

**Living Memory and the Travelling Mountain Narrative of
Taranaki**

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ABSTRACT

Living memory and the Travelling Mountain Narrative of Taranaki

The Travelling Mountain Narrative is the origin myth of Taranaki maunga and the foundation on which Taranaki tribal tradition and identity is constructed. The story pattern of the Travelling Mountain Narrative relates the journey of Taranaki maunga and Te Toka a Rauhoto to Te Tai Hauāuru. This thesis establishes that the origin myth was sourced in the historical migration account of the ancestor Rua Taranaki and mythologised over multiple generations. Te Toka a Rauhoto is the tangible connection between the past and the present and is represented by the sacred stone located at Puniho Pā. Informed by mātauranga Māori paradigms, a literature and qualitative mixed method research framework collated a wide variety of information about the Travelling Mountain Narrative and the tūpuna of the Kāhui Maunga, the early inhabitants of the Taranaki region. Exploring the way myth and history intersects with the lived reality of a contemporary tribal community this thesis contributes to the critical analysis of these tribal traditions. This thesis also highlights how participating and contributing to the pā, hapū and the iwi throughout the duration of PhD research also offered insider insights into the modern retention of ancient knowledge.

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GLOSSARY OF MĀORI WORDS

A

Ahi-kāroa	Long term occupation, occupation fires
Ara	Path
Atua	Deity, god
Awa	River

H

Haka	War dance
Hapū	Sub-tribe
Hui	Meeting

I

Iwi	Tribe
-----	-------

K

Kaitiaki	Guardian
Kaiarahi	Guide
Kaikaranga	Caller
Kaikōrero	Orator
Kaimahi	Worker
Kaitauaki	Published author of tribal traditions
Kaituhi	Writer
Kaumatua	Elder
Karakia	Prayer, invocation
Kaupapa	Subject
Kawa	Protocol
Kawana	Government
Kōhatu	Stone
Kokowai	Ochre
Kōrero	Speak, discuss, stories, narratives
Koro	Grandfather, Elder
Koroua	Male elder
Kuia	Female elder

M

Makutu	Black magic
Mana	Power, prestige
Mana whenua	Authority over land
Maunga	Mountain
Marae	Meeting area, central area
Marae-ātea	Courtyard
Matakite	Seer
Moana	Sea, ocean
Manaakitanga	Hospitality
Māori	Indigenous people of New Zealand
Mātauranga	Knowledge
Mauri	Intrinsic life-force
Mokopuna	Grandchild
Mōteatea	Lament, ancient song
Muru	Confiscate

NG

Ngeri Free form haka

P

Pā Settlement, fortified and unfortified

Papa Land

Papakāinga Village, community

Paearahi Guide

Pepeha Recitation of landmarks

Pōtiki Youngest in family

Paepae Orators platform

Pākehā European New Zealanders

Pou Post, pole

Poutokomanawa Central carved post of whare whakairo

Pūkōrero Primary source, informant

Pūtake Source, origin

R

Rā Sun, day

Rohe Tribal area

Rōpu Group

Rua Cave, pit, hole

T

Take taunaha Rights of discovery

Taiaha Traditional wooden weapon

Tamaiti Child

Tamariki Children

Tane Male, man

Tangata whenua People of the land, indigenous

Tangata waka People of the migration

Tangi Funeral

Tātai Genealogy, recitation of genealogy

Tātai hikohiko Genealogy of illustrious ancestors

Tekoteko Carved figure on top of whare

Tewhatewha Traditional wooden weapon

Tikanga Custom, rules

Tīpuna / tūpuna Ancestors

Tupua Entity

Tohunga Expert, priest, shaman

Toka Stone

Toki Adze

Tongi Recitation of landmarks

Tono Request

Tuakana Senior, senior line in genealogy

Tukutuku Ornamental wall patterns

Tumuaki Head of, principal,

Tūpuna, tupuna Ancestors

Tūrangawaewae Standing place

Tupapapaku Corpse

U

Urupā Cemetery

Uruwaka

Immigrants

W

Wahine

Female, woman

Wāhi tapu

Sacred place

Waiata

Song, sing

Waka

Vessel, canoe

Wānanga

Seminar, series of discussions, learning

WH

Whānau

Family/ extended family

Whānau pani

Bereaved family

Whānaunga

Relatives, cousins

Whakamana

Empower, respect, honour

Whakapapa

Genealogy

Whakatau

Welcome

Whakatauākī

Proverb, saying

Whakawhānaungatanga

Relationships

Whaikōrero

Art of oratory

Whare

House

Wharenui

Meeting house

Wharetūpuna

Ancestral house

Wharekai

Dining room

Wharepaku

Ablution block

Wharekura

House of learning

Wharewānanga

House of learning

Wharewhakairo

Carved house

Whāriki

Woven mat

Whenua

Land

Commonly used terms in the thesis

Taranaki maunga

Mount Taranaki

Taranaki Tūturu

Taranaki iwi

Taranaki Whānau Whānui

The eight iwi of the Taranaki region

Pūkōrero

Primary source

Kaitauaki

Author of tribal traditions

Travelling Mountain Narrative

Narrative of the journey of Taranaki maunga

PHOTO 1: Taranaki maunga¹



MAP 1: Mountains of the Travelling Mountain Narrative



MAP 2: River mouths, Pā and Towns

¹ Unless stated and referenced otherwise, photographs have been taken by the author.



MAP 3: Significant features of Taranaki maunga

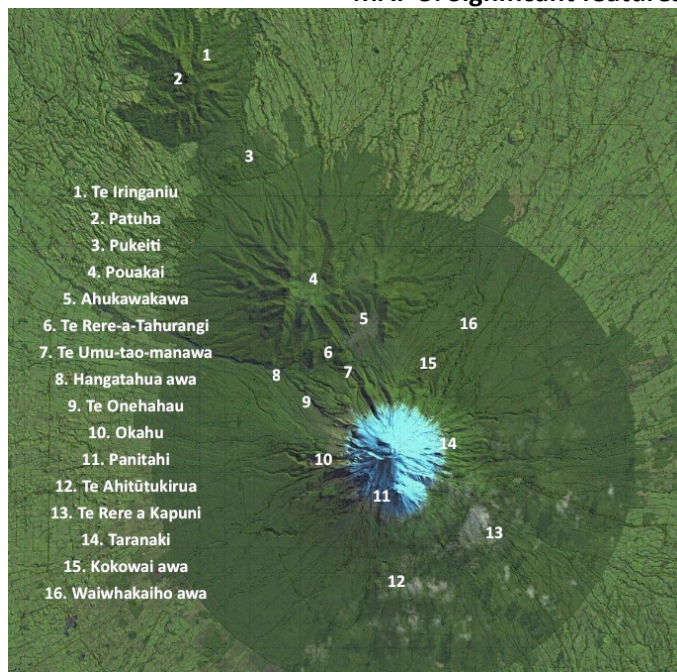


PHOTO 2: Te Toka a Rauhoto, Puniho Pā, Taranaki maunga and Pouakai maunga



PHOTO 3: Te Toka a Rauhoto



CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: Ko Taranaki te maunga

1.1. Introduction

PEPEHA 1

<i>Ko Taranaki te maunga</i>	<i>Taranaki is the mountain</i>
<i>Ko Taranaki te iwi</i>	<i>Taranaki is the tribe</i>
<i>Ko Taranaki te tūpuna</i>	<i>Taranaki is the ancestor</i>

The dual identity of mountain and ancestor is reflected in Taranaki tribal traditions and the Travelling Mountain Narrative. Taranaki maunga is the volcanic heart of the regional landscape: Rua Taranaki was the eponymous ancestor of the iwi Taranaki Tūturu. This convergence of maunga and tupuna is explored through critical analysis of the Travelling Mountain Narrative and remnants of kōrero retained in tribal tradition. The narrative describes the migration journey of Taranaki maunga from the central plateau of Te Ikaroa a Māui to the west coast and how it was led by the guide stone Te Toka a Rauhoto. Whereas in Taranaki tribal tradition the ancestor Rua Taranaki was considered the founding tūpuna of the iwi and whose name was then given to the mountain. Furthermore the guidestone Te Toka a Rauhoto is located at Puniho Pā and is the tangible connection between the present and the past and represents the relationship between the people and the maunga. Taking into consideration the diverse strands of information retained in literature and living memory, this thesis theorises that the Travelling Mountain Narrative is the mythologised migration journey of the tupuna Rua Taranaki.

The Travelling Mountain Narrative has been reproduced in multiple publications since 1843 and the narrative has become the accepted ontological foundation narrative of the region. Various titles have been given to the narrative including *The Foundation Story* (Hohaia 2001); *The Restless Mountain* (Rawson 1981); *The Warrior Mountains* (Mataira 1982); *The Mountain God* (Cowan & Pomare 1930); or *The Story of Mount Egmont* (Smith 1907). The term ‘Travelling Mountain Narrative’ was inspired by Elsdon Best’s article *Notes on Māori Mythology: The origin and personification of the heavenly bodies* (1899), when Best titles his reproduction of the narrative as ‘Travelling Mountains’. This term seemed appropriate for this thesis and is used to classify the narrative. Constantly rewritten and republished, the narrative has been transmitted by many authors over the years in literature contributing to the construction of a grand narrative inclusive of other maunga and tribal traditions. However historically and contemporarily the Travelling Mountain Narrative was given voice in oral tradition from the paepae kōrero.

Te Toka a Rauhoto stands at Puniho Pā, at the gateway to the marae-ātea Tarawainuku. As a kaikōrero at Puniho Pā I am often asked to speak about the history of the pā, the hapū and the iwi to visiting manuhiri. As I was taught, the story of the stone and the mountain is where I begin laying out our traditions and histories. Over time the narrative I tell has evolved, and although the words I use change with the performance (and the audience) the core plot remains the same.² In this thesis analysis of the Travelling Mountain Narrative is based on a corpus of published text variations and these are collated in appendices 1, however this version of the narrative is what I tell from the paepae of Puniho Pā.

Before man set foot on Aotearoa, before the moa ran in the forest, before the oldest kauri seed took root, the mountains were lords of this land. They were the most powerful of all beings and were possessed of living mauri: they could move, feel and communicate (in the way of mountains that is). In the middle of Te Ikaroa a Māui (the North Island) there lived a group of maunga: Tongariro, Ngauruhoe, Ruapehu, Putauaki, Tauhara, Pihanga and Taranaki. It came to pass that Taranaki fell in love with the beautiful wahine Pihanga. But Pihanga was desired by the other maunga and the family of mountains was divided by conflict. Taranaki came to blows with Tongariro and they fought in the way of mountains. Tongariro pulled up the fires of the earth and hurled lava at Taranaki: Taranaki returned the blows with lightning bolts from the clouds around his peak. The battle was long and continued until Taranaki was finally defeated by the power of Tongariro. Exiled, Taranaki trudged wearily away weeping for his home, his family and the woman he loved. From his tears came a rock named Te Toka a Rauhoto, also imbued with a living mauri. She led the grieving maunga to the west coast by way of the Manganuiateao awa, to the Whanganui awa. Heading west they journeyed overland. Crossing the Waitotara they rested at Ngaere swamp before reaching the coast. Two maunga were already resident in the area. Pouakai and Patuha welcomed Taranaki and the maunga settled in the region. Te Toka a Rauhoto came to rest next to Hangatahua awa, and was venerated by later generations of inhabitants as the guidestone of Taranaki maunga. But once there were two ancestors named Rauhoto Tapairu and her husband Rua Taranaki.

² Narratives are subject to change and every performance or retelling can alter the transmission. For example Finnegan (2012) noted that oral performances often contain improvisation in composition and delivery in African tribal traditions. In Māori tribal traditions the narrative was the genre most susceptible to change (Simmons 1976).

Details like mountains loving and fighting and walking across the land lends itself to allegory, or as myth instead of history. Because this narrative of maunga tupua or mountain entities is layered in supernatural and mythical actions, the narrative is classed as a myth in this thesis. Furthermore the juxtaposition of myth and man in tribal tradition could mean that over time the narrative was mythologised and purposefully changed to contain knowledge. For example Māori traditions can be interpreted as allegorical statements containing underlying meanings. According to Biggs (2006) the experts of lore had ways of talking about their specialities and knowledge that hid restricted knowledge in the open. The ephemeral nature of oral communication and transmission of tribal traditions and concepts inevitably affected retention of knowledge. Encrypting esoteric knowledge in everyday knowledge was common practice and deeper levels of meaning were reserved for initiates. Knowledge was valuable, and only the higher classes had access to esoteric knowledge. Therefore there was a version to tell as entertainment, and then a ritualised version reserved for the initiates (Marsden & Henare 1992). This begs the question if the Travelling Mountain Narrative is an example of historic knowledge being hidden within mythological structures, is it possible to explore these structures using mātauranga Māori paradigms to unravel the supernatural from the historic?

Using mātauranga Māori paradigms to critically analyse the narrative locates it in the source tradition of Taranaki. The key features of mātauranga Maori include the use of te reo Māori, Māori terms and whakapapa as a tool to explain space, time and relationships. This approach creates a space whereby knowledge is accepted for its intrinsic value in the culture, rather than attempting to validate its existence in western knowledge systems (Royal 2002). Conceptualising this narrative within mātauranga Taranaki as knowledge specific to Taranaki relates the kōrero from a distinctly Taranaki space. Intertwining narratives, distinctive knowledge structures and the tribal identification with the maunga highlights the interconnectedness of people and the geographical landmark of a mountain.

PHOTO 4: The Taranaki Mountains



Patuha / Kaitake

Pukeiti

Pouakai

Taranaki

Geologically, Taranaki maunga is a dormant andesite volcano and is part of the Taranaki Volcano Succession including Paritutu, Patuha maunga, and Pouakai maunga. Taranaki is the tallest volcano in the Taranaki region standing at 2518m above sea level. Pouakai is 1375m at its highest peak. Patuha

is 682m and is the highest peak of the ranges now called Kaitake.³ Taranaki is the youngest of the four volcanoes in the Taranaki region at around 150,000 years of age since it was formed. The oldest volcano to form was Paritutu and Sugar Loaf Islands at around 1.75 million years ago, then Patuha (Kaitake Ranges) 575,000 years ago. Pouakai maunga formed around 250,000 years ago. Pouakai and Patuha are considered extinct volcanoes. Taranaki is classed as 'an active volcano in a state of dormancy' (Department of Conservation 2002: 22). A secondary eruption formed Panitahi (Fanthams Peak) on the southern side of the maunga. Taranaki maunga is a nearly conical volcanic cone with a distinctive ecological formation. Snow can be seen on the maunga in winter and summer. Examination of volcanic evidence on Taranaki maunga reveals that there have been at least six volcanic events over the past thousand years. Variable eruption styles on Taranaki have included lava dome-forming events explosive lateral blasts and a variety of violent episodes involving lava flows and ash. This maunga is geologically unstable and there has been at least six episodes of volcanic activity in the last thousand years (Neall 2003; Platz 2007). As the most prominent landmark in the region Taranaki maunga was an obvious site for hapū and iwi to identify with.

Ancestors of the Māori named and classified everything in the natural world. They personified abstract phenomena because 'that form of expression appealed to his poetic nature' (Buck 1926: 187). Identifying with a maunga associates the individual, the whānau, the hapū and the iwi with the landscape. Maunga were tapu and possessed mauri and mana (Ruru 2004). Through the process of projecting the self via ancestors onto the landscape, Māori were a part of the environment. 'A mountain was an ancestor and was therefore a part of the self' (Tau 2001: 149). Mountains could be ancestors and ancestors could be maunga.

S. Percy Smith wrote extensively on Taranaki tribal traditions and published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (1907-1909) and then the collected writings in *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast North Island of New Zealand prior to 1840* (1910). Smith was given his information by Te Kāhui Kararehe in Te Reo Māori and subsequently translated that kōrero into English. Smith also published one of the more common versions of the narrative that he sourced from William Skinner and Minarapa Kahu. The following paragraph by Smith states that the maunga was named after Rua Taranaki and the stone after his wife Rauhoto Tapairu.

³ Patuha is the highest peak of the smallest ranges but traditionally each peak had its own name like Te Iringaniu and Pioke. The maunga is now known as Kaitake after a pā on the Te Iringaniu peak. Kaitake pā was occupied during the Land Wars and was taken by the 57th Regiment in 1864 when the Kaitake stockade was erected at that site. From that point the name Kaitake was placed upon the maunga. Returning back to its traditional name hereafter I will refer to the ranges as Patuha in this thesis.

Rua-Taranaki, of the Kahui-maunga people, [who] is believed to have been a human being dwelling in this district, and after whom Mount Egmont (Taranaki) is named. His wife was Rau-hoto-tapairu, who, at this day, is represented by a large boulder near Cape Egmont, on which are some peculiar markings apparently the work of man. The original name of Mount Egmont—no doubt given by the tangata-whenua—was Puke-haupapa, or Ice-hill, so named from the perpetual snow on top; the second name was Puke-o-naki, which refers to its graceful slope, and finally it received its present name of Taranaki, after Rua-Taranaki who is said to have been the first man to ascend it.

(Smith 1907: 144)

Was Taranaki an ancestor or was it a mountain? A common action among the hapū and iwi of Taranaki is that when we first sight the maunga, we greet it “Tenā koe koro! Greetings grandfather!” This anthropomorphic personification of maunga and tūpuna resonated with me as an uki of Taranaki iwi. Therefore locating myself within Taranakitanga, I began my own exploration of the kaupapa by researching the Travelling Mountain Narrative and the ancestor Rua Taranaki. Throughout the PhD research period my path took me home to Puniho Pā, back to the guidestone Te Toka a Rauhoto,

The sacred stone Te Toka a Rauhoto is the tangible connection between the Travelling Mountain Narrative, distant ancestors and the hapū Ngā Mahanga today. Embodied as the guidestone of the maunga and symbolised as the wife of Rua Taranaki, this stone came to represent (to me) the connecting principle across generations. As the anchor of the mountain, Te Toka a Rauhoto stands on a concrete plinth in front of Puniho Pā. This taonga is unfenced, as it is believed that to do so would separate the stone from the people. During 2013 my hapū authorised me to facilitate a series of hui which we called the Wānanga Kōhatu as a means of gathering extant information we had retained about the toka. Although only remnants of information remain, I facilitated the wānanga series with information I had collected for this thesis. At the end of 2013 there were two outputs: a chapter for this thesis; and a plaque erected by the toka detailing ‘our’ version of the Travelling Mountain Narrative and the toka. This was history by consensus and was directly informed by the research undertaken for this thesis.

The research framework of this thesis involved a mixed-method approach to gathering and analysing kōrero based on literature and observation informing my conclusions. As an active member of my hapū Ngā Mahanga of Taranaki Tūturu, this thesis is unashamedly Taranaki-centric. I write from an

insider Taranaki perspective instead of a pan-tribal paradigm or a western framework. From 2010 to 2013 I based myself at my tūrangawaewae of Puniho Pā and lived in my whānau homestead just down the road. Therefore I was privileged to spend the majority of my time at the pā engaging with whānau, hapū and iwi during the research and writing of this thesis, and these reflexive experiences informed my understanding of the political and cultural ramifications of the kaupapa. Finally as a kaikōrero on the paepae of Puniho Pā I often speak about the histories and traditions of the hapū and iwi and I used this research to inform my own whaikōrero.

1.2. The Tribal Landscape

The iwi Taranaki Tūturu traces its lineage from the Kāhui Maunga iwi and the Kurahaupō waka, and includes Taranaki maunga in its traditional rohe. The following section gives a brief overview of Taranaki iwi, key events in the nineteenth century and actions that led to the confiscation of the land and the maunga. The section also introduces the contemporary hapū and pā of the iwi and rohe, especially my own hapū of Ngā Mahanga a Tairi. This information lays a foundation for references later in the thesis. Laying out the tongi of the hapū and iwi will familiarise the reader with the tribal landscape and an overview of Taranaki tribal history.

The Kāhui Maunga are considered as early settlers and lived on the three maunga of the region, Taranaki, Pouakai and Patuha, and associated hapū were spread throughout the Taranaki region. Generations after settlement in the area the crew of the Kurahaupō arrived and settled in Taranaki at Oakura and intermarried with the Kāhui Maunga and hapū already resident in the region. Other migration waka whose crews intermarried with the Kāhui Maunga include Te Rangimarie-i-te-ao, Tawhiti⁴, Moana-waiwai, Otauirā and Ariki-mai-tai. Taranaki iwi was formed from these whakapapa lines.

The rohe of Taranaki Tūturu encompasses the three maunga of Taranaki and extends from Onukutaipari (in the north) to the Ouri awa in the south. The tongi⁵ below outlines the boundaries that Hohaia defined as the borders of Taranaki Tūturu in relation to significant points on the maunga.

TONGI 1

*Ko Onukutaipari te pikitanga ki te pou o Okurukuru
Onukutaipari ki te Whakangerengere*

⁴ Whiro-te-tupuna was the captain of the Tawhiti waka, and it landed north of Oakura awa.

⁵ Tongi are distinctive landmarks used to define boundaries (He Pūranga Tākupu a Taranaki 1995: 113).

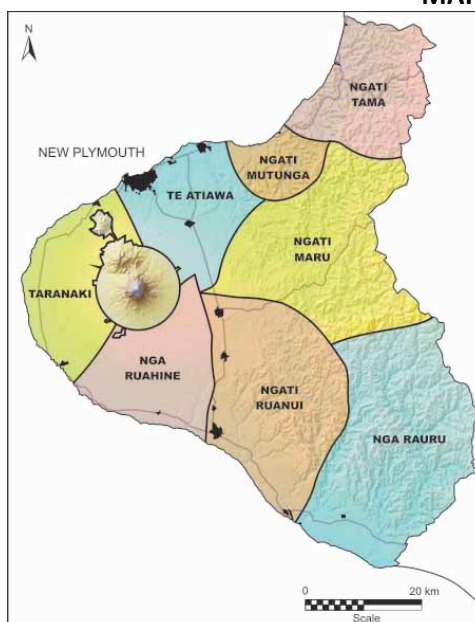
*Te Whakangerengere ki Te Tahuna o Tuutawa
 Te Tahuna o Tuutawa ki Panitahi
 Panitahi ki Ouri taae atu ki te muriwai ki Raawa o Turi
 Ki te pou o Matirawhati.*

*Onukutaipari is the ascent to the post of Okurukuru
 From Okurukuru to the Whakangerengere,
 The Whakangerengere to Warwicks Castle,
 Warwicks Castle to Fanthams Peak,
 Fanthams Peak to the Ouri Stream, arriving at the tributary
 Of Raawa o Turi and the pillar (stone) of Matirawhati*

(Hohaia 2001:14)

Overall there are eight iwi in the region as a whole. The collective of eight iwi are often termed as Taranaki Whānau Whānui. The eight iwi include Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga, Te Ati Awa and Ngāti Maru in the north and inland. To the south are Ngā Rauhinerangi, Ngāti Ruanui and Ngā Rauru. Taranaki Tūturu occupies the central coast to the west of the maunga. To differentiate Taranaki iwi from the other tribes in the region and the maunga, the title Taranaki Tūturu is hereafter used in this thesis.

MAP 4: Taranaki Whānau Whānui



(Taranaki Regional Council 2009: 21)

The rohe of the hapū Ngā Mahanga a Tairi covers the northern third of the tribal rohe of Taranaki Tūturu. The border of Ngā Mahanga a Tairi is bounded in the north by Onuku-taipari and Ngāti Te Whiti (of Te Ati Awa), rounds out to the Waiwhakaiho awa, then inland to Taranaki maunga. The southern border between Ngā Mahanga and Ngāti Moeahu hapū is the Waiweranui awa at Warea.⁶ Ngā Mahanga a Tairi is made up of the hapū Ngā Mahanga and Ngāti Tairi and includes Puniho Pā and Oakura Pā respectively. In literature from the 19th century to today the term Ngā Mahanga is mostly used for the hapū. However the name Ngā Mahanga a Tairi is an ancient term encompassing all the hapū who share ancestral connections and has come into common usage over the past century.⁷ This thesis will use the title Ngā Mahanga when referring to the hapū residing at Puniho Pā.

Five pā make up the tribal marae of Taranaki Tūturu and all whānau can trace their descent from these hapū that associate with the five pā. These pā are Oakura Pā, Puniho Pā, Parihaka Pā, Potaka Pā and Orimupiko. At this time (2014) the functioning hapū of the iwi from north to south are Ngāti Tairi, Ngā Mahanga, Ngāti Moeahu, Ngāti Haupoto, Ngāti Tuhekerangi, Ngāti Tara, Waiotama, Ngāti Kahumate, Ngāti Tamarongo, Ngāti Haumia, Ngāi Wetenga and Ngāti Titahi. On the southern border Ngāti Tamaahuroa shares whakapapa between Taranaki Tūturu and Ngaruahinerangi. The contemporary pā and hapū of Taranaki Tūturu are the surviving remnants of a strong iwi that once boasted of its strength.

E kore e pau, he ika unahi nui: It will not be defeated because it is a fish with strong scales

(Taranaki Iwi Trust 2013)

This whakatauaikī was tested during the nineteenth century with a wave of armed incursions from the north. In the early 1800s the introduction of the musket to New Zealand began a series of raids into Taranaki as part of the Musket Wars. The iwi Ngā Puhi, Ngāti Whatua, Waikato and Ngāti Toa were all involved in multiple raids into Taranaki. These raids contributed towards the depopulation of the region either through death, enslavement or as refugees who fled to other parts of the Aotearoa New Zealand.⁸ Fortunately the battles of Ngaweka and Te Namu, and the defeats of Ngā Puhi and Waikato respectively, retained ahi kāroa in the district and by 1835 the wars came to an

⁶ Awa are shown in MAP 2.

⁷ Identity as Ngā Mahanga, Ngāti Tairi and Ngā Mahanga a Tairi amongst our hapū can involve heated discussion at times. Personally, I consider the name Ngā Mahanga a Tairi as an inclusive name for the hapū that once inhabited the coast and disappeared after the Land Wars. The full name invokes the strong kinship ties between Oakura and Puniho. The earliest record I have discovered for the name Ngā Mahanga a Tairi is from 1865.

⁸ These areas include Waikanae, Pōneke, Te Taihū and Wharekauri.

end (Smith 1910; 1910b; Houston 2006). During the peaceful period between 1835 and 1860 many refugees returned to Taranaki. Unfortunately the founding of New Plymouth in 1841 by the New Zealand Company and the influx of settlers from Britain clashed with the return of the refugees and conflict swept away the rangatiratanga of Taranaki Tūturu.

On 17 March 1860 war broke out again in Taranaki between Māori and the Crown at Waitara. Taranaki and Ngā Mahanga were quickly involved as the conflict spread south of New Plymouth. During the fighting against the Imperial British Army and colonial forces, the rohe of Ngā Mahanga was a battleground for five years as the Land Wars became a struggle for rangatiratanga. In retribution the New Zealand parliament passed the 1863 New Zealand Settlements Act and confiscated two million acres (809,000 ha) of the Taranaki region (Goldsmith & Milbank 2008; Riseborough 2002; Waitangi Tribunal 1995). The act punished Taranaki Tūturu and the other iwi of Taranaki whānau whānui for rebellion and insurrection during the Land Wars. The act was implemented in following decades and dispossessed the people from the tribal estate. This was despite the fact that Taranaki Tūturu never signed the Treaty of Waitangi. The three maunga of Patuha, Pouakai and Taranaki were included in the confiscation area in the 1863 act.

Ko Taranaki Maunga, muruhia

Taranaki mountain, confiscated

Ko Taranaki whenua, muruhia

Taranaki land, confiscated

Ko Taranaki moana, muruhia

Taranaki seas, confiscated

Ko Taranaki tangata e tū tonu nei

Taranaki mana still stands firm

(Waikerepuru in Hohaia, O'Brien & Strongman 2005)

Customary title was not removed from the maunga until July 1881 when the maunga was formally reserved by the government. The invasion and pahuatanga of Parihaka followed six months later in November 1881. In 1883 Patuha maunga was created as a Māori reserve under the West Coast Commission ruling⁹ and in 1889 the Taranaki Scenery Preservation Society bought the maunga. By 1900 the Egmont National Park Act was proclaimed and 80,000ha of land reserved around all three maunga as part of the national park (Scanlan 1961; Waitangi Tribunal 1996). Taranaki Māori were not consulted or involved in this decision. Mount Egmont and the Egmont National Park became the dominant name of the maunga and surrounding region.

⁹In 1883, Crown grants promised in the 1866 Compensation Courts were issued for the Stoney River and Opunake Blocks, minus 3000 acres included in the six-mile radius of the maunga from the summit down to the ring plain (Bauchop 1993).

In 1770, Captain Cook had sighted and named the maunga Mount Egmont, and the coastal region as Cape Egmont. This act of naming was in honour of John Perceval, the Second Earl of Egmont and first Lord of Admiralty. Egmont never visited the mountain named after him (Byrnes 2001; Rhys 1999). The French navigator Marion du Fresne sailed past the coast in 1772 and named the maunga Le Pic de Mascarin after his ship, Mascarin (Scanlan 1961; Goldsmith 2001). Although Le Pic de Mascarin never caught on, English settlement of the region saw the name Egmont retained, applied and settled upon the mountain. This name change symbolises the changing nature of mana whenua over the maunga and the surrounding region. Maps made by cartographers since Cook often contained both Egmont and Taranaki, but with Egmont dominating the discourse. In 1960, the name of Taranaki was omitted from the Egmont National Park NZMS 169 (Rawson 1990; Waitangi Tribunal 1996).

The Taranaki Māori Trust Board submitted a petition to the government in 1975 requesting the return of the mountain, reinstatement of the name and \$10 million compensation for land confiscations. Negotiations between the Taranaki Māori Trust Board and the government resulted in the Mount Egmont Vesting Act 1978. The Act declared that the mountain was to be returned to all the iwi of Taranaki (represented by the Taranaki Māori Trust Board) and then immediately passed back to the government as a gift to the nation (Mount Egmont Vesting Bill 1978). An annuity of £10,000 to the Taranaki Māori Trust Board was increased to £15,000. According to personal comments made by relatives involved with tribal affairs of the time, the iwi and hapū of Taranaki Tūturu were not consulted about this 'gifting' of the maunga.

In 1985 the name 'Taranaki' was reinstated on the maunga. The New Zealand Geographic Board unanimously recommended the name change to the then Minister of Lands Koro Wetere. This action was controversial in local media. The mountain's name reverted to Taranaki, but Egmont was retained as an alternative name. Egmont National Park as the name of the park itself was also retained. The prefix of 'Mount' with Taranaki was to be used, instead of maunga (Daily News 1985; Goldsmith & Milbank 2008).

Since 1987 the mountains of Taranaki, as part of the Egmont National Park, have been under the management of the Department of Conservation. The policies of the 2002-2012 Egmont National Park Management Plan assert that the iwi of the region should be recognised and included in the management of the national park. These policies include:

1. *To recognise the role of the Tangata Whenua as Kaitiaki of Ngā Taonga o te Kāhui Maunga;*
2. *To strengthen the achievement of conservation goals by drawing on the cultural values of Māori in the management of the park;*
3. *To ensure there is early, open, ongoing and effective communication with Tangata Whenua about conservation issues and development within the park;*
4. *To ensure that the spiritual and cultural significance of Taranaki maunga to hapū and iwi of the region is respected by the Department;*
5. *To develop effective co-operation between the Department and Tangata Whenua in the protection and management of natural and historic resources administered by the Department (Department of Conservation 2012: 39-40).*

While these policies appear to include tangata whenua in the management of the national park and the mountains, there is nothing explicit in policy or legislation that ensures Taranaki iwi is involved with the governance of the park. Even though the Department of Conservation does a great job managing the park, the maunga, resources and visitors the lack of governance role of tangata whenua is a continuance of the confiscation policies enacted in the nineteenth century. Even though the Department of Conservation has included iwi representatives in various functions¹⁰ and groups.¹¹ Although four iwi (Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Ruanui, Ngā Rauru) have settled their claims with the government, and Te Atiawa and Ngā Ruahinerangi have signed Deeds of Settlement, the National Government has decreed that issues around governance of the maunga and the national park will not be entered into until all eight iwi have settled. At this time, neither Taranaki Tūturu or Ngā Mahanga are involved with the governance or management of the maunga.

As an iwi that suffered through the conflict, land confiscations and loss of rangatiratanga from the Taranaki Land Wars of 1860-1881, the alienation of the maunga from the iwi through legislation was a seminal event in our history. While this thesis does not explicitly explore the effects of the confiscation and relationship between iwi and Department of Conservation, it is information pertinent to understanding how Taranaki uki relate to the maunga. A difficulty in writing on a kaupapa like this is the immense amount of information, side trails and events that can be included and ancestors and events are touched upon where they intersect with the hypothesis. There are

¹⁰ For example in 2000, Ngā Mahanga was invited to participate in the re-opening of the Waiwhakaiho/North Egmont Visitor Centre as the tangata whenua.

¹¹ In 2010-2011 I was appointed to be the representative of Taranaki Tūturu in the Mouna Forum. This forum was made up of DOC and representatives of the four iwi whose borders touch on Taranaki maunga. These iwi are Taranaki Tūturu, Te Atiawa, Ngāti Ruanui and Ngā Ruahinerangi. Generally the hui involved updates of what the department were doing on the maunga. The forum dwindled and no meetings were held from mid 2011 onwards.

many areas where further research is recommended and it is hoped that this thesis will assist future students in their research.

1.3. Thesis overview

Chapter 1: Ko Taranaki te maunga

The introduction chapter presents the Travelling Mountain Narrative, Rua Taranaki and the primary hypothesis of myth based on a migration tradition. An overview of the tribal landscape informs later references in this thesis to the present structure of the iwi, important events in tribal history and the association with the mountain.

Chapter 2: Research Framework

A mixed-method approach to the research framework on Taranaki tribal traditions is taken, in that I use literature as well as qualitative methods of inquiry and analysis, to study the phenomenon of maunga and tūpuna. The Wā-Ātea model is introduced as the underlying structure of the thesis based on mātauranga Māori framework. Key theorists of Myth theory are examined and how their work informs analysis of the narrative in chapter 4.

Chapter 3: Te Hunga Tātai Kīanga

This chapter examines the pūkōrero primary sources of the Travelling Mountain Narrative, the kaitauaki Pākehā authors of the 19th century who published that information, and contemporary kaitauaki Māori who relocated traditions within a Taranaki worldview.

Chapter 4: Ngā Maunga Tupua

Collation of the variations of the Travelling Mountain Narrative informed analysis of the narrative plot, structure and details by outlining the differences in published texts from a range of authors and tribal regions. This chapter also introduces the migration journey story pattern.

Chapter 5: Ngā Tūpuna

Rua Taranaki (as the eponymous ancestor of Taranaki) and information retained in written traditions are examined in this chapter. Whakapapa, waiata and whakatauākī are studied to identify intersections with the Travelling Mountain Narrative. Tūpuna from the same generational era are also included in the sphere of interest. Maruwakatare, Tahurangi, Rua-tupua and Rua-tawhito are significant ancestors in their own right. These people belonged to the Kāhui Maunga of Taranaki and were therefore amongst the earliest settlers in the region.

Chapter 6: Wānanga Kōhatu

Reflexivity of a series of wānanga called Wānanga Kōhatu at Puniho Pā about the stone Te Toka a Rauhoto is the focus of this chapter. During 2013 I facilitated and participated in this series of wānanga with Ngā Mahanga hapū in an attempt to collect the remnants of information retained by Ngā Mahanga for this sacred stone. This chapter is the record of events of information.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Weaving together the separate strands of information analysed in chapter 5, 6 and 7 the Conclusion chapter presents all the arguments supporting the hypothesis of the Travelling Mountain Narrative being based on the migration journey of Rua Taranaki.

1.4. He maunga tupua, he maunga tūpuna rānei

This thesis is the story of a maunga. It explores the hypothesis that the Travelling Mountain Narrative is based on the migration journey of tūpuna rather than a myth. As a maunga tupua the maunga has its own identity and is a landmark of significance. Moreover the Travelling Mountain Narrative details the cause of exile, the journey and subsequent settlement of the maunga on the west coast. Taranaki tribal tradition also asserts the mana of the ancestor Rua Taranaki who came into the region and from whom the maunga was named. Divergent discourse in written traditions provides a wealth of material to analyse. But this narrative is also retained in the living memory of the hapū and iwi who claim descent from the ancestors who lived upon the maunga.

Throughout the long years of confiscation, the maunga has been the silent observer, the only constant in shifting boundaries and sold land blocks. The iwi takes its name from the maunga and the ancestor, yet many have never climbed upon the maunga. The traditions and kōrero that were once common knowledge are now either lost, recorded in literature or retained by a small number of people. Therefore this thesis is about reconnecting with the maunga, with the ancestors who lived there and the traditions that are retained in the modern world.

Finally this thesis was also a personal journey. As a descendent of the Kāhui Maunga I know that my ancestors once lived on the mountain. Every time I enter into my wharetūpuna Kaimirumiru at Puniho Pā I am reminded of that connection. When I clean the stone Te Toka a Rauhoto and wrap her piupiu around her, the task evokes memories of my ancestors doing the same thing. I have spent countless hours gazing at the maunga and when I climb the tracks I am reminded that my ancestors

once walked those trails, drank water from the mountain streams, and once lived and loved upon the slopes. The maunga has always been the heart of this research but it is also about unravelling the mystery of the narrative: Is the Travelling Mountain Narrative based on the journey of human ancestors?

CHAPTER TWO

Research Framework

2.1. Introduction

The Travelling Mountain Narrative is written on the printed page and it also lives within the memory and rhetoric of Taranaki Tūturu and the other tribal traditions of Whanganui, Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Mataatua waka. This thesis applies a mixed-method approach to collate information about the narrative, critically analyse Taranaki tribal traditions and engage with my tribal community in the wānanga kōhatu. Mātauranga Māori paradigms ground this methodology in Te Ao Māori and Taranakitanga. Adhering to tikanga on the pā is essential, and the ethics of research require the same discipline. Therefore this research framework sets out how I explore the Travelling Mountain Narrative and the contested space between written tribal traditions and divergent discourse.

The Wā-Ātea model is used to frame my analysis of Taranaki tribal traditions. Originally developed in my MA research on Kurahaupō, this model is based on the concept of using elements of Mātauranga Maori to investigate tribal traditions (Ngāwhare-Pounamu 2008). The genre aspects of the model encompass the different formats used to transmit knowledge from Te Ao Kōhatu to the present. Because tools like whakapapa, waiata and whakatauākī were ways in which knowledge was transmitted through generations of oral traditions. Utilising this model to structure information aims to locate traditional knowledge within mātauranga Māori (and mātauranga Taranaki) ways of knowing. The majority of traditional information used in this thesis was from written records.

Literature analysis of the Travelling Mountain Narrative has three aspects and will encompass three chapters: 1) Profiling primary sources and authors; 2) Collating written versions of the narrative and analysis through myth theory; 3) Collating whakapapa, waiata and whakatauākī of tūpuna of the Kāhui Maunga. These methods are employed to investigate Taranaki tribal tradition and kōrero tuku iho.¹²

The qualitative aspect of this research framework is separated into two areas: interviews and participant observation. Interviews sought opinions and living memory from tribal members about the Travelling Mountain Narrative. Participant observation of contemporary applications of tikanga on the pā informed living memory. This was primarily through a series of wānanga that I facilitated

¹² Nepia Mahuika (2012) classes traditional narratives as 'kōrero tuku iho' or ancestral traditions passed down through generations.

called the Wānanga Kōhatu. Reflexivity of engagement with my tribal communities as a researcher and descendant inform observations and understanding around the sacred stone Te Toka a Rauhoto, the guidestone of Taranaki maunga. Therefore understanding the connection between the toka and Taranaki maunga highlights the relationship between the hapū, the maunga and the toka.

2.2. Nature of Tribal Traditions

The term tribal tradition is used in this thesis to refer to traditional knowledge and history from Te Ao Kōhatu¹³ in waiata, whakapapa and other genres, and retained in the present by Taranaki Tūturu. This pertains to either written or oral knowledge. Multiple terms have been used in the past including the terms history, Māori history, Māori traditions, oral traditions and oral literature. That is the accumulated knowledge of the past retained in the modern age (Buck 1926; Keenan 1994; Mahuika 2012; Metge 2010; Royal 1998). For the purposes of this thesis, the term Taranaki tribal traditions refer to the collective body of knowledge of the past.

Early approaches of tribal tradition analysis either resulted in authors attempting to strip away the symbolic elements of traditions to expose the 'real' history or minimalist methods dismissed the historical validity of the tradition due to the mythical aspects. The results were often ethnocentric interpretations of Māori traditions through Pākehā paradigms (Tarena-Prendegast 2008). The terms tradition and history were used to label knowledge of the Māori past and therefore distinguish 'valid knowledge' from 'unreliable knowledge' (Mahuika 2012). However this erroneous view dismisses the fact of the tradition as originating from collective tribal knowledge.

Contestation between versions of tribal tradition is classed as divergent discourse. According to Judith Binney (1987: 21) 'Māori history is agonistic, and old conflicts will be refought in words.' Debate about versions of Māori history is intrinsically argumentative and based on a tribal view. While any historical account is contestable, it is through divergent discourse that differences can be accepted and debated. These conflicts are often fought in words and can be witnessed in whaikōrero and in hui. Conflicting opinions do not prove that a person is wrong, or that another tribal tradition is incorrect. If the narrator/writer is situated in a tribal tradition then the version belongs to the iwi. Ultimately it is what the iwi and hapū believe is their 'story' that will be accepted. There is no one true and a valid way of knowing. Nonetheless, divergent views are acknowledged within mātauranga Māori paradigms.

¹³ Te Ao Kōhatu or the Age of Stone relates to the era after migration and settlement in Aotearoa. Refer to chapter 2.5, Table 4 for the model of Māori Culture Sequence.

Mātauranga Māori is a contemporary term used to represent Māori knowledge, language, customs and practices (Mead 1983). It is a knowledge tradition brought from the islands of Polynesia and planted in Aotearoa a thousand years ago. It then evolved within a closed society through verbal transmission until the arrival of Pākehā. It contains facets of Māori epistemology, of Māori knowledge, and whakapapa is the skeletal structure (Royal 1998; Tau 1999). Therefore mātauranga Māori is traditional knowledge retained in the present. Additional to this framework of mātauranga Māori is the idea of mātauranga Taranaki as a knowledge system specific to Taranaki.

In Taranaki tradition, the gifts of knowledge came from the house of learning called Te Tatau-o-te-pō. The tradition of Te Tatau-o-te-pō states that people once lived in ignorance because they did not understand their environment, and their language was without depth. In their search for knowledge the ancestors Rongomai and Ihenga plaited a flaxen rope and climbed down a hole in the earth and thereby discovered Te Tatau-o-te-pō. The rangatira of the whare was Miru and he possessed vast knowledge. They prevailed upon Miru to teach them, and they began learning karakia, waiata, oratory, house building, waka building, gardening, makutu, astronomy, whakapapa and all the knowledge of heaven and earth. Their learning continued until a stranger named Tau arrived at Te Tatau-o-te-pō and whispered evil things in Miru's ears, tainting the character of Rongomai and Ihenga. Miru became jealous and untrusting, thinking that Rongomai and Ihenga would take his knowledge and become famous, leaving nothing for him. Miru decided to kill Rongomai and Ihenga. They heard of this plan and instead managed to kill Miru before he killed them. The pair and their people then escaped into the world of light, bringing celestial and terrestrial knowledge with them. This knowledge was passed down to their descendants and it is believed this tradition originated in the islands before the tūpuna came to Aotearoa (Broughton 1984; Hohaia et al 2005; Kararehe 1898).

Therefore in seeking to understand traditional Māori knowledge a Western epistemology cannot be applied to comprehend tribal tradition. Furthermore te reo Māori is the key that unlocks mātauranga. 'The reasonableness of mātauranga rests within the Māori language and not in the partialities of translation; and gaps in translatability make room for political interest to enter discussions of Māori thought' (Salmond 1985: 260). Although this thesis is written in English, it is informed by mātauranga. Mātauranga Māori paradigms of knowledge utilise te reo Māori, terminology and concepts to access traditions. After all, when attempting to understand and frame events of a thousand years ago, utilising tools that structured that knowledge is logical.

2.3. Wā-Ātea

Te Kupenga Wā-Ātea (The Lattice of Time and Space) refers to an allegorical net to collect and analyse tribal tradition. The model is based on the concept that mātauranga Māori tools should be applied to the exploration of the past of the ancestors of Taranaki. Using existing epistemological formats like whakapapa as a means of examining Māori tribal traditions and histories aims to construct a relevant historical framework of an event or ancestor through a holistic study of existing knowledge. This model is an attempt to codify various genres of traditional oral and written information to define time and space in mātauranga Māori paradigms prior to the adaption of linear time markers (Ngāwhare-Pounamu 2008).

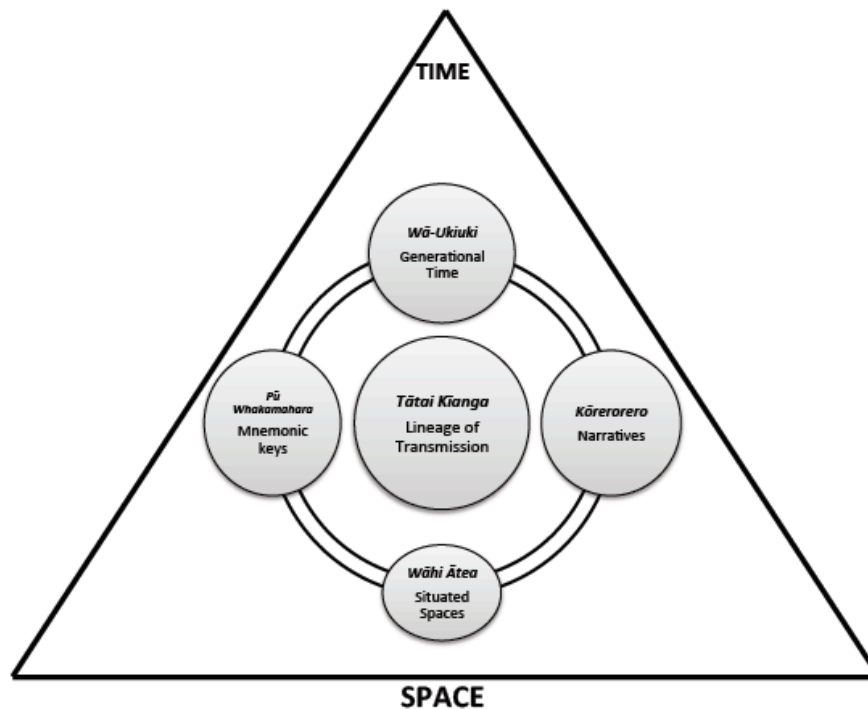
David Simmons raised five points in his seminal work *The Great New Zealand Myth* (1976) around supportive elements when tracing traditions from multiple sources. This included examining the number of sources, occurrence in waiata, retention in the present, early references and genealogical validation. Although Simmons was fixated on authenticity of information, these points are rational methods of collating information about events and ancestors.

The aspects explored in Wā-Ātea have been classed as genres and these refer to the way oral knowledge was contained and transmitted through literature. Poledniok (2000) categorised these as oral tradition genres and grouped them as whaikōrero (narratives), whakapapa (genealogy), waiata (song), whakataukī (proverbs), karakia (incantations or prayers) and place names. Smith (2002) outlined the genres as whakapapa, waiata, kōrero and whakataukī. Haami (2004) classed these genres as whakapapa, narratives, waiata and whakataukī. Haami also included whakairo (carving), mahi tauira (design and weaving), moko (body tattooing), tohu (signs) and tuhi (physical markings) that can also be used as mnemonic tools to retain and transmit knowledge.

Wā-Ātea codifies the various genres that retain traditional oral knowledge in four inter-related circles. The Tātai Kīanga is at the centre of the model and refers to the fact that information is transmitted to an audience or reader at some point. Time was understood through whakapapa ancestry constructing generational time. Space is defined in the connection of a person or event to the land as wāhi-ātea. Narratives are the most common form of telling history, but also the most susceptible to change. However the retention of key details in waiata, whakataukī, names and other formats support intergenerational transmission and reliability. The model itself is based on a

conceptualisation of Te Toka a Rauhoto and Taranaki maunga, with Te Toka a Rauhoto occupying the centre of the triangle.

TABLE 1: Wā-Ātea model



Positioning Taranaki tribal traditions within mātauranga Māori paradigms utilises Wā-Ātea as a framework for the exploration of the past using tools retained in the present. How can the lives of tūpuna who lived dozens of generations in the past be understood using western investigative models? All aspects contained within Wā-Ātea like wā-ukiuki, pū-whakamahara, kōrerorero wāhi-ātea and the tātai kīanga then become information that can be analysed. The following sections outline how the aspects of the Wā-Ātea are used in this thesis.

2.4. Tātai Kīanga: Lineage of Transmission

The Tātai Kīanga is the lineage of information transmission from teacher to student, and of pūkōrero to kaitauaki. For example the pūkōrero is the primary informant that gave oral information to an author, who then published that information. In this thesis all of the pūkōrero lived in the 19th century. Motivations, questions of reliability and the space the pūkōrero was speaking/writing from contextualises the source and the information. Was the pūkōrero an acknowledged expert by the

hapū and iwi? Was the person paid for the knowledge? Was it given in the Māori Land Court as evidence? Did it come from a manuscript? Answers to these questions can alter perceptions of the value of the information (Simmons 1976).

Kaitauaki are published authors and is a new term constructed for this thesis. Tauaki¹⁴ means to publish, show or expose, and the addition of kai is a prefix to denote an agent (Williams 2003). Although the use of the term kaituhi to refer to authors is well used, kaituhi does not distinguish between a writer of a manuscript, history, poetry or science and fiction. In this thesis, kaitauaki will denote a published author on Māori tribal traditions and history, especially Taranaki tribal traditions. This is important when traditions told and heard by modern audiences may stem instead from written sources and kaitauaki refers specifically to an author of tribal tradition. This term is not meant to denigrate any other author of knowledge relating to Māori or by Maori. In the case of Taranaki written information, this understanding is essential in reconstructing our history. Eruera Tarena-Prendergast (2008) also noted that most contemporary literature is based on secondary texts and influenced by multiple sources.

There are three pūkōrero that related the origins of the Travelling Mountain Narrative and Taranaki tribal traditions. These men were Te Kahui Kararehe (Ngāti Haupoto), Taurua Minarapa (Ngāti Haupoto) and Minarapa Kahukura Makuru (Nga Mahanga). Manuscripts written by Kararehe and Taurua are retained by their descendants and are also held in the Pukeariki Library in New Plymouth. Manuscript information from Minarapa can be obtained from the notebooks of William Skinner. Minarapa, Taurua and Kararehe were all of Taranaki Tūturu. Secondary to these sources was Motu Tukirikau (Ngā Mahanga) and Ropata Ngarongomate (Ngā Mahanga) who left information coded in waiata. All of these men were whanaunga and contemporaries during the 19th century.

The Kaitauaki Pākehā examined in depth in this thesis were three men who were directly informed by the original informants of Taranaki tribal history, and who then disseminated the Travelling Mountain Narrative throughout literature. These were Stephenson Percy Smith, Elsdon Best and William Skinner. While Smith and Best published material from Kararehe and Taurua, Skinner primarily collected information and material artifacts. Skinner then supplied Smith and Best with traditions and information he gathered. These men were responsible for constructing grand

¹⁴ Tauaki Taiawhio was the woman who adopted my grandmother Nita. Tauaki and her husband Tikawe did not have any children and when they died, the land was passed to Nita (my grandmother) and Mansell Baker, who had both been adopted when children. The land was therefore retained within the hapū and the Ngāwhare whānau and Baker whānau still own this land. This term Kaitauaki is therefore my way of honouring this kuia.

narratives by gathering information from multiple iwi groupings into one narrative, especially with the Travelling Mountain Narrative.

The Kaitauaki Māori explored in this thesis refer to 20th-century Māori authors of Taranaki descent who utilised the information of Te Kāhui Kararehe in their writing. These authors include Ruka Broughton (Ngā Rauru), Te Miringa Hohaia (Ngāti Haupoto) and Ailsa Smith (Ngāti Haupoto). Of these authors the most influential in recent times was Te Miringa Hohaia. Hohaia published his version of the Travelling Mountain Narrative in *Maunga Taranaki: Views of a Mountain* (Hohaia 2001) and this central text is critically analysed throughout the thesis. Hohaia was the only person I knew personally, and I witnessed and recorded presentations of his knowledge base on Taranaki tribal traditions during tribal wānanga in 2010. Hohaia's version of the narrative has also become the default narrative in Taranaki and has been reproduced in multiple media formats.

2.5. Wā-Ukiuki: Generational Time

Te Wā-Ukiuki or Generational Time attempts to establish a timeframe for an ancestor by using whakapapa. Whakapapa is the pou supporting all traditional Māori knowledge because everything in the Māori worldview had a genealogy. However, the primary use of whakapapa was to trace descent from common ancestors and denote family and tribal relationships. Whakapapa was central to the social structure of the ancestors of the Māori (and indeed Polynesian society) and every person was expected to know their personal genealogy (Biggs & Mead 1964; Buck 1954; Roberts & Wills 1998; Smith 2001).

Traditionally time was not measured quantitatively, but rather it was sourced on events and the mana of the ancestors involved. The recital of whakapapa in relation to a historical narrative would connect an ancestor to the event, thereby informing the audience how they connected to those ancestors. Although the use of whakapapa is not precise in the temporal sense of the Western calendar within a Māori worldview sequences of ancestors recounted in whakapapa established a generational time (Buck 1954; Jones 1958; Ngāwhare-Pounamu 2008; Roberton 1962; Thornton 1985)

Using whakapapa as the only means of examining an event can be fraught with difficulty because it is not a precise tool. As a means of denoting genealogy and kinship connections whakapapa was not originally designed to keep track of time and it can be dangerous to apply whakapapa as a tool of history (Tau 2001). This is especially true for the novice genealogist because printed versions of

whakapapa can be misleading or flawed (Royal 1992). Genealogies could be affected by change through the loss of experts, natural disaster, war and other calamities (Buck in Sorrenson 1987). Furthermore whakapapa could be falsified (to claim land for example) and simple mistakes can be made. During Kurahaupō MA research I looked at hundreds of whakapapa. Very rarely did whakapapa recorded from different tribal regions match up. This informed my view that applying dates to genealogical tables is a redundant exercise.

Whakapapa has been used to determine sequential time frames by predominantly kaitiaki Pākehā. This was an attempt to structure Māori traditions and knowledge within a western framework of the Gregorian calendar. Fornander (1878) set a period of 30 years per generation: S. Percy Smith and his colleagues from the Polynesian Society established the average of 25 years per generation to construct history. However Robertson (1957) claimed that 20 years per generation was a more accurate marker of time: whereas Steedman (1999) asserted a period of 18 years as a better time frame. All of these were efforts to determine an exact date in 'prehistory' by cross-referencing with genealogies. These dates are not, and cannot be, precise. For example, Pei Te Hurinui Jones (1958) remarked that whakapapa that contain women appear longer because they bore children at a younger age, thus more women appear in the tātai over the same period. This will drastically alter dates based upon an ara tamawahine.¹⁵ Therefore dates cannot be applied before 1769 because they have no basis in fact, and are mostly conjured numbers. After 1769 AD events can be documented on paper with specific calendar dates. Tūpuna who had their deeds recorded can then be cross-referenced with other sources.

Similar to these attempts to define sequential time structures of genealogies were culture sequences developed to give insight into how the Māori culture changed and evolved in Aotearoa. Western ideas of culture sequences were first developed and applied to pre-contact Māori society in order to understand transitions of change in culture, archaeology and history. Most often the sequences have been based on archaeological theories or artifacts discovered. The culture change sequences attempted to inform understanding of the different era in Māori settlement patterns prior to the arrival of Captain Cook.

The culture change sequences begin with Julius von Haast's two-stratum model of Māori development from the moa-hunter period to the Māori period (Barber 1995; Von Haast 1872). Smith

¹⁵ The ara tamawahine refers to a tātai of mostly female ancestors. Kararehe gives an example of an ara tamawahine on his mother's side descending from the kuia and leader Ueroa. This whakapapa is displayed in chapter 3.4.

proposed his Great Fleet Theory subsequently taken up by numerous other writers to explain settlement and change in the pre-European eras. Starting with settlement by the Maruiwi, then Moa-hunters and finishing with the migration and settlement of the waka ancestors. Roger Duff (1963: 208-209) proposed a set of different classifications for culture change based on archaeological evidence: Moa-hunter phase: A.D. 850-1350; Transitional: A.D. 1350-1550; and Classic: A.D. 1550-1810. Janet Davidson’s (1994: 223-224) model of culture change was: Settlement: First settlement - AD 1200; Expansion and Rapid change: A.D. 1200-1500; Traditional Period: AD 1500-1769 (Barber 1995). While fascinating, the culture change models are based on western classification systems that do not take into account Māori paradigms of knowledge.

The past of the ancestors of the Māori can be understood in a succession of era. The transformation of history into myth can then be framed by these sequences. The social structure of traditional Māori society was informed by these sequences stretching back to the cosmic order enacted by the deeds of gods and ancestors. This corresponds to devolution in social structure, mirroring the nature of devolving levels from primordial myth to iwi and hapū legends to family histories. These are reinvented in the present whereby the cosmic myth becomes a current event (Sahlins 1983).

There are several models articulated by kaitauaki Māori historians that attempt to sequence culture change and an understanding of history using Māori paradigms. Te Maire Tau created a model to show the variations between eras in oral traditions. The Realm of Myth explains natural phenomena through the supernatural actions of gods or mythical heroes. The Mytho-history Realm refers to culture heroes who may have lived but are located in a distant time period and incorporated into mythic templates. The Historical Realm refers to mythic elements applied to events and figures and recorded in oral tradition, whereas the Historical Realm (Realm 4) is based on factual information supported by written sources (Tarena-Prendergast 2008).

TABLE 2: Oral Traditions Chart

Oral Traditions Chart
Realm 1. Realm of Myth
Realm 2. Mytho-history Realm
Realm 3. Historical Realm Recorded only in oral tradition
Realm 4. Historical Realm Confirmed by written sources

(Tau 2003:18-20; Tarena-Prendergast, 2008: 20)

Another cultural sequence model proposed by Taonui in his PhD thesis *Ngā Tātai-whakapapa: Dynamics in Māori oral tradition* (2003)¹⁶ outlines a similar sequence based on oral tradition. Taonui classifies the dynamics of tradition inclusive of the influences of natural world lore and customary lore. This reclassifies culture change within a mātauranga Māori worldview rather than by Western historical validity. Creation traditions establish ontological narratives for natural phenomena, as well as being the philosophical foundation for relationships between the sacred and profane, humankind and nature. Demigod traditions refer to culture heroes whose details became obscured by symbolism and templates. Migratory traditions refer to historical migratory journeys of the tūpuna and their arrival in Aotearoa. Tribal traditions concern ancestral characters from settlement to the present and who are considered to be historical figures.

TABLE 3: Model of Oral Tradition

A Model of Oral Tradition		
Customary Law	Creation (remote past)	Natural World Lore
	Demigods	
	Migratory	
	Tribal (present)	

(Taonui in Tarena Prendergast 2008: 22)

Both of these models are useful in understanding the transitions between the mythical and the historical. Application of these models to the Travelling Mountain Narrative would classify it in the 'Realm of Myth' (Tau 2003) or the 'Creation (remote past)' era (Taonui 2003). Both models use English as a medium of explanation, and use academic language to describe the evolution of a Māori cultural sequence. However for the purposes of this thesis I found these models unwieldy. Therefore I propose another model to inform the history of the ancestors of the Māori prior to 1769. This model interfaces with mātauranga Māori knowledge to frame the past.

Buck (in Sorrenson 1987) split types of genealogical tables into three periods: 1) Mythical; 2) Migratory or Exploratory; 3) Settlement. Mythical genealogies referred to the cosmogony aspect of myth, and ontological origins of humans descended from deities. The cosmogony or creation myths of Māori must be considered in these sequences because there are multiple tātai whakapapa that

¹⁶ This thesis is embargoed at the University of Auckland library. I contacted Taonui by email and then telephone. We had an interesting conversation, but he would not give me permission to view his thesis. His reasoning was that the thesis was being copied, and he was publishing material from it. Therefore I use the table and explanations reproduced in Tarena-Prendergast's thesis.

descend from Rangi and Papa. However I also differentiate the cosmogony from the mythical ancestors of Māui and Tawhaki, often considered as demi-gods and hero ancestors whose narratives contain many supernatural details. The migratory aspect highlights movement of ancestors through the Pacific and into Aotearoa and illustrates the relationships between kinship groupings. Settlement genealogies are sourced within Aotearoa and refer to founding ancestors. Buck also noted that adding blocks of names to lineages elevated the tātai over other genealogies and added prestige to a genealogy (Broughton 1979; Buck in Sorrenson 1987; Ngāwhare-Pounamu 2008; Royal 1998). Taonui (2005) classed whakapapa that include the atua as tātai hikohiko, or genealogies inclusive of deities, mythological heroes and as well as tūpuna.

Ideally extant whakapapa of Taranaki would be used to formulate generational time. Unfortunately there is a dearth of early whakapapa that can be traced to the present generation in Taranaki, as will be shown in chapter 5. The inability to construct a table based on Taranaki tūpuna is an issue for wider tribal debate. Therefore this thesis will advance another generational era sequence based on mātauranga Māori understanding of the past. This model was constructed to illuminate the changes based on cosmogony, mythological time, migration and settlement as outlined by Buck. This was used to help situate the information in this thesis in a common time frame.

TABLE 4: Generational Era Sequence

1.	Te Ao Orokohanga	Creation
2.	Te Ao Tuawhakarere	The Mythical Age
3.	Te Ao Hekenga	The Migratory Age
4.	Te Ao Kōhatu	The Stone Age
5.	Ngā Ao Pūtahi	Converging Worlds (1769-1900)
6.	Te Ao Hurihuri	The Changing World (1900-present)

1) Te Ao Orokohanga refers to the creation period of the world. It encapsulates the various creation myths of Rangi and Papa and their children; 2) Te Ao Tuawhakarere is the supernatural and mythical era; 3) Te Ao Hekenga is the migratory era, and it includes the time spent in travelling through the Pacific Ocean; 4) Te Ao Kōhatu is the settlement and expansion period of the ancestors of the Māori within Aotearoa; 5) Ngā Ao Pūtahi, or the Converging Worlds, refers to the arrival of Pākehā after Captain Cook in 1769 and encompassing the colonisation of New Zealand to 1900AD; 6) Te Ao Hurihuri is a common term for the technological, social and cultural changes that literally make this a changing world. This is measured from 1900 to the present. This table is therefore used to structure an understanding of time and space based on a mātauranga Māori and mātauranga

Taranaki view of the past. It is used solely in this thesis as a framework by which I could understand time in relation to the narrative and tribal ancestors.

Ngata categorised the kawa or recitation of whakapapa in his Rauru-nui-a-toi lectures in 1944. Whakamoe was inclusive of marriages; Tararere was a single line of descent, the usual way to recite tātai; Tāhū sets out the main lines of ancestry of an iwi; Karapipiti shows grandparents, siblings, parents and children; and Whakapipi determines tuākana and teina by tracing descent from a common ancestor (Haami 2004; Ngata 1944).

An example of a tātai whakamoe is my own whakapapa. For the first two lines of ancestors we have no record of births or death dates. However we know who they were and what they did. This whakapapa is categorised as a tātai whakamoe because it is a genealogy inclusive of marriages. Males are on the left side of the column, women on the right.

WHAKAPAPA 1

<i>Parehe</i>	== <i>Te Kahuare (Ngāti Kahungunu)</i>
<i>Ngāwharepounamu</i>	== <i>Te Reureu</i>
<i>Mita Ngāwharepounamu</i>	== <i>Moehau (Kawhia)</i>
<i>Barney Ruatapu Ngāwharepounamu</i>	== <i>Pare Komene</i>
<i>Lesley Komene Ngāwhare</i>	== <i>Nita Taaneroa Ngawhare (nee Cunningham)</i>
<i>Glen Ngāwhare</i>	== <i>Christine Ngāwhare (nee Ruffell)</i>
<i>Dennis Glen Ngāwhare-Pounamu</i>	

Parehe lived during the time of the Land Wars but we do not know his age or birthdate. We know he learnt to carve in Kahungunu, and he brought back a wife from that iwi. In 1875 he built the carved house Rua-toki-te-hau for the tohunga Motu Tukirikau at Puniho Pā. Our family name Ngāwhare originates from his son Ngāwharepounamu. Mita, Ruatapu¹⁷ and Lesley are all buried in our family urupā, whereas the graves of Parehe and Ngāwharepounamu are currently unknown. Although I do have some whakapapa that go further back, they are unreliable beyond Parehe. However if I was to look at my grandmother Nita, I can trace her descent through 24 generations from the tupuna Te Hatauirā aboard the Kurahaupō waka with consistent and corroborating whakapapa from different sources.

¹⁷ Ruatapu changed our family name from Ngāwhare-Pounamu to Ngāwhare. When I asked why, I was told that he believed the name had too much mana for the Pākehā times. My father's brother, Uncle Lesley, took back the name and then gave it to his two youngest children. I decided to do the same.

According to Keenan (1994) whakapapa was used for a specific purpose like claiming rights to land in the Native Land Court in Taranaki. Shorter tātai were given, typically across five generations but no further back. Often the claims were over small parcels of land or secessions. An example of this process is in the succession hearing for the land of Minarapa Kahu after his death. Because Minarapa died without children, many in Ngā Mahanga applied to succeed to his land. The presiding Judge Johnston ruled on the whakapapa of Minarapa (on the advice of the interpreter William Gray) and awarded Minarapa's land to his nieces. Amongst the claimants was the tohunga Motu Tukirikau. Throughout this trial, even after persistent questioning by Johnston, tātai hikohiko or illustrious genealogies were not employed in the court. In Ngā Mahanga, the recitation of long lines of whakapapa could be dangerous, and people feared giving too much in court in case it was abused. Recent tūpuna within living memory were instead recalled. Through my own research, most whakapapa I've seen in the Taranaki Land Court minute books only go back three to five generations from the claimant.

While the use of whakapapa is not a precise tool, nor can any whakapapa be determined as a sole marker of time, it can help in defining the generational era of an event or ancestor. Using whakapapa together with places, proverbs, songs etc (as defined in Wā-Ātea) can help to establish a sequential generational time of ancestors in Te Ao Kōhatu and Te Ao Hekenga. Therefore in order to understand the essential tenets of traditional Māori knowledge, one should have a basic understanding of how whakapapa frames information. And to take it even further, tradition that cannot be supported by whakapapa and cannot connect to other whakapapa is suspect. Whakapapa is needed to verify Māori historical tradition because its order and structure has the capacity to cross-reference to other similar evidence like narratives (O'Regan 1992).

2.6. Kōrerorero: Narratives

Narratives are the most common form of passing on the traditions of an oral culture (Finnegan 1992; Ong 2002; Simmons 1976; Smith 2002). This is especially true in the modern age, where the process of telling a story is the most utilised device of passing on historical information, whether by spoken word or the written page. While spoken narratives are the most common format, the process of telling stories is also the most open to change (Simmons 1976).

The purpose of a narrative was to entertain and inform by using a genre that would grab the attention of the audience. Traditionally the oral narrative would also interpret historical events for the present audience and validate the mana of the whānau, hapū and iwi. In this way, the past was

not divorced from the present, but was reinterpreted in a dynamic cycle that informed contemporary events (Binney 2001, Keenan 2005).

However the process of telling narratives, out of all types of transmitting oral knowledge, is most open to change. The overarching structure and plot may be the same, and primary details within the story are repeated, but the words change depending on the orator, the event and the audience. Details can be omitted or added and it is unlikely whether the same story told today is exactly the same as one told fifty years earlier. This is an example of the creative licence of the orator or the writer. This has to be taken into consideration when critiquing any narrative, whether spoken or written.

Transplanted narratives from the island homelands into Aotearoa also have to be taken into account. Narrative cycles like the Māui cycle were carried to Aotearoa from the ancestral island homelands of the Pacific. These narratives are examples of knowledge being retained over multiple generations in oral transmission, especially when the format of the narratives are essentially the same as those told in the islands, albeit with the changes in specific details like the names of islands, the protagonists and other information indigenous to the islands (Biggs 2006; Luomala 1940).

Ruth Finnegan's publication *Oral Literature in Africa* (1970; 2012) was based on field research in Africa from 1961 onwards and offers a fascinating insight into African tribal traditions. She also points out a common mistake by ethnographers or historians when giving the narrative with no reference to context or the historicity of the narrative. Her book *Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts: A Guide to Research Practices* (1992) is a great resource for research and practice on collecting and analysing oral traditions and informed my own understanding of oral theory. She asserts that lines are blurred amongst many African cultures between myth and history and the assumption that myths are prose narratives and considered to be true accounts of the remote past can be misleading (Finnegan 1992). This has direct bearing on the Travelling Mountain Narrative and my exploration of how the narrative was retained.

While the narrative is the format most accessible to the general public, whether to an audience or a reader, it is the other aspects (referred to in the Wā-Ātea model) that give supporting details to the narrative. Whakapapa sets the story in a specific time, reference to the land creates the space, waiata and whakatauākī support the story and the lineage of the transmission (either spoken or written) gives mana to the story.

2.7. Pū Whakamahara: Mnemonic Tools

In an oral culture, mnemonic formats aid retention and transmission of knowledge. Mnemonic keys opened the door for information that had been codified in patterns assisting memory retention and recall (Ong 2002). Vansina (1985) termed these as mnemonic devices. In terms of mātauranga Māori knowledge there are several types of formats that were used to codify knowledge. For the purposes of Wā-Ātea, I have termed these formats as mnemonic tools. These were waiata, whakataukī, whakatauākī, pepeha and proper names (personal names and place names).

Waiata mōteatea is a primary tool for holding traditional information, and therefore one of the most important arrangements for verifying historical accuracy. Waiata mōteatea as a source of traditional material can be one of the most robust means of transmission through generations.¹⁸ Moreover the fear of making mistakes in the performance of waiata ensured the accuracy of transmission and teaching. Waiata encompassed the totality of traditional life in figurative language. Multiple poetic metaphors referring to ancestors and events, the mythology of deities and spiritual and physical concepts were employed. Symbols were used that were generally known by the audience and were utilised for a purpose. Earlier generations composed waiata by groups and individuals, and the waiata were picked up and transmitted quickly. During the late 19th and 20th centuries traditional mōteatea ceased to be composed in Taranaki and it became more important to retain these waiata (McLean 2005; McLean & Orbell 1975; Smith 2001).

Names (both place and personal) are reoccurring reminders of events and ancestors and are important constructs of remembrance. Names can be regarded as signposts of tribal history. Traditions and knowledge are intrinsically linked to iwi and hapū names as direct connections to the ancestors from whom the tribe traces their lineage. Place names are similar in that there are many which take their title from ancestors or events (Ngāwhare-Pounamu 2008; Smith 2001; Walker 1969).

Whakataukī, whakatauākī, pepeha and whakawai are commonly termed as proverbs. Whakataukī are generic and metaphorical pieces of wisdom handed down through generations and used in everyday speech. They can often be simple to translate but difficult to interpret. Whakatauākī are

¹⁸ A perfect example of the durability of waiata over generations is the song *Kii Mai*. This waiata was originally the karakia used by Rongorongo when the Aotea waka left Rangiātea. It has persisted through roughly 28 generations and is still sung in Taranaki today.

proverbs that can be reliably traced to a person or an event. In terms of analysis, whakatauākī is an important format retaining knowledge. Pepehā are sayings that link a person to the land and tribal formations. Whakawai is the Taranaki form of whakatauākī. Pepehā commonly reference maunga, awa, iwi, hapū, marae and other significant sites associated with tūpuna (Grove & Mead 2004; Seed-Pihama 2005).

2.8. Wāhi-Ātea: Situated Spaces

The Wāhi-Ātea or places associated with the mountain are also explored in Wā-Ātea. As these places retain their names on maps and in tribal tradition, the names would appear to be another valuable lead into historical accuracy. Places and their names acted as mnemonic markers in the system of oral tribal knowledge, being reminders of people, events or episodes important to the history of the tribe. The daily use of these names meant that the history inherent in the names was widely known amongst the population (Davis 1990; Haami 2004). Situating space in relation to the land was a means by which the ancestors of the Māori recognised themselves as being linked the land. Named spaces are reminders of the past and are keys to tradition identifying memories of people and events in association with the land (Smith 2001; Walker 1969).

The conceptualisation of the land within the framework of memory ensured that in order to know where one was going, one had to know the land. The old people had a ‘metaphorical understanding of the landscape’ in that place names were understood through reference to landscape descriptions, events and tūpuna. Place names were signposts of memory. These were committed to memory and learned by visiting those places, and then transmitted orally to new generations (Byrnes 2001).

2.9. Myth Theory

The Travelling Mountain Narrative refers to the journey of Taranaki maunga from the central North Island to the west coast. For the purposes of analysis, the Travelling Mountain Narrative, as a narrative containing supernatural elements, is classed as a myth. The process of reviewing literature will outline all possible sources and versions. Textual analysis is then informed by myth theory and key theorists are outlined in this section.

As myth is inextricably linked with understanding the past of the ancestors of the Māori, the role of myth in traditional narratives and tribal history will be considered. Does the Travelling Mountain Narrative, as a myth with supernatural elements transmitted through generations of ancestors have

its source in actual events and people? Or is it the anthropomorphic personification of natural occurring elements and therefore a device whereby the old people structured knowledge within their own understanding of the world? While early approaches by European writers attempted to divide fiction from fact to reveal historical components of the narrative, later approaches dismissed the validity of these type of traditions due to their symbolic and supernatural elements (Tarena-Prendegast 2008).

Review of pertinent literature is split into several areas. First, attention is focused on the early ethnographers and historians who have collected and written about Taranaki tribal traditions, especially inclusive of the Travelling Mountain Narrative in its various formats. Secondly all the variants of the narrative itself are collated and examined. Thirdly analysis of the narrative will employ myth theory. Finally analysis situates the narrative within mātauranga Māori paradigm. Because mātauranga Māori bridges traditional and contemporary knowledge, it is vital to source analysis in this worldview. Mātauranga Māori is defined as Māori Knowledge and is a term that refers to Māori histories, knowledge and language (Doherty 2009; Mead 2003; Royal 2009).

The construction of grand narrative in the Travelling Mountain Narrative by kaitauaki Pākehā must be considered. According to postmodernist theory grand narratives were used to displace and marginalise indigenous narratives (Lyotard 1984; Majid 2010). For example Percy Smith attempted to construct a grand narrative for the settlement of Aotearoa New Zealand that both included tribal traditions and excluded extraneous narratives that did not fit into his theory. Best also constructed a grand narrative regarding the Travelling Mountain Narrative by fusing multiple tribal traditions into a single narrative (Best 1924).

Deconstructing narratives was the approach taken by Tane Mokena. Mokena investigated the morphological structure of the story 'Ko Hotunui' as related by Hoani Nahe from Hauraki. Mokena developed a conventional story pattern for the Māori Quest story by detailing the different motifemes contained in traditional quest narrative in a sequence of 5 motifemes. Mokena relies on a range of theory to inform his own conclusions. Motifemes include 1) Interdiction; 2) Violation; 3) Consequence; 4) Lack; and 5) Lack Liquidated (Mokena 2005). Mokena's thesis encouraged my reading of his references in order to understand the different literature around myth analysis, structuralism and oral-formulaic theory. This thesis aided my own understanding of the different schools of theory and my migration story pattern can be directly attributed to him.

Oral-formulaic theory is based on the work of Albert Bates Lord who published the book *The Singer of Tales* (1960). He found that Yugoslav epics relied on traditional elements to structure the songs, contained strict metric beats, were full of stock expressions, and could be learned and performed when knowing the primary details of the epic. Yugoslav poets didn't memorise a song word for word, line for line: rather they learned the plan of the song and arrangement of events (Lord 1960; Finnegan 1992; Lord 1960; Mokena 2005; Ong 2002).

Attempting to use oral-formulaic theory when analysing Māori oral narratives highlights the difficulties when applying methodologies formed from European cultures onto Māori narratives. Māori narratives are not constrained by a specific format neither is the waiata structured in a particular metric beat. But there are story patterns that can be extrapolated from Māori narratives. Mokena applies this theory to the analysis of Māori narratives, specifically in the Māori quest narrative of his thesis. The overall details and themes of the narrative can be learned: however the characters and specific wording changes. A characteristic of these oral traditions is verbal flexibility, especially with prose narratives (Mokena 2005).

The Finnish historical-geographical method theorised that history of the tale can be sourced by plotting its development in space (historic) and place (geographic). This will then track the changes of the narrative over time and reconstruct the original form of the tale. Julius Leopold Fredrik Krohn developed the Finnish historic-geographic method, and this was an attempt to use scientific methods to analyse folklore of Finland. This involved the search for the archetypal form of a narrative text in content or plot and the origin of the tale and its transmission through time and space. This created a life history of the tale itself. Classification and typology of the collation of narrative texts attempted to define the 'pure' tale types. Much of Krohn's research was around Finnish and Indo-European tales (Dundes 2007; Finnegan 1992, Krohn 1971).

The Morphology of the Folktale (1968) by Vladimir Propp collated and analysed Russian Folktales by devising a scientific classification using botanical terms. The word 'morphology' means the study of component parts of a plant in order to study the plant's structure. By applying this method to a collection of Russian folktales, separating them into component parts and then comparing the tales according to these components Propp developed 31 functions that were constant elements. For example a triad of functions would include: 1) A family member leaves home and the hero; 2) An interdiction is addressed to the hero; 3) The interdiction is violated. Although there were constant functions running through the folktales, the description and characteristics of the characters could

change, their actions were set in structure (Propp 1968). The morphology of the Russian folktales suggest that Māori stories can also be described according to their similarity in form and structure, rather than a shifting content. While characters can change, the actions they perform follow the same sequence. Even though Propp clearly states that his research is primarily concerned with the Russian folktale corpus he studied the structural similarities between narratives can be defined through their functions (Mokena 2005).

Dundes recommended the term *motifeme* rather than *function* (as Propp suggested) to be used when he applied motifemes to Native American stories. Mokena referenced the PhD thesis *The Morphology of North American Indian Folktale* (1962)¹⁹ offers insights into the framework of Native American narratives. From this research the motifeme patterns of Lack/Lack liquidated was essential in building Mokena's theory. Dundes has also published multiple papers on folklore that both expands and simplify Propps structural framework (Dundes 2007; Mokena 2005)

Structuralism evolved from the theoretical quest to define structure in cultures. It emerged from France in the 1960s and was developed by Claude Levi-Strauss and other theorists and impacted social sciences in several fields. Levi-Strauss theorised that aspects of culture (e.g. ceremonies, kinship, laws and myths) were structures in the larger system of culture. Together, these aspects can be studied to analyse the organisation of the culture as a totality. Levi-Strauss applied the concept of cultural structures to social anthropology; in Sociology by Foucault with his work on knowledge, power and discourse; in psychoanalysis by Lacan; and in Marxism by Althusser. This logical structure will ideally persist through all the diverse forms in which the myth is preserved. Using this method, there is no single 'true' version, as all versions belong to the myth (Brewer 2003; Levi-Strauss 1974; Mokena 2005; Schwandt, 2007).

Whereas post-structuralist theory challenges the fixed laws of structuralism and the idea that events and phenomena are governed by rules and structure. Foucault and Derrida were two theorists who can be classified as post-structuralists (Mills 2003). According to post-structuralism, texts can be deconstructed and are not concrete and unchanging objects. The idea of 'intertextuality' is used where the context of texts can only be understood in conjunction with related texts. Furthermore that the dialectic of two opposing forces is not always true and that there can be neutral principles and meanings, everything is open for debate (Finnegan 1992).

¹⁹ I was not able to access the thesis of Dundes and had to rely on Mokena.

Jackson (1968) took a structuralist approach to Māori myth and the analysis of three myth cycles originally written by Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke (Te Arawa) and published by Grey in *Polynesian Mythologies*. These myths were: Nga Tama a Rangi; Māui; and The Deeds of Tiki-tawhito-ariki. Jackson sought to extract an insight into human and Māori perception of reality. Jackson concluded that the supernatural and surreal elements of the myths are derived from the natural and ordered quality of social experiences by an initial breakdown of order and then reconstruction of the underlying structure of reality in order to understand them in intellectual terms (Jackson 1968).

For example in the breakdown of 'Ngā Tama a Rangi'²⁰ and the separation of Ranginui and Papatuanuku, Jackson formulates a basic social structure of the Māori by analysing the conflict of the brothers against each other, especially of Tawhiri-matea against Tane, Tu, Rongo, Tangaroa and Haumiatiketike.²¹ Jackson theorises that there was a five-against-one conflict, after which the group of five then separated. In terms of the structure of Māori society, this theory can be rephrased as five whānau combine as a hapū in common opposition against another hapū. But when the first hapū is considered individually, the five whānau separate and one of the whānau is considered as more 'senior'. Whānau fuse into a single unit in opposition to an outside group: however, when there is no opposition the whānau separate again on the basis that one whānau is stronger or more senior than others (Jackson, 1968).

Park's thesis on Tawhaki using structuralism examined the Tawhaki myth by first focusing on the Tikopia cycle version, and then investigating the relationship to other island groups including New Zealand, the Cook Islands, Tahiti, Tuamotu, Hawaii and Samoa. The comparisons between variations from the far-flung islands of Polynesia helped to illuminate the structural elements that make up the Tawhaki myth cycle and the similarities between them (Mokena, 2005; Park, 1970). A third myth analysis was by Johnston who focused on the Māui cycle. Her conclusion was that the cycle revealed kinship functions and the dialectic relationship of the warrior and the cultivator (Johnston, 1975).

Thornton examined Māori myth through comparative analysis with Greek myths, seeking to find similarities and generalities that may exist between them. In this case, the Cosmogony cycle and the Greek Theogony of Hesiod, the story of Pare and Hutu compared with the Hawaiian version of Hiku and Māui. She tries to determine sequences of narratives, the underlying structure and the

²⁰ Or the Sons of Heaven.

²¹ In short, Tawhiri opposed the plan to separate Rangi and Papa. After the separation, Tawhiri fought against the other five brothers. After that conflict, Tu then claimed superiority over the other four brothers by using their children as resources.

similarities between versions. While approached from the traditions of a Grecian classicist, the comparative study between Greek and Māori myths can be applied (Thornton, 1987). Ranginui Walker elaborates on all these cycles in his book *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou* (2004), which will be explored further in chapter 4.

These theoretical approaches to deconstructing myth narratives inform chapter 4 Ngā Maunga Tupua. Investigating the Travelling Mountain Narrative by using these theories attempts to reveal the patterns contained within the narrative in all its variations. Especially when the narrative is so integral to Taranaki tribal identity. Furthermore the work of Mokena (2005) was influential in understanding how myth theory could be used to understand this traditional narrative. This led directly to the construction of the migration journey story pattern as will be discussed in chapter 4.

2.10. Qualitative Research Practices

Qualitative aspects of research were used in order to study Taranaki tribal tradition by engaging with my tribal communities. Participant observation and interviews added depth to the research. The purpose of the interview process was to collect opinions of Taranaki members regarding the living memory of history and their opinions on written history. According to Rewi (2010) conducting interviews was a way of establishing oral transmission and the power of memory reminiscent of traditional ways of knowing. Interviews were semi-structured, face to face and one on one with willing participants. Semi-structured interviews refer to an interview style that while using a question sheet, attempts to get the interviewee to open up and relate their personal experiences and opinions (Goodrick 2010). The interview process created space for free expression of stories and anecdotes to guide questioning (Bishop 1996; Webber 2008). Because the interviewees were also people I knew and were related to, and with whom I interacted on multiple occasions, this semi-structured style was the best format for the interviews.

Interview candidates comprised of people descending from the tūpuna Rua Taranaki and Te Moungaroa²² and with whakapapa to one of the five pā of Taranaki Tūturu. Although I had interviews lined up, not all the interviews were conducted. Several people who I had intended to interview passed away. Other people who were acknowledged experts would not agree to interviews. This said I still had some fascinating conversations with them. Te reo Māori was an

²² This has been defined by the Taranaki Iwi Trust in regards to the settlement of traditional claims within the Waitangi Tribunal process. This has been a hotly debated topic at times, but is still seen to be the best way to define membership within the iwi.

acceptable part of the process, with one interviewee speaking solely in Māori. Two interviewees were whānaunga who I interacted with on a regular basis. Another whānaunga was knowledgeable but had not engaged with the hapū for a long time. The fourth interviewee was an academic and able to elaborate on theory. The fifth was a kaumātua. All interviewees could speak Māori and were knowledgeable about Taranaki tribal tradition.

I received Human Ethics approval in October 2011, but had to extend the approval several times into late 2013. Consent forms were signed. These questions were developed for the one-on-one interviews, and a one-hour duration for the interview was adhered to. Analysis of these interviews supplied quotes to support various sections in the thesis.

1. Were you ever told the story of how Taranaki maunga came to Te Tai Hauāuru?
2. What do you consider is 'oral history'?
3. Have you read any books relating to versions of Taranaki Tribal History?
4. If so, what was your opinion on the content?
5. If you can't speak Te Reo Māori, in what form have you learnt historical facts about the iwi/hapū/marae/whānau?
6. If you stand to deliver a whaikōrero or karanga, what kind of historical references do you use?
7. Have you ever learnt any stories/proverbs/songs that refer to the Travelling Mountain Narrative that you know haven't been published?
8. Have you ever noticed a speaker using information that you know originated in a publication? If so what was your opinion?
9. When have you noticed an argument about knowledge of the Travelling Mountain Narrative derived from written sources on the marae?
10. Can you remember a time when you told a historical story based on what you had read?
11. How did your elders feel about published tribal history?
12. How open were they in discussing information of a historical nature?
13. Do you know any published histories that were inaccurate or different from what you knew?
14. If so, how do you define information as inaccurate
15. How can written history be used to support the tikanga of the marae?

Interview information is used in quote excerpts to supply information and support statements in this thesis. Without a wide range of interview participants, I felt I could not come to a definitive theory

based on interview analysis. While I met many people and cousins interested in the kaupapa, people willing to be interviewed were few and far between. Even when I had found willing participants, it was very difficult being able to decide on a time to meet and talk. Most of my participants had to reschedule or I had to reschedule. Obligations to attend tangi also interfered (with good cause) the interview process. Therefore the primary source of qualitative information was based on observation data collected from the wānanga kōhatu at Puniho Pā in 2013.

2.11. Participation and Observation

Participant observation refers to the researcher participating in all activities of the studied community and making detailed observations of the culture, people and phenomena. Moreover it allows the researcher to interact as a member of the group with associated qualities of belonging (Lincoln & Guba 1985). Active and complete participation within the full spectrum of community activities demands that the researcher is aware of compromises in objectivity, access and community expectations (DeWalt & DeWalt 2002). Moreover understanding the Insider/Outsider dialectic is crucial, as this affects the access of the researcher as an outsider compared to the researcher being an active contributing member of the community (Dwyer, Corbin, & Buckle 2009 ; Webber 2009).

Data gained from observation in social and cultural settings can be used to understand phenomena that are available to be observed and explain patterns of thought and behaviour (DeWalt & DeWalt 2002; Simons 2009). During the past three years I had to balance what I was observing with being a part of the community. First and foremost I was responsible to my whānau, pā and iwi. Secondly when attempting to stand aside as observer, I was not present in the moment. Being a part of a community means participating without ulterior motives. To that end I chose to structure my observation around the wānanga kōhatu I facilitated.

As a fully engaged member of the iwi and hapū who was living within the traditional boundaries of our rohe, I was able to access information and attend hui that would not otherwise be available if I was in another tribal rohe. As stated by Mead (2003) being born into an iwi and establishing whakapapa and identity is an essential element to being accepted as a member. As an insider, I was involved in all aspects of life at Puniho Pā, Oakura Pā and Parihaka Pā and I have kept my whānaunga fully informed of my research topic.

At the outset of the thesis, I intended to record all activities I engaged in. This proved impossible. Often there were incidents that occurred, especially around raruraru, that I did not want to record. Originally I had also intended to widen the observation to include Oakura Pā and Parihaka Pā. However it became clear that I needed to base myself at Puniho Pā and the accompanying mahi at Puniho demanded most of my time. Limiting myself to my tūrangawaewae not only simplified the process but protected me. Furthermore the sacred stone Te Toka a Rauhoto is at Puniho therefore it made sense to base myself there.

In May 2010 when I first moved home, I attended my first Puniho Pā Trustees hui in April. As the grass was out of control at my whānau papakāinga, I asked to borrow the Pā lawnmower, and in return I would do the pā lawns. For two and a half years I helped with the lawns. Considering that mowing the lawns takes a whole day, this was not an easy task. Fortunately the pā has state-of-the-art ride on mowers, which made the going easy. Several cousins who were also living close to the pā would often help. There were many times that we would take a break and hold an impromptu ‘wānanga kamupūtu’²³ and share our collective knowledge. As my two cousins and I were the kaikōrero on the paepae at Puniho, we had noticed a different kawa entering into Puniho. Between us we set the kawa for our paepae, based on what our old people did, that we have followed ever since. For example there would be only one speaker for our side and he would begin his own waiata. The mauri-kōrero would then be passed over to the manuhiri. Te Reo Māori was only to be spoken until the formalities were over of the whakatau was over. If the manuhiri did not have a kaikōrero, we would close it with karakia, and then open the floor and invite the manuhiri to speak in English. This ensured that our kawa and tikanga was adhered to, but that also the mana of the manuhiri was elevated. I had always been told that the most important tikanga at Puniho Pā was manaaki tangata.

During my time on the paepae I have welcomed many groups. However the most important hui was when I officiated at tangihanga. Tangi are held inside the wharetūpuna at Puniho Pā, either Kaimirumiru or Pauna Te Tūpuna (depending on the whānau). Usually I was the first speaker to whakatau the tūpapaku and the whānau pani. During the following days, we would maintain the mana of the paepae and welcome every person who entered the whare. Between us three cousins we would ‘tag-team’, in that one man would welcome a group, and then the next man would do the next group and so on. In this way we tried to share the burden of continual talking. Manning the paepae during a tangi would have to be the epitome of an orator’s duty at the pā. Moreover there were many interesting conversations I had during this time with my cousins or aunties in

²³ Wānanga Kamupūtu translates literally as Gumboot Classes.

attendance. But I was faced with the ethical dilemma of whether or not to use this information. I came to the conclusion that it was unethical to record and use data I overheard from tangi because my responsibility in those times was to the deceased and the bereaved family.

Fortunately in 2012 an opportunity to facilitate a series of wānanga on the sacred stone Te Toka a Rauhoto arose. Due to a rejected offer to film the story of the stone, my hapū decided on a wānanga series to facilitate discussion around the information retained for the Toka. I was asked to lead the discussion and facilitate the wānanga. Although in many ways I was able to direct the wānanga and much of it led with information I was researching, in the end the wānanga kōhatu were based on the request of the hapū and the collective memory we shared.

2.12. Ethics

Research with Māori communities (as any other community) can be complex and difficult. Procedures for gaining access and permission to research with communities may not necessarily be straightforward and imply reciprocation and obligation throughout and afterwards. The guiding ethical principle of respect for people, communities and traditions must be paramount. A researcher will be expected to be answer questions on his kaupapa anywhere, anytime and by anyone.²⁴ Accountability to the community can be immediate and last a long time (Denholm 2007; Smith 2000).

In this sense, ethics and ethical considerations of this research project should be seen as a tikanga of research. Tikanga Māori has to guide and inform the research in order to maintain the highest standards of procedure to preserve the mana of participants as well as the researcher. Access and research within Māori communities must be treated carefully and respectfully. The application and upholding of ethics and tikanga will be maintained throughout the process and be a matter of habit. Traditionally Māori ethics was a matter of being, rather than doing, or innate virtue rather than exemplary behaviour (Te Awekotuku 1991). In doing so, it is vital that there is a set of principles to guide the research process. A particularly appropriate set framed by Linda Smith for Kaupapa Maori research is as follows:

1. *aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people)*
2. *kanohi kitea (the seen face – that is, present yourself to people face to face)*

²⁴ Throughout the past three and a half years I have been asked about my kaupapa in all sorts of situations - at the pā, in the kitchen, at the pub, at the sports ground, basically anywhere. My answers depended on the person, and whether they were from the iwi and hapū, or whether they were outsiders.

3. *titiro, whakarongo...kōrero (look, listen... speak)*
4. *manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous)*
5. *kia tupato (be cautious)*
6. *kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of people)*
7. *kaua e mahaki (don't flaunt your knowledge)*

(Smith 2000: 242)

Linda Smith also rejected the idea that research in Māori communities can be reduced to a single set of procedures. These procedures include finding a kaumātua willing to help, going to the marae with that kaumātua, being introduced to and including local people as research assistants. For Māori researchers, the procedures are infinitely more complex in that cultural choices are both flexible and rigid, community networks are more established and that there are more opportunities to discuss kaupapa. The assumption that the most important issue is access to the community is only the start of the journey. Accountabilities and responses from the community are more immediate and last much longer (Smith 2000).

Originally I had eleven stakeholder groups that I felt needed to be consulted throughout research. By the time I was in my second year I realised that the only body in Taranaki that I absolutely had to report to was the Puniho Pā Trustees Committee. Because the pā trustees were effectively the voice of the hapū as well, I felt that I needed to base myself within my own hapū and with my own people with whom I shared ancestry and common roots. I have spoken about my kaupapa at Oakura Pā and Parihaka Pā as well as the Taranaki Iwi Trust.

Responsibility to the pā, hapū and iwi encompasses the people as well as the body corporates and the places themselves. Furthermore the implicit responsibility to the academy to construct a thesis with scholarly rigour is imperative. Nonetheless, the primary ethical responsibilities for the qualitative research aspect of this project are outlined as:

- The rights of all participants will be acknowledged and protected.
- Informed consents will be sought for and confirmed. This includes the community (including stakeholders and representative groups) as well as individuals participating in interviews.
- The aims, benefits and application of the research will be conveyed as clearly as possible to the stakeholders and participants. The people have a right to know what will become of the information they volunteer.

- The information will not be exploited for personal gain. Intended publication of research findings should be made explicitly clear.
- Relationships are the foundation of research, and as such all care must be taken to protect and preserve them.

(Denholm 2007; DeWalt & DeWalt 2002; Ellen 1984; Te Awekotuku 1991)

Thus far I have consulted and spoken on my kaupapa at the Pā Trustees Committees of Oakura Pā and Puniho Pā, at the monthly Rā days of the 18th and 19th at Parihaka Pā, and at hui-ā-iwi for Taranaki iwi. Multiple conversations have also been shared about the kaupapa with many people. There was open support for my research from all of my communities. All stakeholders will also get full presentations and be informed of the progress of the research. All interview participants received Informed Consent Forms and Information Sheets. The Puniho Pā Trustees Committee was also given Informed Consent Forms in order to record and use observations from the wānanga kōhatu, which was duly signed and consented to.

2.13. Access Through Service

Apirana Ngata said, 'Go back to the marae... the marae is the gathering-place of the people, and everything will be settled there.

(Salmond 1994: 228)

Throughout the planning and conception of this research topic, the defining detail has been the opportunity to return back to my pā in Taranaki to live, work and research. Moreover locating myself within close proximity to the pā was a huge impetus to engage in all activities. Access through service was the original guiding principle for participating in pā life. That is, to labour on behalf of the communities that I am researching and therefore demonstrate my commitment to the hapū and iwi as an ongoing obligation. Aspects of service had been learnt in Taranaki at Puniho Pā and Parihaka Pā, polished at Te Herenga Waka Marae (Victoria University) and applied at Waipapa Marae (University of Auckland). Service is dependent on a willingness to engage, ready hands to labour and no expectation of reward.

The process of trying to define my tribal communities in Taranaki is realising that the community of the pā, the hapū, and the iwi is still a strong constant in rural tribal life. Ceremony and ritual are maintained through the process of the tangi and the powhiri, or the 18th and 19th Rā days at Parihaka, and numerous hui are frequent on all manner of kaupapa. Relationships are based on

kinship through shared ancestors (Durie, 1999; Kawharu, 1984). For example, at Puniho Pā the familial relationships are based on shared kinship roots generally stretching back six generations to the founding of the pā after the Land Wars.²⁵ The various key tūpuna are the key people that the families descend from, and from whom family names were given.²⁶ My place at Puniho Pā is guaranteed by my mana whakaheke, or the mana of my ancestors, and the whānaungatanga relationships retained in the present. But it was through my own actions and words that I determined my place as an individual within the community.

There are multiple layers to the relationships developed during the research process, especially when the researcher is engaging with his own tribal communities (Selby & Moore 2007). Moreover, when the research is taking place with people who connect through whakapapa within the communities of Puniho the interaction with relatives is a given. These relationships are lifelong and do not end after submitting the PhD. Therefore all material gathered within the process must be ethically and morally sound, and the use of the data must at all time serve to maintain the mana of the people involved and the pā they originate from.

The obligation of researchers in the field to interact with the community is paramount in Te Ao Māori. This is even more important when the researcher is involved in community-based research with iwi and hapū, especially when it is their own tribal community. They can be called upon to participate in hui as workers and are obligated to help where necessary, even though the hui they attend may have no direct relationship with the project or area they are studying. While the meetings may have no research agenda attendance is necessary to support community development or maintain relationships (Gifford & Boulton 2007).

Participation has to be through service. In the past three years at Puniho Pā I have officiated at nine tangihanga, dug three graves, prepared one headstone for an unveiling, opened and closed multiple hui for the hapū and iwi, worked on numerous hāngi crew, welcomed eight schools and five tertiary institutions, dried innumerable dishes, set up and then cleaned the wharenuī, cleaned the ablution block, mowed the pā lawn dozens of times, mowed the urupā and participated in heaps of hui. All that I have done is a part of obligatory contribution as a member of the community, and not because

²⁵ Robert Parris visited the new kāinga of Punui (Puniho) inland of Mokotonu in mid-1869 (Daily Southern Cross 1869).

²⁶ During the 1866 Compensation Court hearing in Oakura, lists of ancestors were divided into loyals and rebels. From several hundred people of that era, it is fascinating that only a handful of ancestors are now claimed. Where did the other people go? The Oakura Compensation Court will be a subject for further research.

I am a researcher. I have learned this from the example of many of my cousins and aunts and uncles. It is only because I have engaged with pā life that I have been able to do this research.

Mead refers to this as 'Service to the Iwi' and considers this as one of the more important areas of achievement in the Māori world. For example, the ability to work as a ringawera and cook food for visitors is just as necessary as serving on the mahau as a kaikaranga or the paepae as a kaikōrero. In this day and age it seems a truism that in order to be accepted at the pā, one should go out the back and pick up a teatowel and help with the dishes. While some may see this as a means of belittlement (especially if the researcher possesses multiple degrees) this is not demeaning work. While the kōrero of the meetinghouse may feed the mind, it is the kitchen and dining room that feeds the body. Not only is participating in the tasks of a busy marae kitchen useful but it can quite literally be the means to access the local community as working in the kitchen one is able to hear all the gossip and meet the locals in a place with no restrictions. Furthermore, Mead goes on to say that achievements at the marae are more important than those earned away from home and that those who uphold the ahi-kā of the pā uphold the mana of the iwi (Mead 2003).

2.14. Summary

The mixed-method approach to the research framework outlined in this chapter has structured my research and informed the way I have engaged with my people. Myth theory directed the critical analysis of written versions of the narrative itself and the construction of the migration journey story pattern. Furthermore the qualitative aspect of interviews and participation in my tribal community has enabled study of the guidestone Te Toka a Rauhoto and its relationship with the hapū Ngā Mahanga. Mātauranga Māori has framed the analysis of the Travelling Mountain Narrative, tribal traditions and the Wā-Ātea model. The Wā-Ātea model was designed as a means of exploring traditional knowledge retained by Māori into the modern age. Although the individual aspects of the model have been discussed by other scholars and are by no means new ways of seeing the world, I took the opportunity to restructure these aspects in the Wā-Ātea model. Moreover a reading of other scholars exploring tribal traditions demonstrate that the reliance on whakapapa, waiata, whakataukāki and other aspects of the model enabled them to study their subject matter. The

elements of the model are the underlying structure of this thesis and are particularly evident in chapter 3 and the tātai kīanga and chapter 5 on the ancestors of the Kāhui Maunga.

CHAPTER THREE

Te Hunga Tātai Kīanga

3.1. Introduction

Minarapa related the Ngā Mahanga version of the Travelling Mountain Narrative to W. H. Skinner in 26 March 1896, and William Gordon took a photograph of him three days later on 29 March 1896.²⁷ The photograph and narrative were published in 1907 in S. Percy Smith's *History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast*. Establishing this lineage of transmission from pūkōrero to kaitauaki to establish whom the core narratives came from, why they were being communicated and who was doing the recording and subsequent publishing of the material is essential. The tātai kīanga as the lineage of transmission is at the heart of the Wā-Ātea model. Therefore this chapter outlines the primary sources, Pākehā authors of Taranaki tribal tradition and contemporary kaitauaki Māori authors from Taranaki by providing short biographies of these people. The pūkōrero and kaitauaki explored in this chapter are by no means the only people who wrote about the Travelling Mountain Narrative and Taranaki tribal traditions. However they are the people who had the most influence in retention and transmission of the traditions. Understanding the lineage of transmission of the traditions is fundamental to the analysis of the Travelling Mountain Narrative.

Primary sources or pūkōrero include prominent tūpuna from Taranaki Tūturu, Ngāti Haupoto hapū and Ngā Mahanga hapū. Tūpuna like Minarapa Kahu, Motu Tukirikau, Te Kāhui Kararehe, Taurua Minarapa and Ropata Ngarongomate were all learned men in both Māori and Pākehā knowledge. The kaitauaki were Pākehā authors and surveyors who published influential books on Taranaki and Māori traditions. Men like Stephenson Percy Smith, Elsdon Best and William Skinner eagerly recorded and published the information they were given from the pūkōrero. The third group of authors, or the kaitauaki Māori are Taranaki Māori who have written and published versions of Taranaki history and traditions. The three kaitauaki Māori included in this review are Ruka Broughton, Te Miringa Hohaia and Ailsa Smith. All three descend from the Kāhui Maunga and

²⁷ This picture has been reproduced in multiple publications. In 2011, DOC approached Ngā Mahanga and sought the use of this photo in a multimedia display in New Plymouth for the Rugby World Cup. This was the first time anyone had approached the hapū about the use of this photograph. The hapū denied the request. When I queried why, because the photo had been in circulation for over a hundred years, I was told by a cousin that while people had sold taonga and tūpuna over the years, we would not be implicit in the same actions. The photograph is reproduced in the section of Minarapa.

Taranaki iwi.²⁸ These three people (and their writings) influence contemporary understanding of tribal traditions within the rohe of Taranaki.²⁹

Simmons outlined a series of questions when scrutinising primary sources in *The Great New Zealand Myth* (1976). Simmons was focused on determining the authenticity of the account, especially if it was considered pre-European tradition or could be proved to be an invented tradition (Tarena-Prendergast 2008). Criteria for establishing the reliability and expertise of the pūkōrero included examining the internal and external consistency of the traditions. Furthermore establishing whether the tradition was widely known, and not the creation of a single person, was fundamental to ascertaining the authenticity of the information, the source and the tradition from which it originated (Simmons 1976; Tarena-Prendergast 2008). The tātai kīanga in this chapter is concerned with following the stream of transmission rather than determining authenticity. Because enquiries into the sources will inform who was writing, why they were writing and when they were writing (Souter 2005).

3.2. Ngā Pūkōrero: The Primary Sources

The five pūkōrero examined in this section belonged to Taranaki Tūturu. These men were contemporaries and belonged to the same generation. Although the pūkōrero come from two separate hapū of Taranaki, they were kin. Minarapa Kahu, Motu Tukirikau and Ropata Ngarongomate were from Ngā Mahanga hapū whereas Te Kāhui Kararehe and Taurua Minarapa were Ngāti Haupoto hapū. Kinship connections between the hapū of Ngā Mahanga and Ngāti Haupoto are extensive.³⁰ The era of these men encompassed all the major events of the 19th century, from the Musket Wars through to the Land Wars and the confiscations and land alienation that followed. Minarapa, Kararehe and Motu died within a period of four years of each other.

All of these men contributed to retention of Taranaki tribal traditions. However divergence between Ngā Mahanga and Ngāti Haupoto over versions of the Travelling Mountain Narrative can be traced to these men. For example Minarapa acted as a guide to Bell and Carrington's expedition,

²⁸ Ruka Broughton was primarily Ngā Rauru iwi, however, he had links to all the iwi of Taranaki Whānau Whānui including Taranaki Tūturu.

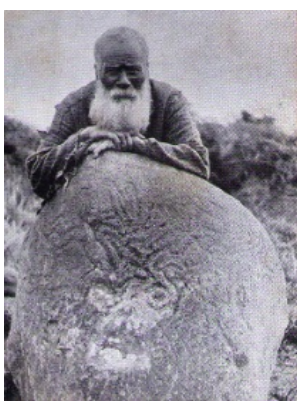
²⁹ The many authors who have published versions of the Travelling Mountain Narrative are included in Chapter 4 with their narrative text.

³⁰ Besides shared descent from the Kāhui Maunga both Ngā Mahanga and Ngāti Haupoto also claim descent from crew of the Kurahaupō waka. Ngā Mahanga descended from Te Moungaroa and Te Hatauirā through to Taihaweā, the child of Tairi. Ngāti Haupoto descends from Toka-poto, who was the tupuna of Haupoto, the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Haupoto. There have been many inter-marriages over the generations. My grandmother was also Ngāti Haupoto (Ngāwhare-Pounamu 2008).

participated in ceremony on the summit, buried bones in the Te Ana a Tahatiti burial cave and was the kaitiaki of Te Toka a Rauhoto. Kararehe was the son of Minarapa Rangihatuake (who was the first Māori Christian minister in the area) but he could also claim descent from chiefly lines in whakapapa. Kararehe was taught by rangatira and tohunga whilst in Opunake, was scribe to Tohu and Te Whiti of Parihaka, was a native assessor and corresponded with S. Percy Smith. Minarapa and Kararehe are the pūkōrero who have had the most influence on the Travelling Mountain Narrative and Taranaki tribal traditions.

3.3. Minarapa Kahukura Makuru (? – 1900)

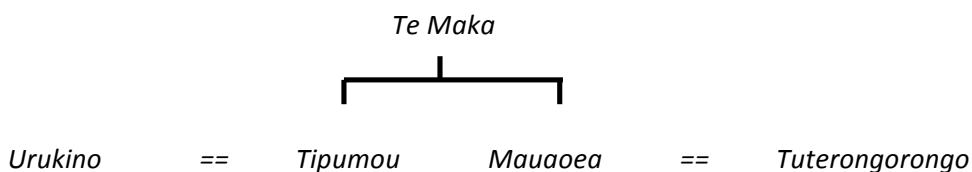
PHOTO 5: Minarapa Kahukura Makuru



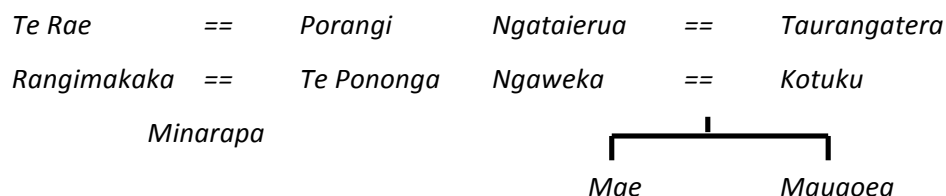
(Scanlan 1961: 64)

Minarapa Kahukura Makuru was a warrior, guide, rangatira and tohunga of Ngā Mahanga hapū and a pūkōrero of the Travelling Mountain Narrative. Minarapa had a tangible connection to the maunga and played a significant role in 19th century events. Minarapa was also the primary informant of William Skinner for the version of the Travelling Mountain Narrative published by S. Percy Smith. Minarapa died on 24 September 1900 (A. Smith 2001), and was buried at his home Pukemanu Pā. The following whakapapa was given during the Native Land Court hearings after Minarapa’s death.³¹

WHAKAPAPA 2



³¹ Keenan (1996) noted that short tātai whakapapa were given in Native Land Court hearings in Taranaki and this tātai of Minarapa confirms this. The land belonging to Minarapa was hotly contested, and this whakapapa was the line given prominence over others put forward.



(Taranaki Minute Book 16: 287)

Minarapa was a child during the Musket Wars when he and his mother were evacuated from Ngaweka Pā³² before the 'last stand' of Ngā Mahanga. It is uncertain if Minarapa migrated to the Wellington region during the exodus of the 1820s and 1830s. However he was known to have visited Wellington in 30 January 1841 where he boarded the ship *London* bound for England. Travelling at the expense of the New Zealand Company, Minarapa was registered in the logbook as Amou.³³ Minarapa returned to Aotearoa in 1842 (Scanlan 1961; 1985; Skinner MS; Smith 2001).

In 1847 Minarapa was with a party of Ngā Mahanga when they discovered the expedition of Robert Gillingham and E. Davy on Taranaki maunga. Minarapa acted as an intermediary and interpreter during this tense encounter. Ngā Mahanga barred these men from travelling further up the maunga and Gillingham and Davy were escorted off the mountain (Davy & Gillingham 1847; Scanlan 1961). In 1848 Minarapa was appointed as the guide for Francis Dillon Bell (a New Zealand Company agent) and Wellington Carrington³⁴ during the second ascent of Taranaki maunga via the western side of the maunga.³⁵ The Minarapa Stream on the Ahukawakawa side of the waterfalls was named after Minarapa.

In 1850-1851 Minarapa took part in the encirclement of Taranaki maunga by Taranaki Tūturu. This was a hikoi affirming the rights of the iwi to the maunga. The group climbed Panitahi peak and a select number of men (including Minarapa) ascended to the summit to erect a pou tawa and relight

³² A Ngā Puhi war party had ventured into the rohe during the Musket Wars and advanced on Ngaweka Pā. Significant defeats at Tataraimaka and Mounu Kahawai had decimated the population, and the remnants of Ngā Mahanga gathered at Ngaweka. Before the battle most of the women and all the children were evacuated and sent to sanctuaries on the maunga. Minarapa's father escorted them. During the journey they were discovered by a Nga Puhi scout, a heavily scarred warrior whose language was unintelligible. The scout attacked them. Minarapa's father was a warrior and defended his family using a tewhatewha, whilst the scout used a taiaha. Minarapa's father was victorious and the family then continued their journey. His father returned to the pā and the battle that was to come. Ngā Mahanga were victorious on the day (Skinner MS; Scanlan 1985).

³³ Amou appears to be a nickname. Minarapa does not use it in any other correspondence.

³⁴ Wellington Carrington was later to marry Meri e Motu (of Ngā Mahanga hapū), the sister of Ropata Ngarongomate and daughter of Te Rangi-kapu-oho (Scanlan 1985).

³⁵ The first ascent in 1839 was by Johan Karl Ernst Dieffenbach and James Herberley on the northern slope of the maunga following the course of the Waiwhakaiho awa.

the ceremonial fire of Tahurangi (Hohaia 2010). During the 1840s and early 1850s Minarapa was also appointed as a native policeman. As part of his duties he witnessed the sale of the Tataraimaka Block in 1847 (Turton 1878).³⁶

During the Land Wars, Minarapa Kahu took part in fighting against the Government forces. It is likely that Minarapa was at the battle of Waireka in March 1860 and later battles in the rohe. The rohe of Ngā Mahanga was the battleground and saw multiple military actions from 1860-1865 (Prickett 2010). For a time Minarapa lived at Paiakamahoe Pā (north of the Hangatahua awa) until this settlement fell to the 57th regiment in 1863.³⁷

Ngā Mahanga hapū surrendered on 22 January 1865 at Tukutukipapa.³⁸ A condition of surrender was that Minarapa, Rihari and Aneti were to be arrested for the ‘murders’ of S. Shaw, H. Passmore, S. Ford and two boys named Pote and Parker at Omata. These supposed murders happened after war was declared in Waitara on 17 March 1860. According to the official report by Col. Henry Warre (of the 57th Regiment), Ngā Mahanga surrendered their guns (and symbolically their lives) into the hands of Warre. Warre gave them back their guns and accepted their oath of allegiance and arrested the three suspects (Warre 1865). When told beforehand that his arrest was a condition of the surrender of the hapū, Minarapa replied “What does it matter what happens to me if the people (iwi) are saved?” (New Zealand Spectator 1865). Minarapa then was reported as a guide for the 70th Regiment in an expedition to the Warea region, south of the Waiweranui³⁹ (Nelson Examiner 1865).

During his later years, Minarapa Kahu settled on his land grants at Pukemanu Pā⁴⁰ at the bottom of Minarapa Rd. It was during this period he was appointed the kaitiaki of Te Toka a Rauhoto. Skinner and Gray visited Minarapa’s home at Pukemanu and recorded the Travelling Mountain Narrative and other narratives of the hapū. The notebook contains the Travelling Mountain Narrative, narratives for other tūpuna, karakia and an explanation for Te Umu-tao-manawa, the Dome on Taranaki maunga.

³⁶ Tataraimaka was the site of the first battle of the Musket Wars in the rohe. It is likely that Ngā Mahanga chose to sell this block because of the historic defeat and as a mean of inviting Pākehā settlers, and their new technologies into the rohe. Tataraimaka was a fulcrum of conflict in the Land Wars.

³⁷ Letters were recovered from Paiakamahoe addressed to Minarapa and other tūpuna in the papakāinga, hapū and wider iwi. The letters were given to Atkinson after being scanned for military and political intelligence. The collection is held at the Alexander Turnbull Library (MS-Group-0031).

³⁸ Tukutukipapa was a fortified pā on the coast where present-day Leith Rd is. Roadworks and house excavations between 2003-2007 destroyed the pā.

³⁹ The Waiweranui awa was the traditional boundary between Ngā Mahanga and Ngāti Moeahu hapū.

⁴⁰ Pukemanu Pā is a large terraced pā but is suffering from cow erosion. In 2013 I sorted out a new lease for the block, ensuring that fencing off the pā was a priority.

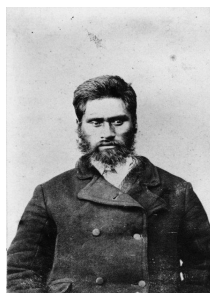
Having an introduction from an influential chief to Minarapa, I walked down [from Okato] the Minarapa Road to Pukemanu Pā, where I found the old chief and delivered my message. We walked about a quarter of a mile to the stone and my guide was delighted at having his 'whakaohua' (likeness) taken with the Toka. I must confess that I expected to see a much larger stone from the accounts about it and the 'whakairo' (carving) upon it was very much defaced by the action of time.

(Goldsmith 2008: 113)

Minarapa was an authority of the maunga within the hapū and the tribe. Considering his role as kaitiaki of the stone Te Toka a Rauhoto and as a guide on the maunga, his knowledge of the mountain and its lore was of a superior nature. The information that Minarapa Kahu provided to Skinner is a taonga. However when he relates the Travelling Mountain narrative, it is as an original myth (with supernatural details) and is bare of supporting details like whakapapa and waiata. Minarapa was the last person to bury bones in Te Ana a Tahatiti, the burial cave of Rua Taranaki on the maunga (Hohaia 2001; Scanlan 1961).

3.4. Te Kahui Kararehe (1846-1904) and Taurua Minarapa (?)

PHOTO 6: Te Kāhui Kararehe



(National Library 1875)

Te Kahui Kararehe and Taurua Minarapa were the sons of Taapu Minarapa Rangihatuake and Ripeka Marere-awhe-turi of the hapū Ngāti Haupoto and Puketoretore, of Taranaki Tūturu. Both Kararehe and Taurua⁴¹ were prolific writers and recorders of Taranaki tradition and current events. They left multiple manuscript books now known as the Kāhui manuscripts. Furthermore Kararehe was a member of the Polynesian Society, and published several articles in the journal. He exchanged correspondence with Percy Smith over several decades. More information is available for Kararehe than has been recorded for Taurua, therefore the majority of this section is devoted to Kararehe.

⁴¹ Due to Taurua Minarapa, Minarapa Kahu and Minarapa Rangiatuake sharing the same name, there has been much confusion and mistaken claims about these ancestors.

The name 'Te Kāhui Kararehe'⁴² can be loosely translated as 'The herd of animals' and he received this name to commemorate the tūpuna taken as slaves when Tataraimaka pā fell to the northern invaders of Ngā Puhī, Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Whatua during the Musket Wars. Including his father Taapu Minarapa. At the time the enslaved ancestors were driven like animals to Waikato, Kaipara and Hokianga. Freed from slavery when Ngā Puhī converted to Christianity, Taapu Minarapa was the first Māori to be ordained in New Zealand. Taapu then journeyed to Wellington where he was reunited with his Taranaki kin at Te Aro Pā. Minarapa returned to Taranaki in the 1840s,⁴³ where he married and had children, of whom only six survived.⁴⁴ The family settled at Te Namu, near present day Opunake (Clarke 2003; Smith 2001)

The following 'ara tama wahine' shows a chiefly female lineage that Kararehe gave to Smith in 1899. Ueroa was a leading wahine of Ngā Mahanga who lived at Pukehou Pā by the Pitone awa. The tātai descends through other wahine to Marere who marries twice. From the first marriage of Marere and Te Uki descends Porikapa Te Weriwēri.⁴⁵ From the second marriage of Marere to Tama-i-waho descends Ripeka Marere-awhituri, the mother of Kararehe.

⁴² In later years Te Kāhui changed his name to Poukōhatu as a sign of mourning for the deaths of several of his children.

⁴³ A specific date for when he returned to Taranaki is unknown.

⁴⁴ The surviving children of Taapu and Ripeka were Te Kāhui Kararehe, Rongotuhiata, Mane Tukokiri, Karira Te Kawau Urua and Taurua Pororaite Minarapa (A. Smith 2010).

⁴⁵ Porikapa Te Weriwēri was an ordained Anglican minister from Ngā Mahanga who lived at Parawaha Pā (at the bottom of Hampton Rd). During the Land Wars, Porikapa declared his neutrality and sheltered French and Portuguese settlers.

hapū.⁴⁸ This appears to have begun his period as an assessor in the Native Land Court during the 1880s (A. Smith 2001, 2010; Hohaia 2005).

During the 1890s, Kararehe devoted his time to recording knowledge of Taranaki tribal traditions, and sent information to Smith. At one point, Kararehe was asked to stop sending so much information to Smith as it was worrying the elders of Parihaka including Tohu and Te Whiti (Broughton 1984; Smith 2010). Kararehe was a member of the Polynesian Society, contributing several articles in te reo Māori. Kararehe submitted the Taranaki version of the voyage of the Kurahaupō waka in *The Kurahoupō Canoe* (1893). This was the account of the tohunga Te Moungaroa and other Taranaki tūpuna who travelled on the waka. Kararehe's account remains the most articulate narrative from Taranaki on the Kurahaupō. The second article Kararehe submitted was regarding the sacred house of learning in *Te Tatau-o-te-pō* (1898). This wharekura was considered in Taranaki as the source of all knowledge. Both articles were submitted in te reo and subsequently translated by S. P. Smith.

Kararehe corresponded with S. Percy Smith from the mid 1880s until 1904 (when he died) and Ruka Broughton collated these letters in *Ko ngaa tuhituhi a Te Kaahui Kararehe o Taranaki ki a Te Mete* (1984). Kararehe and Smith first met in 1868 around the Opunake region, where Kararehe assisted Smith in roading projects after the war. The information contained also informs Smith of the events in the region, including the actions of Motu Tukirikau. This information contributed towards S. P. Smith's publications on the history and traditions of Taranaki.

Kararehe also left a considerable amount of information in manuscripts to his descendants and it is likely that Hohaia based much of his published information on these manuscripts. Sections of the manuscript were also translated and published by Ailsa Smith. Smith (2001) notes that the Kāhui manuscripts also contain notes from published books like Grey's *Ngā Mahi a Ngā Tupuna* (1971) and the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. This signifies that Kararehe and Taurua were collectors as well, but wrote as much for their own sake of recording interesting information as for other reasons like preserving knowledge.

Taurua Minarapa was the younger brother of Te Kāhui Kararehe and purportedly had no issue. However the Kāhui manuscript collection also contains notebooks in which Taurua wrote.

⁴⁸ Kararehe wrote in 1882: "Mei kore au hei tuhi i ngā ingoa e kore e kite whenua e kore e kite moni: If I hadn't collected and written their names they wouldn't have had any lands nor would they have had any money" (Smith 2001: 82).

Unfortunately I have been unable to source much information about this man. However Ailsa Smith asserts that Taurua was a song composer in his own right, and the waiata and narratives he wrote feature prominently in Ailsa Smith's PhD thesis *Taranaki Waiata Tangi and Feelings for Place* (2001) and *Songs and Stories of Taranaki* (1993). Taurua sent a narrative version of the Travelling Mountain Narrative to Elsdon Best that was published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society Notes on Inscribed Stones of Taranaki* (1927). Taurua's contribution to Best's JPS article contains a key text at odds with other versions, especially that of Minarapa Kahu. Without verification by accessing Taurua's manuscripts, it would seem that this account inspired Hohaia in his version.⁴⁹

As a source of traditional Taranaki tribal traditions, Kararehe remains a preeminent source of kōrero. Kararehe wrote from a Ngāti Haupoto perspective, and in many ways this is reflected in the information he recorded and sent to Smith. For example when Smith asked Kararehe about the stone Te Toka a Rauhoto, Kararehe replied that he did not know much but that the elders at Puniho knew the kōrero (Broughton 1984). Access to the Kahui manuscripts would be a highlight for any scholar but because I was not permitted to view the manuscripts, I can only critique what has been published and through the secondary sources of Hohaia and A. Smith.

3.5. Motu Tukirikau (1810–1903)⁵⁰

PHOTO 7: Motu Tukirikau and Rua-toki-te-hau



(Day 2001: 122)

Motu Tukirikau was a tohunga of Ngā Mahanga who lived at Puniho Pā. According to Ailsa Smith (2001) he was born on 8 July 1810 and died on 21 November 1903.⁵¹ Motu was a polarising figure in

⁴⁹ Taurua's version (via Best) of the Travelling Mountain Narrative will be examined in the Narrative Versions chapter.

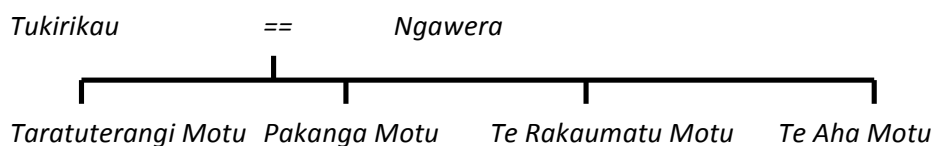
⁵⁰ This is the whare whakairo Rua-toki-te-hau, and Motu is sitting in the centre with the top hat.

⁵¹ The birth date of 8 July 1810 is debateable. According to Smith (2001) the date was included in a letter from Taurua Minarapa on Motu's death. However it is unlikely that dates were kept in the early 19th century that would have survived the disruption of the Musket Wars.

the history of Ngā Mahanga because while he was of chiefly pedigree and tohunga status, he was also regarded as a tohunga makutu. Motu composed several waiata used in this thesis and it appears that he also contributed a version of the Travelling Mountain Narrative to Henry Stowell⁵² that was reproduced by Reed in 1963. The whare whakairo Rua-toki-te-hau was built for him at Puniho and contained carvings of Rua Taranaki and Maruwakatare.⁵³ The following whakapapa from Ailsa Smith gives the direct lineage of Motu and his children and appears to come from the Kāhui manuscripts. Taratuha was killed during the battle of Mounu Kahawai in the defeat of Ngā Mahanga by a combined invasion force of Ngā Puhi, Ngāti Whatua, Ngāti Toa and Te Ati Awa around 1818 (Houston 2006). Motu composed a waiata tangi for Taratuha that was recorded by Stowell (1911) and in the manuscripts of Tutu (MS) and S. Percy Smith (Smith MS).

WHAKAPAPA 4

Taratuha



(Smith 2001: 174)

The battle of Mounu Kahawai took place after the devastating defeat at Tataraimaka pā. Mounu Kahawai was a lightly palisaded papakāinga spreading over both sides of the mouth of the Kaihihi awa. Te Rauparaha⁵⁴ fired a raupo swamp on the northern side of Mounu Kahawai and the wind blew the smoke into the pā causing a mass evacuation of the inhabitants. The evacuees fled into the waiting weapons of the northern invaders. The genealogy of Motu in Whakapapa 4 does not match up with the following whakapapa recorded in the Taranaki Minute Books of the Native Land Court.

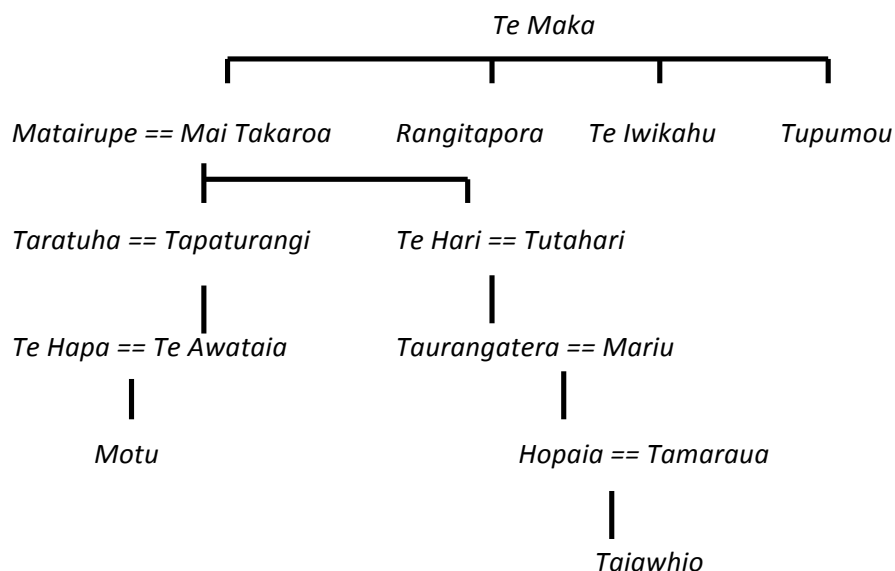
In the following whakapapa Motu is shown as a descendant of Te Maka, the same ancestor as Minarapa Kahu. Minarapa's line came down from Tupumou. In these genealogies, Te Awataia is the child of Taratuha and Tapaturangi. Motu Tukirikau is the child of Te Awataia and Te Hapa.

⁵² Henry Stowell was also known as Hare Hongi.

⁵³ Refer to Chapter 5.3 for more information on the whare Rua-toki-te-hau.

⁵⁴ Te Rauparaha was the leader of Ngāti Toa and his allied with Ngāti Tama and elements of Te Atiawa to gain entrance into Taranaki. Along with Ngāti Whatua and Ngā Puhi they attacked the strongholds of Ngā Mahanga.

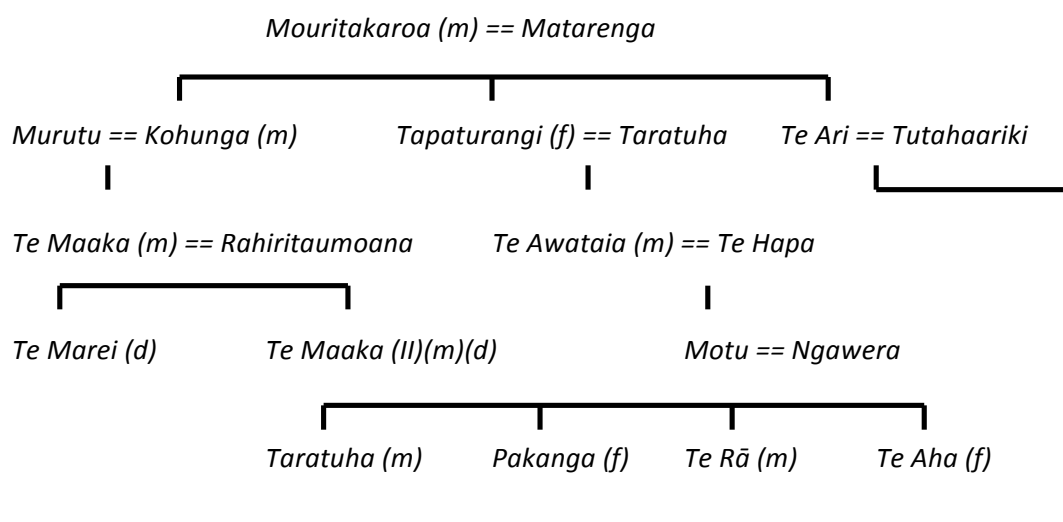
WHAKAPAPA 5



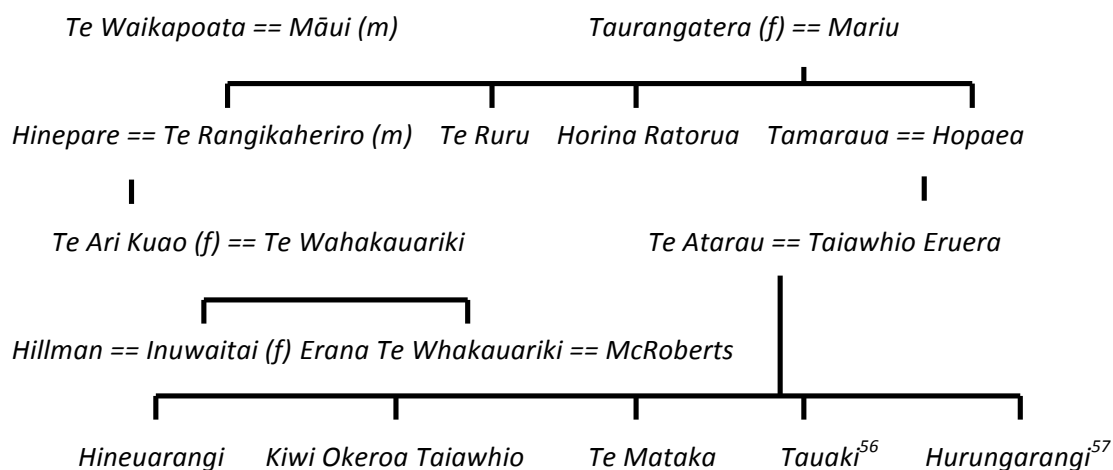
(Taranaki Minute Book 16: 271)

The next tātai is a more detailed whakapapa included in an application by Kiwi Okeroa (and others) to the Crown regarding a land secession order into the interests of Te Marei in the Komene block, Cape Survey District.⁵⁵ The tātai is a reproduction of the way it was published. There is no connecting line between Te Atarau and Taiawhio and Motu’s line at the bottom of the tātai. During the land court hearing to secede to the land of Minarapa, the line of Taiawhio was given precedence. As mentioned earlier in the explanation of the kaitauaki, Tauaki Taiawhio was the woman who fostered my grandmother.

WHAKAPAPA 6



⁵⁵ When Motu Tukirikau died, his son Taramotu applied for and received the land shares from his father that included the shares of Tukirikau’s cousin Te Marei. There were other claimants besides iwi that included Tukirikau’s other children who did not share in their brother’s largesse. This application was submitted to Parliament but was refused.



(Jackson 1909: 7)

Motu settled at Puniho Pā and was known as a supporter of Tohu and Te Whiti during the early period of the Parihaka movement (Riseborough 1989). However there was a falling out between Motu and Te Whiti, and Motu attempted to establish himself as a prophet at Puniho. While Motu had supporters at Puniho, there was a large section of the hapū that still supported Parihaka. Motu was infamous as a tohunga makutu and at one point Motu and his whānau visited Kararehe, and Kararehe refused to welcome Motu into his home because he was afraid (Broughton 1984).

Most of the details of the early life of Motu Tukirikau are unknown. What is recalled is that he was a powerful and learned man. Stowell recorded waiata from Motu, and appears to have met Motu during a visit to Taranaki in the late 19th century (Hongi 1931). While Motu may not have contributed as much written information as Kararehe or Minarapa, he has been included here as an influential tūpuna of Ngā Mahanga hapū in that generation.

3.6. Ropata Ngarongomate (1822 – 1885)

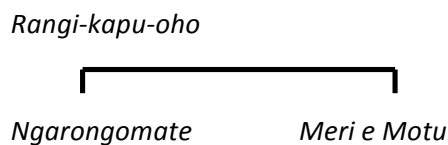
Ropata Ngarongomate recorded a manuscript of traditional Taranaki waiata and whakataukī detailing over 40 songs and stories of Ngā Mahanga and Taranaki and was an influential figure from the 1850s to the 1880s. Ngarongomate, also known as Bob Erangi, was another Ngā Mahanga ancestor and lived at Poutoko Pā, just north of Oakura. During his lifetime he worked with Wellington Carrington on survey parties, with Robert Parris as a mediator, as a native assessor for

⁵⁶ Tauaki Taiawhio adopted my grandmother Nita, and when she died she left her land to my grandmother and Mansell Baker. They lived at Pukemanu Pa

⁵⁷ Hurungarangi was a composer of waiata and she lived in the late 19th century and early 20th century. Hurungarangi was the mother of David Paora, kaumātua of Puniho Pā. A waiata composed by Hurungarangi was published by Ailsa Smith in *Songs and Stories of Taranaki* (1993).

the government in the period leading up the Land Wars and in the army as a guide. Considering the dearth of early material retained by Ngā Mahanga, this manuscript collection is a treasure trove. Ngarongomate died on Saturday 20 June 1885 and is buried in Mokotonu urupā on Paora Road.

WHAKAPAPA 7



Ngarongomate was the child of Te Rangi-kapu-oho of Ngā Mahanga hapū. Smith (1910) says that both Te Rangi-kapu-oho and Te Whetu Moeahu (of Parihaka) were descended from Rangi-te-whaia, who in turn was descended from Moeahu and Tairi before him.⁵⁸ A Eurocentric description of Ngarongomate was as a ‘tall, well-built with a bold determined expression of countenance’ (Scanlan 1985: 125). He was also described as ‘about six feet high, and had Jewish features. He was very polite in his manner, and in the war had shown himself friendly to the English, by conveying to them important information’ (Sydney Morning Herald 1880). In the 1840s during the early settlement of Wellington, Ngarongomate lived in Pōneke where he worked with the surveyor Wellington Carrington. Carrington married Meri e Motu in 1844 the sister of Ngarongomate.⁵⁹ Returning to Taranaki from Wellington and living at Poutoko, Ngarongomate was employed as a Native Assessor and worked closely with Carrington, Parris and Mclean (Goode 2001).

During the Land Wars Ngarongomate served with the British army. After the surrender of Ngā Mahanga in 1865, Ngarongomate appeared at the Oakura Compensation Court. The compensation court was formed to determine loyal and rebel Māori during the Land Wars, and award grants to land confiscated under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863. Claimants from hapū in Ngā Mahanga were asked to record the names, kinship details and claims to land on the printed form ‘He Pukapuka Tono Ki Te Kooti Whakawa Māori, Kia Whakawakia Etahi Take Whenua’ (Haami 2004). Two hundred and seventy claimants applied for over 200 sites, and referenced at least 30 hapū within Ngā Mahanga a Tairi, and claimants came from the Chatham Islands, Waikanae, Pōneke and Te Taihu. Even though Ngarongomate and Porikapa asserted that these people, both men and women,

⁵⁸ For the full whakapapa, see page 104, Table no. 32 in Smith (1910).

⁵⁹ Meri and Wellington were married 25 March 1844, and they were given land to live on that they developed into a farm near the Tapuae awa. Wellington Carrington was the brother of Frederick Carrington, the chief surveyor of the New Plymouth settlement, and his younger brother Octavious Carrington, also a surveyor (Byrnes 2001). Meri died in 1855 at Poutoko Pā from consumption. Meri and Wellington had one child, a boy, who died in 1867 (Scanlan 1985).

still had a claim to the whenua the claims from people living outside Taranaki were rejected. At the conclusion of the hearings 76 claims were 'admitted' by the court, and encompassed an area of 27,000 acres. 18930 acres had already been allotted to the military and settlements. The claimants were awarded the remainder (Keenan 1994).

Ngarongomate was a 'loyalist' during the Land Wars, and this is reflected in the many land titles under his name of the West Coast Commission. The majority of these were not awarded until after the 1880s. No doubt having lost faith in the imposed court system, Ngarongomate joined the passive resistance campaign spearheaded by Parihaka. Ngarongomate was arrested whilst ploughing confiscated land at Tapuae in 1879, although this was originally his land. He had been loyal during the Land Wars but the Crown did not deliver on the promised land reserves, so he yoked his horse to the plough of Parihaka (Riseborough 2002).

Ngarongomate died in 1885 and was buried in Mokotonu urupā, a considerable distance from his ancestral land at Tapuae. Mokotonu urupā is the site of an old papakāinga where the remainder of Ngā Mahanga gathered after the Land Wars. Having seen his grave as I mowed around it, I often wondered who this man was. This research drove me to find out and then include him in this thesis. Ngarongomate lived a fascinating life and influenced events in the 1850s and 1860s. The waiata he collected are a valuable resource for Ngā Mahanga, especially since they are written in te reo Māori. Analysis of the waiata in the manuscript is continuing.

The pūkōrero of Taranaki lived in Ngā Ao Pūtahi, the converging worlds of Māori and Pākehā. They witnessed conflict, confiscation and the loss of rangatiratanga of hapū and iwi. These men attempted to leave something behind in written records. Certainly there was change through contact with the kaitauaki Pākehā affecting these narratives and traditions. Tarena-Prendergast developed a model for analysing the changes recorded in literature in *He Atua He Tupuna He Takata* (2008) that refer to the 'dynamics of change' from the time of contact and colonisation.

TABLE 5: Change Dynamics Model

Change Dynamics Model
1. Pre-European Change
2. Post-contact Pākehā Change
3. Post-contact Māori Change
4. Post-contact Conjoint Change
5. Post-contact Pākehā Synthesis Change

6. Iwi Cultural Revivalist Change
7. New-age Multicultural Change

(Tarena-Prendergast 2008: 24)

Tarena-Prendergast applies the Change Dynamics Model to written traditions from Te Wai Pounamu and involves seven changes affecting written narratives. 1) Pre-European Change is effectively pre-contact traditions evolving from the same origins and knowledge system as other Polynesian cultures; 2) Post-contact Pākehā Change is the initial impact of literacy and early European writers on traditions; 3) Post-contact Māori Change refers to how Māori adapted and adopted written knowledge; 4) Post-contact Conjoint Change are when Māori and Pākehā partnerships publish; 5) Post-contact Pākehā Synthesis Change refers to 'smithing' attempts of multiple narratives into a single tradition; 6) Iwi Cultural Revivalist Change is the reconstruction and reestablishment of mana; 7) New-age Multicultural Change is the application of new-age models to Māori traditions to create new traditions, and this can be seen in *The Song of Waitaha* (Brailsford 1994).

Applying the model of Tarena-Prendergast to the Travelling Mountain Narrative and its associated traditions would classify it within the Post-contact Conjoint Change. Taonui (Tarena-Prendergast 2008) defined these accounts as a result of Māori and Pākehā authorship, but with Pākehā dominating the discourse in the English language. Tarena-Prendergast gives the example of Te Whatahoro and S. P. Smith in *The Lore of the Whare-Wananga* (1913-1915) where Te Whatahoro recorded Te Matorohanga, and then Smith translated and published this material. Minarapa and Kararehe gave their kōrero in te reo Māori and Skinner and Smith then translated it before being published and circulated throughout the country. While it is known that both Minarapa and Kararehe were able to write in Māori, and they could speak English, it is unknown if they were literate in English. By recording history and knowledge, Kararehe, Taurua and Minarapa were attempting to connect with the writing of history in order to preserve Taranaki tribal traditions (Smith 2001).

3.7. Kaitauaki Pākehā – Pākehā Authors of Māori Tribal Traditions

Amongst the early surveyors of New Zealand were men of ability, learning and curiosity about Te Ao Māori. William Henry Skinner, Stephenson Percy Smith and Elsdon Best were government surveyors, self-taught ethnologists and amateur scholars (Beaglehole 1937). Through the course of their surveying work, they came into contact with local Māori, and these people acted as guides and workers as they mapped the bush-clad interior of the country. The information they received from their guides and workers was to be the base of their published ethnographic writings.

Ernst Dieffenbach was the first European to climb Taranaki maunga in 1839. Dieffenbach was hired by the New Zealand Company as a naturalist to survey the countryside's fertility and mineralogy (Rawson 1981). This started a long line of government and military surveyors of the Taranaki region and mountains. The Land Wars saw military cartographers alongside the regiments capturing the whenua on maps. Confiscation of land in the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863, and the outcomes of the compensation courts and Native Land Court resulted in the whole of Taranaki being surveyed and divided into land blocks.

Byrnes (2001: 94) classified the early surveying expeditions as 'exercises of invasion'. These surveyors relied on the knowledge of their Māori guides to navigate the landscape as well as the culture and traditions of Māori society. The surveyors assumed that knowledge could be taken because it was there and it aided their work. The dispossession of hapū of their land led to the appropriation of knowledge. 'As surveyors they were employed to transform the landscape; as ethnographers they were intent on preserving at least the image of 'the Māori as he was' (Byrnes 2001: 22-23). Smith was the Surveyor General of New Zealand; Skinner was Commissioner of Crown Lands and Chief Surveyor of Marlborough, Hawkes Bay and Canterbury; and Best was in the Urewera road-making team and secretary of the Urewera Commission subdividing the Urewera District.

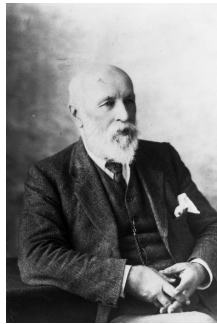
These kaitauaki Pākehā collected, translated and interpreted and then published tribal traditions and mātauranga Māori that benefited their careers. As surveyors, authors and ethnographers, all three spent a considerable amount of time on the land liaising with local Māori populations, especially in Taranaki. Certainly both Smith and Best demonstrated their fluency in te reo Māori in their works. Analysis of their versions will look deeper into their contribution to retention of Taranaki tribal history.

The attempts to rationalise and structure Māori tribal traditions in the late 19th century were mainly led by members of the Polynesian Society. The Polynesian Society was formed in January 1892 by a small group of likeminded scholars of Māori and Pacific culture and history. Initiated by S. Percy Smith, the aims of the society was 'to promote the study of the Anthropology, Ethnology, Philology, History and Antiquities of the Polynesian Races' (Sorrenson 1992: 137). Smith, Best and Skinner were all foundation members. The subsequent journal that was produced has been a forum for these

kaupapa to the present and is still in print.⁶⁰ By collecting, analysing and disseminating material these authors aimed to save dying knowledge and publish for posterity. Although criticism can be directed at these men, they were writing from their own cultural paradigms within the colonial reality of early New Zealand

3.8. Stephenson Percy Smith (1840 – 1922)

PHOTO 8: S. Percy Smith



(Cowan 1908)

Stephenson Percy Smith (Te Mete) was influential in gathering and publishing tribal traditions. Smith engaged with Taranaki tribal tradition when he published *Traditions of the Taranaki Coast* (serialised in the JPS from 1906 to 1910) and his book (based on the JPS articles) *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island prior to 1840* (1910). As a founding member of the Polynesian Society, Smith was responsible for publishing multiple articles and books and mentoring many ethnologists, including Elsdon Best.

Smith was born in Suffolk, England on 11 June 1840, but lived in New Plymouth with his family from 1850. As a surveyor Smith spent a lot of time travelling the countryside and came into frequent contact with Māori from the areas that he surveyed. Many of these people, and the information they shared with him, would eventually become the foundation of his knowledge on Taranaki (Byrnes 2010). Smith climbed Mt Taranaki in February 1857 with a small group of friends and this was the impetus for planning a trip into the heartland of the North Island that Smith was to later attempt (Scanlan 1961). Smith died at his home Matai-moana (in New Plymouth) on 19 April 1922.

⁶⁰ The influence of the Polynesian Society, and the journal that contains the essays of its contributors and members, was and remains a respected journal regarding Māori and Polynesian tradition and culture. Besides being a vehicle that let Māori scholars to contribute to the scholarship on their world, it contains papers by many influential Pākehā and Māori writers of the past century. The Journal of the Polynesian Society is a valuable and well-utilised resource of this thesis.

Smith has often been criticised for his interpretation of the material he gathered, especially around the origins of Māori (Byrnes 2010; Van Meijl 1995). Moreover his smithing of the theory of the Great Fleet into a grand narrative is often criticised as simplifying and romanticising waka traditions for the public (Belich 2001; Durie 2005; Simmons 1976; Sorrenson 1979; Taonui 1994). Also Smith's work on *The Lore of the Whare-Wananga* is now considered to contain many errors of theory-making, especially around the cult of Io (Simmons 1976; Biggs & Simmons 1970). Smith also showed some disdain for his informants, as shown in his notes of his interviews with Eruera Wirihana Pakauwera of Ngāti Kuia (South Island) in 1894.⁶¹ Much of his Taranaki material came from correspondence with Te Kahui, Mahau-whereo and Riria (Te Kahui's wife).

Smithyman (1979) reveals that Smith 'improved' material from Skinner. In fact Smith had no compunctions in inserting his own information into other authors work as the editor of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. Analysing material around the northern raids of Tuwhare and Murupaenga into Taranaki, Smithyman demonstrates how Smith changed information to better suit his idea of what happened, regardless of what Skinner or Taungatara⁶² submitted. This begs the question if Smith was content to change this information how much did he change when publishing Taranaki tribal traditions?

Smith based himself in Taranaki and was corresponding with knowledgeable pūkōrero from around the country. Moreover as the editor of the JPS he had access to information and articles from the many correspondents and contributors of the Polynesian Society. It certainly seems that he was guilty of smithing different elements into grand narratives that fit his theories on tribal and Māori history. He was shown to have done this in *The Lore of the Whare-Wānanga* (1913-1915) and *Māori Wars of the Nineteenth Century* (1910) and other books like *Hawaiki* (Simmons 1976; Smithyman 1979).

Even though there are many critics who have reviewed and critiqued Smith's writings, and it is plain that relying solely on Smith is inadvisable, does that negate the intrinsic value of the information he collected? My personal opinion is that the works of Smith do have value, as long as it cross-referenced with other sources, where possible. Smith preserved knowledge that would have otherwise been lost and I have often come across information in his book that are not retained in

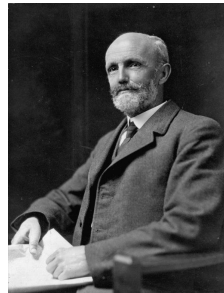
⁶¹ Even though Pakauwera sang Smith over 130 waiata from Ngāti Kuia, Smith was disparaging about Pakauwera's knowledge of the waiata because he could not adequately 'explain' them (Smith MS Vol 2).

⁶² Watene Taungatara was a pūkōrero from Te Atiawa.

oral knowledge. Because there are limited resources pertaining to the Travelling Mountain Narrative and Taranaki tribal traditions, the material that Smith collected is used in this thesis.

3.9. William Henry Skinner (1857 – 1946)

PHOTO 9: W. H. Skinner



(National Library 1917)

William Henry Skinner was born in New Plymouth in 1857 from pioneer settlers who came to New Zealand in 1841. During a long surveying career Skinner spent the majority of his life in the Taranaki area and met many people from local hapū and iwi. Besides this role as surveyor, Skinner was a foundation member of the Polynesian Society in 1892, an editor of the JPS from 1901 to 1905 and again from 1921 to 1925. Skinner's son Henry Skinner was also a renowned anthropologist of the 20th century. Skinner is considered as the founder of the Taranaki Museum (now Pukeariki Museum) when he donated the many Māori artifacts he had collected to the museum. Skinner also contributed towards the development of anthropology in New Zealand, albeit his observations were influenced by the intellectual fashions of his era (Byrnes 2010). While Skinner did not have the extensive publication list of Smith and Best, Smith, Best, Scanlan and Rawson heavily reference his field-notes and observations. Skinner died on 24 October 1946 and was buried in Te Henui cemetery in New Plymouth.

Skinner is credited with helping Smith on his articles and book on Taranaki tribal history in *The History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast* (1907) and *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast North Island of New Zealand prior to 1840* (1910) and in the *Northern Wars of the Nineteenth Century* (1910). However, Smith was not always so exact when referencing Skinner. According to Smithyman (1979) Smith could be creative in re-interpreting Skinner and would add details to the narrative. In fact, she considers the way Smith rewrote, relocated and re-edited the information of Skinner as 'devious' and 'complicated'.

Skinner published his own books including *Taranaki, eighty years ago* (1923), *Pioneer medical men of Taranaki* (1933), *The establishment of the New Plymouth Settlement* (1940), *History and reminiscences of the Okato district* (1935) and *Reminiscences of a Taranaki surveyor* (1946). The Pukeariki Museum holds Skinner's survey field notebooks and a manuscript of kōrero he was given from Minarapa Kahu. *Legends* (Skinner MS) is the manuscript containing the version of the Travelling Mountain Narrative published by Smith.

Skinner developed a relationship with Minarapa and other elders of Nga Mahanga. While he may not have had the national profile that Smith and Best possessed, Skinner was an important contributor to local affairs in Taranaki, and his small notebook of Ngā Mahanga traditions is valuable. Moreover the importance of Skinner as mediator and fieldworker collecting traditions and narratives that then informed Smith and Best's work cannot be overstated.

3.10. Elsdon Best (1856 – 1931)

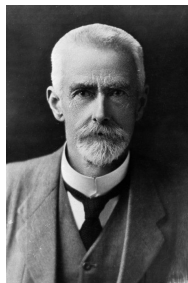


PHOTO 10: Elsdon Best

(Andrew 1931)

Elsdon Best was born and raised at Tawa Flat in Wellington on 30 June 1856. During the 1870s, Best was employed as a farm labourer in Poverty Bay. After a period of unemployment he joined the Armed Constabulary in Taranaki. Elsdon Best's company was stationed at Pungarehu and was involved in arresting groups from the fencing campaign of Parihaka. In November 1881, Best took part in the invasion of Parihaka. Best's sister Edith married Walter Gudgeon, an officer in the Armed Constabulary and founding member of the Polynesian Society. Best also encountered Smith and Treager who were surveying in Taranaki at the time. These contacts led to Best becoming a foundational member of the Polynesian Society in 1891. In 1922 Best became the president of the Polynesian Society and three years later the joint editor of the journal. Best died on 9 September 1931 in Wellington (Holman 2010; Sissons 2010).

Whilst Best may not have specialised in Taranaki traditions to the extent that he researched the Mataatua region and Ngāi Tūhoe, he spent a lot of time in Taranaki. Best began his ethnography career by interviewing elders of the iwi resident in the Wellington region. However the majority of his knowledge on things Māori was gained during his extended surveying expedition into the rohe of Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa in 1895. Best was sent to the Urewera district where he joined the road-making team consisting of Tutakangahau and Paitini Wi Tapeka of Maungapohatu, who were to become his pūkōrero of Tūhoe knowledge and traditions (Sissons 2010).

Regarding the Travelling Mountain Narrative, Best published the article *Notes on Māori Mythology: the Origin and Personification of the Heavenly Bodies, &c.* (1899) and included a version originating from Hamiora Pio of Ngāti Awa. In 1924 he referenced the Travelling Mountain Narrative in *Māori Religion and Mythology* by smithing multiple versions together based on information supplied by Taurua Minarapa. In 1927 Best also published *Notes on inscribed stones of the Taranaki district* regarding the maunga, the guidestone Te Toka a Rauhoto and stone petroglyphs. The versions take shape over the intervening years until Best manages to combine the main details of all of them into one distinct narrative.

Best wrote for a Pākehā audience and although he collated and published tribal traditions, histories and knowledge on a plethora of subjects, the texts are structured in favour of Pākehā readers. Reilly (1995) claims that Best used tribal narratives against themselves by dividing mythology from history and thereby reconstructing Māori history into a European structure. Furthermore Best undermines the texts through the use of belittling comments and censorship resulting in misrepresenting the meaning of the narratives. Best worked at the Dominion Museum in the latter half of his career and he can be classed as the first professional ethnographer of Māori tribal traditions in New Zealand (Sissons 2012).

These kaitauaki Pākehā were fundamental agents of transmission. Of course there are many more authors who have published variations of the Travelling Mountain Narrative. These people and excerpts from their publication are included in chapter 4. The primary trio of Smith, Best and Skinner were the focus of this section as key kaitauaki of the narrative and Taranaki tribal traditions. As the authors of grand narratives that fused together multiple tribal traditions in order to understand and explain the Māori world, these kaitauaki were instrumental in interpreting te ao Māori for a Pākehā audience. In many ways these men were following in the footsteps of George Grey.

As the governor general of New Zealand from 1845 to 1853 Sir George Grey recorded reams of material from knowledgeable Māori, including Piri Kawau of Te Atiawa and Te Rangikaheke of Te Arawa. Much of this material was subsequently published. Loader (2014) asserts that Grey edited the Māori sources in order to suit his own beliefs furthermore he retold these traditions by filtering them through Eurocentric lenses. Although Grey is not explicitly investigated in this thesis the influence Grey had on published Māori material was significant.

There may have been different reasons why these men were collecting and publishing tribal traditions, but the power imbalance between them and the pūkōrero is redolent of colonialism. Smith seemed to be writing out of a desire to preserve traditional Māori knowledge; Best earned a living writing for a Pākehā audience; and Skinner was a collector of artifacts and kōrero. They were products of their generation and whilst on one hand they were implicit in the dispossession of Māori land, on the other hand they were concerned with collecting and preserving Māori knowledge. They learned by participating, observing, corresponding with each other and reliance on pūkōrero from all around the country. Their careers were made on the information and artifacts they collected.

3.11. Kaitauaki Māori – Contemporary Māori Authors

The kaitauaki Māori discussed in this section are Ruka Broughton, Te Miringa Hohaia and Ailsa Smith. These three kaitauaki were given precedence over other authors for two reasons. First they all link to Taranaki Tūturu. Secondly they all utilise the manuscript information of Te Kāhui Kararehe. Because I was unable to access the Kāhui manuscripts myself I had to rely on these three kaitauaki Māori and their interpretations of the source material. Hence their biographical information and scholarly contribution to the kaupapa is examined. It must also be noted that while the two distinguished kaitauaki Māori Sir Peter Buck and Sir Māui Pomare of the 20th century were also from Taranaki, their biographical information is not explored in this chapter. Although Buck's material informs the research framework of this thesis, and Pomare contributed two versions of Travelling Mountain Narrative. Both men contributed to the retention of Taranaki tribal traditions, indeed to retention of Māori knowledge, and were outstanding individuals of their era. While this thesis does not delve into their lives, this thesis does utilise their material. Specific emphasis in this chapter is on Broughton, Hohaia and Smith.

Ruka Broughton in his MA thesis *Ngā Pakiaka o Ngā Rauru Kii Tahī: The Origins of Ngā Rauru Kii Tahī* (1979) contributed an influential work on Ngā Rauru, Aotea, Taranaki and Kāhui Maunga tribal traditions. Hohaia, as a kaikōrero at Parihaka and a historian in his own right, published valuable

material in edited books based on the writings of Te Kāhui Kararehe and Taurua Minarapa, and wrote from a Taranaki Tūturu and Parihaka worldview. Ailsa Smith, as a direct descendant of Kararehe, has written theses and books on the material in her ancestor's manuscript books. Her PhD thesis in particular is grounded in theory and makes use of the Kāhui manuscript books.

3.12. Ruka Te Rangiahuta Broughton (1940 – 1986)

Broughton was born in Whanganui on 21 April 1940. Growing up within the tribal environs of Ngā Rauru, Broughton was taught by the tohunga Rakei Taituha Kingi from a young age. By the age of 14 he was standing to whaikōrero. The knowledge he acquired of Ngā Rauru and Taranaki history and traditions ensured that he was a respected participant in tribal affairs. This is symbolised by his responsibility as the kaitiaki of the sacred toki Te Awhiorangi. Broughton was a lecturer at Victoria University and finished his MA thesis in 1979. His doctoral thesis on Titokowaru was published posthumously in 1993. Broughton died in Wellington on 17 April 1986 (Temara 2013).

Broughton's critical analysis of Ngā Rauru and Aotea waka traditions in *Ngā Pakiaka o Ngā Rauru Kii Tahi: The Origins of Ngā Rauru Kii Tahi* (1979) is a significant resource, and directly influenced the construction of the Wā-Ātea model and my methods of analysis of tribal traditions. *Ngā Mahi Whakaari o Titokowaru* (1993) was written solely in te reo Māori and examined the life and events of Titokowaru.⁶³ Relocating the narratives of Titokowaru into te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori paradigms paid homage to the mana of the tūpuna.

In Broughton's two publications, he questions whakapapa, waiata, place names and boundaries in his quest to illuminate the lives of the ancestors Rauru and Titokowaru. Moreover he was brave enough to come up with conclusions that directly challenged accepted traditions. This line of direct inquiry into oral traditions is replicated in my thesis. Furthermore there is information Broughton recorded from manuscripts in his possession that have bearing on this thesis. By sifting and analysing primary source material as well as that produced by published authors, Broughton was able to enlighten the life of the ancestors Rauru and Titokowaru. By doing so Broughton challenged the status quo of what is known and dared to contest conventional knowledge within a mātauranga Māori framework.

⁶³ Although Titokowaru was never defeated in battle, he joined the passive resistance campaign of Parihaka and was arrested during non-violent protest action.

3.13. Te Miringa Milton Charles Hohaia (1952 – 2010)

Te Miringa Hohaia was staunchly dedicated to promoting the mana of Taranaki (maunga and iwi), Parihaka Pā and tribal traditions and contributed written and verbal information to the continuation of Taranaki tribal traditions. He could connect to many hapū and iwi within the region, but especially Ngāti Haupoto and Ngāti Moeahu hapū at Parihaka Pā. The depth of his knowledge on Taranaki tribal traditions was extensive, and he seemed to have spent his last days trying to share much of that knowledge. Hohaia was born in 1952 and died on 17 August 2010 at the age of 58.

Hohaia contributed articles to edited books in *Te Maunga Taranaki: Views of a Mountain* (2001) and *Parihaka: The Art of Passive Resistance* (2001). In 2005 Hohaia also published the book *Parihaka: Ko ngā kōrero nā Te Miringa Hohaia*. Besides his written accounts, he also contributed his version of the Travelling Mountain Narrative to *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia New Zealand* [online resource] and was recorded telling this version on the television show *Waka Huia* (Tamati 2010). Hohaia also provided kōrero for Department of Conservation information boards at the North Egmont Visitor Centre on Taranaki maunga. The taonga Māori collection at Pukeariki Museum is surrounded by information from Hohaia, often referencing the manuscripts of *Te Kāhui Kararehe*, and an audio track with Hohaia reciting karakia is on a never ending loop. Finally, in 2010 Hohaia participated in a series of tribal wānanga for Taranaki Tūturu that I attended and I was given recordings of his lectures.

Te Maunga Taranaki (2001) was edited by Susette Goldsmith and published in association with the art exhibition *Te Maunga Taranaki: Views of a mountain*, held between 17 February to 16 April 2001. The book is filled with essays and pictorials of the artwork on display, all obviously showing perspectives of Taranaki maunga. Hohaia has a chapter in this book titled ‘The Foundation Story’ that is purported to originate from manuscript accounts held by Taranaki iwi. Hohaia does not reference *Kararehe*, but it is clear the majority of information comes from *Kararehe*. This chapter contains fascinating and valuable information, and this thesis makes use of the information. However, there were details about *Te Toka a Rauhoto* and the *tohunga Te Ao Marama* that he published that were shown to be incorrect and were challenged by Ngā Mahanga at the time of the exhibition and publication of the book.⁶⁴

Additionally Hohaia was instrumental in the planning and implementation of the art exhibition *Parihaka: The Art of Passive Resistance*. This art exhibit was held in Wellington in 2000. Along with

⁶⁴ Hohaia claimed creative licence in the move of the stone *Te Toka a Rauhoto* and the death of *Te Ao Marama*. These details are examined in Chapter 7.

many kaumātua and leaders from Parihaka and Taranaki, Hohaia played a part in resurrecting kōrero about Parihaka for the general public. The exhibit displayed over a hundred artworks related to Parihaka and the prophets, Tohu and Te Whiti. A book was also published that Hohaia helped to edit and for which he wrote a chapter. Drawing on the Kāhui manuscripts, Hohaia collected and translated waiata, whakatauākī and other previously unseen kōrero about Parihaka. Hohaia explains that when he returned to live at Parihaka in 1975, he was prevailed upon to teach the waiata mōteatea (and associated kōrero) that he includes in his chapter. As someone who learnt tradition through oral transmission, and as a scholar, he was eminently capable of passing on his knowledge. The chapter in *Parihaka: The Art of Passive Resistance* (2001) is a taonga.

Hohaia had access to the Kararehe manuscripts (and other manuscripts) and he was also the kaitiaki and kaikōrero at Te Paepae o Te Raukura on Parihaka Pā. Hohaia was an acknowledged expert in lore. Moreover, he was always open to sharing his knowledge. We had many conversations over the years since I first met him at Parihaka, and he was always generous in his knowledge and time. There are aspects of his written kōrero that I critique, especially information around the day Te Toka a Rauhoto was moved to Puniho Pā. And on a personal level there were also times we disagreed during political discussions when he was alive. But does critique of some elements of his published information negate the value of all of his work? Similar to Broughton and Smith, Hohaia had access to the Kāhui material and this alone ensures that utilising his knowledge is important. Finally I know that Te Miringa enjoyed a good debate, and if he had lived he would have been an important informant for this thesis.

3.14. Ailsa Lorraine Smith

Ailsa Smith is a direct descendant of Te Kāhui Kararehe, Ngāti Haupoto hapū and Taranaki Tūturu. She received her PhD from Lincoln University with a thesis titled *Taranaki Waiata Tangi and Feelings for Place* (2001) based on the waiata composed and recorded by her tūpuna. In her thesis she explored the nature of belonging to a place from a Taranaki perspective. Her thesis was also an attempt to get these waiata into the public.⁶⁵ Eighty waiata, often with translations and explanations are included. She also published *Songs and Stories of Taranaki* (1993). This was later turned into a book article called *Land, Sea and Belonging in Taranaki Māori Songs of Lament* (2010).

⁶⁵ Te Reo o Taranaki use several chapters from Smiths thesis as handouts and teaching resources.

As a direct descendent of Kararehe, Smith was given access to the Kāhui manuscripts and her analysis of the waiata and kōrero contained therein is a valuable addition to Taranaki tradition. Smith's Taranakitanga weaves throughout her PhD thesis. Because I was not able to access the Kāhui manuscripts myself, her thesis became the source of a lot of primary material. The waiata, whakapapa and whakataukī collected in her thesis were invaluable and her thesis is referenced heavily.

Smith attempted to make her ancestor's texts accessible to whānau, hapū and iwi of Taranaki. Although, in order to ensure iwi intellectual property rights were protected she did not translate the waiata in their entirety. I have faced the same issue about protecting the mana of my tribal communities by choosing what information to include and what to leave aside, whilst still undertaking a critical study of my tribal traditions. Her final conclusion is that the meanings associated with the Taranaki Māori and the land (and by extension the maunga) cannot be changed without threatening the identity of the iwi. Although I haven't had the pleasure of meeting her, I look forward to sitting down and having a kōrero with her someday.

These three kaitauaki Māori writers of Broughton, Hohaia and Smith reclaimed Taranaki tribal traditions within mātauranga Māori and mātauranga Taranaki framework. All three have contributed extensive kōrero to the body of knowledge retained within Taranaki. Of the three, Hohaia's information has literally changed the information landscape of Taranaki. His influence is pervasive and his kōrero is found in multiple formats. As a motivation to research and write, the examples of these three writers were certainly influential in the construction and structure of this thesis topic.

3.15. Summary

The tātai kīanga relates to the lineage of transmission of Taranaki traditions through the interpretations of three groups of people who possessed a close connection with Taranaki iwi and its hapū. For example the pūkōrero primary sources of the Travelling Mountain Narrative lived in the same generational era of the 19th century. All the primary sources developed relationships with kaitauaki Pākehā writers and thereby had their knowledge disseminated in print. Furthermore the kaitauaki Māori writers relied on manuscript information recorded by the pūkōrero to inform their publications.

The two primary sources of Taranaki were Minarapa Kahu (Ngā Mahanga) and Te Kāhui Kararehe (Ngāti Haupoto). They both fought against the Crown during the Land Wars and both occupied

privileged positions after the wars and confiscations. While Kararehe kept his own notes and manuscripts, Minarapa dictated narratives to Skinner. Minarapa was the kaitiaki of Te Toka a Rauhoto. Therefore, both men were experts in their respective fields. Motu Tukirikau and Ropata Ngarongomate are of lesser significance in relation to the transmission and retention of Taranaki tribal traditions, however they both contributed kōrero to the pool of retained kōrero for Taranaki.

The trio of S. Percy Smith, Elsdon Best and William Skinner were all contemporaries, as surveyors, collectors and colleagues on the Polynesian Society. All three men were also the president and the editor of the JPS at one point of the Society. While Smith and Best are better known for their extensive publishing of Māori knowledge and traditions, Skinner was a major collector and supplied kōrero to the other two. As the kaitauaki Pākehā, the publications of these three men shaped Taranaki historiography.

The symbiotic relationship between pūkōrero and kaitauaki Pākehā demonstrated a power imbalance. It was the Pākehā who published, who became famous and therefore who profited from this information they recorded. This led to the construction of grand narratives by Percy Smith and Best by fusing elements from different tribal traditions in order to create a cohesive history of Māori. This is especially evident in Best (1924)⁶⁶ for the Travelling Mountain Narrative. Although Kararehe did have two articles published in the *Journal of Polynesian Society* these articles were translated by Smith into English, whereby he stamped his authority on the published narrative. Although these men can be criticised for how they translated and published on tribal traditions, they nonetheless amassed a huge corpus of information to analyse.

Finally the third group of writers was the kaitauaki Māori of Ruka Broughton, Te Miringa Hohaia and Ailsa Smith. All worked from a mātauranga Māori foundation and advocated Taranakitanga identity. Furthermore, all of these scholars are Taranaki and relocated the narratives and tribal traditions into a Taranaki paradigm. All three of these people relied on the manuscripts and writings of Kararehe establishing the manuscripts of Kararehe as a core information corpus of Taranaki Tūturū. Because I was unable to view the manuscripts myself, I had no choice but to rely on these three kaitauaki.

This chapter has focused solely on the pūkōrero, kaitauaki Pākehā and kaitauaki Māori associated with Taranaki and who contributed material about the Travelling Mountain Narrative. The tātai kiānga not only showed how they supplied material to the kaupapa, but how they were connected to

⁶⁶ This combined narrative was published in *Māori Myth and Tradition* (Best 1924) and is reproduced in the appendix.

each other. All of the pūkōrero lived in the same era, were related and probably had many opportunities to speak with each other. The kaitauaki Pākehā were also connected through living in the region, membership in the Polynesian Society and a shared passion for collecting and writing about all aspects of Māori knowledge. The kaitauaki Māori were also from Taranaki and revised these tribal traditions from mātauranga Taranaki positions. All three utilised the writings of Kararehe to inform their work. Nonetheless the connecting factor for all of these people was the maunga itself.

CHAPTER FOUR

Ngā Maunga Tupua

4.1. Introduction

The Travelling Mountain Narrative is an origin myth. In Māori mythology, this foundation story is predicated on the personification of Taranaki maunga as a living being. The origin myth of the Travelling Mountain Narrative therefore serves as the basis of Taranaki tribal identity. As a narrative explaining geological phenomena with supernatural and anthropomorphised details, the term 'myth' is used to facilitate critical analysis through the application of myth theory. There are multiple variations of this narrative reproduced in numerous publications by many authors and it is asserted here that the analysis of the versions illuminates the fundamental essence, symbolism and themes of the narrative.

The structure of the Travelling Mountain Narrative is consistent across versions. Although diversity is expected in narrative format and can be expected to have developed over time, the residual vestiges of the original meaning and intent ought to be contained in all the versions regardless of format, date or geographical origin (Finnegan 1992; Jackson 1968; Munz 1973; Vansina 1985). All the published narratives are in English. Although the overall plot is similar across versions, characters and details diverge depending on the pūkōrero, region and tribal tradition the narrative comes from. Kaitauaki (Māori and Pākehā) author interpretations of the myth also affect the way the narrative was represented in literature. It may well be that this chapter's empirical approach is antithetical to mātauranga Māori because traditionally a flexible approach was taken to narrative critique (Smith 2001). That said this thesis attempts to study the narrative through mixed-methods and theories.

Analysing the narrative through myth theory and mātauranga Māori paradigms maps out the structure, function, plot and themes. In this chapter the migration story pattern is formulated and applied to the narrative. The original hypothesis of the myth being derived from a migration journey requires dismantling the narrative into its component parts and critically analysing the structure. This identifies key narrative themes termed as motifemes in this chapter. These motifemes make up the migration story pattern. Supporting aspects from other migration narratives will demonstrate that these structural motifemes are found in other migration story patterns in tribal tradition.

4.2. Narrative Variations

Written accounts refer to the mountain originally standing in the centre of Te Ikaroa a Māui (North Island) with the other mountains of the central plateau including Ruapehu, Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and Pihanga.⁶⁷ Other travelling mountains include Putauaki (Mt Edgecumbe), Tauhara and Maungapōhatu and Mauao (Mount Maunganui). The premise of the Travelling Mountain Narrative is shared with other iwi of the North Island including Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Whanganui iwi and Mataatua waka.

The following table lists the versions of the Travelling Mountain Narrative reproduced in literature. The full text of the highlighted narrative versions used to analyse the Travelling Mountain Narrative are included in Appendix 1.

TABLE 6: Publication List

Author	Date	Publication	Sources
Dieffenbach	1843	<i>Travels in New Zealand</i>	Unknown
Taylor	1855	<i>Te Ika a Maui</i>	Unknown
Hochstetter	1867	<i>New Zealand</i>	Unknown
Skinner	1896	<i>Legends Manuscript</i>	Minarapa
Best	1899	<i>Notes on Māori Mythology</i>	Hamiora Pio
Hammond	1901	<i>Te Tai Hauāuru</i>	South Taranaki sources
Dittmer	1907	<i>Te Tohunga</i>	Taupo/Whanganui
Smith	1907, 1910	<i>History & Traditions of Taranaki Coast</i>	Minarapa, Skinner, Kararehe / Mahauhero
Downes	1915	<i>Old Whanganui</i>	Unknown
Best	1924	<i>Māori Religion and Mythology Part 2</i>	Pio, Taurua, Skinner, Smith
Cowan	1925	<i>Fairy Folk Tales of the Māori</i>	Unknown
Beetham	1926	<i>The First Ascent of Mount Ruapehu</i>	Unknown
Best	1927	<i>Notes on inscribed stones of the Taranaki District</i>	Taurua Minarapa
Cowan/ Pomare	1930	<i>Legends of the Māori</i>	Unknown
Cowan/ Pomare	1934	<i>Legends of the Māori II</i>	Unknown

⁶⁷ These maunga are also referred to as the Kāhui Maunga.

Reischek/ Priday	1930	<i>Yesterdays in Maoriland</i>	Unknown
Grace	1959	<i>Tūwharetoa</i>	Unknown
Scanlan	1961	<i>Egmont: The Story of a Mountain</i>	Iho Komene, Skinner, Smith
Reed	1963	<i>Treasury of Māori Folklore</i>	Stowell/Motu Tukirikau
Foster	1966	<i>Māori Legend of Mounts Ruapehu and Taranaki (Egmont)</i>	Unknown
Rawson	1981	<i>The Restless Mountain</i>	Unknown
Mataira	1982	<i>The Warrior Mountains</i>	Unknown
Rawson	1990	<i>The Gliding Peak</i>	Unknown
Young	1998	<i>Woven by Water</i>	Unknown
Hohaia	2001	<i>The Foundation Story</i>	Kararehe
Winitana	2001	<i>Legends of Aotearoa</i>	Unknown
Tōtika	2002	<i>Toitū he Toka</i>	Unknown
Reed/Calman	2008	<i>Earth, Ocean, Sky</i>	Unknown

The earliest text reference of the Travelling Mountain Narrative was by Ernest Dieffenbach in his book *Travels in New Zealand* (1843). Dieffenbach can also lay claim to being the first European to climb Taranaki maunga in 1839 during the time he was surveying New Zealand and Taranaki for the New Zealand Company. This narrative is very short and claims that Taranaki and Tongariro were brother and sister. Similar to Hochstetter in 1858, the emphasis was on the geological surveying of the landscape. Both Dieffenbach and Hochstetter wrote in the German language.

The English missionary Reverend Richard Taylor published a copy of the Travelling Mountain Narrative in 1855. Taylor was based in the Whanganui region at the time, and his version originated from the South Taranaki/Whanganui awa people. However he makes no mention of the guidestone Te Toka a Rauhoto. Both Smith and Best reference Taylor's kōrero. Also based in the Whanganui awa region, T.W. Downes published *Old Whanganui* (1915) based on the version of the narrative of Smith (1907; 1910) and his own sources. Downes emphasized the role of Taranaki maunga in forming the Whanganui awa.

David Young (1998) gives another version of the Whanganui narrative that links the Whanganui awa to Ruapehu maunga. This narrative version posits the collective maunga as a family and attributes other names to the mountains. Ruapehu was known as Matua-te-mana and Taranaki was Matua-te-

tapu.⁶⁸ John Tahuparae of the Whanganui gave evidence in the Whanganui Report that supported this narrative. Tahuparae was an acknowledged expert in Whanganui lore. Therefore Ruapehu maunga is situated as the primary maunga in their narratives. According to their kōrero, Ranginui created the other maunga as companions for Ruapehu including Pihanga (the maiden), Tongariro (the warrior), Ngauruhoe (the servant) and Taranaki as the tohunga (Waitangi Tribunal 1999).

Ngāti Tūwharetoa gives primacy to Tongariro as the leader of the maunga whānau (Grace 1959)⁶⁹. Tongariro was the sacred maunga of Tūwharetoa and was gifted to New Zealand by Horonuku Te Heuheu, the ariki of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu formed the Tongariro National Park, New Zealand's first national park. While Horonuku Te Heuheu's actions ensured that the mountains would not be sold, it is doubtful that Horonuku had the authority to also include Ruapehu without the consent of Ngāti Rangi and the other Whanganui awa tribes (Waitangi Tribunal 2012).

Mataatua waka also has maunga included in the Travelling Mountain Narrative. Best published a version in *Notes on Māori Mythology* (1899) from Mataatua waka and Hamiora Pio, a tohunga and acknowledged expert of Ngāti Awa, and Tūhoe maunga narratives from Tutakangahau. Pio's version includes the same plot as the other narratives but focuses on Pūtauaki maunga. Best would later take this version, add it to a narrative from Taurua Minarapa (1927) and information from Smith (1907; 1910) and synthesise the information to create a grand narrative.

Wilhelm Dittmer was a German who lived in New Zealand from 1899 to 1904. He compiled legends and then illustrated the book *Te Tohunga* (1907). He was a fine artist and a somewhat florid author, but he created a beautifully illustrated book with a detailed Travelling Mountain Narrative (Platt 1980). Dittmer places Ruapehu as the male opponent of Taranaki for the love of Tongariro. The Austrian Andreas Reischek lived in New Zealand from 1877 to 1899 and climbed Ruapehu in 1888. Reischek was infamous for pillaging burial caves of bones and taonga, and then selling them to private collectors. His book was written in German and translated into English in 1930 by H. E. L. Priday (King 1981).

⁶⁸ Taranaki: Matua-te-tapu; Ruapehu: Matua-te-mana; Tongariro: Matua-te-toa; Ngauruhoe: Matua-te-pono; Pihanga: Matua-te-hine; Rauhoto: Matua-te-puhi (Te Reo o Taranaki wānanga, Puniho Pā 20/04/2011).

⁶⁹ John Te Herekiele Grace was a long time civil servant within the Native Department. His book on Tūwharetoa was the culmination of twenty years of research and writing (Butterworth 2012).

James Cowan was a prolific author and published several versions of the Travelling Mountain Narrative. Two copies were written with Sir Māui Pomare in 1930 and 1934. Despite the fact that Pomare died in 1930, the 1934 version is more Taranaki-centric than the 1930 version, in that the narrative focuses on Taranaki, Pouakai and Patuha and the Taranaki rohe.. Cowan in this version has Taranaki turn all the people involved in the conflict into mountains. Cowan and Pomare was a rare example of kaitauaki Māori and Pākehā sharing the authorship of a publication on tribal traditions. Although this relationship is not delved into in this thesis, there is space for further research into the joint efforts of Pomare and Cowan.

As was shown in Chapter 3, the power lay in the hands of the kaitauaki Pākehā who published the narratives. This can be seen in the fact that few of the kaitauaki make reference to the pūkōrero who gave the information. Despite Smith and Best taking much of the credit for their publications, they at least attributed their information to the pūkōrero. There was also a divide between early English and German language authors of Dieffenbach, Hochstetter, Dittmer and Reischek. This possible difference between English and German language versions of the Travelling Mountain Narrative is unable to be further studied in this thesis but it would be a fascinating research topic, especially around translation from Māori to German and then to English. Nonetheless it shows that the Travelling Mountain Narrative itself was a narrative published by a wide range of authors, and that German was another language of transmission.

The variations in details of the Travelling Mountain Narrative could be attributed to divergent tribal discourse on the narrative, that is, the account changes depending on where it is sourced. Divergent tribal discourses are valid in their own context. However the analysis of the narrative shows that all the versions share the same story pattern that can be broken down into migration component themes. Taking the grand narrative of the Travelling Mountain Narrative and dividing it will demonstrate that although there are regional differences the overall plot of the narrative stays the same. The Travelling Mountain Narrative has been published in multiple books over the last 170 years, albeit with variations on themes and characters. Often the narratives are part of history books, other times compiled as a myth or fairy tale. As can be seen it is not solely a Taranaki narrative, but is shared with other iwi including the Whanganui awa tribes, Ngāti Tūwharetoa and the Mataatua confederation. All these iwi consider the mountains of the Travelling Mountain Narrative as maunga tupua.

4.3. Myth Theory, Māui and the Travelling Mountain Narrative

Origin myths are attempts to explain the world. Whether it is a representation of the origin of the world and mankind, the origin of a specific society or an explanation for natural phenomena, these narratives represent the attempt to understand the distant past by projecting it into the present. The myth characters generally lived in an earlier world when the supernatural was commonplace, but whose actions inform values and archetypal patterns to be followed. These accounts arise out of speculation, pre-existing material or are borrowed from other communities. Therefore these traditions of origin inform and connect the society to each other and the wider world (Bascom 1965; Vansina 1985). A definition of a myth is: 1) a story about superhuman beings who lived in an earlier age and how natural phenomena came into being; 2) a commonly held belief that is untrue or unproven; 3) a person or thing whose existence is fictional (Collins 2005: 572-573).

The Travelling Mountain Narrative is a story about supernatural beings and the origin of natural geological phenomena represented by volcanic mountains. According to the narrative, the supernatural beings were maunga tupua, or mountain entities, and existed before human occupation of Aotearoa New Zealand. The narrative describes the original home of Taranaki maunga, why the maunga is located in its present site and attributes human qualities to it.

There are two approaches to myth analysis made by scholars: symbolic interpretation and literal interpretation. Symbolic interpretation of myths seeks to examine belief and how the narrative symbolises universal themes emerging from the collective consciousness of a society. The literal approach interprets myth as an expression of thought and as a function for resolving problems in a culture and society (Bidney 1974).

A functionalist approach to myth analysis attempts to explain the causes of social phenomena through a society's myths (Finnegan 1992; Malinowski 1966; Munz 1973). Classifying natural phenomena through the vehicle of constructed mythologies was an attempt to bring order from chaos within the social experience of everyday life (Jackson 1968). Ranginui Walker claimed that the mythological origins of the Māori are set out in three major myth cycles: the creation myth of Rangi and Papa; the Tawhaki cycle; and the adventures of Māui. These ontological myths are usually set in Te Ao Tuawhakarere. The central characters are the gods, their progeny and descendants, and morals and lessons can be extrapolated from these myth cycles (Walker 2004).

Amongst the myth cycle of Māui is the narrative of Māui fishing up islands.⁷⁰ The myth narrative of Māui fishing up Te Ika a Māui (North Island) is considered the origin myth of the North Island and it can be analysed both literally and symbolically. As the pōtiki (the youngest of the family) Māui stowed away on his brothers' waka during a fishing expedition. During the trip, Māui fishes up a giant fish using his grandmother's jawbone as a hook. As the discoverer, Māui names the fish after himself. Māui then departs in order to conduct thanksgiving rituals and leaves his brothers with the fish. His brothers then start quarrelling and hacking up the fish, resulting in a land wrinkled and contorted rather than smooth and flat (Walker 2004).

The origin myth of Māui fishing up the North Island was also known in Taranaki, however the island was known as Te Ikaroa a Māui. References to the name of the island as Te Ikaroa a Māui are found in the name of the whare whakairo at Owae marae, and a coastal papakāinga at the mouth of the Kapoiaiaia awa. According to Jamie Tuuta, the island also bore the title Te Ika Whakarau a Kutikuti Pekapeka, Hāhātewhenua as well as Te Ikaroa a Māui. When Māui pulled the island up from the depths, his brothers' cut and sliced the land creating the central peaks. And this was how the maunga (including Taranaki) were formed (Tuuta in Tamati 2010). This information was recorded in the television show *Waka Huia* and titled *The Tribal history of Taranaki*. I have yet to find a written Taranaki version of this narrative to support Tuuta's kōrero. Whanganui sources also claim that Ranginui created Ruapehu in order to calm the great fish of Māui after it had been hauled out of the sea and sliced up by Māui's brothers (Tahuparae in Waitangi Tribunal 1999; Young 1998).

Lessons can be inferred from this origin myth of the North Island. For example, cutting up the fish before karakia was an offence against the gods and this failure to respect nature and the gods brought bad consequences.⁷¹ The reversal of traditional elder hierarchical structure of tuakana/teina by the pōtiki over his tuakana is a statement on ability over rank (Walker 2004). Furthermore the sacrilegious behaviour of Māui and his brothers lead to both negative and beneficial results. Māui uses his grandmother's jawbone, in itself a negative action insulting his tupuna, but uses his own blood as bait enabling him to catch the great fish, a positive result (Johnston 1975). Te Orongonui (2009) claims that there are also key concepts in this narrative that relate to the entrepreneurship of Māui. This includes the concept that achievement requires effort and resources should be shared, and when instructions are given conditions should be attached.

⁷⁰ This origin myth of Māui fishing up islands is shared by other island groups in the Pacific, including Tonga and Hawai'i. Focus in this thesis is specifically on the New Zealand version.

⁷¹ Another ancient myth that follows this pattern is that of Rata and his attempt to chop a tree down without performing the appropriate karakia.

Alternatively, symbolic interpretation of myth attempts greater understanding of the source culture and how the symbols implicit in myth explain the way the society thinks. In this sense, myth is a language functioning on a higher metaphysical level and the meaning is defined by the story it tells rather than in the language and specific words that make it up. The value of the myth is preserved even though the translation of the text from its source language may be atrocious (Levi-Strauss 1967). Therefore, the myth serves as a charter of beliefs with an ambiguous chronology ensuring that it is timeless story, albeit re-enacted in the present (Leach 1990).

The structuralist approach to myth analysis focuses on the binary relationships by seeking to define specific values. In this sense, the individual elements are examined for dialectic conflicts or oppositions. It seeks to define a logical structure to a myth and by doing so uncover the philosophy of the culture. The structure can then be applied to variations of the myths, which replicate the story pattern in its various forms (Levi-Strauss 1967, 1974; Jackson 1968).

Positioning Māui as a 'trickster' figure of Māori mythology, Māui's actions are both beneficial and detrimental to society. While on one hand Māui discovered (or created) Te Ikaroa a Māui (and many other islands around the Pacific) and this was beneficial to mankind, on the other hand his lack of karakia resulted in a negative outcome of a hilly and mountainous land (Jackson 1968). In *The Structural Framework of the Māori Quest Story* (Mokena 2005) demonstrates through analysis of the fishing expedition of Māui that a story pattern can be applied to the narrative. This story pattern contains the following motifs: Lack; Lack Liquidated; Interdiction; Violation; and Consequence.

After Māui is taunted for his laziness (lack), he demonstrates his industrious nature by catching a giant fish, the North Island (lack liquidated). As he heads off to find a priest to perform the incantations necessary to make the new land suitable for habitation, Māui tells his brothers not to cut up the fish (interdiction) while he is away. They cut up the fish (violation), which writhes in pain and its body breaks up into the mountains, valleys and cliffs of the present North Island landscape, features making travel across its surface arduous and time-consuming for those who would later inhabit the land (consequence).

(Mokena 2005:105).

The myth narratives reinforce the Māori conceptual understanding of the world, of place and home. Mahuika (2009) argues that these primary narratives, albeit regarded as myths and fairy tales by predominantly Pākehā authors, are ancestral narratives passed down through generations and are therefore valuable. Mahuika asserts that critical analysis of the myths is secondary to the contextual basis of the stories because these informed internal migration narratives by classifying Māori as tangata whenua rather than as homeless wanderers.

Even though the narrative of Māui fishing up the North Island is categorised as mythology, Māui is considered an important culture hero, a demi-god and an ancestor because his deeds resulted in the origin of the North Island and the South Island.⁷² Moreover Māui was (and is still) considered an actual ancestor in Aotearoa and other island groups of the Pacific (Luomala 1949). For example in Aotearoa, Māui's name was given to multiple landmarks and islands, his waka was fossilised on Hikurangi, and his descendants are found on Te Tai Rawhiti (Mahuika 2009).

Johnston classifies Māui's actions as a symbolic description of discovery. She interprets the use of the jawbone to Māui's mana, and that it represents a section of a tribe leaving their home on a voyage of discovery (Johnston 1975). According to Buck (1926) the idea of a man fishing up the geographical North Island is in actuality a ridiculous proposition. The myth overlooks the simple explanation of a traditional Polynesian explorer discovering a new land who symbolically fishes the new island out of the depths of the unknown by discovering it. Buck gives this as an example of what may be historical fact being subsumed under the marvellous and supernatural until history becomes woven into a myth. The discovery of Aotearoa (and other islands of the Pacific) by Māui articulates him as a human being, rather than a demi-god or mythical figure.

Myths have a history, both in literature representations and in the development of the narrative over generations. According to Munz, myths tend to progress from the general to the specific. The search is not about attempting to find the original or perfect version, but comparing versions and their history. This then informs the historical dimension of the myth. The anthropomorphic character of many myths, when human characteristics are transposed onto natural features, can cause scepticism and doubt the validity of the myth (Munz 1973). While Munz suggests that the likelihood of a myth emerging from an historical event is rare, I instead assert that in an oral tradition an historical event can be mythologised, especially over generations and change sequences.

⁷² Another name for the South Island is Te Waka a Māui, or the Vessel of Māui.

The Travelling Mountain Narrative is located in Te Ao Tuawhakarere or The Mythical Age⁷³. This sets it in a comparable era alongside other cultural heroes of the ancestors of the Māori like Māui, Tawhaki or Rongomai and Ihenga. However, the Travelling Mountain Narrative definitely comes from Aotearoa New Zealand, and therefore can be located in the landscape. Māui (as the discoverer of Te Ikaroa a Māui) is placed in the preceding generations before Taranaki maunga and is directly related to the formation of the maunga by 'fishing up' the island. Mythic elements abound in the narrative. Therefore Taranaki, as a myth, would belong to the generations directly descending from Māui.

The variations and widespread nature of the Travelling Mountain Narrative throughout Aotearoa New Zealand and tribal regions would suggest that not only was the narrative well known but that it was a part of a grand narrative explaining the form and appearance of Te Ikaroa a Māui and the placement of volcanic mountains on the island. Fusing together the multiple versions of the Travelling Mountain Narrative into one version constructs a grand narrative. This metanarrative creates space for regional and tribal variations that yet belong to a greater whole, a wider narrative inclusive of multiple iwi. The grand narrative therefore explains the ontological foundation of the island and relationships of key maunga to each other.

The Travelling Mountain Narrative is a myth narrative that has been passed down through multiple generations. While there were mnemonic tools and formulae used by the old people to retain knowledge in an oral culture, historical narratives were the most used form of transmission about the tribal past. A narrative would have had to be accepted by the iwi. Tribal narratives when spoken (or recorded) were primarily concerned with their own tūpuna and their own whenua and how that related to their present circumstances because the point of the narrative was to establish meaning for events and therefore validate the mana of the whānau, hapū and the iwi (Binney 2001; Keenan 2005; Reilly 1985; Simmons 1976). The narrative was composed for a purpose, whether that is for entertainment value or a genuine attempt at explaining natural phenomena, or indeed both, is a matter of continuing conjecture. The Travelling Mountain Narrative is located in named spaces within Te Ikaroa a Māui. The fish that Māui caught is the whenua the maunga stands upon. But as a text narrative, the Travelling Mountain Narrative exists in a mythical time of Te Ao Tuawhakarere.

⁷³ Refer to chapter 2.5 for the change sequence model.

4.4. Ngā Maunga Tupua: Mountain Entities

The anthropomorphic personification of Taranaki maunga reflects the concept of natural geological features being incorporated into the traditional Māori knowledge systems. Tau (2001, 2001b, 2011) posits that tribal societies knew the world by absorbing it so that the person and the object were one. A mountain was an ancestor and therefore part of the person, the hapū and the iwi. Furthermore, projection of identity onto the surrounding environment named and claimed the natural features of the land by asserting mana whenua over it (Keenan 1994). In the Travelling Mountain Narrative the characters are Taranaki maunga and his mountain kin. All narrative variations begin with the presumption that mountains were alive and acted like human beings; the maunga could think, move, speak and love. The personification of the maunga attributed human characteristics, and therefore human motivations, and was a way in which these dominant features of the natural landscape could be understood.

The Travelling Mountain Narrative is not restricted to Taranaki. As has already been pointed out the narrative is shared with the iwi of the Whanganui awa, with Ngāti Tūwharetoa and the iwi of Mataatua waka. Moreover there are other maunga considered to be maunga tupua. In a Tūhoe narrative, Maungapōhatu is the primary character along with her husband Kakaramea. Maungapōhatu and Kakaramea argue about the correct route to take in their journey. Maungapōhatu heads off to the north leaving Kakaramea. When the sun rises, the maunga is unable to travel any further, explaining the location it is standing in now (Best 1899).

In Tainui tradition, Taupiri maunga was said to be the wife of Pirongia maunga, and their daughter was Kawa maunga. Neighbouring mountains Karewa and Puketarata were the lovers of Kawa until the arrival of Kakepuku maunga. And from that time on, Kawa and Kakepuku were married (Reed 1963). At one point, Taupiri maunga felt ill and she sent a message to Tongariro maunga. Tongariro then used his powers to create a healing spring, which gushed out as a river and flowed towards Taupiri. This became the Waikato River (Waitangi Tribunal 2008). The mountain ranges of the South Island were also anthropomorphised as the tupuna Aoraki and his brothers, with the South Island being their overturned waka (Orbell 2007).

WHAKATAUĀKĪ 1

Whakamoea ngā maunga kia whānau ko te pai.

Marry the mountains so that there may be peace.

(Waitangi Tribunal 2004: 739-740)

This oft-spoken whakataukī refers to the marriage of two people from opposing tribes, who upon marriage create a binding peace between previous warring iwi. This is represented by the two maunga of each iwi being joined in marriage.

The Tūhoe [folktale] tells us of a marriage between two prominent hills near Waikaremoana. This latter was truly a singular procedure and formed a part of the peace-making ceremonial that brought to an end the long drawn out fighting between the Tūhoe fold and those of Wairoa. The chief Hipara of the latter place stated his intention of giving his daughter as a wife to one of Tūhoe in order to bind the peace-making. The boundary between the two tribes was laid down near the two hills known as Kuha-tarewa and Turi-o-Kahu, situated eastward of the above-mentioned lake, and it was decided that these two hills be made man and wife. This ingenious plan seems to have originated with Tūhoe, the marriage or union of the two hills was to parallel the union of the two persons as proposed by the Wairoa chief, even so should peace settle firmly down upon the homes of men. So it was that Kuhatarewa was said to be female, and Turi-o-Kahu⁷⁴ a male and then these two were joined as one to act as upholders of peace, the peace that held the debatable land even to the day of the Pākehā, and endures.

(Best 1924:465)

This narrative explicitly states that the names and personifications of these maunga Kahutarewa and Turi-o-kahu came from this marriage and these people. Mead (2003) used this marriage between the hills as an example of tatau pounamu as a formal peace between two iwi and sealed by marriage. This raises interesting parallels with the Travelling Mountain Narrative in that if this was done in this tribe, could it also be a case that the Taranaki versions was a similar creation: that is, a historical event personified and mythologised over time?

There are multiple references throughout Māori tradition from all tribes personifying natural features of the landscape. Maunga as features that dominated a region are the embodiment of anthropomorphic personification. This is at the heart of this thesis and the process of how the mountain and the man became intertwined. A place was named after an ancestor and in turn it becomes an ancestor. Note that references to other maunga narratives do not necessarily imply that

⁷⁴ Tuhi-o-Kahu is also known as Turi-o-Kahu.

these are also based on historical ancestors, although it would be an interesting study for a researcher from those areas.

Waiata anthropomorphising Taranaki maunga can be found from the Ngāti Tūwharetoa rohe. The following waiata contrasts the positions of Tongariro maunga and Taranaki maunga and was composed by a woman named Te Kāhui for her cousin Te Heuheu Tukino II as a belated love offering. Unfortunately Te Heuheu was already married and refused to leave his wife Rangiaho. The opening lines of the song contrast Taranaki on the west coast with Tongariro. According to Jones and Ngata (1961), this waiata was composed prior to 1830.

WAIATA 1

<i>Tērā Taranaki te tū mai rā</i>	<i>Over there stands Taranaki</i>
<i>I te tai-uru;</i>	<i>By the western sea;</i>
<i>Ko Tongariro te huka, ka pāmamae</i>	<i>Here 'tis Tongariro with its snow</i>
<i>Te pānga mai.</i>	<i>Which hurts with a touch.</i>

(Ngata & Jones 1961: 46-47)

The Travelling Mountain Narrative, while varying in detail, nevertheless attributes human emotions to Taranaki and the other named maunga. While the personification of the mountains as living entities frames them within a supernatural structure, the maunga act on general universal human emotions. Desire, love and jealousy are a prominent cause in the conflict with anger and violence leading to banishment.

WHAKATAUĀKĪ 2

He maunga he tangata, he maunga he tangata.
Every mountain is a man.

(Grove & Mead 2004: 98).

Taranaki maunga is personified as an ancestor. In general conversation, I have often heard the maunga referred to as 'him' and sometimes 'her'. It seems to be a personal preference of people and how they refer to the gender of the maunga. Not all maunga were male, with Pihanga and Kakaramea among some female maunga. However on the pā of Taranaki, koro is the usual form of address. Taranaki maunga has an identity, a personality, and is considered an ancestor.⁷⁵ The

⁷⁵ A phenomenon I have personally seen is the face in mountain. Depending on snow cover, and where one is standing, it can appear that a bearded face is represented on the slopes of the maunga. Of course, this could be just a case of multiple factors coinciding like snow, light position and imagination.

personification and identification of men (and women) with mountains as expressions of their mana are examples of carving their personalities and mana into the landscape. By doing so they immortalise their name through identification with the maunga. Taranaki maunga, as a maunga tupua, was personified and given human characteristics and grouped with the other living mountains. The maunga tupua figure prominently in multiple tribal traditions. Therefore, in a Māori worldview, the concept of travelling mountains was normal and accepted.

4.5. Narrative Plot Themes

The Travelling Mountain Narrative plot can be split into interconnected themes or motifemes in the migration narrative story pattern. Although there are variations of actions of characters, they fit into the overall structure of the story pattern. The motifemes that will be outlined are consistent with other migration narratives, regardless of the region. Through this process of identifying the motifemes of the narrative structure the themes and plot of the narrative can be detailed and critiqued (Dundes 2007; Mokena 2005; Propp 1968; Vansina 1985).

The following analysis of the Travelling Mountain Narrative identifies these four plot motifemes as the underlying structure of the myth:

TABLE 7: Migration Narrative Story Pattern

1. Papa-pūtaka	=	Homeland
2. Pakanga	=	Conflict
3. Hekenga	=	Journey
4. Papa-whenua	=	Settlement

1) The Papa-pūtaka: Homeland refers to the ancestral island of origin from which the character or group originates; 2) Pakanga: Conflict of some sort is often the reason for departure, and thereby dividing the whānau/hapū/iwi. A character or group is then forced to flee their homeland; 3) The Hekenga: Journey theme is the migration journey itself. Adventures and trails are remembered and named; 4) The character or group then settles in a new land and this is reinforced by a character claiming, naming and settling in it as Papa-whenua. This story pattern and structure will be examined and elaborated on in the following sections. Examples from other migration narratives will be used to demonstrate that these motifemes are shared across a variety of tribal traditions. External journeys refer to the migration journeys of the great waka like the Kurahaupō or the Aotea: whereas internal migrations refer to journeys within Aotearoa.

These key themes are shared by other migration narrative structures, with the story of the Aotea waka being a prime example of a similar structure set in Te Ao Hekenga or the Migratory Age. Of course, the Aotea narrative is given mana by the iwi that descend from it, in this case Ngāti Ruanui being the prime descendent group. The captain of the waka was Turi, and his wife was named Rongorongo. The Aotea waka narrative is an example of a structured account, with whakapapa, pūwhakamahara, place and locations remembered and used to support the narrative. Although I will not go into depth with the narrative, similarities in the structure include:

TABLE 8: Migration Narrative Story Pattern – Aotea waka

1.	Papa-pūtaka (Homeland)	Turi, Rongorongo and their iwi lived on the island of Rangiatea.
2.	Pakanga (Conflict)	Turi and Uenuku (ariki of Rangiatea) battle and Turi is forced to leave with his tribe.
3.	Hekenga (Journey)	Turi is given the Aotea waka from Toto (the father of Rongorongo) and they depart in the night. Following directions from Kupe, they travel through named locations before arriving in Taranaki.
4.	Papa-whenua (Settlement)	Turi, Rongorongo and their people settle at Te Awanui-a-Taiehu. They then rename the awa to Patea-nui-a-Turi and thereby claim the surrounding countryside.

(Broughton 1979; Sole 2005; Tautahi & Taipuhi 1900)

Expanding on these motifemes with supporting material from tribal traditions aims to contextualise the narrative within mātauranga Māori. At this stage it must be noted that waka migration traditions are complex and difficult to unravel, especially when there can be multiple conflicting traditions for a single vessel. According to Orbell, the waka migration traditions should be seen as mythic events rather than historical accounts. In her book *Hawaiki: a new approach to Māori tradition* (1985) she structures her analysis of migration traditions and the homeland of Hawaiki in chapters titled: The Homeland; The Voyages; and The New Land. While I disagree with the notion that waka migration traditions are mythological constructions, I can appreciate how Orbell arrived at her conclusions through critical analysis of the traditions.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Although I did not structure my four interconnected motifemes after Orbell's chapter structure, a recent rereading of her book recognised that she covered similar themes in her book.

4.6. Papa-pūtaka (Homeland)

The concept of an ancient homeland of tūpuna Māori is the precedent for the motif of Papa-pūtaka. References in migration narratives to a distant homeland can be found in many tribal traditions. The idea of Hawaiki or Rangiātea as a homeland of origin evokes ancestral memories. Hawaiki was the consolidation of Pacific origins, a mythical homeland constantly recalled yet always somewhere over the horizon (Somerville 2012). Rangiātea was a named island that the crews of migration waka were purported to come from, including the Aotea and the Kurahaupō. In the Travelling Mountain Narrative Taranaki maunga was located near to Taupo amidst the maunga of the central plateau. This is therefore the Papa-pūtaka of Taranaki maunga.

Papa-pūtaka is a new term created specifically for this thesis. It refers to 'papa' as being the land or earth, and 'pūtaka' as a source, origin or the root. Therefore Papa-pūtaka is the concept of a land of origin. In the following whakataukāki the seed is a metaphor for a person as a descendent of Rangiātea. Many contemporary iwi include these islands in their traditions.

WHAKATAUKĀKI 3

He purapura i ruia mai i Rangiātea: A seed sown from Rangiātea.

(Grove and Mead 2004:113).

Rangiātea or Raiatea is an island northwest of Tahiti in French Polynesia. The image of the great migration waka leaving the island and voyaging over the ocean to Aotearoa is a central romantic motif first espoused by S. Percy Smith and reproduced by many authors. These best known of these waka were: Kurahaupō, Aotea, Tokomaru, Mataatua, Arawa, Tainui, Horouta and Takitimu. The waka of the misnamed Great Fleet did not travel together. This theory has been challenged as an attempt by early kaitauaki Pākehā to assimilate tribal histories into a grand narrative (Evans 1997; Simmons 1976). But there is evidence that suggests these waka may have travelled to Aotearoa in the same generation. Interactions between the crew of the Kurahaupō and the other waka indicate they knew each other, and in many cases there are whakapapa to support the kinship (Ngawhare-Pounamu 2008).

Margaret Orbell theorised that migration waka traditions should be reclassified as myths rather than history. These narratives had more to do with establishing and claiming mana whenua than as authentic historic migrations. Moreover Orbell claims that many of the Hawaiki traditions actually

originated within Aotearoa (Orbell & McLean 1975; Orbell 1985). Of course, this view denies the extensive tribal traditions and multiple waka traditions relating to migration journeys.

Tribal traditions and narratives assert the island origin of many of the great waka, albeit recognising numerous internal migrations of the crews and their descendants. While reminiscent names were transplanted into Aotearoa from Hawaiki, this does not necessarily mean that the narratives originate within Aotearoa. Ultimately the only evidence of the waka migration is retained in tribal traditions because there is a lack of archaeological evidence. Furthermore, theorising which island was Hawaiki is a matter of continuing conjecture and debate, and may in fact be impossible to prove which island was Hawaiki. The waka traditions that claim Hawaiki refer to that island as their papa-pūtake and as such it was the distant home of legend. Moreover the concept of Hawaiki reinforces the role of the waka as colonising vessels in Aotearoa and thereby dividing the new settlers from the inhabitants already resident in the islands.

The example of Hawaiki is used to emphasise connections back to a land of origin, particularly for the descendants of the Kurahaupō. However, it must be noted that not all iwi consider themselves descendants of Hawaiki or Rangiātea. In fact many iwi can trace descent to earlier inhabitants like Toi or Rauru. Of course it is then a matter of debate about the origin islands of the earlier iwi. In Taranaki the later migrants from Hawaiki were termed as tangata waka or uruwaka. The tangata whenua were the people already living in the region and on the maunga and were the Kāhui Maunga who were resident in the Taranaki when the crew of the Kurahaupō arrived. Of course, we then have to trace the origins of the Kāhui Maunga back to their papa-pūtake.⁷⁷ Claiming mana whenua through length of residency was a common device in Te Ao Māori and these were terms used to separate the new settlers from the residents.

Nonetheless, the theme of tracing descent to an ancient homeland of origin is consistent in all Māori tribal traditions. The assimilation of historic migrations into hero-cycles and myth patterns suggest that the narratives may have their foundation in older cycles. Luomala notes that in many island genealogies the absorption of heroes like Māui and Tawhaki can be traced by when they are introduced into the whakapapa of families and the relationship between the heroes and the local characters (Luomala 1940).

⁷⁷ Refer to chapter 5, section 5.4 for discussion about the papa-pūtake of the Kāhui Maunga.

In the Travelling Mountain Narrative, the papa-pūtake of Taranaki maunga is the central plateau of the North Island. All the narrative variations refer to Taranaki maunga having previously lived alongside Tongariro⁷⁸, Pihanga, Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu. While locations range from general to specific and differ in the narrative variations, the mountain homeland was placed somewhere in the vicinity of Lake Taupo.

In former times Pukeonaki or Taranaki resided near Taupo and Tongariro.

(Skinner MS).

Skinner, as was shown in chapter 3, received his kōrero from Minarapa Kahu. As the kaitiaki of Te Toka a Rauhoto, Minarapa was the primary pūkōrero for Ngā Mahanga and the Travelling Mountain Narrative. Skinner recorded Pukeonaki as the earlier name of Taranaki. This could be regarded as a pre-migration name. Locating the maunga between Taupo and Tongariro places the mountain to the south of the lake Taupo, and to the north of Tongariro maunga.

Quarrels arose among the mountain people. Tongariro and Tara-naki (Mt. Egmont), which latter formerly stood by the sea of Taupo.

(Best 1899:118)

This Ngāti Awa version (via Hamiora Pio and Best) of the Travelling Mountain Narrative has the mountains standing in a collective, as a people, near to Lake Taupo. For people living in other rohe, it makes sense that the generic space of 'near Taupo' is used to refer to the early home of the maunga.

Taranaki, formerly known as Pukeonaki, Pukehaupapa and other names, stood at Taupoo.

(Hohaia 2001: 9)

Hohaia gives three names of Taranaki maunga in this excerpt. Taranaki, Pukeonaki and Pukehaupapa were all earlier names carried by the mountain. Without being specific, Hohaia places the maunga near to Taupo. Hohaia did not get more detailed in describing the papa-pūtake of Taranaki maunga in his writings. Especially considering other authors who did locate the maunga in a specific area. The next three excerpts give specific locations for Taranaki maunga. These show that Taranaki lived at Rotoaira.

⁷⁸ Tongariro was named by the tohunga Ngatoroitangi of the Arawa waka. Ngauruhoe was named after the servant of Ngatoroirangi (Waitangi Tribunal 2012).

Now at that period Taranaki (Mt. Egmont) occupied what is now the site of the lake Roto-a-Ira, but that mountain was then known as Pukeonaki, the name of Taranaki was given it in later times.

(Best 1924: 467)

Best in *Māori Myth and Religion* (1924) can be accused of smithing different elements to create a new narrative. It is clear that when reading the narrative, and comparing it to earlier versions, that Best wove together material from Mataatua, Tūwharetoa and Taranaki to create a new version. In this excerpt, Best uses the name Pukeonaki (in itself a name peculiar to Taranaki) and sites the maunga at Lake Rotoaira. Although Hammond wrote that according to the Whanganui people, Taranaki once stood beside Taupo (Hammond 1901). However a very early excerpt from Taylor from Whanganui and South Taranaki sources recorded a lake where Taranaki once stood.

The spot where he formerly stood is now occupied by a deep lake, which still bears the name of Taranaki, and is supposed to be a kind of Pandemonium, the grand abode of all the New Zealand gods.

(Taylor 1855: 226)

Either this refers to Taupo or Rotoaira. Considering the geography of the region, Lake Rotoaira is situated between Tongariro maunga and Pihanga maunga. This would appear to be the perfect place to conduct an affair. Of course, there were more maunga than Taranaki, Tongariro and Pihanga in that area.

There was a great group of mountains; they all stood close together on the central plain south of Lake Taupo. Most of them are there still, and Ruapehu is the chief of them all, but in the far away days Taranaki stood there, and also Tauhara and Putauaki.

(Cowan & Pomare 1930: 177)

In the days when the world was young an assemblage of great mountains stood in the heart of the Ika a Māui (North Island). They were gods and warriors of great strength. They were so placed that Mount Egmont stood to the southwest of Ngauruhoe, Tongariro's most fierce volcano, where the lakes of Ngā Puna a Tamatea now lie, and

Tauhara and Mount Edgecumbe to the northeast where Lake Rotoaira now stretches like a sea.

(Grace 1959: 507)

Young (1998) gave the Whanganui version of the Travelling Mountain Narrative and places Ruapehu as the leader of the maunga community and the original inhabitant of the rohe.

Long ago, Māui Tikitiki and his brother went fishing and hauled up Te Hāhā Te Whenua, the fish of Māui, the North Island. So mighty was this fish that Māui returned immediately to Hawaiki for help, leaving his awed brothers to safeguard it. In their fear they approached Ranginui, who told them: 'The mana of Te Ika a Māui can be subdued only by a greater mana. I give you Matua Te Mana – Ruapehu.' This volcano, rising skywards in the centre of the new land, brought much-needed tranquillity. But there was a problem for Ruapehu – loneliness – and it was Ranginui who noticed. Ranginui laid two tear drops at Ruapehu's feet, one of which was to become the Whanganui River, the other becomes a story for other tribes to tell. Ruapehu's sorrow deepened. He pleaded with Ranginui for companionship and in time Ranginui sent him four friends: Tongariro, guardian of the two tear drops, and Taranaki, custodian of the tapu for the clan of mountains. There was also Ngauruhoe, servant of these mountain masters, and finally, Pihanga, the maiden mountain.

(Young 1998)

This excerpt of the Travelling Mountain Narrative was also supported by evidence given by John Tahuparae to the Waitangi Tribunal and I have heard other Whanganui speakers refer to this narrative. Furthermore, according to the Whanganui people, Taranaki was known as Matua-te-tapu. Tongariro maunga was Matua-te-toa, Pihanga was Matua-te-hine, and Ngauruhoe was Matua-te-pono. Similar to Tuuta (Tamati 2010) Young places the formation of the mountains after the island was 'fished up' by Māui. Furthermore Ruapehu, as the primary ancestral maunga of Whanganui, is the leader of the community.

Location-wise, all these named mountains in the text variations are grouped together, suggesting that they were living in a community. If they were living in a community, it is implicit that the maunga were related. Māori society is built on kinship relationships, and a community is made of whānau. The Whanganui iwi refer to the cluster of maunga in the central plateau as the Kāhui

Maunga.⁷⁹ The Kāhui Maunga was also the name of the iwi who lived in Taranaki prior to the coming of the Kurahaupō, Aotea and Tokomaru.⁸⁰

The belief in an ancestral homeland of origin in a distant land is an established concept in tribal histories of the migration narrative story pattern. All the Travelling Mountain Narrative texts refer to the land of origin of the maunga as being on the central plateau. These maunga are effectively living in a community. The maunga of the central plateau are grouped together and therefore casting as the main characters in the narrative seems obvious. Depending on the level of detail in the text variations, the maunga seem to live in relative peace with each other. Unfortunately, as the story pattern unfolds, this harmonious living arrangement would soon come to a fiery end in the conflict over Pihanga.

4.7. Pakanga (Conflict)

In all the narrative variations it is the argument over a woman that sparks the conflict between the maunga. The narrative variations give different female maunga as the cause of conflict but the common theme is that the male maunga fought over the affections of the sole female maunga. This conflict divides the whānau of mountains and peace is only restored when Taranaki (and Tauhara and Putauaki) leave the area and search for another home. In the interests of thesis orthodoxy, Pihanga is most often referred to as the female love interest. It will be noted (and excerpts support this) that Tongariro and Ruapehu were also classed as female. Taranaki is a male maunga in all the versions.

While the narrative fitting the context of the whakatauākī could be dismissed as a cliché, this whakatauākī gives cause to the narrative motif. This oft quoted whakatauākī is synonymous with the causes of war in Aotearoa New Zealand. In the context of the Travelling Mountain Narrative this whakatauākī sums up the cause of conflict in the mountain community.

WHAKATAUĀKĪ 4

Mā te whenua, mā te wahine ka mate te tangata.

Men die for land and for women.

(Grove & Mead 2004: 288)

⁷⁹ The mountains in the central plateau region of the North Island, within the Tongariro National Park region are known by the iwi of that rohe as the Kāhui Maunga. The Waitangi Tribunal research in the claims of these iwi is also titled as *Te Kāhui Maunga: The National Park District Inquiry Report* (Waitangi Tribunal 2012).

⁸⁰ The Kāhui Maunga of Taranaki will be explored in later chapters.

The Taranaki variations state that Taranaki maunga made romantic overtures to Pihanga maunga. This is interesting because it casts Taranaki maunga in an unflattering light, which contrasts to the usual mode of emphasising the mana of the mountain. The following excerpt from Skinner and Minarapa explicitly states that Taranaki makes improper actions to Pihanga, the wife of Tongariro maunga.

But owing to Taranaki making improper overtures (puremu) to Pihanga the wife of Tongariro, a cloud (arei) passed from Taranaki towards and into a cavity or hole (tara) on Pihanga.

(Skinner MS)

This is a fairly explicit passage in early 19th century writing. A tara is a vagina and so the symbolism of a cloud passing into a tara is synonymous with a sexual affair. Regardless of the act of intimacy described by Minarapa and Skinner, Tongariro is enraged with jealousy. In an earlier publication it was Tongariro becoming jealous of Taranaki, and accusations of intimacy with Pihanga, that causes the conflict.

The tradition is that Tongariro became jealous of Taranaki, and accused him of being too intimate with Pihanga.

(Taylor 1855:226)

Taranaki fell in love with the Lady Pihanga, much to the wrath of Tongariro.

(Smith 1907:148)

This Pukeonaki was much given to admiring one of the lesser mounts, Pihanga, who is a female of the mountain breed, but Pihanga was the wife of great Tongariro at the time, and so trouble arose at Taupo-nui-a-tia. A violent quarrel between the two giants now ensued.

(Best 1924: 118)

In the Whanganui version, Pihanga was Tongariro's intended. Pihanga is tempted by Taranaki, and she engages in an affair with the handsome Taranaki.

Pihanga was spoken for as Tongariro's bride and the future mother of the continuing line for the mountain enclave. However, Pihanga was tempted by Taranaki.

(Young 1998)

In these versions Taranaki is the seducer of Pihanga. Pihanga was promised to (or was the wife) of Tongariro and was either tempted, seduced or appeared to become too intimate with Taranaki, thereby causing Tongariro to become jealous and angry. Therefore it was because of the actions of Taranaki that the maunga are divided in conflict. This suggests that the Taranaki pūkōrero who gave their accounts to the kaitauaki Pākehā writers were not trying to 'talk up' or whakamana Taranaki maunga in this narrative. It would seem logical that an iwi would prefer to cast their ancestral maunga in a positive light, as the victim rather than the instigator. Perhaps this suggests that the actions of Taranaki following his desire, and this leading to conflict, was an implicit lesson for following generations.

A waiata composed by Niho (Te Kohera and Ngāti Tūwharetoa) for Te Heuheu Tukino II alludes to the desirable qualities of Pihanga as a place of comfort and rest. In this waiata Pihanga maunga is a place of solace to which the wairua of the composer would fly.

WAIATA 2

<i>Tēnei te wairua</i>	<i>My spirit oft</i>
<i>Ka rā waenga mai</i>	<i>Did eagerly seek</i>
<i>Tara ki Pihanga;</i>	<i>The peak of Pihanga;</i>
<i>Ko ngā kainga mata</i>	<i>Where nestle the places</i>
<i>O taku whanaketanga.</i>	<i>To which I would fly.</i>

(Jones and Ngata 1988: 288-299)

Pihanga is the main female character in many versions of the Travelling Mountain Narrative. However, not all narrative versions have Pihanga as the female maunga, and therefore the love interest of Taranaki and Tongariro. Some versions place Tongariro as the female rather than Pihanga.

Ah, Tongariro roused the passions of the giants; she made the volcanoes tremble.

(Dittmer 1907: XVI)

We also have this version by Reed that has Ruapehu as the female love interest. Moreover, it states that Ruapehu was married to Taranaki and then seduced by Tongariro.

Ruapehu... she was the cause of all the strife that followed, for she was married to mighty Taranaki. One day her husband went hunting, and during his absence Tongariro, who had always admired her, courted and won her.

(Reed 1963: 342)

The other maunga involved in this fracas were also said to have been a part of the battle over the love of Pihanga. Hamiora Pio (in Best 1899) stated that Pūtauaki, Whakaari and Paepae-aotea were originally from the centre of the island. Cowan and Pomare (1930) had Putauaki and Tauhara as the other competitors. Grace (1959) also has Putauaki and Tauhara as the other two maunga involved in the battle over Pihanga. Both of these maunga were forced to leave the rohe like Taranaki. Putauaki travelled to the Bay of Plenty, whereas Tauhara only got as far as the northern side of Taupo.

Regardless of the variations in prose, or indeed the main characters in this romantic tragedy, the central theme is that this is a thwarted love triangle. Taranaki loved or seduced Pihanga. Because of this love affair, Tongariro and Taranaki fought for the love of Pihanga. Of course, there are versions that also mention Tauhara and Putauaki attempting to win Pihanga, and then being forced to leave the area when they fail. Regardless of the characters, this conflict leads to change and to the transformation in the dynamics of the community. In the end, Tongariro is the victor, and Tongariro claims Pihanga as his wife.

A waiata from Ngāti Tūwharetoa asserts the victorious Tongariro marrying Pihanga, and was composed by Rihi Puhiwahine of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. This waiata was composed for her estranged lover Te Mahuta Te Toko and is still sung by Tūwharetoa (Ngata & Jones 1955). Besides another format supporting the Travelling Mountain Narrative, Puhiwahine relates how it was Ranginui (the sky-father) who legitimises the marriage of Tongariro and Pihanga. Furthermore, the explanation provided by Pei Te Hurinui Jones makes specific reference to Taranaki as the jilted lover. While the waiata itself makes no mention of Taranaki, it is implied by his absence in the waiata. After all in a wedding ceremony would the ex-partner be mentioned in the waiata memorialising the event?

WAIATA 3

E hū rā i Tongariro,

To fume up there on Tongariro,

<i>ka mahana i taku kiri.</i>	<i>giving warmth to my body</i>
<i>Na Rangī mai anō nāna i marena</i>	<i>It was Rangī who did join him in wedlock</i>
<i>Ko Pihanga te wahine, ai ua, ai hau,</i>	<i>With Pihanga as the bride, hence the rain, wind,</i>
<i>Ai marangai ki te muri-e, kokiri!</i>	<i>And the storms in the west; leap forth (my love)!</i>

(Ngata and Jones 1955: 150-151)

Mead refers to this waiata and the symbolic allusions inherent within it and gives a great explanation of the symbolism of mountain love.

Thus, when mountains are mentioned in love songs the composer is alluding to this great love affair and she is indicating the power of mountains to symbolise love. It is a short step from here to use mountains to represent the principals in a love affair. Used this way, mountains become symbols of love.... Reaching the summit of one of these mountains or hills is like reaching the orgasmic heights of love.

(Mead 1969: 397)

The Travelling Mountain Narrative embodies the mountains quarrelling and thereby symbolising the inherent tension between protagonists leading to change. This agent of change is conflict. The tension between male and female, opponents, inhabitants and migrants is played out in all cultures. The violent dispute between maunga leads to the exile of Taranaki maunga, and the other maunga of the central plateau like Putauaki and Tauhara, from their homes.

This could be said to symbolise the natural progression and separation of tribal units that have grown too big, thereby separating into smaller units and dispersing. In this case, the mountain Taranaki leaving one home in order to find another replicates this process of division and reformation. Although all the narratives explicitly state that the cause of the conflict was the argument over the female maunga Pihanga, it does seem somewhat simplistic to blame all the troubles over one woman, or on Taranaki maunga for attempting to seduce her. For example the Whanganui version insists that Taranaki was sent away in order to preserve his mana and tapu as well as the peace of the community (Young 1998).

Mana of the tradition rests with the iwi from whence it is sourced. In a literary sense, the narrative depends on the pūkōrero and kaitauaki. A similar case of a purported affair was that of Titokowaru. In the version of history relayed by Kimble Bent to James Cowan (1911), Titokowaru lost his mana

because he slept with the wife of another rangatira. The published versions say that in 1869 Titokowaru and his people were threatening the town of Whanganui. They had finished building the fortress Taurangaika. However on the eve of battle the people dispersed and left in the night, leaving an empty pā. Historians consider that the battle of Taurangaika was cancelled because Titokowaru slept with the wife of another rangatira (Belich 1989). This theory was based on the recollections of the American Kimble Bent who was interviewed decades later by James Cowan (Cowan 1911). Bent was an unreliable witness and it was unlikely he was included in high-level war deliberations. But this theory was used to belittle the mana of Titokowaru, as well as offer a reason for the cancelled battle. Broughton (1993) asserts a different reason for the dispersal of the allied iwi at Taurangaika. According to Broughton, the people were tired of war and they did not wish to continue the war in the territory of Whanganui iwi. The alliance chose to disperse rather than fight. This demonstrates the difference in accounts, from the insider view to the outsider perspective, and how these inform the overall narrative. Titokowaru and his hapū then left Taurangaika and migrated inland of the Waitara River in order to find haven with Ngāti Maru.

WHAKATAUĀKĪ 5

Kaua e whakatoi ki ngā tupuna maunga, mehemea he wahine te take.

Do not annoy the mountains, especially if there is a woman in the case.

(Cowan & Pomare 1934: 189)

The Travelling Mountain Narrative variations tend to agree that it was the ill-fated love affair (or desire for) Pihanga that caused conflict amongst the mountains. This was recognised by the above quoted whakatauāki referring to the conflict of the maunga being caused by conflict over Pihanga. The Taranaki versions concur it was Taranaki maunga pursuing Pihanga that caused the conflict. Other versions also insert Tauhara and Putauaki as opponents for the heart of Pihanga. In the end, Tongariro is victorious and the other maunga are forced to leave. Peace returns to the region after the diaspora of the maunga and Taranaki was forced to leave the region to allow it to return to a peaceful state. A key lesson that can be extrapolated from this theme is that conflict divides the whānau, and peace is only rediscovered through exile. Taranaki contests against Tongariro and other mountains over the love of Pihanga and he is defeated and exiled from his papa-pūtaka. Therefore, the motif of Pakanga: Conflict is the cause of migration in the story pattern. The consequence is exile.

4.8. Hekenga (Journey)

The Travelling Mountain Narratives all emphasise the journey of Taranaki maunga from his papa-pūtaka to Te Tai Hauāuru west coast. The motifeme of hekenga shares similar elements to other migration journeys, both inter-island and internal migrations. In the text variations of the Travelling Mountain Narrative there are three routes that the mountain was said to have taken to the sea. The level of detail differs from one version to the next and ranges from specific to the general.

- From the Central Plateau via Manganuiateao to Whanganui. Westward to Ngaere Swamp and then to its present location
- Down the Whanganui river to the sea and the up the coast
- Travelling underground down the Whanganui river, and then underwater up the coast, before travelling up the Hangatahua river in Taranaki.

These three routes are important to consider because they locate in named places the migration journey. From the general to the specific, Taranaki maunga is identified with the route, the Whanganui and other named places along the way.

4.8.a. Central Plateau – Manganuiateao – Whanganui – Ngaere – West Coast

The first excerpt is the Minarapa/Skinner version. It is amongst the most detailed of the narrative variations. This excerpt is exact in that he states that Taranaki follows the Manganuiateao awa from the central plateau to the Whanganui awa. From there, the maunga then travels inland to the Ngaere swamp. Furthermore, the swamp itself is made by the maunga resting there.

Taranaki being worsted in the conflict withdrew furrowing out as he went what is now the valley of the Manganui-a-te-ao or as Minarapa states, he came by way of the Manganui-a-te-ao in the Whanganui valley and thence into the Ngaere county. He stayed a night here and his great weight formed a depression in the ground, such depression being how the Ngaere swamp out of which flows the red water and which is to be seen until the present day.

(Skinner MS)

The second excerpt comes from Best. Bearing in mind that this was an attempt at smithing, as the narrative appears to be obtained from various sources including Smith, Pio and Taurua. However,

Best adds the details of the maunga creating the deep cliffs of the Whanganui and Manganuiateao, and that rocks left by the maunga can still be seen in the awa. Best's version also follows the same path of the Manganuiateao to the Whanganui and then inland via the Waitotara to the Ngaere.

Pukeonaki, who resolved to seek a new and more tranquil home beneath the setting sun. Even so the huge form of Pukeonaki traversed the red west road, but owing to his great weight he scored a huge furrow across the land that is now represented by the deep canyons of Manga-nui-te-au and the Whanganui River. During his flight some fragments dropped from the great bulk of Pukeonaki and these are seen in the form of certain rocks in the Whanganui river below Ohura, and others near Waitotara. When he reached Te Ngaere, the mountain rested a space, so causing a great depression of the land, a hollow that later was known to us as the Ngaere swamp.

(Best 1924: 468)

The third excerpt comes from the Whanganui tribal tradition. Instead of variations where Taranaki furrows out the Whanganui in this version the awa was created by the teardrops of Ranginui. Therefore Taranaki maunga does not create the river, but instead follow it as a trail.

Eventually, heeding the advice of his brother, Ruapehu, Taranaki wisely but sadly left the enclave. It was the only way he could ensure his tapu remained intact. Taranaki took the pathway that many mortals would later follow, down the course of the Whanganui. At a western point in the river he struck out towards the coast, settling by the ocean as the guardian of the setting sun.

(Young 1998)

This series of routes give the most detail about the journey of the mountain. Moreover, this route is based on actual paths and tracks from the central plateau to the west coast. The Manganuiateao awa was a common route from Ruapehu and central plateau to the Whanganui awa (Waitangi Tribunal 2012). Furthermore from the Whanganui awa there were two routes inland: the Taumatamahoe track (north of the convergence of the Whanganui and Manganuiateao) and the Ngarauu Waitotara track south of the convergence. The Taumatamahoe eventually joins to the Waitara awa track to Purangi (Garcia 1940). Whereas the Ngarauu Waitotara track emerges into what was the Ngaere swamp (Skeet 1954). This therefore locates the journey of Taranaki maunga on a named route that was to be followed by later travellers. Naming and locating places that the

mountain was purported to have travelled locates the myth in real space. These three excerpts are the most detailed of the hekenga maunga. Carving the narrative on the landscape also explains the origin of the natural landmarks.

4.8.b. Central - Whanganui - Sea

These excerpts demonstrate the movement of the mountain via the Whanganui awa to the sea and then up the coast. Contrary to the more detailed versions outlined in the previous section, these excerpts are fairly plain.

And Taranaki in anger and to escape the fire that Tongariro belched forth at him, fled by way of the Whanganui river and along the coast to Taranaki, leaving all along the way the tuhua (obsidian) to mark the way he came.

(Hammond 1901: 200)

Hammond therefore grants Taranaki the honour of the originator of obsidian. Considering that obsidian is a volcanic rock, it would seem logical that Hammonds' sources attribute the obsidian rock to Taranaki maunga. Similar to other versions, the maunga does not make the awa, but instead he follows it to the sea. This is in contrast to Downes excerpt where the maunga is posited as creating the awa.

Tara-naki was worsted, as he deserved to be, and fled down to Whanga-nui, drawing the deep furrow of that river. He then fled along the coast.

(Downes 1915: 1)

Downes, working from unnamed Whanganui awa sources, attributes the formation of the awa to Taranaki. Following the awa to the sea, and then following the coast to his present position would seem a logical journey. For example if a person was using a canoe to travel the awa, it makes sense that he would follow the river to the sea, and then sail up the coast. Regardless of the direction, the maunga ends up on Te Tai Hauāuru. Cowan and Pomare give one of the few direct quotes of any of the versions when they attribute this saying to Taranaki. It also does not mention a named route.

And Taranaki said: "I shall go to the setting place of the sun" ("Ka haere au ki te towenetanga o te ra").

(Cowan & Pomare 1930:177)

These three examples give the journey of the maunga as a straightforward route following the Whanganui awa to the sea, and up the coast to the west coast. This would appear to be a logical route. That said none of these authors give their pūkōrero so it is difficult to place the route in a tribal tradition. Did the maunga make the awa or was the awa discovered by the maunga? A common theme in the Travelling Mountain Narrative is that the mountain furrows out the riverbed and creates the Whanganui awa. This suggests the act of discovery, of travelling on and subsequently finding the source of the awa. But what does it mean to make a river? Was it the act of channelling the riverbed or was it the act of discovery of the awa? Bearing in mind that the Whanganui people tell a different story about the origin of the awa, and that instead it was made from the tear drops of Rangi.⁸¹ In any discussion about the awa the kōrero of the iwi from that area must be given prominence.

4.8.c. Travelling underground and undersea

There is also a third route in the journey of the mountain. In this example, the mountain travels underground and then under the sea. The first narrative section was given to Best by Taurua Minarapa⁸² and printed in the JPS in 1927.

These creatures heard that Mt. Egmont had arrived at Whanganui, the canyon-like valley of which it is said to have formed during its progress to the coast, and so they set off with certain companions to see the marvelous sight. The company consisted of Rauhoto, Wheoi, Aonui, Aoroa, Aopouri, Aopotango, Aowhekere and Aowhetuma, and is said to have been known as the Kahui Matangi or wind flock, although the last six names are terms denoting clouds. On arriving at Whanganui they found that the mountain had taken firm root and so they set about loosening it. Having succeeded in this task they conveyed Mt. Egmont to Taranaki by subterranean and submarine ways, through which it was guided by Wheoi, while Rauhoto travelled on the surface.

(Best 1927: 138).

⁸¹ Refer to chapter 5, section 5.2 and the kōrero around Rua-tupuna.

⁸² As noted in earlier chapters, Taurua Minarapa was the brother of Te Kahui Kararehe.

Again the excerpt attributes the creation of the Whanganui awa to the travels of the maunga. Furthermore it asserts that a group from the west coast heard that the maunga was at Whanganui and went to fetch it. Best and Taurua then inserts a kōrero for the Kāhui Matangi or wind flock, and names Rauhoto, Wheoi, Aonui, Aoroa, Aopouri, Aopotango, Aowhekere and Aowhetuma as the people who went to find the stone. While Best classifies these people as cloud formations, these people were a part of the Kāhui Ao.⁸³ Rauhoto and Wheoi were appointed guides.

Hohaia includes the mythical elements of the Best/Taurua narrative and these are given further embellishment with the mountain travelling underground and undersea. Instead of having the maunga make the awa, the maunga is instead only following it. This narrative was controversial at the time that Hohaia published it.⁸⁴ However, it appears likely that Hohaia was following the same kōrero that Taurua gave to Best, and therefore it has grounding in an already published and known tradition.

He retreated underground and down the Whanganui River, he entered the sea, led by a guide stone, Te Toka a Rauhoto. She led him north-west, where he surfaced and saw the Pouakai mountain. Te Toka a Ruahoto flew east of Pouakai then through the gap between Pouakai and Kaitake. She landed near the sea at the Hangataahua River

(Hohaia 2001: 9)

When comparing these two examples with the other variations, it seems obvious that Hohaia was influenced by the writings of Taurua and Best. Out of all the variations of the narrative (and the journey that the maunga takes) this route is markedly different. However Hohaia has Te Toka a Rauhoto flying around the maunga and landing by the Hangatahura awa. According to Hohaia (2001) this flight was commemorated in the naming of the hill Pukeiti to Puke Te Whitinga a Rauhoto (The Flight of Rauhoto). Hohaia and Taurua (and Kararehe) were Ngāti Haupoto and it seems likely that this version of the travelling maunga can be attributed to the divergent tribal discourse between Ngā Mahanga and Ngāti Haupoto.

The idea of divergent tribal migration narratives can be understood in the context of the voyage of Kurahaupō. Kurahaupō waka has multiple versions of its migration journey to Aotearoa. The island (or islands) of origin of the Kurahaupō is uncertain although Rarotonga and other islands in the Cook

⁸³ The Kāhui Ao were purported to be amongst the early hapū of the central Taranaki. White (2001) gives a whakapapa including Aopouri and Ao Whetuma.

⁸⁴ Refer to chapter 6.4 for a discussion of the controversy.

Island group would appear likely. Many of the places that the waka was purported to visit are veiled by divergent tribal narratives. However there were four places that can reasonably be associated with the voyage of the Kurahaupō. These places were:

- Rarotonga
- Rangitāhua
- Muriwhenua
- Nukutaurua

Vai-te-kura, on the western side of Rarotonga was apparently where the Kurahaupō launched (Orometua in Smith 1898). It is likely that the Rarotonga was the last departure point of the Kurahaupō before sailing to Aotearoa. While it is uncertain if the Kurahaupō actually came from this island, there are whakapapa associations between some of the crew and tūpuna from Rarotonga and Aitutaki. Tamaahua and his father Te Hatauirā, two important men aboard the Kurahaupō, were descended from the ariki Ruatapu and Tangiia. Nonetheless it seems likely that the Kurahaupō landed at Rarotonga (Ngāwhare-Pounamu 2008).

Rangitāhua (Raoul Island) is in the midst of the Kermadec Islands. Multiple tribal traditions of iwi descending from the Kurahaupō refer to the island of Rangitāhua, as analysed by the Wā-Ātea model, from Taranaki, Aotea, Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Kurī, Te Aupouri, Ngāi Takato and Mataatua. The Kurahaupō was at this island where an accident befell the waka. This resulted in the crew separating into three groups: one group, led by Te Moungaroa, went with the Mataatua waka; one group led by Ruatea travelled with the Aotea; and a third group led by Pō-Hurihanga repaired the waka (using the rope of his fishing net) and continued the voyage to Aotearoa (Broughton 1979; Kararehe 1893; Ngāwhare-Pounamu 2008; Urlich-Cloher 2002).

Pō-Hurihanga and the Kurahaupō landed at Muriwhenua, at a place called Te Wā-kura. Unfortunately, the crew tied up to a rock (called the Te Toka a Kurahaupō now) and the waka was wrecked again. The waka was repaired at Takapaukura. Pō-Hurihanga and the crew intermarried with the tangata whenua, Te Ngake. The iwi of this area have retained a lot of kōrero about the marriage and descent lines (Grove & Mead 2004; Norman 1987; Urlich-Cloher 2002).

The fourth place where the waka was said to have landed was at Nukutaurua in Mahia. There were multiple tūpuna who settled in this area. Moreover, the iwi Rongomaiwahine claim that the

wreckage of the Kurahaupō can be seen as a petrified reef. These include the ancestors Whatonga, Popoto and Mahutonga. Whatonga was the primary tupuna of Ngāi Tara, Rangitāne and Muaupoko. Popoto was the tupuna of Rongomaiwahine, the tapairu who married Kahungunu (McEwan 1971; Mitchell 1944).

Other named places include Tongaporutu, Oakura, Maketu, Whakatane, Ohiwa, Waiapu, Te Taitapu and Mawhera. Too much uncertainty surrounds these places to reliably associate the waka landing here, although in many of these places descendants of the Kurahaupō settled. The primary argument here is that while there are variations in the migration narratives, the waka still travelled to Aotearoa. Even though divergent tribal discourse obscures clarity all the tribal traditions are right, in their own tribal area (Ngāwhare-Pounamu 2008).

The motifeme of this section explored the theme of the hekenga as the migration journey. The Travelling Mountain Narrative contains aspects of divergent discourse relating to the journey route. There is no consensus for the route travelled by Taranaki maunga. The first route of the maunga following the Manganuiateao awa to the Whanganui awa and then to Ngaere would appear to be a fascinating route because these were named tracks. Of course, from a western worldview the very idea of mountains being able to move is somewhat farfetched. However, this was accepted in tribal tradition and Māori worldviews

4.9. Papa-whenua (Settlement)

The final theme in the Travelling Mountain Narrative refers to Taranaki maunga settling on Te Tai Hauāuru or the west coast of the North Island. After the tribulations of pakanga and the trials of the hekenga, the maunga is able to find peace and healing in a new home. Papa-whenua is another constructed term in this thesis to explain the concept of a new homeland. Papa-whenua is claimed by settling at a place, living and dying and being buried there, and then through resulting generations dwelling in that area.

The process of sanctifying a place was enacted in claiming a place by karakia uruuruwhenua and burying bones within the earth. This process identified the ancestor with the landmark (Tau 2011). Through this process, and the urupā that are then established, the iwi claims this as evidence of rights of occupation and use (Mead 2003). Ahi-kāroa or the long burning fires demonstrated to the world that the place had been claimed. This can be read into the myth of the arrival of Taranaki maunga into the region.

Previous to his arrival in Taranaki, the mountain was named Pukeonaki. The following excerpts indicate that upon arriving in the region, the mountain underwent a name change to his present title. That is, from Pukeonaki to Taranaki. According to Hohaia (2001), the name Taranaki was conferred on the maunga by Tahurangi, the son of Rua Taranaki and Rauhoto Tapairu. Therefore by naming the mountain, the mountain in turn names the entire region.

In former times Pukeonaki or Taranaki resided near Taupo and Tongariro...

(Skinner MS)

Now at that period Taranaki (Mt. Egmont) occupied what is now the site of the lake Roto-a-Ira, but that mountain was then known as Pukeonaki, the name of Taranaki was given it in later times.

(Best 1924: 467)

Taranaki, formerly known as Pukeonaki, Pukehaupapa and other names, stood at Taupoo.

(Hohaia 2001: 9)

Discovery and exploration of the landscape gives an explorer naming rights or are attributed by later descendants. This was known as take taunaha and was the process of naming and claiming the land leading to occupation and use of the land. Take taunaha had to be supported either by military force or through the consent of tangata whenua (Mead 2003). However there are incidences where uruwaka named the landscape, but did not claim it. For example amongst the many places Turi of Aotea was purported to have named on his journey was the Oakura awa in coastal Taranaki (Tautahi & Taipuhi 1900). However this river was originally named by one of the crewmembers of the Kurahaupō waka and her name was Akura Matapu. The possessive 'O' was added to the name Akura, thus becoming Oakura. The traditional name of the river is Oakura Matapu (Morpeth 1940; Ngāwhare-Pounamu 2008).

The relationship with the land was thus solidified and made concrete in names, length of occupation or ahikāroa, whakapapa, tribal traditions and place names. This continuing relationship over generations with that place in turn became a source of identity. According to Mead (2003) Māori believed they were descendants of Papatuanuku, and therefore they refer to themselves as 'of the

land' and 'as the land', with living generations acting as guardians of the land. In the case of Taranaki Tūturu, descendants identified themselves with the mountain and thus the land also becomes known as Taranaki. Identity becomes inextricably linked between Taranaki maunga, Taranaki rohe and Taranaki iwi.

In the Taranaki versions of the narrative, the maunga was a late immigrant into the region. He was invited to stay next to Pouakai maunga and Patuha maunga. Taranaki versions point out significant features and refer Te Toka a Rauhoto as the guidestone. Both these following excerpts explicitly state that there were mountains in this region before Taranaki.

The Pouakai had always lived where we see them now and were there ages before Taranaki came to these parts. Having come near Pouakai they induced him to stay the night and whilst he was asleep they bound him fast by throwing out an encircling arm towards the south East from the side of which Wai-wera-iti (ancient name of Stoney river) flows. Awakening in the morning he found himself a prisoner but being now far distant from his furious rival Tongariro he accepted his position quietly and has remained there ever since.

(Skinner MS)

In this excerpt Pouakai invites Taranaki to stay, mirroring the actions of tangata whenua. By staying the night, Taranaki was then trapped by Pouakai. This could symbolise a marriage inducing Taranaki to settle and put roots down. This can also be considered as the actions of a tangata whenua people inviting and then intermarrying with immigrants. Pouakai 'induces' or invites Taranaki to stay. But then during the night, Pouakai binds Taranaki in his sleep. Perhaps this is reference to a marriage that consummated in the night, and thereby binding the migrant mountain to Pouakai.

This next excerpt from Reed (1963) includes Patua and expands on the personalities of the mountain ranges standing next to Taranaki maunga. The mountain range next to Pouakai is alternatively known as Patua or Patuha,⁸⁵ Te Iringaniu, Pioke and Pirongia, depending on which peak was being mentioned, because each peak had its own name.⁸⁶ This is one of the few narrative versions that

⁸⁵ The difference in spelling between Patua and Patuha is because of the spoken Taranaki Māori dialect that drops the h as an aspirate glottal stop.

⁸⁶ Not only did each peak have a name, but each peak sheltered at one time or another significant papakāinga and gardens. Te Iringaniu was where the warrior twins Mahirua and Mahikeke had their pā, Patua peak had Patuha pā, and Pirongia had the village named Pirongia on the Oakura River.

contains dialogue between maunga. This version came to Reed by Hongi Hare, who most likely received it from Motu Tukirikau.

On reaching his destination Taranaki saw two smaller female mountains, who called to him, "Come and rest in our embrace." These companions of Taranaki, the ranges Pouakai and Patua, remain faithfully beside him; but he towers over them, gazing across the broken land towards his wife and his rival.

For some time Taranaki remained with his two attendant mountains, sending his love thoughts to Ruapehu, but after a while he began to boast. One morning when the two female mountains were wreathed in fog, he said, "Ka tu a Taranaki, te maunga tē tairia e te kohu!" (thus stands Taranaki, the mountain whose summit is never clothed in mist).

Patua was offended, "You are not a paragon" she said. "It is true that you have your good parts, but it is equally true that you are an intruder, an emigrant. As for us, we belong to the original [eyes] of ancient days.

(Reed 1963: 342)

The interesting aspect of this excerpt is that Taranaki begins to boast about his lofty peak and beauty. However, Patua admonishes Taranaki by reminding him that he is an emigrant, a late arrival in the region. Symbolically this could be taken as a warning against being boastful or bossy as this is a classic retort to an over bearing person claiming and demanding recognition.

Without a doubt, the arrival of the mountain into the region would have been an explosive event. The versions from Taranaki refer to the arrival of Taranaki maunga in the region and volcanic activity causing damage to the whare tūpuna Kaimirumiru. Kaimirumiru once stood in the papakāinga Karakatonga near the headwaters of the Waiwhakaiho.⁸⁷ This excerpt from Minarapa and Skinner, albeit calling the whare Kaimiromiro, also makes mention of Taranaki 'swallowing' up the Karakatonga. Minarapa names some of the people living there at the time.

In former times there stood where Taranaki now stands a great house built by the tangata whenua called Kaimiromiro, the square of the marae was called Tara wai

⁸⁷ The kōrero of Kaimirumiru and Karakatonga will be explored in the next chapter.

nuku, and it was built (or owned) by five chiefs called Karutewhenua, Kaungohe, Kaupapa, Tirahaere, Taihuranga and Tahairangi. When Taranaki stopped for the night the last night of his wanderings, he buried or swallowed up this great house Kaimiromiro with the marae of the five chiefs, some of these people escaped. The only living descendant of the people now living (1896) is Te Horo, a woman living at Puniho.

(Skinner MS)

It will be noted that Minarapa refers to a woman named Te Horo who was the last living descendant of the named ancestors in his narrative, and that she lived at Puniho.⁸⁸ Minarapa names five people who lived in Kaimirumiru at the time. These people will be studied in the next chapter. It is interesting that he refers to these people escaping the destruction of Karaka-Tonga when the maunga 'buried or swallowed' the village. Hohaia gave a slightly different account by mentioning the hapū that lived at Karakatonga of the Kāhui Ao, Kāhui Rangi, Kāhui Pō and Kāhui Atua. Later kōrero that Hohaia gives seem to contradict the reference to all four hapū living at Karakatonga at the same time. This also ties into the Taurua/Best version, where the various ancestors named Aonui, Aoroa, Aopouri, Aopotango, Aowhekere and Aowhetuma fetch the maunga along with Rauhoto and Wheoi.

The hapuu of the old mountain before Pukeonaki arrived were Kaahui Aao, Kaahui Rangi, Kaahui Poo and Kaahui Atua. They were the Kaahui Maunga and spread throughout Taranaki. In the Waiwhakaiho gorge they lived at Karakatonga. They fled when the newcomer arrived, but some died during the evacuation.

(Hohaia 2001:9)

Similar to Minarapa, Hohaia connects the arrival of the maunga with the destruction of Karaka-Tonga. These excerpts could suggest a remembrance of volcanic activity on the mountain itself. The actual site of Karakatonga is no longer specifically known due its disappearance. Moreover there has been a record of at least six volcanic events within the past thousand years. Unfortunately there are only fragments available for study relating to Karaka-Tonga and the first Kaimirumiru.

Within the Travelling Mountain Narrative, Taranaki maunga arrives into the region, and is then invited to stay. As an immigrant, the mountain is given a home when he is welcomed by the maunga Pouakai and Patuha, thereby establishing the Papa-whenua of Taranaki maunga. The motifeme of papa-whenua balancing that of the papa-pūtaka brings the story pattern to a balanced end. A new

⁸⁸ Te Horo is another ancestor whose story and life I have been unable to locate.

home is found and by living there the mountain is accepted he becomes a part of the land. This land then becomes his home, his papa-whenua.

4.10. Summary

This chapter has attempted to interpret the Travelling Mountain Narrative symbolically and literally using a variety of theories in order to reveal the structural framework of the migration narrative story pattern. The key motifs have indicated that the Travelling Mountain Narrative shares common elements with other migration journeys from Te Ao Hekenga and Te Ao Kōhatu.

TABLE 9: Migration Narrative Story Pattern - Taranaki maunga	
1. Papa-pūtaka: (Homeland)	Taranaki maunga lived in the central North Island as part of a community of mountains.
2. Pakanga (Conflict)	Conflict erupts over a female maunga amidst the community, Taranaki fights, is defeated and exiled.
3. Hekenga (Journey)	Taranaki departs his home and travels to the west coast via following named routes. Te Toka a Rauhoto is the guide.
4. Papa-whenua (Settlement)	The maunga settles on the west coast next to Pouakai and Patuha by invitation. This land becomes his home.

Papa-pūtaka refers to the land of origin, as the ancestral home and is a strong theme in mātauranga Māori. Papa-pūtaka can also be applied to the Travelling Mountain Narrative. The area where Taranaki maunga lived is known, and his kin (the other maunga) are also remembered as the central plateau alongside the other named maunga of this narrative. In this papa-pūtaka, all the maunga live in relative peace as a community or whānau.

Pakanga or conflict disrupts the peace within the whānau and the rohe. The mountains argue and then fight over the love of Pihanga. Defeated, Taranaki is forced to depart. The other maunga tupuna of Tauhara and Putauaki are also mentioned (in some variations) as having battled for the love of Pihanga. Depending on the source, we have Pihanga, Ruapehu or indeed Tongariro mentioned as the female maunga. Notwithstanding the differences in characters, the key point is that conflict disrupts the whānau, and peace is only found in the exile of Taranaki.

The hekenga of the maunga, the journey from the central North Island to the West Coast involves a named route, although there are differences between the two Taranaki versions. One journey is

overland, and the other is under ground and undersea. Nonetheless the maunga travels along the awa and overland to the west coast. On this journey he is led by the stone Te Toka a Rauhoto.

Papa-whenua is another constructed term referring to the new home that Taranaki maunga finds on the west coast. Taranaki was not the first inhabitant, as there are already maunga dwelling in that land. This is similar to other migration narratives of the uruwaka, who found people already living in the region. In the Travelling Mountain Narrative the resident maunga welcome Taranaki maunga, inviting him to stay.

This story pattern raises the question as to whether myths as narratives can be (or should be) interpreted literally. Or is it that the use of metaphor and simile in poetry obscure the truth to the uninitiated? Biggs (2006) stated that these myth narratives should be critiqued as allegoric statements. For example consider the tendency to regard rocks and hills that have been named after an ancestor as the transformed remains of the ancestor. Alternatively is it a mistake to read into a tradition something that the original narrators, or originators of the history, had not intended?

Furthermore ontological myths and narratives may change from region to region. However in mātauranga Maori this is accepted as divergent discourse. Fundamental narratives like the Travelling Mountain Narrative demonstrate ancestral continuity and proof to claims of ownership by the tribal tradition they come from. Divergent tribal discourse is acceptable, albeit with the local version taking pre-eminence over outsider or introduced versions. Within Taranaki, the version that has Te Toka a Rauhoto leading the maunga is the accepted version. And then of course this can be narrowed down to the two hapū based versions of Ngā Mahanga and Ngāti Haupoto. Furthermore the use of the narrative to support tribal claims to mana whenua have to be considered.

The claim to Taranaki maunga was memorialised in this ngeri during contestation over the sale of the Omata block in 1847. During that event, the Puketapu hapū of Te Atiawa were claiming their land boundary included Taranaki maunga, and was an attempt to sell the mountain. Taranaki iwi objected to this and laid out ancestral rights, tūpuna who lived on the maunga and places where they had occupied on the slopes. The argument was concluded with the following ngeri.

WAIATA 4

Ko hea! Ko hea tērā maunga

E tū mai rā?

Ko Taranaki pea!

Where! O where is that mountain,

That stands forth so plain?

Surely it is Taranaki!

Nukunuku mai, nekeneke mai!

Ki taku aro, kikini!

Kikini ai! A ha!

A! A! Kekekeno!

It hitherwards moves, it comes

Before my face, press it!

Press it close! A ha!

A! A! Crunch the sands!⁸⁹

(Smith 1910:118)

⁸⁹ This ngeri was known as the Te Kurupu and was performed in 1847 during the disputed sale of the Omata block (south of New Plymouth). Taranaki iwi used this ngeri in support of their claim to the block and the mountains of the region. Taranaki won the debate. This may well be the earliest continually performed waiata/ngeri of Taranaki iwi. The composer is unknown.

CHAPTER FIVE

Ngā Tūpuna

5.1. Introduction

Rua Taranaki is the eponymous tūpuna of Taranaki Tūturu. Multiple written and spoken references in literature and on the paepae kōrero within the rohe attest to the prominence of this man in Taranaki tribal tradition. However there is a dearth of whakapapa, waiata and whakatauākī that acknowledge Rua Taranaki and his contemporaries Maruwakatare and Tahurangi. Therefore this chapter collates the residual information of these people in written literature and uses the structure of the Wā-Ātea model to inform the thesis hypothesis. Considering the points introduced in the migration journey story pattern, this chapter attempts to associate these tūpuna with the migration journey. Most importantly this chapter will identify key elements retained in Taranaki tribal tradition about these tūpuna.

The mana of the narrative, the whakapapa or the waiata as a record of tūpuna rested with the hapū or the iwi. The significance lay in the purpose of recitation, and who was reciting it, and how this served to uphold the mana of the hapū/iwi rather than its authenticity (Keenan 2005). Exploring Taranaki tribal traditions and collating the source material will explore the nature of these tūpuna. Using the aspects of the Wā-Ātea model to collate, compare and examine extant information contained within whakapapa, waiata, whakatauākī, wāhi, place names in this chapter contribute to tribal history.

In the article *Moki: A Tribal Ancestor and Realms of Myth and History* (2002) Tau demonstrated that myth templates were imposed on the original historical narrative of his ancestor Moki. But importantly the myth template did not dislocate the ancestor from the historic event, and remove that tūpuna from time and space. The purpose of the narrative was to elevate the mana of the ancestor. Broughton (1979) also unravelled the kōrero of Rauru from the myth, and the influence of Aotea waka on information retained for Rauru. These kaitauaki Māori studied their own tribal traditions in order to understand who their tūpuna were through whakapapa, waiata, whakatauākī and the other lore retained in their tribal traditions and manuscripts. Although there are many waiata in Taranaki that mention the maunga and tūpuna, this thesis focuses predominantly on waiata composed in the 19th century.

To that end this chapter is divided into four inter-related sections. The first section specifically focuses on Rua Taranaki. As a preeminent tupuna, understanding Rua Taranaki and his whakapapa and actions is integral to the overall thesis. Although there are only remnants retained in tradition, his membership of the Kāhui Rua or Flock of Rua places this man amongst other distinguished tūpuna sharing the same name. Two contemporaries of Rua Taranaki were Maruwakatare and Taurangi. As will be shown, there appears to be more information retained about these two men in whakataukāki and waiata. The third section looks at the ancient papakāinga of Karaka-tonga, as the site of inhabitation of these ancestors. The final section looks into the iwi known as the Kāhui Maunga, being the iwi formation from of these tūpuna and the iwi known as one of the earliest tribal groups inhabiting the Taranaki region.

5.2. The Kāhui Rua

WAIATA 5

<i>E uia mai koe, nā wai tēnei tamaiti,</i>	<i>If you are asked, from whence does this child come,</i>
<i>Māu e kī atu, nā te Moungaroa, nā</i>	<i>You will reply, from Te Moungaroa, from</i>
<i>Ruataranaki</i>	<i>Ruataranaki</i>

(Te Waka Māori o Niu Tireni 1876; Translation Ngāwhare-Pounamu)

This waiata by Hori Patene⁹⁰ for his daughter asserts the mana of Rua Taranaki and Te Moungaroa (of the Kurahaupō). Within Taranaki Tūturu tribal tradition, identity as a separate tribal formation is derived from the intermarriage of the Kāhui Maunga and the Kurahaupō waka. Rua Taranaki, as discussed in earlier chapters, was the eponymous ancestor of the iwi, the person from whom the tribal name is derived. Whereas Te Moungaroa was the tohunga aboard the Kurahaupō, and with several other tūpuna completed the journey to Aotearoa with the Mataatua waka. Although Te Moungaroa and the Kurahaupō arrived in the region generations after the time of Rua, Te Moungaroa's is also considered a distinguished ancestor. However it is the ancestor Rua Taranaki of whom little is known besides his role as the namesake of the iwi and maunga. At this time (2013) the Taranaki Iwi Trust⁹¹ states that membership of the trust depends on descent from Rua Taranaki and Te Moungaroa.

⁹⁰ This was a waiata tangi composed by Hori Patene Haumapu of Parihaka for his daughter Puketapu, who died on 24 January 1876.

⁹¹ Taranaki Iwi Trust will soon be renamed Te Kahui o Taranaki Trust as the Post Settlement Governance Entity after settlement of the Taranaki iwi Treaty claims.

Hohaia in his article on the mountain gives an exhaustive list of offspring of Taranaki maunga and Pouakai⁹² maunga. Hohaia lists a range of progeny of the mountain as being: "...mist, cloud, rain, and sleet, springs, rivers, rocks, fish, birds, insects, animals and people, plants, trees, wind, thunder and lightening..." (Hohaia 2001). Based on this account, it would appear that all things came from Taranaki maunga. Moreover this would place Taranaki maunga on the same level as one of the deities of the Māori. While it is common for ancestors to be depicted in significant landmarks and recognised as living beings by their descendants in Māori tradition, there must still be a coherent framework of knowledge represented by whakapapa (Tau 2011). There are no other tātai whakapapa to support this claim of Hohaia. Without whakapapa to detail the progeny of the maunga, this notion does not stand up within a mātauranga Maori framework. So if there is no reliable tātai whakapapa for the mountain, is there one for the man?

The extant whakapapa of Rua Taranaki originates from Te Kāhui Kararehe. The following tātai tararere⁹³ was recorded in 1898 and published in the JPS article *History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast* (1907)⁹⁴ by Smith. Smith claimed that it formed part of the kura or system of knowledge brought by Te Moungaroa of the Kurahaupō and notes that the first half of the tātai tararere was a cosmogony. Smith's remarks next to some names are included here.

WHAKAPAPA 8

Pō tuatahi (the first age of darkness)

down to -

Pō-tua-ngahuru (the tenth age of darkness)

(Descended from the darkness, was darkness again) as follows: -

Pō-niho-uri

Pō-niho-koi

Pō-niho-tara

Tara-mamaunga

Te Mamaunga-i-te-pō

Pōtiki-o-te-pō

Te Pō-i-huri

Te Pō-i-keu

⁹² Pouakai is considered a male ancestor in Ngā Mahanga kōrero, and was the tohunga of the mountain chain. Hohaia classes Pouakai as a female ancestor.

⁹³ Tātai tararere refers to a whakapapa containing a single line of descent.

⁹⁴ The tātai whakapapa was recorded by Smith in 1898 from Kararehe and was written in one of Smiths notebooks.

Te Pō-i-takataka-ki-te-oti

Tawhito-pō

Ka-tipu-te-ōo

Ko-te-pō

Tangaroa

Tangaroa-tu-ki-uta

Tangaroa-tu-ki-tai

Kahukura-i-te-iho-toki

Pupuke

Mahara

Hiringa-nuku

Hiringa-rangi

Hiringa-tau

Hiringa-te-manu-mea

Hunaki-tangata

*(the ira – mole, flesh mark, ?germ – of man grows, or appears, in the world of Being,
and world of Light.)*

Puia-nuku

Puia-rangi

(Appears the flashing light of heaven)

Tū-whenua

Tū-mounga

Tū-parara

Te Hono-atu

Para-karukaru

Para-whenua-mea

Rua-te-whānaunga

Rua-te-manu

Rua-a-te-tira = Tautu-rangi

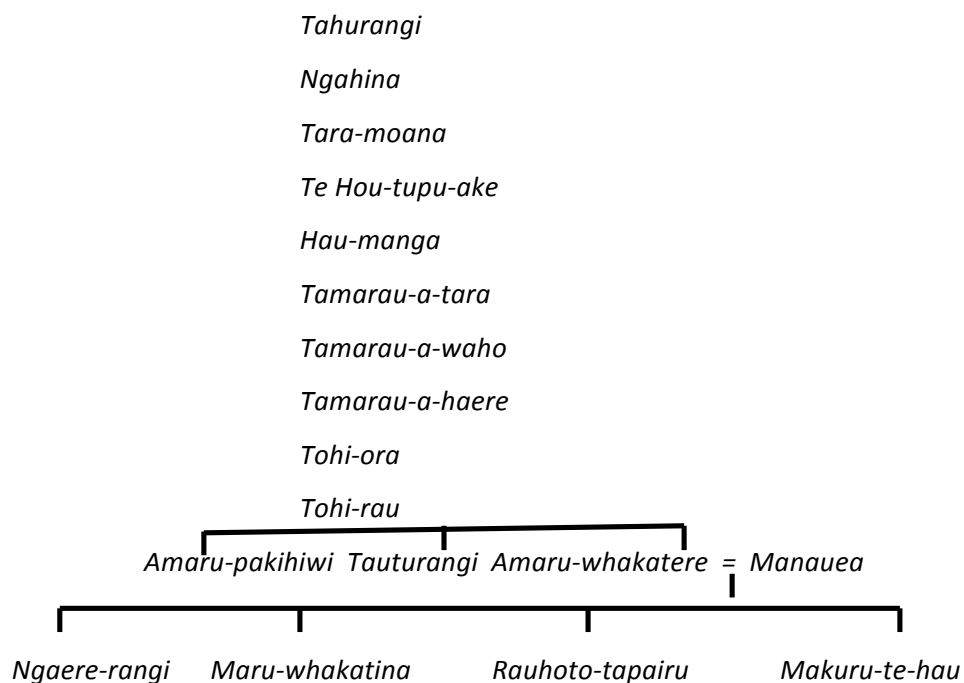
Rua-Taranaki = Rauhoto-tapairu

Rua-a-te-tira

Rua-a-te-pae

Rua-a-te-maimai-aroha

Tira-haere



(Smith 1907:142-143)

The tātai whakapapa published by Smith would appear to be an ideal example of a tātai hikohiko or genealogy inclusive of mythological heroes, deities and illustrious ancestors rather than specific sequential generations (Taonui 2005). Starting from the Pō or the consecutive nights of cosmogony, the tātai then references Tangaroa and other purported deities and states of consciousness. For example the words Mahara, Pupuke and Hiringa refer to the mind and states of consciousness. It descends down to named ancestors and into the tātai of Rua Taranaki and his progeny.

Unfortunately this whakapapa appears to be incorrect. While it looks fascinating it does repeat and misplace people, namely the children of Rua Taranaki and Rauhoto. There are two glaring errors reproduced by Smith: 1) The children of Rua Taranaki and Rauhoto Tapairu are placed in a descending order rather than being shown as siblings. 2) The last two generations in this whakapapa are actually the parents and siblings of Rauhoto Tapairu. While it may well be that these names were re-instituted in later generations, it is doubtful they would appear in the order that they are in and marrying the same people as well.

Hohaia produced two whakapapa based on the Kararehe tātai published by Smith. The first reproduction is printed on wall-mounted signs in the taonga Māori gallery at Pukeariki Museum. The second whakapapa is a transcript of a recording made by Hohaia and placed on the Te Ara website as

an example of a recited whakapapa.⁹⁵ In order to compare the versions I have placed them side by side with the Smith version. Gaps where tātai deviate are filled with lines. The majority of the deviations are slight changes in wording or missing lines. I have also highlighted the lines that are the same across all whakapapa.

WHAKAPAPA 9. Smith	WHAKAPAPA 10. Hohaia	WHAKAPAPA 11. Pukeariki
<i>Pō tuatahi</i>	<i>Pō tuatahi</i>	<i>Pō tuatahi</i>
<i>down to-</i>	<i>Pō tuarua</i>	<i>Pō tuarua...</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>Pō tuatoru</i>	<i>I</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>Pō tuawha</i>	<i>I</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>Pō tuarima</i>	<i>I</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>Pō tuaono</i>	<i>I</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>Pō tuawhitu</i>	<i>I</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>Pō tuawaru</i>	<i>I</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>Pō tuaiwa</i>	<i>I</i>
<i>Pō-tua-ngahuru</i>	<i>Pō tuangahuru</i>	<i>Pō tuangahuru</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>Heke mai te pō</i>	<i>Heke mai te pō</i>
<i>Pō-niho-uri</i>	<i>Te pō niho uri</i>	<i>Te pō niho uri</i>
<i>Pō-niho-koi</i>	<i>Te pō niho koi</i>	<i>Te pō niho koi</i>
<i>Pō-niho-tara</i>	<i>Te Pō niho tara</i>	<i>Te pō niho tara</i>
<i>Tara-mamaunga</i>	<i>Taramamanga</i>	<i>Taramamanga</i>
<i>Te Mamaunga-i-te-pō</i>	<i>Te mamanga i te pō</i>	<i>Te mamanga i te pō</i>
<i>Pōtiki-o-te-pō</i>	<i>Pōtiki o te pō</i>	<i>Pōtiki o te pō</i>
<i>Te Pō-i-huri</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Te po i huri</i>
<i>Te Pō-i-keu</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Te po i keu</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Te po i kaka</i>
<i>Te Pō-i-takataka-ki-te-oti</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Te po i takataka ki te oti</i>
<i>Tawhito-pō</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Tawhito pō</i>
<i>Ka-tipu-te-pō</i>	<i>Ka tipu te pō</i>	<i>Ka tipu te pō</i>
<i>Ko-te-pō</i>	<i>Kare a te pō</i>	<i>Kare a te pō</i>

⁹⁵ The accompanying text with this video is: “Te Miringa Hohaia recites a genealogy sequence which begins with Te Pō, down to Rua Taranaki and Rauhoto-tapairu, and then Tahurangi. Rua Taranaki was the first ancestor of the Taranaki tribe, and Tahurangi, who climbed the mountain and bestowed the name, named Mt Taranaki, previously known as Pukeonaki, for him. The rock Te Toka a Rauhoto, which originally guided Mt Taranaki to its resting place, got its name from Rauhoto Tapairu” (Taonui 2013).

		<i>Te pō</i>
<i>Tangaroa</i>	<i>Te po Tangaroa</i>	<i>Tangaroa</i>
<i>Tangaroa-tu-ki-uta</i>	<i>Tangaroa tū ki uta</i>	<i>Tangaroa tū ki uta</i>
<i>Tangaroa-tu-ki-tai</i>	<i>Tangaroa tū ki tai</i>	<i>Tangaroa tū ki tai</i>
<i>Kahukura-i-te-iho-toki</i>	<i>Kahukura i te iho toki</i>	<i>Kahukura i te iho toki</i>
<i>Pupuke</i>	<i>Ko pupuke</i>	<i>Ko pupuke</i>
<i>Mahara</i>	<i>Ko mahara</i>	<i>Ko mahara</i>
<i>Hiringa-nuku</i>	<i>Ko hiringa nuku</i>	<i>Ko hiringa nuku</i>
<i>Hiringa-rangi</i>	<i>Ko hiringa rangi</i>	<i>Ko hiringa rangi</i>
<i>Hiringa-tau</i>	<i>Ko hiringa tau</i>	<i>Ko hiringa tau</i>
<i>Hiringa-te-manu-mea</i>	<i>Ko hiringa te manu mea</i>	<i>Ko hiringa te manu mea</i>
<i>Hunaki-tangata</i>	<i>Huna ki tangata</i>	<i>Huna ki tangata</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>Ka tipu te ira tangata</i>	<i>Ka tipu te ira tangata</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>te whai ao</i>	<i>Ki te whai ao</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>te ao marama</i>	<i>Ki te ao marama</i>
<i>Puia-nuku</i>	<i>Puia-nuku</i>	
<i>Puia-rangi</i>	<i>Puia-rangi</i>	(Hohaia 2003)
<i>Tū-whenua</i>	<i>Ka tūtu te awe ta rangi</i>	
<i>Tū-mounga</i>	<i>Ka tū whenua</i>	
<i>Tū-parara</i>	<i>Ka tū maunga</i>	
<i>Te Hono-atu</i>	<i>Ka tū parara</i>	
<i>Para-karukaru</i>	<i>Te hono atu</i>	
<i>Para-whenua-mea</i>	<i>Ko Para karukaru</i>	
<i>Rua-te-whānaunga</i>	<i>Ko para whenua mea</i>	
<i>Rua-te-manu</i>	<i>Ko Rua te tupuna</i>	
<i>Rua-te-tira = Tautu-rangi</i>	<i>Ko Rua te tawhito</i>	
<i>Rua-Taranaki = Rauhoto-</i>	<i>Ko Rua te tira</i>	
<i>tapairu</i>	<i>Moe a Tauturangi</i>	
<i>Rua-a-te-tira</i>	<i>Tana ko Rua Taranaki</i>	
<i>Rua-a-te-pae</i>	<i>Moea Rauhoto tapairu</i>	
<i>Rua-a-te-maimai-aroha</i>	<i>Tana ko Tahurangi</i>	
<i>Tira-haere</i>	<i>He tupuna tēnei heke mai te</i>	
<i>Tahurangi</i>	<i>tangata</i>	
<i>Etc</i>		

(Smith 1907: 142-143)

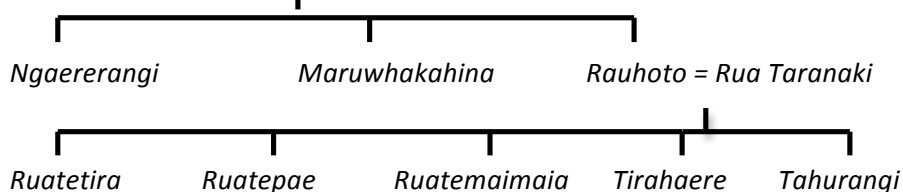
(Hohaia in Taonui 2013)

All of these whakapapa originate from Kararehe. The Smith and Pukeariki tātai are attributed to Kararehe, and the Hohaia version is almost exactly the same, and it is known that he had access to the Kāhui manuscripts. The whakapapa from Hohaia is particularly interesting because he does not go into detail with the genealogy of Rua Taranaki. The majority of the Kāhui Rua in the Smith version is missing, and instead Hohaia inserts the two ancestors Rua-te-tupuna and Rua-te-tawhito. Hohaia states that Rua Taranaki married Rauhoto Tapairu and their child was Tahurangi.

Te Miringa Hohaia gave another whakapapa in an open wānanga held at Oeo Pā on 24 July 2010 and repeated at Potaka Pā on 14 August 2010. This whakapapa details the immediate lineage of Rauhoto Tapairu as well as her siblings and lists all her children. This tātai is an example of the ara tamawahine, or lineage of female descents, as it focuses on the immediate ancestry of Rauhoto. Hohaia was able to trace lineages from several of these people, give it in both English and Māori and was able to elaborate on them, with more information to come in later wānanga. Unfortunately Hohaia died in the week following the Potaka Pā wānanga so I never had the opportunity to talk to him about it.

WHAKAPAPA 12*Amarupakihiwi**Maruwhakatare*

=

Manauea

(Hohaia 2010)

These series of tātai whakapapa of Rua Taranaki all derive from information given by Te Kāhui Kararehe. However there are slight differences in all versions. Although the version published by Smith is the most commonly replicated format, there do appear to be errors in that version. Whereas Hohaia later copied the same sources albeit with differences again in the two versions he used. Finally there is the last whakapapa given just before he died. In the months before he died Te Miringa Hohaia was sharing his knowledge in iwi wānanga and immense amount of information was given during these wānanga. Unfortunately he died before he was able to share this kōrero. However

contrasting his information with other sources explored in this chapter, this whakapapa seems accurate, albeit as one of four extant tātai whakapapa for this tūpuna.

Turning from whakapapa to pū-whakamahara, again there are only remnants of information relating to the man. Although there are a few references in waiata from the 19th century, the name of Rua Taranaki is again conspicuous by its rarity in early waiata. The earliest published reference contained in waiata referring to Rua Taranaki is in this waiata tangi composed by Kakori and printed in *Ko ngā mōteatea, me ngā hakirara o ngā Māori* (1853) by Sir George Grey. It is unknown who the pūkōrero was.

WAIATA 6

<i>E pai ana e te iwi he o-tao, mai i</i>	<i>Tis good oh my tribe to carry the spear from</i>
<i>Ngamotu,</i>	<i>Ngamotu</i>
<i>Ko wai te whakakaitoa kati, ko koe mo</i>	<i>Who will be the final warrior, will it be you for</i>
<i>te ao,</i>	<i>this world</i>
<i>Ka pa ko Ruataranaki ko te tama a</i>	<i>Including Ruataranaki, the son of Mahirua</i>
<i>Mahirua, He tini te mate i a hau ka</i>	<i>There are many who have died because I ended</i>
<i>whakamutu, e-i.</i>	<i>them.</i>

(Grey 1853: 398)

Ailsa Smith (1993) references Grey (1853) and Smith (1910) and claims that Mahirua may have actually been another name for Rua-a-te-tira, the father of Rua Taranaki. This is possible although there is no other information to back this up. However there was another Mahirua who was famous in Taranaki tradition as a warrior but who lived many generations after Rua Taranaki. The Mahirua I know of in my whakapapa was a descendant of the Kāhui Maunga and the Kurahaupō⁹⁶ and was instrumental in the defeat of the Kāhui Atua of Pukeiti.

Sonny Waru and Arapeta Awatere composed the following patere during the 1980s, appropriately named the *Taranaki Patere*. This patere is a popular waiata in Taranaki and relates to all the iwi of Taranaki Whānau Whānui. Within this patere, the composers included a whakapapa for the Kāhui Rua with Rua Taranaki at the end of the tātai. Ngata describes patere as songs of derision (Ngata & Jones 1975). This format of the patere elaborates on tribal history and tongi whenua and is the fourth verse of the patere.

⁹⁶ Refer to chapter 6.5 for details and whakapapa of Mahirua.

WAIATA 7

<i>Rua tawhito, ka puta Kāhui Rua</i>	<i>Rua Tawhito, from him came the flock of Rua</i>
<i>Rua te hīhiri, Rua te pūpuke</i>	<i>Rua-te-hihiri, Rua-te-pupuke</i>
<i>Rua te mahara, Rua te kōrero⁹⁷</i>	<i>Rua-te-mahara, Rua-te-korero</i>
<i>Rua te wānanga, Rua te manu,</i>	<i>Rua-te-wānanga, Rua-te-manu,</i>
<i>Rua te tira, ka moe rā i a Tauturangi</i>	<i>Rua-te-tira, who married Tauterangi</i>
<i>Ka puta rā ko Rua Taranaki</i>	<i>And from them came Rua Taranaki</i>

(Te Kotahitanga o Taranaki 2011)

The Kāhui Rua in this patere contains different names from those in Kararehe's whakapapa. It would appear that Waru accessed information from another source for this patere. The Kāhui Rua could either have been a family with multiple Rua in the descent line, or possibly one or two ancestors named Rua but with different descriptive names. Although there are relatively few references to Rua Taranaki in waiata and other sources, there do appear to be references to the Kāhui rua, as either a collective of people or a group of men who shared the same name.

WAIATA 8

<i>Ko 'Hahau-tū-noa' te waka o Te Kāhui-rua</i>	<i>Hahau-tū-noa was the canoe of The Kāhui-rua</i>
<i>I ruku ai ngā whatu, i</i>	<i>From which were the stones dived for,</i>
<i>Ka rewa ki runga rā</i>	<i>And then floated up above</i>
<i>Ko te whatu a Ngahue</i>	<i>The Stone of Ngahue</i>
<i>Hoaina, ka pakaru</i>	<i>By spells broken up (were made into axes) etc</i>

(Smith 1907: 145)

The Kāhui Rua are referenced in this waiata by Wiremu Kauika of Ngā Rauru and includes a journey to seek pounamu. Ngahue was personification of pounamu therefore this waiata indicates a voyage to the South Island for greenstone. This replicates several other journeys from Taranaki to Te Tai Poutini. Tamaahua and Tumuaki were two Taranaki ancestors known to have sailed to Te Tai Poutini at different times seeking pounamu.⁹⁸ Neither of them returned to Taranaki. This waiata therefore

⁹⁷ Nikorima Te Ranginohoiho claimed descent from Rua Kōrero and Tū-te-pupu-rangi through the Taranaki tūpuna Te Aonui and Tuwhakararo. A whakataukī referring to Te Aonui is, 'Te Aonui, nāna I karihi te niho o Taranaki: Te Aonui it was who picked the teeth of Taranaki clean'.

⁹⁸ Tamaahua lived at Oakura and left the vicinity when his wives mocked his circumcised penis. Taranaki tradition has Tamaahua sailing to Hawaiki. However, Te Tai Poutini tradition has Tamaahua travelling to the west coast searching for pounamu (Martin 1901; Mead & Ngata 2007). Tumuaki was from the Okato region

demonstrates the voyaging skills of the Kāhui Rua in sailing down the west coast to fetch greenstone. Unfortunately the waiata does not expand on the different people named Rua of the Kāhui Rua. Kararehe also gave Smith another tātai for the Kāhui Rua. Smith claimed that this was a part of the knowledge system used by Te Moungaroa of the Kurahaupō, and that was not a proper genealogical table. This collection of Kāhui Rua offers another selection of names.

WHAKAPAPA 13

Huki nui

Huki-roa

Huki-tapua

Huki-taketake

Rua-tupua

Rua-tawhito

Rua-hora

Rua-maemae

Rua-tawhito

Te Kāhui-rua

Rua-te-pupuke

Rua-te-mahara

Rua-te-kōrero

Rua-tupua

Tama-ko-te-rakeiora

Te Whetu-rere-ao

Toko-whia

Toko-manga

Toki-kai-ariki

Te Rangi-kokouri

Te Rangi-kokomea

Te Rangi-hikaia

Te Iwi-kahu

Te Whakahaua

Te Ariki-o-rangi

Te Pipiri

and also travelled to Te Tai Poutini searching for pounamu. Tumuaki died there when he transgressed the tapu of carving greenstone (Smith 1910).

Te Wawai

Te Whakatea

Te Rangi-keokeo

Te Rangi-whete-ngu

(Smith 1907: 144)

Within this tātai are references to Rua-tupua and Rua-tawhito. According to S.P. Smith (1907) Rua-tupua and Rua-tawhito were ancient ancestors of Taranaki and are represented in pillars erected on Pouakai. According to Keenan (2005) and the Taranaki Iwi Trust (2013) the Pouakai and Kaitake maunga were named after Rua-tupua and Rua-tawhito. Mahauwhero also claimed Rua-tawhito, Rua-tupua and Rua-Taranaki were all founding ancestors of the Kāhui Maunga, and therefore the Taranaki iwi. (Smith MS: 327).

WHAKATAUĀKĪ 6

Ka ingoatia a Pou-a-kai maunga, ko te pou a Rua-tupua rāua ko Rua-tā-whito.

From whence Pou-a-kai ranges take their name, the pillar of Rua-tupua and Rua-tawhito.

(Smith 1907: 154)

There appear to be other references to these ancestors Rua-tupua and Rua-tawhito scattered throughout tribal tradition. This indicates that they were important enough to have their names retained and transmitted in multiple tribal rohe. The next whakapapa is purported to come from Ngāti Ruanui and was recorded by John White. The whakapapa is in both Māori and English in the book, but only the Māori is reproduced here. This appears to be a tātai hikohiko because Rua-tupua and Rua-tahito (tawhito) are grouped together with the august company of the atua.

WHAKAPAPA 14

*Ko te tangata tuatahi i whānau i te po, ko Renau-matua te ingoa, I te wa i whānau ai, ara i hanga ai a Renau-matua, kahore he wai i te ao nei: ko te tangata tuatahi ko te ao marama, ara i whānau mai aia i a Ao-marama. Ka patua a Miru-tau ka tukua ki te Reinga, ka tupu ko Pupuke rāua ko Mahara, ko Hiringa-nuku ko Hiringa-rangi, ko Hiringa-te, ko Hiringa-te-manu-mea, ko Te-whaka-ipuipu (ae ipipu) ko te Whaka-rahi-rahi, ko Tiwha-i-wahaa, ko Te Rerenga-apa-i-waho, ko te Whakatutu, ko te Ata-i-au, **ko Rua-tupuna, ko Rua-tahito, ko Rua-hehe, ko Rua-whakatino-rangi, ko Rua-i-te-ata, ko***

Rua-timo, ko Timo-timo-i-te-rangi, ko Rangi-nui-te-tu-nei, ko Rongo-ta-rangi-nui, ko Tane, ko Tu, ko Tanga-roa, ko Ru, ko Ku-oko, ko Tahu, ko Are, ko Motu-hari-ke, ko Tiki.

(White 1887: 137-138)

Similar to the earlier Kararehe whakapapa, this also cites Pupuke, Mahara, Hiringa-nuku, Hiringa-rangi and other tūpuna in the same line before ending with the ancestor Tiki. Contrast this whakapapa with a karakia from Ngāi Tahu that references Rua-tupuna and Rua-tawhito in the separation of Raki (Rangi) and Papa.

KARAKIA 1

Ka mutu tā rāua poroporoaki kia rāua, ka rewa hoki a Raki ia Paia te waha, ngā (ka) tū ia Tane āana toko ko “Toko-maunga” i a Tane. Ko “Rua-tupua” hoki te ingoa o te toko a Paia i tokoa ai te Raki; nā kōnei a Paia i inoi ai i tana inoi:—

Ko toko na wai?

Ko toko na Rua-tupua.

Ko toko nawai?

Ko toko na Rua-tahito.

He turuturu, he pinaki,

He papare, he ai tutonga.

Tena toko, toko, toko,

Ka eke.

Ko toko o tenei Raki.

(White 1887: 41)

When the two had ended their words of farewell, Paia uplifted Raki, and Tane placed his toko (pole), called Toko-maunga (prop of the mountain), between Papa and Raki. Paia did likewise with his toko. The name of the toko of Paia was Rua-tipua (tupua) (pit of the god); and whilst in the act of propping up Raki, Paia repeated this prayer:—

The prop of whom?

The prop of Rua-tupua (god's pit).

The prop of whom?

The prop of Rua-tahito(tawhito) (ancient pit),

To prop the gentle slope,

To ward off the blast of the south.

*The prop ascended up—
The prop of this heaven.*

(White 1887: 41)

The karakia from Ngāi Tahu, and recorded by John White also includes (amongst several) the following whakapapa that instead places Rua-tupua and Rua-tawhito as ancestors of Ruarangi, the husband of Rongoueroa and father of Rauru. In this whakapapa, the wife of Rua-tupua is given as Te-manu-ka-tiu. Of course, as with many of White's whakapapa, there is no reference for the pūkōrero of this information.

WHAKAPAPA 15

Pou-tu (Po-utu)

Po-haere

Po-whakata

Whatu-aho

Rua-tupua == *Te-manu-ka-tiu*

Tau-toru

Taanga

Te-Kura

Rongo-te-taria

Rongo-mahae-ata

Whare o-uru

Te Matangi-o-Rupe

Karo-taha

Ngarue

Rua-roa == *Te-amaru-i-taepa*

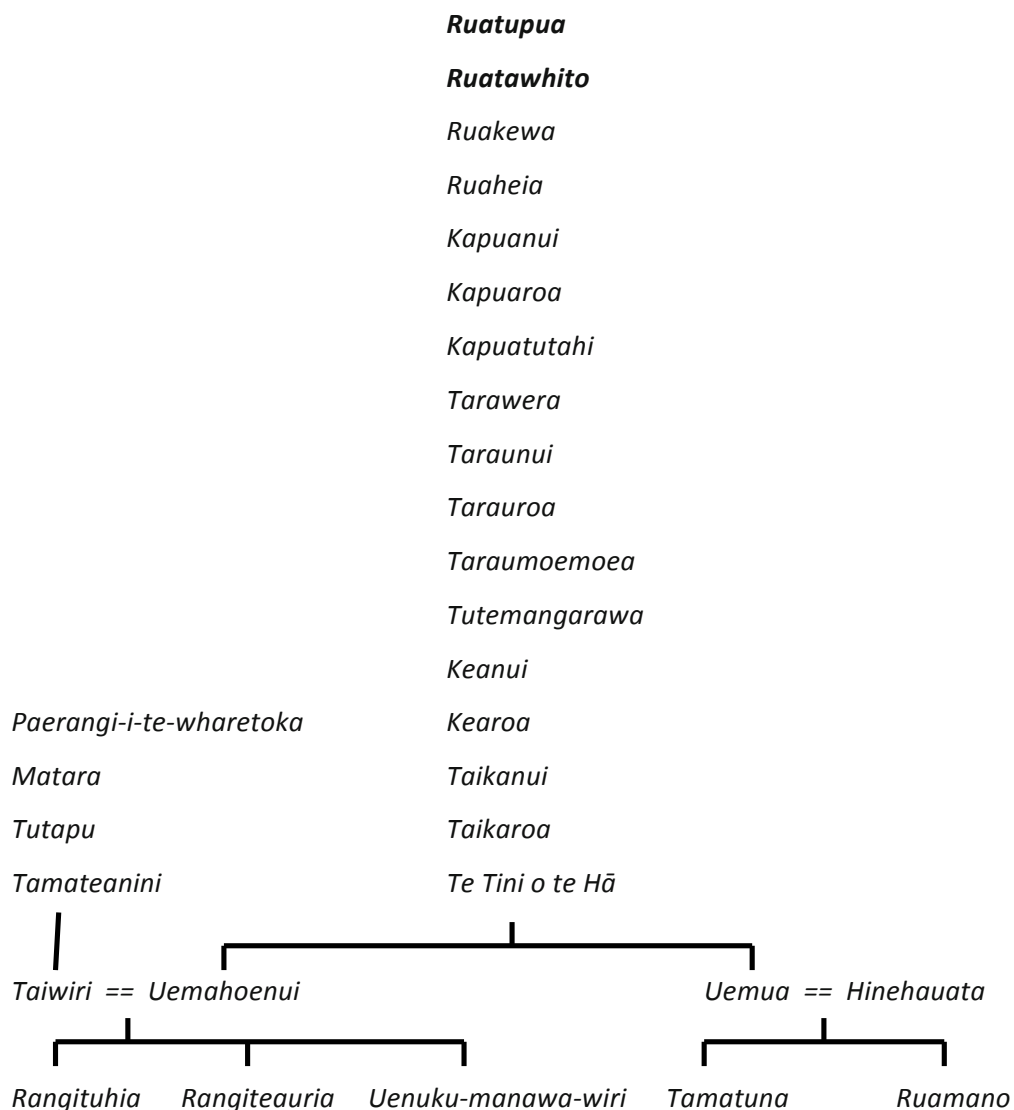
Rua-rangi == *Rongo-ue-roa*

(White MS Papers 75: 65)

As can be seen, these whakapapa are diverse with no commonality except for locating Rua Tawhito and Rua Tupua in earlier generations of inhabitants. The next whakapapa has Rua-tupua and Rua-tawhito at the head of the tātai, and descends to Ngāti Rangi of the upper Whanganui awa. Ngāti Rangi claim Ruapehu as their ancestral maunga. Ngāti Haua (another Whanganui iwi) claims that the original name for the awa was Te Wainui-a-Ruatupua and their tribal name was Ngāti Ruatupua.

Ruatupua belonged to the tangata whenua and he preceded Turi (Aotea waka) by three to four generations. Rua-tupua is also a name given the spring on Tongariro maunga from whence the waters of the Whanganui awa issue forth (JPS 1894).⁹⁹

WHAKAPAPA 16



(Ngāti Rangī submission 2006 in Waitangi Tribunal 2012:86)

Is it a coincidence that the Whanganui people have a tradition of Rua-tupua and Rua-tawhito connected to their awa, and Taranaki has a tradition of these two tūpuna connected to the maunga? If these tūpuna can be connected to the same generation as Rua Taranaki, and considering the ancestral links between Taranaki and Whanganui (especially in the Travelling Mountain Narrative) then this coincidence is based on ancient bonds. For example Ngarongomate recorded a

⁹⁹ 'Notes and Queries', JPS, vol 3, no. 3 (1894), p176

whakatauākī relating to Ruatupua and this demonstrates that Taranaki was familiar with a Tongariro connection.

Ko Ruatupua he taniwha i puta mai i roto i tetahi maunga nui o tēnei motu ko Tongariro tōna ingoa. Nāna i wāhi te awa o Whanganui tae noa ki te rerenga ki te moana ka tahi ka waiho e ia tana tamaiti. Koia tēnei te ingoa, ko Tutaeporoporo. Ruatupua was a taniwha who arose from one of the great mountains of this island, Tongariro is it's name. He it was who divided the Whanganui right down to where it enters the ocean and he left there his child. This is the name, Tutaeporoporo.

(Ngarongomate MS; Translation Ngāwhare-Pounamu)

The Kāhui Rua was a group of tūpuna who were people of mana and achievement.¹⁰⁰ There is certainly a connection between Rua Taranaki and Rua-tawhito and Rua-tupua. It would appear likely that they lived in the same generational era but what the exact relationship was between Rua-tupua, Rua-tawhito and Rua-Taranaki is uncertain. Whether they were descendants, brothers, cousins or just contemporaries is unable to be ascertained with the current information retained in literature. The only certainty is that there was a connection.

The importance of Rua Taranaki to Taranaki tradition cannot be understated, however, there are insufficient whakapapa, kōrerorero and pū-whakamahara that can be reliably traced to this important tupuna. The dearth of material may be due to either ignorance or purposeful memory loss. For example after Minarapa Kahu died in 1900, a discussion took place during the Native Land Court hearing for the succession of his land. One of the claimants, Te Oro ki Tawhito of Puniho Pā and Ngā Mahanga claimed Rua Taranaki as a key ancestor to the presiding Judge Johnston.

Johnson: "What's' your tribe"

Te Oro: "Ngā Mahanga."

Johnson: "Who is your ancestor?"

Te Oro: "Rua Taranaki."

Johnson: "Can you trace your descent from that ancestor?"

Te Oro: "Who knows ancient history?"

Johnson: "Can you go any further back in your genealogy than Maka?"

Te Oro: "Let others [do] it – I don't know any more than I have given."

¹⁰⁰ It appears likely that the Kāhui Rua were all men. However the possibility that some or indeed all of these ancestors were women cannot be dismissed either.

Johnson: "Who taught you this?"

Te Oro: "My mother."

(Taranaki Minute Book 16 1901:284)

This line of questioning either demonstrates the ignorance of Te Oro (and by extension others in the hapū) or that he purposefully refused to elaborate on whakapapa. There were other learned men who testified in this sitting including Motu Tukirikau who surely knew more than he gave to the court. In his final decision, Judge Johnson states that the evidence and lack of knowledge about genealogies were perplexing. Moreover, in his final decision Johnson relied on the 'expert' Pākehā witness, William Gray, to pass judgement. Johnston awarded the land to Minarapa's nieces and not Te Oro or Motu.

The evidence given by the native witnesses on both sides is very unsatisfactory, they know nothing of the genealogy outside the bare details necessary to show their connection with the deceased, and it is evident that the genealogies given were got up expressly for this case. This ignorance is very unusual among natives and if the decision in the case depended on the native evidence alone the court would be compelled to decline giving any, but we have a European witness, Mr William Gray who professes to have been well acquainted with the deceased.

(Taranaki Minute Book 16 1901: 286)

According to Keenan (1994) the established Taranaki structures of mana history and transmission of history were damaged during the 19th century. The 19th century was a tumultuous time from the epidemic Te Arika at the beginning of the century, the Musket Wars, the Land Wars and then land confiscation. It is remarkable that any tribal traditions were passed down and recorded in the first place. Moreover, the diaspora of whānau and hapū to the relative safety of Pōneke, the South Island and the Chatham Islands disconnected the hapū from the land, and therefore the tradition from the whenua. While mana whenua was never lost and was retained and re-imposed in Taranaki immediately following the wars. The severance of whakapapa lines and the undoubted death of many experts contributed to a loss of history. The impact of the Land Wars on the following generation severed the whenua from the hapū and no doubt was an additional factor in contributing to loss of details and information regarding tūpuna.

The dearth of information recalled for Rua Taranaki is most evident in the lack of tātai whakapapa retained for this eponymous tūpuna. Although there are tantalising references to Rua Taranaki in other forms especially in carved houses. For example, Te Ikaroa a Māui is a carved house in Waitara and includes a tukutuku pattern labelled Rua Taranaki. Rua-toki-te-hau was another whare whakairo carved in 1875 that depicted Rua Taranaki. Fortunately Kararehe recorded some of the tūpuna carved in the whare. Amaru-pakihwi, Maruwhakatere and Rua Taranaki were carved pou in the whare when it stood at Puniho Pā. Although according to Kararehe, these carvings were made without the approval of elders at Parihaka.¹⁰¹

Ko ō mātou tūpuna kua hokona e Motu, ko aua tūpuna he rakau whakapakoko i taia ki te moko, i taia ki te rape, i hanga hei pou-roto mō te whare o ngā kaumatua o Taranaki i Te Puniho; ko aua tūpuna ko:

Rua-taranaki

Maru-whakatere

Amaru-pakihwi

Ko ō matou tūpuna ēnei i ingoatia ai a Taranaki whenua, Taranaki iwi, Taranaki maunga – nō Rua-Taranaki. Nō ngā kaumatua o Taranaki kua heke atu ki te pō, nā rātou te manaakitanga kia whakairoa aua tūpuna hui [?] mō roto i tēnei whare i Te Puniho i te tau 1875-76. Te ingoa o te tangata nāna i mahi te whare, i whakairo aua tūpuna ko Parehe. Ko ētehi o ngā kaumatua o Parihaka kāore i pai kia whakairoa aua tūpuna, ko Kukutai, Te Whetu, Kaporangi me ētehi atu, ngā wai mokopuna aua tūpuna.

Our ancestors were sold by Motu, those ancestors were like dry wood carved with facial tattoos, carved with body tattoos and were built as inner posts for the house of the elders of Taranaki at Te Puniho, those ancestors were:

Rua-taranaki

Maru-whakatere

Amaru-pakihwi

These were our ancestors who named the land of Taranaki, the tribe of Taranaki, and the mountain of Taranaki, that is from Rua Taranaki. It was the elders who have passed into the night who gave their permission that those ancestors were carved inside this house at Te Puniho in the year 1875-1876. The name of the man who worked on the

¹⁰¹ This power-play between Puniho and Parihaka was enacted between Tohu and Te Whiti and Motu Tukirikau. Motu had proclaimed himself as another 'prophet' and by refusing to heed the sanctions on carving imposed by Parihaka he was demonstrating his own rangatiratanga.

house was Parehe. Some of the elders at Parihaka disagreed with carving those ancestors, they were Kukutai, Te Whetu, Kaporangi and others who were descended from those ancestors.

(Smith MS: 296)

Rua-toki-te-hau was carved in 1875 by the tupuna Parehe.¹⁰² At the time the whare was built it would appear to have been the only carved house in the iwi. In 1901 James Butterworth of New Plymouth, a dealer in Māori curios was negotiating to purchase the whare. Butterworth bought the carvings in 1903, and the whare was then dismantled and re-erected at the New Plymouth Industrial Exhibition (1904-05). It was sold again and re-erected at the New Zealand International Exhibition in Christchurch (1906-1907). Eventually the carvings were split up, with the Dominion Museum in Wellington and Canterbury Museum both holding pieces. The carvings of Rua-toki-te-hau were returned to Taranaki in 1989 where they lay in state at Puniho Pā before being taken to Taranaki Museum where it was re-erected. Rua-toki-te-hau now takes pride of place in the Taonga Maori of Pukeariki Museum (Day 2005).¹⁰³

Ngata (1958) recorded an interesting observation about the carving of Rua Taranaki, “Two old men – between 75 and 80 years of age – told me yesterday of a carved house at Puniho, which they remembered seeing as children. They remembered one feature of the tekoteko at the base of the poutokomanawa – named Rua Taranaki – its very large phallus. But they reluctantly admitted that the whakairo was brought from Tairāwhiti”. The picture of Rua-toki-te-hau does show an amputated penis on the tekoteko of the whare, and this could be what Ngata is alluding to, or the Rua Taranaki carving could be missing altogether. We are uncertain what the names of the carvings are. Rua-toki-te-hau is displayed in Pukeariki Museum. The Toka Hine-o-tanga is displayed on the bottom left corner. The poutokomanawa that can be seen inside the whare may be Maruwhakatare.

¹⁰² Parehe was the father of Ngawharepounamu, my direct ancestor. His descending whakapapa is included in chapter 2. Whānau lore says that Parehe learnt how to carve in the rohe of Ngati Kahungunu.

¹⁰³ I have often wondered why Rua-toki-te-hau was sold. My theory is that the whare belonged to Motu Tukirikau, a tohunga of Nga Mahanga who lived at Puniho. Before he died, Motu was accused of makutu, and was fenced off from the papakāinga by the hapu. He did not like this. Motu died in 1903, the same year the house was sold.

PHOTO 11: Rua-toki-te-hau and Hine-o-tanga



5.3. Maruwhakatare and Tahurangi

The tupuna Maruwhakatare depicted in Rua-toki-te-hau was the father of Rauhoto (Hohaia 2001). However Maruwhakatare is also mentioned in this 1858 article from *Te Karere a Pōneke* written by Matiaha. This early reference states that Maruwhakatare was the person who established mana whenua on Pukeonaki, and that he came from Lake Rotoaira. This brief article would appear to be the only direct statement referring to these tūpuna travelling to the Taranaki region. Matiaha lived in Heretaunga. Whether this was the Heretaunga (now Hastings) of the Hawkes Bay or Heretaunga of the Hutt Valley is uncertain. The letter was dated 05 December 1857 and published in 1858. The context of the letter would appear to be part of a wider debate.

E hoa mā, e ngā kai tuhituhi o ngā kōrero Māori, e noho ana ki Pōneke, ki Heretaunga. Tēnei anō tāku kōrero atu ki a koutou katoa. Titiro iho ki tāku whakataukī, e ai te tūpuna. Koamaruwhakatare, ko te pou tēnā i pou ai a Puheonaki [Pukeonaki] i, i mānu mai i a i Rotoaira, ka haere mai i te heke; nō tōna taenga mai ka marenatia e Ruataranaki; nō reira tēnā pua Pukeonaki, “Te waimounga e au e Taranaki, te tairi e te koha.” E whakarongo ana a Ponakai, ka mea te kapu a Ponakai, “Kaupehapeha ko au; ka tū te tira o Haimata Tauturangi.” Kei mea mai koutou nō naianei tēnā maunga i marenatia ai - nō mua nō te taima i ngā rā o ērā whakatupuranga tangata.

Friends, and writers of Māori news resident in Wellington and the Hutt Valley. This again is my word to you all. Consider my story according to the ancestors. Maruwhakatare was the priest who established Puheonaki [Pukeonaki], who had travelled here from Rotoaira, on the migration; After his arrival Ruataranaki was married; and that’s when Pukeonaki spoke, “I am like the mountain waters of Taranaki, whose summit is never clothed in mist”. Ponakai [Pouakai] heard and then proclaimed, “This is like boasting to me: stand up the

people of Haimata Tauturangi".¹⁰⁴ Don't you tell us the mountain was recently married - it was in the past, in the time of those peoples generation.

(Matiaha 1858; Translation Ngāwhare-Pounamu)

This is the strongest narrative connected with the Travelling Mountain Narrative and one of the earliest references in literature. It directly relates to key ancestors from the earliest period of Taranaki history (Maruwhakatare, Rua Taranaki and Tauturangi) and it references Rotoaira as the papa-pūtake. Maruwhakatare is responsible for erecting a pou (either a physical or metaphorical) on the maunga and thereby claimed mana whenua. This is the only reference from the 19th Century directly cites a migration journey or hekenga.

The main points that can be extrapolated from this article are:

- 1) Maruwhakatare was the ancestor who established a pou on Pukeonaki
- 2) He travelled to Taranaki as part of a migration from Rotoaira
- 3) It was after his arrival that Rua Taranaki was married
- 4) The maunga was renamed Taranaki
- 5) Pouakai invited the people of Tauturangi (the mother of Rua Taranaki) to settle

Maruwhakatare and Tahurangi are also included in these waiata lines composed by Kararehe. Te Kahui Kararehe composed the waiata for Te Whetu Moeahu (Ngāti Moeahu hapū) of Parihaka. Te Whetu Moeahu died and was buried at Parihaka in April 1897. An often overlooked man in the Parihaka story, Te Whetu Moeahu was a rangatira of the highest order as well as a follower of the precepts taught by Tohu and Te Whiti (Smith 2001). Tahurangi was the man who lit ceremonial fires on the peak of the mountain and therefore named and claimed the mountain. Maruwhakatare supported Tahurangi by reciting karakia¹⁰⁵ (Hohaia 2001). Tahurangi was the son of Rauhoto and Ruataranaki. Therefore Maruwhakatare was the grandfather of Tahurangi. Note that in the last lines the waiata makes reference to the explosion or eruption that buried the ancient village Karakātonga.

¹⁰⁴ This translation of what appears to be dialogue in the excerpt between Taranaki and Pouakai is based on the later kōrero reproduced by Reed (1963), based on the kōrero of Stowell and Motu Tukirikau.

¹⁰⁵ Hohaia also stated that the karakia used by Maruwhakatare are retained and still known today. I have yet to see or hear these karakia.

WAIATA 9

<i>Ka rere i runga i ngā whakatupuranga</i>	<i>Soar on through the generations</i>
<i>Nā tō tupuna, nā Maru-whakatere</i>	<i>From your ancestor, from Maruwhakatere</i>
<i>I pou te mouna i tu iho nei,</i>	<i>Who raised the mountain standing here</i>
<i>ka tū te pou</i>	<i>The post still standing</i>
<i>Nā Tahurangi i tahu te ahi,</i>	<i>It was Tahurangi who lit the fire</i>
<i>I kā iho nei,</i>	<i>Burning here</i>
<i>Ha pahuretanga hoki ia nō Kai-mirumiru</i>	<i>He forged his passage from Kaimirumiru</i>
<i>Ka ngaro ki kōnā,</i>	<i>That caused to disappear</i>
<i>ko Maketuhi, ko Make-hana, Ko Make-</i>	<i>Maketuhi, Makehana and Maketaua</i>
<i>taua, ko te Kahui Po-o-i.</i>	<i>The Kahui Pō.</i>

(Smith MS: 298; Translation Ngāwhare-Pounamu)

According to this waiata Maruwhakatare and Tahurangi acted in concert to name and claim the maunga and the region. Maruwhakatare recited karakia and erected pou whenua while Tahurangi climbed to the summit and lit the ceremonial fires of ahi-kā. Furthermore this excerpt is an explicit reference to the whare Kaimirumiru and the disappearance of the Kāhui Pō. Smith (2001) considers that references to ancestors in these waiata tangi are reminders that while death happened these people rose above the disaster and ultimately triumphed. Their legacy continued in their descendants. A narrative from Hohaia sets out the role Maruwhakatere played in the naming of the maunga. Hohaia does not give a reference for this.

Rua Taranaki went up the Hangataahua River and lived there in a cave he made. When Rua Taranaki was ready, Maruwhakatere recited the ancient verse while Tahurangi listened. Tahurangi then climbed to the peak and lit a ceremonial fire to fix the name and authority of Rua Taranaki over the mountain, using smoke. Rua Taranaki came down from the cave, where he took the bones of honoured people for burial, naming the burial cave Te Aana a Tahatiti, after a former dynasty. (Hohaia 2001: 9)

The three tūpuna mentioned in this excerpt, Maruwhakatere, Rua Taranaki and Tahurangi were involved in claiming the maunga and the surrounding region. However when I read this paragraph I cannot help but wonder why Rua Taranaki would be digging a cave, and then sitting in it, while his son climbs the maunga and his father-in-law is reciting karakia. Perhaps it should be read as Rua Taranaki being taken into a cave after he died and where he was laid to rest. Then his son Tahurangi

renamed the maunga in his father's honour. The cave was given a name, Te Ana a Tahatiti, and it was used as a burial cave from that time.

Tahurangi is an influential ancestor in his own right especially considering that there is more information retained for Tahurangi than his father in waiata and whakatauākī. In the traditions, Tahurangi climbed to the summit of Taranaki and named it after Rua Taranaki by lighting a ceremonial fire to establish the name on the highest peak of the region. A whakataukī commemorating his deed is still used when a certain cloud formation is seen on the maunga.

WHAKATAUĀKĪ 7

Te ahi a Tahu-rangi

The fire of Tahu-rangi

(Grove & Mead 2004: 364)

Whakatauākī are proverbs that can be reliably traced to a person or deals specifically with an event from the past (Seed-Pihama 2005). In this case, the whakatauākī refer to Tahurangi and his actions in naming and claiming the mountain. The actions of Tahurangi and his relationship with the maunga are claims to mana whenua in Taranaki tribal tradition. Smith (1907, 1910) and Hohaia (2001) both also attribute the naming of the mountain to Tahurangi. However Hohaia goes into further detail of the quoted whakatauākī further with this extension on the base kupu.

WHAKATAUĀKĪ 8

Ko te ahi a Tahurangi moo te pukeaao.

The fire of Tahurangi signifies smoke of substance.

Ka tuu tonu te pukeaao kia tiketike,

It ascends suspended

*Ka whakahinga te pukeaao i ngaa awatea i
ngaa ahiahi.*

and falls at the dawn and evening.

(Hohaia 2001:9)

Motu Tukirikau also composed a waiata tangi for Taratuha that referenced the fire of Tahurangi. 'Te ahi a Tahurangi' is referred to as the symbolic flame lit upon the peak of the maunga to claim ahi-kā and to instil the name on the maunga. Stowell translates it as 'spark of immortal flame'. The house Kaimirumiru, that was supposed to have been displaced by the arrival of the mountain, is also mentioned in further verses. This waiata was printed in Henry Stowell's (Hare Hongi) book *Maori-English Tutor and Vade Mecum* (1911).

WAIATA 10

<i>A tahu atu koe te ahi a Tahu-rangi</i>	<i>Spark of immortal fire, thou shalt fan</i>
<i>Whakautu i runga rā-</i>	<i>That flame vulcanian, Tahurangi' fire</i>
<i>Ka ngangana i te rangi, nā-ī.</i>	<i>When heavenward shoots its radiant-</i>
	<i>columned plan</i>

(Stowell 1911:155-157)

The following waiata appears to mention Tahurangi and perhaps Rauhoto, as Rangi and Rau. This was a waiata tangi composed by Hori Patene Haumapu of Parihaka for his daughter Puketapu, who died on 24 January 1876. It is fascinating because it is one of the few early waiata that mentions the heart of the island, implying that they were a part of the migration journey. Of course, this is conjecture and Rangi and Rau could refer to different ancestors altogether. An earlier section of this waiata was included at the beginning of this chapter because it mentioned Rua Taranaki and Te Moungaroa.

WAIATA 11

<i>E takoto ana koe</i>	<i>You are resting</i>
<i>I runga o Taranaki i tō matua rā</i>	<i>On Taranaki, on your ancestor</i>
<i>Kei a Rau a Rangi hei rauhi mai</i>	<i>Like Rau and Rangi who assembled here</i>
<i>Te manawa o te motu</i>	<i>From the heart of the island</i>

(Te Waka Māori o Niu Tirenī 1876; Translation Ngāwhare-Pounamu)

As far as information around the ceremonial naming of the mountain goes, the very little information that exists comes from Hohaia. When Tahurangi and Maruwakaterē named the mountain, it had already several existing names, being Puke-haupapa, Puke-toretore and Puke-onaki. Similar to other material published by Hohaia, this whakatauākī would appear to come from the manuscripts of Kararehe.

WHAKATAUĀKĪ 9

<i>Ka puta ki waho ko Puketoretore</i>	<i>The water soaked peak has emerged</i>
<i>I whakakaitoa ana mai ki taku taiaha.</i>	<i>Conferring authority on my ceremonial staff.</i>
<i>Takahia atu au ko raro ki te whenua</i>	<i>I tread the land there below</i>
<i>Hāpai atu ai āu i tāku taiaha</i>	<i>Bearing my staff not unlike the</i>
<i>Me he kakau toki.</i>	<i>Ceremonial adze of supreme authority.</i>

(Hohaia, 2001:9)

Puketoretore¹⁰⁶ was an alternative name of the maunga. This whakatauākī refers to Tahurangi walking the slopes with his taiaha, a reference to his fighting skills. Another whakatauākī from Tahurangi expanding on this kōrero is recorded on the Taranaki Iwi Trust website, and is presumably derived from the kōrero of Kararehe through Hohaia. Hohaia spoke about this whakatauākī once and remarked that mouku, mamaku and panako were types of food eaten by warriors on the warpath, and this whakatauākī was a challenge to anyone planning to attack him

WHAKATAUĀKĪ 10

Koia teenei te mihi nui kei runga o Koopuutauaki

Me he tangata pea koe e whai muri i a au

Ka noho a Tahurangi i runga o Taranaki

Kai atu he Pikopiko mouku, he Pikopiko mamaku, he Pikopiko panako

This is the greeting placed upon Kōpūtauaki (the exposed belly of the earth)

If you are a person who perhaps would want to find me

Tahurangi remains upon Taranaki

Eating shoots of mouku fern, shoots of mamaku fern and shoots of the panako fern.

(Taranaki Iwi Trust 2013; Potaka 2010)

Kōpūtauākī is also referenced in this whakatauākī originally from the correspondence of S. Percy Smith. The correspondent said Tahurangi was addressing the land from a place called Kōpūtauākī (Grove & Mead 2004).

WHAKATAUĀKĪ 11

Mōkai whenua e takoto mai i tai, āhahā Kōpūtauākī; nui kai i roto i Kōpūtauākī, me he tangata pea koe e whai mai i muri i au.

Favoured land lying by the sea, oh, Kōpūtauākī, an abundance of food at Kōpūtauākī, if you were perhaps a man you would follow me here.

(Grove & Mead 2004: 309)

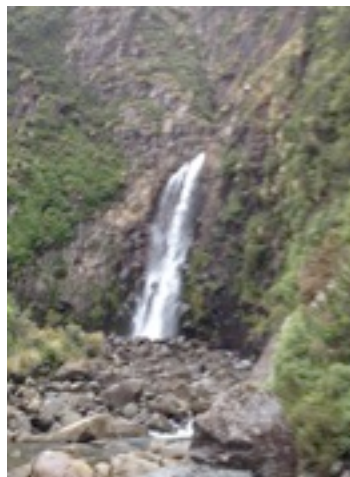
At the time this was said Tahurangi had gone with a hunting party to Kōpūtauākī to collect kokowai (ochre), fruit and to preserve birds and rats. Percy Smith speculated that this Kōpūtauākī may have been a previous home of Taranaki before it migrated from the Central Plateau (Grove & Mead 2004). Whereas Hohaia claimed that Kōpūtauākī was in Taranaki. This location of Kōpūtauākī is another

¹⁰⁶ Puketoretore was also the name of the hapū of Ripeka Marere-awhituri, the mother of Kararehe.

fascinating reference lost to time.

The information retained for Tahurangi, and his role in naming the maunga, indicate that he was of great significance to Taranaki Tūturu. Contemporary place names on Taranaki maunga refer to Tahurangi Bluff and Tahurangi Hut. However the most important place name relating to him is in Te Rere a Tahurangi (Bells Falls). Te Rere a Tahurangi is situated next to Te Umu-tao-manawa and is the outlet of the Hangatahua from the Ahukawakawa swamp. Moreover Tahurangi was said to have lived at Kara-tonga, in the house Kaimirumiru.

PHOTO 12: Te Rere a Tahurangi



5.4. Karaka-tonga

Karaka-tonga was an ancient papakāinga of the ancestors of Taranaki iwi situated on the upper reaches of the Waiwhakaiho awa on the northern side of Taranaki maunga.¹⁰⁷ Within waiata and tribal tradition Karaka-tonga was an important settlement. For example the following waiata directly references Tahurangi (as Tahu) and his marae-ātea Tarawainuku. This waiata was composed by Motu Tukirikau for his wife, Ngawera¹⁰⁸ and contains references to the crewmembers of the Kurahaupō and the travels of Rongomai and Ihenga to Te Tatau-o-te-po. Motu also cites Karutewhenua and Kaungohe. According to Minarapa these tūpuna were rangatira of Karaka-tonga at the time it was destroyed.

¹⁰⁷ The Waiwhakaiho awa is located on MAP 3, point 16.

¹⁰⁸ Ngawera died after eating fish found on the beach. Kararehe wrote to S. Percy Smith to tell him about this event at Puniho and made the accusation that makutu was being thrown around and affecting different people (Broughton 1984: 124).

WAIATA 12

<i>Kia takahia atu te one i a Te Apai,</i>	<i>Tread upon the soil of Te Apai</i>
<i>kia tomo atu koe te whare i a Tahu</i>	<i>And may you enter into the house of Tahu</i>
<i>I a Ari, a Motuhari, a Tiki ki Hawaiki.</i>	<i>Of Ari, of Motuhari, and Tiki at Hawaiki</i>
<i>Ko Tarawainuku te marae a</i>	<i>Tarawainuku was the marae of</i>
<i>Taneruanuku, nō Hapainuku, nō</i>	<i>Taneruanuku, of Hapainuku, of Kaunguha, of</i>
<i>Kaunguha, nō Kaungohe, nā</i>	<i>Kaungohe, and of Karutewhenua</i>
<i>Karutewhenua</i>	<i>It was your house perhaps</i>
<i>Ko hō whare pea</i>	<i>And now you wander aimlessly</i>
<i>I tahawhenua nei koe</i>	

(Tutu MS; Translation: Ngāwhare-Pounamu)

Kaimirumiru once stood in the ancient settlement of Karaka-tonga and Tarawainuku was the courtyard of Karaka-tonga Pā. Although there is no definitive site of the papakāinga remaining, there are multiple references to the whare in waiata and narrative as well as Taranaki tribal tradition, and the names Kaimirumiru and Tarawainuku are retained at Puniho. Karaka-tonga and Kaimirumiru were both used as a basis of mana whenua on the maunga by Taranaki Tūturu during the Patututahi debate with Te Atiawa. I have framed the information of Karaka-tonga in a pepeha structure.

PEPEHA 3

<i>Ko Kaimirumiru te whare</i>	Kaimirumiru is the house
<i>Ko Tarawainuku te marae-ātea</i>	Tarawainuku is the courtyard
<i>Ko Arakari te urupā</i>	Arakari is the cemetery
<i>Ko Waiwhakaiho te awa</i>	Waiwhakaiho is the river
<i>Ko Karaka-tonga te pā</i>	Karaka-tonga is the village

Minarapa stated that the whare Kaimiromiro¹⁰⁹ stood where Taranaki maunga is now. The whare belonged (or was owned) by six rangatira named Karutewhenua, Kaungohe, Kaupapa, Tirahaere, Taihuranga and Tahairangi. When the mountain arrived in the region it buried the village (Skinner MS). As far as can be ascertained there have been three whare named Kaimirumiru. The first Kaimirumiru was destroyed on the maunga. The second Kaimirumiru was built in Rahotu by Te Kāhui Kararehe, and fell into ruin. The third Kaimirumiru stands at Puniho Pā and was originally built by Te

¹⁰⁹ Probably this is a spelling mistake on the behalf of Skinner.

Whataiwi. It would appear likely that Tahurangi lived in the first Kaimirumiru, and as the waiata indicates, he left from Karaka-tonga to climb the peak¹¹⁰.

Originally the Kaimirumiru of Puniho Pā was a punga whare with earthen floors and a fire-pit down the middle of the whare. Kaimirumiru was built in the late 19th century, but we are uncertain of the exact date. In the 1940's it was uplifted and moved on rollers a hundred metres back next to the whare Pauna-te-tūpuna.



PHOTO 13: Kaimirumiru

References to Kaimirumiru in waiata are usually in conjunction with a waiata tangi or lamentations where the Kaimirumiru of Karaka-tonga in waiata is as a place for the dead. Several waiata do refer to some of the inhabitants of the whare. Kararehe lists these tūpuna as list of names or a collection of Kāhui ancestors. However, Karutewhenua, Kaunguha and Tahurangi (among others) are mentioned. Smith (2001) says that in the Kāhui papers, Kau-nguha and Karu-te-whenua are added to the whakapapa of Awhipapa. Awhipapa married Kamate, the son of Raumatiniui-o-tau. Raumatiniui in turn was the son of Tamaahua (from the Kurahaupō) and Raumatiniui was the man who purportedly destroyed the Arawa waka (Ngāwhare-Pounamu 2008).

WHAKAPAPA 17

1. *Manukutikuti*
2. *O Manupekapeka*
3. *O Manuhāroa Te Tahārangi*
4. *O Karu Te Whenua*
5. *O Kaunguha*
6. *O Kaupapa*
7. *O Tirahaere*

¹¹⁰ Interestingly enough, the ridge above the headwaters of the Waiwhakaiho is called the Tahurangi ridge. Strangely enough, one of the peaks of Ruapehu maunga is also named Tahurangi.

8. *O Tahurangi*
9. *O Rū*
10. *O Ouoko*
11. *O Tahu*
12. *O Ari*
13. *O Motuwhāriki*
14. *O Tiki Hawaiki*
15. *O Tane Ruanuku*

(Broughton 1984: 81-82)

Motu claimed that the marae Tarawainuku belonged to Tane Ruanuku. It is uncertain if this is a reference to Tane Mahuta or if this Tane Ruanuku was a human ancestor. The inclusion of Tiki Hawaiki in this list also raises the same question. Was this Tiki Hawaiki a human ancestor, or is it a reference to the first man created by Tane? Regardless of Tiki and Tane, the collective of Karutewhenua, Kaunguha, Kaupapa, Tirahaere and Tahurangi are implicated in a natural disaster at Karaka-tonga.

Another waiata alluding to a disaster on the maunga is this waiata tangi for Tonga-Awhikau, a noted tūpuna of Ngaruahine and Ngāti Ruanui. Te Rangimaui composed the waiata for her husband Tonga-awhikau when he died. Pei Te Hurinui Jones translates this waiata and states that the composer was referring to events in ancient Hawaiki. However on closer reading of these lines, Te Rangimaui mentions Hāpai and the Kāhui Mouna perishing. As has been established, Hapainuku was a person who once lived at Karaka-tonga alongside Karutewhenua and Kaungohe, and according to Minarapa, they perished when the maunga arrived and Karaka-tonga was destroyed. Therefore this waiata would appear to refer to events in Taranaki.

WAIATA 13

*Nohoia e Hāpai-moumou
ki te whare ahiahi,
Patua ki te aruhe,
rūnā ki te rama,
Ka mate Te Kāhui Mouna.*

*Hāpai-moumou dwelt
in the house at eventide,
And were beaten with fern-root used
in the torch light,
And thus perished too Te Kāhui Mouna.*

(Jones & Ngata 1961: 436-437)

This next waiata tangi also makes reference to Kaimirumiru (and by extension Karaka-tonga) and was composed by Riria Te Aomaangi, the wife of Te Kāhui Kararehe, when Kararehe died in 1904. Riria also references another wharekura built on the maunga named Pakihere¹¹¹ that was solely for female students. Alternatively, the Kaimirumiru that Riria references could be the whare she shared with her husband in Rahoitu. But Pakihere was a wharekura on the maunga, so it seems likely that Riria was referring to the Kaimirumiru of Karaka-tonga.

WAIATA 14

<i>Māku e whakamau te ata ka toea</i>	<i>I will hold onto the shadow left behind</i>
<i>nō runga ana mai o Pakihere rā – ia,</i>	<i>Above Pakihere</i>
<i>Ko hō whakapounga kōrero i ngā rangi rā</i>	<i>Where you raised up stories in days gone</i>
<i>Māku e kōmihi ki roto Kaimiru’,</i>	<i>I will grieve within Kaimirumiru</i>

(Smith 2001; Translation: Ngāwhare-Pounamu)

Finally, in this waiata composed by Motu Tukirikau, Stowell connects Kaimirumiru to volcanic activity. Translated very poetically, the waiata directly related Kaimirumiru to some form of volcanic activity as represented by Ranga-whenua.

WAIATA 15

<i>A tomo atu koe ki roto Kai-mirumiru,</i>	<i>Kai-mirumiru should’st thou choose, explore</i>
<i>Tākiri mana ō Ranga-whenua,</i>	<i>Earth’s mighty heart shall throb to give thee</i>
<i>Ka aranga te haunui, nō Apaapārangi, nā-ī</i>	<i>way, deep whence primordial rocks their</i>
	<i>masses pour in shattered fragments to the</i>
	<i>light of day.</i>

(Stowell 1911: 155-157)

It would appear from these examples that the names of Kaimirumiru or Tarawainuku are used in waiata tangi and lamentations. This suggests that a disaster event happened at Karaka-tonga. Why else would the spirit be waiting, or visiting in Kaimirumiru? Although there is only a small corpus of waiata that refer to Kaimirumiru, these waiata offer tantalising images of destruction and grief. All of the waiata are sourced from the 19th century and are split between male and female composers.

¹¹¹ Pakihere was erected by the tohunga wahine Rahirimihia and was purpose-built for women. It once stood in the locality of Okahu gorge on the western slopes of Taranaki maunga.

While the disaster event is not described in these waiata but the strong emotional language evokes feelings of mourning.

Minarapa and Taurua assert that Karaka-tonga and Kaimirumiru was destroyed by the maunga arriving in the region. Could this be a veiled reference to a volcanic event? Although early ethnographers insist that Taranaki Māori had no tradition of volcanic activity on Taranaki maunga, geological evidence states that there were multiple volcanic events from Taranaki maunga over the last thousand years (Department of Conservation 2002; Platz 2007; Stewart, Zernack, Proctor & Alloway 2006). If human occupation of the region covers that period (which it appears to do), then perhaps the reference to Kaimirumiru in waiata is the remembrance of that event.

Te Parua whaka te whakarau o Taranaki, ko Tutuku-hauru, ko Te Mārua.

In the hollow going towards Taranaki's crater were the resting places, Tutuku-haurua and Marua

(Smith 1993: 340)

This kōrero relates to two old sites named Tutuku-hauru and Te Mārua on the western slopes above the snow line on Taranaki maunga that were destroyed. Taurua Minarapa recorded this in the Kāhui manuscripts around the turn of the 19th century. According to Ailsa Smith, above the Okahu Gorge and Maru Pā sites (on the western side of the mountain) there is a deep scar on the western rim of the crater. Smith believed a debris flow from the summit destroyed these two pā. This may well have been around the time of the Tahurangi Ash event around 1725AD or 225BP¹¹² (Platz 2007).

Taking this information a step further, is it possible to link volcanic activity to the destruction of Kaimirumiru? In some respects any date can be chosen and applied to the event. Without archaeological evidence from Karaka-tonga the discussion is moot. In Smith's thesis *Taranaki Waiata Tangi and Feelings for Place* (2001) she transcribed and analysed 78 waiata recorded by her tūpuna Te Kāhui Kararehe. She then analysed the waiata for common imagery in relation to the landscape. She found that while 27 waiata contained 56 references to the tide, there were only 10 references to Taranaki maunga. The imagery within these waiata tangi when singing about Taranaki invokes images of disaster on the maunga and are most often used in waiata tangi, therefore this appears to be a poetic device to frame laments for the dead. Ultimately the waiata are predominantly sourced

¹¹² BP stands for 'Before Present' and sets the date of 1950 as a marker of time. Radio-carbon dating became common around this time, and BP is a widespread system of dating volcanic and geological events.

from the 19th century but reference people and events in the distant past, extending back to the Kāhui Maunga who first settled in the region.

5.5. The Kāhui Maunga

The Kāhui Maunga were said to have been the earliest inhabitants of the Taranaki region. Furthermore Rua Taranaki, Maruwakatare and Tahurangi were considered as tūpuna belonging to the Kāhui Maunga in Taranaki tribal tradition. The Kāhui Maunga settled on all three of the maunga in Taranaki and spread throughout the whole region.

WHAKATAUĀKĪ 12

<i>Ko hēnei maunga e tū rārangi mai nei,</i>	<i>These are the mountains standing in rank</i>
<i>Koia te puna i heke mai ai te tangata.</i>	<i>This is the spring from which descends man</i>
<i>I whakapapahia mai anō i reira</i>	<i>In a line descending from them</i>
<i>Te Kāhui Pō, Te Kāhui Ao,</i>	<i>The Kāhui Pō, the Kāhui Ao,</i>
<i>Te Kāhui Rangī, Te Kāhui Rua,</i>	<i>The Kāhui Rangī, the Kāhui Rua</i>
<i>Te Kāhui Tū, Te Kāhui Pou,</i>	<i>The Kāhui Tū, the Kahui Pou</i>
<i>Te Kāhui Atua me hērā Kāhui atu.</i>	<i>The Kāhui Atua and other Kāhui peoples.</i>

(Hohaia 2003; Translation Ngāwhare-Pounamu)¹¹³

Te Kāhui Kararehe lists these hapū of the Kāhui Maunga as the earliest inhabitants of the Taranaki central region. They lived predominantly on the mountain ranges of Taranaki, Pouakai and Patuha but then spread out and Kāhui hapū settled the entire region. There is no tradition referring to the Kāhui Maunga arriving on a migration waka: instead it was claimed they walked into the region. When the Kurahaupō and Aotea crew arrived in Taranaki there were already people resident in the area (Broughton 1979).

All traditions about these people indicate that they walked to Aotearoa... although this is unlikely, early traditions of Kahui Maunga in particular suggest nō ro te whenua, meaning we sprang or came from out of the land.

(Joe Ritai ¹¹⁴ in Keenan 1994: 57)

¹¹³ This kōrero is printed on an information board in the Taonga Māori section of Pukeariki Museum. The information is referenced to Te Kahui Kararehe, but Te Miringa Hohaia has the copyrighted the kōrero.

¹¹⁴ In the early 1990's, Keenan interviewed a kaumatua named Joe Ritai of Te Ati Awa and Taranaki whānau whānui. Although I never met Ritai I was told that he was considered an elder of great knowledge.

This kōrero from Ritai is a claim to indigeneity and first settlement. The idea that these people came from the land frames them as the original tangata whenua. While it is unlikely they walked to the islands of Aotearoa, it does suggest that they walked into the region. Stowell recorded a whakatauākī relating to this hikoī in 1896. Unfortunately he does not give a reference to the pūkōrero.

Tama-ahua belonged to the Kāhui-maunga, viz, to those people who, it is claimed, came to Aotea-roa by way of land. They walked here: Ko Papanui te waka o Te Kāhui-maunga, i torona mai ai te 'Hiku o te Ika' e takoto nei: Earth itself was the canoe of the Kāhui-maunga by which they reached the 'Tail of the Fish'.

(Hongi 1896: 235).

In this excerpt from Hongi, Tamaahua is perhaps placed in the wrong generation because Tamaahua was a crewmember of the Kurahaupō, and when he lived at Oakura (Taranaki) he married Tukato of the Kāhui Maunga. His sister Taupea also married into the Kāhui Maunga and lived at the settlement at Pirongia on Patuha maunga (Ngāwhare-Pounamu 2008). The most important aspect of this excerpt is this whakatauākī, “*Ko Papanui te waka o Te Kāhui-maunga*”. Stowell translates Papanui as an alternative name to Papatuanuku, the earthmother. S. Percy Smith also recorded a similar statement to that of Stowell (albeit with a different conclusion reached) when commenting on Tamaahua. Smith reaches the conclusion that the circumstance of arrival had been lost.

He is said to have belonged to 'the Kāhui-maunga,' viz,: to those people who, it is claimed, came to Aotea-roa by way of land; 'they walked here,' which is merely another way of saying that the circumstances of their arrival had been completely lost. In the name Kāhui-maunga, we again see the word Kāhui, a flock, applied to a people, denoting its tangata-whenua origin.

(Smith 1907: 146)

The hapū of the Kāhui Maunga can be split into the regions when they dwelt in Taranaki: north, central and south based on proximity to the maunga.¹¹⁵ In the north were the Kāhui Tū, Kāhui Rangi

¹¹⁵ This division into north/central/south is replicated in modern partitions of tribal lines along waka lines: north - Tokomaru; central - Kurahaupō; and south - Aotea.

and Kāhui Tawake (Keenan 1994). In the south were Kāhui Ao, Kāhui Pou,¹¹⁶ Kāhui Puapua, Kāhui Rere, Kāhui Tara, Kāhui Tawa and Kāhui Kārae (Broughton 1979). In the centre and occupying the central mountains were the Kāhui Ao, Kāhui Pō, Kāhui Pou and Kāhui Atua (Hohaia 2010). These early tribal groupings took the prefix of 'Kāhui' to denote their groups and are considered the first settlers and inhabitants of the region (Buck 1949).

The use of Kāhui to denote tribal groupings is also used to represent descent lines of people sharing the same name. The early ancestors of the Kāhui Ao (Broughton 1984) or the Kāhui Tū (White 2001: 268) also follow this same pattern with the founding ancestors of the line begetting descendants who then shared that name. Similar to information about these early generations of settlers there are only remnants retained in tribal tradition. However a waiata mentioning one of the Kāhui hapū was reproduced by Ruka Broughton and refers to the Kāhui Pou, who occupied Pouakai maunga. This waiata indicated that the Kāhui Pou learned and became proficient in the art of carving. As a reference to early carving styles, this waiata is a taonga in itself that begs further analysis. Broughton states that this waiata came from the manuscript of Kauika and was composed by Tuarua¹¹⁷ of Taranaki Tūturu.

WAIATA 16

<i>Naa Te Kaahui Pou, naana I tiki te whakairo</i>	<i>It was Te Kāhui Pou who went to fetch the carving</i>
<i>Ki Te Muriwai o Hawaiki, eeraa,</i>	<i>At Te Muri-wai-o-Hawaiki;</i>
<i>Kia rokohanga atu ko Te Kāhui Tara</i>	<i>Where they encountered Te Kāhui Tara</i>
<i>E taiaroa mai ana.</i>	<i>Assembled together.</i>
<i>Homai ana ko whiua, ko maka,</i>	<i>They gave the method of various strokes;</i>
<i>Maka te Te Ao Tuawhakarere, maka te</i>	<i>Striking outwards, forward and centre on.</i>
<i>aro, maka purepure.</i>	<i>The sharp edge of the blade chiselled the</i>
<i>Ko titi-mata I whaoa te rangi</i>	<i>heavens</i>
<i>Hei rawenga ringa moou ki runga ki'</i>	<i>And was symbolically given in hand for you</i>
<i>Aotea</i>	<i>upon Aotea</i>
<i>Ki' noho mai koe, koe papa totara e.</i>	<i>And there you remained, the totara stump discarded.</i>

(Broughton 1979:39.Maori)

(Broughton 1979: 36. English)

¹¹⁶ Broughton (1979:32) stated that the Kāhui Ao and Kāhui Pou were also hapū of the Kāhui Rere. The Kāhui Ao lived around Tieke (on Patea awa) and the Kāhui Pou lived between Whenuakura and Patea awa. These may be two hapū of the Kāhui Ao and Kāhui Pou of central Taranaki.

¹¹⁷ Unfortunately there isn't more information on this Tuarua except this waiata.

The coverage of the Kāhui peoples across the Taranaki region demonstrates the strong kinship connections between the hapū. For example the Kāhui Maunga and the Kāhui Rere apparently shared descent lines in the lineage of Rauru (Broughton 1979). The Kāhui Rere people lived around the Waitotara awa to the coast, whereas the Kāhui Maunga people occupied the land from Patea north to Waitara. Regardless of boundaries and descent lines, the dissemination of the Kāhui title as an umbrella term indicates that it was a pre-Kurahaupō and pre-Aotea tribal designation.

But there were people here before even Kupe. Tai-kehu was the name of one, and the canoe he came in was named 'Kāhui-maunga'.

(Smith 1907: 154)

One of the important pre-Aotea tūpuna from the Kāhui Maunga was Taikehu. Waonui Tutange of Aotea commented on Taikehu to Percy Smith. The original name of the Patea awa was Te Awanui-a-Taikehu and was renamed to Patea-nui-a-Turi after the captain of the Aotea, Turi. The Aotea people invaded and claimed the area, either assimilating or forcing out the tangata whenua. Broughton gives the following details of Taikehu that I have structured it into a pepeha framework for easy reference.

PEPEHA 4

<i>Ko Rakatuwhenua te waka</i>	<i>Rakatuwhenua is the canoe</i>
<i>Ko Waipungaroa te whare</i>	<i>Waipungaroa is the house</i>
<i>Ko Peketua te paepae</i>	<i>Peketua is the threshold</i>
<i>Ko Kawenga te pataka kai</i>	<i>Kawenga is the food storehouse</i>
<i>Ko Waipuehu te puna wa</i>	<i>Waipuehu was the spring</i>
<i>Ko Te Awanui-a-Taikehu te awa</i>	<i>Te Awanui-a-Taikehu is the river</i>

(Broughton 1979: 62)

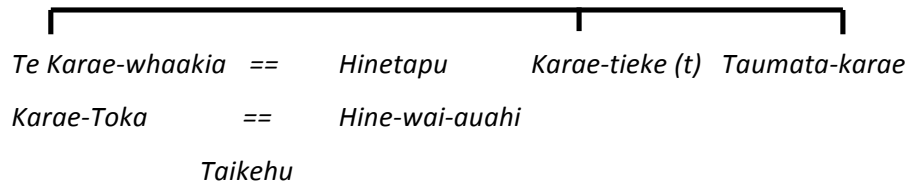
Broughton also published the following tātai whakapapa for Taikehu. Note that the last names before Taikehu are 5 people with the names Karae and these tūpuna were considered the Ngā Karae.

WHAKAPAPA 18

Tamataane

10 *Tamau-awhitia* == *Rongowhiria*

9	<i>Hounuku-a-te-raa</i>	==	<i>Te Puanga-rere</i>
8	<i>Hourangi-a-te-rā</i>	==	<i>Hine-ata</i>
7	<i>Te Manu-i-te-raa</i>	==	<i>Hine-tapu-aatea</i>
6	<i>Te Manu-karae</i>	==	<i>Te Iaia</i>
5	<i>Te Karae-nui</i>	==	<i>Hine-Toka</i>
4	<i>Te Karae-roa</i>	==	<i>Te Pipirongo</i>
3	<i>Te Karae-hungahunga</i>	==	<i>Hine-punga</i>

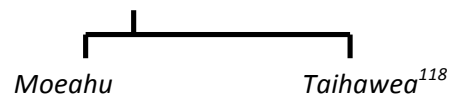


(Broughton Māori: 72)

Another whakapapa for Taikehu comes from the manuscript book of Ron Ngatai, also held at Pukeariki Museum. This tātai whakapapa includes the ascending and descending whakapapa of Taikehu. It descends to Tukato who married Tamaahua. Therefore demonstrating the connection between Taikehu and Taranaki Tūturu through the marriage of Tukato and Tamaahua of the Kurahaupō.

WHAKAPAPA 19

Rākeiora
Tamawhita
Tamanuiterā
Te Tamakare
Te Karaenui
Te Karaeroa
Te Karaetoka
Te Karaewhākia
Taikehu
Kurauniho
Paekawanui
Paekawaroa
Paematua
Timorangaahua

*Tūirangi**Tūhorokotea**Tūtewhātahi**Pounamu**Iria**Tītope**Tukato* == *Tamaahua-ki-tauranga**Raumati**Uru-te-kakara* == *Ngarue**Wharematangi**Tairi*

(Ngatai MS)

That the Kāhui Maunga and the other Kāhui hapū once existed and claimed mana whenua is an undeniable tradition within Taranaki. The material indicates that the Kāhui peoples were a strong and vibrant society at the time the Uruwaka arrived. The Kāhui Maunga was the umbrella term for the iwi and hapū in the region.

Was Rua Taranaki a member of the Kāhui Maunga? According to Taranaki tribal tradition the earliest settlers of the region were the Kāhui Maunga, therefore Rua Taranaki, Maruwhakatare and company must have been members of the iwi. The most important detail is the settlement pattern on the maunga itself. The central Kāhui hapū of the Kāhui Ao, Kāhui Pō, Kāhui Pou and Kāhui Atua lived on the maunga of Taranaki. The question begs to be asked as to why these people lived on the mountains?

If the early ancestors of Taranaki migrated to the region from the central plateau, then presumably they were accustomed to living at altitude in mountainous regions. It seems logical that a mountain people would more than likely settle on mountain areas as places they were familiar with. For example the papakāinga of Karaka-tonga is situated on the northern face of Taranaki maunga. Moreover, the maunga of Ruapehu and Tongariro can be seen from this area. Rua Taranaki and his people settled Karaka-tonga and inhabited the maunga before spreading out and intermarrying with

¹¹⁸ Taihaweā was an important ancestor of Ngā Mahanga hapū. Moeahu was the eponymous tūpuna of Ngāti Moeahu of Parihaka. Moeahu and Taihaweā were twins.

other peoples to establish the Kāhui Maunga presence in the region. It is clear that the Kāhui Maunga people, as the early inhabitants of the region, were a mountain people and migrated into the region.

5.6. Summary

The material collated in this chapter unsurprisingly shows the gaps in the Taranaki tribal tradition retained and recorded about early tūpuna. Aspects of Wā-Ātea were used to structure the collation of the source material retained in Taranaki tribal traditions. Focus was on whakapapa, waiata and whakatauākī to support the tūpuna who were claimed to be among the first inhabitants in Taranaki. Although the material does come from a relatively small group of people, with Kararehe as the largest contributor, this information is invaluable in attempting to discern who these tūpuna were.

Rua Taranaki is the eponymous ancestor of Taranaki but there is very little information relating to the man. Questions around his deeds, his journeys and his character are still a mystery. This is similar to others grouped in the Kāhui Rua, like Rua-tupua and Rua-tawhito. These people were illustrious ancestors, especially in relation to the Whanganui awa and iwi of that region and they were well known in other tribal traditions, but only remnants remain of these tūpuna. Genealogical validation is of utmost importance in any tradition. Even if the supernatural and deification process of elevating ancestors occurred with these people, they should still be present in a whakapapa structure. Or as O'Regan (1992) points out, if there is not the whakapapa there to support it should be viewed suspiciously. Nonetheless the remnants of information garnered from collected traditions indicate there are several motifs of the Travelling Mountain Narrative that can be filled by details of the tūpuna.

TABLE 10: Migration Narrative Story Pattern – Rua Taranaki

1. Papa-pūtaka	Rotoaira or from the land.
2. Pakanga	No reason given for migrating to Taranaki.
3. Hekenga	No details of the journey, nor which route was taken.
4. Papa-whenua	Maruwhakatare recites karakia, Tahurangi climbs maunga and lights a ceremonial fire. Rua Taranaki buried in Te Ana a Tahatiti

The clearest indication of a migration journey is in the letter of Matiaha regarding Maruwhakatare. Without background information it is difficult to understand the context in which Matiaha was

writing. Nonetheless it is an early example of written text by a Māori from Taranaki, and it explicitly states that Maruwhakatare came from Rotoaira. Kararehe also highlights the importance of Maruwhakatare in his waiata tangi for Te Whetu Moeahu. The waiata refers to this man and his actions in erecting pou to situate the mana of the people on the maunga. Hohaia also discusses

Maruwhakatare was the priest who established Puheonaki [Pukeonaki], who had travelled here from Rotoaira, on the migration; After his arrival Ruataranaki was married; and that's when Pukeonaki spoke, "I am like the mountain waters of Taranaki, whose summit is never clothed in mist". Ponakai [Pouakai] heard and then proclaimed, "This is like boasting to me: stand up the people of Haimata Tauturangi".

(Matiaha 1858; Translation Ngāwhare-Pounamu)

Tahurangi is also granted a prominent role in Taranaki tribal tradition. Place names on the maunga, including the waterfalls that bear his name, highlight his prominence in Taranaki tribal tradition. Whakapapa (from Kararehe and Hohaia) show that Tahurangi was the child of Rua Taranaki. Extensive whakataūākī refer to Tahurangi and his act of naming and claiming Taranaki maunga. Waiata also refer to Tahurangi and were composed by Motu and Kararehe, from Ngā Mahanga and Ngāti Haupoto traditions.

Surprisingly there are no waiata from the 19th century or earlier supporting the Travelling Mountain Narrative. Maunga references in waiata allude to people, Karaka-tonga or the appearance of the maunga. These maunga images 'served to focus the attention and fix the thoughts in moments of introspection, or to lead to deeper levels of appreciation' (Smith 2001: 246). Ailsa Smith points out that there may have been no explicit need to refer to the maunga in waiata or whakataūākī because the maunga was the dominant feature of the landscape and the ancestral relationship with the maunga was known and accepted.

Indications that the Kāhui Maunga iwi were originally from another area, and that they walked to Taranaki specify a land-based migration. But where did they come from and why were they migrating? The primary clue lies in Matiaha's statement that Maruwhakatare and Rua Taranaki came from Rotoaira, near Taupo. But there is no narrative detailing this journey. As has been established the only migration narrative giving a reason for the exodus and detailing the journey from the centre of the island is in the Travelling Mountain Narrative. Nonetheless these tūpuna are considered founding ancestors of the iwi Taranaki Tūturu and early settlers and inhabitants of the Taranaki

region. Although there are only remnants of information retained for Rua Taranaki, Maruwahakatare and Tahurangi their memory is woven into Taranaki tribal tradition.

CHAPTER SIX

Wānanga Kōhatu

PHOTO 14: Te Toka a Rauhoto



6.1. Introduction

To find Te Toka a Rauhoto follow State Highway 45 (the Surf Highway) south of New Plymouth and drive through the towns Omata, Oakura and Okato. Cross the Hangatahua (Stoney) River bridge and drive the Puniho straight. The road curves and on the inland side of the highway you will see Puniho Pā, turn off at the sign. Drive up the long entrance road until it opens out onto the papakāinga. You will see a stone on a two-stepped plinth in the middle of a field opposite the wharetūpuna Kaimirumiru. Greet the stone, touch it and admire the carved face. Stand beside Te Toka a Rauhoto and look to the east. On a good day you will see Taranaki maunga. Turn to the west and scan the long horizon of the moana. The inscription on the pedestal of Te Toka a Rauhoto Tapairu simply gives a name and the date it was moved. 22 December 1948: Rauhoto Tapairu. The sacred stone Te Toka a Rauhoto sits in front of Puniho Pā as a tangible connection between the maunga and the people of Ngā Mahanga hapū.

In the two Taranaki versions of the Travelling Mountain Narrative (as dictated by Minarapa and Taurua) Te Toka a Rauhoto is regarded as the guidestone of Taranaki maunga. Versions from other areas and tribal traditions do not include the toka The first version was recorded by Skinner from Minarapa Kahu, and subsequently published by Smith in 1907.

Taranaki in his journey from Taupo was preceded by a stone (female) of great mana called Toka-a-rauhoto. This stone acted as a pilot or guide keeping well in advance of Taranaki. The day preceding the capturing of Taranaki by Pouakai Toka-a-rauhoto had reached within a short distance of the seacoast on the south side of Wai wera iti (Stoney river). On

awakening in the morning she turned to see if Taranaki was preparing to follow and then she saw that Pouakai had thrown out a new arm (spur) in the night encircling and making a prisoner of Taranaki. There she (Toka-a-rauhoto) has remained until the present time, a thing of great veneration to all the tribes, still looking upon her old friend and follower with longing eyes.

(Skinner MS: 4)

The Ngāti Haupoto version contains different details. According to Taurua (Best 1924, 1927) Rauhoto and Wheoi led the maunga to the west coast. Rauhoto led the maunga on the surface whilst Wheoi led the maunga underground. Hohaia (2001) followed the same narratives as Taurua and also based his kōrero on the female element of the rock, and how it was originally a woman named Rauhoto Tapairu. Furthermore Hohaia stated that the tohunga Te Ao Marama Te Ihitua died two days after she helped moved the toka. Critique of this passage is followed up later in the chapter.

[Rauhoto] She married Rua Taranaki and begat the continuance of Taranaki iwi. Her life is immortalised in her name being given to the guidestone. Her flight path is Te Whitinga a Rauhoto and the white Raukura feathers were often portrayed as the plume of her flightpath. She is regarded as the anchor of Taranaki and over 70 people have lost their lives attempting to take her away. Consequently, she became renowned and no one would touch her except her guardian Minarapa, who also kept her in good condition. In 1948 she was moved to the grounds of Puniho Pā for safety from vandals and thieves. Te Aao Maarama moved her. She said it would be her last work for her people. She died two days later. People are free now to touch Rauhototapairu, and when people meet on the Tarawainuku marae, they often dress her in a piupiu and korowai.

(Hohaia 2001: 11)

In literature Te Toka a Rauhoto was a venerated stone possessing intrinsic mana and tapu. While Te Toka a Rauhoto is a sacred stone of Taranaki, there are sacred and named stones venerated in other tribal areas. An example of a personified stone can be found in the toka named Raukawa, within the rohe of Ngāti Raukawa. Treager (Orbell 1985) visited this stone and when questioned, the guide (unnamed in the narrative) was adamant the stone was the ancestor. The rock known as Te Kōhatu o Hatupatu¹¹⁹ at Atiamuri was also acknowledged for its connection to the ancestor because people often leave gifts of greenery by the stone when they pass by. Te Turi o Hine Ngawari is another stone

¹¹⁹ In the narrative of Hatupatu, Kurangaituku was chasing Hatupatu and he prevailed upon the rock to hide him. The rock opened up and sheltered Hatupatu.

near Horohoro, where people left gifts of green rakau (Kaata 1955).¹²⁰ When Te Toka a Rauhoto was standing by Otaunui, people would leave greenery or gifts by Te Toka a Rauhoto when they were passing by.

This chapter is about Te Toka a Rauhoto and the series of hui called the wānanga kōhatu held at Puniho Pā during 2013. Reflexivity and reporting on these experiences in this thesis required a change of voice from academic to personal, in order to construct an autoethnographical account of the project. Tasked to facilitate the hui by Ngā Mahanga, I applied the skills I'd learned in academia on behalf of Puniho Pā, Ngā Mahanga and my research kaupapa. Incidentally the information and observations I made contributed enough material to fill this chapter of the thesis. This is a record of the wānanga kōrero, the collation of living memory information for Te Toka a Rauhoto and my reflexivity of the process. Although the wānanga was about collecting information retained by the whānau of Ngā Mahanga, as the facilitator I would begin each session with literature I had discovered about the toka. In everything I had been told or read Te Toka a Rauhoto is always connected to Taranaki maunga and the Travelling Mountain Narrative.

Surprisingly there is a lack of waiata that refer to Te Toka a Rauhoto in waiata retained by Taranaki. The exception is the following ngeri. It was composed by Sonny Taniwharau Waru and relates to Rua Taranaki, Rauhoto Tapairu and extorts the hapū Ngā Mahanga a Tairi.

WAIATA 17

<i>Ka hua au ki te uira</i>	<i>I look at the lightning</i>
<i>E wāhi rū ana rā</i>	<i>Parting the air</i>
<i>Runga Taranaki tītōhea, ī ā hā hā.</i>	<i>Above Taranaki the bereft.</i>
<i>E ko te maunutanga</i>	<i>'Tis the journey</i>
<i>O te taniwha</i>	<i>Of the creature</i>
<i>I te rua koa, ī ā hā hā.</i>	<i>From its cave.</i>
<i>E ko Rauhoto Tapairu</i>	<i>Rauhoto Tapairu</i>
<i>Kaiarahi i a Rua Taranaki e.</i>	<i>The guide of Rua Taranaki.</i>
<i>Maranga mai, e kui</i>	<i>Arise, oh elder</i>
<i>Ngā Māhanga a Tairi</i>	<i>Nga Mahanga a Tairi</i>
<i>E kori, whikoi, takahi, whakana</i>	<i>Move, progress, stamp, grimace</i>
<i>Pūkana. Hī!</i>	

(Waru n.d; Translation: Ngāwhare-Pounamu)¹²¹

¹²⁰ I have yet to visit any of the other sacred stones mentioned in this paragraph.

Te Toka a Rauhoto is a significant taonga of Ngā Mahanga and Taranaki Tūturu. When a tangi occurs at Puniho the stone is cleaned and a piupiu or korowai are wrapped around it. The continued veneration of the stone and its acknowledgement by visiting manuhiri to Puniho Pā serves to highlight the significance of Te Toka a Rauhoto. In Taranaki tikanga and in Ngā Mahanga tikanga, Te Toka a Rauhoto is inextricably linked with Taranaki maunga. Therefore this chapter explores the toka and the kōrero retained in Te Ao Hurihuri and how this turned into a tradition recovery project by Ngā Mahanga at Puniho Pā

6.2. He Tono: A Request

In 2012 an Auckland-based Māori-owned media company approached me. They were planning a series of television shows on kaitiaki and they wanted to film the story of Te Toka a Rauhoto. Personally I had no problem with it and foresaw only positive outcomes from this project. Not only would the show highlight the importance of the stone, it would be a great opportunity for Ngā Mahanga to get our version of the narrative to the public. Incidentally I also thought this would be a perfect opportunity to gather kōrero about Te Toka a Rauhoto for my thesis. I also selfishly assumed that I would be fronting the programme on behalf of Ngā Mahanga. Agreeing in principle with the proposal, I offered to take it to the Puniho Pā trustees committee, because we were meeting the following Sunday.¹²² At the trustees meeting I outlined the proposal and my cousins on the trustees committee agreed that the idea had merit. The suggestion was mooted that we call a hui-ā-iwi for the hapū to discuss the matter.

In my own experience the tikanga of decision-making as practised on the modern marae is that consensus decisions determine success. Ngā Mahanga does not have a strong hereditary leadership tradition in the Te Ao Hurihuri. Addis (in Day 2010) pointed out that the lack of hereditary leadership in Taranaki is a result of the Land Wars and the dismantling of traditional leadership structures and replacing them with Pākehā dominated power structures.¹²³ Although strong personalities have led in the past, or people have been appointed to lead a kaupapa, this does not make that person the

¹²¹ Sonny Waru was a noted composer who created ngeri and patere that reflect the origin myths of Taranaki. The following ngeri, or free-form haka refers specifically to Rua Taranaki and Rauhoto Tapairu and also mentions the hapū Ngā-Mahanga-a-Tāiri.

¹²² At this stage I had been a trustee since 2011 on the Puniho Pā Trustees Committee.

¹²³ Puniho Pā is a part of the Paora Aneti 17 & 18 Marae Reservation and comes under the auspices of the *Ngā Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993*. The Māori Land Court has the authority to remove trustees. While we advocate rangatiratanga on the pā, at the end of the day we are still held responsible under the Māori Land Court.

rangatira, even if that person comes from a tuakana line.¹²⁴ In the case of Te Toka a Rauhoto, the tonono had to be taken to the Pā Trustees first, and from then to a wider hui-ā-iwi with the whānau of Ngā Mahanga. This was similar to the hui in 1948 that decided Te Toka a Rauhoto should be moved to Puniho. Although in 1948 the hui lasted a week until everyone agreed, in the end consensus was reached.¹²⁵

Several weeks after the pā trustees hui Ngā Mahanga met in a hui-ā-iwi in the wharetūpuna Kaimirumiru. I opened the hui with karakia and mihi and then outlined the kaupapa. I began by talking about the proposal, what the media company wanted and when they wanted to start filming. I then outlined my research findings up to that point. At the time my research was still in a state of flux, but I could talk about my preliminary findings around the Travelling Mountain Narrative. This included outlining the published versions and their kaitauaki, and the pūkōrero (Minarapa Kahu, Kararehe and Taurua) as well as the tribal variations of the Travelling Mountain Narrative. I finished my kauhau with five points to consider: 1) What is the story we want to tell? 2) Should whakapapa be included? 3) Where should we take the camera crew? 4) Who should speak on camera? 5) And what conditions do we want to implement? In hindsight I should have asked the most important question: did the hapū want to accept the offer by the media company and permit filming our story?

Discussion followed my presentation that was supportive of the proposal. Then the nature of the hui changed when a whānaunga stood and gave her insight into television production. As a producer of *Waka Huia* programmes she was qualified to speak to the subject. She spoke about intellectual property rights and asked if we would own the rough cuts and view the programme before filming. She finished by telling us that she had always wanted to make a programme about Te Toka a Rauhoto herself. As she spoke on the subject and rights to the filmed material she changed minds, including my own. I put a motion to the floor and we voted. We decided not to allow filming. Even though I had brought the proposal to the pā and the hapū, I was okay with the decision. I agreed with the points raised and more importantly, the greater consensus of the hapū at the hui was reached. The next day I emailed the company and declined their offer.

¹²⁴ I have always been told that we do not have rangatira at Puniho, because we are all descended from rangatira, therefore we are all rangatira. Somehow it works.

¹²⁵ Projecting back to the past, the search for consensus is modelled on earlier examples. For example before the battle of Ngaweka pā during the Musket Wars, the rangatira of the various hapū and papakāinga met at Ngaweka and debated the merits of fighting as a collective, or defending their own pā instead. A tūpuna stood and said “Kia kotahi te taringa hei ngaua mā te hoariri: Let there be only one ear for the enemy to bite” (Houston 2006: 52). The people agreed to stand together, and they were ultimately victorious in saving their ears.

What became apparent during the hui to the majority of people in attendance was a need to gather information about Te Toka a Rauhoto. So we agreed to meet a week later and at the hui we decided that we would hold a series of wānanga about the Te Toka a Rauhoto called 'wānanga kōhatu', and we would apply for Whānau Ora funding from Te Puni Kōkiri to support the initiative. The stated purpose of the wānanga kōhatu was to bring together the whānau of Puniho Pā and Ngā Mahanga hapū to research, wānanga and document knowledge about the taonga Te Toka a Rauhoto and its relationship with Taranaki maunga. I was asked to facilitate the wānanga series and I readily agreed. Overall we met and discussed this kaupapa another 6 times during 2012. We also applied to Whānau Ora and were granted \$5,000 for the wānanga series. Unfortunately I had not looked at the final copy of the application when it went to Te Puni Kōkiri because it had the facilitator (me) budgeted at \$1,000. I told the people in our next hui that I would not accept that money, and that it would be used for other purposes in the wānanga.¹²⁶ The wānanga kōhatu series would start with a planning hui in 2013.

6.3. Wānanga 1: 10 February 2013

Following the Puniho Pā Trustees Committee hui in February 2013, we held the first wānanga/hui to plan the wānanga kōhatu series and assign dates and kaupapa. As the recently elected chairman of the Puniho Pā trustees committee I chaired both hui. It was really hot that day and it quickly became apparent that the people really did not want to be there for a hui that would last several hours. I had the intention of going over some information, but I changed the plan. Deciding instead to plan for the year ahead we set dates for 2013 and possible kaupapa to cover. I promised to organise and facilitate the wānanga. We voted to shorten the wānanga and we left to enjoy what remained of the afternoon.

¹²⁶ Accepting money for the wānanga kōhatu felt unethical to me. On one hand I thought that the wānanga series may provide data for this thesis, and on the other hand I wanted to avoid accusations of taking money for tribal history. Especially when I was elected as the chairman of the trustees committee in December 2012. I have seen this accusation levelled at other people and I did not want to fall into the same trap.

6.4. Wānanga 2: 25 February 2013

MAP 5: Komene Road and pā tāwhito¹²⁷

Te Toka a Rauhoto was moved from Otaunui¹²⁸ to Puniho Pā on Wednesday 22 December 1948. This was a significant event in the history of our hapū. Fortunately there are people still alive who attended the event, albeit as children and teenagers. Starting from this momentous day meant that I would hopefully tap into living memory of the event. Moreover there was also an account written by Scanlan (1961) that we could use. Projecting the map on the wall I talked about the pā tāwhito and named lahar hills on Komene Road, demonstrating the long occupation of the rohe by the ancestors of Ngā Mahanga. During my time living on Komene Rd at the Ngāwhare homestead I had visited many of the hills and pā on the map and felt confident that I could describe them. Of course many of my cousins and aunties in attendance at the wānanga could also relate to these sites. By using the map to locate the site on the landscape I hoped to draw out reminiscent memories of the event and the area. Of course, oftentimes at Puniho a lot of this kōrero would come out in party situations when the old people, or the aunties and uncles were relaxed and talkative. In an interview with Chris Taingahue, he spoke about collective memory being articulated in parties:

You'd be singing and then crack a song that would trigger off a group and then you know you'd be in there... you'd hear someone go "oh [that] reminds me of so and so". Straight away there is triggered a memory and they start talking about the old people there. And then a korero would come out, eh. And you would sit there and listen, and then you can

¹²⁷ This map is also reproduced at the beginning of the thesis.

¹²⁸ Otaunui is in the centre of the map, parallel to Pukemanu Pā

hear people who know bits and pieces that can add to that. So it's not really coming from the one person. It's a collective... it becomes a collective memory.

(Taingahue 2013)

This collective memory was what I was hoping to tap into during this wānanga session. For example at a hui years ago I remember my aunties talking about the day the stone was moved. They also remember that the hapū met for a week until everyone was in agreement and a consensus was reached. Along with the memory of this seminal event I had also found a reference text excerpt written by Scanlan. The text relays the events and actions involved in moving the stone. Bearing in mind however that this is the view of an outsider recounting the event and it misses the subtleties and tikanga involved in the ceremonial lifting of tapu.

In 1948 the tribal elders decided that the rock should be taken to a permanent place on the marae of Puniho pa. This was a major tribal decision, entailing the removal of an ancient tapu. The elders feared that the younger generation was not treating the rock with due respect, especially after a wooden fence around it had been broken down. The decision was hastened when a young Māori ploughman caught his plough on the rock and suffered a broken leg. So the elders of the tribe asked L. H. Andrews of Okato to arrange for the rock to be lifted and taken to Puniho pā. In turn, Andrews asked C. E. Dixon to bring his garage breakdown truck on a morning in December 1948 to shift the rock.

This proved far from easy. Some days before several Māoris begged Dixon not to touch the rock, as it was sacred and, if he moved it, the influence of the rock would bring him suffering. At the rock were four Māori women, laurel leaves in their hair, carrying branches with fresh leaves. Wailing and moaning, they waved the branches up and down. After an intense supplication they became silent and their leader asked Dixon to lift the rock, which she said, "had been talked to." The rock was not deeply buried, lying six inches under the surface as if it had been rolled there. When raised by the breakdown hoist it lifted the truck of its front wheels, so that three heavy men had to stand on the front of the truck to permit the short journey to Puniho pa.

There it was set in concrete, its carved side turned towards Egmont whereas previously it had faced the sea. It was unveiled a few days later at a gathering of the tribe, when the

rock was clothed in fine mats and the framed photograph of Minarapa was placed at its base.

(Scanlan 1961: 36-37)

Several aunties in attendance were alive in 1948 and were at the pā when Te Toka a Rauhoto was moved. They could also remember when the toka was down Komene Road when they were children. They said that people would leave a koha by the rock, or a piece of greenery when travelling past it as a mark of respect and aroha for the toka. Several speakers in the *Ngā Maunga Tārewarewa* radio show also confirmed the act of leaving koha for the toka. Melville Manu and Mohi Wharepouri were both from Puniho and were recorded in the 1977 radio show. Manu was a carver (amongst many other skills) and Wharepouri was a leading kaikōrero at this time.

It was a tapu stone, this is my understanding, it was a tapu stone, and that the, whenever it was approached, this was coming from my mother, they always had to put something green on it. This is showing respect ... for the stone itself.

(Manu in Radio New Zealand 1977)

Now I've been down the beach getting some mātaitai, mussels or anything like that, and I always go there and leave one for her. Or fish, I leave one for her, whatever I got, whatever we got, however many of us go down, put one in, just one. Leave it for her and take the rest home.

(Wharepouri in Radio New Zealand 1977)

There are various reasons given for why the toka was moved to Puniho that we discussed during this wānanga. According to some of those present the reason for the move was because Te Ao Marama had a vision. Other people believed it was because of the imminent sale of the land. Another reason discussed was that there was a fear that because people were living in the immediate vicinity there would be more accidents around Te Toka a Rauhoto. Or the final reason given was that the people could better look after the toka at Puniho, especially when more people were leaving the land and moving into the cities.¹²⁹ Whatever the reason, in 1948 the hapū met and made a collective decision that the Toka would be safer at Puniho. This issue was hotly contested and it took a week of discussion to achieve consensus. When all the people were in agreement, Te Ao Marama Te Ihitua was tasked to lift the tapu of the toka in preparation for moving.

¹²⁹ Due to urbanisation the rural community of Komene Rd left the area. While many of the land blocks still remain in Maori ownership, only the Ngawhare whānau maintain a house on the road.

Te Ao Marama Te Ihitua was acknowledged as a tohunga and matakite of Taranaki. Although she lived at the papakāinga of Te Ikaroa, she travelled around the coast and had kinship connections to most hapū and iwi in Taranaki. Especially to Puniho and Parihaka. Both she and her sister Rauha¹³⁰ were steeped in the old ways of healing using wairakau rongoā. When Te Ao Marama was a child, she would often be seen playing around Te Toka a Rauhoto. The old people identified her gift, and as a grown woman, she was recognised as a woman of power, as matakite (Pihama & Reinsfeld 2007). When the decision to move Te Toka a Rauhoto was made, Te Ao Marama was the only person able to lift the tapu and (perhaps most importantly) convince the people that the toka was now safe to touch and therefore move.

The belief in the tapu of Te Toka a Rauhoto was real and all Māori growing up in the area had been warned not to touch it. The myth of people dying because they touched the toka was powerful and its tapu was inviolate. For example a commonly repeated story relating to Te Toka a Rauhoto was when an ope taua attempted to steal the toka. They believed that by taking the toka they were also taking the mana of the maunga. They uplifted the toka and tried to take it north across the Hangatahua awa. The thieves are all struck down and killed by the tapu of the toka (Skinner MS; Smith 1907; Hohaia 2001). However I was once shown where the thieves were died, north of Pukemanu Pā on the banks of the Hangatahua awa. The Ngā Mahanga versions says that the theft had been discovered by Ngā Mahanga, who then chased down the ope taua and fought and killed the thieves, leaving none alive. They then returned the toka to Otaunui. It would seem that from that time the perceived tapu of the toka was elevated so that people began to fear touching the toka.

As a collective, the rōpu remembered that the Māori who were there in 1948 all stood back and watched the Pākehā crew put the rock on the truck. Out tūpuna had spent their lives being told not to touch the rock and they weren't going to start then. Therefore when we read Scanlan's text, none of us could believe that a Pākehā (L. H. Andrews) organised and oversaw the shifting of the rock. It was unlikely that the old people would have given over so much control to Andrews. Fortunately this recording of Mohi Wharepouri in *Ngā Maunga Tārewarewa* gives an insider perspective.

I built a stand for her at Puniho Pa, me and my boys, we concrete the stand and everything for her. Though I got the garage in Okato to bring it up, we didn't want to

¹³⁰ Kui Rauha Tamiparea was another significant elder of Taranaki, Parihaka and Puniho. Marti Friedlander took photographs of her during a visit to the pā in 1967. As one of the last kuia with kauae moko, Friedlander depicted her as the last guardian of a ghost town (Hohaia, O'Brian & Strongman 2005). In Taranaki memory, she was a formidable woman who was much loved. Rauha was the older sister of Te Ao Marama.

touch the rock, I didn't want to touch it with my hand, I didn't want my boys to touch it either. So what I did is I got the crane, a man with a crane at Okato hotel, at Okato motor garage to come and take the rock to Puniho Pa. So he did that for us, he came there, and put a machine on and lifted the rock up and take it to Puniho Pa, and put it where I want it and its standing there.

(Wharepouri in Ngā Maunga Tārewarewa 1977)

When reading the text, we had to laugh at the description of the Māori women 'wailing and moaning'. No doubt this was a simplistic and ignorant description of the karanga that the women were doing for the rock. Unfortunately we were not sure who the women were. Without a doubt one of them was Te Ao Marama, the leader who told Dixon that the stone could be moved. To add to the mysticism of the event, the stone lifted the truck off its front axle when it was lifted aboard and several men had to stand on the truck to level it out. My great-grandfather Barney Ruatapu Ngāwhare-Pounamu was one of the men who stood on the truck, and also one of the kaikōrero on the paepae that day.

There was a large crowd present during the ceremony, and this crowd followed the rock to Puniho. There are still a few aunties alive who were at Puniho when the stone was moved here and they could remember it as a large gathering. Mohi Wharepouri¹³¹ and Lesley Ngāwhare were among the men who worked on the pedestal. The gathering for the unveiling of the stone was a significant event. Photographs of people, including Te Ao Marama and the toka, who were in attendance are on the walls of Kaimirumiru. Several aunties could recall that match-making, or take taumau, was also going on during the hui. They ran away for a couple of days because they did not want to be fixed up with a husband. When the concrete had dried and Te Toka a Rauhoto was ready, children started playing on the toka.¹³²

Controversially, Hohaia (2001) wrote that Te Ao Marama died two days after she lifted the tapu of the stone. Ngā Mahanga protested this creative invention at the opening of the art exhibition *Taranaki: Views of a mountain* in 2000. When Hohaia attended a hui at Puniho Pā to discuss this, he explained that it was due to creative licence. One of the protestors at the event, Fay Mulligan, could remember the morning and aftermath and recalled the event during an interview.

¹³¹ Mohi was described as tall and skinny, with gold teeth and a mean banjo player. Mohi was a kaikōrero at Parihaka and an acknowledged expert in Taranakitanga.

¹³² Dr Tony Ruakere claims that he and George Mahuru were the first children to start playing on the stone. All people of Puniho Pā who visited as children can remember playing by the toka.

Well, I got a copy of the kōrero that was going to be presented, well it was actually, it was already [publicized] and so we wrote a letter to Govett Brewster and protested that if there was going to be kōrero about the kōhatu, they should have been some kind of consultation, especially in such a public arena as the art gallery. Particularly because some of the script was a bit far fetched and there was an untruth publicized about Te Ao Marama dying two days later. And at that time we wrote the letter and we actually went, there was a group of about maybe 12 or 15 of us went, and we handed out pānui to the people who were at the exhibition when they opened it ... And we did go into the exhibition and we saw the script up on the wall, and I've got a copy of the book that was publicized ... and later on an invitation to hui about it, and Te Miringa came ... with a couple of others from ... the council and Govett Brewster, and people openly told him what they thought in the hui, ... And they rarked him over for writing stuff that wasn't true. And his reply was, yes that is quite true, but for creative purposes he embellished the script to make it sound ... really dynamic.

(Mulligan 2013)

Being curious about the actual date of the passing of Te Ao Marama, I visited her grave at Parihaka Pā. Te Ao Marama Te Ihitua is buried at the gateway of Te Weriwari urupā, with Tom Awhitu Aperi placed at her feet. Te Ao Marama died on 28 September 1950, two years after she helped moved the stone. This is a clear case of an invention relating to Te Toka a Rauhoto. Moreover it is a something that can be proven wrong. Because students are learning this kōrero, they come to Puniho repeating the idea that Te Ao Marama gave her life to move the stone. We have to constantly correct them from the paepae at Puniho. This begs the question: if the death of Te Ao Marama is an invention that is fast gaining an aura of myth, what other information about the stone was also invented?

After our discussion during the wānanga, we went for a drive down to Otaunui to visit the place where Rauhoto once stood. I had contacted the Pākehā owners of the paddock beforehand, and they allowed us access to the paddock and hill. Te Toka a Rauhoto once sat next to Otaunui, a named hill in the centre of the map. On the north-east corner of the map is shown Minarapa Road, named after Minarapa Kahukura Makuru where he lived at Pukemanu Pā. The Ngāwhare homestead is also depicted in this map and this is my whānau papakāinga. I was fortunate to spend three years living here whilst undertaking my PhD research.

6.5. Pukeiti: 21 March 2013

As a kaikōrero I was asked to speak to a collective of schools at Pukeiti in the Enviroschools programme. Pukeiti is the hill situated between Patuha and Pouakai maunga.¹³³ The garden encompasses an area of 360ha rainforest and is home to a renowned rhododendron garden and administered by the Taranaki Regional Council. The request to speak came from PKW (the funders of the Enviroschools program) who had kindly awarded a financially significant scholarship to me over the past three years.¹³⁴ This day was also my birthday and it seemed appropriate to spend it helping a great program.

According to Hohaia, the proper name for Pukeiti is Puke Te Whitinga a Rauhoto and is translated as 'The Flight Path of Rauhoto'.

The gap between the Pouakai and Kaitake ranges is Te Whitinga o Rauhoto, as that is her flight path. The dome-like hill on the north flank of Pouakai is Puke Te Whiti (the area now known as Pukeiti). In 1948, after a visit to the hill, the Parihaka elders said: "Puke Te Whiti is the sacred centre of Taranaki culture. It stands as a sentinel guarding the flight path of Rauhototapairu and is guardian to the past, the present and the future. When we pass on, our spirit begins its journey by retracing the flight path of Rauhoto."

(Hohaia 2001:11)

Hohaia attributes this kōrero to unnamed elders from Parihaka elders in 1948. The hill apparently received this name after Te Toka a Rauhoto had led Taranaki maunga to its present location. The stone then flew around Pouakai maunga, through the gap between Patuha and Pouakai and over the hill until it alighted next to the Hangatahua awa. This explanation for the name of the hill has entered into public discourse and is reproduced on the walls of the information centre at Pukeiti. However there was also an old track¹³⁵ that went through the gap and past Pukeiti. A possible meaning of the name could therefore refer to the trail and with this information it is possible to translate the name 'Te Whitinga a Rauhoto' as 'The Crossing of Rauhoto'.

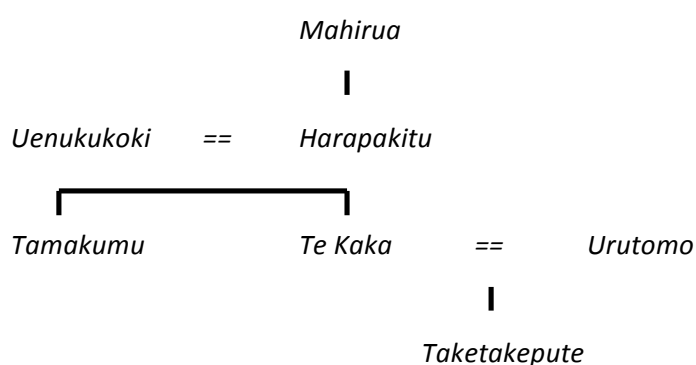
¹³³ Refer to MAP 4 in Chapter One.

¹³⁴ The Charles Bailey Scholarship is the premier scholarship of PKW and is granted to a postgraduate student over a period of three years. PKW award thousands of dollars a year to Taranaki uri and children/mokopuna of shareholders.

¹³⁵ This is the forerunner of the modern road that passes through the ranges and past Pukeiti.

In generations past Puke Te Whiti was inhabited by the Kāhui Atua until the warrior brothers Mahirua and Mahikeke forced them to leave. Mahirua and his twin brother Mahikeke were descendants of both Kāhui and Kurahaupō bloodlines, and they lived on Te Iringaniu peak where they had gardens and papakāinga. I have part of a tātai whakapapa that shows my descent from Mahirua and I have included a section of it. Unfortunately the whakapapa is not complete and does not show the ascending ancestors of Mahirua. The brothers Te Kaka and Tamakumu were influential ancestors, and Tamakumu married the tohunga wahine Rahiri-mihia from the line of Haupoto. Ngāti Haupoto was the hapū of Te Kāhui Kararehe and incidentally my grandmother's hapū.¹³⁶ We descend from Taketakepute.

WHAKAPAPA 20¹³⁷



Mahirua and Mahikeke were influential tūpuna of their day. They claimed Patuha maunga by defeating the Kāhui Atua¹³⁸ and forcing them off the maunga. Mahirua and Mahikeke also nurtured and protected the kumara gardens and seed stock that fed the whole of Taranaki. Gradually they challenged and defeated the Kāhui Atua, who were at that time occupying Pukeiti. The Kāhui Atua were issued an ultimatum: They could either leave the area and settle in the south or they had to fight. Most of the hapū chose to travel south and became Ngāti Atua and Ngāti Tamaahuroa (of Ngā Ruahinerangi iwi). The remainder fought and were defeated by Mahirua and Mahikeke's forces (Hohaia 2001)

WAIATA 17

Whakaahu o mata ki runga Pouakai

Display your shadow upon Pouakai

¹³⁶ In Chapter 1 I gave a tātai whakamoe for my whānau. My grandmother was Nita Taaneroa Cunningham and she married Lesley Komene Ngāwhare.

¹³⁷ This whakapapa was given to me by my grandmother's brother Jim Cunningham.

¹³⁸ I have often wondered why Mahirua and Mahikeke forced the Kāhui Atua off the maunga. Some say that it was a naked land grab. However I wonder if it was more that the Kāhui Atua had the temerity to call themselves atua. Hohaia (2001) claimed all the Kāhui Atua were tapu. In Taranaki there is a long tradition of people being brought down from self proclaimed deification and I wonder if this was another example.

<i>Ko te pou tēnā nō tūpuna o te Kahui Pou</i>	<i>That is the post from your ancestors of the Kahui Pou And carried onto Patuha</i>
<i>Utaina ki runga o Patuha</i>	
<i>Ko tē rakau tēnā a ō tīpuna a Mahirua A Mahikeke</i>	<i>That is the tree of your ancestors Mahirua And Mahikeke</i>
<i>Nāna i huna te Kahui Atua</i>	<i>They destroyed the Kahui Atua</i>

(Tutu MS: 8; Translation Ngāwhare-Pounamu)¹³⁹

The name Puke Te Whitinga a Rauhoto, and the narrative that accompanied it, was unknown by many at Puniho Pā. Either this is a situation where Puniho forgot this kōrero and Parihaka retained it, or this information was a Ngāti Haupoto version relating to the hill. Minarapa did state that in the gardens of Moana Tahora (at the mouth of the Timaru awa) the people would plant their kumara facing Pukeiti (Skinner MS). This could be because Pukeiti was due east from Otaunui and kumara were planted facing the sunrise, or that the hill was a sacred place. When Skinner sketched the face of Te Toka a Rauhoto, he noted that the stone was facing Pukeiti.

6.6. Wānanga 3: 25 March 2013

Discovering a radio version of the Travelling Mountain Narrative, this became the centrepiece of wānanga 3. This was recorded and broadcast by Radio New Zealand as the radio-show *Ngā Maunga Tārewarewa: The Restless Mountains* (1977). This version of the Travelling Mountain Narrative is a smithed together from dialogue supplied by various kaumātua from Tūwharetoa and Taranaki and their mana gives value to the kōrero. Furthermore the three Taranaki kaumātua listed in the credits were considered pūkōrero in their generation and connect to Puniho Pā, and who have long since passed away. In the first half of the show the narrator outlines the Travelling Mountain Narrative with asides from kaumātua adding information throughout the show: the second half gives information about Taranaki's moods and Te Toka a Rauhoto.

The verbatim transcript for the Travelling Mountain Narrative is reproduced in appendix 1. As a radio show the transcript of the text was not included in the narrative analysis. The recording alternates between the narrator Marama Martin¹⁴⁰ and kaumātua. These kaumātua are not named in the

¹³⁹ The manuscript notebook of these Taranaki waiata was written by Tutu of Taranaki, and given to Smith as security for a loan. Tutu committed suicide at Warea in 1915.

¹⁴⁰ Marama Martin (Te Ati Awa) was born and raised in New Plymouth and was a trained teacher. She became a continuity announcer for the NZBC on radio and television. Marama also holds the distinction of being the first person shown in colour television in New Zealand in 1973.

audio, although they are credited at the end of the recording. However listening to the audio, we were able to distinguish who were the speakers from Taranaki. From Taranaki were the speakers Mohi Wharepouri, Wiki Hau and Melville Manu. All three of these speakers were from Taranaki Tūturu, Ngā Mahanga and Puniho Pā. From Taupo were Tui Tuwhare, John Hoani Wall, Blanch and Taxi Kapua (presumably Ngāti Tuwharetoa). From Rotorua was Miru Te Tomo. The volcanologist was Vincent Neill (Massey University) and the historians were Brian Scanlan and Rigby Allen (both from New Plymouth). Therefore they are labelled either 'koroua' or 'kuia' in the transcript text.

Like all the other Taranaki versions, this version of the Travelling Mountain Narrative makes reference to Te Toka a Rauhoto as the guidestone of the mountain. For the people in attendance, this recording was fascinating. Moreover most of us were able to hear the voices of tūpuna who have since passed on. Following up on this kōrero was a discussion around Minarapa Kahukura Makuru using material I had found from the Skinner manuscript.¹⁴¹

6.7. Wānanga 4: 12-13 April 2013

Traditionally kokowai (ochre) was applied to Te Toka a Rauhoto. This tikanga was practised by earlier generations in order to honour the rock and to protect it from the elements, lichen and moss. Back in the planning stages of wānanga 1, I put the idea to my cousins to search for kokowai and we agreed that not only would it be a good kaupapa but also a good way for us to reconnect to the maunga by climbing it in search for this resource. This wānanga was to be in two parts: 1) we would meet on Friday evening and go over material relating to kokowai; 2) on Saturday morning we would walk up the maunga and look for kokowai ourselves.

Ochre or iron oxide (ferrihydrate) is a naturally forming substance which is found in volcanic regions, and therefore on Taranaki maunga. A known source of ochre was at the springs at the headwaters of the Kokowai Stream on the northern side of the maunga.¹⁴² This awa is covered with a yellow pigment for several hundred metres from the source. When collected and heated, the ochre reddens and a range of colours can be obtained, from brownish yellow to red (Childs, Wells & Downes 1986). An example of an earlier expedition to Kokowai Springs came from Dieffenbach's notes on his attempt to climb the maunga. He relates the excitement and industry of the Māori in his party around collecting this resource.

¹⁴¹ Kōrero about Minarapa Kahukura Makuru can be found in Chapter 3.3.

¹⁴² See Map 3, point 15.

We encamped on the bank of the left branch of the Waiwakaio [Waiwhakaiho] amidst trees of the Leptospermum species. Our resting-place--which, from finding the boiling-point to be 207 deg. Fahrenheit, while the mean temperature of the air was 57 deg., I calculated to be 2699 feet above the level of the sea was the utmost limit of the excursions of the natives: at this spot they obtain the best sort of kokowai in the bed of the river, which was for some distance quite yellow from a solution in its waters of this ochreous substance, which glazed the rocks with a metallic coating. Immediately on our arrival our native companions set to work to make baskets of rushes and flax-leaves, for the carriage of this muddy ochre, which they dug out from swamps formed by the Waiwakaio at its banks. This substance was afterwards slowly dried at the fire, and, by further burning and preparing, a fine vermilion was obtained, which they carried home as an acceptable present to their families.

(Dieffenbach 1843: 159)

The ochre when dried was used for many purposes. It was commonly mixed with fat, oil or berry juice into a reddish pigment which could then be painted on buildings, waka, bones, taonga, weapons, weaving and human skin. The colour red was generally regarded as a chiefly colour: therefore the practical application of kokowai to the human body was usually reserved for people of chiefly rank (Petrie 2011). Ochre was a valuable resource and the purer sources were highly sought after. The premier source of ochre on Taranaki maunga was found at the Kokowai Springs, just above the old papakāinga Karaka-tonga.

Kokowai and mana whenua were the cause of the battle of Kurukurumahe between Taranaki and Te Atiawa at Karaka-tonga. Percy Smith placed the narrative in the time of Awhipapa, who was married to Kamate. Kamate was the child of Raumati-nui-a-tau. Raumati was the child of Tamaahua of the Kurahaupō. Therefore this battle took place three generations after the arrival of the Kurahaupō into the region. Smith also claimed that other leading men of Karaka-tonga were Tara-paoa, Kahu-kura-nui, Kahu-kura-roa, Kahu-kura-pirau, Kahu-kura-porewarewa, Tama-heia and Awhipapa. Te Ati Awa were led by Tama-whereo-kaka-ruku, Tama-whereo-kaka-nui and Tū-whaka-momo-rangi. During the battle, the people of Karaka-tonga cast mahe, or stone fishing net sinkers, at their opponents (Smith 1908). Ailsa Smith found this excerpt from Taurua Minarapa relating to the event.

Ko Karaka-tonga te pā kei raro i hēnei maunga, te parekura a Taranaki raua ko Te Atiawa. Ko Kurukurumahe te whenua. Ka mate a Te Atiawa ki konei; he kaiā kokoai a Te Atiawa.

Karaka-tonga was the pā to the north of these mountains, the battleground of Taranaki and Te Ati Awa. Kurukurumahe was this ground. Te Ati Awa were defeated here; they were kokowai thieves.

(Smith 1993: 35)

The application of kokowai to Te Toka a Rauhoto implies that the rock was treasured and of great value. This was an old tikanga no longer practised at Puniho. The last time the kokowai was applied was in the late 1980s. I went to see an uncle about his expedition to find kokowai in the 80s and he marked out on a map where he found a kokowai spring and explained how he had prepared it. He also mentioned that ochre comes down the Hangatahua awa in rock form, and it can be found in this state in many other places. However, the clay ochre was usually the easiest and purest to work with.

Traditionally kokowai was burnt over a fire in order to get the valuable red colour. In its natural state it appears to be orange or yellow. There were several methods the old people would use to prepare the kokowai. One method was to weave a flax mat, then the mat was placed in the river it would soak up kokowai. The mat was then burnt over the fire and the granules collected. Another method was the use of pumice rocks, cut in half, and then placed into the hottest part of the fire to burn. When the desired colour was reached the kokowai was mixed with shark oil to create a paint like substance. Then another additive needed to be added to allow it to 'fix itself' to the rock. One ingredient was poroporo juice, when squeezed from steamed poroporo leaves it creates a glue like substance. The poroporo juice helps the kokowai adhere to rock. My inquiries found no one in Taranaki practicing this tikanga anymore and I am experimenting with the different ways of preparing kokowai.

The majority of people who came to wānanga 4 had not seen kokowai or ochre before. Fortunately I had a small jar of Australian ochre given to me by an Aboriginal walking man to show them. The session started off by showing examples of rock art from Otago before going into the different categories of kokowai that could be found and its scientific background. We covered the traditional usages of kokowai and I fielded many questions from the participants. I had made clear at the start of the session that my answers would be academic, as the information I had was from my own research and not experience. We also planned the expedition the next day. We would go to the top of Puniho Road, to the beginning of the Puniho track, which we would then follow to the Hangatahua

awa where we would split up and look for signs of kokowai. After all I had a fair idea of where we could find it, but we would still need to look for it. We would return to the pā by 4pm in the afternoon. Many of my cousins were staying overnight at the pa, so I left them there to return to my home down the road.

It rained on Saturday morning. When I awoke, I checked the maunga (as I usually did) and it was obscured by cloud. When I left home, I drove up to the end of Puniho Road to the beginning of the track. Somehow it was even wetter and colder. Standing at the base of the maunga, I got the feeling that we should not go up. Furthermore who wants to tramp in the rain if they can help it? You tend to get soaking wet in the first ten minutes and you remain wet throughout the journey. I made a decision and returned to the pā and told my cousins that we would not be going up the maunga that day. This happened to be fortunate because a pregnant cousin and her young children had turned up and the track would not have been suitable for them. Because we did not want to waste the day we visited Ngaweka Pā instead, because many of the cousins had not been there either. Ngaweka Pā, as discussed earlier, was an important fortification of Ngā Mahanga and was the site of victory over a Ngā Puhi raiding party. Furthermore Minarapa once lived there with other tūpuna of the people gathered for the wānanga. It rained while we explored Ngaweka, but at least we were able to drive up to the pā gates and were sheltered by the heavy bush inside the pā. As the group was leaving, I detoured to the Hangatahua awa. In the cliff overlooking the awa, I saw evidence of ochre in the clay. Because Ngaweka pā is an urupā, and therefore a wāhi tapu, the ochre was sacrosanct and I left it. As a rōpu, we reset the kokowai expedition date to 27 April. It rained again on that day and the expedition was postponed a second time.

Taranaki maunga is dangerous. Eighty people have died on the maunga since 1891 when 'official' records began (McMurray 2013). The experience of climbers is irrelevant if you do not respect the maunga. When the weather turns, the mountain becomes treacherous.

When its raining, he must be crying. You know, to put the word right, pōuri kerekere means, he's got a bad feeling, a funny feeling when he's like that, he's wild when he's like that. That's what the old people used to say. Pōuri kerekere.

(Wharepouri in Ngā Maunga Tārewarewa 1977)

Belief in the tapu of the maunga, or belief in one's own skill, is insignificant when the weather turns wild. Observing weather patterns around the maunga is recommended. I was once told about my grandfather fishing off the Taranaki coast. He would only sail out if he could see the mountain. When

at sea he kept an eye on the maunga, and if he saw clouds gathering and obscuring the maunga, and depending on which way the wind was blowing, he would sail in. I decided to follow the same advice and only climb if the maunga was visible. The old people knew that climbing on the maunga when it was pōuri kerekere is dangerous and to be avoided, and the weather on the maunga effects the region around it.

On Friday 10 May I woke up early and looked out my bedroom window at the maunga. There was a bit of cloud around the maunga but it was at high altitude. More importantly, I could see the peak. I checked the weather forecast, and there was rain for the afternoon and evening but the morning should be fine. Although it was not a perfect day, I resolved to climb the mountain. As prepared as possible, I drove to the end of Upper Puniho Road to the boundary of the National Park and beginning of the Puniho Track. Taking a moment to compose myself, I offered mihi and karakia to the maunga. As it turned out, this was what Wharepouri also did before climbing the maunga.

Wharepouri: *You see, we can't go onto the mountain and do what we like. We must pray, we must say something.*

Narrator: *What do you say? Can you tell me what you say in Maori?*

Wharepouri: *Well yeah. Haere mai mātou ki te toro mai a koe e koro, kia tau te rangimarie ki a koe, kua e karo, aroha mai āu mokopuna.*

Narrator: *What would that mean? Can you tell me in English?*

Wharepouri: *Be kind to us our mountain, we [are] your grandchildren, your grandchild, and look after us, that's what that means. Kia ora.*

Narrator: *So you do that first and then you can go up?*

Wharepouri: *Yeah, and like me and anytime now, and like young people now are just like Pākehā, ways now, they please themselves where they go. But in our time we got to pray, we got to say a few words before we go up the mountain.*

(Wharepouri in Ngā Maunga Tārewarewa 1977)

I had walked the track several months earlier in summer, and the track was still in fairly good condition. I reached the Hangatahua awa after an hour of walking in the National Park, and approached the water. As per tikanga, I performed my karakia again and asked for what I was seeking. Within a short time period I found my piece of ochre in rock form. Breaking pieces off I noticed that the ochre became like powder, so I knew I'd found the right rocks. I found several other rocks in different shades and took samples. The weather started to change around midday so I started walking back out. Half an hour to my car, the heavens opened up again and I got soaked. However I was successful and I had samples to experiment on. Furthermore that evening I attended

a hui-a-iwi at Potaka Pā and showed my samples to a cousin who agreed that the rock was similar to what he had heard described by the old people. With this ochre a paste will be made up and applied in the summer. Experiments are ongoing and when the recipe is right, it will be applied to Te Toka a Rauhoto.

6.8. Haerenga ki Taupo: 18-21 June 2013

The Wā-Ātea model explicitly states that the concept of situated spaces or wahi-ātea is integral to locating an event in time and space. An important part of my methodology is that it is difficult to write about a location if one has not actually visited the site. Therefore, I resolved to visit the 'other side' of the Travelling Mountain Narrative: I would visit Pihanga and Taupo. Hopefully I would collect some helpful information in the rohe of Ngāti Tuwharetoa. On Tuesday 18 June I travelled from Auckland to Taupo with the two goals of visiting the places I was writing about and to meet knowledgeable people from Tuwharetoa and Ngāti Rauhoto who were familiar with the Travelling Mountain Narrative, albeit from their perspective.

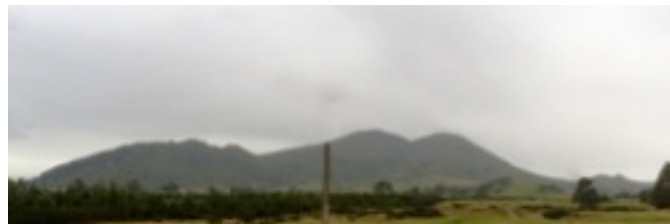
I had names of knowledgeable people in the area to contact. Unfortunately I was not able to meet them at that time. So I decided to throw fortune to the winds by travelling and observing what happened. Most importantly I needed to see Pihanga maunga with my own eyes as I had never visited this maunga. Whilst I was in Taupo I discovered Rauhoto Street on Google Maps. Rauhoto Street is on the northern banks of the Waikato awa, just below Nukuhau marae and belongs to the hapū Ngāti Rauhoto. Rauhoto is an auspicious name so I had to take some photos of Rauhoto Street and its sign for my cousins. I then wandered up the road to the marae. Now, I am not the kind of person to walk onto a strange marae, especially if there is no one present. But I noticed buildings and a car park behind the kitchen, and what looked like Pākehā council workers talking with someone. It seemed that visitors, even waewae tapu, can walk around the back and approach the marae from the direction of the kitchen. So I walked around the back. The council workers directed me to an office where a kuia was working. I asked the kuia if I might have a short conversation and I explained what I was doing and my research. When I told her I was from Puniho Pā, and we are the kaitiaki of Te Toka a Rauhoto. She knew of the stone. She told me she could not help me, but she would ring her nephew who could talk to me. Early the next morning I drove back to Nukuhau Marae and met with the caretaker of the marae. We sat outside the wharekai and talked about their ancestor Rauhoto.

There is little information retained about the first ancestress named Rauhoto. The only information

remembered was that she lived well before the arrival of the Arawa waka, she resided by Lake Rotoaira and she migrated to Taranaki. The second Rauhoto was a descendant of Tia and married Ohomairangi. The third Rauhoto had two husbands: Tutewha and Tuwharetoa-a-Turiroa. Rauhoto III was originally married to Tuwharetoa and bore a child to him. Tutewha and an ope taua from Lake Rotoaira attacked the home of Rauhoto and Tuwharetoa at Ponui Pā, and Rauhoto III escaped by swimming the lake and carrying her child on her back (Waitangi Tribunal 2008; Waitangi Tribunal 2012).

The details of the first Rauhoto were incredibly exciting. Signposts in the Travelling Mountain Narrative point to Rotoaira and the idea that Rauhoto lived there was fascinating. Could this be the missing element that would prove my theory? Unfortunately there were no extant whakapapa for this kuia. In reply to the generosity of the man I was talking with, I spoke about the Taranaki connection of Te Toka a Rauhoto and Rua Taranaki. He had also heard of Te Toka a Rauhoto and showed interest in visiting the toka one day. What could I do but extend an invitation to Ngāti Rauhoto to come to Puniho, where we could discuss the matter further? Although I did not give a koha, there was an even exchange of knowledge between us. I felt a sense of kinship with Ngāti Rauhoto, albeit without knowing any definitive connections between Ngā Mahanga and Ngāti Rauhoto.

PHOTO 15: Tauhara maunga¹⁴³



Tauhara looming over Taupo was the first maunga tupuna in the region that I visited. Unfortunately I could not climb on the maunga as there was a live firing range operated by the New Zealand Defence Force at the end of the access road. At Nukuhau marae they spoke of Tauhara resembling a pregnant woman lying on her back. In the Travelling Mountain Narrative, Tauhara is regarded as ‘the rejected lover’. Tauhara was considered a male and only got as far as his present location because he was constantly looking back at this lover Pihanga. Maunganamu and Motutaiko Island are considered the children of Tauhara and Pihanga by the local hapū Ngāti Tutemohuta (Waitangi Tribunal 2008). Leaving Lake Taupo the next day, I travelled south to Lake Rotoaira.

¹⁴³ This photograph has been altered slightly by removing power lines blocking the view of the maunga.

PHOTO 16: Rotoaira

Lake Rotoaira lies between Tongariro and Pihanga, and is situated to the south of Turangi township. Rotoaira falls within the rohe of Ngāti Hikairo hapū of Ngāti Tuwharetoa. On the northern bank of the lake, just off the main road, is a Māori Reserve containing the papakāinga Opotaka. According to information signs at Opotaka, the village was on the trail between Lake Taupo and Whanganui awa. Across from Opotaka was Motuopahi pā. Rotoaira was celebrated as a pataka kai, a food storehouse, as fish and birds were plentiful and the māra kai were fertile soil.

PEPEHA 4

<i>Ko Tongariro te maunga</i>	<i>Tongariro is the mountain</i>
<i>Ko Rotoaira te moana</i>	<i>Rotoaira is the lake</i>
<i>Ko Motuopahi te pā</i>	<i>Motuopahi is the fortress</i>
<i>Ko Te Wharerangi te tangata</i>	<i>Te Wharerangi is the high chief</i>

(Opotaka Information Board 2013)

Motuopahi on Rotoaira was the settlement of Te Wharerangi. It was Te Wharerangi who sheltered Te Rauparaha from his enemies by hiding the Ngāti Toa rangatira in a pit, and had his wife, Rangikoea (of Ngāti Turangitukura) sit on a covering mat above him. It was in this pit that Te Rauparaha composed the famous haka 'Ka Mate'. Motuopahi is a wāhi tapu and access is prohibited. Opotaka itself is a beautiful place. Ngāti Hikairo have restored the site of Opotaka thereby preserving its archaeological features of rua and house sites.

Because some versions of the Travelling Mountain Narrative assert that Rotoaira was the place where Taranaki once lived, I had no choice but to visit the place. Further research revealed that according to Chris Winitana, Rotoaira also contained its own kaitiaki in the form of Aorangi. And, most importantly, that it was believed that the hollow left by the departure of Taranaki filled with water and became the Rotoaira lake.

According to Chris Winitana's account, before Taranaki left the Central Plateau he took one last stab at Tongariro, puncturing him in the side. Wounded and battle weary, 'Tongariro appealed to Rangi-the-sky for advice and was told to let the essence from his wound flow forth to fill the hollowed basin where Taranaki had once sat'. By doing so, Tongariro would 'ensure that Taranaki would never return'. Rangi also suggested that Tongariro produce a spiritual guardian from within his 'furnace core' as a further precaution against Taranaki's return. This guardian was duly created and named Aorangi. He remains in Rotoaira to this day and continues to both tend to its mauri and ensure its prosperity. According to Mr Winitana, the presence of Aorangi extinguished 'Taranaki's occupationary rights' forever.

(Waitangi Tribunal 2012: 118)

Prior to the arrival of the Arawa and the Tuwharetoa people, Ngāti Hotu and Ngāti Ruakōpiri occupied the area. These two iwi settled a wide area and because they were so dispersed were prone to attack from other groups. These iwi were ousted, subjugated or killed. The Kāhui Maunga Report indicates that knowledge of these two iwi is sparse. Lack of traditions attributed to Ngāti Hotu and Ngāti Ruakōpiri could be because they were conquered or driven away, and their kōrero was subsumed by their conquerors. Peace was sealed between Ngāti Hotu and Ngāti Tuwharetoa when Paepae-tehe married Hineuru of Ngāti Tuwharetoa (Grace 1959; Waitangi Tribunal 2012). On one side of Rotoaira stood Tongariro, on the opposite side, the side I took my photographs from, stood Pihanga.

Pihanga maunga is the female love interest in the Travelling Mountain Narrative. Although I had heard, read and studied stories about this mountain for years, I had never actually visited her. There is a crater lake on Pihanga called Rotopounamu and a Department of Conservation track leads around this lake and is an easy walk from the road. Pihanga is a beautiful maunga. I performed my karakia and mihi at the outset, and told her who I was and where I was from. I felt safe and welcome. This could be because Pihanga is considered to still be in love with Taranaki and that Ngāti Hikairo considers the true relationship was between Pihanga and Taranaki.

PHOTO 17: Pihanga maunga and Lake Rotopounamu

Having been involved with somebody, in a relationship, and meeting their whānau and hearing stories and how its totally accepted that relationship between Pihanga and Taranaki was, from their point of view, was the genuine relationship... That the true love existed between Pihanga and that it still does. And she actually faces this way. And it's to explain their geography as well. And also it explains certain things in terms of our relationship between them and us.

(Karena 2013)

I looked across the lake at Tongariro, that brooding giant of a mountain. Steam was venting from his sides and the maunga seemed to be glowering at me. I choose not to venture any closer to Tongariro. Just in case. I returned to Taranaki that day via the Forgotten World Highway to Whangamomona. But this road travels west from the central plateau, and as I came over a ridge, I could see Taranaki in the distance. So I called out “Tena koe e koro!”

6.9. Wānanga 5: 30 June 2013

Wānanga 5 was combined with a hui-ā-iwi because there were various kaupapa that we needed to discuss with the hapū. The most important kaupapa (I thought) for the wānanga kōhatu would be to erect a small information sign as an output for the Whānau Ora funding, and as a permanent reminder of the Puniho version of the Travelling Mountain Narrative and Te Toka a Rauhoto. This needed to be passed through a duly notified hui-ā-iwi and to ensure that everyone was in agreement. We also invited Kelvin Day, the tumuaki of Pukeariki Museum to speak to us about rock petroglyphs around the coast as well. This was a pertinent kaupapa to gaining an understanding of the relationship between our ancestors and rock, especially when we considered the carving of the rock Te Toka a Rauhoto.

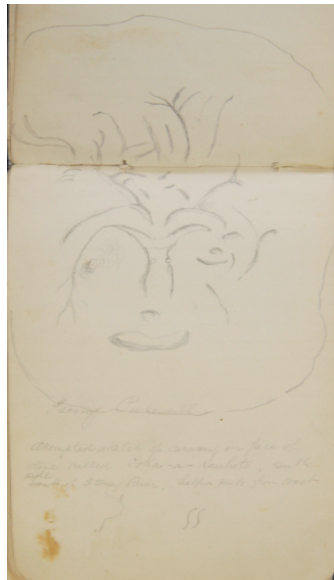
Kelvin Day presented photos he had taken of petroglyphs on the Taranaki coast. Stone petroglyphs are rock carvings on andesite rocks in the rohe. These petroglyphs are only found the rohe of

Taranaki Tūturu. Throughout his career at the Pukeariki Museum (formerly Taranaki Museum), and as an archaeologist, Day has collected information on these valuable artifacts.

The majority of the rocks are in-situ, and some have been covered over by sand.¹⁴⁴ The purpose of the petroglyphs is a mystery but spiral patterns are common across all the stones. Generally the designs are shallow and are 'pecked' out of the volcanic stone (Day 1980). Several theories were put forward about the purpose of the kōhatu. They could represent the relationship of people, or groups. They may carry information on the rohe, or the relative seniority of one group over another (represented by the size of one spiral compared to another). The stones could also have been used to represent boundary markers, have religious significance or mark significant events (Fyfe 1989; Prickett 1981). Unfortunately their purpose is unknown.

The first slide Day showed to the gathering was from the survey notebook of William Skinner depicting the carved face of Te Toka a Rauhoto. Generally it is difficult to make out the face of the rock because of weathering and light. Usually the best time to view it is during rain when the face is wet. This sketch drawn in the 1880s shows the face of the stone. Even though the stone is ever present, for many it was the clearest they had seen the face of the toka.

¹⁴⁴ One of the photos Day showed was for a rock carving at the tide at Tapuwae beach. This is one of a pair. I was told that this rock was carved by an married couple who were great sailors and travelled the ocean, returning home to this place. One day the man went out by himself and died at sea. The second rock's patterns was made by his wife's hair as she wept over his loss. Archeological surveying by Fyfe when the rock was uncovered by sand show that the spiral carving motifs appear to form a stylised human face (Fyfe 1989).

PHOTO 18: Sketch of the face of Te Toka a Rauhoto

(Skinner Fieldbook)

The text at the bottom of the image reads:

Facing Pukeiti. Attempted sketch of carving on face of stone called Toka-a-Rauhoto, south side of Stoney River, half a mile from coast

The stone facing inland towards Pukeiti is a fascinating detail. In 1948, according to Scanlan (1961) the toka was facing the sea. When it was moved to Puniho, the toka was faced towards Taranaki maunga. This suggests that the toka may have been moved to face different locations at different times. My inquiries have not revealed any supporting kōrero.

I followed Day with a short presentation on what we had covered in the wānanga kōhatu series and the plans for an information sign. Because I was not very organised, I had only written up a draft the day before the hui. The sign was split into four paragraphs: 1) An abbreviated form of the Travelling Mountain Narrative; 2) a paragraph about Minarapa Kahu; 3) The relocation of Te Toka a Rauhoto; 4) and a request to respect the stone. This text was heavily debated. Partly, it was my lack of skill and foresight in preparing the text the day before: partly, it was the content. For example I wanted to include in the sign pictures of Minarapa and Te Ao Marama and the hapū decided that the sign didn't need it, and that their pictures were inside Kaimirumiru. We organised another wānanga to discuss this issue when I had made the required changes.

6.10. Wānanga 6: 9 September 2013

The kaupapa for this wānanga was the text of the information sign for Te Toka a Rauhoto. While I had edited the text, I yet knew there were wider issues to be discussed. Being nervous about the text, I knew that the hui would be challenging and I would have to keep a rein on my ego. In attendance was a cousin recognised as a lore-keeper of the hapū. I really wanted his opinion of the text and kōrero about Te Toka a Rauhoto. He did not disappoint me.

According to this kōrero, Rauhoto was a man and Tapairu was his wife and they both descended from Rua Taranaki. Therefore the toka contained both male and female essences. There was another toka that helped lead Taranaki named Te Rauawhi, but that stone is located on the eastern side of the maunga. Furthermore the peak Panitahi (Fanthams Peak) was the child of Taranaki and Pihanga. Panitahi had followed his father to Taranaki and was now carried on the back of Taranaki. All the peaks of the mountain ranges were named after rangatira. And finally the name of Kaimirumiru came from the daughter of Pouakai.

Discussion about sex of the stone is part of a wider debate within the hapū. Most people consider it female, and all of the kuia I have known have referred to the stone as female. I also base my opinion on the name on the plinth as 'Rauhoto Tapairu'. Tapairu is a title given to women of high rank. Whakapapa and lore from Ngāti Rauhoto in Taupo confirmed that Rauhoto was a woman's name. Whakapapa also emphasises that Rauhoto was the wife of Rua Taranaki. Therefore, Te Toka a Rauhoto was female. Those of my cousins who hold to the view that Rauhoto was male also look at the name and note that there is a small mountain placed between Rauhoto and Tapairu. This then signifies that the names of Rauhoto and Tapairu are separate. Furthermore that in our history there was a male ancestor also named Rauhoto.¹⁴⁵

This is an example of internal divergent discourse within the hapū. The simple debate between the male and female aspect of the toka has continued through generations. Through my own research, and what I have been told by my kuia I believe it is female. My other cousins believe it is male. At the end of the day both versions are acceptable because there is no way to definitively prove it one way or another. Accepting that there are divergent views, I have included the concept of Rauhoto being male in the narrative that I tell. Although I have a belief in the female element of the toka (and backed up by my research) I cannot claim to be the sole arbiter of Ngā Mahanga kōrero.

¹⁴⁵ I have yet to view this whakapapa.

When we went through the script I had to delete information and add text where necessary. This was history by committee and hapū. In a way we were adding to the Travelling Mountain Narrative, and therefore to the construction of a grand narrative. However this was our version as kaitiaki of Te Toka a Rauhoto. It was agreed that the sign, whilst containing the Travelling Mountain Narrative, would adhere to Minarapa's version. The text would include information about Minarapa and Te Ao Marama, but their photographs would not be included. We would also include the details of the day the toka was moved to Puniho pā. Finally, we would include a brief request to respect the toka, and that photographs are permitted. However, if the photographs are to be published that the permission of the trustees committee will be sought first.

6.11. Wānanga 7: 14 September 2013

This session was held in association with Pukeariki Museum and involved the return of stone artefacts from Ngā Mahanga to Puniho Pā for the weekend. Negotiations had been taking place between Glen Skipper (kaitiaki Māori at Pukeariki) and myself for several months. Skipper had originally approached me with this proposal as it fitted within a wider initiative of Pukeariki engaging with tribal communities and their taonga. There are many taonga held by Pukeariki Museum that originated from the rohe of Ngā Mahanga a Tairi and we were very excited to be able to touch these taonga once more.

One of the most important stone taonga held by the museum is the stone carving named Hine-o-tanga. Hine-o-tanga¹⁴⁶ is a centrepiece exhibit in the Taonga Māori collection and is located at the front of the whare whakaaro Rua-toki-te-hau. Hine-o-tanga originally came from Pukehoe Pā, a mere 800m from Otaunui (where Te Toka a Rauhoto was located) and was taken from Pukehoe by William Gray and left on the doorstep of William Skinner. Hine-o-tanga is another female tūpuna embodied in stone. Like the whare Rua-toki-te-hau, the stone had travelled around the island and was returned to the pā from the Dominion Museum in 1989.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ Hine-o-tanga was requested for the 1984 Te Māori exhibition in the United States of America. The request was denied and Hine-o-tanga never left Aotearoa.

¹⁴⁷ Phyllis Komene was a kuia of Ngā Mahanga and was instrumental in returning the taonga Hineotanga and the whare Ruatokitehau to Taranaki. When the taonga came back to Puniho, Aunty Phyllis appointed a kaitiaki for Hineotanga, whose duties would include the regular mirimiri of the stone and ensuring the taonga would be kept clean.

PHOTO 19: Hine-o-tanga

The lecture was an open session advertised through the media and by the museum. It was split into four sections: 1) A lecture about Te Toka a Rauhoto from me; 2) A lecture from Glen Skipper on the various stone artifacts in the collection; 3) Kelvin Day presented on stone petroglyphs in Taranaki region; 4) Rock artists Maurie Whitehead and Barry Te Whatu talked about rock art and the Te Kupenga Stone Sculpture Society.

The taonga were delivered by Skipper on Friday morning and would stay at Puniho for the weekend and be picked up on Monday morning. This was the first time I had been involved with doing a whakatau for taonga. When Skipper drove up the driveway he only had one other associate, so those of us who had turned up had to help unload the taonga and take them into the whare Kaimirumiru. There were only a few of us that morning, so us 'young ones' went to the van and each picked up a taonga. Several aunties were there and they called the taonga into the house. We crossed the marae-ātea and entered into the whare, placing the taonga on the floor. We then had to make several trips back and forth until all the taonga had been unloaded and were in Kaimirumiru. We could not welcome one taonga whilst the rest were still in the van and there were not enough people to split up and bring them all into the whare before the whakatau. This was one of those situations where kawa was made to fit the situation. When all the taonga were in the whare we sat down on the paepae. I spoke and welcomed the taonga home, thanking Skipper for facilitating their return. Skipper replied and the ritual of encounter was concluded. The photo below was taken in Kaimirumiru when all taonga were laid out on the floor.

PHOTO 20: Taonga kōhatu in Kaimirumiru**PHOTO 21: Whatumauri**

1 2 3 4



These are whatu mauri that have been found in the rohe of Taranaki Tūturu and Ngā Mahanga hapū. They share a common story of Pākehā 'finding' the taonga and then keeping them from the tangata whenua. The following information was part of a hand-out to all participants to the event. Details were sourced from the Pukeariki artefact catalogue system.

- 1) Was originally a mauri ika and located down Komene Road. It was believed this helped maintain fish stocks, and first catches were brought to the stone. It was found by a Pākehā lady and used as a doorstop. Phyllis Komene discovered it, removed it and deposited the stone in the museum for safekeeping (Pukeariki A96.191)
- 2) This kōhatu whakairo was found by two children on Arawhata Rd, Oaonui in 1930. That night, the children were terrified of 'various events' that evening. A Mr Percy Johnston collected the kōhatu before a group of Māori claimed it and sent it to the museum. For a time afterwards, Māori of the area continued asking for the return of the kōhatu, only to be rebuffed by Johnston (Pukeariki A80.123).

- 3) This kōhatu was found by the mouth of the Timaru awa near Oakura in 1907 by a Pākehā farmer. The kōhatu was placed on the veranda of their house, and one day a group of Māori happened to see it. They became agitated and excited. That night the farmer took it inside. In the morning the flower gardens could be seen to be trampled by men returning for the taonga. The kōhatu was sent into the museum not long after (Pukeariki A78.053).
- 4) The last kōhatu was found on Manawapou Pā, a stronghold of Ngā Mahanga above the Tataraimaka cheese factory. There was no further information for it (Pukeariki A80.124).

These taonga kōhatu are whatu mauri that were taken from the tribal rohe to the museum in the 19th century. This has direct bearing on Te Toka a Rauhoto. If these kōhatu were being taken then it is logical that the old people were concerned about Te Toka a Rauhoto. Protecting the toka by relocating it to Puniho, where there are always people around, ensured that the toka would be looked after. Furthermore placing it in concrete removed the ability for anyone in the future to interfere with it.

During the weekend these taonga were at Puniho Pā they remained in Kaimirumiru. Anyone from the hau kāinga was able to walk in and touch or mirimiri these taonga. There were no restrictions placed upon them. The sessions on Saturday went as well as could be, even though there was only a small crowd of people who attended. Nonetheless this was a valuable experience and an honour to be involved with returning these taonga home, even if it was just for the weekend. Pukeariki Museum are responsible custodians of these taonga and the staff have earned the trust of Ngā Mahanga.

6.12. Puniho Pā Trustees Annual General Meeting (AGM): 8 December 2013

The Annual General Meeting of the Puniho Pā Trustees Committee was held at the beginning of December. During the hui I presented again on my kaupapa and some of the conclusions that I had reached with my research topic. I made it very clear to my aunties, uncles and cousins that the information contained in the thesis, and my conclusions, were my own. Any mistakes were my own. Fortunately my hapū accepted my presentation.

Furthermore an important part of this hui was to finalise the sign text for Te Toka a Rauhoto. Besides a few tweaks, the majority of text was accepted and passed by the hapū. I had also wanted the title to read: Te Toka a Rauhoto and the Travelling Mountain. The Travelling Mountain part was challenged by a cousin, so I withdrew my insistence on it. Upon consideration, I also deleted Te Toka

a Rauhoto from the title. My reasoning being that the sign would be next to the toka and it is obvious the sign text referred to the toka.

SIGN 1

Taranaki maunga once lived with the mountains Tongariro, Ruapehu, Ngauruhoe, Tauhara, Putauaki and Pihanga in the centre of Te Ikaroa a Māui (North Island). Taranaki fell in love with the beautiful wahine Pihanga, but she was desired by other maunga. Conflict over Pihanga tore apart the community. Tongariro was the eventual victor and Taranaki was forced to leave his home. With great sadness Taranaki travelled west and during the journey he was led by the stone Te Toka a Rauhoto. Rauhoto and Taranaki followed the Manganuiateao awa, to the Whanganui awa. They then headed towards the west coast and rested at Ngaere swamp. Their migration journey ended when Taranaki settled next to the two maunga named Pouakai and Patuha. These maunga welcomed Taranaki and he has stood here ever since.

Pukeonaki and Pukehaupapa are earlier names for Taranaki maunga. The whakatauaiki 'Te ahi a Tahurangi: The fire of Tahurangi' commemorates the tupuna Tahurangi claiming the mountain for Taranaki iwi by lighting a ceremonial fire on the summit.

Te Toka a Rauhoto sat between the Hangatahua awa and Werikino awa and for many generations was venerated as the guidestone of Taranaki maunga. A well-known kaitiaki of the stone from Ngā Mahanga was Minarapa Kahukura Makuru.

In 1948 the people of Ngā Mahanga decided that Te Toka a Rauhoto should be moved from where it rested next to Otaunui (on Komene Rd) to Puniho Pā. The tohunga Te Ao Marama was tasked to lift the tapu so that it could be relocated safely. Te Toka a Rauhoto was shifted to its present location on Wednesday 22 December 1948.

Please respect the taonga Te Toka a Rauhoto. Photographs are permitted but please contact the Puniho Pā Trustees Committee if the photographs will be published.

When the sign is placed next to Te Toka a Rauhoto, this will be the narrative read by visitors and locals alike. This is why it was so important that consensus was achieved, because the people of Puniho Pā and Ngā Mahanga had to accept that this narrative would be 'our story'.

6.13. Summary

The wānanga kōhatu was an attempt to gather the information retained in the collective memory of Ngā Mahanga. As the facilitator of the wānanga series, my research and presentation skills were able to contribute to my hapū and the collective memory for our taonga. Even though the wānanga series was held throughout 2013 it did not achieve the primary aim of gathering all the information held in living memory about Te Toka a Rauhoto. Even though the stated aim of the wānanga series was to collect extant information for the benefit of the hapū it is clear that there was much knowledge lost over time, and there are people and whānau who didn't participate who may hold pertinent information. Recovering lost traditions around the toka through the process of wānanga, climbing the maunga, visiting sites of significance and preparing kokowai was part of reconnecting with the maunga.

Living memory evokes the memory of immediate ancestors in the present, this was demonstrated when we talked about the old people. The momentous event of shifting the toka to Puniho was a focal point in the history of the hapū in the 20th century. And the kuia Te Ao Marama was the central figure in the narrative. Fortunately there are still people alive who were present when the toka was moved to Puniho. The invention of Te Ao Marama dying two days after the stone was moved was proven incorrect. This invention is traced directly to its source and is an example of creative writing influencing perceptions of history. The belief in the fatal tapu of Te Toka a Rauhoto when the stone was down Komene Road also appears to be a similar construction based on an event in the past when an ope taua attempted to take the stone. Instead of a supernatural cause of death for those men, it was because they were chased down by the tūpuna of Ngā Mahanga. This belief of the tapu could have been a way of preserving the toka by placing it under a tapu of such magnitude that it was believed a person would die if they touched it. Belief in the tapu of the stone was commonplace, and the belief gave power to the restriction.

Te Toka a Rauhoto is a venerated taonga of the hapū and the iwi and its story is intertwined with the maunga. Although it is not possible to categorically assert the connection between the toka and the woman Rauhoto Tapairu, the intertwining of the toka and tūpuna resembles the same process of anthropomorphic personification of Rua Taranaki and Taranaki maunga. As kaitiaki of the toka Ngā Mahanga are committed to preserving this taonga. Even though there is a continuing theme of knowledge loss evident in the wānanga kōhatu the toka continues to be the taonga that the people gather around. Ultimately the association between hapū and toka symbolises the connection

between hapū and maunga. Through the relationship between Te Toka a Rauhoto and Taranaki maunga, and the siting of the toka at Puniho Pā, the Travelling Mountain Narrative is given meaning in the present.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

Te Toka a Rauhoto Tapairu is the relic connecting the Travelling Mountain Narrative, the ancestors of the Kāhui Maunga and the people of Ngā Mahanga. As the guidestone and anchor of the maunga, the toka connects the mythological time of Te Ao Tuawhakarere and the present in Te Ao Hurihuri. The grand narrative of the mountain intertwines the supernatural and the natural, the myth and the history of the man, Rua Taranaki. Exploring the contested spaces between divergence and tribal traditions retained in literature enabled this thesis to collate, analyse and theorise about the Travelling Mountain Narrative and the migration journey of Rua Taranaki. This thesis affirms the interconnectedness of maunga and tūpuna. Moreover it is likely that the migration journey of Rua Taranaki was later mythologised as the Travelling Mountain Narrative of Taranaki maunga.

Biggs (2006) and Marsden & Henare (1992) asserted that there are old traditions that can be considered as allegorical with levels of information hidden in plain language. Taking this statement as representing a pattern and means of retaining and transmitting history through myth cycles, I set out to remove the metaphoric and supernatural from the narrative in order to unveil the history of the ancestor. Although the risk that this thesis will be seen as repeating early efforts by ethnographers to strip the mythical and supernatural from the historical to reveal the 'truth' is a very real concern. This has been done before by early ethnographers like Smith and Best who thought that by dividing myth from the history, they were reconstructing Māori tribal traditions for a Pākehā audience. Nonetheless, this thesis was an attempt to critically analyse the narrative versions of the Travelling Mountain Narrative in order to study the mountain and the ancestor.

Rua Taranaki is the eponymous tupuna of the iwi Taranaki Tūturu. When Rua Taranaki arrived in the region the name of the maunga was Pukeonaki. To honour the ancestor and claim the whenua the name Taranaki was given to the maunga and the iwi descending from him. In later generations the name would encompass the entire region and become an umbrella term for all iwi in the shadow of the mountain. Unfortunately only remnants of history regarding Rua Taranaki were retained and the majority of literature information relating to Rua Taranaki comes from Te Kāhui Kararehe. While the name of Rua Taranaki was remembered, it was as a distant founding ancestor. The Travelling Mountain Narrative was the narrative repeated and retold to each generation as the origin of the mountain on the west coast.

Outside of Taranaki the popularity of the narrative demonstrates that the Travelling Mountain Narrative was a tradition known around the island Te Ikaroa a Māui, albeit with different characters in the lead roles. For example the narrative is shared with the iwi of the Whanganui awa, Ngāti Tuwharetoa and the Mataatua waka and includes many of the significant mountains of the North Island. While each iwi grouping elevated their maunga into key roles, all agree that conflict over a woman divided the maunga community. This resulted in a forced migration of maunga to the west (Taranaki), to the north (Tauhara) and to the north-east (Putauaki) with the rest (Pihanga, Tongariro, Ruapehu and Ngauruhoe) remaining in the central plateau region. Specific details pertaining to the Taranaki region, like the inclusion of Te Toka a Rauhoto and the two maunga Pouakai and Patuha, locate the Taranaki version of the narrative within the rohe.

Twenty-eight published and non-published versions of the narrative were collated as a database. Collation of the published versions of the Travelling Mountain Narrative started with the first published version in 1843 by Ernest Dieffenbach through to 2008. Analysis of the versions of the Travelling Mountain Narrative revealed a story pattern to the narrative structure. Following the trail laid out in the structural framework of Mokena (2005) I set out four connected motifemes relating to the structure of the narrative. Moreover this story pattern can also be used to structure internal and external migrations to and within Aotearoa, with each motifeme able to be expanded to contain other common details. For example this story pattern is replicated in the migration narratives of the Kurahaupō, the Aotea and other ancestral voyaging waka. The story pattern as outlined in this thesis is simple, but continued testing can expand on the story pattern so each motifeme can be divided again to include other aspects of individual migration journeys. The migration journey story pattern contained the motifemes of:

- 1. Papa-pūtake (Homeland)**
- 2. Pakanga (Conflict)**
- 3. Hekenga (Journey)**
- 4. Papa-whenua (Settlement)**

Inserting the common details of the versions of the Travelling Mountain Narrative into the story pattern revealed common elements across variations. At this point, the Travelling Mountain Narrative is analysed as a myth narrative by itself. The supernatural aspects and personification of maunga tupuna as living, communicating and moving beings was a common vehicle within mātauranga Māori. Nonetheless the maunga, as an entity in itself, was mapped out in this story pattern.

TABLE 11: Migration Narrative Story Pattern: Taranaki maunga

1. Papa-pūtaka	Taranaki maunga lived in the central North Island as part of a community of mountains around Rotoaira.
2. Pakanga	Conflict erupts amidst the community over a female maunga. Taranaki fights, is defeated and then exiled.
3. Hekenga	Taranaki departs his home and travels to the West Coast following named routes with Te Toka a Rauhoto as the guide.
4. Papa-whenua	The maunga settles on the west coast next to Pouakai and Patuha. By invitation. This land becomes his home.

As can be seen, the Travelling Mountain Narrative follows a sequence of events that result in Taranaki maunga settling on the west coast. However the primary research question of this thesis was if the Travelling Mountain Narrative was the mythologised migration journey of Rua Taranaki and the other tūpuna of the Kāhui Maunga. For example the Kāhui Maunga were said to have travelled overland to Taranaki and were among the earliest inhabitants of the Taranaki region (Hongi 1896; Keenan 1994; Smith 1907). Furthermore the Kāhui Ao, Kāhui Pō, Kāhui Pou and Kāhui Atua were hapū that settled on the maunga itself, building villages in the alpine heights (Broughton 1984; Hohaia 2001; Smith 2001). This begged the question of where did Rua Taranaki and the early ancestors of the Kāhui Maunga walk from?

The strongest piece of early nineteenth writing that refers to a migration journey of these people comes from Matiaha from Heretaunga. This information is significant because it states that Maruwakatare (and others) travelled on a migration journey from Rotoaira to the west coast, that he then sanctified Pukeonaki through karakia, and it was after this time that Rua Taranaki was married (Matiaha 1858). Put together with the other evidence collated through the Wā-Ātea, the information constructs a persuasive argument using the four aspects of the model (wā-ukiuki, pūwhakamahara, wāhi-ātea and kōrerorero) to arrange the fragments of kōrero tuku iho.

Wā-Ukiuki whakapapa

Whakapapa containing Rua Taranaki and Rauhoto Tapairu were sourced from Te Kāhui Kararehe and published by Smith (1907; 1910) and Hohaia (2003; 2010). Although there are slight differences in the versions they are the only examples of Rua Taranaki's tātai whakapapa. Within the Travelling Mountain Narrative there are no parents given for the maunga. The mountain's descendants seem to include everything including clouds, water, birds and people. The lack of tātai whakapapa is contrary to a mātauranga understanding of genealogical origins. However one of the last whakapapa that Te Miringa Hohaia related before he died outlined the whakapapa of Rauhoto Tapairu. In that whakapapa Maruwakatare was the father of Rauhoto, Rua Taranaki was her husband and Tahurangi was one of her children, the youngest in fact. Another interesting reference point are the Kāhui Rua as a collection of men named Rua who were either connected through blood, name or deeds. Rua Taranaki was elevated to this group. Unfortunately there are relatively few whakapapa that relate to the earliest ancestors of Taranaki. Neither were there any whakapapa tables that could be traced down to the present. This phenomenon can specifically be attributed to the loss of knowledge in the nineteenth century, albeit Kararehe was attempting to record information for future generations.

Pūwhakamahara

Strangely there is a dearth of waiata (composed in the 19th century) or whakatauākī relating to Rua Taranaki or Rauhoto in Taranaki tribal tradition. Considering the elevation of Rua Taranaki as the eponymous ancestor of the iwi it is peculiar that more information was not retained about the man. This phenomenon is replicated with the stone Te Toka a Rauhoto. Instead waiata and whakatauākī refer to Rua Taranaki's contemporaries Maruwakatare and Tahurangi, with Tahurangi taking a prominent role in the history of the iwi. As the man who named the maunga by climbing to the peak and lighting a fire of possession, Tahurangi was also elevated to an important ancestor. Maruwakatare was attributed the role of tohunga during the naming ceremony.

Wāhi-ātea

The primary association between these tūpuna and situated sites on the maunga is at the settlement Karaka-tonga on the northern side of the mountain. Waiata composed in the nineteenth century relate that Karaka-tonga, Kaimirumiru and Tarawainuku were associated with a catastrophic event, although the details are lost. The burial cave of Te Ana a Tahatiti was where Rua Taranaki was buried, and this then became a burial place for other rangatira of Taranaki. Minarapa was the last

person to bury a person here. Near to Te Ana a Tahatiti is the waterfalls named after Tahurangi, Te Rere a Tahurangi.¹⁴⁸ Rauhoto was memorialised in the hill of Pukeiti and the trail Puke Te Whitinga a Rauhoto. And of course the mountain itself was named after Rua Taranaki. In relation to the Travelling Mountain Narrative, a crucial point made by Matiaha states that Maruwakatare and Rua Taranaki were from Rotoaira in the central plateau of Te Ikaroa a Māui. Moreover all the Travelling Mountain Narratives place Taranaki as living in this region, and Best (1924), Taylor (1855) and Wiritana (Waitangi Tribunal 2012) stated that Taranaki lived at Rotoaira. The fact that these people once lived in a mountainous region of the central plateau, and then their settlement on the maunga of Taranaki, indicates that these people were accustomed to living on or around mountains.

Kōrerorero

Besides the Travelling Mountain Narrative there is only one narrative relating to a migration journey of Rua Taranaki and company. The excerpt from Matiaha in 1858 is significant because it specifically sites Rotoaira as the place from whence those tūpuna originated from. However it is very peculiar that there are no further narratives recording the migration journey of the Kāhui Maunga. As the form most used to pass on history the spoken narratives should have retained the journey of Rua Taranaki over generations. The lack of narratives for these tūpuna is suggestive of either lost knowledge or transformation of the historical narrative into myth.

The historical information about the tūpuna in Taranaki tribal tradition can be found in three aspects of the Wā-Ātea model: wā-ukiuki, pū-whakamahara and wāhi-ātea. However there is a lack of narrative to support these tūpuna. Bearing in mind the fragmented nature of the tribal traditions, and the loss of knowledge over the nineteenth century, the available information nonetheless supports the hypothesis. Taking the summaries of the three aspects about the tūpuna and applying it to the story pattern shows obvious gaps in motifemes of Pakanga and Hekenga. Therefore there were no reasons for conflict, or cause of migration, nor was there a narrative of the migration journey itself.

TABLE 12: Migration Narrative Story Pattern: Rua Taranaki

1. Papa-pūtaka	Rotoaira.
2. Pakanga	No reason for migrating to the west coast
3. Hekenga	No details of the journey, nor which route was taken
4. Papa-whenua	The people settle on Taranaki maunga at Karaka-tonga

¹⁴⁸ There are other places scattered around the maunga named after Tahurangi, however it is uncertain if these names were recent additions.

Maruwhakatare recites karakia and erects pou, Tahurangi climbs the maunga and lights a ceremonial fire of possession. Rua Taranaki is buried in Te Ana a Tahatiti. The maunga is renamed from Pukeonaki to Taranaki.

Contrasting the two tables of the Travelling Mountain Narrative and the traditions retained for the ancestors Rua Taranaki, Tahurangi and Maruwhakatare, and based on the collected evidence of this thesis, there are six fundamental facts that can be ascertained.

1. The Travelling Mountain Narrative is a widespread narrative among disparate tribal groupings.
2. The narrative is structured in a common migration journey story pattern and this story pattern can be applied to other migration journeys, including the Kurahaupō and the Aotea.
3. In the Travelling Mountain Narrative, Taranaki maunga and Te Toka a Rauhoto do not have whakapapa. This is in direct contrast with the notion that all things in Te Ao Māori had a genealogy. However Rua Taranaki and Rauhoto Tapairu possess a whakapapa.
4. Whakapapa, waiata, whakatauākī, place names and references in 19th century literature are retained for Rua Taranaki, Maruwhakatare and Tahurangi.
5. Rauhoto Tapairu was memorialised in Te Toka a Rauhoto Tapairu.
6. Matiaha states that they came from Rotoaira and the Kāhui Maunga were known to have walked to the region, but there are no details relating to a migration journey.

Therefore the information collated in this thesis points to two possibilities. The first scenario is that the Travelling Mountain Narrative and the narrative of Rua Taranaki are two separate and unconnected accounts. The Travelling Mountain Narrative itself is a myth constructed to explain the origin of the maunga, and its relationship with Ruapehu, Tongariro and Pihanga. As a myth, the narrative sets out ancient connections and lessons inherent in love, conflict and exile. Understandably, this thesis did not have the space to survey other tribal traditions as deeply as Taranaki tribal traditions, and how they intertwine with the Travelling Mountain Narrative. This is a fascinating study in itself, and future research will explore the intersection of these concepts and other tribal traditions.

The second scenario is that the Travelling Mountain Narrative is the missing narrative of the journey of Rua Taranaki. Rua Taranaki and other members of the Kāhui Maunga definitely migrated from

someplace and settled in the region. Inserting human ancestors into the narrative, Rua Taranaki was led by Rauhoto and travelled from Rotoaira and Taupo following the Manganuiateao awa to the Whanganui awa and from there to the west coast. Arriving at the west coast he met with inhabitants already present in the region. Marrying into the tangata whenua, Rua Taranaki then settles on the maunga. His son then renames the maunga Taranaki. In whakapapa derived from Kararehe and Hohaia, Rua Taranaki was married to Rauhoto Tapairu. Their youngest child was Tahurangi.

If the second scenario of Rua Taranaki being the origin of the Travelling Mountain Narrative is correct, then the narrative itself was mythologised over generations and the tūpuna Rua Taranaki became personified in the maunga that bore his name. These whakapapa relationships imply that the Travelling Mountain Narrative was based on the lives of human ancestors. Moreover central to the Taranaki versions of the Travelling Mountain Narrative is the guidestone Te Toka a Rauhoto. Although the toka is only mentioned in Taranaki, both the Ngāti Haupoto and Ngā Mahanga versions explicitly state the importance of the stone in leading the maunga to its present location. Honoured in stone with carved petroglyphs depicting her face, Te Toka a Rauhoto Tapairu raises another mystery: Is the stone the carved image representing the woman Rauhoto Tapairu? Therefore if the Travelling Mountain Narrative tells the migration journey of Rua Taranaki, then Rauhoto may have been his paearahi, the guide who led the man to the mountain.

Because the Travelling Mountain Narrative is an origin myth of the iwi and hapū of the Taranaki region I had to be sensitive and respectful in the research and writing of this thesis. This was especially important when writing about Te Toka a Rauhoto. Te Toka a Rauhoto is a sacred stone with a direct link to the maunga and the Travelling Mountain Narrative. For generations the mana, tapu and mystique of the toka ensured that it remained relevant to each generation and was the connection between the people and the maunga. Ngā Mahanga as kaitiaki of the toka have ensured that the toka was protected. Once again there is divergence in the information retained about the toka by the hapū. Some whānau say the stone was female and others say that it is male. Some say that the stone is the personification of a tūpuna, whereas others say that the stone is its own entity in itself. While my theory has been contested on the pā, and is by no means fully accepted, I can yet assert that my theory about the Travelling Mountain Narrative is a version that must be considered.

The story of the stone also contains events that may offer clues to the wider narrative myth construction and mythologisation of the narrative. For example there are two events in the last two hundred years that demonstrate how the supernatural and myth can grow around an artefact. First

was the attempted theft of the toka during the Musket Wars. The thieves all died and the stone returned to its resting place. From this event grew the fear that the tapu of the toka would kill a person. Instead of magic and tapu intervening to defeat the thieves, the prosaic explanation is that Ngā Mahanga had realised the toka had been taken, chased down the thieves and killed them all, and retrieved the toka. However this event was attributed to the tapu of the stone, thereby increasing its mana. The second example was the attempt by Hohaia to invent the date of Te Ao Marama's death. Te Ao Marama, as the tohunga who removed the tapu of the toka so it could be moved safely in 1948, was a significant tūpuna from Te Ao Hurihuri. On one hand, her death two days after removing the tapu of the stone adds to the narrative and mystique of the toka. On the other hand, this date was fabricated and Te Ao Marama died two years later. Because it was published, we have visitors to Puniho Pā who repeat this incorrect fact. Contributing to contestation between Ngāti Haupoto and Ngā Mahanga versions this is a modern example of how easy it is to grow a myth, and how invention can be accepted as fact.

The contemporary relationship between Ngā Mahanga Te Toka a Rauhoto and the maunga were explored in the wānanga series in 2013. Furthermore these wānanga developed into a tradition recovery project for the hapū. Divergence in traditions about Te Toka a Rauhoto contests the sex of the ancestor/stone, the relationship between Rauhoto and Rua Taranaki and the personification of the stone itself. Simply put, a lot of the history of the stone has been forgotten. This can be attributed to the loss of knowledge in Ngā Mahanga and Taranaki. However living memory has retained information about the stone through the collective memory retained in the present. What stands out though is how as a hapū we constructed our version of the Travelling Mountain Narrative for the information plaque of Te Toka a Rauhoto.

Throughout the process reliance on written and published information was essential. Establishing the tātai kīanga lineage of transmission of the variations of the Travelling Mountain Narrative explored the pūkōrero, kaitauaki Pākehā and kaitauaki Māori who contributed to the tribal traditions of Taranaki. Collating the information of the other pūkōrero, namely Minarapa Kahukura Makuru, Motu Tukirikau and Ropata Ngarongomate was an endeavour in gathering information for ancestors of Ngā Mahanga. Traditionally the kōrero of Ngā Mahanga was held tightly and information was shared reluctantly to outsiders. Therefore the opportunity to research these ancestors and their convergence with the research kaupapa was too good an opportunity to pass up. Their biographies and contributions to the Travelling Mountain Narrative and related information demonstrate that they were significant pūkōrero and important men of their time. Their generation during the 19th

century encompassed war, settlement and colonisation, confiscation and the loss of tribal rangatiratanga.

The relationships between the pūkōrero and the kaitauaki Pākehā as the published authors of tribal traditions indicate a power imbalance between primary sources and published authors. S. Percy Smith and Elsdon Best profited from the information shared with them by the pūkōrero. The information was primarily transmitted in te reo Māori, but was published in English. Other kaitauaki Pākehā like Taylor, Downes, Dittmer and Cowan did not attribute their sources, However Smith and Best at least referred to the pūkōrero from whom the kōrero originated. It wasn't until Broughton in 1979, Hohaia (2001) and Smith (2001) when kaitauaki Māori of Taranaki descent were writing Taranaki tribal traditions from Māori paradigms. Of course, this did not mean that their published information was totally accepted either, just as this thesis can be challenged by my hapū and iwi.

Accepting that research will be challenged in whānau, hapū and iwi communities is part of insider research. Even though I had access to tribal society (both inherited and earned) it is by no means blank chequebook, in that the people would agree with all aspects of this thesis. Throughout the research and writing of this thesis I have tried to consult, share and work within the hapū as much as possible. Ngā Mahanga and Puniho Pā gave me permission to use information gathered in the wānanga series for this thesis. Being an insider observer and part of the community there was also information that I chose to leave outside this thesis. This included kōrero that while very interesting could be considered belittling of an ancestor's mana, or indeed the mana of Ngā Mahanga and Taranaki. Self-censorship was an attempt to protect the mana of my whānau, hapū and iwi: while at the same time constructing a valuable piece of research. Furthermore I have no doubt there is information retained by people, whānau and manuscripts that I was unable to access that could expand on the collected kōrero in this thesis.

It has been impossible to be an objective observer during my time in Taranaki. Ideally engaging with my hapū as a participant observer would mean that I could attend hui and sit quietly in the corner observing and commenting on discussions and behaviours that I witnessed. The truth of the matter is that from the beginning I have been involved in all activities at Puniho Pā. Whether it has been speaking as a kaikōrero on the paepae, washing dishes and peeling potatoes in the kitchen, digging hangi holes, mowing lawns, fixing roofs, digging graves or a plethora of daily activity of a busy marae, I got involved. Interaction at a community level means that the researcher has to engage and participate at all levels and lines cannot be demarcated to separate the researcher from his

community. Personally I enjoyed the mahi and the whānaungatanga at the side of my cousins and the projects we planned and completed. I was honoured to serve my pā again. Ultimately this research project was sourced in my tribal community and throughout the process from 2010 to 2014 I have endeavoured to keep my people informed of the kaupapa, my theories and my conclusions.

7.2. Summary

It is likely that the narrative was mythologised over time and multiple generations, and the maunga and the toka personified as ancestors. The Travelling Mountain Narrative has been reproduced in multiple publications and is the origin tradition of Taranaki maunga. Remnants of ancient tribal traditions reproduced in literature were also collected and analysed in the thesis leading to the construction of the migration journey story pattern. This thesis shows how the Travelling Mountain Narrative could be based on the migration journey of Rua Taranaki and the Kāhui Maunga. There are too many concurrences in Taranaki tribal traditions, written and spoken, to ignore the possibility that the narrative was solely a myth. While it is claimed that the Kāhui Maunga walked overland from another area, and that Rua Taranaki, Tahurangi and Maruwahakatare claimed the maunga and region, the details of where they came from, why they left their home and the route they took was lost. Therefore this thesis confirms the hypothesis that the Travelling Mountain Narrative was based on the migration journey of the ancestor Rua Taranaki and company and that the narrative is the journey of those ancestors from the centre of Te Ikaroa a Māui to the west coast.

The Taranaki versions of the Travelling Mountain Narrative can be traced back to the pūkōrero Minarapa Kahu and Te Kāhui Kararehe. While both these men were contemporaries, there is a clear thread of divergent discourse between the hapū Ngā Mahanga and Ngāti Haupoto over the Travelling Mountain Narrative of Taranaki maunga and Te Toka a Rauhoto. This was acerbated by kaitauaki publishing these versions. Post-contact conjoint change (Tarena-Prendegast 2008) defines these accounts as a result of Māori and Pākehā authorship. It is clear that the tribal traditions retained in living memory for the ancestors of the distant past are influenced by written traditions. Although the information was given in te reo Māori, it was translated into English and it is these formats that were communicated through published accounts. The power maintained by the kaitauaki Pākehā ensured that the narratives were disseminated in English, and not te reo Māori. Nonetheless the narrative is part of a living tradition retained on the paepae of Taranaki and especially at Puniho Pā.

Te Toka a Rauhoto Tapairu sits at Puniho Pā and is said to be the tangible connection between the Travelling Mountain Narrative, the distant ancestors and the hapū today. Embodied as the guidestone of the maunga the stone is the connecting principle across generations. There is no fence to separate the toka from the people, manuhiri are free to visit and touch the stone, and children often play at the feet of her pedestal. Living memory retained the relocation of the stone in 1948 and the tūpuna involved on that day, and this event has added to the mystique of the toka. While many things are unknown about the origin of the toka, like who carved it and who exactly Rauhoto was, this does not negate the intrinsic mana the toka possesses or her value to the hapū and iwi. Most importantly, the toka is always associated with the maunga.

This is the story of a mountain based on Taranaki tribal traditions. Personification of the maunga as an ancestor intertwines the lines of connection to the hapū and iwi who live at its feet and living memory encompasses the past century of events and ancestors. The maunga is both tupua and tūpuna, it is a mountain and it is an ancestor. Dominating the landscape, Taranaki maunga is the eternal sentinel of the region. Intrinsic to Taranaki identity the maunga is the visible icon that we greet, that we sing to, and that we farewell when we leave. And ultimately the only witness to the events and the ancestors mentioned in this thesis was the mountain itself.

The old man's eyes blazed as he spoke of the evil of war and blessing of peace. But suddenly he pointed back to the mountain, 'Ask that mountain', he said, 'Taranaki saw it all!'

(Scott 1975: 186-187)¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ This dialogue between Te Whiti o Rongomai and William Baucke was recorded when Baucke visited Parihaka in 1903 (Scott 1975).

APPENDIX 1

Narrative Texts

Travels in New Zealand (Dieffenbach 1843: 158)

The natives have no historical account of any eruption of Mount Egmont, and maintain that the country at its base is less subject to movements of the earth than other parts of the islands, especially those which are the most mountainous. They have, indeed, tales which, if divested of their figurative dress, might be referred to the recollection of former volcanic activity: such is their account that the Tongariro and Mount Taranaki are brother and sister, and formerly lived together, but quarreled and separated.

(Dieffenbach 1843: 158)

Te Ika a Māui (Taylor 1855: 226)

The tradition is that Tongariro became jealous of Taranaki, and accused him of being too intimate with Pihanga, another neighbouring mountain; they fought, and Taranaki being worsted, set off one night going down the Wanganui, thus forming the channel of the river; he crossed over by Wai Totara, leaving a fragment there, and then fixed himself in his present position. The spot where he formerly stood is now occupied by a deep lake, which still bears the name of Taranaki, and is supposed to be a kind of Pandemonium, the grand abode of all the New Zealand gods: this is probably a fable, founded on fact.

New Zealand: its physical geography, geology, and natural history: with special reference to the results of government expeditions in the provinces of Auckland and Nelson (Hochstetter 1867:376-377)

South of the Tongariro rises the Ruapehu. The feet of the two mountains gently slope together forming a plateau about ten miles wide and 2200 feet above the level of the sea. Upon this plateau four lakes are said to lie, two of them about three miles long, the other two smaller. One of these lakes is called Taranaki; its outlet flows into the Wanganui. The natives have a peculiar legend to the effect that a third giant, named Taranaki, formerly stood by the side of Tongariro and Ruapehu. They were friends until Taranaki attempted to carry off Pihanga, the wife of Tongariro. This brought about a conflict between Tongariro and Taranaki. Taranaki was worsted in combat and

compelled to flee; he hastened down the Wanganui, drawing the deep furrow of that river. He fled as far as the sea, where he now stands in solitary grandeur, the magnificent snow-capped beacon of Mount Egmont (8270 feet). In his flight, however, two pieces were torn off; and the natives show to this very day two blocks of rock as the fragments torn off the Taranaki masses, which, differing in their nature from the formations contiguous to the Wanganui, lie at a distance of 18 miles from the source of the river at Waitotara.

Skinner Notebooks (Skinner MS: 1-4)¹⁵⁰

The legend of the loves and wanderings of Puke-o-naki or Mt Egmont as told by Minarapa Kahu and his wife of the Nga Mahanga hapū, Taranaki tribe at Okato. March 26 1896.

In former times Pukeonaki or Taranaki resided near Taupo and Tongariro, but owing to Taranaki making improper overtures (puremu) to ~~Pihanga~~ Tongariro the wife of ~~Taranaki~~ Pihanga – (a cloud, arei) passed from Taranaki (tane) towards and into a cavity or hole (tara) on ~~Pihanga~~ Tongariro (wahine) – ~~Tongariro~~ Pihanga accused Taranaki of his misdeed and a furious conflict took place; in which ~~Tongariro~~ Pihanga struck Taranaki a great blow with his patu, which decided the conflict for Taranaki withdrew leaving ~~Tongariro~~ Pihanga victorious, the result of this blow by ~~Tongariro~~ Pihangas patu are to be seen to this day in the cleft on summit of Taranaki – the hollow (old crater) between what we call the East and West peaks.

Taranaki being worsted in the conflict withdrew furrowing out as he went what is now the valley of the Mangonui-a-te-ao or as Minarapa states, he came by way of the Manganui-a-te-ao in the Wanganui valley and thence into the Ngaere county. He stayed a night here and his great weight formed a depression in the ground, such depression being how the Ngaere swamp out of which flows the red water and which is to be seen until the present day. Journeying on he came to the Pouakai hills (mountain ranges). The Pouakai had always lived where we see them now and were there ages before Taranaki came to these parts. Having come near Pouakai they induced him to stay the night and whilst he was asleep they bound him fast by throwing out and encircling arm towards the south East from

¹⁵⁰ Skinner noted that during the translation, Minarapa insisted that Pihanga was the male maunga, and Tongariro was female. It is uncertain what was going on here, and I wonder if the vagaries of translation affected this version.

the side of which Wai wera iti (ancient name of Stoney river) flows. Awakening in the morning he found himself a prisoner but being now far distant from his furious rival Pihanga he accepted his position quietly and has remained there ever since. In former times there stood where Taranaki now stands a great house built by the tangata whenua called Kaimiromiro, the square of the marae was called Tara wai nuku, and it was built (or owned) by five chiefs called Karutewhenua, Kaungohe, Kaupapa, Tirahaere, Taihuranga and Tahairangi. When Taranaki stopped for the night the last night of his wanderings, he buried or swallowed up this great house Kaimiromiro with the marae of the five chiefs, some of these people escaped. The only living descendant of the people now living (1896) is Te Horo, a woman living a Puniho.

Taranaki in his journey from Taupo was preceded by a stone (female) of great mana called Toka-a-rauhoto. This stone acted as a pilot or guide keeping well in advance of Taranaki. The day preceding the capturing of Taranaki by Pouakai Toka-a-rauhoto had reached within a short distance of the seacoast on the south side of Wai wera iti (Stoney river). On awakening in the morning she turned to see if Taranaki was preparing to follow and then she saw that Pouakai had thrown out a new arm (spur) in the night encircling and making a prisoner of Taranaki. There she (Toka-a-rauhoto) has remained until the present time, a thing of great veneration to all the tribes, still looking upon her old friend and follower with longing eyes. But her great mana which she once possessed had since the coming of Pākehā passed away, and men who now touch her do not die as in former times.

Notes on Māori Mythology: Traditions of Travelling Mountains (Best 1899: 118)

In former times, that is in very ancient times, the mountains Maunga-pohatu, Kakarā-meā and Pu-tauaki migrated from the south—from Te Matau-a-Maui (Cape Kidnappers)—and came northwards to the places where we now see them. Maunga-pohatu was the wife of Kakarā-meā (Rainbow Hill at Wai-o-Tapu). They disagreed as to which direction they should travel in. The former said, "Let us go to the east." "Ehē!" cried the husband, "to the south." "Not so," replied the wife, "my desire is the east." "My own way shall I go," said Kakarā-meā. "So soon as we have partaken of food I shall depart with our offspring to the north, there to find a new home." But their children had already departed for the north, and were followed by their mother, by Maunga-pohatu. Those children were Tapanaua (a large rock in the Tauranga Stream at Te Wai-iti), Moutohora (an island off Whakatane), Tokatapu, Hinarae and Toka-a-Houmea (rocks at Whakatane). When overtaken by daylight the party were unable to travel further, hence they stand where we of today see them.

Maunga-pohatu, under whose shadow the ancient tribe of Nga-pōtiki dwelt long centuries ago, and whose gloomy caves hold the bones of their dead, is ever spoken of by the descendants of that old-time people as their mother who brought them forth, and who takes them back to her broad bosom in death.

Hamiora Pio, of the Children of Awa, speaks: "Let me speak now of the mountain people. Tonga-riro had two wives, Pihanga and Nga-uru-hoe. Quarrels arose among the mountain people. Tongariro and Tara-naki (Mt. Egmont), which latter formerly stood by the Sea of Taupo, quarrelled about those women. Hence Tara-naki left that part and went to the west coast, where it now stands. Others also left that place and sought new standing-places. They were Pu-tauaki (Mt. Edgecumbe), Whakaari (White Island) and Paepae-aotea (a rocky islet near White Island). Pu-tauaki had two wives, Whatiura and Pohatu-roa. (The latter is a singular mesa of rock which stands at Ati-a-muri, a famous native fort in former days, the remains of their houses and some carved paepae posts being still seen there.)

Te Tai Hauāuru (Hammond 1901: 199-200)

Maripi, Knives.—These are formed from the splinters of the tuhua [volcanic glass], and were used for cutting flesh, wood, and stone. The red tuhua was used for cutting the face and body, when lamenting for the dead. The tuhua is found in all the old Maori dwelling places, north and south, showing how valuable it was before the introduction of European knives. Its existence is accounted for on this coast by legend. Taranaki [or Mount Egmont] once stood beside Tongariro, and they quarrelled over Pihanga, another mountain, and Taranaki in anger and to escape the fire that Tongariro belched forth at him, fled by way of the Whanganui river and along the coast to Taranaki, leaving all along the way the tuhua to mark the way he came.

History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast (Smith 1907: 148-150)

Mount Egmont (Taranaki) once lived in the neighbourhood of Tongariro mountain, in the centre of the North Island, whose wife was Pihanga—that graceful wooded mountain, with a crater near its top, now filled with water. Taranaki fell in love with the Lady Pihanga, much to the wrath of Tongariro, who ordered him to leave, enforcing his command with so powerful a kick, that Taranaki was driven away to the west. In his flight he followed down the course of what is now the Manga-nui-te-au branch of the Whanganui River, opening up its course down to the main river. Then, in his flight, scouring out the Whanganui River itself. At about ten miles seaward of the Ohura junction there is a group of rocks in the Whanganui river, said to have been dropped by Mount Egmont in his hasty flight. Again, inland of Wai-totara, are other rocks dropped in the same manner. From this place he came westwards as far as the great Ngaere swamp, where he rested, and by his great weight made a depression in the ground, since filled by the swamp. “Continuing his journey,” says Mr. Skinner, “he arrived just at dark, at the south-east end of the Pou-a-kai ranges, which had been in their present position ages before Mount Egmont arrived. Having arrived at Pou-a-kai, he was persuaded to stay the night, and whilst he was asleep he was bound fast by a spur thrown out from the ranges towards the south-east, from which the Wai-wera-iti stream (the ancient name of Stoney River) flows. Awakening in the morning he found himself a prisoner, and has remained there ever since.” There are various accounts of the adventures of Mount Egmont, differing in detail, but the main facts are the same. One version says that when he was stopped by Pou-a-kai, he pulled up so suddenly that the top was carried onward, and is now seen in the boulder called Toka-a-Rau-hotu near Cape Egmont.

The kick, or blow, given Egmont by Tongariro is still to be seen in the hollow on its south-east side under what is called Fantham's peak. The place where Egmont formerly stood became filled with water, and now forms Lake Roto-a-Ira (Rotoaira on the maps). From this story arises the Taranaki saying:—

<i>Tu ke Tongariro,</i>	<i>Tongariro stands apart,</i>
<i>Motu ke Taranaki,</i>	<i>Separated off is Taranaki,</i>
<i>He riri ki a Pihanga,</i>	<i>By the strife over Pihanga,</i>
<i>Waiho i muri nei,</i>	<i>Leaving in after times,</i>
<i>Te uri ko au—e!</i>	<i>Its descendant in me!</i>

With the poetry that is so common to the Maori, he adds to this legend, that when the mists and clouds cover the summit of Mount Egmont, this indicates that he is still bewailing and crying over the loss of his lover Pihanga; and that when Tongariro (or rather Nga-uru-hoe) is in eruption and emits smoke and flame, and the volcanic forces rumble down below, this is the enduring anger of the husband against his wife's lover.

Mr. Skinner adds the following:—“Taranaki on his journey from Taupo was preceded by a stone—a female—of great mana, called Toka-a-Rauhotu, which acted as a pilot, or guide, keeping well in advance of Taranaki. The day preceding the capture of Egmont by Pou-a-kai, Toka-a-Rauhotu had reached within a short distance of the coast, on the south side of Wai-wera-iti (Stoney river). On awakening in the morning she turned to see if Taranaki was following, and then discovered that Pou-a-kai had thrown out a new arm, or spur, in the night encircling and making a prisoner of Egmont. Toka-a-Rauhotu has remained until the present day, a thing of great veneration to all the tribes, still looking upon her old friend and follower with longing eyes. But the great mana (supernatural power) which she once possessed has since the coming of the Pakeha departed, and men who now fearlessly touch her, do not die as in former times. The carvings on the face of this rock were done generations ago by a party of Ngati-Tama, seventy in number, who dug up the stone with great labour, and removed it; but the same night it returned to its old resting place. The infringement of the tapu implied in this act of Ngati-Tama brought its own reward, for they all died under the influence of makutu, or witchcraft. Toka-a-Rauhotu in its journey from Taupo, was accompanied by many familiar spirits in the shape of lizards, who dwelt around

the rock.

Te Tohunga (Dittmer 1907: XVI)

Once the volcanoes Taranaki, Ruapehu and Tongariro dwelled together. That was the time when Tongariro in her wonderful beauty had captured the fiery hearts of the two giants, so that their joy filled the heavens with majestic outbursts and covered the earth with their dark-glowing heart-blood of fiery lava and molten stones. Softly then answered the gently ascending steam-column of Tongariro, smiling and swaying, gold-bordered by the setting sun; smiling at both her suitors. Ah, Tongariro was a woman!

Both the straight and simple Taranaki and the rugged and strong Ruapehu, their cloud piercing heads covered with spotless snow, or adorned in their passion-glowing lava streams, were beloved by Tongariro; but the snows of the winter and the suns of the summer came and went from the first time, to the hundredth time, to the thousandth time, and still Tongariro was undecided whom she would prefer to be husband.

She became the sacred mountain of the Maori people; her beauty captured the hearts of all, so that she became the possessor of the highest tapu, and no foot dared walk upon her, and only the eyes of the new-born were directed towards her; and the eyes of the departed rested full love upon her beauty, whilst they wandered to the Reinga.

The eyes of generation upon generation of man, beautiful to behold from all the lands was the great love of the giants; now all covered with glittering snow, now hiding in the clouds and lifting their endless heads into the golden heavens; and now breaking forth into terrible passions, covering the earth with blackness. Ah, Tongariro roused the passions of the giants; she made the volcanoes tremble! Their blood of fire and boiling stones shook them, the thundering of their voices, roaring, insults at each other made the earth tremble. Streams of lightning pierced the nights, and black smoke of deadly hate darkened the days, and the ears of man were filled with the roaring hate of the giants, and their wondering eyes beheld the beauty of Tongariro smiling at both! At last the two rivals decided to fight for Tongariro!...

Now followed days of silence. The giants stood there grim and silent to the world, but they were gathering strength and were melting stones in their insides, and lit terrible

fires, their powerful weapons. So they stood silent and grim; the sun gilding their beautiful garments of snow, and Tongariro smiled at them with her graceful swaying column of steam; and the Māori people looked wonderingly upon the peaceful landscape.

Then a rolling grew into the nights, and rolling filled the days; louder and louder, night after night, day after day – a terrible groaning, deep and deep. Suddenly a crashing thunder shook the earth, and bursting forth from the mouth of Ruapehu a fiery mass of molten stones and black hate and fury fell upon Taranaki, covering him with a terrible coat of fire, whilst the flying winds howled and the melted snow-waters fled thundering down into the valleys.

A beautiful straight form gave the mass of fire and ashes to Taranaki – but he shook in terrible rage! He tore himself out of the ground, shaking the earth and breaking the lands asunder; he tried to fly at Ruapehu, to kill him with his weight. But Ruapehu made the water of his lake, high up in the snows, boil, and, hurling it down, it filled all the rents Taranaki had made in the earth, and burned all the inside of the earth and of Taranaki himself. He now, tearing the air with his roaring cries of pain and thundering howling of rage, threw a tremendous mass of stones at his enemy, and broke the highest cone, the loftiest peak of Ruapehu, so that his looks were not so majestic, and his reach not so far into the skies.

Ruapehu now, in deadly hate, swallowed his broken cone and melted it; he lit terrible fires in his inside, which spread to the lake Roto-aira, so that it rose and boiled, the steam covering all the world and blinding Taranaki. Then Ruapehu filled himself with the boiling water, and, throwing it out of his mouth down upon Taranaki, it filled all the crevices, and it lifted him, for he himself had loosened his bonds with the earth; and now the darkening day compelled to retreat: blinded by steam, burned in his inside by the boiling water, and covered with the molten mass of the cone of Ruapehu he himself had broken.

He groaned and rose, tumbled, and shook himself; and he felt for a way to the sea to cool his burning pain; howling in unbearable pain he had to run, in order to get out of reach of Ruapehu, deeply hollowing his path through the lands. But his conqueror, Ruapehu, melting all his ice and snow, sent it as boiling water into his deep path, that his enemy might not come back again, for his strength was also exhausted.

On to the sea went Taranaki, and, when his pain had left him a little, he looked back at his conqueror, and saw how his three peaks were again covered with fresh snow, and how he was now the supreme lord over all the lands and the husband of Tongariro. They two were now the arikis over all the land; but it was waste now, and dead, for the terrible fight had killed all the people and the living beings all around. Once more a burst of black anger broke forth from Taranaki, and again it was answered by a wonderful swaying and smiling steam-column from Tongariro; and then he went and wandered along the coast till he had found a place for his sorrow. There he stands now, brooding on revenge. "And my people know that one day he will come back in a straight line, to fight Raupehu again; and none of my people will ever live or be buried in that lime; for one day he will come back to fight for Tongariro – who knows it?" But the path of Taranaki to the sea is now the Wanganui River.

Old Whanganui (Downes 1915: 1)

Long before the Maori came to these shores from his distant home in Hawaiki (so says the legend), the gods alone held possession of the land. Three of these mighty beings stood in a group for untold centuries, till one day Tara-naki attempted to carry off Pihanga, the wife of Tongariro. Up till this time Rua-pehu, Tonga-riro and Tara-naki had lived together with their families around them in firm friendship, but this treacherous behavior on the part of the last mentioned giant caused a conflict, and in the battle of the gods that ensued, Tara-naki was worsted, as he deserved to be, and fled down to Whanga-nui, drawing the deep furrow of that river. He then fled along the coast till he found rest and peace in his solitary loneliness where he now stands under the name of Mt Egmont. This is undoubtedly how the Whanga-nui river came into existence, but as regards how the district became populated there is more uncertainty.

Notes on Inscribed Stones of the Taranaki District (Best 1927: 137-138)

A communication from Taurua Minarapa of Rahotu, apparently refers to Rauhoto after whom the Toka a Rauhoto was named. He mentions Rauhoto and Wheoi as being two women, or at least female beings, of the time of Rua-taranaki. These creatures heard

that Mt. Egmont had arrived at Whanganui, the canyon-like valley of which it is said to have formed during its progress to the coast, and so they set off with certain companions to see the marvelous sight. The company consisted of Rauhoto, Wheoi, Aonui, Aoroa, Aopouri, Aopotango, Aowhekere and Aowhetuma, and is said to have been known as the Kahui matangi or wind flock, although the last six names are terms denoting clouds. On arriving at Whanganui they found that the mountain had taken firm root and so they set about loosening it. Having succeeded in this task they conveyed Mt. Egmont to Taranaki by subterranean and submarine ways, through which it was guided by Wheoi, while Rauhoto travelled on the surface. When near, or under, Hangatahua, the mountain was cast violently upward from subterranean depths by Wheoi, when the "house" Kaimirumiru was destroyed, together with many persons.

Māori Myth and Religion (Best 1924: 467-469)

In days long past the Taupo mountain group was composed of many members, for at that time, Taranaki, Kakaramea, Ruawahia, Putauaki, Maungapohatu, Moutohora, Whakaari and Paepae-aotea occupied their old-time home at Taupo, and the family group was a goodly sight. Now at that period Taranaki (Mt. Egmont) occupied what is now the site of the lake Roto-a-Ira, but that mountain was then known as Pukeonaki, the name of Taranaki was given it in later times. This Pukeonaki was much given to admiring one of the lesser mounts, Pihanga, who is a female of the mountain breed, but Pihanga was the wife of great Tongariro at the time, and so trouble arose at Taupo-nui-a-tia. A violent quarrel between the two giants now ensued, to end in the expulsion of Pukeonaki, who resolved to seek a new and more tranquil home beneath the setting sun. Even so the huge form of Pukeonaki traversed the red west road, but, owing to his great weight he scored a huge furrow across the land that is now represented by the deep canyons of Manga-nui-te-au and the Whanganui River. During his flight some fragments dropped from the great bulk of Pukeonaki and these are seen in the form of certain rocks in the Whanganui river below Ohura, and others near Waitotara. When he reached Te Ngaere, the mountain rested a space, so causing a great depression of the land, a hollow that later was known to us as the Ngaere swamp. Proceeding on his way he found progress blocked by the bulk of the Pouakai range, and so he passed the night there. In the morning he found that Pouakai had thrown out a new flank spur that prevented all further movement, since which time Pukeonaki has never ceased to look

down on the fair lands of Taranaki and the ever rolling battalions of Hinemoana. But, ever and anon, Hine-makohu brings the white mist, while Hine-kapua hales the Cloud Children from far regions, and then men say that Pukeonaki is mourning for his old-time love Pihanga.

We are told in some versions of this myth that Pukeonaki, or Taranaki, was preceded by a guide, and this guide is yet seen in the form of a great stone called the Toka or rock of Rauhoto on the south side of Stoney River. This rock has certain peculiar devices incised upon it. Rauhoto is said to have been the name of the wife of Rua-taranaki, after whom the mountain was last named. Taurua of Rahotu tells us that Rauhoto and Wheoi were two females who flourished at the time when Pukeonaki was seeking a new home. They reported to Rua-taranaki that Pukeonaki had reached Whanganui, and so a person was sent to observe, and he came back and stated that Pukeonaki was really there. Then it was resolved to send a party to conduct Pukeonaki to the place where he now stands, such was to be his location, and so Rauhoto, Wheoi, Aonui, Aoroa and others set off for that purpose. Six of these messengers bear the names of cloud personifications. When they reached Wanganui they found that Pukeonaki had taken root and so become fixed, hence they had much difficulty in loosening it or him; in the end they decided to cause him to sink still further and to pass underground to Taranaki. Wheoi accompanied the mountain on his subterranean passage, while Rauhoto proceeded on the surface to act as a scout, the route was by way of the ocean. Then they turned landward when opposite Hangatahua, and arrived at the place where Mt. Taranaki now stands, at which place Pukeonaki was violently blown upward by Hioi. This name may be in error for Wheoi, or possibly Hineoi, a mythical being concerned with earthquakes and volcanic phenomena. When the mountain was erupted many persons perished at Kaimirumiru. The three stones seaward of Rahotu called Heihana, Rengopapa and Haeroa are spoken as females, as representing women, but we know naught of interest concerning them.

We also have another brief recital about Taranaki the ambulant. This narrative is to the effect that, in ancient times, the mountain stood at Roto-a-Ira where one may still see the hollow in which it stood. Taranaki, Auruhoe and Ruapehu strove to filch away the wife of Tongariro, the mount of Pihanga, and the end was that Taranaki sought peace afar off. On reaching his present site he was seen by Tahurangi, who cried: "Oh! There is a land mass moving hitherward." In order to stay his progress he seized a firebrand and

cast it at the summit of Taranaki, so as to affect his tapu and bring him to a standstill. Then Taranaki halted and so he is now seen standing lone and mateless on the plain; and when Hine-makohu the Mist Maid is seen hovering round the summit of lone Taranaki men say: "The smoke of the fire of Tahurangi has appeared", and it is also known as "The fire of Tahurangi."

*When the Toka a Rauhoto found that Taranaki had halted, its duties naturally ceased, and so it took its stand where we now see it, but its tapu is now no more and so men fearlessly approach it. A brief note states that Taranaki was halted and rendered immovable by means of a potent spell repeated over it by a magician; that spell was of the class termed *matapou*, which has already been referred to, and which, I fear, we shall yet again encounter. Taylor (*Te Ika a Maui*, p. 205¹⁵¹) collected a version of our mountain myth that places Taranaki as the wife of Tongariro; she ran away from him owing to ill treatment and hence we find her a lone guardian of the western sea, and doubtless brooding over a wrecked life. The following couplet is to the effect that Tongariro and Taranaki are far sundered owing to the trouble over Pihanga, and the singer seems to look upon himself as a descendant of the strife-racked mountains.*

*Tu ke Tongariro,
Motu ke Taranaki,
He riri ki a Pihanga,
Waiho i muri nei te uri ko au.*

Turning to the Mataatua versions of these orological myths we find that the Tūhoe story is to the effect that it was great Rangi and Sky Father who gave Pihanga as a wife for Tongariro, their offspring being rain, wind, and storms. In order to prove this statement they quote the following lines from an old song:

Na Rangi mai ono nana i whakamoe ko Pihanga te wahine, Hai na, hai hau, hai marangai ki te muri ... e.

Yesterdays in Maoriland (Reischek 1971:296-297)

An old Maori related a diverting history of Ruapehu, his friend Tongariro, and the expelled

¹⁵¹ It is difficult to find this reference by Best, and one wonders if it indeed exists.

Taranaki (Mount Egmont). Many years ago, he said, Ruapehu, Tongariro, and Taranaki lived together in neighbourly friendliness in the place where Lake Taupo now lies. But the beautiful goddess, Pihanga, disturbed their peace. Tongariro and Taranaki were both burning with love for the young virgin. Seized suddenly with jealous anger, Taranaki fell upon Tongariro and beat him so severely that the sweat of fear ran from his forehead in the form of glowing lava. The marks of this sweat remain to wrinkle his brow until this very day.

But Tongariro eventually triumphed; for he found a stout ally in old Ruapehu. Taranaki was forced to flee, and in his haste tore up the deep furrow of the Wanganui River. At the end of the Wanganui he stopped to look back, but he could still see the scornful laugh of his mistress, and the lightning-flashing glances of his enemies. He wandered on, therefore, as far as Patea, but from here he could still see his hated foes. So he went on a hundred miles farther, until he came to the sea. There he remains to this day, his face, transformed with sorrow, turned ever seawards. Only sometimes great sighs swell his hard breast, and then the whole earth quakes from the pain he feels.

Fairy Folk Tales of the Māori (Cowan 1928)

Of Pihanga, too, we hear, yon softly rounded mountain of green forest, above Roto-a-Ira lake, and of her beauty of form which captivated the mountain gods of old. For mountains were strangely like human beings in those wonderful dim days when all the world was in faerie land; they loved and fought like mortals. It was over fair Pihanga that Tongariro and Taranaki quarreled, and titanic indeed was the battle of the volcanoes, ending in the expulsion of Taranaki from his mighty seat on the plains between Tongariro and Ruapehu, and his flight to the far west coast of the island. So to-day Lady Pihanga – so obviously of the female sex, says the Māori, for look you, her shape! – sits complacently there accepting the love of her volcanic husband, in the long streamers of cloud and sulphurous vapours that are borne to her on the wings of the strong south wind. It is the mihi of the mountains, the loving greetings in upper air. And when, some-times for days at a time, the summits of the ranges are veiled in mist and fog, the Maoris of Otakou and Papakai say; “Behold our ancestors, our father and mother are greeting each other in the clouds of heaven. Their ancient love revives, they embrace one another as in the days of old.

Legends of the Māori (Cowan & Pomare 1930: 177-178)

In the long ago Tauhara stood in a very different place. There was a great group of mountains; they all stood close together on the central plain south of Lake Taupo. Most of them are there still, and Ruapehu is the chief of them all, but in the far away days Taranaki stood there, and also Tauhara and Putauaki (the pākehā now calls this peak Mount Edgecumbe). They were males, those mountains; they were gods and warriors – all except one, who was female. Her name was Pihanga – yonder she stands still, with her soft robe of forest about her, near the south side of Taupo Moana (in Taranaki legend Ruapehu was the chief female and Taranaki was her husband). And all these men mountains loved Pihanga, but the only one she favoured was Tongariro, who defeated the others in a mighty battle of the volcanoes.

Tauhara and Putauaki, who stood where Roto-a-Ira lake is now, said to the other mountains: “We shall go hence; we shall go to the sea which looks towards the rising of the sun”. And Taranaki said: “I shall go to the setting place of the sun” (“Ka haere au ki te townetanga o te ra”). And so those mountains uprooted themselves and departed, crying their farewells to Pihanga, who was now the wife of Tongariro.

It was a magic journey, the hours of darkness, the only time when fairies and mountains can move abroad. Tauhara and Putauaki travelled north towards the morning sunshine. Putauaki was halted by the dawn when he had traversed the greater part of the way to the sea, and there he stands to this day, at the northern end of the Kaingaroa Plain, fifty miles from Taupo, and he looks down on the wide valley of the Rangitiki. He is Ngāti Awa’s sacred mountain.

Tauhara travelled slowly, with tardy, lingering steps; often and longingly he looked back towards Pihanga, whom he was leaving. And when daylight came he had only reached the place where he stands now, near the shore of Taupo Moana. And he ever looks back across the lake at fair Pihanga, gently slanting yonder with her blue garment of forest drawn closely about her.

Legends of the Māori II (Cowan & Pomare 1934: 189-190)

“Kaua e whakatoi ki nga tupuna maunga, mehemea he wahine te take.” Do not annoy the mountains, especially if there is a woman in the case. Now listen to my tale of Mount Egmont and you will be able to judge for yourself.

The characters in this drama were:—

<i>Taranaki</i>	<i>the outraged husband.</i>
<i>Tongariro</i>	<i>the trusted friend.</i>
<i>Ruapehu</i>	<i>the faithless wife.</i>
<i>Pihanga</i>	<i>the handmaiden.</i>
<i>Ngauruhoe</i>	<i>the chief henchman.</i>
<i>Koputauaki</i>	<i>a retainer secretly in love with Pihanga.</i>

It was the age-old story. A woman, a man, and the other man. They were such friends and had such confidence in each other. Well, the unexpected happened—as it generally does happen. Flagrate delicto —at least, that is how my legal friends would have put it, and they ought to know.

Now Taranaki invoked the aid of his gods with the most potent karakia known. He turned his wife, friend and their servants into mountains, but in doing so he could not escape himself, for he had to pay the penalty for the potency of his incantation and thus likewise was turned into a mountain. Ngauruhoe and Pihanga complained that they had a grievance for being suddenly included in this terrible curse, but Taranaki had a different story to tell. They were aiding and abetting and so, too, had to pay the penalty. Having turned the characters of this drama into mountains, probably in the same way that Lot’s wife was converted into a pillar of salt—cum grano salis—he hied himself to a distance and on his descent to the Tasman Sea he gouged out the Whanganui River, and also the stony rivers on his ascent to his present position.

Ah! What satisfaction! For from afar through the centuries he has watched the terrific struggles and the volcanic throbs of passion which assailed the breast of Tongariro, always striving to clasp his paramour in his arms, but eternally checked by the chilling snows on her bosom, until he wore himself out in the struggle.

Tuwharetoa (Grace 1959: 507-508)

In the days when the world was young an assemblage of great mountains stood in the heart of the Ika a Māui (North Island). They were gods and warriors of great strength. They were so placed that Mount Egmont stood to the southwest of Ngauruhoe, Tongariro's most fierce volcano, where the lakes of Ngā Puna a Tamatea now lie, and Tauhara and Mount Edgecumbe to the northeast where Lake Rotoaira now stretches like a sea.

In her robe of rich forest green, a little to the northwest of Tauhara, stood the fair mountain Pihanga. Her fame and beauty had spread to the far corners of the land; and each of the four mountains wooed her and wished her to be his wife.

Softly she would answer their words of love by an ascending column of mist that arose from about her, smiling and gold-bordered by the setting sun. She adored them all and filled the fiery hearts of her four giants. Their joy filled the heavens with majestic outbursts and covered the earth with fiery lava and molten stones. She was undecided as to whom she would marry; and the snows of the winter and the suns of the summer came and went, and still she remained undecided.

Beautiful to behold from all the land was the great love of the giants; now all mantled with glistening snow, now hiding in clouds and bursting forth, covered with strange and wonderful beauty; now girdling their bodies with clouds and lifting their heads into golden heavens; and now and again breaking forth into terrible passions, covering the earth with blackness.

Pihanga aroused by the passions of the giants; she made the volcanoes tremble! They became jealous of one another. Streams of lightening pierced the nights, and black smoke of deadly hate darkened the days as their voices roared insults at each other. They beheld the beauty of Pihanga as she smiled at them all.

The giants had decided to fight for the hand of the fair maiden, and there followed days of long silence. They stood grim and silent to the world, but they were gathering strength. They melted stones deep down in their bowels, and lit terrible fires – their powerful weapons. Then there came a day when a rumbling grew into the nights and

filled the days; louder and louder, night after night, day after day – a groaning deep and dire. Suddenly a crashing thunder shook the earth, and from the mouth of Tongariro a fiery mass of molten stones burst forth. The battle had begun.

The battle raged for many days and many nights, but in the end Tongariro emerged victorious. He became the supreme lord over the land and the proud husband of Pihanga. In the days that followed he became the Sacred Mountain of Taupo; his handsome face captured the hearts of all; and he became the possessor of the highest tapu. The eyes of the new-born were directed towards him, and those of the departed rested full upon him as they went their way to the Gathering Place of Souls.

The defeated mountains debated among themselves as to where they should go. They said to one another, “this is now the domain of Tongariro and we must depart. Let each of us go our way and find domains where we can rule undisturbed. Mount Egmont said, “I will follow the path of the setting sun and establish myself at its setting place!” then Tauhara and Mount Edgecumbe said, “As you shall follow the setting sun, so shall we travel to the sea where we can look toward the dawn”.

So they departed, and, bidding farewell to Pihanga, they started on their magic pilgrimage travelling under cover of darkness. In those days mountains were required to complete their full journey in one night. Mount Egmont (Taranaki) travelled westward, and in the morning found himself where that mountain now stands. Tauhara and Mount Edgecumbe journeyed eastward, but Tauhara moved very slowly as he was sad and sore at heart. As morning was close at hand his companion could not wait and decided to get to the sea as quickly as possible. Instead of continuing eastward Mount Edgecumbe journeyed northwards, and when the rays of the morning sun rose, he found himself at the northern end of the Kaingaroa Plains.

Tauhara travelled with lingering steps and paused many times to look back at Pihanga, and when the morning came it found him not many miles from where he started. He now stands near the north-eastern shore of Lake Taupo, and looks broodingly across at Pihanga and her proud husband.

Taranaki, now looks eastward, quiet and brooding on revenge. One day perhaps he will rise up and come back in a direct route to fight Tongariro, and not follow the winding path – the Whanganui River – that he took when he left the realms of Tongariro. Tauhara and Mount Edgecumbe, that day, may also rise up and loosen their bonds with the earth and break the lands asunder. Who knows?

Legends of Earth (Reed 1963: 341-342)

Ruapehu ... she was the cause of all the strife that followed, for she was married to mighty Taranaki. One day her husband went hunting, and during his absence Tongariro, who had always admired her, courted and won her. Taranaki came back at the end of the day and surprised the guilty pair. A terrific battle ensued, but Taranaki was defeated and retreated to the west coast, carving the channel of the Whanganui river as he went. He travelled northward to the western extremity of the island, pausing to rest for a while, and his weight caused a depression which was subsequently filled with water and became the huge Ngaere Swamp.

Taranaki was guided to his final resting place by a rock named Te Toka-a-Rauhoto (the rock of Rauhoto), which then remained near Cape Egmont. This rock was formerly regarded as a tupuna. It embodies the power which tries to release the mountain and enable it to return to Ruapehu. It was believed that it would make a signal of some kind when Taranaki was about to return.

On reaching his destination Taranaki saw two smaller female mountains, who called to him, "Come and rest in our embrace." These companions of Taranaki, the ranges Pouakai and Patua, remain faithfully beside him; but he towers over them, gazing across the broken land towards his wife and his rival. In spite of her infidelity Ruapehu still loves him, and the fog which drifts eastward from his head is the visible sign of his love for her. Tongariro, despairing of ever possessing her again, smokes and smoulders with anger.

Further details of Taranaki's spectacular deeds are recounted in an unpublished MS by Hare Hongi¹⁵². When the strife between the mountains was at its height, Tongariro deliberately broke in half and threw his upper part at Taranaki, who fled down the

¹⁵² Frustratingly I have been unable to find this unpublished manuscript by Hare Hongi.

channels of the Manga-nui-a-te-ao and the Whanganui. The ancient name for the gorges of these rivers was Ngā Kerikeringa-a-Ruaumoko (the excavations of the god of volcanoes).

For some time Taranaki remained with his two attendant mountains, sending his love thoughts to Ruapehu, but after a while he began to boast. One morning when the two female mountains were wreathed in fog, he said, “Ka tū a Taranaki, te maunga te tairia e te kohu!” (thus stands Taranaki, the mountain whose summit is never clothed in mist).

Patua was offended, “You are not a paragon”, she said. “It is true that you have your good parts, but it is equally true that you are an intruder, an emigrant. As for us, we belong to the original [eyes] of ancient days.

Woven by Water (Young 1998)

Long ago, Māui Tikitiki and his brother went fishing and hauled up Te Haha Te Whenua, the fish of Māui, the North Island. So mighty was this fish that Māui returned immediately to Hawaiki for help, leaving his awed brothers to safeguard it. In their fear they approached Ranginui, who told them: 'The mana of Te Ika a Māui can be subdued only by a greater mana. I give you Matua Te Mana – Ruapehu.' This volcano, rising skywards in the centre of the new land, brought much-needed tranquillity. But there was a problem for Ruapehu – loneliness – and it was Ranginui who noticed. Ranginui laid two tear drops at Ruapehu's feet, one of which was to become the Whanganui River, the other becomes a story for other tribes to tell. Ruapehu's sorrow deepened. He pleaded with Ranginui for companionship and in time Ranginui sent him four friends: Tongariro, guardian of the two tear drops, and Taranaki, custodian of the tapu for the clan of mountains. There was also Ngauruhoe, servant of these mountain masters, and finally, Pihanga, the maiden mountain. Pihanga was spoken for as Tongariro's bride and the future mother of the continuing line for the mountain enclave. However, Pihanga was tempted by Taranaki. Eventually, heeding the advice of his brother, Ruapehu, Taranaki wisely but sadly left the enclave. It was the only way he could ensure his tapu remained intact. Taranaki took the pathway that many mortals would later follow, down the course of the Whanganui. At a western point in the river he struck out towards the coast, settling by the ocean as the guardian of the setting sun. Here he remains, within view of the line of mountains of the central uplands from whom he stands in exile. And the Whanganui River continues to flow from Tongariro and down to the sea.

Tahuparae in the Whanganui River Report (Whanganui River Report 1999: 76)

John Tahuparae referred to the river's origins, presenting a different account from that which the tribunal heard in Taranaki, but one that more accurately reflects the Whanganui tradition. In this account, Ranginui, 'the supreme universe', created the mountain Ruapehu (or Matua Te Mana, which he translated as 'absolute Mana) in order to becalm Māui's great fish, Te Ika a Māui (the North Island). When Ruapehu expressed his loneliness, however, Ranginui responded by placing two teardrops at Ruapehu's feet, one becoming the Whanganui River, the other the Tongariro River, which emerges on the other side of Lake Taupo as the Waikato. Thus, the Whanganui River is known to them also as Te Awanui-a-rua – the second tear drop

of Ranginui. The subsequent story accords more with other traditions, of how Ranginui created the further mountains to provide companions for Ruapehu – the maiden Pihanga, Tongariro the warrior, the servant Ngauruhoe, and the sacred Taranaki – and of the departure of Taranaki following his ill-fated interest in Pihanga. In this account, however, Taranaki did not create the Whanganui river, but followed the pre-existing watercourse to cool and cleanse his feet as he travelled to the ocean.

Followers of tribal politics might observe how this legend gives paramountcy to Ruapehu, and links the Whanganui River not to Taranaki but to Ruapehu and the further waterways beyond. Anthropologists might additionally observe how the sacredness of the river is also thus accounted for, as a gift of compassion from the gods. John Tahuparae added, however, that Taranaki's footprints to the sea are firmly etched in the Whanganui riverbed.

The Foundation Story (Hohaia 2001: 9)

Taranaki, formerly known as Pukeonaki, Pukehaupapa and other names, stood at Taupoo. Pukeonaki and Tongariro both loved Pihanga and fought over her. Pukeonaki was beaten, his peak shattered and sides gashed. He retreated underground and down the Whanganui River, he entered the sea, led by a guide stone, Te Toka a Rauhoto. She led him north-west, where he surfaced and saw the Pouakai mountain. Te Toka a Ruahoto flew east of Pouakai then through the gap between Pouakai and Kaitake. She landed near the sea at the Hangataahua River.

The hapū of the old mountain before Pukeonaki arrived were the Kaahui Aao, Kaahui Rangi, Kaahui Poo and Kaahui Atua. They were the Kaahui Maunga and spread throughout Taranaki. In the Waiwhakaiho gorge they lived at Karakatonga. They fled when the newcomer arrived, but some died during the evacuation. Pukeonaki and Pouakai had many offspring: mist, cloud, rain, and sleet, springs, rivers, rocks, fish, birds, insects, animals and people, plants, trees, wind, thunder and lightning.

Ngā Maunga Tārewarewa (Radio New Zealand 1977)

Narrator: *In dim ages past there were many mountains clustered around the heart of the North Island, Te Ika a Maui. Some still are there, proud Ruapehu, tallest of them all. The smooth cone of Ngauruhoe, occasionally belching fumes of volcanic anger, and*

the sprawling truncated Tongariro. In those far off days there were others, among them Taranaki mountain and the mounts Tauhara and Putauaki.

Koroua: *They weren't actually mountains, they were gods.*

Narrator: *These mountains were all male, proud and valiant like warriors. The only woman among them was Pihanga, a forested mountain, small and with graceful contours.*

Koroua: *They cast their eyes on this female, she happened to be the only one there, and she was very alluring, so they all sought her favour, and of course she couldn't decide which one of them she favoured, so of course naturally there was a fight.*

Narrator: *Tongariro and Taranaki in particular were involved in a mighty tussle which caused Tongariro to lose his head.*

Koroua: *He flattened Tongariro's head back into his body, right flat.*

Narrator: *But Tongariro was the final victor and like a true woman, Pihanga accepted the successful one as her lover. Even today Tongariro wraps her in soft clouds of love there where she stands next to the township of Turangi.*

Kuia: *There is a hollow in Pihanga and when its clouded over you see this means that Tongariro and Pihanga are doing their thing.*

Narrator: *Having claimed Pihanga, Tongariro drove the other mountains away, aiming at Taranaki a vicious kick. You may still see the mark of his foot on the southern slopes of Taranaki's peak. The loser mountains all left at night, which is the only time they can walk, their movement is arrested by the rising sun.*

Koroua: *Tauhara, which did not like to get away from her, kept looking back over his shoulder, even through the night, it took him so long to get there, which he could have gone further than Putauaki. But however Tauhara got this far which was a matter of 30 miles or so, straight across, still looking back at the beautiful Pihanga.*

Narrator: His name *Tauhara* means the rejected, and is sometimes translated as 'the lonely lover'. *Putauaki* also went east but he travelled much faster and he had nearly reached the Bay of Plenty when he was halted by daylight. Today, known as Mt *Edgecumbe*, he stands at the edge of the *Kaingaroa* plain, a hundred miles from his former battleground.

Koroua: *Taranaki* thought when he got beaten in battle he'd head towards the west coast, cause, he travelled all night and daybreak came he got to where he is today, still looking back at the fair lady.

Narrator: As he travelled west he scoured out a great trough which filled with water and became the *Whanganui* river. Along his pathway *Taranaki* dropped rocks in his hasty flight and these formed the rocky rapids you may see in the *Whanganui* river today. An old name for the rivers gorges was *Nga Kerekerenga a Ruaumoko*: The excavations of the volcanic god. In all this flight *Taranaki* was guided by another female, a little rock known as *Te Toka a Rauhotu*. She led him on towards the western coast always travelling a little ahead as a guide. Finally, exhausted by their journey both *Toka a Rauhotu* and *Taranaki* slept.

Koroua: And when Mt *Egmont* arrived here, when *Taranaki* arrived here from the center of the north island, it rested one night where it is now. And when, the story is that when it awakened in the morning that the *Pouakai* ranges had sent out an arm and encircled him and he was not able to make any further progress.

Narrator: And there he remains, a captive on the spot where he stands today. Only *Te Toka a Rauhotu* can release him, and when she does he will travel by the most direct route across the island back to *Pihanga*. That is why it is unwise to live the path he will take. Meanwhile *Taranaki* sometimes is veiled in mist and rain as he weeps for the loss of his beloved *Pihanga*.

Wharepouri: When its raining, he must be crying. You know, to put the word right, *Pouri kerekere* means, he's got a bad feeling, a funny feeling when he's like that, he's wild when he's like that. That's what the old people used to say. *Pouri kerekere*.

Narrator: *An age old legend, but woven into the fiction are some statements based on fact. For instance the storytellers place the Pouakai ranges on the spot before Taranaki mountain arrived.*

Volcanologist: *They would be quite right in this respect that um Taranaki is a very recent addition to the coastline of NZ, and all the volcanoes there have originated over the past 2 million years, and we see a studied progression involving volcanism southwards in time so that the volcano situated on the foreshore of New Plymouth some 2 million years ago has been largely destroyed by erosion. When we move south to the Patua ranges we see volcanicity which dominated the area about half a million years ago, and then that Pouakai we have evidence of this centre being active about a quarter of a million years ago. And since then of course Mt Egmont has come up onto the scene so that has been active over the past quarter of a million years.*

Koroua: *He followed the course of the Whanganui river and when he got to where he is now, he made it his purpose to return in course of time. Back again to Taupo and have another, well shall we call it, fight with Tongariro. Now he wasn't going to come back up the river Whanganui, because it meandered a bit, but he thought he would come in a direct line straight from where he is now to Tongariro. And hence all the Maoris who are aware of this legend would not live in that direct line which Taranaki thought he would take if he came back again.*

Taranaki Tribal Traditions: Māui and Te Ikaroa a Māui (Tuuta in Tamati 2010)

Me kī rā ko Tahurangi te waka, ko Māui-mua te tangata. Engari ko ngā kārero i eke nei a Māui Pōtiki i runga i tērā waka. Ko Rangitukutuku te aho, Ko Pikimairawea te matau, ko Hāhātewhenua te ika. E ai ki ngā kōrero ko tēnei te tangata ko Māui Pōtiki ko Pikimairawea ka marewa kei runga ko ngā rikiriki ko te uru o tonganui, ka marewa kei runga ko te ika nui, ko te ika roa ko te ika a Māui e ora ake nei, otiā ko Te Ika-whakarau-a-kutikuti-pekapeka. Koia rā ko ngā kupu kōrero, ana, nō roto ana mai e angī au a Taranaki mō Māui, mō tōna utanga o te ika nei, e ora ake nei. Ana ko ngā mahi haha a tāna tuakana o rātou e kutikuti, e pekapeka te ika ka tū mai rā te Kāhui Maunga ki te puku o te ikaroa e ora ake nei. Koia ra te pūtaketanga mai o ngā

maunga, oti noa ko Pukeonaki i mua i tōna haeretanga mai ki te kurae o Taranaki e ora ake nei.

Tahurangi is the canoe; Māui-mua is its captain. It is said that Māui Pōtiki was a stowaway aboard this canoe. Rangitukutuku was the line, Pikimairawea was the hook, and Hāhātewhenua was the fish. It is said that Māui Pōtiki lowered Pikimairawea, and the great long fish of Māui rose from the sea, which was also known as Te Ika Whakarau a Kutikuti Pekapeka. This is the history told by my people of Taranaki, about our ancestor Māui and how he pulled this great land from the sea, and how his brothers cut and sliced this land creating the central peaks. (And that) is how all the great mountains of this land were formed, including Pukeonaki before it came to be at its current location on the West Coast.

Toitū he Toka (Totika 2002: 3-7)¹⁵³

Mō Te Toka Rauhoto

Ko te pūtake tēnei o te kōrero a ngā kaumātua mō tēnei maunga e tū mai nei, mō Taranaki. E kī ana tā rātou kōrero, he wheke tere mai a Taranaki nō Taupo i tū tahi rāua ko Tongariro, i whawhai rāua ko Tongariro mō tō rāua wahine, mō Pihanga.

Ko Pukeonaki te ingoa tuatahi o Taranaki i tōna nohonga mai i Taupo. Ko Pukeonaki i horo i a Tongariro, koia te tewe (dripping cut), o te matamata (summit) o Taranaki i horo i a Tongariro i patu i whenuku (fall, crumble) iho te tihi. Koia nei te ake ka maunu (go forth, emigrate) mai a Pukeonaki me te toka, a Rauhoto, ka hou (enter) mai ki raro i te whenua a Pukeonaki, koia te riu pāwhare (ripped open) o te awa o Whanganui. Nō te taetanga ki te moana waiwai, ko te toka Rauhoto hei hoa mona. Kātahi ka whakaputa ake ki runga, te tirohanga mai, ko Pouakai e tū ana. Kātahi ka hou anō ki raro, ā, ka tae atu rāua ki te muriwai (lagoon) o Hanga-ātaahua ka hoki mai ki uta, ka tata ki Pouākai. Ka whakaputa ake ki runga, ka tū tahi a Pukeonaki rāua ko Pouākai.

Ka rere tonu atu te toka Rauhoto ki tērā whaitua (taha) o ngā maunga nei, ka tae ki te wāhi o te whenua i waenga i a Pouākai me Kaitake. Ka whati (peka) atu i reira, ka

¹⁵³ This is the only version in te reo Māori that I could find. This is based on the version of Te Miringa Hohaia. Although it does not attribute sources. This was written for school children in Kura Kaupapa.

whakawhiti te kōhatu rā i te koraha (open country) i waenga i ēnei maunga, kātahi ka tau tūturu ki te whenua i te kōngutu o te muriwai o Hanga-ātaahua. Ko tōna okiokinga (resting place) tēnei, Heoi ka tū tahi tonu a Pukeonaki rāua ko Pouākai. Ka ūhia ngā pari o Pouākai ki te pukeaao (alpine cloud) o Pukeonaki, Nā te kohu ka hono rāua, ka ai. Ko tēnei maunga, ko Pukeonaki, hei tane tūturu mā Pouākai.

Heoi, ka kite atu ngā tangata nunui o tēnei whenua, kua tae mai tēnei maunga, ā, kua pēhia kinotia nei tō rātou whare, a Kaimirumiru, ki raro. Ko te marae o Tarawainuku me tō rātou kainga o Karaka-tonga i pau i te ahi. I mate kino nei hoki ētehi o ngā tangata o aua hapū o te Kāhui Ao, te Kāhui Rangī, te Kāhui Pou, te Kāhui Atua me ērā atu.

Ko ngā ariki rangatira o ēnei hapū ko Ruataranaki rāua ko tōna wahine, a Rauhototapairu. Ko Ruataranaki i moe i a Rauhototapairu tāna ko Tahurangi. I whakapapahia mai tēnei maunga nō mua mai anō, nō ngā matua o ngā uru waka. He tino ariki ēnei tokorua, ko Rauhototapairu rāua ko Ruataranaki.

Ka tae noa ki te wā ka haere atu a Ruataranaki i te muriwai o Hanga-ātaahua. Ka haere tēnei tangata ki te kawē i tōna ingoa ki te maunga rā. Ka tae atu ia ki te take o te maunga, ka keria he rua, hei nohoanga mona, hei moenga mona, hei whare mona, hei ingoa mō tēnei maunga.

Koia a Ruataranaki, koia nei te tikanga o tēnei ingoa o Ruataranaki kei roto i te mātāpuna o Hanga-ātaahua i te take o Taranaki. Ko te ingoa tūturu o te rua, ko Te-Ana-a-Tahatiti. He pūkainga wheua tangata taua rua, ko Te-Ana-a-Tahatiti.

Ka oti i a Ruataranaki tōna rua, ka tū atu a Maru-whakatere ko ia te amo-kapua e whakahaere ana i ngā karakia. Ko ia hoki te tahua o te kōrero. Ka tīmata i ōna karakia, ka whano, ka oti. Kātahi ka pikitia te tihi o te maunga nei e te tama a Ruataranaki, e Tahurangi.

Ka Tahuna he ahi ki runga. Koia te pukeaao e rere an i runga i te tihi o Taranaki i whakairoa te ingoa o Ruataranaki ki runga i te maunga.

Ko te whakataukī tēnei a Tahurangi mō tōna ahi:

*Ko te ahi a Tahurangi mō te pukeaao
 Ka tū tonu te pukeaao ki atiketike
 Kātahi ka whakahinga te pukeaao i ngā awatea i ngā ahiahi.*

*Ko te whakataukī a Tahurangi mō te tihi o Taranaki, koia tēnei:
 Ka puta ki waho ko Puketoretore (he ingoa mō te tihi)
 I whakakaitoa (as an ornament) ana mai ki taku taiaha.
 Takahia atu au ki raro ki te whenua
 Hapai atu au i taku taiaha me he kakau toki.*

*Ko te ngeri a Taranaki i te take o tōna maunga. Koia tēnei:
 Ko whea, ko whea tērā maunga e tū mai rā?
 Ko Taranaki pea, Nukunuku mai
 Nekeneke mai ki taku tauaro kikini ai, e hai!*

Heoi anō rā, ka tere te whakaaro ki te toka, a Rauhoto, tae atu ki te wahine nei, ki a Rauhototapairu. I papanuitia (placed) tōna ingoa ki runga ki te kōhatu rā, ki te whao i roto i ngā mahi whakapakoko (sculpt, make statues) i ōna tūpuna o neherā.

Ko te ara o Rauhoto ko Te Whitinga o Rauhoto. Ko tōna pou herenga ko Puke Te Whiti. E tū ana tēnei puke i te taha o Pouākai kei waenga i ngā maunga o Pouākai me Kaitake. Ko tō Puke Te Whiti karangaranga hapū ko te Kāhui Pou me te Kāhui Atua. Ko Puke Te Whiti he manutute (sentry) e tiaki nei i Te Whitinga o Rauhoto, nō ngā rā onamata (ancient) tae noa mai ki ēnei rangi, puta noa ki ngā rā i mua i te aroaro (ārai). Ka haere anō te kōrero. Ka mate tētehi o ōna uri ka hoki anō tōna wairua ki Te Whitinga o Rauhoto, arā, ki ērā okiokinga o Ruataranaki rāua ko Rauhototapairu.

Ko tētehi take anō, he keha (dangerous, sore) te tapu ki runga ki te kōhatu rā, ko tōna mana hei punga mō tōna hoa, mō Taranaki. Nā tēnei mana i haere putuputu (in crowds) mai ngā tangata ki te murumuru (plunder, rob) mai i a ia. E neke atu i te whitu tekau ngā tangata i mate mai i ngā pakanga, i kakari mō tēnei kōhatu rongonui. Heoi anō nā te kaha o te tapu o taua kōhatu rā, e kore e pikitia e te tangata, e kore e torona (stretch out, touch) e te ringa tangata hāunga anō ngā tohunga o taua wā. Tae noa mai ki te tau kotahi mano, iwa rau, whā tekau mā waru. Nā Te Ao Mārama o Parihaka tēnei kōhatu i

whakawātea, ā, i nukuhia ki te marae o Pūniho. Ko tauīwi me ngā mahi kaiā (tahaē, whānako) te take i nukuhia ki reira. Nā runga i ngā karakia kōrero a te kuia rā, a Te Ao Mārama, i wātea ai te toka Rauhoto i ngā tapu. Kia huihui mai ōna uri ki te marae o Pūniho, ka unuhia (whakakahūtia) te kōhatu rā. He hieke (flax cloak), he piupiu ōna, kia pai katoa tōna ahua ki ōna uri. Ko ia tō mātou nei kuia, me kī, ko te puna i heke mai ai ngā tangata o Taranaki. He uri anō mātou, nō roto i te kete ngē o tēnei kuia, o Rauhototapairu. Ko Rauhototapairu tō mātou nei okiokinga ko mātou nei tō Rauhoto okiokinga.

Heoi, ka marara nei te ngeri a Taranaki i te take o tōna kuia, koia tēnei:

Ka hua au ki te uira

e wāhi rū ana rā

runga Taranaki, tītōhea (barren, without plants)

A hā hā!

E ko te maunutanga o te taniwha

i te rua koe

A hā hā!

E, ko Rauhototapairu

Kaiārahi i a Ruataranaki e,

Maranga mai ,e kui

Ngā Māhanga-a-Tairi

E kori, hikoī, takahi, whakana, Pūkana, eii!

APPENDIX 2:**Ethics Forms**

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui

**Information Sheet****Title of Project:**

Living Memory and the Contested Space between Oral and Written Tribal History in Taranaki

Purpose:

The primary purpose of this research project is to collect information for a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) research thesis at Victoria University of Wellington. This project will also benefit Taranaki iwi by revealing current perspectives on tribal history, both oral and written. It is planned that this PhD thesis will be submitted in May 2013.

Researcher:

Dennis Ngāwhare-Pounamu (*Ko Puniho te Pā, Ko Ngā Māhanga ā Tairi te hapū, ko Taranaki Tūturu te iwi*)

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Method of research

My project is focused on capturing opinions on oral and written history in Taranaki Tūturu regarding the Mountain narrative. This refers to the story of how Mt Taranaki came to the region. In my research, I theorise that there is a contested space and debate over written tribal history and the influence of oral history in *tikanga*. There are three stages to the research.

1. A review of literature around the Taranaki *maunga* narrative.
2. Interviews with volunteers
3. Participant observation in *hui*

Interviews

Interviewees will claim the *iwi* Taranaki Tūturu as their primary tribal affiliation. Interviewees (both male and female) from a wide variety of ages and backgrounds will be approached. This will include: elders who have lived their lives within the traditional boundaries of the tribe; elders who have lived outside the area; university educated tribal members; and members with a secondary school education. The age range will be 20+. This process will aim to interview at least 12 participants. Interviews will take place where ever the interviewee feels most comfortable. After the interview, all interviewees will receive a verbatim transcription of their interview, and will have the option of requesting sensitive information to not be included. They will also have the opportunity to withdraw at this point. If their information is used, the section in which it appears will be sent to them. Participants will also be invited to a formal presentation of research findings. Every effort will be made to ensure that any use made of the material is acceptable to the interviewee, but it will not be possible to withdraw information completely after the initial month when the transcript is submitted.

Participant Observation

This refers to participating in formal *hui* held in the *wharenuī* of Taranaki Pā and observing how history is transmitted and discussed. It is not the purpose of this research to record and publish tribal history for my thesis. However, observing how oral history is passed on and discussions about tribal history in *hui* will provide examples to support my theory of a contested space. During observation I will be particularly taking note of:

- Versions of the story on how Taranaki *maunga* came to Taranaki
- Debate about sources of tribal history
- References to written histories
- How tribal history is used in *whaikōrero*

Consent will first be sought from the individual Pa Trustees Committees in order to undertake observation in that *marae* and make recordings of oratory performances. This thesis will not bring into disrepute any of the participating *pā*, or publish information not relevant to the research. If any personal names are used in the research, I will first seek the informed consent of those persons. I will also make a formal presentation of my research before I submit the thesis for marking. Observation will take place from January 2012 to December 2012. Interview material can be restricted to this thesis only, and if so will not be used in any future projects.

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui



Interview Consent Form

Title of project:

Living Memory and the Contested Space between Oral and Written Tribal History in Taranaki

Purpose:

The primary purpose of this research project is to collect information for a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) research thesis at Victoria University of Wellington. This project will also benefit Taranaki iwi by revealing current perspectives on tribal history, both oral and written.

Researcher:

Dennis Ngāwhare-Pounamu (*Ko Puniho te Pā, Ko Ngā Māhanga ā Tairi te hapū, ko Taranaki Tūturu te iwi*), PhD student at Te Kawa a Maui, Victoria University of Wellington

Email: dennis.ngawharepounamu@vuw.ac.nz or aiotanga@hotmail.com

Mobile: 027 277 6884

Release:

Dennis has informed me of the purpose of this research project before being interviewed, I have read the attached information sheet and been given the opportunity to ask questions and have received satisfactory answers.

Dennis will supply a transcription of the interview, and I will also have the opportunity of withdrawing from the research during the month after submission of the transcript. If after this time I agree to the use of my information, I accept it will not be possible to completely withdraw from the research. If my information is used, Dennis will supply a copy of that section of the thesis making every effort to ensure the correct use of my information. I will also be invited to a formal presentation of research findings before the thesis is submitted.

I hereby consent to the use in this project of my name, content of interview and other information recorded for the purpose of this PhD study.

I also require that:

My name is not used in text

Information not to be used for any other purpose but this project

Name:

Whānau:

Marae:

Hapū:

Signature

Date:

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui



Observation Consent Form

Title of project:

Living Memory and the Contested Space between Oral and Written Tribal History in Taranaki

Purpose:

The primary purpose of this research project is to collect information for a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) research thesis at Victoria University of Wellington. This project will also benefit Taranaki iwi by revealing current perspectives on Taranaki tribal history, both oral and written.

Researcher:

Dennis Ngāwhare-Pounamu (*Ko Puniho te pā, Ko Ngā Māhanga ā Tairi te hapū, ko Taranaki Tūturu te iwi*)

Te Kawa a Maui School of Māori Studies, Victoria University of Wellington

Email: dennis.ngawharepounamu@vuw.ac.nz or aiotanga@hotmail.com

Mobile: 027 277 6884

Release:

Dennis has informed us of the purpose of his research project in a formal Trustees meeting. We have read the attached information sheet and been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and have received satisfactory answers.

Dennis will present back to the committee/*pā/hapū/iwi* the findings of his research before submitting his thesis for marking. Any use of participant's names will also require approval from the individual and a signed consent form (see Interview Consent Form).

We hereby consent to Dennis Ngāwhare-Pounamu using data from participant observations from this *pā* in the PhD project for the duration of 01 January 2012 to 31 December 2012.

We also require that:

_____ That specific personal names are not used in text

_____ Information not to be used for any other purpose but this project

Chairperson:

Signature:

Date:

Secretary:

Signature:

Date:

Interview Questions

This is a semi-structured interview and short open questions will be used to lead into and gather data for the PhD research. An information sheet will be given prior to the interview. Interviews will take place wherever the interviewee is most comfortable and will last for at least one hour.

16. Were you ever told the story of how Taranaki maunga came to Te Tai Hauāuru?
17. What do you consider is 'oral history'?
18. Have you read any books relating to versions of Taranaki Tribal History?
19. If so, what was your opinion on the content?
20. If you can't speak Te Reo Māori, in what form have you learnt historical facts about the *iwi/hapū/marae/whānau*?
21. If you stand to deliver a *whaikōrero* or *karanga*, what kind of historical references do you use?
22. Have you ever learnt any stories/proverbs/songs that refer to the Travelling Mountain narrative that you know haven't been published?
23. Have you ever noticed a speaker using information that you know originated in a publication? If so what was your opinion?
24. When have you noticed an argument about knowledge of the Travelling Mountain narrative derived from written sources on the *marae*?
25. Can you remember a time when you told a historical story based on what you had read?
26. How did your elders feel about published tribal history?
27. How open were they in discussing information of a historical nature?
28. Do you know any published histories that were inaccurate or different from what you knew?
29. If so, how do you define information as inaccurate
30. How can written history be used to support the *tikanga* of the *marae*?

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