau Pā. Ngāpuhi invaded at this time in the attack on Mātakitaki in 1822 (Te Koko, 1889, p. 248; Tupotahi, 1889, pp. 139, 156, 165; Wareki, 1889, pp. 185–186) (#111).

### Summary

The *kōrero pakanga* described in this section explain the origins and political solidification both in *mana tangata* (*mana* of individual people) and *mana hapū* (*mana* of the tribe as a whole) and *mana whenua* (*mana* over the land) of Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Koata. *Kōrero* includes episodes of *utu* that included no conquest of land, such as Ahutūrama's raid in Whāingaroa for Kāwharu. Furthermore, testimonies by Hīkaka and Kāora explained the victory of Tūtaimārō and Paruparu in defence of their lands from Ngāti Toarangatira. While Kāora emphasised his ancestral *hapū*'s (Ngāti Te Ariari) victory over Paruparu. Large scale conflicts arose in Kāwhia in the context of several *rangatira* challenging one another's *mana*. Alliances formed including parties from outside the district that saw Toarangatira, Kāwharu, Te Wehi and Te Kanawa securing different parts of the coastline and harbours. Te Kairangi's manuscript included his ancestor, Toarangatira's, conquests along the coast south of Kāwhia – each of which stemmed from a perceived offence against Toarangatira and hence justified his actions.

The section on Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Puhiaue and Ngāti Maniapoto described *kōrero pakanga* between closely related groups led by *rangatira* with shared ancestry from individuals who had first settled Te Nehenehenui or through more recent intermarriage. The close relationships explain the nature of the conflicts, which each predominantly began over a contested *mahinga kai* such as a *wāhi manu* or *pā tuna*. Murders or offences during these disputes regularly led into favours being called in from more powerful relations in

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<sup>194</sup> Te Oro Te Koko (1888, p. 247) said there were three divisions within the *pā* occupied by different *hapū*. Pakehu was the first occupied by Ngāti Te Kanawa, Ngāti Paretekawa, Ngāti Parekahu, Ngāti Rangi, Ngāti Hura and others. Te Ipuarehua was the middle and was occupied by Ngāti Maniapoto under Wahanui. Paetawa was the inner section closest to the river and was occupied by Ngāti Ngāwaero, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kaputuhi, Ngāti Makahori, Ngāti Huiāo, Ngāti Ngutu, Ngāti Tongaupapa, Ngāti Matakore and others.

neighbouring districts who sought *utu* over the perceived offence. The ensuing conflicts grew into open conflict, but disputes were often forgotten or set aside within a generation.

There is more detail in the events, places and people recounted in the *kōrero* from later *kōrero pakanga*. The sources of written *kōrero* are primarily from late nineteenth century Māori Land Court Testimonies and as such are subject to the dynamics of those contexts. However, the dynamics are like the *kōrero* about earlier periods. *Pā* are spoken of within contested histories about claims to land. In general, different *kōrero* versions agree on where events occurred. However, Māori Land Court witnesses often emphasised the role of their own ancestors over others to support their claim to land blocks in question. In this context, *pā* were places where people could maintain control of the surrounding areas and resources. When there were great threats, people tended to retreat to larger strongholds such as Owahakarito and Orongaheke in Aotea, Te Tōtara, Te Arawi and Whenuapō in Kāwhia or Mangatoatoa on Te Pūniu. The *pā* functioned within the *kōrero* as an opportunity to say when a successful defence was made to hold onto the land and people, or a successful attack was made to right a past transgression or take the land. However, the extent to which attacks resulted in conquest was hotly disputed. Virtually every region was mentioned in the battles of the later period, which attests to the growing number of *pā*, the continued occupation of past *pā* and the more numerous attacks made by different parties. Furthermore, as the events of this period were pertinent to *mana whenua*, much more detail is included. It is also possible that they are more recent and better remembered than the history of earlier periods.

## CHAPTER NINE: CHRONOLOGICAL NETWORK ANALYSIS RESULTS

In this chapter, I summarise the results of the Chronological Network Analysis (CNA), which is based on the *kōrero* that I described in Chapters Five to Eight. I first present the precision of birthdate estimates through time and upon which I based the estimates of when warfare events occurred. I then present the results of when warfare occurred within Waikato as a proxy of when *pā* were constructed. I describe how the causes and outcomes of the warfare included in *kōrero* changes or remains steady through time. Lastly, I describe the results of the analysis that compares the relatedness of different parties involved in warfare through time. Unless otherwise stated, all dates are from the Probable Model followed by Possible Model dates in brackets<sup>195</sup>. The Appendix includes a summary table of these results. However, entire models, including names and relationships are not, to protect included unpublished *whakapapa*.

### Birthdate estimates

The Chronological Network developed during this current research includes 1152 “periods” of which 1016 were people. The remaining 136 periods were events of various kinds from *kōrero* that acted to constrain the models. The models also included 1979 “synchronisms” or relationships between those periods. The precision of each birthdate estimate varies through time (Figure 21A). The precision of an estimate is the opposite of its span, whereby “very precise” describes a short estimate span, while “very imprecise” describes a broad estimate span. A birthdate estimate of 1800–1805 is a shorter span than a birthdate estimate of 1790–1805 and is therefore more precise. Here I compare spans to birthdate estimate midpoints for simplicity; however, each birthdate estimate midpoint has an accompanying span of years during which time the birth was possible given the model parameters. There is an approximate non-linear negative relationship between birthdate estimate spans and birthdate estimate midpoints in years CE. In other words, there is a general pattern that the model less precisely estimates the birthdates of individuals born at earlier periods.

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<sup>195</sup> For example, 1795–1800 CE (1770–1805 CE).

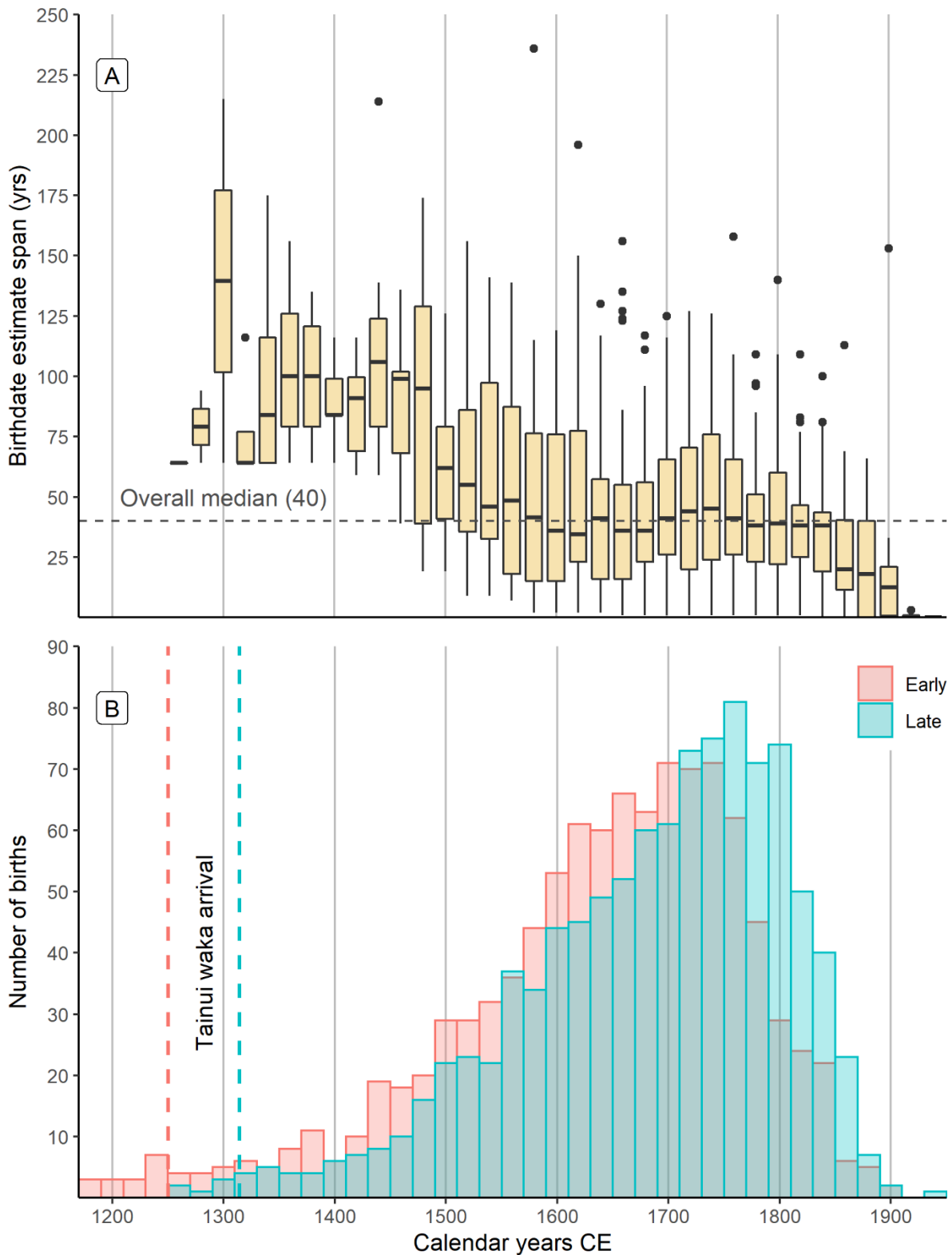


Figure 20. Birthdate estimate spans and number of births within CNA Probable Model. (A) Box-and-whisker plot of birthdate estimate spans by birthdate midpoints in 20-year bins. The count of birthdates within each bin is the number above each median line. (B) Histogram of early and late birthdate estimates for the Chronological Network based on tribal whakapapa in Waikato. The red and blue dotted vertical lines show the respective early and late Tainui arrival date estimates. Histogram bins are 20 years.

The total median birthdate estimate span of the 1016 individuals in the model is 40 years from the Probable Model (66 years from the Possible Model). Estimate spans shorter than the total median correspond to birthdate midpoints that extend back to the approximately 1500 CE (Figure 21A). Before the late 1400s, birthdate estimate spans are consistently longer than the overall median. The convergence of *whakapapa* lineages on ancestors living in the 1500s and early 1600s causes this pattern. These same ancestors were central to later tribal group identities and are consistent with what Taonui (2005) described as the *maihi* of the *wharenui whakapapa*. After this period, estimate spans increase with less lineage convergence and then decrease again when approaching the nineteenth century when the birthdates are known. In most cases, individuals with longer birthdate estimate spans and mid dates after 1500 CE had limited involvement in the *kōrero* I studied in this research, or I did not identify *whakapapa* relationships that tied them more precisely into *tātai* (lineages) central to those *kōrero*.

The overall number of birthdates at any given period also changes through time (Figure 21B). Based on existing archaeological information discussed in Chapter Four, I constrained the model so that Tainui's arrival (marked by Puhaanga's birth) was no earlier than the rounded mid-century figure of 1250 CE. Based on the model parameters and the *whakapapa* used, the CNA estimates that the Tainui *waka* arrived in 1282 CE  $\pm$  32 years (1309 CE  $\pm$  59 years), i.e., no later than 1314 CE (1367 CE). Given this 64-year (117-year) estimate span for Tainui's arrival, the number of births within the modelled *whakapapa* is stable at under 15 people every 20 years between first arrival and 1430 (from early birthdate estimates) to 1470 CE (from late birthdate estimates; based on the Probable Model). After this period, the number of birth estimates generally increases at a steady rate for two hundred years until between 1700 (early) and 1770 CE (late; based on the Probable Model). The plateau and drop off after this period is artificial – they are an artefact of the model – because I generally only included lineages within the model that contributed to greater precision of birthdate estimates for individuals in the 1700s and earlier. Many more *tātai* descended into the nineteenth century (and of course until today) that this analysis does not capture.

The variations in birthdate numbers through time illustrate the shape of tribal *whakapapa* (refer to discussion in Chapter Three). Taonui (2005) description of the *tekoteko* being a singular lineage that connect the eponymous ancestor of a tribe to the migration *waka* fleet, is consistent with these findings. The *tekoteko* appropriately describes the fewer number of individuals within the *whakapapa* between the arrival *waka* and the mid-1400s. This is the location of the *maihi*, where *whakapapa* lineages fan out from key ancestors often associated with later *iwi* and *hapū* identities. The increase in the number births at the *maihi* of the *wharenui whakapapa* in the mid-1400s occurs one century before the period of the shortest estimate

spans in the 1600s. The delay between the start of the *maihi* and the period of short birthdate estimates (high precision) suggests that the convergence of *whakapapa* at the *maihi* did not occur at one point but occurred at least over this 150-year period from the mid-1400s to approximately 1600 CE.

### ***Ko ngā kōrero pakanga – kōrero about warfare***

Warfare narratives (*kōrero pakanga*) are a useful marker of activity associated with *pā* – either construction, general occupation, defence, or attack. The results of *kōrero pakanga* frequency fluctuations are discussed in this section at both the total study region and district scales (Figure 22 and Figure 23). District boundaries are partly determined by local topography (wetlands and mountains), gaps in settlement concentrations, and the general arenas in which *kōrero* are represented. Although the boundaries potentially disregard the fluidity of *kōrero*, mobility and relationships between different regions, they enable a multi-scalar, spatial analysis of *kōrero pakanga*.

The two earliest *kōrero pakanga* are the quarrel between Mōtai and Hoturoa in 1301 CE  $\pm$  33 years (1331 CE  $\pm$  63 years) and Tānetinorau’s conquest 1358 CE  $\pm$  98 years (1378 CE  $\pm$  124 years) (Figure 22). The few *whakapapa* connections to those involved, given they are within the *tekoteko* of the *wharenuī whakapapa* limits their date estimate precision — should we accept it was an historical event. Following these events, there were five peaks in Waikato *kōrero pakanga* until the 1820s, which is the end of this study. Both the Probable and Possible Models display these peaks, although the Probable Model creates warfare peaks that are slightly narrower (Figure 22).

After Tānetinorau, there is a gradual rise in *kōrero* about warfare from as early as 1420 until approximately 1540 CE. These were sporadic conflicts primarily in Ngā-whanga-ki-tai (western harbours) district and included the quarrel between Mangō and Whatihua, Mangō and Haumia, as well as Tama-āio’s conquests around Waitomo, within Te Nehenehenui-ki-runga (Figure 23). The *kōrero* about Pīkiao’s conflict with his brother-in-law and Kōkako’s conflicts at Te Pūaha-o-Waikato may also have occurred at this time. After these occasional conflicts, the Probable Model resulted in two small spikes in *kōrero pakanga*. The first was in 1550–1580 CE, which included independent wars in all districts within the study area (Figure 23). These included Taongaiwi’s conflict with Kārewa in Kāwhia, conquest of Ngāti Kahupungapunga from along the Pūniu River and further east to Wharepūhanga, Maniapoto’s conflict with his *tuakana*, Te Ihingarangi, Tāhinga’s conflict with his brother-in-law in Whāingaroa and the wars between Tūirirangi’s followers against the Ngāiwi of Aotea Harbour.

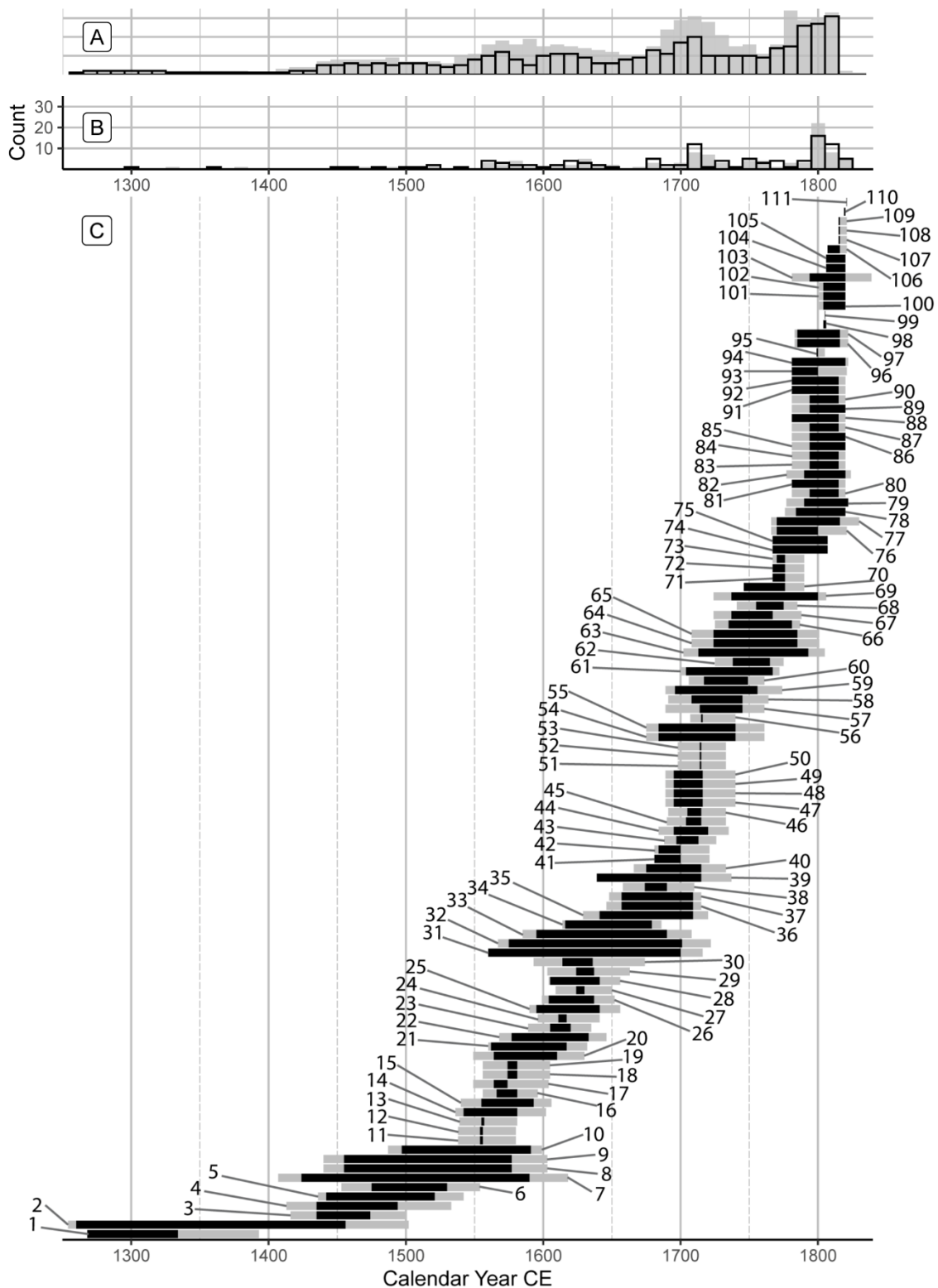


Figure 21. CNA results of all *kōrero pakanga*. Plots A and B are timeseries histograms that correspond to the events in Plot C. Plot A is a sum distribution of events that occurred in 10-year bins. A single event may be counted several times—once for each corresponding 10 years that the estimate range overlaps with. Plot B shows the count of event midpoints in 10-year bins and each event is only counted once. The light grey shaded bars in Plot A and B are the Possible Model results, while the black outlined bars and Probable Model results. Plot C shows the estimate ranges (light grey: Possible Model; dark grey: Probable Model) for each warfare event, ordered by their midpoints. The numbered labels correspond to the table in the Appendix containing details, dates, sources and thesis references.

The second spike in the Probable Model conflict dates was in 1600–1640 CE, represented by *kōrero* about *pakanga* in the western harbours, Te Nehenehenui-ki-runga and Te Nehenehenui-ki-raro. These include, Tonganui’s attack on Ngāti Tūirirangi in Aotea; the wars between Taraao and Kārewa in Kāwhia and Te Kawa; the attacks by Ngāti Taaki from Mōkau on Ngāti Maniapoto; and Ngāti Tama’s attack on Tukemata. This period also saw the conflict between Korokī and Taowhakairo around modern Cambridge (Waikato-ki-uta). The 1550–1580 and 1600–1640 CE spikes from the Probable Model are less defined in the Possible Model results, which show a relatively moderate *kōrero pakanga* between 1550 and 1650 CE. From approximately 1630 CE, increased in Waikato-ki-uta (inland middle and lower Waikato) after Pīkiao’s earlier activity in the late 1500s (Figure 23). The seventeenth century *kōrero* included the settlement of Pīkiao and Rereiao’s grandchildren in Taupiri and the conquests by Huakatoa and Hānuī over Ngāiwi. Around this time, Toarangatira made a raiding incursion inland to Mangaokewa (Te Nehenehenui-ki-runga).

The next spike of *kōrero pakanga* at the regional scale was from approximately 1690–1730 CE (1680–1740 CE; Figure 22 and Figure 23). This spike was present in the Ngā-whanga-ki-te-uru, Waikato ki uta and Te Nehenehenui-ki-raro (lower Waipā-Ngāroto). It included the wars with Tūāhumāhina in Kāwhia; the subsequent conquests over Ngāti Tūirirangi in Aotea by Te Wehi, Wharetīpeti and Tapaue; and the wars in Whāingaroa involving Ahutūrama and then Toroaihuroa. At the same time, there were several conflicts in Te Nehenehenui-ki-raro, including conflict between Mōtai and Mākino, Ngāti Apakura attempted occupation of Te Kawa and the warfare between Ngāti Puhīawe and Ngāti Apakura around Tautepō. This period also saw the conquests of Wharetīpeti and Tapaue around Taupiri and Waikato-ki-uta, and the *utu* served by Pāpaka and Te Putu following their deaths. This was also when Ngāti Raukawa made incursions into Waikato and Ngātōkōwaru killed Te Putu.

The frequency of *pakanga kōrero* studied in this thesis did not reduce within the Waikato-ki-uta and Te Pūaha-o-Waikato ki Te Ākau districts during the 1700s (Figure 23). On the other hand, in Ngā-whanga-o-te-uru, Te Nehenehenui (raro and runga) and the entire study region, there was a dip in *kōrero pakanga* frequency between 1730 and 1780 (1740 and 1770), before a sharp increase in *kōrero* in the late 1700s until the end of the study period at around 1820. This later period of warfare included Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Koata on the coast, often in alliance with Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa around Maungatautari in conflict with the Waipā and Waikato tribes. It included the great conflicts by the Tahuraho war party, Kaipāpaka, Hingākākā and Te Kakara to name a few.

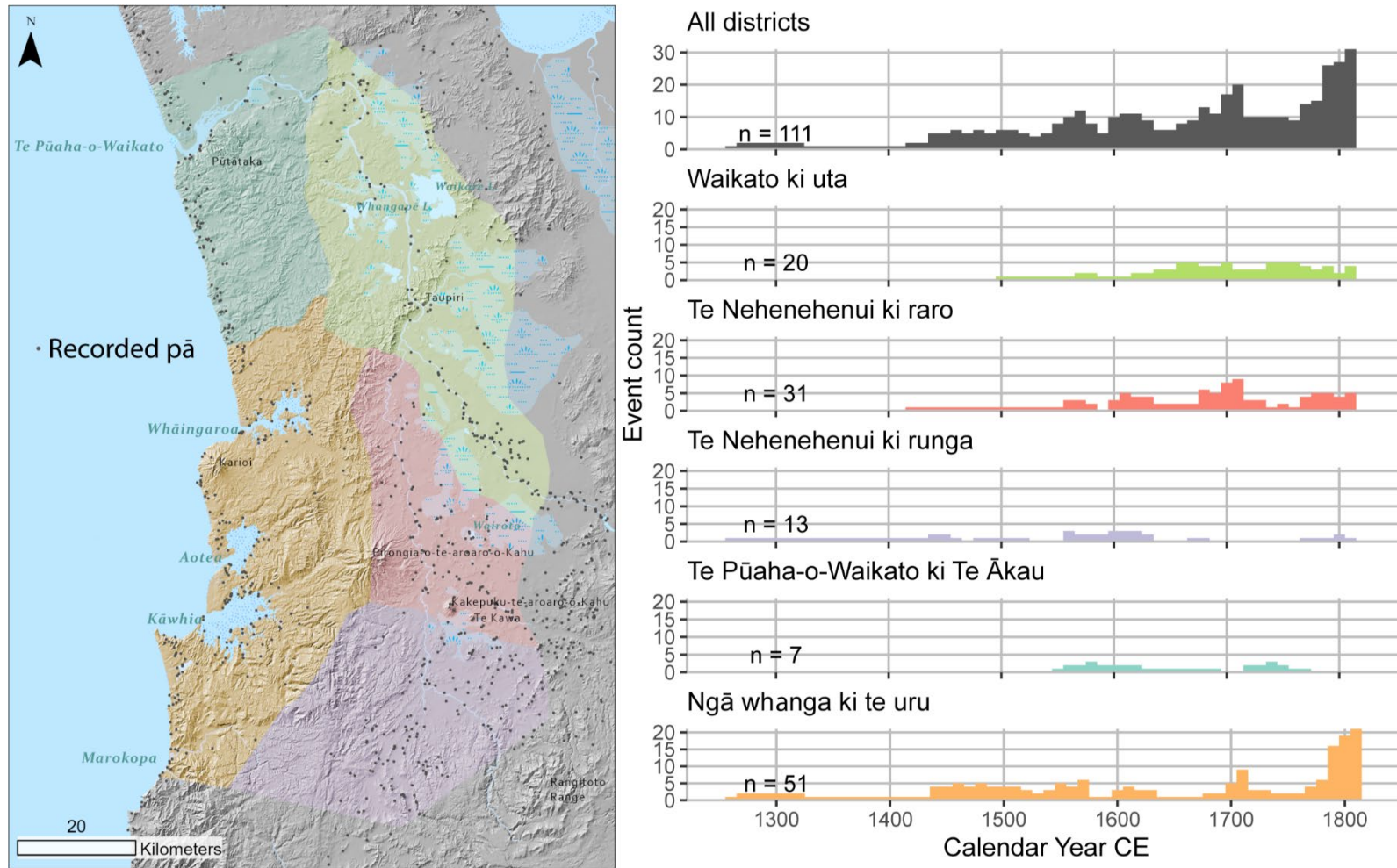


Figure 22. Time-series histogram plots of kōrero pakanga through time using the CNA Possible Model. Counts are by sum distributions of possible events in each decade bin. Events may be counted several times if they have long estimate ranges. Colours in the line plot correspond to districts shown in the map. Events may be counted several times that related to multiple districts.

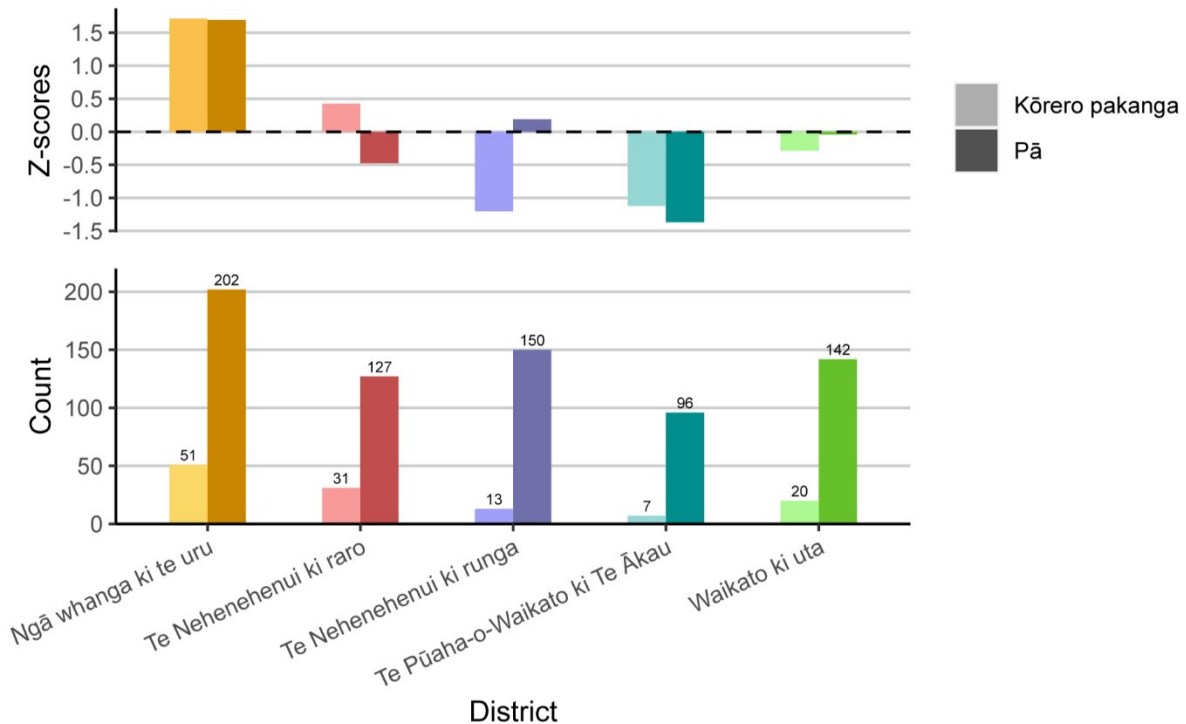


Figure 23. Comparison of relative numbers and z-scores between *kōrero pakanga* and recorded *pā* by district. Z-scores are a standard statistic displaying the number of standard deviations a value is from the mean of that population. For example, districts with high z-scores for *kōrero pakanga* or *pā* mean there are more than the average number of *kōrero pakanga* or *pā* in that district compared to the average number per district in the study area. Z-scores allow comparison of relatively high and low counts of *kōrero pakanga* and *pā* instead of absolute counts.

At a very general level the relative number of archaeological *pā* from the New Zealand Archaeological Association's ArchSite database recorded in each of the districts shown in Figure 23 has some correlation with the relative number of *kōrero pakanga* in those districts. *Pā* are most densely recorded in Ngā-whanga-ki-te-uru (202 *pā*) and least in Te Pūaha-o-Waikato ki Te Ākau (96 *pā*). There is a relatively moderate number of *pā* recorded in the Waikato ki uta district (indicated by the z-score close to 0 in Figure 24). These three patterns correlate with the relative number of *kōrero pakanga* about these districts. On the other hand, there are relatively more *pā* (150 *pā*) recorded in Te Nehenehenui-ki-runga compared to the relatively fewer number of *kōrero pakanga* (12) in those areas. This may result from large recording efforts by archaeologists in those areas, or the selected area being on the fringe of this current study area and, therefore, I may have missed other examples of *pakanga kōrero* testified in neighbouring Māori Land Court Title Investigations. Meanwhile, there were relatively few *pā* (127) recorded in Te Nehenehenui-ki-raro compared to the relatively large amount of *kōrero* (30) in that area.

### Causes within *kōrero pakanga*

The first causal theme of *utu* was the most common in the studied *kōrero pakanga* through time (Figure 25). *Utu* is rarely absent as a theme in *kōrero pakanga*. Occasional instances where it is absent include Tānetinorau’s conquest for which I found no explanation, Maki’s movement to Tāmaki and attack on unnamed Waikato tribes along the way; the Ngāti Ngāwaero attack on Pourewa’s people in Kāwhia; the battle between Tāwhia-ki-te-rangi and Ngātokowaru before Te Putu was killed; the battle between Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Puhiaawe at Tautepō; and the battle between Pāoa’s sons. It is possible that each of these conflicts arose from *utu*. Indeed, *utu* is a driving force for many of the other themes of *kōrero* discussed below. However, in the above examples it was not an explicit cause within the *kōrero* in written repositories.

*Kōrero pakanga* only occasionally explicitly mention competition over a *rawa taiao* (resource) or *whenua* (land) as a direct cause of conflict. However, *kōrero pakanga* often mentions *rawa taiao* contextually. These may be latent explanations for the conflict within the *kōrero* (Taonui, 2005). *Kōrero* about *whenua* and *rawa taiao* are present in all periods of *kōrero pakanga* and steadily comprise 50–75 % of the studied *kōrero pakanga* between 1420 and 1720 CE (Figure 25). They are slightly more common and relate to themes of conquest just before some of the warfare peaks, i.e., in the early events of the early-mid 1500s CE (before the 1560 CE peak), around 1600 CE (at the start of the 1630 CE peak), and around 1760 CE (before the 1780 CE peak). The lower proportion of *kōrero pakanga* having themes of competition over *whenua* or *rawa taiao* during the mid-1400s and mid-to-late 1700s suggests that warfare was recalled during this time to not be necessarily about land, but primarily *utu* or *mana rangatira*. *Rawa taiao* are mixed between *māra* (cultivations), *ngāhere* (forests), *waitai* (marine) and *waimāori* (freshwater) depending on where the *kōrero* is situated. *Kōrero pakanga* along the Waipā often refer to *pā tuna* (eel weirs) and *manu* (birds) – in the harbours they refer to *kai moana* (seafoods).

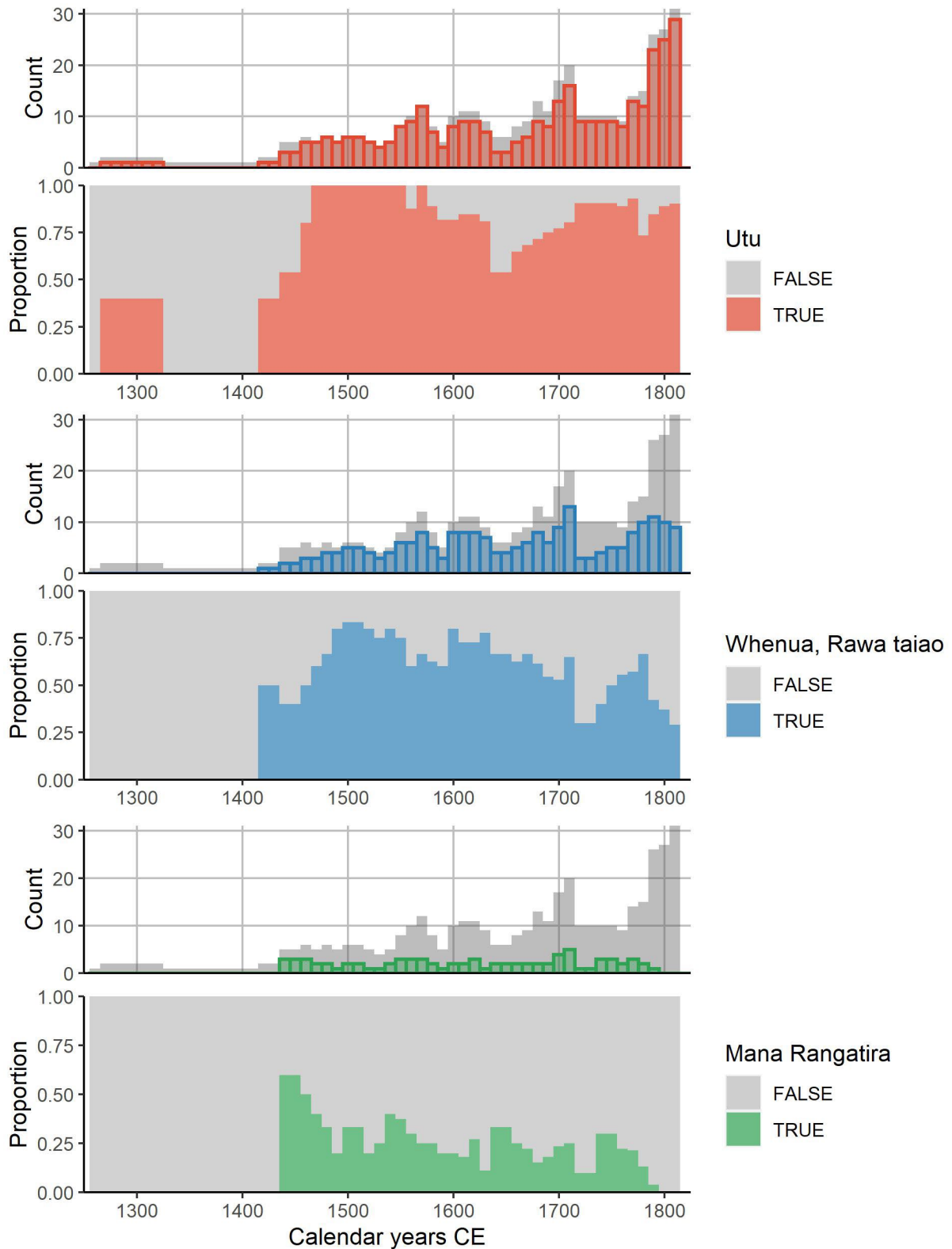


Figure 24. Normal and stacked sum probability histograms warfare explanations in *kōrero pakanga* through time based on the Possible Model results. Normal and stacked histograms are organised by colour, which describes the presence (TRUE) or absence (FALSE) of a cause within *kōrero pakanga*. The grey areas denote *kōrero pakanga* without each causal explanation. The stacked area plots describe the proportion of the total count of *kōrero pakanga* in each decade that relates to that cause.

Wars between the inland and coast often refer to a collection or comparison between the two, such as the motifs of Te Kanawa and Kāwharu, or Kārewa and Taraao comparing the *kōura* (presumably *Paranephrops planifrons*) with the *pipi* (*Paphies australis*). These may be symbols of resource competition or covetousness. They may also be metaphors of the warriors that each district can boast or reference a common oral motif (refer to Chapter Three). The symbolic aspect of *rawa taiao* make this form of analysis problematic as one may interpret them several ways. *Kōrero* about *whenua* is generally contested by different *hapū*. Where one version of a *kōrero* is that a conflict was about taking land, the other will say it was just a dispute about *mana* and resulted in no meaningful change in power or settlement. This dynamic was very common in testimonies to the Māori Land Court Title Investigations.

The last cause of war in *kōrero pakanga* was a competition over which descent line had *mana* seniority, which I loosely refer to as *mana rangatira*. Arguably all *kōrero pakanga* have elements of *mana rangatira*. However, here I specifically recorded instances where *tātai heke* (descent lines) have been challenged as opposed to *rangatira* enhancing their *mana* by other means. Warfare of this nature were generally between closely related peoples, such as brothers, half-brothers, cousins, uncles and nephews or brothers-in-law. It was not always possible to discern the relationship between warring parties; even when two parties were of different *hapū*, their members were often so interwoven, that close relations were on both sides. Despite this limitation, there is a general trend of *kōrero* explaining the causes of war in relation competition over *mana rangatira* decreasing through time (Figure 25). *Mana rangatira* causal themes are present in just under half of *kōrero pakanga* from 1430 to 1550 CE. They then decrease rapidly in the mid-late 1500s and track up and down, making up approximately 25% of the *kōrero pakanga*, before ending in the later 1700s.

### ***Whanaungatanga* – relatedness of warparties**

The *whanaungatanga* (relatedness) between quarrelling parties within *kōrero pakanga* changes through time (Figure 26). *Pakanga* between *whānau* members are more common in *kōrero* about the 1400s and 1500s, about which they comprise over half of the overall *kōrero*. *Pakanga* amongst *whānau* correlates with the proportion of *kōrero pakanga* that display a theme of *mana rangatira*. These *kōrero* portray competition between closely related individuals for *mana* in their communities. They are common in early warfare as these are when the primary *rangatira* and *ariki* (high chief) lineages were established, i.e., at the *maihi* of the *wharenuī whakapapa*.

*Pakanga* between unrelated groups is reasonably consistent in making up approximately half of the *kōrero* studied up to 1700 CE, when it drops off quickly and is absent

in *kōrero* after 1750 CE. *Pakanga* between unrelated groups are often between different *waka* descent groups, such as those involving Ngāti Hā and Ngāti Kahupungapunga, or very distant lineages of the Tainui *waka*, including Ngāiwi. I acknowledge that crew of migration *waka* to Aotearoa were often related with shared *whakapapa* in Hawaiki, so “unrelated” is an problematic term. Between 1600 to the end of the study period in the 1820s, *kōrero* about *pakanga* between “distant relations” increases. This warfare was between *hapū* with shared ancestry and histories of intermarriage.

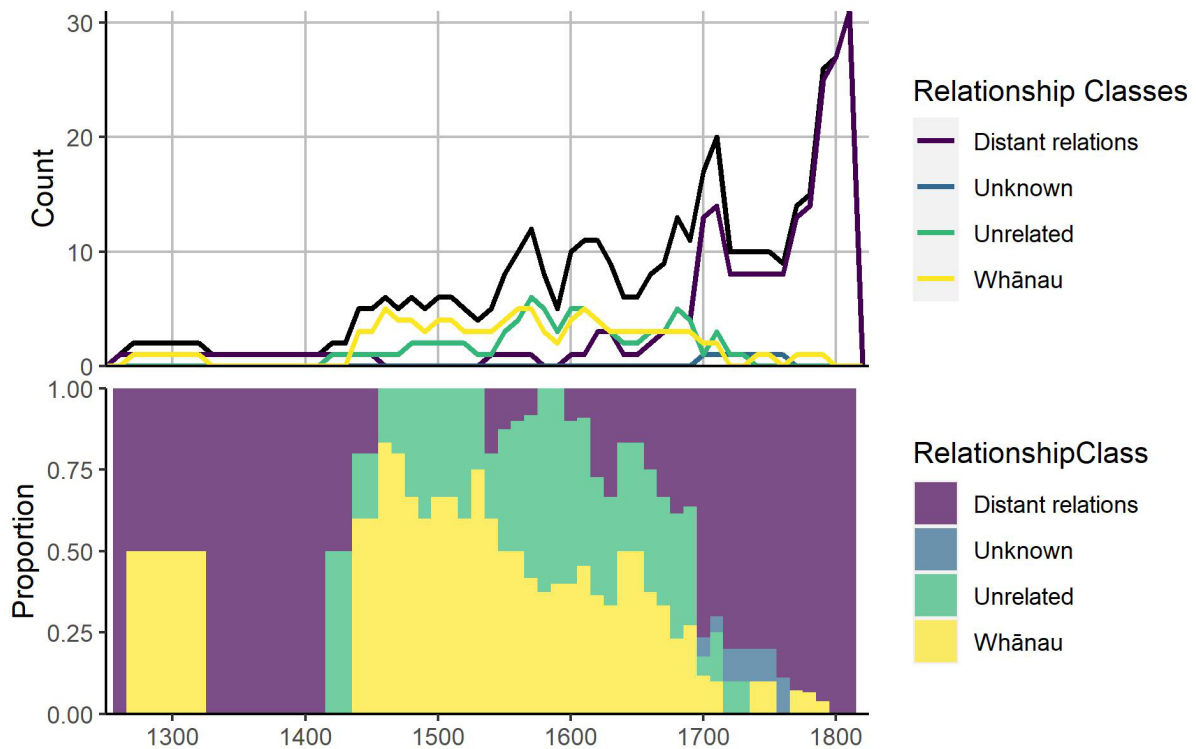


Figure 25. Area and stacked area time series plots of relatedness between groups within *kōrero pakanga*.

### Summary

In this chapter, I described the CNA results for the tribal *whakapapa* that descend from the crew of the Tainui *waka*. The precision of the birthdate estimates generally decreases as years into the past increase, but the continued convergence of *whakapapa* lineages as far back as the 1500s and 1600s creates higher birthdate estimate precision for this period. Accepting on empirical grounds that Tainui *waka* arrived in Aotearoa no earlier than approximately 1250 CE, the CNA estimates that it could not have arrived any later than 1314 CE (1367 CE). For the first 150 years until approximately 1500 CE, the number of individuals born within the tribal *whakapapa* grew slowly and stably. After this time, the number of people born within the *whakapapa* grew rapidly. This period in the 1400s marks the beginning of the period of

convergence within the *whakapapa* and is consistent with Taonui's metaphor of the *maihi* within the *wharenuī whakapapa*. The estimate span of events within *kōrero pakanga* follows the same general pattern as birthdate estimates. *Kōrero pakanga* began most convincingly in the mid-1400s. Across the study area within the Waikato Region, the Probable CNA Model calculated five heightened periods of *kōrero pakanga*:

- 1) 1420–1540 CE,
- 2) 1550–1580 CE,
- 3) 1600–1640 CE,
- 4) 1690–1730 CE, and
- 5) 1780–1822 CE (end of study).

The Possible Model generalises the peaks 2) and 3) above, but the remaining primary peaks are clear in both models.

Smaller scale increases and decreases in the frequency of *kōrero pakanga* were also present. The extent of *kōrero pakanga* within and between these periods varied within different districts, while the coastal area from Marokopa to Whāingaroa (Ngā-whanga-ki-te-uru) had the highest density of *kōrero pakanga* through time, which correlated with the highest relative number of recorded *pā* in that area compared to the other districts within the study area. Causes of warfare are difficult to discern due to potential symbolisms, version differences and differential emphases employed by the knowledge holders according to the context in which they shared their *kōrero*. This being said, *utu* was the most common cause of warfare within the *kōrero*. Competition over descent group seniority was a common driver in earlier periods of warfare and decreased in correlation with greater socio-political cohesion and the growth of warfare between *hapū* groups in from the 1600s and 1700s. The Appendix includes a summary table of these results. The following two chapters (Chapters Ten and Eleven) address the last research question of this thesis of how descendants today relate to *pā*.

## CHAPTER TEN: HOW DESCENDANTS RELATE TO PĀ TODAY: METHOD

In the previous chapter, I reviewed the history of how researchers have interfaced *mātauranga Māori* with archaeology to understand the past. Part of understanding this interface is to understand from descendants' voices how they relate to *pā* themselves. This current chapter outlines a reflexive Thematic Analysis (TA) I undertook of interview responses with eight *kaumātua* (elders) or *kaitiaki* (guardians) for several *hapū* with *mana whenua* in parts of Waikato. I introduce the research background and aim of investigating how descendants relate to *pā*. I follow the research aims with a definition of reflexive TA and the method outline of this current study. I then discuss the ethics of this study, including an introduction of the research participants. I explain how I protected them and their knowledge within the research project under the guiding principles of *Kaupapa Māori* theory, the *tikanga* (correct practices) we observed during the research, and a pre-interview reflection to situate myself within the study. Following the ethical discussion, I present my research method, including the interview format and data analysis stages I followed to generate the thematic explanation of how descendants relate to *pā*. Later in this chapter, I present the results of the thematic analysis, which includes three themes: how the participants considered *pā* as spaces of connection; how colonisation affects their relationship to place; and how they have a unique *kaitiaki* role in engaging with *wāhi tūpuna* (ancestral places). I discuss these themes concerning the broader research aim and questions in Chapter Twelve.

### Research background and method

The subject of archaeology is the physical remains left behind by people. These remains may be material culture in the form of stone, bone, shell or wooden implements used for various activities from food processing, aids to reciting *whakapapa*, warfare, housing or burial practices. The physical remains may be the *koiwi tangata* of an ancestor, the stone head of a *whao* (chisel), or the “made soils” of a former *māra kai* (cultivation). Ultimately, the aim of archaeology is often the study of past human behaviour based on these physical remains.

*Iwi* and *hapū* Māori living today have a unique connection to both this human past and the physical remains that archaeologists study. This connection through *whakapapa* is unique to those descendant communities. However, any recognition of this relationship rarely influences research outputs. This can potentially marginalise the relationships that descendants

have with their ancestors, the *taonga* that they left behind and the places in the landscape under study. Poor research experiences can then contribute to negative feelings towards archaeology (C. Phillips & Allen, 2010).

I interviewed descendants who connect to *pā* within their *rohe* (tribal territories) for several purposes aligned with *Kaupapa Māori* research methodologies. Firstly, it recognised their unique relationship to *pā* as *tangata whenua* and descendants of the ancestors who lived in the *pā*. These places and *kōrero* about them are *taonga tuku iho* – tangible and intangible treasures passed down from the ancestors (M. Hudson *et al.*, 2010; L. T. Smith, 2012, pp. 185–197). Secondly, it was an opportunity for co-designing the research direction. With each conversation, participants were able to express what was or was not important to them or make suggestions about what the foci of the research should be. Thirdly, the interviews were an opportunity for relationship building between myself and the participants. Fourthly, their responses were invaluable as part of the broader *whakapapa* of *pā*. The aim of this current study to develop a *whakapapa* of *pā* that is inclusive of these relationships in the present. Hence, the pertinent research question is, “how do descendants relate to *pā*?”

### **Reflexive thematic analysis**

Thematic analysis (TA) is a group of qualitative social research methods that aid the researcher in developing and reporting themes in qualitative data (Fugard & Potts, 2020). A “theme” is a set of information relevant to the research question that represents “some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). Reflexive TA is an open methodology without a prescribed theoretical framework, which practitioners should define independently (Braun & Clarke, 2020).

Reflexive TA emphasises the role of the researcher in developing themes from codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2019). The researcher constantly reflects on their position in the research as they undergo thorough stages of data familiarisation, coding, and theme development. In this way, the researcher actively generates their themes and does not recognise them as inherent to their data. Meanwhile, the researcher’s values, skills, experience, and training may be factors of this reflexivity. In *Kaupapa Māori* research, the researcher must also be cognisant of their relationship with the research participants, either through *whanaungatanga* or in their personal or professional relationships. Therefore, coding is not a structured process, can have multiple stages, and is explicitly subjective.

Reflexive TA is an example of ‘Big Q’ qualitative research (Braun & Clarke, 2020; Kidder & Fine, 1987). The inductive framework can often begin with no strict research

questions and the “authentic participant” influences the direction of data collection. Researchers often call Big Q qualitative research “fully qualitative”, where qualitative techniques and values inform the research. Braun and Clarke (2013) define qualitative research values as an appreciation of the researcher’s subjectivity and knowledge’s contextual and partial nature — qualities that align with *Kaupapa Māori* methodologies. On the other hand, “Small q” research is deductive; it often has a structured survey or experiment design with the purpose of testing a hypothesis stated in the early stages of the research (Kidder & Fine, 1987). Reflexive TA sits at the Big Q end of this spectrum between the two types of qualitative research.

I chose reflexive TA as a method of collecting and analysing participant information during this research for five reasons, which I list below:

1. I designed the research questions to bring out personal experiences and patterns of those experiences among the participants. Therefore, theme generation was essential and the unique features of each individual’s responses.
2. I did not aim for information saturation, which is a point in the information gathering process at which interviewing new participants would not result in further information capture. I believe that each new participant’s personal experience and relationship to *pā* would be contextual and nuanced. I recognise each *marae*, *whānau*, and individual has different experiences and ideas about *pā*. If I had interviewed more people, I expect to have developed more themes and sub-themes. Ultimately, I interviewed a sample of people to fit within the scope of my doctoral research.
3. Although the main question was about how participants relate to *pā*, I had lenience in the direction of the discussion. I asked questions to prompt thoughts conversationally, not to create necessarily reproducible responses. I accept that different researchers with different participants discussing the same topic would develop something new. I welcome such research.
4. Despite my perceived irrelevance of data saturation, I aimed to develop powerful thematic statements about how descendants relate to *pā* in Waikato. I sought to discuss these themes by referencing other thesis findings while accepting that they do not form a “grounded theory” to explain the totality of how descendants relate to *pā*.
5. I was interested in understanding how my position as a *manuwhiri* researcher of Pākehā and Māori descent with a background in archaeology would influence the

interviewing, analysing, and reporting processes. I recognise this reflexivity as a source of “data” to analyse. Reflection throughout the research process was therefore necessary.

### **Ethics**

The University of Waikato Human Research Ethics Advisory Panel approved my research method before beginning the interviews.

#### ***Ko wai rātou? – the research participants***

Participants were *kaumātua* and other knowledge holders from *hapū* that the broader project team was engaging. Various project team members first informed participants of the research in several contexts. For example, Professor Tom Roa spoke about the investigation during *hui*, *wānanga*, or *tangihanga* unrelated to the project. After initial positive responses, I followed up with those individuals via phone and email. Dr Warren Gumbley had worked with Taupiri Marae for several years and had developed a meaningful relationship with them. Given this relationship, I reached out to Joe Barton and Tutukino George after meeting them briefly at their Taupiri Marae at an earlier stage of the project. Pita Te Ngaru is *whānau*, a *kaumātua* of Ngāti Patu Pō and a significant mentor to me. He was very open to contributing to the research.

After we contacted the participants, I shared project information and questions that I would raise during future interviews. Initially, we planned three *wānanga* to cover the areas of Te Tai Hauāuru (West Coast), Waipā and Central to Lower Waikato. Various events made it difficult for participants to make it to the same days. Therefore, we instead set up interviews with one or two participants at a time. Covid-19 disruptions between 2019 and 2021 limited further interviews. I was committed to *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face) interviews. I recognised that certain elements of being with a person are invaluable for relationship building, which video calls would miss or inhibit. This decision further restricted the scope of my participant list, which I acknowledge excludes participants from several major *hapū* and *iwi* within the study area.

The participants agreed to be named and were as follows (in order of their interview):

Interview One: Pita Te Ngaru (Ngāti Patu Pō, Ngāti Mahuta ki Tai)

Interview Two: Wiremu Puke (Ngāti Wairere, Ngāti Porou)

Interview Three: Tame Pōkaia (Ngāti Mahuta)

Interview Four: Kimai Huirama (Ngāti Tamainupō)

Interview Five: Jack Cunningham (Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Hikairo) and Hazel Wander (Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Hinetū)

Interview Six: Joe Barton (Ngāti Mahuta) and Tutukino George (Ngāti Mahuta)

### *Hei whakapono – ethics of honesty and trust*

I recognised that the participants are taonga as their *mātauranga* is sacred and vital to their personal identities and that of their *whānau* and *hapū*. Misuse of their *mātauranga* could have detrimental effects on the well-being of both the individual and the collective.

Several participants expressed their concern of how their responses would be used. Joe Barton and Tutukino George explained how they had shared information with another PhD student researcher under the condition that the researcher would present their findings to the *marae*. However, they did not hear from that researcher again. They made this concern clear before the research interview had started. Kimai Huirama also explained that Ngāti Tamainupō were fighting for their case over a development in Ngāruawāhia affecting *whenua* around Pukeiāhua pā in the Environment Court at the time of the interview. She was therefore cautious of how the audio recording and transcription of her responses might be used to affect their case. Lastly, Wiremu Puke clarified that although he was interested in contributing to the project, he was mindful of how little support he had received over the years for engaging with researchers. He was, of course, participating in his free time with his expert knowledge.

Several provisions were put in place to ensure the participants would not be harmed during the research. These provisions were installed in the spirit of *āta haere* (proceeding with caution) and *āta whakaaro* (taking care and being mindful) when working with the participants (M. Hudson *et al.*, 2010; L. T. Smith, 2012, pp. 185–197). The relationship-building process was taken seriously and considered an essential part of the research.

I provided a consent form to the participants before meeting on the interview day and briefed them of the research process before starting the interview in person. I also asked for their consent for their responses to be recorded, transcribed, analysed, and reported. After each interview, I provided each participant with a copy of the transcript and a two-to-three-page summary of the transcript for their review to ensure that I had accurately understood and presented their words and *whakaaro* (thoughts). Throughout the process, I reminded the participants that they had control over their responses should they wish to elaborate, clarify, or withdraw any parts. I welcomed the participants to indicate any preferred research outputs and allowed them to review draft reports of my analysis on their responses.

I acknowledged that this was my first qualitative research endeavour, and I was undoubtedly going to make unforeseen mistakes. I, therefore, sought guidance from my supervisors Professor Tom Roa and Associate Professor Waikaremoana Waitoki, who are both well versed in qualitative research and *Kaupapa Māori* methodologies.

My aim was not to critique the validity of the personal experiences or *kōrero* provided by the participants. I acknowledge *mātauranga* is a *taonga tuku iho* (M. Hudson *et al.*, 2010; L. T. Smith, 2012, pp. 185–197). Therefore, I accepted the authenticity of this knowledge and the oral method of its transmission between generations and within *whānau*. I also acknowledged the relativity of *kōrero tuku iho*, whereby what may be true for one individual, *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi*, may vary from the truth of another (Tau, 2001b).

### ***Tikanga***

All interviews were held *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face) to allow for all forms of communication between the participant and myself – both verbal and non-verbal cues. Face-to-face communication is also an important step in relationship building (*whakawhanaungatanga*) as I had not met all participants in person before the interviews. In-person meetings were therefore essential to develop a rapport with the participants and help them to relax and feel comfortable sharing what were often very personal stories.

In each case, participants were welcomed to begin the interview with a *karakia* to spiritually clear the way for our conversation. We engaged in a brief *whakawhanaungatanga*, whereby I introduced myself, where I was from and how I came to be in the research project. They introduced themselves, often recounting their *hapū pepeha*. This was an explicit reference to the principle of *whānau* – the base support that individuals draw from, which locates them within their *whakapapa* and wider Māori society (M. Hudson *et al.*, 2010; L. T. Smith, 2012, pp. 185–197). I recognised my obligation as the researcher to nurture this relationship. The interview would then occur and would be followed by a *mihi* from both parties about the *kōrero* that had been shared and a *karakia* to close the session.

During the entire process I would recognise the process of *ako* Māori as the culturally preferred pedagogy (M. Hudson *et al.*, 2010; L. T. Smith, 2012, pp. 185–197). This refers to the interchangeable position of the teacher and the learner, or in this case, the researcher, and the participant. I mindfully conducted myself as the student to the participants who were the experts about how they relate to *pā* and their *kōrero tuku iho*.

All participants were provided with a *koha* after the session. The monetary gift was part of the *koha atu* alongside my sharing of research outputs, resources, and knowledge to

participants. This reciprocated the *koha mai* that participants gave to me in the form of shared thoughts, memories, and time. This exchange of *koha* was an important part of developing the researcher-participant relationship.

### *A pre-interview reflection of my position*

I am a trained archaeologist and have worked as a researcher, cultural resource management consultant and archaeologist for Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga. This background has given me broad awareness for *tangata whenua* cultural values and sensitivities relating to their cultural landscapes and *wāhi tapu*.

I am of Māori descent. However, I do not know my Māori *whakapapa* due to gaps in our *whānau* knowledge, which limits my capacity to engage in *whakawhanaungatanga* (relate to others through *whakapapa*) between myself as researcher and the participants. However, I am working under the *kākahu* (cloak) of a broader research project with members who have shared *whakapapa* with participants. I also have a *whānau* relationship with *kaumātua* of Ngāti Patu Pō (Tainui) to whom my *whānau* affiliates and who have guided me in *Te Ao Māori* since my teenage years. I positioned myself as a *manuwhiri* (guest or visitor) while acknowledging *whānau* relationships and took guidance and *ako* Māori from my supervisors and participants. Lastly, I am at a beginner-intermediate level in Te Reo Māori and took classes alongside my PhD programme to develop my proficiency.

## **Information collection**

### *Interviews*

I chose to have interviews as my data collection method because participants were invested in the topic and would have a lot to say (Braun & Clarke, 2012; Breakwell, 2012; Terry & Hayfield, 2021, p. 20; Willig, 2013). It is also a *Kaupapa Māori* method of speaking to participants *kanohi ki te kanohi*. As such, interviews are an opportunity for relationship building and co-design. Any other information collection method from participants would be inappropriate and a lost opportunity for relationship building.

The interviews were semi-structured. The following research questions were raised with the participants:

1. How would you describe your relationship to *pā tawhito* in your rohe?
  - a. How do you remember or think of these places? (e.g., lived memories, never visited, *wāhi tapu*, etc.)
  - b. How did you come to know about these places? (e.g., *kōrero tuku iho* from *kaumātua*, during *wānanga*, reading histories, etc.)

2. How would you like your relationship to these places reflected?
  - a. How and why is mātauranga about these *pā tawhito* shared? (e.g., during *whaikōrero* to connect people to a *kaupapa*, in *hapū wānanga*, *kaumātua* [elders] sharing with *mokopuna* [grandchildren], etc.)
  - b. How do you feel about the future of this *mātauranga*, and the places themselves? (e.g., concerns, dreams, etc.)

Participants were left to openly speak about the topic with occasional follow-up questions from me and sometimes my supervisors if they were present. According to the participants' desires, the language used also changed between English and Te Reo Māori. In this way, the interviews were co-constructed by the researcher and the participant (Brinkman & Kvale, 2015). The research questions were more guides than prescriptions of what each discussion should cover. The aim was not for data reproducibility but focused on individual subject-oriented responses.

It was sometimes challenging to guide conversations back on topic when they had gone off-topic. This was partly because I am a (relatively) young, *manuwhiri* researcher. In following *tikanga*, I wished to afford the greatest respect to my participants. Therefore, I took a conservative approach to let participants talk about what they wanted to share. When there was a pause, I would redirect the discussion. I was also mindful that I might not recognise what was and was not relevant until later in my analysis.

Interviews were generally one-on-one. There were two occasions when interviews had two people. In these situations, dynamics arose between the two participants when one was a *kaumatua* or *tuakana*. Sometimes the *teina* would defer the first answer to the question to the *tuakana* or let the *tuakana* answer the question completely. I did not wish to challenge this dynamic and therefore left each to speak on what they felt comfortable. Some participants made this dynamic explicit before or during the interview and when reviewing the transcripts. It was a way of respecting the *tuakana* and the role of *kaumatua* as knowledge holders and seniors.

We initially intended to have large *wānanga* focus groups. However, it was difficult for everyone to be available on the same day. We then just decided to target specific people to sit down with at their leisure. This meant the focus group dynamic was substituted for that of the individual interview. The result was that more detailed information arose with more opportunity for one-on-one time and personal relationship building, which a focus group context might have lost. The compromise was that I interviewed fewer people.

### ***Transcribing interviews***

I recorded all interviews using a basic audio recording app on my mobile phone. I understood from my supervisors and other researchers that participants often do not like reading their own transcripts, which can read as imprecise or inarticulate. Therefore, I used a “tidying up method” in the transcriptions, otherwise called “intelligent verbatim” (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Although some information can be lost by editing transcripts and not using verbal nods, affirming noises, agreements, and laughter, I decided on this technique to afford greater *mana* to the participant.

### ***Sample size***

Reflexive TA assumes that themes are generated through the research, dependent on the researcher, participants, and other variables. This contrasts with other approaches that consider the themes inherent to the data or the phenomenon. Reflexive Thematic Analysis is therefore not dependent on reaching data saturation, whereby increasing the participant sample size would not add new information (Braun & Clarke, 2021). The sample size is therefore dependent on how many people fit the participant criteria, how many people can be reached in the research timeframe and whether each sample has rich enough information from which patterns can be generated. Often similar demographics lead to small sample sizes being needed as patterns emerge more quickly and vice versa. Six to ten participants are common participant group sizes, where interviews are the form of information collection — each participant given the opportunity to contribute in detail (providing “thicker” descriptions) (Terry & Hayfield, 2021, p. 27). In this current study, I interviewed eight participants.

## **Data analysis**

### ***Data familiarisation***

Familiarisation began during the person-to-person interview and was strengthened during interview transcriptions. I manually transcribed all the audio recordings of the interviews for three reasons. Firstly, transcription software was unlikely to precisely capture English and Māori languages. Secondly, I decided an external transcriber should not handle the *mātauranga* being shared even with confidentiality assurances. Thirdly, the slow transcription process is a valid phase of data familiarisation. While transcribing, I reflected on patterns that I was recognising, taking notes and identifying themes that I could code for in later stages. These reflections continued during the days following the interview, which is a form of data familiarisation also.

I became more proficient in my interview techniques due to earlier interviews and earlier data familiarisation. I also asked questions that had been addressed by earlier interviews that were not necessarily part of the initial question structure. For example, in later interviews I asked the perhaps fundamental question, “what is a pā to you?”, which I had not directly asked in earlier interviews, but on which participants indirectly commented.

I also prepared interview summaries before providing the transcriptions back to participants for the first time, which served several purposes. First, the summaries were a first run at identifying key themes in the interview. Second, re-reading the transcripts to prepare the summaries were part of the data familiarisation process. Third, the summaries were a practical and brief version of the interview that participants could read, should they not wish to read the whole transcript (often being over 15 pages long). Fourth, participants could easily see the key concepts that I was taking away from their interviews, and they could accordingly focus their responses on those themes, including comments, redactions, elaborations and clarifications.

### ***Coding and theme generation***

I used NVIVO version 12 to code the interview transcriptions. I used an iterative approach of coding interviews during a first read through and re-reading the transcripts again to ensure I had coded each interview consistently. Codes were both semantic (surface words that are close to the participant’s) and latent (removed from the original terms and were more analytic).

Codes were clustered into prototype themes, which I then tested for their coherency, mutual exclusivity and general explanatory power across the whole dataset (see Braun & Clarke, 2012; Braun *et al.*, 2015). This iterative process required re-reading the original transcripts and coded extracts to ensure each theme had a central organising concept. I further refined the themes and their names while writing the thesis and discussing them with my supervisors.

### **Summary**

In this chapter I introduced reflexive TA and why I chose this method in interviewing eight *mana whenua* descendants in Waikato about their relationships to pā. I explained the ethics around research participant selection, *pono, tika* and reflexivity in relation to this process. I then outlined the steps I undertook for the interviews, transcriptions, and thematic analysis. In the following chapter I present the results of this TA.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN: HOW DESCENDANTS RELATE TO *PĀ* TODAY: RESULTS

In the previous chapter, I outlined the method and ethics behind doing a reflexive TA on interview responses about how descendants relate to *pā tawhito*. This chapter presents the three themes and related sub-themes that I generated through this method. I discuss these results with the other thesis findings in Chapter Twelve. The following three themes captured central concepts of how the participants relate to *pā*. Theme names are excerpts from interviews and are listed below:

1. “*Kia takahi ai ngā takahangahanga tūpuna*. To walk in the footsteps of your ancestors”— *Pā* are spaces of connection.
2. “The old *kuiā* would insist we stop, and she would wail, and she would *karanga* and she would *tangi* over these places” — Colonisation challenges the relationship between *mana whenua* and their ancestral landscapes.
3. “It’s through *whakapapa* you are born with these obligations to protect for future generations what has been protected for you by your *tūpuna*” — *Kaitiakitanga*.

I now provide evidence for and discuss each theme and their sub-themes.

### **“*Kia takahi ai ngā takahangahanga tūpuna*. To walk in the footsteps of your ancestors” - *Pā* are spaces of connection.**

The participants defined *pā* and their value in relation to other people, concepts, and domains, where the past, present and broader landscape are intertwined. Within this theme were the following four sub-themes:

1. *Pā* have pasts with complex orders of events and occupations in which they were built at strategic locations and fortified.
2. There is no meaningful difference between modern *marae* and *pā tawhito*. They may not be actively lived on, yet they remain defined by their relationship to people.
3. Descendants receive enhanced well-being through their engagement with *pā*, as they provide a connection to *tūpuna*, *kōrero* and the process of *tuku iho* – handing down knowledge. They serve as places to maintain or reconnect a sense of identity and belonging, which is best enacted through embodiment.
4. *Pā* are inseparable from the broader *whenua* in the past and present.

### The dimension of pā as historically fortified places

The participants broadly recognised *pā tawhito* as defended places occupied by their ancestors in the past. For example, Tame Pokaia defined a *pā* as “safety zone”. He said, “you might have a village [or] settlement [...] and you’d have a *pā* somewhere nearby. So, if anything goes wrong, you want to get your people to that *pā*”. Similarly, Te Papi Cunningham defined a *pā* as “a defensive position”. He explained how Ngāti Apakura had many *papakāinga* (villages), “where everybody lived” and the *pā* were “normally [...] the citadel inside the *papakāinga*. [...] In times of troubles, they had to go up into the *pā*. That’s what it means”. Te Papi explained that it was a misconception that Māori always lived in the *pā* – “well, we didn’t live in those. It’s like living in a fortification all the time – well you can’t”. In this way, *pā* were a part of a broader settlement pattern of unfortified villages within a *rohe hapū*.

The presence of defences was a key part of what defined a place as a *pā*. For example, Tame Pokaia described many *pā* as “elevated” and “surrounded” by “*pou*” (defensive posts forming a fence). Wiremu Puke gave an example of Miropiko *pā*, located in Claudelands, Hamilton, that has a well-preserved *maioro* — ditch and bank - within a reserve. Similarly, Kirikiriroa was a *pā whakairo* (with carved wooden defensive palisades) within Hamilton City. *Tūpuna* fortified places in strategic locations. As Pita Te Ngaru explained “*pā* were put in purposeful places, they weren’t just random”. He said that “the thinking around our *tūpuna*, around the correct places to put *pā* that were close to water, close to *kai*. Those were the main things, and close to places where they could plant their *kai*”.

Te Papi Cunningham explained that over hundreds of years *pā* would be constructed in different places according to changes in the environment. Giving the example of Ngāti Apakura’s occupation of the Waipā area around Ngāroto, he said:

*We have got a huge number of pā there. You are talking about a period of time. You are talking about a period of three or four-hundred-years. Over a period like that, pā would move as topography dictates. You know floods and things would cause people to move and establish a new one.*

In this area, floods were seasonal and changed the shape and size of the waterways periodically. The people adapted to those changes by shifting where their community centres were located. This sub-theme captures how *pā* are places occupied in the past for ancestors’ needs at the time. There is an acknowledgement that they are historical places of the past, used in lifeways that are no longer practiced. These fortified places are generally no longer inhabited, nor do they physically defend people, food and land interests.

### The continuity of pā as lived in places

Despite this historical disconnection between the past and the present, the use of the term *pā* continues to refer to community centres today. For example, Pita Te Ngaru introduced his relationship to *pā* by referencing Te Kakawa – a settlement in Aotea where his *whānau* homestead stands. He said:

*So my relationship with these pā – one I suppose Te Kakawa I suppose I grew up on. I grew up there. As a kid with my grandparents. That is our homestead. And there are probably not the visual [remains] of pā tuwatawata or anything like that.*

Here, Pita shared how he had the closest connection to Te Kakawa *pā*, where he grew up, yet it did not have any apparent remains of former defences, although it may have in the past.

Tutukino George similarly began his statement on what a *pā* was to him in reference to Tūrangawaewae Marae, which has no past use as a defended place and was established by Te Arikinui Te Paea Hērangi in the 1920s. He said:

*Well for me, pā... if I was asked the question, what is a pā to me? It's growing up at Tūrangawaewae. You know there's a nickname for children like myself and that's a "pā creature". You know, we were pā creatures. Like I was saying before, I was raised by some of the koeke of the marae. My grandmother played a significant role to Tūrangawaewae Marae. At the time of my youth, she used to run the kitchen. She also had a weaving class with her cousin. And yea I basically spent a lot of my youth or my childhood there. So, that is what a pā is to me.*

Tutukino's identity as a "pā creature" was formed by his close connection to Tūrangawaewae, not an abandoned *pā tawhito*. Elders fill his memory of his childhood connection to this *pā*. Therefore, his "pā creature" identity was about often being seen on the *pā* and having a close relationship with *marae koeke*.

In the same interview, when questioned about the distinction between the marae and *pā tawhito*, Joe Barton explained that "the people are the *pā* and the *pā* are the people"; they were both community centres. In this way, the central concept that defines *pā* is their role as places for communities to return to in different circumstances. Tutukino George elaborated further:

*I don't think, personally, that there is a separation between pā tawhito and today's marae. They have the same principles, which is the unification of the people. You have your papakāinga housing in some pā, as people lived there*

*on a daily. Pā life, in my opinion and in accordance to the old, in comparison to today, is probably a lot different. Because we have a Pak'nSave and a New World and in the old days you didn't have Pak'nSave and your own New World. So, however, you still had rua (storage pit) that you could go to [...]*

In this passage, Tutukino explained that the central principle of the *pā* and *marae* is the “unification of the people”, where people lived. The key distinction between modern *marae* and “traditional *pā*”, as Tutukino referred to them, was in the lifeways of the people – i.e., the source of one’s food. However, the theme of *manaakitanga* was central to both the *pā* and *marae*. In Tutukino’s words:

*[...] that’s the whole concept of a marae. Even today it’s manaaki the people [...] Manaaki is if you come to my house, I would offer you whatever is in my cupboard. [...] You know, if your waka has a flat tyre and I might have a tyre that might fit it, that’s also manaaki in a different way. Or you might be stuck and need somewhere, or a roof, I would offer you a room. That would be manaaki. That would be how it was in the old days as well.*

Tutukino also gave an example in the *kōrero* of how Pāoa left Taupiri ashamed of not being able to *manaaki* his older brother, Mahuta when he visited his *pā* on the Waikato Riverbank across from Taupiri. The same principles of welcoming guests into your home today, hosting them and raising their *mana*, was also true for *pā tawhito*.

In a similar way Wiremu Puke explained how he grew up at Hukanui Marae, north of Hamilton: “I grew up knowing this was a *pā*, not a *marae*”. When referring to his obligations of exhuming *koiwi tangata* (human remains) from *urupā* (burial places) he explained how his aunties would refer to *pā tawhito*:

*[...] often with exhuming those urupā they were on top of old pā – they were old pā. And I used to try and think in my head, “well how could that be an old pā?” Because I am thinking of a modern pā back at Hukanui there, you know the marae ātea, the wharenuī [...]. But they said “ah, he pā tawhito tērā”.*

This sub-theme captures the various definitions of a *pā* that the participants had. The concept includes both places that ancestors fortified in the past and where many participants grew up. Pita gave the example of Te Kakawa – a place where he grew up and where his *tūpuna* lived. Tutukino and Wiremu referred to *pā* that they had close connections to as their respective *marae* where they were raised – both of which were not previously fortified *pā tawhito*.

Continuity between the different forms of *pā* in this way flows from the central notions of unifying the people under *manaakitanga* and *rangatiratanga* – concepts relevant to the past and present.

### ***Pā* reinforce well-being**

This sub-theme captures how *pā* connect people to place and their ancestors. A firmly rooted feeling of identity that this connection affords enhances one’s well-being. Te Kakawa is a place where Pita connects to his grandparents and earlier Ngāti Patu Pō *tūpuna*. He recalled that his grandmother, who passed thirteen or fourteen years ago, raised him. She lived in the time of:

*our tūpuna whaea Nohinohi who was very steeped in Māoritanga and you know being well in her hundreds when she passed away. [...] So, living at Te Kakawa at their home and my home in my great-grandfather’s house.*

He recalled some of the *kōrero* that his grandmother shared while he grew up at the *pā*. She would say:

*You see all those terraces there? [...] Well, they were not made by animals, they were made by the old people. That’s where they would practice. That’s where they would train. That’s where they would sleep.*

He recalled the names of *tūpuna* that were around when he grew up there.

Wiremu Puke similarly shared his memories of driving his aunties around Hamilton and the surrounding area and them pointing out *wāhi tūpuna* (ancestral places). He said that his late aunty Rangi Skinner would say, “ah, *he urupā tērā*”, “there’s an *urupā* over that house, there’s a *wāhi pakanga* (a battlefield) over there”. Wiremu explained:

*This was Hamilton. And I suppose as we travelled from tangi to tangi, even travelling outside of Waikato, often with my parents in the car, they would talk about places; they would talk about place names; they would talk about hapū and iwi boundaries that they’ve heard about or they heard kōrero on the marae. So, as a child, I was always absorbed [in] their stories.*

Hazel Wander shared how some of her *kōrero* came from her memories of *wānanga* at her *papakāinga*, where her elders discussed the histories of the Ngāroto area. Tutukino George meanwhile said:

*“I was raised by the old ones, when my grandmother was still around. [...] you know, just listening to them. One of the things I was good at was mirimiri. So she should tell me, ‘come rub my back’, or, ‘rub my neck’ or ‘rub my*

*shoulders'. And her way of repaying me was, she would tell me a kōrero. [...]  
But for me, the safest place on earth was at her feet."*

In this way, the participants shared how *pā* and *wāhi tūpuna*, in general, fostered memories of not only the *tūpuna* who created them, but their *kaumātua* that passed on their knowledge to the participants. For Pita, Te Kakawa illuminates these ancestral names, and the physical terrace remains at the *pā* have meaning not only for the ancestors' actions in making and living on them but also for the *kōrero* that he learnt from his *kaumātua* about them. Wiremu had the same feeling about driving his aunties around Hamilton. For Hazel, it was at Te Kahotea Marae *wānanga*, while for Tutukino it was sitting at his grandmother's feet. The *tuku iho* (handing down) of knowledge about *pā* is as much part of the *whakapapa* of *pā* to the participants as the fortification history of those places themselves.

The participants also shared the sense of connection they received by understanding how they are connected to *pā* and *wāhi tūpuna* more generally. Kimai Huirama explained it was through her *whakapapa* to the ancestor, Keteiwi, that she related to Pukeiāhua *pā* in Ngāruawāhia. She explained how:

*that connection to the whenua through whakapapa, through mātauranga, kōrero tuku iho and the landscapes that we see today that aren't just holes in the ground - they are taonga - is because of that mātauranga and that sense of connection, sense of belonging, sense of identity.*

Kimai later explained that "*they are significant because our tūpuna put their hands into the land and created them. It is the narratives that comes through our mātauranga that says they are significant*". Wiremu Puke explained that a project he had been involved in at Mangaharakeke was designed, "*so our rangatahi can go there and reconnect with that history and that whakapapa*". This is the same reason that Tame Pokaia takes *kura kaupapa* trips around various *pā* in Hamilton – for the children to reconnect and learn about their *wāhi tūpuna*. Pita Te Ngaru explained his similar sentiments in the following passage:

*And so, you know holding onto the kōrero tuku iho of these places, visiting these places, walking these places. Understanding that concept, that whakaaro, of "kia takahi ai ngaa takahangahanga tuupuna". To walk in the footsteps of your ancestors. It's a very powerful concept. It's a very powerful thing to be able to walk in that space and to feel that. That mauri. That mana. Because you know when you go places like this. You feel the wairua, you feel the mauri, then you know you belong. [...]*

*Have a look at Tainui whakapapa aye. Kākati, Tāwhao, ka puta o ngā tuakana teina Tūrongo rāua ko Whatihua [from Tāwhao were born the elder Tūrongo and younger Whatihua]. We all descend from those two ancestors. We all do. We can all whakapapa back to them. And so, to go to a place like Manuaitu where Whatihua actually lived. And Apakura, another famous ancestress of the people where they lived. Going into Kāwhia to where Tūrongo built his house and just standing there and knowing where he built his house. Coming into Ōtorohanga to Rangiawhia, to where Mahinaarangi and Tūrongo lived, and Raukawa. Powerful places. Those are the things that connect you back to your tūpuna. Those are the things that have meaning for our people.*

These examples illustrate how if people know the *kōrero* and their *whakapapa* connection to *pā* and *wāhi tūpuna*, they can experience a great benefit to their sense of identity and belonging, which enhances their well-being. In this way, for Māori, the significance of archaeological remains is not merely physical. To consider them as such strips them of their value as places of connection to descendants through *whakapapa* that connects the complex web of *tātai* (lineages) connecting up and down the metaphorical *wharenuī*. The participants demonstrated this understanding in sharing their various practices of reconnecting people engaging *whānau*, *rangatahi* and *kura* with *wāhi tūpuna*, to share those positive connections with them, which is an experience unique to descendants. These accounts also exhibit the importance of one knowing *kōrero* about the place, so they are not reduced to their physical values alone.

The participants further explained that these connections are best experienced in person through embodiment at the *pā*. Kimai saw it as really important for descendants to be “grounded with actual two feet on the ground on *tūpuna whenua*”. She said,

*it can be a conceptual understanding and I can tell stories, but until they have walked that whenua. Walked in the footsteps of their tūpuna. It doesn't really ground it - literally ground it in whenua.*

Therefore, protecting *wāhi tūpuna* is one thing, but Kimai stressed the importance of “how do descendants, the uri [...] have the ability to have an ongoing relationship with that as well”. Pita captured also captured this notion in the phrase, “*kia takahi ai ngā takahangahanga tūpuna*”, which I gave to the name of this theme. “Walking in the footsteps of your ancestors” becomes both a metaphorical and a physical ambition in the engagement with *pā*.

### ***Pā are connected to broader whenua***

The last sub-theme that demonstrates how *pā* are spaces of connection, refers to the dependency of *pā* on their surrounding *whenua*. The participants each visualise *pā* in relation to *tūpuna maunga* (ancestral mountains), *awa* and *moana* (rivers and harbours), *māra kai* (cultivations), *puna wai* (water springs), *ngāhere* and *wāhi hī ika* (forests and fishing grounds). The participants often shifted the focus of the conversation about what was important to them towards the wider landscape, generally referred to as *whenua tūpuna* (ancestral land). In this way, *pā* sites became a facet of that *whenua tūpuna* that should not be conceived of in isolation.

In Tame Pokaia's words, "*pā* are important, but when I walk on those lands, every part is important". He likened *whenua* to a human body – of all the things necessary in the *whenua*, a *pā* is only a part. He explained that:

*Everything is relative to each other [...] so if you are just looking at one part and you become elderly [...] and the doctor does a check on your whenua, on your body, and you say 'ah sir, I just want this part checked' [referring to his shoulder], and he's just done a scan and sees your arteries are blocked in your heart, your kidney is going to fail [...] you say 'aw, no sir I just want you to look at this part'. He'll fix that part and you are going to be dead the next day.*

Tame's metaphor of the human body as the *whenua* demonstrates how he envisages *pā* and other *wāhi tūpuna* as being interconnected and interdependent on the broader *whenua*. If we are considering the history of *pā*, they must be contextualised with the broader landscape tenure of the time.

Te Papi Cunningham similarly explained, "fortified *pā* are what attracts everybody's eye because you can see it on the hillside. But those fortified *pā* can't exist without the people around it supplying them with food and doing all the other things". Meanwhile, Kimai Huirama stated, "*pā* were places we lived in, but what was important was the *whenua*, was the *awa*, the *moana*, the *ngāhere*". She further explained:

*But the pā being more than that, more than a place that we just have our formal ritualistic tikanga, protocols to just a living and papakāinga, the māra kai, the wāhi tapu you know, the urupā. All in harmony with our whenua and our awa. Yea it's beyond just the physicality of functional spaces and stuff like that. But what is a pā without the whenua - just a place to lay your head, a place to have kai.*

Along the same lines, Pita Te Ngaru said:

*So, I don't think just for me, just looking at a pā site itself. I think looking at its surroundings. Because that's just possibly where a half-dozen may have lived. You look at Turi-mātai-rēhua. It's not a big place. You can't have a hundred people or more people living on a pā site like that. They had to have lived down on the lower areas as well. And so, you can't just look at the pā site itself.*

*[...] So, the pā extends even bigger than what I am even talking about, it extends to fishing grounds, it extends to bird hunting grounds, it extends to the forest, its big. And yet, we just look at it as one little piece of where people may have lived on top of this little wee kidney shaped hill.*

Pita gave a further example of the pōhutakawa tree named Te Kāpaukura being “part of Horoure” pā, despite it being outside the pā’s defensive earthworks. He said “Te Kāpaukura was a tree that belonged to the pā, that they would hang tūpāpaku from, they would hang heads from”. In this sense, delimiting a pā by its defensive earthworks is reductive and has the consequence of it being removed from its wider context of relationships to *whenua*.

Hazel Wander explained that pā, and, in particular, traditional swamp pā around Ngāroto, were places “where you do *mahi*. Not just a place where you go and have your little celebration and then leave it behind for the next time someone gets married or whatever. It’s a place where you need to have a relationship with your environment”.

The participants explained this visualisation of connectivity of pā with the broader *whenua* as using “Māori eyes”, a “*whakapapa* lens”, a “*mātauranga* lens”, “wearing three-hundred-year-old glasses” or seeing a “*tūpuna* landscape”. These terms evoke a conception of landscape based on Māori values of connectivity between the descendants and their ancestors and between pā and the broader *whenua*. They were often discussed with sense of frustration at how today pā are managed in cultural resource management practices. In these instances, pā are delimited with a boundary often based on the extent of physical remains of former activity there. These boundaries often dissect and separate *wāhi tūpuna* from their landscapes.

In summary, I have presented the first theme that explains the relationship between the participants and pā, which situates pā as places of connection. I explained this theme in terms of four sub-themes. First, was the notion that pā were fortified places constructed and occupied in the past. Second, was that pā had continuity to the present in how the term pā and *marae* are often mutually exclusive. In this way, far from being only ancient ruins, they are imbued with

meaning and memory by the descendants and are structured by notions of *manaakitanga* and *rangatiratanga*. Third, by connection to *pā*, descendants experience greater well-being. This connection exists through a *whakapapa* connection to the ancestors who created the *pā*, knowledge of the *kōrero* and a physical connection to that place and its landscape. This connection provides descendants with a sense of belonging and identity. The fourth and last sub-theme I described was how *pā* cannot be considered independently of the broader *whenua*. I now continue to explain the second theme of the interview responses.

**“The old *kuia* would insist we stop, and she would wail, and she would *karanga* and she would *tangi* over these places” - colonisation challenges the relationship between *mana whenua* and their ancestral landscapes**

The second theme captures the detrimental effect colonisation has on how descendants relate to *pā*. There are three sub-themes:

1. Land alienation, subdivision and urbanisation have disconnected people from their *whenua tūpuna*, including *wāhi tūpuna* and *pā* specifically.
2. Shifting priorities in land tenure leads to the destruction of *pā* and the loss of *taonga*.
3. Knowledge about the ancestral places has been misused, undervalued, or lost.

**Disconnection from *whenua***

The first sub-theme of how colonisation affects *kaitiakitanga* is the disconnection that colonisation can cause between people and their *whenua tūpuna*. Processes like land alienation and urbanisation of *hapū* members can cause this disconnect. Te Papi Cunningham explained the loss of “*marae tawhito*” to the establishment of the Kāwhia Township:

*Nā, i tupu au i roto o Kāwhia. I a au tamariki ana, kātahi anō, ka tīmata ki te whakakorengia ngā marae tawhito i roto i te taone, ko Kāwhia. [...]*

*Āe, ēnei pitopito kōrero o ngā marae maha o tērā wā, engari te nuinga kua ngaro haere, nā te mea, kua uru mai Te Ao Pākehā. Kua neke haere ngā iwi Māori, kua tūtuki ngā pakanga. Nā, kua wāwāhingia ngā pā, ngā nohoanga, ngā mahinga kai e te ao Pākehā i tērā wā.*

*[I grew up in Kāwhia. When I was young, the old marae began to be lost within the town of Kāwhia [...]]*

*Yes, this is a snapshot of knowledge I have shared about the many marae of that time. However, most of them have become lost because of the arrival of*

*the Pākehā world. Māori people have moved away after the conflicts. At that time, the pā, settlements and our places of food collection succumbed to the Pākehā world.]*

Tame Pokaia gave the example of his *whānau* not being able to access land at Taupiri that had been leased to a *Pākehā* farmer for 42 years by the Māori Trustees Office with a limited financial return to his *whānau*. He said, “my mum had never spoken about that land – she had been disconnected from it. She could not walk on her land because it had been leased by the Crown to a farmer. [...] Forty-two years is a long time that we can’t even walk on it.” Although Tame and his *whānau*’s first visit to the *whenua* and *Tukupoto pā* was a special moment, the land boundaries reminded them of the broader *whenua* now in private ownership. He recalled the following:

*[...]it was part of our whenua. And when they say “part of”, they mean a remnant of a bigger land that had been taken. So, I can’t go walking where I know that’s part of our’s next door [...]. But because the Crown had taken that, let’s focus on the places we had, not the ones we hadn’t [...]*

*So that land became special, and all the narratives with it. Even the blocks where the boundary is also had connection stories next door, but they were all split in titles now. Taken, taken, taken, all taken off us. But, never mind, we maximised what we had.*

Kimai Huirama also expressed *mamae* (pain) that can come through reconnection to place as it can be a reminder of what colonialism has caused. She recounted the history of the “Pukeiāhua Palisade Project” that the Waikato District Council and *mana whenua* groups organised. Through this project, several *hapū* associated with Tūrangawaewae Marae collectively agreed that Ngāti Tamainupō would work on their behalf to prepare the *kōrero* to be included with the palisade installation around the front of Pukeiāhua. Kimai said, “that was the reclamation of the *pā* site as Pukeiahua really, from my thinking, away from Havelock Hill”. She continued to explain the pain that this reconnection brought for Ngāti Tamainupō:

*Yea, it was a moment, but it was also a source of mamae as well. Because, if we think of this as being a principal pā, you look at the kōrero tuku iho, you start building up a picture of it, three hundred years ago. It certainly wasn’t the whole hapū living on top of this puke. [...]*

*You had a sprawling settlement that was a pā and for us, what has been protected through Heritage NZ processes [...] is the tip of the iceberg. [...]*

*So, for us, when you look at what was protected, you also get the view from up there of what wasn't protected and what has been fragmented over time. When we look at the landscape now, we've got a cemetery. If you go back to some of those tombstones, they go back to 1860, 1864 and you go, "ah, whose are those tombstones?!" [...] you also see there's a railway track, there's a highway. [...] separating the top of Pukeiahua pā from the awa.*

The disconnecting process for Wiremu Puke was how the Crown's *raupatu* forced Ngāti Wairere away from their *wāhi tūpuna*, such as Kirikiriroa pā in Hamilton to Hukanui Marae, located north of the city. In speaking of his conversations with his aunties and uncles growing up, Wiremu explained:

*[...] through their eyes, I started to see the tūpuna landscape, which was just dairy farm, drained swamps, but their stories were first-generation stories – from my grandparents who worked that land. There were first-generation of the hapū born outside of Kirikiriroa, after leaving the pā itself and settling at Hukanui. [...]*

*So as those gardens were taken, the hapū of Ngāti Wairere broke into several other sub-hapū. [...] All those pockets of pā, and their māra kai and their traditional areas, those ngāhere all came under those particular hapū. [...]*

*So there were tūpuna that lived in the various pā there, but I think that raupatu had a lot to do with tūpuna moving off to other areas.*

It is because of experiences like this that Pita holds onto a *kōrero tupuna* from Kīngi Tāwhiao that his “grandmother drummed into [him] daily”:

*kaue hokona te whenua, kaue e rihi te whenua (and for Te Kakawa) waiho mua ko mokopuna kei te haere mai [...] I understand that kōrero instinctively, it sits deep within me, that korero. She made sure that because that as a legacy that was left behind by that old man, by that tūpuna, by that king, for Te Kakawa and for his people of Te Kakawa – not to lease, not to sell the land, and to leave it for my descendants who are still to come.*

Land alienation also impacts the ability of *kaitiaki* (obligated guardians) to care for their *wāhi tūpuna*. Hazel Wander explained how Ngāroto was “designated under the Reserves Act as a blimmen recreation place”. She said:

*the bad thing about that is that it's still an urupā. [...] It's a grave site, so what the heck are you fellas going on there and using it as a recreation site. And the other thing, you are taking tamariki on there, do you know how to keep them safe? You know, you are taking them onto the cemetery. What if we played blinking rugby on their cemeteries. How would we look?*

Colonisation was a driving factor in disconnecting people and place. In Kāwhia, the British colonial invasion of Waikato in 1863 drove many people away from their homes. The modern townships enveloped all the traditional places of *whenua tūpuna*, including the *pā*, villages and food collection areas. The land confiscations (*raupatu*) under the *New Zealand Settlements Act* of 1863, following the British and Colonial Government's invasion of Waikato saw further disconnections through loss of possession of that land. Tame, Kimai, Wiremu and Hazel explained how this affected them in Taupiri, Ngāruawāhia, Kirikiriroa and Ngāroto. They shared visceral feelings of “*mamae*”, “embarrassment”, and “anxiety”.

Sometimes reconnecting with the *whenua tūpuna* was a painful process as legal boundaries and land developments over the last one and a half centuries were reminders of what land had been lost. Subdivision and developments compartmentalised *wāhi tūpuna* such as Tukupoto and Pukeiāhua, separating them from former *māra* and *papakāinga*, as well as the *awa tūpuna* of Waikato. Taken together, one could not fully experience these places without a persistent physical, legal or psychological disconnection from the broader *whenua*. They also led to mismanagement of *wāhi tapu*, such as at the battle site and burial ground designated as a recreation reserve at Ngāroto.

Because of this *mamae*, *hapū* whom the *raupatu* had not disconnected from their *whenua tūpuna* had a strong incentive to hold on to the land, as Pita explained for Ngāti Patu Pō at Te Kakawa. This was an obligation for “*ngā mokopuna kei te haere mai*” – the children yet to be born, so they are not exposed to the same disconnection brought through colonialism that many do feel. Te Papi shared similar sentiments: “*Engari, mā o tātou tamariki, e tono atu ki o tātou tūpuna mātua ngā mahara o te pēhinga e rātou a te Pākehā*”. Here, he explained that he holds onto the memories of oppression by colonisation so that the next generation does not forget.

### Physical impacts on wāhi tūpuna

One effect of the various processes of colonialism is the physical modification or destruction of ancestral places, which have detrimental effects on the relationship that descendants have to them. Pita Te Ngaru gave a few examples of this:

*Turi-mātai-rēhua [...]and all of the other pā sites in the area are covered by pine trees. And then the other pā sites up the top of Tahuri-kōtua have now got sub-development near them if not on them. So those pā sites have almost long but disappeared. You can't tell that they were pā sites because of earthworks and stuff have been removed from a good hundred years of farming animals and all the work that farms do in putting fences up and grazing stock and ploughing this and ploughing that and so you know a lot of the visuals that you would see for pā sites are not there unless you know what you are looking for [...]*

Wiremu Puke said how his aunties would point out places to him when he was growing up:

*These are just places along the riverbank, these are expensive Pākehā houses, and he would say “oh yea, there was an urupā under that house”. And the place names that went with it. Paddocks that look like dairy paddocks were swamps and lakes in their memory or even in the memory of their parents or grandparents – all drained. [...]*

Wiremu also gave the example of how when the Latter-Day Saints Temple in Hamilton was built in 1956, about “six skeletons [...] were found in foetal position”. Another example was how Hamilton City Council had formerly installed a rubbish tip at a former *pā* and *urupā*. Tame Pokaia, meanwhile, said, “the biggest threat for *pā* today is building, highways, development, farming”. Kimai Huirama gave the example of the current occupation and protest occupation at Ngāruawāhia by Ngāti Tamainupō to protect *whenua tūpuna* that has been signposted for housing by a private developer. Within the property to be developed were depressions in the ground that remained from when *hapū* ancestors quarried underlying sands to add to their cultivations. By the time Ngāti Tamainupō were given a voice, “eighty percent of the development had already been built, approved, gone through resource consent and nothing had been protected”.

### Loss or misuse of knowledge

The third sub-theme of how the participants explained how colonisation affects their relationship to *pā* and *wāhi tūpuna* is that there has been misuse and loss of knowledge. Te Papi Cunningham explained how place names had been misappropriated. For example, he said “*koirā te ingoa tūturu o te taone o Kāwhia. Ko Pouewewe. Ko Kāwhia he moana kē. Ko Kāwhia moana. Ko Pouewewe te taone.* [That is the true name of the Kāwhia Township, Pouewewe. Kāwhia is the name of the harbour. Pouewewe is the name of the town]”. A similar misnaming occurred over Pirongia, which used to be named Alexandra, but was renamed Pirongia after the *maunga* (mountain). When discussing what is recognised by the government as Ngāroto Lake, Te Papi clarified that:

*Wairoto is the name of the lake. Now, Wairoto I was told because at flood time, all the water from the other lakes would drain into it. Wai-roto – the waters from the lake. And I said, “which lake?” And he said, “ah, ka tūpuhi (tempest/storm/floods) i korā ka hoki mai i tēra”. So, when it floods over there, it flows into here.*

The name “Ngāroto” literally means “lakes” or “the lakes” and appropriately refers to the whole region, where there are many lakes. Wairoto, however, is the true name of the largest lake that has been given the name Ngāroto in error. Hazel Wander said, “it’s always bugged me that name, because they never talked about it as being one lake ever [...] it’s a whole lot of lakes and that’s why it’s Ngāroto”. These are misuses of the proper names of significant landscape features and have the effect of either inappropriately constraining the location that a name refers from what was originally a larger area or covering over the original names and *kōrero* of a place.

The generalisation of knowledge can have painful impacts on descendants. Kimai Huirama spoke of the *mamae* that she and her brother felt in not knowing their place and *whakapapa* at Tūrangawaewae Marae in Ngāruawāhia. She said:

*The pā tawhito for my hapū, my dad’s hapū is Puke-i-āhua pā in Ngāruawāhia. Growing up, we knew it as Havelock Hill. I remember a story with my brother, who had lots of friends his age from Tūrangawaewae Marae saying to him when he was a child, “where are you from?” And he said, “I am from here”. And they said, “no, you’re not. We haven’t seen you at the marae”. He knew he was from there, because he had been told by my parents, but he didn’t know how to explain the connection, so he went back to my father and said, “are we*

*from here dad?” And he said, “yep, you’re from here. That’s your pā, up there on Havelock Hill”. And he explained the connection. For us, we would be seventeenth generation from one of the rangatira we refer to, Keteiwi, who was the rangatira of Puke-i-ahua pā in the 1700s. For my brother, that was 30–35 years ago, and he still carries that mamae of not being able to explain his connection to Ngāruawāhia, because a lot of that kōrero tuku iho had been white-washed and almost forgotten in the aftermath of raupatu and the land wars.*

The “white washing” or loss of knowledge that Kimai referred to was how Ngāti Tamainupō’s paramount pā in Ngāruawāhia had lost its traditional name to being called Havelock Hill. Kimai explained that two Ngāti Tamainupō tūpuna worked closely with Pei Te Hurinui Jones, whose work Bruce Biggs later published (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995). Their involvement brought specificity to the kōrero, including the name of the rangatira, who occupied the pā, Keteiwi, and the name of his son, Ngaere, who married the Ngāti Maniapoto puhi (princess), Hekeiterangi. Kimai said that if the names and whakapapa specifics are not included in the kōrero, “there’s no connection” for the descendants.

Wiremu Puke also spoke of how changing lifeways and the urbanisation of Māori meant a lot of knowledge about former lifeways was lost. In particular, he spoke of the relearning he had experienced when doing mahi toi (traditional crafts). He said,

*their degree of execution does require many years of high skill. You can only know when you’re making them. No amount of writing can ever capture the sheer scariness and exhilaration of figuring out a process that has been long gone.*

Although there had been a significant loss of knowledge, Wiremu considered that a student could learn much through practice.

Tutukino George expressed that:

*I hate to say it, but you know, I feel sorry for our tūpuna that had to close it all down because of the missionaries and their intention. But luckily, luckily there are still snippets of a lot of that knowledge left. You know, hopefully our people can grab onto it. I just hope that whoever does grasp those things, grasp that knowledge, don’t try and you know, like what he’s saying, “fake it til they make it”, because with that way of doing it, you end up mucking it up, or you end up giving a kōrero that is wrong.*

*My family themselves didn't even know where they were from. We didn't even know if our last name was right – Te Ngongo. Up until I revealed it to my old man, I wrote it on a white board – the whakapapa from Hoturoa down to him, and I brought it outside and said, “look at this”. He goes, “what the hell is that?” “Well, it's the whakapapa from Hoturoa down to you. Here's your name here”. He goes, “holy heck! What are you going to do with that?” I go, “that's why we are here. I want to know what we are going to do with it”. He goes, “rub it out!”*

The missionaries, British invasion and the *raupatu* around Taupiri led to much of the *mātauranga* being hidden or lost. Tutukino shared how even his *whānau* were unsure of their last name or *whakapapa*. When researching it all, Tutukino's father, Boxer said “our people are not ready”. This was an expression of caution around that knowledge and how it could be misused in people's attempts to reconnect and claim *mana* where it had been lost. Joe Barton and Tutukino therefore sought to collect the knowledge to give “things the right justice and doing things appropriately and doing things properly”.

This negative effect that colonisation has had on *mātauranga* has led to a lot of it being closed off and protected. For example, Te Papi explained with regard to Kāwhia and Aotea:

*that's the homeland of Tainui and they get very closed-mouth about it. I mean, every time we bring up that thing, they say 'remember last time we brought up that? We told the legend of Korotangi, the Europeans went along and stole it. Dug it up and took it away' [...] They claimed something that we knew was there all the time.*

He gave the other example of how a *mauri* stone from the Tainui *waka* had been buried at Kaiwhai Island in Kāwhia. Schoolchildren excavated and took it to a university in the 1970s or 1980s without recognising its significance to the Kāwhia people. Because of experiences like these, some communities mistrust researchers around *mātauranga* and *wāhi tūpuna*.

Here ends the definition and explanation of the second theme of how participants relate to *pā*. To summarise, this theme captures how colonisation has adversely affected this relationship. There are three subthemes that detail these effects' facets. The first encapsulates how colonisation brought a disconnection to *whenua*, which in turn has impinged the positive benefits that descendants may receive by having a healthy connection to their *wāhi tūpuna*. Land alienation, such as through *raupatu*, sale through Native Land Courts or the Crown's leasing of Māori land, severs the ease of embodiment within *wāhi tūpuna*, reminds descendants

of what has been lost and obstructs one's ability to *tiaki i te whenua* (care for the land). One's inability to behave as *kaitiaki* brings a weight of anxiety and embarrassment for descendants. The second sub-theme describes the impacts of the physical modification or destruction of *wāhi tūpuna* on the relationship between descendant and place. The third and final sub-theme captured how the processes of colonisation had contributed to the loss or misuse of *mātauranga*. These included the inappropriate renaming of places, the generalisation of knowledge, the loss of *mātauranga* around *mahi toi* and the caution that descendants must exercise when sharing preserved or relearned knowledge.

**“It's through whakapapa you are born with these obligations to protect for future generations what has been protected for you by your tūpuna” - *Kaitiakitanga***

The third and last theme I generated in this study relates to *kaitiakitanga*. This term encapsulates the responsibility of descendants to safeguard *taonga tuku iho* (treasures passed down). More than simply guardianship, *kaitiakitanga* is an obligation or bond for those in the present to care for the interests of past, present and future generations. I consider this theme separate from the first theme of *pā* as spaces of connection. The first theme covers the positivity afforded to a descendant through connecting to a place, which may include someone behaving as a *kaitiaki*. However, this current theme captures the demand of care for *whenua tūpuna* required of a descendant once they feel that positive connection (e.g., a sense of identity and belonging). There are three sub-themes within the *kaitiakitanga* theme:

1. *Whakapapa* connects people to place and acts as a gatekeeper of whose obligation it is to act as a *kaitiaki* for any particular area – the *mana* of which may often be contested.
2. The management of *pā* must be done from a position within the *tikanga* of the *mana whenua* in a way that embraces and cares for the *wairua* and *mauri* of people and place.
3. Meaningful relationships are often necessary with independent parties to achieve a state of *rangatiratanga* over a place.

**Whakapapa brings gate-kept and sometimes contested obligation**

*Whakapapa* binds descendants to their ancestors through various descent lines. It in turn connects them to places in the landscape – *wāhi tūpuna* – associated with those ancestors. In the first theme, I introduced how descendants feel a sense of identity and belonging through these connections to land and their ancestors. The participants also explained this came with an obligation to care for these places. In Pita Te Ngaru's words, “when you go to places like this [...] you have a connection, [a recognition] that these are special places, and they must be

looked after and cared for”. When talking about the responsibility of exhuming *koiwi tangata* from pā, Wiremu Puke said, “Aunty Rangi Skinner told me that job always fell to our *whānau* line”. Kimai Huirama, meanwhile, explained the role of the *kaitiaki* in more detail:

*[...] it's beyond walking it. It's taking on those responsibilities of kaitiakitanga, which have a whakapapa. It's through whakapapa you are born with these obligations to protect for future generations what has been protected for you by your tūpuna.*

The responsibility of *kaitiakitanga* over *wāhi tūpuna* takes several forms. The participants gave examples of needing to care for ancestors directly. Wiremu Puke, for instance, spoke about his *whānau*'s *kaitiaki* role in looking after *koiwi tangata* buried in pā and other places as mentioned above. In another example, Hazel Wander shared her feelings about the *tūpāpaku* (bodies) left after the battle of Hingakākā – one of Aotearoa's largest battles fought at the start of the nineteenth century on the Mangeo ridge next to the large lake known as Wairoto to Ngāti Apakura. Ngāti Apakura no longer owns the land of the battlefield as it was part of the *raupatu* taken by the Crown after their invasion in 1863. The Crown then subdivided land in 1865 around the lake and granted private titles to “military settlers”. Since then, the settlers drained the swampland and reclaimed part of the lake's edges for pasture. A portion of land was also gazetted as Recreation Reserve in the 1880s. Hazel explained:

*I get embarrassed when I meet people from the Hingakākā, that were affected by Hingakākā and we are not looking after their dead. [...] We are allowing people to flipping well use it as a sporting area. We are not paying any respect to their dead and it really embarrasses me.*

Hazel's feeling of embarrassment illustrates the important role *kaitiaki* have in caring for not only *wāhi tūpuna*, but the *tūpuna* themselves who are buried there. Practices such as having toilets, food, and recreational events where people are buried is consistent with *tikanga*. Respect for the dead is also a means of *manaakitanga* for visitors that descend from the people who fought and died at Hingakākā.

This role of *kaitiaki* has *mana* — a sense of authority or rights to care over those places. Again, it is through *whakapapa* that that role is decided. Wiremu Puke explained that it was often not safe to visit pā that you did not have a direct *whakapapa* connection with:

*[...] my tūpuna Pātana te Tuhi had quite a sizeable block of land there and it was safe for me to go across there because of my whakapapa. [...] I was*

*always told, “if you know your whakapapa to those wāhi tapu, to those pā, then you are safe”. And that has always been a tikanga driven process when dealing with places like that. You gotta know how to whakapapa. [...]*

*Uncle Henare Tuwhangai was another [...] he used to say the same thing, “you tūpato [be careful] when you go to places like that, you do your karakia. So, if you know your whakapapa to that area, you’re alright. If you don’t know it, stay away”.*

Wiremu explained that even for pā that are associated with Ngāti Wairere, if he does not directly descend from the ancestors who constructed or lived in them, he would defer the *kaitiaki* responsibility first to his relations that do:

*[...] even with pā in Kirikiriroa that I know of, I will defer to others of other Wairere lines to deal with, like Ngāti Iranui, which is the Hopa hapū. There are pā that belong to Ngāti Iranui in Kirikiriroa and I will go and defer to the Hopa whānau: “well, that’s your fellas tūpuna, or urupā over there”.*

Pita Te Ngaru illustrated that deference of the *mana* associated with a *kaitiaki* responsibility has further nuances. In this example, a Pākehā landowner asked Pita what to do with Te Kāpaukura, a pōhutakawa tree associated with Horoure pā that had split and “laid down”. In this instance, Pita deferred the decision making to his uncle and kaumātua of Ngāti Hikairo, Meto Hopa, whose mother lived under the tree. Pita said that Meto at first said it should be Pita’s role as it was his *whenua tūpuna*, but Meto later accepted Pita’s explanation.

*Haere atu ki a ia ko Meto. “Aae, kua hina te rākau nei, kua hina Te Kāpaukura. Aue, ka haere mai rā te pākehā nāna te whare naka kua hina te rākau nei” [I went over to Meto’s and said “yes, this tree has fallen, Te Kāpaukura has fallen. Oh dear, the European in the house nearby came over to me to tell me the tree has fallen]. So, we sat, and we spoke a little bit about Te Kāpaukura. And then he said to me, he said “E Pita, ehara māku te mahi te rākau naka. Nōu te rākau, nōu tēnā whenua. Ehara nōku. Ka tika māua mahi” [Pita, this is not my job to care for this tree. It is your tree, your land. Not Mine. This is the correct way of it]. And I said, “yea, e mōhio ana au ki tērā, but e haere mai nei au i runga i te aroha ki taku tūpuna whaea [I know that, but I came here under the love of my ancestress] [...]”. To his mother, because she lived underneath that tree. Ka tuohu tana mähunga, e whakaaro*

*nui ana ki tana whaea [he bowed his head to think of his mother]. “Kia ora Pita, e tika”.*

Sometimes different descent groups may seek the *mana* of being associated with a pā or particular *whenua tūpuna*. In these situations, *whakapapa* and *kōrero* can become contested. I do not intend this thesis to be an arena to further dispute *kōrero*, so I anonymise different groups here. Tame Pokaia explained that sometimes he is involved as a *kaumatua* to mediate disputes. Some disagreements or different claims to pā come up when he teaches school children about the history of a place during a field trip:

*You’ve got one tribe [...] saying, ‘it belongs to us in that area’. And then as I was teaching the kids the history of that area another tribe came from [iwi name removed] who said our tūpuna was born there and that’s correct. [...] I am so pleased this one was there on site, because he said my tūpuna was born there. But then that swings into action the other parts of that pā. You were born there, your tūpuna, but if you moved do you have mana. That’s the big question - do you have mana? So, this is when those words kick in: ahi kā, ahi kāroa, mana whenua, rangatiratanga.*

Te Papi Cunningham explained that *whakapapa* can demonstrate lineage seniority or a close connection to a place. However, intermarriages rarely render lineage distinctions as clear-cut. He gave the example of the brothers Tūrongo and Whatihua, from whom many Tainui tribes descend. Te Papi said:

*So, their children were married, taken by the tūpuna, and were married together. So, the girls married the grandsons [...] And after that, we already had the problem in Tainui – we didn’t know the tuakana line. There isn’t one, because it’s all blurred up. From that day to this, we still argue about who has the tuakana line. That’s fact. [...]*

*Then I would ask my grandfather, “well what happened then? What happened with us then?” “Oh, we started saying oh we will just take the best one!”*

The fluidity of connecting to people and place through “branch lines”, where descendants claim relationships through the “best” line, is part of the fluidity and flexibility of *whakapapa*.

Tutukino George explained how the *whakapapa* interacts with the *kōrero* in demonstrating who has *mana whenua* to a particular area. With *mana* over *whenua*, a group may have decision making power over how to manage the land. Tutukino explained how

different Waikoto *iwi* contest *mana* in Taupiri and Ngāruawāhia. He said that “Mahuta’s bloodline became the dominant bloodline and I can openly say that, because I know that”. However, he said other groups “have a *whakaaro* around precedence of their *mana motuhake*”. He gave examples of how some lineages occupied the land before or after one another and how different lineages were junior or senior, which affected *mana hapū* today.

This sub-theme in participant responses is how *whakapapa* brings gate-kept and sometimes contested obligation to *whenua tūpuna*. Positive connection to ancestral places with knowledge of *whakapapa* and *kōrero* brings an obligation to care for those places. Care for places may take several forms including the care for ancestors’ bodies themselves. Wiremu and Hazel shared the weight of this obligation that comes through *whakapapa* and *mana whenua*. Meanwhile, it can often be unsafe in a *wairua* sense to overstep one’s commitment, as Wiremu demonstrated in the advice he received from his elder’s to stay away from places he did not connect to. One may defer their obligation to others based on their skills or close relationship with particular areas as Pita showed in the example of caring for Te Kāpaukura. Meanwhile, the *mana* of *kaitiakitanga* can be contested by interpreting different lineages of *whakapapa* as junior or senior or understanding when the history of occupation or conquest. Ultimately, local collectives carry negotiate *whakapapa*, *kōrero*, *mana whenua* and *kaitiakitanga* according to their *tikanga*.

### **Responsibility to wairua and mauri**

The second sub-theme of participant thoughts on *kaitiakitanga* encapsulates how the participants explain the *mātauranga* around operating under *tikanga* (correct protocols and processes), managing *mauri* (essence of things) and regarding *te ao wairua* (the spiritual world).

Pita Te Ngaru said maintaining and protecting *tikanga* was vital:

*“Mahuta, during his time, was there and recited a particular karakia at Te Kakawa for the Pai Mārire. [...] He stood, and he spoke to the people. [...] he spoke about that as a people we hold on to our tikanga. That is the biggest thing to do is to hold on to our tikanga.”*

Pita reflected on the importance of *tikanga* when going onto *wāhi tūpuna*. It was important to be very “careful” and “respectful” to protect both that place, the ancestors, and the living visitors:

*They have all been abandoned, and through the way in which the world has changed and specifically with the arrival of Pākehā [...] people abandoned pā*

*sites in search of other things. But what they leave behind, because they have been living there for hundreds of years, the mauri, the mana, and the tapu is still very much embedded in the ground. And so, when we go to wāhi tapu, [...] or before we go, we karakia, out of respect for the place. Because of who used to live there [...] and what is still there. For us the mauri is still very much alive in those places and the tapu.*

*[...] as we go through, we'll start to wairea to clear those spaces to announce to those people, those wairua that are still there, we are here, we have arrived. Out of absolute respect, we walk here with much respect. [...] Hei whakanui ngā tūpuna. Hei whakamōhio atu ki a rātou [to respect and acknowledge the ancestors].*

*[...] And you don't even have to go into those places to feel it. You feel it ā-wairua nei. The mauri, the mana, the tapu of these places. Even you need to just look at it and you go woah I am not going to go there because ka rongo koe i te wairua, ka rongo koe i te mauri o te whenua [you can feel the spiritual energy there, you can feel the life force of the land].*

In this rich passage, Pita referred to the ancestors as living people or *wairua* in the present, which can be felt, sometimes by just looking at the place. The *karakia* (incantations) and *wairea* (spiritual clearance) serve to “clear the space”, “announce” one’s arrival, respect the spiritual energy of the ancestors there and the land itself. Visiting a *pā*, therefore, is very much like visiting your ancestor’s home with them still alive to welcome you. In being gracious and respectful, one acts to *manaaki* (increase the *mana*) of those *tūpuna* and those spaces themselves. In the last section of the passage, Pita shared how some places have such a strong *wairua* presence that he avoids them.

*Karakia* is an integral process while engaging *pā* for other participants as well. Wiremu Puke shared how Dave Manihera uttered *karakia* when carvings were removed from the ground and how Wiremu himself would *karakia* at a spot where a significant *toki tapu* of his *hapū* was recovered in 1924. He shared how his uncle, Henare Tuwhangai, warned him to *karakia* before entering *wāhi tūpuna* how his aunty “would wail, and she would *karanga* and she would *tangi* over these places. It could be a creek, it could be... These were places that were riddled in history, in *whakapapa* for her, for that *kuia*.” Tame Pokaia also spoke of his *whānau* doing *karakia* before stepping onto their ancestral land at Taupiri for the first time to acknowledge the *tūpuna* and the *whenua* itself.

Pita expressed how he considers *wairua* and *mauri* of a place with great caution and any action he makes could affect that spiritual domain. For instance, he shared his uncertainty when discussing what he should do about *taro* in Aotea growing in a stream with poor water quality and at risk of damage from a pending pine harvest. Hawaiki-iti, the location of the *taro*, was where Whakaotirangi established her *māra kai* with crops she transported to Aotearoa on the Tainui *waka*. Pita said:

*So is there a wairua thing protecting these taro? That's the thing that conflicts me. It's like, ah we need to save these taro, but I don't want to touch them, because there is a wairua thing there that's looking after them. Aye, so you know that mātauranga Māori and that wairua sense is saying waihō and yet that Pākehā thing of you need to protect these because they are going to go. And so there is a bit of a conflict [...].*

In this example, Pita showed the conflict *kaitiaki* can feel when managing both physical and spiritual aspects of *wāhi tūpuna*. These issues would not be considered outside of a “*mātauranga lens*”.

Kimai Huirama described the spiritual element of *pā* as “*te pā whakawairua*”. She said, part of her learning journey in being a *kaitiaki* for Pukeiāhua *pā* and her *whenua tūpuna* was understanding “not [just] the physicality of *pā*, but the spirituality of it”. For Kimai, these “spiritual aspects of what made a thriving community” are central to what *pā* are to her and to how *pā* should be managed and cared for. As already discussed, part of this management was trying to maintain the connection to the broader *whenua*. This was not just a spatial connection, but a spiritual connection. In her words: “You know, there’s a reason why those *pā* were along the *awa* - it’s the life force, it’s the *mauri*, it’s *rongoā*”. The proximity of the *pā* along the *awa tūpuna* (ancestral river) of Waikato forms a spiritual connection between these two places that must be cared for alongside the care given to the physical remains of *pā* themselves.

### **Meaningful relationships and rangatiratanga**

The participants explained how meaningful relationships between *mana whenua* and other parties were invaluable in enabling their ability to have relationships with *wāhi tūpuna* and exercise their *rangatiratanga* in those spaces. Joe Barton explained how Tutukino’s father Boxer George worked on the farm where Te Uapata *pā* is and developed a relationship with the owner. Although Ngāti Mahuta no longer owned the land, good relationships enabled *whānau* access:

*So, we knew where the sites were, but we just couldn't get access. We were lucky enough that his father, Boxer, actually would work on the farms, especially Te Uapata. [...] Luckily enough, the relationship between Boxer's father and Max Fisher allowed him access to that pā site.*

After that, a positive relationship with Waka Kotahi New Zealand Transport Agency meant access was obtained to Te Uapata and Ōtāhau pā.

*Then there was the discussion about the expressway, where the expressway would go, which allowed us that access, I guess, yea to that pā site. And secondly to Ōtāhau. So, we knew where they were, but we couldn't actually physically [...] access Ōtāhau.*

Tutukino George explained that “as a *whānau*, as a *marae*, [they] were able to set foot on these places for the first time”. He explained that this relationship took “tenacity” of his father “negotiating for NZTA to give that land back”, so their *marae* could reconnect with it and have relationship with it, thereby benefitting from that connection. However, more than just access, the *marae*, in partnership with Waka Kotahi, installed “symbolism” or carved *waharoa*, *tūwatawata* (palisades) and signs with written *kōrero*. Tutukino explained that:

*we were also able to put symbolism there that we were able to relate to you. You know Māori aye, they are practical aye. So, they can relate to that. They look at it and they go “woah”. But instinctively, you look at... say for example, you look at that whakairo over there [gesturing to a pou whakairo in the reserve of Te Huinga o ngā wai], instinctively you go, “I wonder what the kōrero is to that”.*

Tutukino explained how the symbolic installations at the pā attracted people's attention and gave cause to visit places that may not have easily recognisable surface remains of the pā. They also give people pause to consider the meaning of the carvings and consider looking up the history of the places. It was a further means of reconnecting people to places that had formerly been disconnected through the processes of colonisation.

Kimai Huirama similarly explained how the former Waikato District Councillor, Moira Solomon, “was very much connected to Tainui, the Tainui Trust Board and Waikato-Tainui, the post-settlement entity”. Kimai explained how in 2009:

*[Moira Solomon] knew [Pukeiāhua] was significant. And she raised it, and through her knowledge of the council processes, had put through a strong*

*argument to protect it. Otherwise, there could have been fancy houses built on Puke-i-āhua pā. So, I really recognise her for being a placeholder, standing in that space to look after a site of cultural significance.*

The positive relationship between a former councillor and the *hapū* led to the scheduling and protection of Pukeiāhua. Although the *hapū* do not own the land of the *pā*, the council identified the *pā* for its cultural heritage values and protected it from activities that would negatively affect those values.

Wiremu Puke similarly shared how he had developed meaningful relationships with archaeologists, resulting in powerful outcomes for Ngāti Wairere. He said the following:

*I suppose the relationship to archaeologists, is that it does boil down to personality in some ways. There are some archaeologists that I love and there are some that are no better than rubbish collectors. [...] So there is room for everyone, it's how we share that knowledge and make it understandable for somebody else to pick it up. [...] I think we can actually define those relationships a bit better. As long as we take the "us" versus "them" out of it, things can work. Actually, I have been an advocate for archaeologists even though they have been getting a bit of flack. [...] Look, they are not all bad, but we gotta get our people into those areas as well.*

In one example, Wiremu explained how an archaeologist had helped to locate the remains of a *pā* and *urupā*, called Whatanoa, which had been largely destroyed previously. The work was in the context of Waikato Stadium Trust intending to erect their new stadium. Using historical aerial photographs and test excavation, the archaeologist, Dr Caroline Phillips, located the site. The *hapū* and the stadium developers then designed and installed a *waharoa* (entrance way) and *pou* (landmark post) to mark the position of that *wāhi tapu*. In this way, despite the land having been alienated and developed, Ngāti Wairere can still have a connection to that place. Their development of a meaningful relationship with an archaeologist and the stadium developers helped them achieve this outcome.

Hazel Wander spoke about how she had been working with the Waipā District Council to develop the peat lakes' environmental values in the region, particularly with reference to Wairoto (Ngāroto). Where the council had been promoting recreational activities at the lake, which is an *urupā*, as has already been discussed, Hazel said, "we are promoting things like birds and plants, and environmental [values]. Using those types of kaupapa to promote the area". In doing so, she said:

*It's a place where you need to have a relationship with your environment. That's what I like about this. That's what attracted me to this kaupapa – was that it was a last-ditch attempt to get involved in their environment and find a relationship with their environment. It's really, really important. Look at the awa now. It's a place where you swim. It's [no longer] a place where you gather your kai. It's [no longer] a place where you gather your water sustenance and so you got to take care of it.*

Hazel explained her vision of reconnecting people to their *whenua* and being able to practice *kaitiakitanga* and gather *kai* themselves again. This contrasted the current reserve status of Wairoto as a recreational reserve, which prioritised the public's access for water sports.

Wiremu Puke also shared how he was involved in managing the effects of the Te Rapa dairy factory discharge on Mangaharakeke *pā*, north of Hamilton. Aside from avoiding damage to the *pā* by putting a pipe through it, the *hapū* demanded that the factory discharge be able to “sustain *tuna* and *koura* as well”. He explained that:

*we wanted to reconnect with the old pā by having the resources there for rongoā Māori and for mahi tuna. So, our rangatahi can go there and reconnect with that history and that whakapapa. That resulted in a pā going up on the pā itself. After achieving that outcome, it got the attention of the Prime Minister at the time, Helen Clarke. She actually came out and visited Mangaharakeke Pā. We were able to prove that hapū were able to work with large business. And working at Mangaharakeke Pā gave us an opportunity to have our kaitiakitanga in partnership with the New Zealand Dairy Group - and having that pā protected for future generations.*

The *hapū* seized the opportunity to develop new connections between the people and Mangaharakeke here. Aside from the discharge developments just avoiding the *pā*, the *hapū* brought their values of *kaitiakitanga* in seeking to reconnect to the resources and *rongoā* around the *pā* to the people and give them an opportunity to learn about the history and *whakapapa* of it as well.

Kimai Huirama said that it was very important for *hapū* values to be at the core of decisions around *kaupapa Māori*. She explained that:

*I think the importance really is about the values and that Te Ao Māori lens that we bring to this space, because then we deal with concepts like kaitiakitanga, mauri, whakapapa, mātauranga... to me that is our critical difference to any other interested parties that may be involved in decision making on issues.*

*[...] I think iwi and hapū really have to have a strong voice to chart what that change would look like for them. Because quite often others have tried to listen, but how they perceive what we are saying and how they translate that into a way to address that has not always been successful. I would say it has been mostly unsuccessful. So, it's really important for us as hapū and iwi that we don't just go and sit there and explain what the issues are but that we actually strongly put forward the solutions as we see them - almost as directives, not as recommendations.*

*[...] And that western science and western knowledge sits along mātauranga in a seamless normalised way, and they complement each other. One does not have a higher mana over the other, but they work in that way. Now, for me, that has to be hapū led, because again Western knowledge has been privileged. You cannot expect it to lower itself. You've got to say if this is hapū led, then mātauranga will be at the table and we will get balance that way.*

This passage articulates the idea of *rangatiratanga*. Managing *taonga tuku iho* through a “Te Ao Māori lens” is imperative to Kimai and the other participants, should the outcomes of any project be relevant to the *hapū*. She explained that getting a decision-making power, i.e. *rangatiratanga*, requires a strong voice. There is a space where *mātauranga* and Western values may interact. However, in Kimai’s experience, Western values are usually prioritised if that interface is explored without Māori values.

### Summary

In this chapter, I outlined the results of the reflexive TA on interviews with *ngā kanohi ora* about how they relate to *pā tawhito*. I generated three themes from the participants’ responses. Firstly, *pā* were places of connection and were conceived as historical fortified places with continuity in being lived in spaces and community centres today. Descendants connected to *pā* through *whakapapa*, which brought a sense of identity, belonging and well-being. Meanwhile, *pā* could not be reduced to single locations in the landscape but were intrinsically connected to

the broader *whenua*. The second theme captured the adverse effects that colonisation has had on this relationship to place. The participants expressed challenges, including a disconnection from *whenua tūpuna* and *wāhi tūpuna*, physical damage or destruction to significant places and a loss or misuse of knowledge. They expressed colonisation as a decisive factor that intrudes on the well-being experienced by a close connection to *whenua tūpuna*. The third and final theme of how the participants expressed their relationship to *pā* was through *kaitiakitanga*. This unique role was decided through nuances of *whakapapa*, which may be contested or shared in certain situations. This role is exercised within *Te Ao Māori* by having an awareness and respect for *wairua* and *mauri*. Meanwhile, despite the challenges of colonisation, descendants have been able to practice *kaitiakitanga* and *rangatiratanga* by developing meaningful relationships and identifying relevant outcomes for *hapū*. These different elements of the relationship between descendants and their *wāhi tūpuna* are the most recent layers of the *whakapapa* of *pā*. In the next chapter (Chapter Twelve) I discuss the overall results of this thesis in relation to my research questions, literature review (Chapter Two) and broader significance of the research project.

## CHAPTER TWELVE: DISCUSSION

I begin this discussion chapter with an overview of my research aims and questions. I then discuss the research findings of the thematic analysis of *kōrero pakanga*, Chronological Network Analysis (CNA) results and the thematic analysis of how descendants relate to *pā* in relation to those research questions. I present the limitations of this study and end the chapter on how this research contributes to the continued dialogue between *mātauranga Māori* and archaeology.

I produced this thesis within a broader research project, titled “*Rua Mātītī Rua Mātātā: A multidisciplinary investigation into the spatial-temporal role of pā in the development of Māori culture*”. That study aimed to identify where Waikato wetland *pā* are located, when they were constructed, and contextualise their histories in relation to historical local resource use, cultivation practices and migrations. The research in this thesis complemented the broader aim of *Rua Mātītī Rua Mātātā* in which I sought to demonstrate an interface of *mātauranga Māori* and archaeology to produce new knowledge about the past (or pasts). I explored this interface with the case study of developing a *whakapapa* of *pā* and warfare in Waikato, extending back to when and why warfare and *pā* construction developed from the arrival of the Tainui *waka* until the early nineteenth century, the dynamics of the *kōrero* at the time of their telling, to the relationships that descendants have with *pā* today. My research questions were the following:

1. Why does *kōrero* include *pā*?
2. To what extent can we relate calendar years to *whakapapa*?
3. When did warfare and *pā* construction develop in Waikato based on *whakapapa*?
4. Why did warfare and *pā* construction in Waikato develop at these times?
5. How do descendants relate to *pā* today?

I will now discuss the research findings in relation to each of these five questions.

### **Question 1: Why do *kōrero* include *pā*?**

This was an intentionally broad question to explore the extent to which the mentioning of *pā* within *kōrero* may have had symbolic meaning that says more about the *kaikōrero* (speaker) and their contemporary context than the historical events included in that *kōrero*. The question therefore takes inspiration from the functionalist analyses of oral histories by Raymond Firth, Jeffrey Sissons, Jan Vansina and Rawiri Taonui – each of whom (in part) explored the “function” of oral histories within the societies they were produced, maintained and presented

(see Chapter Two). *Kōrero tuku iho* are a form of explaining the past and the origins of the way things are today, but they do not directly equate to Western notions of history ordered by linear calendrical time (Tau, 2001a, 2001b; Tau *et al.*, 2000). *Kōrero* is relative – it functions to augment the *mana* of the ancestors and the contemporary community, not to necessarily discern when and where an empirical event occurred in the past. Different versions of *kōrero* may contest the past in relation to *tuakana* or *teina* lineages, the nature of a conflict or the intent behind an act. Each form of *kōrero* has its own dynamics and purpose, moulded according to the context in which they are shared.

Before discussing the symbolic functions of *pā* within *kōrero*, I will discuss their literal historical functions that the *kōrero* in this thesis present. *Pā* were most referred to as defended settlements that served as places where *rangatira* would live with their close relations, i.e., their *whānau* and the community would retreat to in times of threat. There might be several *pā* of this quality mentioned to be contemporaneously used by the same *hapū*. These *pā* were places to host and *manaaki* guests, hold meetings and marriages, store food and for people to rest. The second form were fighting *pā* and were built as either an aggressive or defensive tactic when two parties were quarrelling. For example, Kamanomano Mahu (1909) explained how the Ngāti Te Wehi enemy built *pā* within their territories to “provoke hostilities” (p. 344). These *pā* were not necessarily lived in during other times. Defences included inaccessible terrain, such as swamps or cliffs, *tuwatawata* (wooden palisades), *maioro* (ditches), banks or a combination of these. Ultimately the main purpose for fortifications within the discussed *kōrero* was to protect *mana tangata* and *mana whenua*. They are related concepts. Without *mana tangata* – authority and influence inherited through *whakapapa rangatira* (chiefly genealogies) and personal merits – one cannot maintain *mana whenua* – control and authority over land. Without *mana whenua*, the *rangatira* is unable to *manaaki* their own people, *manaaki* relations and allies, nor maintain a claim to resources and the land.

When there was a large threat from outside of neighbouring *hapū*, communities may occupy a single or collection of *pā*. For example, when the war parties from Kāwhia, Taranaki and others passed over Ngāti Maniapoto lands to attack Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto in what became the battle of Hīngakākā at Te Mangeo (a ridge above Ngāroto), Ngāti Maniapoto *hapū* occupied and awaited the war party at Mangatoatoa Pā on the Pūniu River before continuing to Te Mangeo. Ngāti Maniapoto did not otherwise live at Mangatoatoa, but assembled there as part of a network of *pā* that communicated by *pahu* (wooden gongs) (T. M. Hikuroa, 1889, pp. 108, 133). In a later attack by Ngāti Toarangatira under Te Rauparaha on Mangatoatoa, Te Oro Te Koko (1889, p. 247) testified that there were no less than 12 *hapū* within the *pā* – each

allotted a space inside the three divisions of the defensive complex. In another example, Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Koata *hapū* assembled at Te Tōtara Pā on the south side of Kāwhia Harbour during attacks by Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto *hapū* on them along the western harbours. At this time, the formerly populous Kāwhia and Aotea was temporarily deserted for the protection of the southern *pā* (Wiremu Te Wheoro, 1886, p. 199). On such occasions, people would occupy the *pā* temporarily under the *mana* of one or a small group of *rangatira* before returning to their other lifeways. Māori Land Court testimonies, for instance, described how *hapū* residing at Mangatoatoa Pā when there was an external threat would return to their cultivations elsewhere when the threat was gone (Tikitini, 1889, p. 211).

Accepting *pā* are actual named places, often with known histories and sometimes physical remains of those histories, one function of *pā* in *kōrero* is to be those literal places in which past people acted in the histories recounted in the *kōrero*. However, given the known symbolic dynamics within oral history and the importance of *pā* within those narratives, there are several other symbolic roles that mentioning *pā* within *kōrero* may play. The first signifier of *pā* was to establish, maintain or enhance land and resource interests. For example, several *rangatira* built *pā* in new districts to challenge existing claims to those areas, such as Kōkako at Te Pūāha-o-Waikato (Waikato River Mouth), Tūpāhau in Marokopa, Whāita along the Pūniu River, Mākino at Kakepuku and potentially Houtaketake at Pukenui. In a presumed translation of Te Manihera Pouwharetapu's (1887, p. 241) testimony during the Manuaitu-Aotea Block Title Investigation, he said "in old times[,] occupation was maintained by erection of *pāhs*". Tukorehu Waraki of Ngāti Paretekawa and Ngāti Te Kanawa stated during cross-examination of his testimony for Kakepuku-Pōkuru Block Title Investigation that his ancestor Tūkorehu "had claim to land through the construction of *pā*" (p. 185), while Hineaho Ngamihi (1889, p. 285) of Ngāti Ngutu and Ngāti Rangi agreed that "erection of the pa [Mangatoatoa] created *mana*", but that the occupation of it did not necessarily mean a chief had *mana* over the land outside its walls. These examples demonstrate that *kōrero* (particularly that provided during Māori Land Court testimony) about a *pā* construction (not then captured or abandoned) function as a record – both in the ground and on the lips of the speaker – of a successful establishment of *mana* in specific areas of *whenua*.

At the same time, *kōrero* about *pā* do not always include detailed narrative. Māori Land Court witnesses sometimes listed several *pā* associated with specific *tūpuna* to demonstrate the breadth and antiquity of their occupation, and their ability to hold that land through time. For example, Te Kanawa Tangitihau (1888, pp. 123–124) testified for his counter-claim in a portion of the Ōtorohanga-Ōrāhiri Block based on descent from Rangatahi and Puha. To

support this claim, he listed several *pā* associated with his ancestors associated with Rangatahi and Puha including Puha himself, Puha's children and grandchildren, Maniapoto (Rangatahi's grandfather), Tutakamoana (Rangatahi's father), Rangitahi, Tutunui (Rangatahi's great-grandson), and Te Wharaunga (Tutunui's son). This list did not form part of a *kōrero* narrative and crossed several generations and locations. In this instance, the mention of *pā* served to demonstrate the *whakapapa* depth and spatial breadth of Tangitihau's ancestral and occupational claim.

In other times, *pā* construction did not affect overall control or *mana* over the land. For example, in the same Title Investigation case, Wahanui Te Huatare (1888, p. 247) said “[Turongo's] *mana* was not of much extent as applied to land. It would not be possible for Ngāti Maniapoto to speak of any portion of land belonging to Maniapoto, but reference could be made to *pas* occupied by him [...] It was not until the time of Turongo's [descendant] Te Kawa that any thought was taken about allocation of land”. Te Huatare explained here that *pā* construction did not always demonstrate a claim to land. Indeed, there were several other instances when witness said that certain *rangatira* in *pā* only had *mana* over the people but not the land, such as Pāoa at Kaitōtehe *Pā* and Tukorehu at Mangatoatoa *Pā*. In these situations, *kōrero* diminished the *mana* of certain descent lineages over the land and demonstrated the fluidity of the meaning of *pā* within *kōrero* in relation to the contemporary community.

*Pā* also gave *mana* to a victorious war party and their descendants in *kōrero* about conquest. When descendants of an attacking party that captured a *pā* or conquered a territory gave *kōrero* about those events, they likely emphasised the accomplishments in those events by mentioning the names of *pā* captured. Furthermore, the numbers of *pā* captured may vary depending on who is giving the *kōrero*. Example *kōrero* about conquests include the defeat of Ngāti Kahupungapunga, Ngāti Hia, Ngāti Hā and Ngāiwi by other groups of Tainui descendants. In each case, several *pā* were taken. Meanwhile, in opposing versions of that *kōrero*, descendants of Ngāti Hia and Ngāiwi claimed their ancestors were not conquered, or that battles were about *mana* of individual people instead of land. In both cases, Māori Land Court testimonies said that *mana* was passed onto the attacking group through intermarriage, not conquest.

In addition to being associated with certain individuals and groups when being constructed or occupied, *pā* had a later dynamic within *kōrero* as *tohu* or landmarks. In the Māori Land Court Title Investigations, claimants and counterclaimants delineated the areas they laid claim to with boundaries connected by *tohu*. These landmarks included mountain peaks, headlands, trees, rock outcrops, lakes, river crossings, ditch-and-bank fence lines and

sometimes the remains of formerly occupied *pā*. Each *tohu* was invariably named and each name had an accompanying *kōrero* – the *tohu* serving as a constant reminder of the *kōrero*. For example, Te Aopouri Waata’s (1909, pp. 26–27) “ancient boundary of Mahanga land”, included Tumuakitahuna *pā*. Hone Te One (1888, p. 341) said Whareiaia of Ngāti Hikairo’s lands were delimited by a boundary, which included Maturangi *pā* on the north side of Te Kauri River, Kāwhia. Similarly, Poutu Mouhaere (1887, p. 116) listed several *pā* in the boundary separating *hapū* within the Manuaitu-Aotea Block including Rauiri, Hiringa<sup>196</sup> [sic], Kōreromaiwaho and Te Puangi. Such *pā* locations were marked in the Māori Land Court on survey plans to demonstrate one’s knowledge of the land in challenge to another’s and give spatial references to land claimed through defence and conquest. In later subdivisions, spatial references to *pā* became less relevant to legal title and so they become less common on the survey plans.

*Kōrero* about conflict (*kōrero pakanga*) that refer to *pā* also carry information about political changes. One kind of change was in who had *mana* in an area. For example, the *kōrero* about the conflict between Tūāhumāhina, Toarangatira, Te Kanawa and Kāwharu explains a change from Ngāti Tūirangi holding dominant *mana* in Kāwhia to Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Koata having control. A second kind of change was in the separation or division of formerly larger social groups. An example of this was the battle at Waiponga Pā, south of Ōtorohanga between Maniapoto and close relations, which saw the formation of Ngāti Takihiku and Ngāti Whakaterere of Ngāti Raukawa. A third form of change was through intermarriage or the birth of a child between groups to form political unity – the *kōrero* often being set at a *pā*. For example, Tūkōtuku and Tamainupō married at Pūrākau Pā south of Whatawhata, which eventually saw conflict between Māhanga and Kōkako cease with the birth of Wairere. Similarly, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Tamainupō grew closer with the marriage of Hekeiterangi and Ngaere and the birth of Manaoterangi at Pukeiāhua Pā in Ngāruawāhia. *Kōrero* document these forms of past political changes often with reference to *pā* as social and political centres.

These *kōrero* dynamics demonstrate that *pā* had fluid functions within *kōrero*. They conveyed information about *mana* over land, antiquity of occupation in an area by a certain group, changes of land occupation through conquest, the ability to defend land and the use of *pā* as *tohu* (landmarks) after occupation. *Pā* were places of unification through marriage

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<sup>196</sup> May refer to Hērangi.

between tribes and group fission where battles were fought that divided groups. *Kōrero* about these conflicts captured important information about past political change. Where there is less detailed or absent *kōrero* about conflict or political change including references to the construction or use of *pā* along a continued line of occupation, the reader or audience might assume that those generations experienced less political change.

The speaker of oral history sharing their knowledge in testimony at Court, writing it themselves into a *whānau* manuscript, dictating to a researcher or speaking on the *paepae* may employ the different signifiers of *pā* and *pakanga* within their *kōrero* according to the context at hand. In Jan Vansina's (1985, pp. 195–196) work in Central Africa, he observed that any presentation of oral history is therefore derived from a broader body of oral history that a knowledge holder may be aware of. Furthermore, the passing down between generations of this oral history aggregates the partiality or subjectivity of a particular telling. To Raymond Firth (1961) working with Tikopian oral histories, the primary function of such “competing tales” was therefore as a “manipulative instrument for defending and enhancing social status” (p. 183). Similarly, Jeffrey Sissons (1988; 1991a, p. 54) in Aotearoa concluded that *kōrero* do not necessarily reflect empirical events but are political constructs from the more recent past or present projected onto the distant past, laced with meaning relevant to the contemporary political environment. The signifiers inherent in *pā* when included in *kōrero* suggest that their use is also subject to these partialities, manipulations or projections of meanings within all oral histories. However, this is not all that they are. A braided river has channels that may deviate and flow apart from one another in the same way that the fluidity of *kōrero* about *pā* may have different versions emphasising different causes. Although, apparently independent, the braids of the river are confined to a riverbed or a valley in the same ways that *kōrero* are checked and balanced against the collective memory of *whakapapa* and *kōrero*. *Pā* are symbolic images, motifs or markers within *kōrero* of *manaakitanga*, *mana whenua*, *mana tangata* and *rohe*. However, as I demonstrate below, *kōrero* retains historicity that contributes greatly to our understanding of the Māori past.

### **Question 2: To what extent can we relate calendar years to *whakapapa*?**

I have demonstrated how *whakapapa* may be related to calendar years, in parallel to *whakapapa*'s function as a valid means of recording and structuring *kōrero* and our understandings of the *iwi* and *hapū* pasts. In this section, I discuss the results of the CNA on birthdates and follow with the discussion that the interface of different epistemologies of the past can be multi-vocal. *Whakapapa* can be central to Māori culture, identity and well-being,

and be a foundation of understanding the development of *pā* and change in behaviour through time. This being said, not all time scales are conducive to this method.

Chronological Network Analysis (CNA) method is a useful means of estimating birthdates of ancestors and when events occurred in *kōrero*. The application of CNA to *whakapapa* develops from previous attempts to estimate when events occurred based on average generation intervals and some of the less systematic approaches of scaling generation lengths according to *whakapapa* and *kōrero*. The CNA approach requires one to use explicit assumptions of minimum and maximum generation intervals, sibling order and ages at which people are likely to have been politically active or leading warriors. These are consequential assumptions. Therefore, it is important to consider their foundations carefully, which I laid out in Chapter Four.

I constructed a chronological network including individual birthdates and event dates, based on *whakapapa* in publicly accessible repositories and cross-checked them against unpublished *whakapapa* manuscripts and testimonies in Māori Land Court cases from the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The network consisted of over one thousand individuals, from the crew of the Tainui *waka* to individuals living in the 1800s with approximately or exactly known birthdates. The network was internally coherent and is a testimony to the argument that Tainui tribal *whakapapa* are filled with historical people and their actions may be studied in relation to linear calendrical time as well as within relational or “mirrored” conceptions of the past (sensu Tau, 2001a, p. 139). Where there were contrasting versions of *whakapapa*, I either included the most likely version or did not include the contentious relationships in the chronological model.

The precision of the birthdate estimates generally decreases as years into the past increase, but the convergence of *whakapapa* lineages in the 1500s and 1600s creates higher birthdate estimate precision for this period. As noted earlier, accepting on empirical grounds that the Tainui *waka* arrived in Aotearoa no earlier than approximately 1250 CE, the CNA estimates that it could not have arrived any later than 1314 CE or perhaps as late as 1367 CE (based on the Possible Model). For the first 150 years until the mid-1400s, the number of individuals born within the tribal *whakapapa* grew slowly and stably. After this time, the number of people born within the *whakapapa* grew more rapidly. It would be tempting to use the number of people within different parts of the *whakapapa* as a proxy for actual population levels at these times. However, the *whakapapa* particularly of the early period in Aotearoa’s history tends to be restricted to the *ariki* (chiefly) lineages and not their communities. Some population models show the inverse of this pattern with populations increasing rapidly from

first arrival and plateauing from 1400 or 1450–1500 until the 1800s (Brown & Crema, 2021; Bunbury *et al.*, 2022; McFadgen *et al.*, 1994; Whyte *et al.*, 2005). Several communities that were conquered by or intermarried with dominant Tainui lineages also have limited *whakapapa* above or earlier than these interactions, such as Ngāti Kahupungapunga and Ngāiwi. Therefore, the model underrepresents these lineages.

Instead of being a marker of population levels, the changes in numbers of people within the *whakapapa* from the 1400s marks the beginning of the convergences of several lineages (when looking from the present) and is consistent with Taonui’s (2005) metaphor of the *tekoteko* and *maihi* within the *wharenuī whakapapa*, as discussed in Chapter Three. However, in this study I note two variations. The first is that the *tekoteko* is often not a single lineage but may consist of several parallel lineages from the 1400s and 1500s back to the migration *waka* crew. The second is that the walls of the *wharenuī whakapapa* are not vertical. In other words, the number of people within the *whakapapa* keep increasing outwards from the *maihi* (convergence) from between 1400 and 1600 (top of the *wharenuī* walls) to the 1800s and present (floor of the *wharenuī*).

In answer to the research question directly, I consider that one may relate *whakapapa* to calendrical time with variable and non-linear precision. Constraints on precision include: the birthdates of people in the 1800s used to estimate earlier birthdates; the migration *waka* arrival, which effectively compacts the intervening *whakapapa* within approximately 600 years; the relationships within the *whakapapa*; and the biological limits of each individual. The structure of the *whakapapa* with the lineage convergence at the *maihi* also constrains date estimates as far back as the 1400s. The resulting date estimates have a median range of 40 years (67 years), which is a useful scale to explore changes in the nature of *kōrero* throughout the 600-year study period. One could continue adding *whakapapa* and chronological relationships to the existing models, which could further refine birthdate and event date estimates.

Any attempt to relate calendar years to *whakapapa* and *kōrero* (as demanded by this research question) is a historicising project. As discussed in Chapter Two, it is an attempt to relate the Western quantifiable and measurable “river” or an “arrow” of time, which flows from the past to the present, to the “constellated” Māori space-time construct, where ancestors exist in the constant present that pervades everything (McKay & Walmsley, 2003, p. 92; Tau, 2011). Some noted that previous historicisations of *kōrero* have been colonising processes of separating *whakapapa* and *kōrero* from the “cyclic rhythm of nature and to the ancestor’s rhythm of life and death”, strips ancestors from the present and disconnects people from place (Awatere, 1984, p. 61). Te Maire Tau (2011) suggested a Munzian post-modern approach to

relating *kōrero* and Western history. He suggested that historians and *tōhunga* both organise past meaningful events into coherent broader narratives that exist in an “historical time” situated in the human mind. The physical or empirical time in which past events actually happened is unobservable and inaccessible to both specialists. In this space of postmodern absolutism from truth, *kōrero* may be considered historical and could, as such, be used to construct historical narratives.

In this study, the purpose of relating *whakapapa* to calendar years is to encourage the dialogue between *mātauranga Māori* and archaeology, resulting in new understandings about the past. On one side of the interface, *kōrero* and *whakapapa* explored in this thesis indeed present an historical time of “befores” and “afters”. Wiremu Te Wheoro and Atanatiu Te Kairangi presented their manuscripts as a series of *kōrero* in order of *whakapapa* and events. Similarly, Wētere Te Rerenga (1886, p. 11) testified in the Title Investigation of the Rohe Pōtae Māori Land Court Case that the conflicts to which he referred were in the time of Maniapoto and Te Ihingarangi. These histories order events or contextualise them in relation to tribal *whakapapa*. On the other side of the interface, the data generated from archaeology comes from physical remains from physical actions in the physical time gone by – be it the flaking of a *whao onewa* (stone chisel) and leaving behind stone flakes embedded in the sand, the digging of a *pā*’s defensive earthworks, or the cooking and deposition of a collection of *kūtai* (mussels). An archaeologist’s interpretations, explanatory models or narratives are not the same as the empirical past itself, as it is the physical remains of past actions (after being exposed to various post-depositional mechanical and chemical processes) and not the actions themselves that are being observed. As such, both *kōrero* and archaeological knowledge derive from a physical past, but they operate in an ideational space – an historical time – that is removed from that past.

Whether or not that empirical past is truly knowable, I believe that the attempt to learn more about it is worthwhile – even if through partial ways of knowing, as all ways are. There are grounds for acknowledging multiple truths of the past while generating inter-generational and district-wide scale explanations of change through time. There is space for historicising *kōrero*, understanding its function at the time of its performance or recording, and recognising the atemporal constellated space-time construct of *mātauranga Māori*. I will return to this latter notion in this chapter.

### Question 3: When did warfare and *pā* construction develop in Waikato based on *whakapapa*?

Accepting the notion that *whakapapa* may indeed be related to calendrical years based on the ordering structure of people and events within that *whakapapa*, we may estimate when events recorded in the *kōrero*, such as the construction of a *pā* or conflict occurred. In the following discussion I consider the different phases of *pā* construction and *pakanga* as recounted in *kōrero* and how they compare to other chronological studies.

There were several early *pā* in the studied *kōrero*. Rangiāhua in Kāwhia is the earliest settlement of the Tainui *waka* descendants that *kōrero* refers to as a *pā*. More specifically, this *kōrero* is from Atanatiu Te Kairangi's (1881) manuscript from Ngāti Toarangatira, which was translated and published by Māui Pōmare (1930, pp. 22–25) and was consistent with Raureti Te Huia's (1944) manuscript. Pūhaanga was either born on or shortly after Tainui's voyage to Aotearoa. If we accept current archaeological consensus that Aotearoa was not settled until the late 1200s, we may assume that Tainui did not arrive until after 1250 CE. Based on the *whakapapa* within the model and the assumption that mothers and fathers were generally older than 20 years old, the *waka* could not have arrived any later than 1314 CE (1367 CE). The latter limit is consistent with the accepted date of approximately 1350 CE (Te Hurinui-Jones, 1962; Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995; Winiata, 1950). Tainui's crew established Rangiāhua, which Te Kairangi's and Te Huia's manuscripts described as a *pā* with no further clarification if it was fortified. It is possible that the word "*pā*" is used as a general term here of settlement and not necessarily indicating it was fortified. Alternatively, it is possible that Te Kairangi was projecting the nature of fortified settlements (*pā*) that were common in later periods onto this earlier period and therefore implying a continuity of *mana whenua* symbolised by *pā* (see Question 1 discussion above) to the arrival of Tainui. This may have had the function of affording greater *mana* to the founding people and their claims in Kāwhia. The *kōrero* expresses how peaceful the coast was from Hoturoa to perhaps Tāwhao's time with a central settlement at Rangiāhua. Indeed, the CNA results show there was a 150-to-250-year gap in *kōrero* about conflict from the settlement of Rangiāhua to the conflict between Mangō and Haumia. It is also possible that Rangiāhua was fortified. For instance, measures to defend people, food and express *mana* in the area may have been a precaution in memory of the famine, over-population and wars that the crew had experienced before leaving Hawaiki (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 16–17). If Rangiāhua's fortification was that early, it would pre-date any radiocarbon date from a fortified settlement by over 200 years. Regardless, I am not able to further evaluate this possibility here.

Another early mention of *pā* within *kōrero* were those that Tānetinorau conquered. The authenticity of this *kōrero* is unclear and it was certainly a contested *kōrero* within the Māori Land Court Title Investigations of the Ōtorohanga-Ōrāhiri Block. Due to the different versions of *whakapapa* and the limited mention of individuals involved in the conquest, the CNA estimate of 1358 CE  $\pm$  98 years (1378 CE  $\pm$  124 years) is broad as I did not identify *tātai heke* (descent lineages) from Tānetinorau to the nineteenth century to constrain the models. During a period about which there is few *kōrero pakanga*, this *kōrero* recorded Tānetinorau to have captured four *pā* of Ngāti Hia or Ngāti Hau – the former being descendants of Hia, who was on the Tainui *waka*. This was given in the context of counterclaimants descending from Hoturoa and Tānetinorau seeking to augment their claim over descendants of Hia through Puha and Wharautahi. Descendants of the latter meanwhile testified that they had heard of no such conquest but acknowledged Tama-āio's latter attacks. Tānetinorau's conquests were contested histories. However, further evaluation is not possible here due to the lack of information. Descendants around Waitomo may hold further *kōrero* about this.

Several conflicts arose in parallel from the mid-1400s to the mid-1500s. Te Kairangi's (1881) manuscript included the conflicts of Mangō and Haumia. White's (1888b) unnamed Ngāti Toarangatira source shared the *kōrero* about Mangō and Whatihua. Tamaaio's conquest was likely in 1503 CE  $\pm$  28 years (1504 CE  $\pm$  51 years) around Waitomo. Early written sources of this *kōrero* were primarily recorded testimonies in the 1886 Rohe Pōtae case and subsequent partitions. Around this same period, other districts were occupied with *kōrero* referring to *pā*, including Mōtaiweherua at Kakepuku, Pikirangi or Tūihu at Ngāroto and Pikiāo at Taupiri and Ngāruawāhia. *Kōrero pakanga* of this time included Pikiāo's attack on his brother-in-law in Taupiri and the conflict between Kōkako and Tūheitia at Te Pūaha-o-Waikato. Before the mid-1500s, however, the density of *kōrero* about *pā* was much lower than the spike in the latter half of the 1500s.

Across the study area within the Waikato Region, the Probable CNA Model calculated five heightened periods of *kōrero pakanga*:

- 1) 1420–1540 CE,
- 2) 1550–1580 CE,
- 3) 1600–1640 CE,
- 4) 1690–1730 CE, and
- 5) 1780–1822 CE (end of study).

The Possible Model generalises the peaks 2) and 3) above, but the remaining primary peaks are clear in both models. The periods between each of these spikes include *kōrero pakanga*, but at a lower frequency. The density of *kōrero pakanga* varied between districts with the spikes being clearest along within Ngā whanga ki te uru and Te Nehenehenui ki raro. The Waikato ki uta district, for example, had little to no decrease in the frequency of *kōrero pakanga* about the period from approximately 1640 to the end of the study period. This may be because it was settled later than the other districts. How much earlier is difficult to tell as the *whakapapa* of the Ngāiwi people that were conquered or intermarried with has not been identified.

Following the rise in *kōrero* about *pā* construction in the 1550s, there is a gradual lessening from 1600 to 1700. During this period, there is a decrease in the frequency of *kōrero pakanga* in the harbours punctuated by Tonganui's campaign in Aotea. The only *kōrero pakanga* associated with Ngāti Maniapoto in Waipā were in the conflicts with Ngāti Tama to the south. To the north, in contrast, the descendants of Pikiāo and Rereiao settled in Taupiri and the Waikato conflicts began with Ngāiwi who had previously settled the area. This saw the establishment of the later *hapū* including Ngāti Mahuta and Ngāti Kōura. *Kōrero* about the settlement of the middle Waikato River was therefore a century after the settlement of the eastern slopes of Pirongia and along the Waipā River.

The first half of the 1700s again saw a great increase in *kōrero pakanga* across the studied region including the battles in Kāwhia involving Tūāhumāhina, Toarangatira, Te Kanawa and Kāwharu. Parrallel battles occurred in Whāingaroa, while fighting grew between closely related groups of Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Puhiaue at Ngāroto and Kakepuku, including the battle of Tautepō, and Ngāti Apakura disputes with Ngāti Maniapoto around Te Kawa. Groups from Taranaki and Rotoiti also sought the resources of this district. Meanwhile, Wharetīpeti and Tapaue assisted Te Wehi in his conflict in Aotea, before their Ngāti Te Ata relations killed them. Ngāti Raukawa's conflict with Waikato *hapū* came to a head with the death of Te Putu and the rise of his son Tāwhiakiterangi. In the mid-1700s there was another decrease in the frequency of *kōrero pakanga* about the Lower-Waipā-Ngāroto, Te Kuiti-Hangatiki-Ōtorohanga and harbours districts, which separates the second from the third main peak in these *kōrero*.

The last peak in warfare consisted of warfare between several axes of political alliances. Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto *hapū* were allied against Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Koata on the coast, and Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata at Maungatautari. The source of *kōrero* about these events come primarily from Māori Land Court testimonies during Title

Investigation Cases of the associated land blocks. These conflicts peaked during the 1820s and 1830s often within or directly before the lifetimes of court witnesses that gave testimony between the 1860s and 1910s. These conflicts included the great battles of Hingakākā, Huirimoana and Te Kākara and contributed to the departure of Ngāti Toarangatira and parts of Ngāti Koata from Kāwhia, followed by parts of Ngāti Raukawa from Maungatautari and surrounding districts. The Ngāpuhi invasion occurred shortly afterwards with the attack on Mātakitaki *pā* in 1822, which marks the later limit of this study.

Periods with less frequent *kōrero pakanga* vary between districts but were generally between the first arrival of the Tainui *waka* and the mid-1400s, much of the 1600s and in the mid-1700s. There are several potential causes of these decreases in the frequency of *kōrero pakanga*:

1. I did not come across *kōrero* that does exist about these periods because that *kōrero* has not entered the publicly accessible written record. For example, *kōrero* about Pukeiāhua *pā* in Ngāruawāhia is not in nineteenth century manuscripts or Māori Land Court testimonies that I have read. Ngaere and Hekeiterangi's marriage did not enter the written record until 1932, when Te Nguha Huirama who gave it to Te Hurinui-Jones (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 240–244). In another example, large amounts of *kōrero* widely published by Te Hurinui-Jones, Bruce Biggs, Leslie Kelly and Fin Phillips stemmed from Māori Land Court testimonies. Large areas of Waikato were taken under the government *raupatau* from 1864 and did not pass through the Māori Land Court. There were cases in the Compensation Court, but testimonies were not in as much detail and often related to later histories. In another potential scenario, *kōrero* about a particular period may not have been discussed during Court testimony as it was not relevant to the arguments affecting the potential Court Judgement of the land block's legal title under colonial law.
2. Events had been rendered unimportant and forgotten over generations of the *kōrero* being transferred between *tōhunga*. Should this be the case, one might expect a linear decrease in *kōrero* the further back in time we look.
3. Processes of colonisation by the 1880s (when most of the major Title Investigations occurred in the Māori Land Court) had meant *kōrero* had been lost. We may test the first and third option by examining when gaps in *kōrero* occur in the *whakapapa* across different regions.
4. *Kōrero pakanga* in which a particular *hapū*'s *mana* is diminished may be selectively forgotten or de-emphasised by later generations. In these situations, different

versions may be compared when they are available. However, comparison is not possible when there is simply no *kōrero* identified for a period.

5. This study has captured representable sample of *kōrero pakanga* in Waikato and periods with less *kōrero pakanga* are actually when there was less socio-political stress and change.

In complement to the possibility that periods of fewer *kōrero pakanga* represent actual periods of less conflict (point 5 above), *kōrero* about some of these periods explicitly describe peace. For example, the first few generations after the Tainui *waka*'s arrival in Kāwhia are widely accepted as peaceful. In later times, Te Kairangi referred to certain ancestors as cultivators (“*mahi he ahu whenua*”) instead of warriors (“*mahi pakanga*”) to indicate periods of peace, such as Whatihua, Urutira and Korokino. Similarly, Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs (1995, pp. 194–195)<sup>197</sup> stated that Matakore, son of Rereahu and *teina* to Maniapoto, lived in peace with his people to the south of the Waipā River and in the Rangitoto Ranges. Their unmolested, prosperous existence was due to Matakore giving his support to Maniapoto against their elder half-brother, Te Ihingaarangi, at the battle of Te Kupapa and Matakore's marriage to Waiharapepe of the Te Arawa *ariki* lineage from Pikiāo (contra F. Phillips, 1989, pp. 31–33). Some *kōrero* describe a conflict to be first in the district, such as Te Kupapa (Te Huatare, 1888, p. 249) or the quarrel between Mangō and Haumia (Te Kairangi, 1881). In other times, *kōrero* states that there was no further fighting in the district after a particular event, such as the capture of Motakiora *pā* by Maniapoto from Ngāti Tama, where the inhabitants were largely spared (Te Whanonga, 1894, p. 203). In addition to these explicit references to peace, the non-linear and periodic lulls in *kōrero pakanga* through time may indicate relatively peaceful periods with less socio-political change.

These spatial and chronological patterns of *kōrero pakanga* are consistent with archaeological evidence at a broad scale. The broad spatial correlation was demonstrated in this study by the approximate covariance of the relative number of recorded *pā* in a district with the relative number of *kōrero pakanga* in those same areas. Meanwhile, Schmidt (1996) scrutinised existing radiocarbon dates of *pā* and found that 49 *pā* across Aotearoa were generally constructed after approximately 1500 CE, with several date spans including the 1400s (see also McFadgen *et al.*, 1994). Limited further archaeological research has investigated this question and the discipline has generally accepted 1500 CE as the commencement of *pā*

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<sup>197</sup> Paraphrased without reference by Kelly (1949, pp. 204–205).

construction. This current research shows how *kōrero pakanga* correlates with these findings with a first reliable appearance of conflict and *pā* references from the mid to late 1400s, with a sharp increase in the second half of the 1500s. The *kōrero* may suggest that there were occasional earlier examples of *pā* construction and conflict before the current earliest radiocarbon dates of *pā* construction. However, these *kōrero pakanga* were predominantly along the coast, where few archaeological studies have been undertaken to compare these results. It is also possible that the scale of the earliest conflicts have been augmented in the *kōrero* as they were passed between generations to increase the *mana* of the ancestors involved and such conflicts did not yet involve the construction of fortifications until the late 1400s at the earliest.

The chronological peaks in *kōrero* for different districts of Waikato are also consistent with archaeological studies concluding that there were regionally specific and non-linear development *pā* construction phases. Geoff Irwin's (1985) research on the distribution and timing of *pā* construction at Poutō (southern end of Kaipairā's northern head) showed that twenty *pā* were constructed in the eighteenth century. He identified a similar pattern of *pā* being constructed during the sixteenth century on Pōnui Island in the Hauraki Gulf (Irwin, 2013, 2020). Caroline Phillips (2000) dated several *pā* along the Waihou River in Hauraki, the earliest being dating to c. 1590 and the several others to the second half of the 1600s. She said that they were, however, refortified or modified "possibly every 60–100 years" (p.155) in a fluid pattern in accordance with which chiefs were in power and where. McCoy and Ladefoged (2019) similarly identified several *pā* in the Bay of Islands that dated to approximately 1650 CE and related to an historical campaign of attacks from the interior. The precision of each of these argued peaks of conflict is dependent on the precision of the calibrated radiocarbon probabilities for each archaeological sample. However, they do suggest that *pā* often developed in different phases at a district-wide scale instead of a steady increase in the number of *pā* constructed through time.

The district specific increases and decreases in the frequency of *kōrero pakanaga* in this thesis are also consistent, yet with nuanced additions, to Atholl Anderson's (Ngāi Tahu; 2022) work on Māori warfare and migrations. He used migrations in *kōrero* as markers of high levels of warfare, stating that localised battles have a greater potential to be "discarded" over time and would be problematic to compare between districts and periods. He estimated when migration events occurred in *kōrero* by assigning 30-year average generation intervals to *whakapapa* that connect nineteenth century descendants directly to migration *waka* (generation intervals stemmed from a cross-cultural study Anderson, 2014; Fenner, 2005). The study

focussed primarily on *kōrero* about migrations to and within Te Waipounamu with comparison to *kōrero* from Waikato sourced from the book, *Nga Iwi o Tainui* (Te Hurinui-Jones & Biggs, 1995). Anderson argued that there were three phases of migration across Aotearoa. Phase I was the migration to Aotearoa from Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa in 1280–1340. Phase II was “early tribal migration” from 1460–1640. Phase III was “late tribal migration” from 1820 and included several migrations in southwards direction. These phases of migration had intermissions of approximately two hundred years between them with less frequent warfare and little record of migration. Within these phases, there were peaks of activity at 1300, 1500–1600 and 1820.

Perhaps *kōrero* passed down across several generations may not record inconsequential conflict as Anderson suggests. However, I consider the general correlation between Anderson’s and my results do not discredit the study of *kōrero pakanga* alone. Instead, it provides further nuance to the more generalised patterns of migrations. For examples, there are several district specific increases and decreases in the frequency of *kōrero pakanaga* that are masked within Anderson’s phases of migration, such as the earlier coastal *kōrero pakanga* from as early as 1440 to 1550, before the late 1500s peak across all districts and the low density *kōrero* in the 1600s (apart from along the middle-lower Waikato River). Furthermore, this current study identified a major concentration of *kōrero pakanga* about the early 1700s, between Anderson’s Phase II and III, and which were separate from the conflicts of the late 1700s and early 1800s that led to Anderson’s Phase III migrations. Of course, Anderson’s study of Waikato *kōrero* was based on Te Hurinui-Jones and Biggs’ (1995) book alone, which does not include all of the *kōrero pakanga* nor discussion of their versions canvassed in this thesis (due to its different purpose). Despite these nuanced differences, the findings of this thesis are consistent with Anderson’s conclusion that *kōrero* about warfare suggests it was not an endemic part of existence in Aotearoa. Nor is there necessarily a teleology or eventuality of warfare and migration. The CNA of *kōrero pakanga* demonstrate the non-linear development of warfare and *pā* construction through time at a slightly finer scale.

#### **Question 4: Why did warfare and *pā* construction in Waikato develop at these times?**

In this thesis I investigated two dimensions of *kōrero* to explain why warfare and *pā* construction developed. The first dimension how the wording in the *kōrero* itself explains the cause of the conflict in terms of the presence or absence of causal themes including: *utu* (seeking rebalance); desire for *whenua* (land) or *rawa taiao* (resources); and competition over *mana tupuna* (inherited authority, power, status, influence) or *mana rangatira* (chiefly authority, power, status, influence). The second dynamic was how the wording in *kōrero*

express the *whanaungatanga* (kinship) between quarrelling *rangatira*. I discuss these findings below in relation to Vayda's influential economic model of Māori warfare development and current literature on *hapū* social organisational development.

*Utu* was the most common explicit causal theme of warfare in *kōrero* and was present during all periods. *Utu* is the process by which balance is maintained through acts of *manaakitanga* (enhancing another's *mana*) or in this case seeking balance after a slight to one's *mana*. *Utu* in this sense is a process of reciprocity, often erroneously equated to "revenge" (Petrie, 2013). As *mana* was and is the foundation of *rangatiratanga* in Māori society, it is an unsurprising result that either: (1) conflict most commonly arose from a perceived injury or insult to one's *mana*; or (2) past conflicts are legitimised during later recollections through identifying a *take* or perceived insult or injustice that requires rebalancing.

In some cases, individuals obtained *utu* after one bout of conflict, even resulting in not killing their enemy but publicly lowering their *mana*. Such was the case in the *kōrero* of Mangō urinating on Whatihua, or Mangō and Maniapoto respectively biting the head of Haumia and Houtaketake. In other instances, individuals sought *utu* by killing the person who had killed one of their relations and not settling until this was achieved. For example, after Tautinimoke killed Pakaue, his son, Te Wehi, and step-son, Kāwharu, Te Wehi sought the death of Tautinimoke, even after his *tuakana*, Kāwharu, considered a state of *ea* (balance) had been reached after the death of Tautinimoke's relation, Tūāhumāhina. Sometimes balance was achieved in a single act. In other occasions, *utu* inspired perceptions of a further insult that would continue the chain of acts that spanned generations to restore an individual's or their community's *mana*. In his testimony during the Manuaitu-Aotea Title Investigation, Wiremu Te Wheoro (1887, pp. 184–190) testified that Te Aooterangi [sic] and Tonganui's deaths were "fully avenged" or "satisfied" during Te Awaitaia's time. Tonganui died during an attack on Manuaitu Pā in 1614 CE ± 3 years (1619 CE ± 23 years), Te Aooterangi was killed over 150 years later at Te Kaipāpaka in 1773 CE ± 3 years (1779 CE ± 12 years), while Te Awaitaia was born after this and was a prominent *rangatira* in the early-mid 1800s.

War to take another party's land was rarely an explicit cause, contrary to Andrew Vayda's (1960) ever-influential model of Māori warfare (refer to Chapter Two). Vayda suggested that most of Māori warfare developed due to population pressures and spatial limits on arable land, which led to "chain reactions" of "aggressive territorial expansion" (Vayda, 1976, p. 74). This economic model has since been the primary academic explanation of Māori warfare and *pā* development (McCoy & Ladefoged, 2019). In a recent example, Anderson (2022) suggested that population growth driven by the availability of resources influenced

growing population density and competition. Warfare and migrations away from the population centres curbed this population growth that formed cyclical waves of peaked warfare from initial migration to Aotearoa to the nineteenth century.

In contrast to this model, relatively few *kōrero pakanga* studied in this thesis were explained through a desire by the *rangatira* for a new land or resources. In the relatively few examples where *kōrero pakanga* explicitly describe wars over a *rawa taiao*, the warfare was not due to a scarcity, but disputes over who has decision-making power over that resources or place. For example, Tūirirangi was killed by Ngāiwi when collecting *whao* wood from southern Aotea, while Tonganui later attacked Ngāti Tūirirangi after they had felled a *tōtara* tree perceived to be within his (or his father Māhanga's) territory. However, more commonly *rawa taiao* were expressed in the broader context of the *kōrero*, which Taonui (2005) suggested may indeed be latent explanations for the conflict. *Kōrero* about resources are present in all periods from the 1440s with a possible decline by the 1700s, when less than half of *kōrero pakanga* contextually reference *rawa taiao*. These resources include *māra* (cultivations), *ngāhere* (forests), *waitai* (marine) and *waimāori* (freshwater) depending on where the *kōrero* is situated. *Kōrero pakanga* along the Waipā often refer to *pā tuna* (eel weirs) and *manu* (birds), in the harbours they refer to *kai moana* (seafoods). Wars between the inland and coast often refer to a collection or comparison between the two, such as the motifs of Te Kanawa and Kāwharu, or Kārewa and Taraao comparing the *kōura* with the *pipi*. These may be symbols of competition over or coveting of these foods, the warriors that each district can boast, or a reference to the *takiwā* (territory) of each party.

The few occasions when *raupatu* (conquest over land) was explicit were when Wharetīpeti and Tapaue sought the cultivations of Iranui across the river from Taupiri, or Tūpāhau moving to Marokopa, establishing a *pā* and beating off attacks by the inhabitants. In other instances, campaigns of conquest resulted in the taking of land or intermarriage with existing peoples, but the *kōrero* recorded no desire in the actors to take the land purely for its possession. For example, wars against Ngāiwi by Hānui and Huakātoa began after their relation Uerātā was humiliated by them. In this case, *utu* was the primary cause of the conflict, which led to taking of land in some versions, but simply intermarriage in others.

Population levels were likely one of the key drivers that contributed to early warfare about land and resources along the coast in the mid-1400s, which were followed by migrations inland. These migrations included Tūrongo's settlement at Rangiāhua, Tama-āio's conquest in Waitomo over the Ngāti Hā people that descended from the Te Arawa *waka*, Pikirangi's settlement in Ngāroto and Pikiāo of Te Arawa passing through Taupiri and Ngāruawāhia.

Ngāiwi may have also travelled inland by this time and before Pīkiao's grandchildren settled in Taupiri, as they intermarried with those lineages. However, migrations inland did not necessarily alleviate conflict as there was a new spike across all districts in the late 1500s as different groups negotiated their new territories. Indeed, the early periods of warfare were between closely related people, but most commonly spurred by a perceived insult to one party's *mana*. *Utu* resulted in a party leaving the territory, accepting a humbling of their own *mana* or death.

There was a growth again of warfare in desire for land and resources in the 1700s when *mana whenua* was challenged, perhaps as *hapū* began to be established (I return to this discussion point below). Each *kōrero* where there was change in *mana whenua* was very contested. For example, Weni Kerei of Ngāti Pāoa gave testimony in the Hoe o Tainui Title Investigation case that minimised any conflict or loss of land by Ngāiwi and Pāoa's descendants to Waikato people. He said there was intermarriage and peace. In contrast, Ngāti Huakatoa witnesses claimed that there were large conquests and Ngāiwi were completely enveloped into Ngāti Mahuta. Each side had contrasting *kōrero* about who built *pā* when and who was involved in different battles. This theme is common in Title Investigations throughout Waikato. The context of the Māori Land Court was likely a significant factor in why there were such contrarian versions of *kōrero*, as *raupatu* did not automatically equate to land rights (Durie, 1994, p. 41). Indeed, it was common for defeated groups to remain living on the land, but the consequence of land title recognised under colonial law likely encouraged more binary depictions of conquest in the *kōrero*. These later period changes in *mana whenua* did not occur across the entire study area.

The last cause of war in *kōrero pakanga* was in competition of seniority of descent line. In Māori society, *mana* of a *rangatira* over their people and lands usually falls to their *matāmua tamatāne* (first-born male). However, much like the responsibility of *kaitiakitanga* through *whakapapa* as identified in the project interviews, the *tikanga* (correct practice) around the male line could be negotiated. For example, Rereahu saw the prowess of his eldest son, Maniapoto by his second wife, Hineapounamu, and decided to pass his *mana* onto him over his first-born son, Te Ihingarangi, by his first wife, Rangiaanewa. This led to the battle of Te Kupapa. Tūpāhau similarly achieved his father's favour over his *tuakana* and became a leading chief of Ngāti Mangō (later to become Ngāti Toarangatira). In other occasions, wars began in negotiation of *mana tangata* between closely related males, such as brothers-in-law or half-brothers. In this way, Pāoa's sons by two of his wives, Tauhakari and Tukutuku, fought over him and his *mana*, while Tamainupō killed his brother-in-law, Tanangawhanga, after the latter

challenged his *mana*. It was not always possible to discern the relationship between warring parties, and even when two parties were described as being of different *hapū*, their members were often so interwoven, that close relations were on both sides.

Despite relational complexities there is a pattern that wars over seniority and between closely related groups were generally earlier. Once senior lines were established in most districts during the 1500s, there was a lessening in warfare across the region, suggesting there was greater political stability. The nature of the conflicts were small scale within related groups but recorded as large conquests between non-related groups. These wars occurred concurrently in inland areas as well as the coast, suggesting that population pressure was not a sole driver as populations on the coast would have been much higher at this time. Intermediate increases in warfare developed in the 1600s inland as similar lineages were negotiated in new territories with the added dynamic of intermarriages with non-Tainui descent groups. These may have been influenced by growing populations in this area, some one hundred years after first occupation there, such as Korokī's war with Taowhakairo, the conflict between Pāoa's sons or the subsequent one between Hānui and Huakatoa against Ngāiwi.

Conflicts within the studied Waikato Region with groups that did not descend from the Tainui *waka* were most common from the late 1400s to approximately 1700. By this time, there were few incursions into the study area by non-Tainui descent groups. Tainui descent groups certainly made excursions outside of the study area that I have not captured in this study, including Kaihamu to Taranaki, Maki to Tāmaki, Tāwhiakiterangi to Te Taitokerau, Kāwharu and Te Hoata to Tauranga with Ngātokowaru, Hikairo to Te Uruwera and Hotunui to Hauraki. Often these wars with non-Tainui descendants within the study area were met with more expansive wars and conquests than wars within closely related communities. Clear examples are Tama-āio's conquest over Ngāti Hā, the Takihiku's descendants' conquest over Ngāti Kahupungapunga and perhaps the conquests by Huakatoa, Hānui and later Hotumaeua over Ngāiwi (although the latter were also descendants of Tainui, who evidently migrated inland at an earlier date).

The early 1700s saw warfare grow between neighbouring but related *hapū*, where chiefs challenged one another at perceived slights to the *mana* or encroachments into the use of their *rawa taiao*. This may have been encouraged by population growth, but according to recent studies population levels had levelled off by this time. Lineages further solidified to hold *mana* in certain districts, such as Toarangatira and Ngāti Koata on the coast after their defeat of Tūāhumāhina, which was followed by decades of relative stability compared to continued uncertainty along the central Waikato River. There were also broader political alliances, such

as Te Wehi aligning with Waikato and Kāwharu gaining support from Toarangatira and Taranaki peoples. By the late 1700s, wars between districts arose stemmed by perceived slights in earlier generations. These continued and grew in intensity and political complexity into the early 1800s culminating in the inter-tribal war parties assembling for Tahuraho and Hingakākā and the attacks on the western harbours, which eventually saw large migrations away from the district to the southern North Island and northern South Island.

Other factors likely to have influenced warfare and *pā* construction development include the potential economic stress possibly induced by the “Little Ice Age” (LIA; 1385–1710 CE), which rendered the climate in the lower North Island marginal for *kūmara* cultivation Anderson (Anderson, 2022). The extent to which the LIA affected cultivation in Waikato remains unclear (Gumbley, 2021). However, it is possible that cultivation success was less predictable as a result of the LIA, which drove warfare and *pā* construction. Any economic stress induced by climate change and growing populations would have been coupled with faunal losses. Particularly in the south, early economic foci were in hunting the large avifauna, *moa* (order *Dinornithiformes*), and marine mammals. Within two hundred years of first settlement, *moa* became extinct through predation and human-induced environment change (Perry *et al.*, 2014). Marine mammals were also heavily hunted. It is not yet clear to what extent climatic changes and *moa* extinctions affected the lifeways of Central and Northern Te Ika-a-Māui.

### Question 5: How do descendants relate to *pā* today?

I generated the three themes from interview transcripts with eight descendants of the Tainui *waka* with close connections to *pā* in their *rohe* to explain how descendants relate to *pā*. The first theme was “*Kia takahi ai ngā takahangahanga tūpuna*. To walk in the footsteps of your ancestors” - *Pā* are spaces of connection. Within this theme were three subthemes. Firstly, *pā* had continuity as lived in places and were not isolated in the past as abandoned historical sites. Secondly, a lived relationship to *pā* reinforced descendant well-being. Thirdly, *pā* were connected to the broader *whenua* – both in the past and in the present.

*Pā* are in this way conceived of in relation to other domains instead of having an inherent value. Descendants spoke about *pā* in relation to themselves, their elders sharing *kōrero* and the broader *whenua tūpuna*. These connections to and from *pā* formed the most recent layer of the *whakapapa* of those places. In any *whakapapa*, each strand cannot stand alone. Each entity is defined in relationship to other entities and in relation to the context of that *whakapapa*. In this case, the research participants spoke of in terms of their own lived

experiences, having grown up on a *pā* (often used interchangeably to refer to *marae*) or having received *kōrero* at a *pā*. Participants spoke of the sense of connection they receive when physically walking on *pā* and *wāhi tūpuna*. Lastly, participants spoke of the importance of *pā* in the past and present in relation to the *tupuna awa*, *maunga*, *māra kai*, *ahi kā*, *moana* and *ngāhere* (ancestral rivers, mountains, cultivations, fires, seas, and forests). This connectivity was central to how descendants spoke of *pā* and formed the most recent layers of *whakapapa* of those places.

The second theme of research participant responses was “the old *kuia* would insist we stop, and she would wail, and she would *karanga* and she would *tangi* over these places” - colonisation challenges the relationship between *mana whenua* and their ancestral landscapes. The participants spoke about the detrimental effect that various colonial processes have had on their relationship to *pā* and *wāhi tūpuna* in general. There are disconnections to the *whenua* through land alienation, direct physical damages, or destruction of *wāhi tūpuna*, or a loss or misuse of knowledge about those places. The adverse impacts of colonisation were not just misuse or damage to the land and physical remains of *pā*, there was a severing effect on the *whakapapa* of those places – particularly the recent layers of that *whakapapa* created through lived connection by current generations. Connection and the enhanced well-being that a healthy relationship to *whenua tūpuna* affords was replaced with disconnection and feelings of “*mamae*” or “embarrassment” that had detrimental effects on well-being in the other direction. Colonialism has therefore become a part of the *whakapapa* of *pā* even though the *pā* may have been constructed generations before Pākehā came to Aotearoa. This is because descendants engage with *whenua tūpuna* through lived experience and a deep feeling of connection through *whakapapa* not only to the people who named the place and lived there, but to the *whenua* itself. This connection is enacted in the present, when the *whenua* is or has been disconnected from the people.

The last theme of how descendants relate to *pā* was titled, “It’s through *whakapapa* you are born with these obligations to protect for future generations what has been protected for you by your *tūpuna*” - *Kaitiakitanga*. This theme encapsulates the responsibility of descendants to safeguard *taonga tuku iho* for current and future generations. There are three sub-themes. The first is that this obligation is bestowed through a *whakapapa* connection to a place, person, or thing. The gatekeepers may negotiate this obligation or defer it to others based on their skills or their close lived relationship with a particular area of land. The right to *kaitiakitanga* may also be contested in modern times by interpreting different lines of *whakapapa* or understanding the different *kōrero* that explain which *hapū* has *mana whenua*.

The second sub-theme within the theme of *kaitiakitangia*, is that *kaitiaki* have a responsibility to *te ao wairua* (the non-physical or spiritual realm) and the *mauri* of a place. Participants spoke of the importance of *tikanga* in managing these aspects of *pā*. One must be careful and respectful of the overall *mauri* of a place and the ancestors, whose *wairua* remain there. In this way, visiting a *pā* was like visiting your ancestor's home with them still alive to greet you. In being gracious and respectful, one acts to *manaaki* (increase the *mana*) of those *tūpuna* and those spaces themselves. For the research participants that I spoke with, these concerns were central to how they related to *pā*. The last sub-theme was that *rangatiratanga* can be achieved, in part, through meaningful relationships with different parties. Through good relationship building, descendants may overcome negative experiences through colonialism and reconnect to *pā*.

These findings are not surprising to me nor are they likely to be surprising to anyone who is of, or has engaged in a meaningful way with, the Māori world. *Whenua tūpuna* is woven in one's identity both through *whakapapa* but also through lived engagement with those places in undertaking one's responsibility as *kaitiaki*. Such lived connections are written into *hapū* or *iwi* environmental management plans. For example, in the Ngāti Hikairo Heritage Management Plan, Barton and Thorne (2010, p. 13) wrote “our history is carved into our landscape. It is the landscape that defines who we are and what makes us unique. We are of the *whenua*, the *whenua* is of us”. Similarly, the Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Māori Heritage Council recognise that “Māori heritage is imbued with *mana* and spirituality that endure through generations [...that] lives on through relationships of people and place”. They explicitly recognise the “meaning” and “prestige” that heritage affords to “history, traditions, culture and identity of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*”(HNZPT, 2017, p. 5).

The results of the Thematic Analysis in this thesis contribute to this conversation as these values are regularly marginalised in archaeological research. Joe Watkins (2010) said that this has meant many Indigenous people speak of archaeology and archaeologists negatively; as if it has stolen the past. In reality, one form of the past is commonly told — feigned as an objective telling, which distances the past from the present, placing Indigenous culture as a thing of the past (McNiven, 2016; Watkins, 2010). Traditional relationships to ancestral places, including their associated oral traditions, are commonly marginalised in exchange for archaeological research results (see Allison, 1999; Whitley, 2002).

The complex and rich values of *pā* and *wāhi tūpuna* captured in this current study demand protection and appropriate management. There are several legislative frameworks that manage cultural heritage places in Aotearoa. Two primary ones are the *Heritage New Zealand*

*Pouhere Taonga Act 2014* (HNZPTA) and the *Resource Management Act 1991* (RMA) —now the *Natural and Built Environment Act 2023*. The HNZPTA manages the modification and destruction of archaeological sites through the authority process. Archaeological sites may and often do have broad heritage values beyond the potential information that may be recovered from physical materials (i.e., archaeological practice). However, Environment Court case law has set precedent that the Māori heritage values are given little consideration, unless they may be demonstrably linked to the physical remains of the archaeological site that are proposed for modification or destruction (e.g., Bollard, 2004; Dwyer, 2016; Kirkpatrick, 2018). As of 2021, the destruction of Māori heritage places and built heritage (generally colonial places) was a non-complying activity in respectively 23% and 73% of district council RMA plans (HNZPT, 2021). Similarly, Short (2021) reported (but without reference) that approximately 10% of the 6,000 places on HNZPT’s Rārangi Kōrero New Zealand Heritage List are “explicitly Māori”, while 80% were “European”. Although a place’s inclusion on the List does not afford it protection from development activities or natural disasters, Listings can lead to scheduling in RMA district plans, which provides for the management of the place’s broader values in balance with landowner rights and interests. Clearly, there is a current bias against the recognition and protection of Māori heritage places that contribute to *tangata whenua* well-being and identities. As the Thematic Analysis results of the research interviews demonstrated, inappropriate management and destruction of *wāhi tūpuna* leads to negative well-being outcomes for descendant communities.

The importance of *kaitiakitanga* to descendants, as demonstrated in this thesis, has further implications for the appropriate management of *wāhi tūpuna*. Māori leadership has consistently claimed the importance of *tinu rangatiratanga* (absolute sovereignty, chieftainship) over heritage places through several actions non-exhaustively listed below:

- Signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi with the British Crown on the 6<sup>th</sup> of February 1840, in which the chiefs of New Zealand retained *tinu rangatiratanga* over *ngā taonga katoa* (all things of interest to them).
- Soliciting opposition to the Crown’s breaches of Te Tiriti through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
- Submitting and litigating claims of the Crown’s Te Tiriti breaches to the Waitangi Tribunal since 1975 (after the *Waitangi Tribunal Act 1975*). Specifically, the Wai 262 Claim covered a broad array of breaches, including Indigenous knowledge misappropriation and the lacking support of the Crown for Māori to exercise

*kaitiakitanga* in relation to the environment (WT, 2011). This has strong implications for *kaitiakitanga* of heritage places.

- Hosting the First International Conference on the Cultural & Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Whakataāne in 1993, where *The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples* was passed. This made guidelines for researchers and policy-makers, including around sovereignty over cultural heritage objects and places.
- Advocating for New Zealand to sign the *United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP), which it did so in 2010 (3 years after the Declaration's initial passing before for UN General Assembly). This recognises Indigenous sovereignty over their cultural heritage as a human right.

This current research contributes to the argument that *wāhi tupuna* may both contribute information about the past through archaeological investigation and provide for the well-being of descendants through active relationships and *kaitiakitanga*. Therefore, these places and landscapes must not only be protected, but the Crown should provide legislation, policy, and resourcing to facilitate the practice of *kaitiakitanga* over heritage places and landscapes.

### **Continuing the dialogue between *mātauranga Māori* and archaeology**

The interface of *kōrero* with archaeology can be multi-vocal to generate a *whakapapa* of *pā*. This thesis has explored the functional and historicity of *kōrero* about *pā* and *pakanga*, which were not created within the Western notion of history. The multiple functions of *pā* within *kōrero* is part of the overall *whakapapa* of *pā*. In the same way that archaeologists must understand taphonomic or site formation processes, *kōrero tuku iho* caretakers and researchers must understand the layers of symbolism in *kōrero* with context-specific emphasis and purpose. However, these perspectives do not preclude the existence of a constant present. There is space at the interface within which one may greet their ancestors when walking on their *pā*, acknowledge the *atua Māori* during *karakia*, or talk to a *whare tūpuna* – a physical manifestation of an ancestor. Although *kōrero pakanga* are woven with meaning, have multiple versions, and are contextually contingent, they have multi-generational and district level patterns that approach an empirical past. Centring *whakapapa tangata* and *kōrero* in this research, highlights the connections that descendants make with these places through these forms of *mātauranga*. It also showcases the valuable contributions that these ways of knowing have on a shared understanding of the past.

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN: CONCLUSION

The previous chapter discussed the research findings in relation to the research questions and aims. In this chapter I summarise those findings and state their significance and implications for the broader research project of *Rua Mātītī Rua Mātātā* and for historical and archaeological research in Aotearoa generally. The overall aim of the research in this thesis was to demonstrate how we may interface *mātauranga Māori* and archaeology by generating a *whakapapa* of *pā* development in Waikato, Aotearoa. *Whakapapa* is a relational explanatory methodology to explain the origin of an idea, being or other entity by its relationship to others.

*Kōrero* or oral traditions refer to *pā* in different contexts, which tell us about their history of occupation. However, *kōrero* also include symbolic dynamics that are part of the *whakapapa* of *pā*. The first research question was, therefore, “why do *kōrero* include *pā*?” I undertook a Thematic Analysis of *kōrero* about *pā* in Te Tai Hauāuru, Waipā and Waikato from the arrival of the Tainui *waka* in Kāwhia to the battle of Mātakitaki in 1822. The sources included unpublished manuscripts in *Te Reo Māori* and English, Māori Land Court Minute Books, published journal articles and books, as well as *kōrero* shared in the research interviews – all of which I introduced in Chapter Three. The results of the analysis were included in Chapters Five to Eight and discussed in Chapter Twelve. The review of textual information identified previously unrecognised primary *reo* Māori written texts for the vast majority of published twentieth century Tainui *kōrero*, including the works of Māui Pōmare, Pei Te Hurinui-Jones, Bruce Biggs, Leslie Kelly, James Robertson and Fin Phillips. The identification of these commonly uncited sources is a considerable contribution for future historians.

The most apparent answer of why *kōrero* refer to *pā* might be that the person giving the *kōrero* was simply telling a history in which people constructed and used *pā*. Indeed, *pā* were defended places often lived in as settlements with the ultimate purpose of preserving people, food, *mana rangatira* and *mana whenua*. Sometimes *pā* were built in a district to directly challenge the *mana* of a neighbouring group and in other times the construction of a *pā* had no change to *mana whenua*. The meaning of a *pā* construction was subject to interpretation within the context of the *kōrero* and purpose of the person giving the *kōrero*. *Pā* may also simply be associated with an ancestor without any narrative to demonstrate the antiquity and breadth of a descent group’s claim to a district. When a *pā* is captured, it affords greater *mana* to the victorious group. In this way, conquests described by descendants of a victorious group often included lists of *pā* that were captured. *Pā* that were no longer occupied often formed *tohu*

(landmarks) and *rohe* (boundaries), effectively becoming woven into the fabric of the oral landscape together with their names and the *kōrero* about their histories. Taken together, *kōrero* include *pā* as both historical places and symbols. They convey information about *mana whenua*, depth and breadth of occupation, socio-political changes, and the strength of a community. They were places of unification through marriage and fission through conflict. They later became *tohu*, which each encapsulated their own continually developing *whakapapa* to that point.

One axis of the interface between *mātauranga Māori* and archaeology is time. My second research question was “to what extent can we relate calendar years to *whakapapa*?” There were two prongs of this “relating”. Firstly, how this could be done at an ontological level, i.e., are the two different conceptions of time compatible? The Māori space-time construct has been argued to be based on a constant present, where one stands in a constellation of one’s ancestors today. Western time on the other hand functions like an arrow or a river flowing in one direction from the past to the present. Perhaps, however, this binary oversimplifies both forms of time. A historian picks and chooses which events to write about along an infinitely divisible sequence of parallel moments, while a *tōhunga* may recount a *taotahi whakapapa* (single lineage) and a sequence of events in a *kōrero pakanga* directly relating to the descendants present on the opposite *paepae*. Although we may never generate a mirror image of a single empirical past, knowledge operating in the mind of an “historical time” may nonetheless be used to generate understandings that approach that empirical past. Therefore, any interface between calendar years and *whakapapa* may be multi-vocal. *Whakapapa* can be a source of identity and *whanaungatanga* and a means to estimate when ancestors lived. The chronological estimates are coarse enough, allowing for different *kōrero* dynamics and versions.

The second prong of this research question is how to best relate *whakapapa* to calendrical time. I reviewed previous attempts of indexing *whakapapa* in Chapter Four. I developed on previous approaches by using the Chronological Network Analysis (CNA) of over 1000 individuals and almost 2000 chronological relationships, which resulted in coherent likely range estimates of birthdates and events within the tribal *whakapapa*. I presented the results of this analysis in Chapter Nine and discussed them in Chapter Twelve. If we accept that 1250 CE was the earliest possible date of Tainui arrival given current archaeological consensus, it could not have arrived any later than 1314 CE based on the “Probable Model” or 1367 CE based on the “Possible Model”, given the *whakapapa* relationships and model assumptions. The CNA birthdate estimate precision varied through time across the almost 600-

year study period from 1250 to 1822 CE. Higher precision estimates extended as far back as approximately 1500 CE when many lineages converged to founding ancestors of later *hapū*. Furthermore, the birthdate estimates had a median of 40 years, which was adequate to explore changes in *kōrero* through time.

There are broad implications for this rigorous approach to relating *whakapapa* chronologies to Western calendrical sequences. A common critique of archaeology by *tangata whenua* scholars is that it is not relevant to *mātauranga*-derived forms of heritage. Knowledge of the past and the positive well-being from that heritage are sufficiently complete to not require archaeology. One reason for this perspective is that archaeology and *mātauranga* rarely talk to one another. The critical historicisation of *kōrero* and *whakapapa* enables information that comes from archaeological research, such as radiocarbon dates, to link into that *mātauranga*. This new dialogue opens expansive opportunities for *kōrero* and archaeology to contribute to the same exploration of the past, whether it be questions of socio-political development, early settlement patterns, intermarriage, trade, and exchange between regions, *hapū* and *iwi*, or the *whakapapa* of *pā*. *Mātauranga Māori* may also make significant contributions to archaeological theory and practice, as has been explored in materialist critiques of formal artefact typologies (Holdaway & Phillipps, 2021). Foundational archaeological chronologies may be explored in greater nuance, as has been demonstrated in this thesis. The use of *mātauranga* in answering historical questions demonstrates that Māori archaeology is, or at least can be, an historical archaeology. The term does not so much refer to the introduction of writing but is instead a reference to the sources and techniques used by the archaeologist in the present.

What then are useful terms to divide historical phases from before and after the beginning of Pākehā colonisation in Aotearoa? It goes without saying that this colonisation brought immeasurable change to *hapū*- and *iwi*-Māori culture, which is detectable in the archaeological record. Archaeologists now avoid the term “Prehistory”. However, the term “historical archaeology” is widely used and taught in New Zealand to refer to that of the colonial period. Therefore, the “non-”, “a-”, or “pre-” historical implication of the pre-colonial period is still in the pocket of the discipline. I have just used an alternative term relating to the pre-colonial or post-colonial period. Another common term is pre-European. Each term refers to the largest expanse of the New Zealand archaeological and historical periods with specific reference to the arrival of the Europeans, usually with Captain James Cooks visit in 1769. An alternative that I suggest, is to follow how time is described and recorded within *mātauranga Māori*, that is with reference to *whakapapa*. *Kōrero* discussed throughout this thesis make no

reference to dates before the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Instead, *kaikōrero* refer to events that occurred in the time of a particular person, such as *Tūrongo*. In other instances, a chronological distinction may be that an event occurred before, during or after a well-known event of the time, such as the Ngā Puhī attack on Mātakitaki or after Ruapūtāhanga left Whatihua to live with her people in Taranaki. This system of reference is necessarily local. The people and events referred to are important to the speaker and local history. Perhaps then, discussions of material culture or the date of a shell midden deposit on a beach front, should not be referred to as “pre-European”, but to have been within the time of Whakaotirangi to Apakura, for instance. Such a system of time may not function for a broad readership who are not familiar with the *tūpuna* referenced. It may also reduce the comparability between research projects. Political dynamics may arise in the selection of *tūpuna* used to mark the period. However, it would make archaeological outputs more in line with how history is discussed on the *paepae* – a history that is inherently political and by its nature negotiated by the *kaikōrero* according to the context and the audience.

The third research question was “when were *pā* constructed?” This was answered using the CNA on *kōrero* outlined in Chapters Five to Eight. The results of this analysis were presented in Chapter Nine. In summary, *kōrero* about *pā* construction generally agreed with the current archaeological consensus in Aotearoa that *pā* began to be constructed at approximately 1500 CE. In some manuscripts, Rangīāhua, the first settlement of the Tainui crew was a *pā*, which was repeatedly occupied throughout the entire history. However, *kōrero pakanga* have five periods of higher frequency: 1420–1540, 1550–1580, 1600–1640, 1690–1730 and 1780–1822 CE (at the end of the study period). More conservative estimates combine the second and third peaks, but the others are consistent. When broken down by district, the coastal zone from Whāingaroa to Marokopa (Ngā whanga ki te uru) had the most *kōrero pakanga* and the patterns varied slightly between each district. For example, *kōrero* about *pā* along the Waikato River between Taupiri and Kēmureti (Waikato ki uta) was reasonably stable from 1600 to the early 1800s. In this way, centres of conflict, peace and stability shifted through time and space at a chronological and spatial scale not yet appreciated in the archaeological literature.

The fourth research question was “why were *pā* constructed?” The thematic analysis of *kōrero* is defined in Chapter Three. Chapters Five to Eight included the *kōrero* analysis and the chronological results were presented in Chapter Nine. *Utu* was the most common reason for conflict throughout the studied period. Wars over *mana rangatira* or *tangata* were common in the early period when conflicts were between closely related people. The scale of warfare was much greater within the *kōrero* between non-related peoples at this time. During the 1600s

through to the 1800s, warfare grew to be largely between collectives under a common *hapū* name. However, due to the extent of intermarriage, close relations were often on both sides of any conflict. The *kōrero* rarely included *raupatu* (seizing land) or competition over *rawa taiao* (resources) as a driver of warfare. When there was such an outcome, different versions of *kōrero* commonly contested the *mana whenua* of opposing groups. The Māori Land Court likely contributed to these disparities and binary claims of interest in different land blocks. In addition to the reasons for warfare in *kōrero*, outside factors operating at a regional and inter-generational level also contributed to the observed pattern of *kōrero pakanga*. Population growth likely contributed to greater competition, materialised in *pā* construction and warfare. Meanwhile, economic stresses induced by the “Little Ice Age” and faunal losses may have contributed to uncertainty. However, these factors only provide a partial explanation without the understanding afforded in this study of the importance of *utu*, *mana rangatira* and *mana whenua*.

The most recent layers of *whakapapa* are those layers of meaning afforded by *ngā kanohi ora* (living descendants) of the ancestors who created them. Therefore, the final research question was “how do descendants relate to *pā*?” The thematic analysis of the research interviews that I included in Chapters Ten and Eleven and discussed further in Chapter Twelve generated three primary themes in these relationships; each were named using the words of a research participant. Firstly, “*Kia takahi ai ngā takahangahanga tūpuna*. To walk in the footsteps of your ancestors” — *Pā* are spaces of connection. Secondly, “the old *kuia* would insist we stop, and she would wail, and she would *karanga* and she would *tangi* over these places” — colonisation challenges the relationship between *mana whenua* and their ancestral landscapes. Thirdly, “It's through *whakapapa* you are born with these obligations to protect for future generations what has been protected for you by your *tūpuna*” — *Kaitiakitanga*. These themes captured the importance of lived connections to the physical spaces of *wāhi tūpuna*. Colonial processes have challenged this connection, which in turn becomes a part of the *whakapapa* of *pā* even though the colonial processes occurred in most instances well after the *pā* were initially constructed. The “continuous present” envelopes *kaitiakitanga* over the physical, *mauri* and *wairua*, whereby ancestors at once acted in the past and are in the landscape to be greeted and cared for.

These relationships to *pā* are as important as their physical remains, both of which are inseparably woven in *pā whakapapa*. Yet, those broader values have a history of going unrecognised and unprotected in the HNZPTA authority process, RMA district plans and the Rārangi Kōrero New Zealand Heritage List despite the importance of those values being stated

in Iwi Management Plans and Crown policy documents. Māori leadership have long advocated for *tino rangatiratanga* (absoluted sovereignty) over *taonga katoa* (things of importance) including heritage places. Among other issues, Wai 262 Waitangi Tribunal Claim advocated for the Crown to legislate for and resource the meaningful practice of *kaitiakitanga* over the natural environment. However, this thesis demonstrates that those sentiments also apply to heritage places. Not only do Māori heritage values deserve protection, but *kaitiakitanga* must be exercised for descendants to experience the breadth of well-being that comes from connection to place and the past.

Taken together, this thesis provides a *whakapapa* of *pā*, their origins, development, and importance to *ngā kanohi ora*. This is only one form of interface between different epistemologies, different ways of viewing time and space. This is an interface best viewed as multi-vocal and blurred. Entrenching a binary view of archaeology and *mātauranga Māori* as opposites, or oils and waters, is an opportunity missed, in my view. Such an outcome entrenches erroneous terminology such as “Prehistory” in which archaeology becomes an authority over Indigenous Knowledge Systems not considered to meet Western historical standards. There is potential at the interface of holistic yet partial views of the past. This past is simultaneously carved into the land around us, woven into political symbolism within the *kōrero*, a webbed sequence of events in numbered years before now and fixed to the constant present as one communes with their ancestors and their *tapuwae* through *mihi*, *karakia* or *karanga*.

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## APPENDIX

### Analysed *kōrero pakanga* summary table

Chronological Network Analysis results from the “Probable Model” are presented outside of brackets, while “Possible Model” results are inside brackets. Calendar year median and half or range values are not rounded in this table. However, they are rounded up to 0 decimal places in the thesis text.

Region abbreviations: Ngā-whanga-ki-te-uru (NWh), Te Nehenehenui-ki-runga (NRu), Te Nehenehenui-ki-raro (NRa), Te Pūaha-o-Waikato ki Te Ākau (PA) and Waikato-ki-uta (WU). Figure 23 in Chapter 9 includes a map of the regions for reference.

Cause abbreviations: Utu (U), Mana rangatira (MR), Whenua or rawa taiao (W/RT).

<i>Kōrero ID#</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Calendar year CE (Median ± half of range)</i>	<i>Calendar year range CE</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Cause</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
1	Mōtai, Hoturoa	1301 ± 33 (1330.5 ± 62.5)	1268–1334 (1268–1393)	NWh	U	Whānau
2	Tānetinorau	1358 ± 98 (1378 ± 124)	1260–1456 (1254–1502)	NWh, NRu	-	Distant relations
3	Tūrongo, Whatihua	1454.5 ± 19.5 (1458 ± 42)	1435–1474 (1416–1500)	NWh, NRu	MR	Whānau
4	Mangō, Whatihua	1464.5 ± 29.5 (1473 ± 60)	1435–1494 (1413–1533)	NWh	U, MR	Whānau
5	Mangō, Haumia	1481.5 ± 39.5 (1489 ± 53)	1442–1521 (1436–1542)	NWh	U, W/RT, MR	Whānau
6	Tamaaio	1502.5 ± 27.5 (1503.5 ± 50.5)	1475–1530 (1453–1554)	NWh, NRu	U, W/RT	Unrelated
7	Mōtaiweherua	1507 ± 83 (1512.5 ± 105.5)	1424–1590 (1407–1618)	NRa	U, W/RT	Unrelated
8	Manutongaatea, Kaiahi 1	1516 ± 61 (1521.5 ± 81.5)	1455–1577 (1440–1603)	NWh	U, W/RT	Whānau
9	Manutongaatea, Kaiahi 2	1516 ± 61 (1521.5 ± 81.5)	1455–1577 (1440–1603)	NWh	U	Whānau
10	Pikiao	1544 ± 47 (1543 ± 56)	1497–1591 (1487–1599)	WU	U, W/RT, MR	Whānau
11	Tūpāhau, Te Ikatāmure	1555 ± 1 (1559 ± 21)	1554–1556 (1538–1580)	NWh	U, MR	Whānau
12	Tūpāhau, Marokopa	1555 ± 1 (1559 ± 21)	1554–1556 (1538–1580)	NWh	U, W/RT	Unrelated
13	Tūheitia, Kōkako	1556 ± 1 (1560 ± 21)	1555–1557 (1539–1581)	PA	U, W/RT	Unrelated
14	Taongaiwi, Kārewa	1561.5 ± 19.5 (1569 ± 33)	1542–1581 (1536–1602)	NWh	U, W/RT, MR	Distant relations
15	Te Kupapa	1569 ± 5 (1576.5 ± 27.5)	1564–1574 (1549–1604)	NRa, NRu	MR	Whānau
16	Ngāti Kahupungapunga	1573.5 ± 7.5 (1576 ± 20)	1566–1581 (1556–1596)	NRa, WU	U, W/RT	Unrelated
17	Kōkako, Māhanga	1574 ± 19 (1573 ± 33)	1555–1593 (1540–1606)	NRa, PA	U	Unrelated

18	Manuaitu, Kārewa	1577.5 ± 3.5 (1580.5 ± 24.5)	1574–1581 (1556–1605)	NWh	U, W/RT	Unrelated
19	Tāhinga, Kārewa	1577.5 ± 3.5 (1580.5 ± 24.5)	1574–1581 (1556–1605)	NWh	U, MR	Whānau
20	Maniapoto, Houtaketake	1587 ± 23 (1589.5 ± 40.5)	1564–1610 (1549–1630)	NRu	U, W/RT	Unrelated
21	Ngākurahō, Pākira	1589.5 ± 27.5 (1596 ± 36)	1562–1617 (1560–1632)	NRu	U	Unrelated
22	Tamainupō, Tanangāwhanga	1605 ± 28 (1607 ± 39)	1577–1633 (1568–1646)	PA	U, W/RT, MR	Whānau
23	Waiponga	1612.5 ± 7.5 (1612 ± 23)	1605–1620 (1589–1635)	NRu	U, W/RT	Whānau
24	Manuaitu, Tonganui	1614 ± 3 (1618.5 ± 22.5)	1611–1617 (1596–1641)	NWh, NRa	U, W/RT	Unrelated
25	Ngutu, Tikitiki	1618 ± 23 (1623 ± 33)	1595–1641 (1590–1656)	NRa	U, W/RT	Distant relations
26	Manuaitu, Tūirirangi	1620.5 ± 16.5 (1625.5 ± 26.5)	1604–1637 (1599–1652)	NWh	U, W/RT	Unrelated
27	Taraao, Kārewa	1623 ± 18 (1630 ± 26)	1605–1641 (1604–1656)	NWh, NRa	U, W/RT, MR	Whānau
28	Mania-taka-mai- waho, Tūteaomārama	1625 ± 11 (1633.5 ± 40.5)	1614–1636 (1593–1674)	NRa, NRu	U	Whānau
29	Rōrā, Kuramōnehu	1627 ± 3 (1629.5 ± 20.5)	1624–1630 (1609–1650)	NRu	U, MR	Unrelated
30	Kaiihu	1630 ± 70 (1638 ± 78)	1560–1700 (1560–1716)	NWh, PA	U, W/RT	Whānau
31	Tukemata, Ngāti Tama	1630.5 ± 6.5 (1633 ± 30)	1624–1637 (1603–1663)	NRu	U, W/RT	Distant relations
32	Hie, Pac-o- Ruahine	1642.5 ± 47.5 (1646.5 ± 61.5)	1595–1690 (1585–1708)	NRa	W/RT	Unrelated
33	Taowhakaio, Korokī	1647.5 ± 31.5 (1650 ± 36)	1616–1679 (1614–1686)	WU	U, W/RT	Distant relations
34	Maki, Waikato	1638 ± 63 (1644.5 ± 77.5)	1575–1701 (1567–1722)	WU		Unrelated
35	Toapoto, Toawhena, Tipa, Horowhenua	1675 ± 34 (1674.5 ± 45.5)	1641–1709 (1629–1720)	WU	U, MR	Whānau
36	Tipi, Punga, Tukitaua	1677 ± 38 (1688 ± 49)	1639–1715 (1639–1737)	NRa	W/RT, MR	Whānau
37	Toarangatira, Te Kūiti	1682 ± 8 (1684 ± 26)	1674–1690 (1658–1710)	NRu	U, W/RT	Distant relations
38	Hānuī, Kōrako	1683 ± 26 (1681.5 ± 33.5)	1657–1709 (1648–1715)	WU	U	Distant relations
39	Huakatoa, Hānuī	1683 ± 26 (1680.5 ± 34.5)	1657–1709 (1646–1715)	WU	U, W/RT	Unrelated
40	Taitengāhue, Ngāti Maru	1690.5 ± 9.5 (1701 ± 20)	1681–1700 (1681–1721)	NRa	U, W/RT	Unrelated
41	Mākino, Mōtai II	1692 ± 8 (1701 ± 20)	1684–1700 (1681–1721)	NRa	U, W/RT	Unrelated
42	Paruparu, Kāwhia	1695 ± 20 (1699.5 ± 33.5)	1675–1715 (1666–1733)	NWh	U	Distant relations
43	Tautepō	1705.5 ± 10.5 (1714.5 ± 25.5)	1695–1716 (1689–1740)	NRa	U, W/RT	Distant relations
44	Ngātuera, Ngāti Unu	1705.5 ± 10.5 (1714.5 ± 25.5)	1695–1716 (1689–1740)	NRa	W/RT	Distant relations
45	Te Kanawa, Hikairo utu	1705.5 ± 10.5 (1714.5 ± 25.5)	1695–1716 (1689–1740)	NRa	U, W/RT	Distant relations
46	Kōwhao, Ngātuera	1705.5 ± 10.5 (1714.5 ± 25.5)	1695–1716 (1689–1740)	NRa	U, W/RT	Distant relations

47	Iranui, Wharetipeti, Tapaue	1705 ± 8 (1707 ± 19)	1697–1713 (1688–1726)	WU	W/RT	Distant relations
48	Hotumauea, Te Rapa Pā	1707.5 ± 12.5 (1709.5 ± 25.5)	1695–1720 (1684–1735)	WU	U, MR	Distant relations
49	Ahutūrama, Horongārara	1709.5 ± 5.5 (1711.5 ± 21.5)	1704–1715 (1690–1733)	NWh	U	Distant relations
50	Pakaue, Tūāhumāhina	1710 ± 5 (1712 ± 21)	1705–1715 (1691–1733)	NWh	U, W/RT, MR	Distant relations
51	Te Kūpenga	1712 ± 28 (1718 ± 43)	1684–1740 (1675–1761)	NRa	W/RT	Distant relations
52	Whareputa	1712 ± 28 (1718 ± 43)	1684–1740 (1675–1761)	NRa	U	Distant relations
53	Toarangatira, Ngāti Mounuhia	1714.5 ± 0.5 (1715.5 ± 17.5)	1714–1715 (1698–1733)	NWh	U, W/RT	Unrelated
54	Kāwharu, Tūāhumāhina, Toarangatira, Te Kanawa	1714.5 ± 0.5 (1715.5 ± 17.5)	1714–1715 (1698–1733)	NWh	U, W/RT, MR	Distant relations
55	Toarangatira, Te Awakino	1714.5 ± 0.5 (1715.5 ± 17.5)	1714–1715 (1698–1733)	NWh	U, W/RT	Unrelated
56	Ingoa, Maungatautari, Te Kanawa, Te Ririorangawhenua	1715.5 ± 0.5 (1723.5 ± 16.5)	1715–1716 (1707–1740)	NRa	W/RT	Whānau
57	Ngātōkorua	1726 ± 30 (1731.5 ± 42.5)	1696–1756 (1689–1774)	NWh, NRa	U	Distant relations
58	Te Wehi, Tapaue	1726.5 ± 18.5 (1727.5 ± 36.5)	1708–1745 (1691–1764)	NWh	U, W/RT	Unrelated
59	Tapaue, Wharetipeti killed	1729.5 ± 15.5 (1725 ± 36)	1714–1745 (1689–1761)	WU	U	Distant relations
60	Pāpaka, Te Putu	1733 ± 16 (1733.5 ± 27.5)	1717–1749 (1706–1761)	PA	U	Distant relations
61	Toroaihuroa	1735.5 ± 31.5 (1736 ± 36)	1704–1767 (1700–1772)	NWh	U	Unknown
62	Te Putu, Ngātōkōwaru	1752 ± 15 (1756 ± 32)	1737–1767 (1724–1788)	WU	U, W/RT	Distant relations
63	Toaingina	1751.5 ± 13.5 (1750 ± 25)	1738–1765 (1725–1775)	PA	U, MR	Whānau
64	Tūhaunga	1753 ± 40 (1753.5 ± 51.5)	1713–1793 (1702–1805)	WU	U, W/RT, MR	Distant relations
65	Riki Korongata killed	1754.5 ± 30.5 (1754.5 ± 46.5)	1724–1785 (1708–1801)	WU	U	Distant relations
66	Ngaue killed	1754.5 ± 30.5 (1754.5 ± 46.5)	1724–1785 (1708–1801)	PA	U	Distant relations
67	Tāwhia-ki-te- rangi, Horotiu	1768.5 ± 31.5 (1765 ± 41)	1737–1800 (1724–1806)	WU	U, W/RT	Distant relations
68	Taiko attacks and kills Te Ririorangawhenua	1761 ± 15 (1768 ± 22)	1746–1776 (1746–1790)	NRa	U, W/RT	Distant relations
69	Te Hiko, Tauhei	1758 ± 23 (1756 ± 31)	1735–1781 (1725–1787)	WU	W/RT, MR	Distant relations
70	Marangaiparaoa and Korouaputa conflict	1765 ± 10 (1763 ± 22)	1755–1775 (1741–1785)	NWh	U	Distant relations
71	Taiko attacks Tauwhare Pā	1771.5 ± 4.5 (1778.5 ± 11.5)	1767–1776 (1767–1790)	NWh	U, W/RT	Distant relations
72	Warparty of Tahuraho	1771.5 ± 4.5 (1778.5 ± 11.5)	1767–1776 (1767–1790)	NRa	U	Distant relations

73	Te Ahooterangi, Te Iwituaroa, Hikairo II and Whati ambushed at Kaipāpaka	1773 ± 3 (1778.5 ± 11.5)	1770–1776 (1767–1790)	NWh	U, W/RT	Distant relations
74	Conflict involving Ruku, Ruarangi and Te Iwituaroa	1785 ± 15 (1793.5 ± 27.5)	1770–1800 (1766–1821)	NRa	U, W/RT, MR	Whānau
75	Horiwakanui at Mangatoatoa Pā	1787 ± 20 (1787 ± 20)	1767–1807 (1767–1807)	NRa	U	Distant relations
76	Battle of Waipatoto	1787 ± 20 (1787 ± 20)	1767–1807 (1767–1807)	NWh	U	Distant relations
77	Te Iwituaroa, Wharaunga and Ngāti Rangatahi	1793 ± 23 (1798 ± 32)	1770–1816 (1766–1830)	NRu	U, W/RT	Distant relations
78	Dispute at Rongoteawhea	1790.5 ± 9.5 (1801 ± 20)	1781–1800 (1781–1821)	NRa	W/RT	Distant relations
79	Death of Wiri	1798 ± 17 (1800.5 ± 19.5)	1781–1815 (1781–1820)	NWh	U	Distant relations
80	Death of Mouri	1798 ± 17 (1800.5 ± 19.5)	1781–1815 (1781–1820)	NWh	U	Distant relations
81	Battle of Huripopo	1798 ± 17 (1800.5 ± 19.5)	1781–1815 (1781–1820)	NWh	U, W/RT	Distant relations
82	Death of Whata and Waitapu	1798 ± 17 (1800.5 ± 19.5)	1781–1815 (1781–1820)	NWh	U	Distant relations
83	Battle of Huirimoana	1799.5 ± 0.5 (1802 ± 3)	1799–1800 (1799–1805)	WU	U	Distant relations
84	Tuhi at Waitawheta Pā	1800.5 ± 19.5 (1801.5 ± 20.5)	1781–1820 (1781–1822)	WU	W/RT	Distant relations
85	Tukorehu and Whakamarurangi	1800.5 ± 15.5 (1802.5 ± 19.5)	1785–1816 (1783–1822)	NRa	W/RT	Distant relations
86	Moerua, Waiari and Whakamarurangi	1800.5 ± 15.5 (1802.5 ± 19.5)	1785–1816 (1783–1822)	NRa	U, W/RT	Distant relations
87	Pourewa and Wharetiki	1802 ± 18 (1798 ± 22)	1784–1820 (1776–1820)	NWh	W/RT	Distant relations
88	Ngāti Hauā and Ngāti Mahuta in Ngāruawāhia	1805 ± 15 (1800.5 ± 23.5)	1790–1820 (1777–1824)	WU	U, W/RT	Distant relations
89	Death of Whira	1804.5 ± 10.5 (1800.5 ± 19.5)	1794–1815 (1781–1820)	NWh	U	Distant relations
90	Death of Rangipotiki	1804.5 ± 10.5 (1800.5 ± 19.5)	1794–1815 (1781–1820)	NWh	U	Distant relations
91	Battle of Kokoapipi	1804.5 ± 10.5 (1800.5 ± 19.5)	1794–1815 (1781–1820)	NWh	U	Distant relations
92	Battle of Tutairere	1804.5 ± 10.5 (1800.5 ± 19.5)	1794–1815 (1781–1820)	NWh	U	Distant relations
93	Battle of Hikuparea	1804.5 ± 10.5 (1800.5 ± 19.5)	1794–1815 (1781–1820)	NWh	U	Distant relations
94	Rauangaanga at Taiaraia Pā	1806 ± 16 (1799.5 ± 22.5)	1790–1822 (1777–1822)	NWh	U, W/RT	Distant relations
95	Wharaunga's death	1805 ± 1 (1805 ± 1)	1804–1806 (1804–1806)	NRu	U, W/RT	Distant relations
96	Battle of Putakarekare	1807 ± 13 (1800.5 ± 19.5)	1794–1820 (1781–1820)	NWh	U	Distant relations
97	Battle at Totara Pā	1807 ± 13 (1800.5 ± 19.5)	1794–1820 (1781–1820)	NWh	U	Distant relations
98	Battle at Totara Pā 2	1807 ± 13 (1800.5 ± 19.5)	1794–1820 (1781–1820)	NWh	U	Distant relations

99	Battle of Hingakaka	1807 ± 0 (1807 ± 0)	1807–1807 (1807–1807)	NRa	U, W/RT	Distant relations
100	Waitohi's negotiation	1807 ± 13 (1810 ± 29)	1794–1820 (1781–1839)	NWh	U	Distant relations
101	Ngāti Raukawa at Mangatoatoa Pā	1811.5 ± 4.5 (1814 ± 7)	1807–1816 (1807–1821)	NRa	U	Distant relations
102	Death of Purapura	1812 ± 8 (1810 ± 10)	1804–1820 (1800–1820)	NWh	U	Distant relations
103	Wharepuha at Taiko Pā	1812 ± 8 (1810 ± 10)	1804–1820 (1800–1820)	NWh	U	Distant relations
104	Death of Poha	1812 ± 8 (1810 ± 10)	1804–1820 (1800–1820)	NWh	U	Distant relations
105	Death of Taiko	1813 ± 7 (1813 ± 7)	1806–1820 (1806–1820)	NWh	U, W/RT	Distant relations
106	Battle of Waru	1813 ± 7 (1813 ± 7)	1806–1820 (1806–1820)	NWh	U	Distant relations
107	Te Rauaparaha attacks Mangatoatoa Pā	1815.5 ± 0.5 (1818 ± 3)	1815–1816 (1815–1821)	NRa	U	Distant relations
108	Battle of Tangimānia	1815.5 ± 0.5 (1818 ± 3)	1815–1816 (1815–1821)	WU	U	Distant relations
109	Battle of Hangahanga	1815.5 ± 0.5 (1818 ± 3)	1815–1816 (1815–1821)	WU	U	Distant relations
110	Battle of Te Kākara	1819.5 ± 0.5 (1819.5 ± 0.5)	1819–1820 (1819–1820)	NWh	U	Distant relations
111	Battle of Mātakitaki	1822 ± 0 (1822 ± 0)	1822–1822 (1822–1822)	NRa	U	Distant relations