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A whakapapa of tradition.
Iwirakau carving 1830-1930.

Ngarino Gabriel Ellis.

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of the
Doctor of Philosophy in Art History, The University of Auckland, 2012.

ABSTRACT.

This thesis calls for a new approach through which to track and assess change in Maori art history from 1830-1930. I term this a 'Whakapapa of Tradition.' Some issues to consider include what makes a tradition in Maori art; how do they begin and why do they cease; and what forces are at play which make some forms of building acceptable and others not. This thesis explores the way that Maori embraced new forms so that over time building and decorating practices consolidated and became fixed, creating what amounts to a new tradition.

The research considers how Arjun Appadurai's concept of a biography of an object can apply to Maori art traditions. Each has a distinct whakapapa drawn from 'ancestor' art forms which, in time, create 'descendant' art products. This thesis analysed and compared various forms using the case study of the Iwirakau Carving School based on the northern East Coast. New primary research reveals that well-skilled and innovative artists were supported by keen patrons and communities who were transmitters of culture, creating new forms of architecture to articulate changing circumstances and an engagement with modern tools and ideas.

Chapter One outlines key concepts in the thesis; Chapter Two examines Iwirakau visual culture before 1830; Chapter Three focuses on the emergence of the Whare Karakia (chapel) in the late 1830s; Chapter Four considers the birth of the wharehau (meeting house) in the early 1860s; Chapter Five discusses the carvers Te Kihirini, Hone Taahu, Hone Ngatoto, Hoani Ngatai, Tamati Ngakaho and Riwai Pakerau; while Chapter Six presents research on the art patrons including local Maori, Henare Potae, Ropata Wahawaha; those from other iwi, Takamoana Karaitiana, Hikawera Mahupuku; and Pakeha, the Canterbury Museum. Chapter Seven introduces Apirana Ngata and his work rejuvenating the art scene, and introducing new models, most notably the wharekai (dining hall).

Read together these chapters provide a picture of Maori art in transition. Aspects of existing practices were carefully selected for each new building in order to express contemporary ideas of identity and culture. Through repetition of particular forms, these

buildings contributed to a new tradition and show that Maori art and architecture was never static but a dynamic, living entity responsive to change.

DEDICATION.

He whakamaharatanga tenei ki a

Hone Te Kauru o Te Rangi Kaa

raua ko

Professor Emeritus Judith Binney

raua ko

Professor Roger Neich.

He rau aroha tenei ki a koutou.

Ko Hikurangi te maunga,

Ko Waiapu te awa,

Ko Ngai Tane, ko Te Whanau-a-Takimoana me Ngati Hokopu nga hapu,

Ko O Hine Waiapu me Tai Rawhiti nga marae,

Ko Ngati Porou te iwi.

Ko Rakaumangamanga te maunga,

Ko Ipipiri te moana,

Ko Ngati Kuta te hapu,

Ko Te Rawhiti te marae,

Ko Ngapuhi te iwi.

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Free at last, Free at last, Thank God Almighty I'm free at last (Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr).

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GLOSSARY.

Note: The author uses the way of writing Maori as passed down from her grandparents, Emere and Walter Mountain, who were both Maori first language speakers. As such there are no macrons and few double vowels.

Amo	Front panels on a meeting house.
Atea	Area in front of a structure.
Haehae	Carved lines or ridges.
Hahunga	Bone scraping ceremony.
Hakari	Feasts.
Hapu	Sub-tribe.
Haumi	Early form of carving on the bow of a canoe
Heke	Rafters.
Heke tipi	Half-boards which fit into the corners of the porch ceiling.
Hoe whakairo	Painted canoe paddles.
Ikatere	Swimming fish (type of fish).
I nga wa o mua	In the old days.
Iwi	Tribe.
Iwirakau	Ancestor credited with enlivening the art of carving in the Waiapu region.
Kaimoana	Seafood.
Kaitiaki	Guardian.
Kaiwhakaako	Native Teachers.
Kanae	Mullet (type of fish).
Karakia	Prayer.
Kaupapa Maori	Methodology promoted by Linda Tuhiwai Smith and others which centres research by and for Maori using Maori ways of thinking, researching and writing.
Kawanga	Opening (of a building).
Kaweii	Lines of descent.
Koha	Gift.
Kokiri	Leatherjacket (type of fish).
Korero purakau	Narratives.
Korero tipuna	Tradition.
Kowhaiwhai	Decorative patterns on house rafters.
Kuia	Old woman.
Maihi	Slanted bargeboards descending from the tekoteko.
Mana	Power, authority.
Manaia	Spiritual guardian, often shown as a beaked figure.
Mana Maori	Maori prestige.
Manuhiri	Guests, visitors.
Manu korero	Speakers.
Marae	Complex comprising meeting house at the very least.

Marae atea	Courtyard in front of the chief's house.
Maroro	Flying fish (type of fish).
Matau	Fish-hook.
Mauri	Life force.
Mokopuna	Grandchild/grandchildren.
Moteatea	Lament.
Ohu	Working bee.
Pa	Fortified settlements.
Pakati	Notches.
Pa maioro	A village defended by ramparts, fosses and stockades.
Pa tuwatawata	Fighting pa.
Pakeha	New Zealand European.
Pakeke	East Coast term for an elder.
Papa	Floor (short for Papatuanuku, Mother Earth).
Parata	Carved face at the front of the waka taua.
Pataka	Decorated storehouse.
Patu	Cleaver.
Pono	Truth.
Poupou	Wall carvings.
Pou tahu	Large post at the front internal wall of a meeting house.
Poutokomanawa	Large post in the middle of the interior of a meeting house.
Poutuarongo	Large post at the back internal wall of a meeting house.
Pou whakarae	Large carved posts on the palisades of pa.
Puhoro	Painted pattern representing speed and prowess.
Rangatira	Chiefly person.
Raparapa	End of the maihi.
Rauawa	Side boards on a waka.
Rekohu	Chatham Islands.
Roro	Porch.
Tahuu	Ridgepole.
Takere	Keel.
Tane Mahuta	God of the Forest.
Taniko	Woven border of dress cloaks.
Tangihanga	Death ceremony lasting 3-5 days.
Taonga	Treasure, sometimes also called Taonga tuku iho (treasures handed down from the ancestors).
Tapu	Sacredness.
Tataitanga ahua toi	Stylistic lineage (term coined by Robert Jahnke).
Taumunu	Thwarts of a canoe.
Te ahi kaa	Keepers of the home fires.
Te ao hurihuri	The world turns.
Te ao kohatu	The world of stone.
Tekoteko	Central figure on the top of the apex of the meeting house.
Te reo	Maori language.
Tika	Just, fair, right, correct.
Tikanga	Tradition, customs.
Tikanga a iwi	Tradition.

Tino rangatiratanga	Sovereignty.
Tohunga	Specialist.
Tohunga raranga	Expert weaver.
Tohunga tarai waka	Master canoe builder.
Tohunga whakairo	Master carver.
Toi moko	Preserved human heads.
Toki	Axe.
Tuao	Working bee (according to Firth).
Tukaki	Te Whanau-a-Apanui school of carving named after an ancestor of the same name.
Tuku iho	Tradition.
Tukutuku	Ornamental lattice-work between carved pillars in a house.
Tuporo haumi	Method of joining stern and prow pieces of a canoe.
Turangawaewae	Literally, place to stand.
Uawa	Tolaga Bay.
Utu	Revenge, reciprocity.
Waka	Canoe.
Waka hourua	Double canoe.
Waka pahi	Voyaging canoes.
Waka taua	War canoe.
Waiapu	Used both as a descriptor of the general area of northern East Coast as well as for the river.
Waiata-a-ringa	Action song.
Whakairo	Carving, decoration.
Whakangau	Final dressing of the wood by a carver.
Whakanoho kaenga	Possession of land.
Whakapapa	Lineage.
Whakapakoko atua	Figurines.
Whakatauki	Sayings, proverbs.
Whakawae	Window and door frames.
Whanau	Family.
Wharau	Shelter house.
Whao	Chisel.
Wharekai	Dining hall.
Whare karakia	Church or chapel.
Wharenui	Large house.
Whare Ora	Health Centre.
Wharepuni	Dormitories.
Whare rangatira	Chief's house.
Whare wananga	School of learning.
Whare whakairo	Decorated communal meeting house.
Whenua	Land, afterbirth.

CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION.

“When we say of a building that it is traditional, do we intend approval or, on the contrary, criticism?”¹

“Titiro ki muri kia whakatika a mua.” Look to the past to proceed to the future (Proverb).

Introduction.

This thesis tracks changes in Maori art and architecture from 1830 to 1930 through the concept of tradition. During this period the three dominant art traditions declined (waka taua (war canoes), pataka (decorated storehouses) and whare rangatira (chief’s houses)), replaced over the next one hundred years by the whare karakia (church), the whare whakairo (decorated meeting house) and the wharekai (dining hall). How did this come about and who was behind these changes? And how does this influence understanding the concept of art traditions within Maori culture?

A second concern of the thesis is to gauge how art traditions functioned within tribal carving schools. The focus is on the Iwirakau School that was based in the Waiapu Valley on the upper East Coast, emerging in the 1860s and declining in the late 1920s. The style of this School is known from the work of six major carvers who created over 30 meeting houses and other structures. Tradition for them was important but was also flexible enough to incorporate current issues and styles, as well as take into account their own creativity.

¹ Yi-Fu Tuan, “Traditional: What does it mean?” in *Dwellings, Settlements and Tradition*, edited by JeanPaul Bourdier and Nezar Alsayyad (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989), 27.

Each art tradition began with a new taonga (prized possession) that simultaneously drew on earlier precedents yet differed from them. These taonga had a distinct moment of birth and, for some, death (by destruction or alienation), and as such can be said to have a biography. Each had, to draw on Maori frameworks, whakapapa (genealogical ascent and descent) in that they came *from* somewhere (ascent), and often influenced the creation of *new* taonga (descent). Each taonga could be plotted within the art tradition which, through the sum of its individual taonga, also came *from* somewhere and influenced other new art traditions.

This thesis thus focuses on the ways in which art traditions within Maori culture shifted over the course of a century. Was this due to colonisation? It is argued that this was partly the case, but that of more importance was the way that different sectors in the Maori art world re-negotiated key concepts within Maori culture, such as tikanga (tradition), tapu (sacredness) and mana (power, authority). Art traditions allowed them to visually make manifest this re-negotiation, which in turn influenced other sectors of Maori society. Over the period 1830-1930 these key concepts were retained in two ways: firstly by embedding them within significant architectural forms, and secondly by preserving important rituals surrounding their creation and use. Throughout time the importance of whakapapa and whenua (land) remained and was articulated in a way which allowed creativity to flourish.

Tradition as concept.

It is difficult to review the entire subject of tradition, but the next section outlines those thinkers and theories in relation to indigenous cultures that have informed the main argument of this thesis, namely that the concept of tradition has whakapapa. They are also helpful in understanding the critical issues for this thesis: What is tradition? Who is involved? How does tradition change? The intention of this section is to open up discussion for the chapters that follow on the way in which the concept of tradition has inflected understandings about Maori art over the period 1830-1930. Numerous

disciplines have discussed the concept of tradition including Art History, Folklore,² Architecture³ and Philosophy.⁴ Discussion about tradition has centred on changes in culture globally, focusing on a range of different groups, from Skitwish objects⁵ to Japanese tourist architecture.⁶ However, it is debates within the field of Anthropology and History that have laid down some foundational principles that guide this thesis. Earlier summaries of the field of tradition by others are widely available,⁷ so the overview that follows focuses only on those writings that have direct relevance for this thesis and provide a point of departure.

Two of the most influential books on tradition are Edward Shils's *Tradition* (1981)⁸ and Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* (1983).⁹ Together

² Such as Alan Gailey ("The Nature of Tradition," *Folklore* 100.2 (1989)) and Dan Ben-Amos ("The Seven Strands of Tradition: Varieties in Its Meaning in American Folklore Studies," *Journal of Folklore Research* 21.2/3 (1984)). Gailey assesses traditions as having "lives of their own, which develop over time" 150, an idea which is directly relevant to the premise of this thesis.

³ Deidre Brown provides a most useful summary of recent debates surrounding tradition in relation to a history of Maori architecture ("Post-European and Indigenous Architectural Histories in Aotearoa New Zealand," *Shifting Views. Selected Essays on the Architecture History of Australia and New Zealand*, eds. Andrew Leach, et al., (Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 2008). Charles L. Briggs ("The Politics of Discursive Authority in Research on the 'Invention of Tradition'", *Cultural Anthropology* 11.4 (1996)) and Sissons ("The Traditionalisation of the Maori Meeting House," *Oceania* 69.1 (1998); "The Systemisation of Tradition: Maori Culture as a Strategic Resource," *Oceania* 64.2 (1993)) also provide very useful overviews.

⁴ One of the most interesting and relevant is the African philosopher Kwame Gyekye (*Tradition and Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997)). He assesses tradition and its retention in terms of revivals; those who wish to revive traditions have lives that are "degenerate" (234) and believe that reviving traditions would "contribute to national integration" (235). Meanwhile, anti-revivalists believe that if 'Africans' want to "catch up" then they need to reject the past.

⁵ Susan Ann Croteau, "'But Does It Look Indian?': Object Archetypes and Objectified Others in Native American Art, Culture and Identity" (PhD diss., University of California, 2008).

⁶ Markus Oedewald, "Meanings of Tradition in Contemporary Japanese Domestic Tourism," *Japanese Tourism and Travel Culture*, eds. Sylvie Guichard-Anguis and Okpyo Moon (New York: Routledge, 2009).

⁷ See Alain Babadzan ("Anthropology, Nationalism and the 'Invention of Tradition'," *Anthropological Forum* 10.2 (2000)), Briggs ("The Politics of Discursive Authority") and Mark Salber Phillips ("Introduction. What Is Tradition When It Is Not 'Invented'? A Historiographical Introduction," in *Questions of Tradition*, ed. Mark Phillips and Gordon Schochet. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004)).

⁸ Edward Shils, *Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981). This was based on a journal article he wrote 10 years earlier: Edward Shils, "Tradition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13 (1971).

⁹ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1992). This paid homage to Roy Wagner and his book *Invention of Culture*. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975).

they emphasize that notions of tradition continue to have relevance for contemporary cultures as a way of linking with their heritage and history. The essays in *The Invention of Tradition* argue that traditions were deliberately invented throughout time to serve distinct political and cultural agendas. In the early 1980s, discussions about tradition centered on indigenous groups who were reviving specific practices as symbols of earlier cultural pride.¹⁰ Much academic debate surrounded these revivals calling them ‘inauthentic,’ and claiming that such traditions were new inventions rather than revitalizations of older customs. In response, writers such as Haunani-Kay Trask criticized anthropologists such as Roger Keesing¹¹ and Jocelyn Linnekin¹² for misunderstanding the importance of indigenous traditions performed today, arguing that these were part of a continuum.

Many writers called into question exactly what was tradition. According to the Oxford Dictionary, tradition is defined as “the transmission of customs or beliefs from generation to generation, or the fact of being passed on in this way; a long-established custom or belief passed on from one generation to another.”¹³ For Eric Hobsbawm,

*‘Tradition’ in this sense must be distinguished clearly from ‘custom’ which dominates so-called ‘traditional’ societies. The object and characteristic of ‘traditions’, including invented traditions, is invariance. The past, real or invented, to which they refer imposes fixed (normally formalized) practices, such as repetition.*¹⁴

In relation to art, tradition refers to “an artistic or literary method or style established by an artist, writer, or movement, and subsequently followed by others.”¹⁵ This transmission or handing down is essential in order to prioritise “continuity with the

¹⁰ See for instance, Haunani-Kay Trask, “Natives and Anthropologists: The Colonial Struggle,” *Contemporary Pacific* 3 (1991): 159-167.

¹¹ Roger Keesing, “Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific,” *Contemporary Pacific* 1 (1989): 168-171.

¹² Jocelyn Linnekin, “Defining Tradition: Variations on Hawaiian Identity,” *American Ethnologist* 10 (1983): 443-449.

¹³ *Oxford Reference Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/views/SEARCH_RESULTS.html?y=0&q=tradition&category=t23&x=0&ssid=457008344&scope=book&time=0.741168850376049 (accessed March 31, 2011).

¹⁴ Hobsbawm, “Introduction,” 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

past”¹⁶ which in turn provides “a conscious model of past life ways that people use in the construction of identity.”¹⁷ The link between tradition and culture is critical. Each relies on the other for its creation and continuation. As Gordon Schochet advises, “traditions belong to *cultures* and are among the ways they maintain their distinct identities.”¹⁸ Similarly, Susan Ann Croteau talks of the context in which traditions operate, describing them as “activities, beliefs or aesthetic values that may be identified, isolated and generally accepted as giving a particular community its essential personality.”¹⁹

Importantly, not all beliefs are passed down but rather only a selection. Schochet describes it as, “*some* version of the past,”²⁰ whilst T. S. Eliot argues that tradition is not a passive process but one of active engagement,

*[I]f the only form of tradition, of handing down, consisted in following the ways of the immediate generation before us in a blind or timid adherence to its successes, ‘tradition’ should be positively discouraged. ... It cannot be inherited, and if you want it you must obtain it by great labour.*²¹

The word ‘tradition’ in Te Reo Maori (Maori language) is translated as ‘tikanga.’ It derives from the word ‘tika’ meaning just, fair, right, correct.²² According to the *Williams Dictionary*, there are seven translations for ‘tikanga’:

1. ‘Rule, plan, method’
2. ‘Custom, habit’
3. ‘Anything normal or usual’
4. ‘Reason’
5. ‘Meaning, purport’

¹⁶ Ibid, 1.

¹⁷ Linnekin, “Defining Tradition,” 241.

¹⁸ Schochet, “Tradition as Politics,” 299.

¹⁹ Croteau, “‘But It Doesn't Look Indian?’,” 11.

²⁰ Schochet, “Tradition as Politics,” 299.

²¹ “Tradition and the Individual Talent,” *Selected Essays*. (Faber and Faber, 1932), 14.

²² Hirini Moko Mead talks of tikanga being based on the principles of ‘tika’ (being right) and ‘pono’ (true or genuine) (*Tikanga Maori. Living by Maori Values* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2003), 25-26).

6. 'Authority, control'
7. 'Correct, right.'²³

Within the *Ngata Dictionary* 'tradition' is translated as 'korero tipuna' or 'tikanga a iwi,' and 'traditional' is 'tikanga' or 'tuku iho.'²⁴ However, when translating from Maori to English²⁵ 106 translations are listed in the *Ngata Dictionary Online* including code, condition, convention, culture, custom, ethic, etiquette, rule and rudiments. The range in these translations reflects the elasticity of the term 'tikanga'; it changes according to time, place and person, its translation being adapted to suit. Translating often distorts the original intention and full meaning of a word, resulting in a 'flat' description of the term, rather than any multi-faceted understanding which a word like tikanga may involve.

Tikanga is frequently referred to as a crucial aspect of Maori culture and society. Mason Durie identifies tradition as part of his conceptualization of the environment. He refers to "a four-part framework for understanding Maori values" proposed by Hirini Matenga that "takes into account four fundamental Maori values: taonga, tikanga, mauri [life force] and kaitiaki [guardian]".²⁶ Tikanga is explained,

*Tikanga are used as 'guides to moral behaviour' and within an environmental context refer to the preferred way of protecting natural resources, exercising guardianship, determining responsibilities and obligations, and protecting the interests of future generations ... the most appropriate tikanga for a group at a given time, and in response to a particular situation, is more likely to be determined by a process of consensus, reached over time and based both on tribal precedent and the exigencies of the moment. Tikanga is as much a comment on process as it is on fixed attitudes or knowledge.*²⁷

Durie emphasises the significance of tikanga for Maori and, more critically for this thesis, the way that it *changes* over time in response to the group for whom it has

²³ Herbert W. Williams, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language* (Wellington: New Zealand Electronic Text Centre, 2006), accessed April 4, 2011, 416-417. This is popularly known as 'The Williams Dictionary' in order to distinguish it from other dictionaries.

²⁴ *Ngata Dictionary* (Wellington: Learning Media, 1993), <http://www.learningmedia.co.nz/ngata/english/tradition> (accessed April 04, 2011).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, <http://www.learningmedia.co.nz/ngata/maori/tikanga> (accessed April 04, 2011).

²⁶ Mason Durie, *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga. The Politics of Maori Self-Determination* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2001), 23.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

relevance. Another Maori academic, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, translates tikanga Maori as ‘Maori cultural customs,’²⁸ identifying tikanga as a “key cultural concept” together with tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty), whanau (family), hapu (sub-tribe), iwi (tribe) and te reo Maori. All are “embedded in the Maori language and world view.”²⁹ Smith calls on tikanga to monitor and regulate the practice of research, particularly when working with and for Maori communities. Researchers, she argues, need to pay heed to existing dynamics within those communities and not upset them; they are there to offer real solutions to real problems. In terms of the present research, the issue at hand is how to explain the acceptance and rejection of long-standing cultural forms in the period 1830-1930. By considering the acceptance and rejection of these cultural forms as traditions, these changes can be understood, and cycles of traditions identified.

One of the most thorough discussions of tikanga is by Hirini Moko Mead in his book *Tikanga Maori*. He asserts that tikanga is:

*... the set of beliefs associated with practices and procedures to be followed in conducting the affairs of a group or an individual. These procedures are established by precedents through time, are held to be ritually correct, are validated by more than one generation and are always subject to what a group or individual is able to do.*³⁰

He provides a practical way of thinking about tikanga,

*Tikanga are tools of thought and understanding. They are packages of ideas which help to organise behaviour and provide some predictability in how certain activities are carried out. They provide templates and frameworks to guide our actions and help steer us ...*³¹

The extent to which the terms tikanga and tradition can be interchanged is problematic. Outside of Maori culture, writers point to tradition being based on specific identifiable practices, whilst Maori writers consider tikanga to be much more entangled with other concepts such as mana, pono (truth), and tapu. Both groups acknowledge that the terms ‘tradition’ and ‘tikanga’ are integral to one’s identity whether explicit or not, self-

²⁸ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies. Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London, New York and Dunedin: Zed Books Ltd, University of Otago Press, 1999), 109.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Mead, *Tikanga Maori*, 12.

³¹ Ibid.

conscious or not. The degree to which these guides to behaviour are adhered to depends as much on individuals and their circumstances, as the society in which they live. Whatever the culture, no tradition or tikanga remains static.

This discussion about tradition is a feature in discourse about Maori art. Robert Jahnke writes of “stylistic traditions,”³² Mead calls them “art traditions”³³ whilst Arapata Hakiwai entitled his thesis “The Carving Traditions of Ngati Kahungunu.”³⁴ Though emphasising the importance of traditions, few interrogate what the term ‘tradition’ actually means in relation to Maori art. For many the term is invoked in relation to creating a taxonomy of Maori art. The span of artistic production is regularly defined as being either ‘traditional’ or ‘contemporary.’ For some, ‘traditional’ Maori art are those forms that are based on the marae, encompassing tukutuku (ornamental lattice work),³⁵ kowhaiwhai (decorative patterns on house rafters) and whakairo (carving). For them the use of the term ‘traditional’ in relation to an artwork increases its mana and that of its maker. Jahnke describes the term ‘traditional’ in this way,

*Customary (traditional) Maori art was an art created by Maori that maintained a visual correspondence with historical models (usually carving, weaving and painting prior to mid nineteenth century) in which the shift from historical models was usually minimal.*³⁶

He uses the term ‘customary’ rather than ‘traditional’ because “it is less susceptible to temporal stasis allowing the term to be used to also describe ‘contemporary’ practice.”³⁷ Jahnke’s intention is to acknowledge all arts made by Maori. He recognises those forms that engage with both customary and modern forms by using the term ‘trans-

³² Robert Hans Jahnke, “He Tataitanga Ahua Toi. The House that Riwai Built. A Continuum of Maori Art” (PhD. diss., Massey University, 2007).

³³ Hirini Moko Mead, *Te Toi Whakairo: The Art of Maori Carving* (Auckland: Reed, 1986).

³⁴ Arapata Hakiwai, “Te Toi Whakairo o Ngati Kahungunu: The Carving Traditions of Ngati Kahungunu” (MA Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2003).

³⁵ All translations unless otherwise noted are from the Glossary in Ranginui Walker’s *Tohunga Whakairo. Pakariki Harrison* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008).

³⁶ Robert Jahnke, “Maori Art at the Millennium,” in *State of the Maori Nation: Twenty-First-Century Issues in Aotearoa*, ed. Malcolm Mulholland. (Auckland: Reed, 2006), 4, n3.

³⁷ Thanks to Robert Jahnke for clarifying this.

customary,'³⁸ creating space for the practice of artists such as Cliff Whiting, Para Matchitt and Sandy Adsett who draw on earlier models and practices to guide their involvement with contemporary issues, such as the retention of land, and primacy of history.

Jahnke explains further,

*The term 'contemporary Maori art' continues to be used when speaking of current developments in art, and to distinguish between 'contemporary' (here synonymous with 'modern') and 'traditional' developments. Herein lies a contradiction, since art defined as 'traditional' is also created today. In coining the phrase 'contemporary', Maori participate in the elitist game of reinforcing a hierarchical structure that promotes the new (novel, innovative) over the old (traditional, hackneyed). Equally, Maori perpetuate the anthropological dislocation of culture into past and present.*³⁹

Pine Taiapa, one the most significant Maori carvers in the 20th century once advised, "... even though the patterns used are traditional, the Maori artist, through variations mentioned, is allowed personal liberty to express himself creatively."⁴⁰ Such liberties are critical within Maori art, as Robert Jahnke and Huia Tomlins Jahnke explain, "In reality there is no Maori artist, craftsperson or designer today whose creative products are created using only traditional technology or whose creative products are informed by non-traditional referents."⁴¹ The same could be said for carvers working in the 19th century. They were breakers of tradition, men who were trained in the *whare wananga* (school of learning), and who used this education as a springboard for something new and dynamic rather than repeating older prototypes.

Mead outlines this tension between artists,

[Modern artists] see themselves as exploring the frontiers of change, as agents of change who will take it where no traditional artist will dare take it, and as the forward-thinking people, the developers, the thinkers, the worthy ones. On the

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Robert Jahnke, "Contemporary Maori Art: Fact or Fiction," in *Maori. Art and Culture*, ed. Dorota Starzecka. (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 159.

⁴⁰ Pine Taiapa, "Opening Address, March 1960."

⁴¹ Robert Jahnke and Huia Tomlins Jahnke, "The Politics of Maori Image and Design," *Pukenga Korero* 7.1 (2003), 24. The only exception they would say would be *tohunga raranga* (expert weavers), for many of whom retention of indigenous dyes, patterns and styles is essential.

*other hand the traditional artists are seen as ... backward looking, non-thinking, non-innovative people ...*⁴²

The challenge for writers about Maori art is to use such terms as ‘traditional’ and ‘contemporary’ with care, simultaneously recognising innovation as well as adherence to older modes of practice. The question then follows, how do such variations of practice become traditions? Jeffrey Sissons offers one answer with his concept “traditionalisation,”

*By traditionalisation I mean a process or set of processes through which aspects of contemporary culture come to be regarded as valued survivals from an earlier time. This assumes that there was a time when they were not so regarded – when they were either innovations or taken-for-granted features of daily life.*⁴³

Jahnke and Tomlins Jahnke suggest however that the term ‘traditionalising’ can be read negatively, particularly when museum curators use it to describe the changes in Maori architecture in the 20th century.⁴⁴ They link the term traditional with that of ‘orthodoxy,’ which presumes a level of conformity with existing norms. They argue that in relation to Maori art, Augustus and Harold Hamilton were, “... at the forefront of an archaizing museum-based orthodoxy that devalued breaks in tradition while promoting a conservative, orthodox approach to Maori art.”⁴⁵ Thus when whare whakairo such as Te Hau ki Turanga (built 1842-5) were placed in museums, curators and directors like the Hamiltons transformed them by removing any innovative features, such as corrugated iron roofing and non-red paint in the kowhaiwhai, in the interests of presenting an ‘authentic’ Maori whareniui (large house). The fact that such forms of architecture were actually relatively recent creations was ignored. Gradually over time, Te Hau ki Turanga in its new presentation became synonymous with what a ‘traditional’ meeting house should look like.⁴⁶

⁴² “Maori Art Reconstructed, Reorganised, Re-examined and Reclaimed,” in *Maori Art on the World Scene*, ed. H. M. Mead (Wellington: Ahua Design and Illustration, 1997), 232.

⁴³ Sissons, “Traditionalisation,” 36.

⁴⁴ Jahnke and Jahnke, “The Politics of Maori Image and Design,” 22.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Indeed, it became the stereotype of what a meeting house should look like, with the term ‘traditional’ gradually falling aside and only being resurrected with the building of new meeting houses from the 1970s which, when compared with Te Hau ki Turanga, were often identified as ‘contemporary meeting house’ by commentators.

This leads to the question of how long does it take before practices such as building a meeting house become a tradition? According to David Gross, there must be a minimum of three generations (or two transmissions) in order for them to be considered to be a tradition.⁴⁷ In this view then, Te Hau ki Turanga could be considered to be a tradition, in that as is argued in Chapter Four the practice of making meeting houses had evolved over time from this, its earliest example, to a peak of production in the 1870s and 1880s.

Tradition and its agents.

The next question is who is involved in traditions. Mead described humorously those involved with tikanga on the marae (complex comprising meeting house at the very least) as “‘the monitor of tikanga’ – some regarded them as ‘the monster of tikanga.’”⁴⁸ These men and women were an integral part of the community who would use new architectural forms, and, together with the artists and their patrons, were responsible for its ‘success.’ The interchange between tikanga monitors on one hand, and the artist on the other, was complex and is one of the key dynamics that is explored in the thesis. Each group drew on the concept of tradition in different ways according to their own social, political and cultural agendas. As will be shown, tradition became most important and explicit during times of peace when new objects were created as articulations of identity. During the 1850s for instance artists, patrons and communities re-evaluated existing models of culture, replacing them with new forms which would continue important ceremonial, practical, and spiritual functions.

Kwame Gyekye describes those involved in pushing new trends as “self-assertive individual moralists, idealists, visionaries, intellectuals, or social reformers, more

⁴⁷ David Gross, *The Past in Ruins: Tradition and the Critique of Modernity*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 10.

⁴⁸ Mead, *Tikanga Maori*, 20.

individual of mind.”⁴⁹ These are no ordinary citizens but ones with a distinct agenda and investment in mind, as Stephen Prickett notes,

*... tradition is the pre-occupation of those for whom the past has become a problem, it is also, contrarywise, a source of appeal to those with little or no sense of the past at all ... tradition seeks to be not an explanation so much as a template by which development (or degeneration) may be differentiated from the mere random alteration of conditions.*⁵⁰

Within Maori carving, Jahnke and Tomlins Jahnke describe an influential chief or master carver as a “dominant personality.”⁵¹ By way of example they cite the work of Rongowhakaata carver Raharuhi Rukupo and in particular his first known whare whakairo, Te Hau ki Turanga. The success of the house can be gauged by the fact that it “provided the model” for subsequent meeting houses for over a century, such as Whitireia at Whangara carved by Pine Taiapa in 1944. Such personalities like Rukupo led their people by discarding existing styles and forms, or to use Jahnke and Tomlins Jahnke’s phrase, undertaking “judicious editing.”⁵² In making such “...qualitative assessments”⁵³ they set a “standard of excellence ... a customary conservatism that was to remain prescriptive [until alternatives were eventually established.]”⁵⁴

The changing of tradition.

The crux of this thesis lies in opening up discussions about transformations of Maori art. Change was integral to the continuity of culture, as Durie has noted in discussing the history of Maori in the early 19th century, “... although a ‘corpus of basic convictions about reality and life’ has remained relatively constant, the manifestations

⁴⁹ Kwame, *Tradition and Modernity*, 223.

⁵⁰ Stephen Prickett, ed., *Modernity and the Reinvention of Tradition. Backing into the Future*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 227.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Jahnke and Tomlins Jahnke, “The Politics of Maori Image and Design,” 22.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

of culture are subject to flux, so that change becomes the norm.”⁵⁵ Similarly, Mead asserts that “Tikanga Maori are not frozen in time although some people think that they ought to be.”⁵⁶ He calls for a respect of change within traditions,

*It is true, however, that tikanga are linked to the past and that is one of the reasons why they are so valued by the people. They do link us to the ancestors, to their knowledge base and to their wisdom. What we have today is a rich heritage that requires nurturing, awakening sometimes, adapting to our world and developing further for the next generations.*⁵⁷

Such changes within Maori architecture were not random but rather deliberate acts. Genevieve Later in discussing aspects of 20th-century literature argues,

*Tradition in this sense constitutes a kind of continuity, but one that both accepts and rejects the “parent” tradition. When the number of rejected elements in the parent tradition becomes high enough, the current paradigm loses force and a new paradigm is formed with a new set of teaching examples.*⁵⁸

As she continues,

*Originality has less to do with the absolute firstness of a feature (which is inaccessible anyway) than it has to do with the prominence of a feature within a paradigm, that prominence being determined by the intellectual investments of the paradigm itself or sometimes by external forces like powerful patronage or media exposure.*⁵⁹

She states that it is only in hindsight that this ‘firstness’ can be considered to be a “starting point” for something new.⁶⁰ In effect the paradigm operates in a similar way to George Kubler’s concept of “formal sequences.”⁶¹ These begin with “prime objects” which are “not explained by their antecedents.”⁶² Rather they are a solution to a new

⁵⁵ Mason Durie, *Nga Tai Matutu: Tides of Maori Endurance*. (Melbourne, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2005), 3.

⁵⁶ Mead, *Tikanga Maori*, 21.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Genevieve Later, “The role of the Kuhnian Paradigm in Tradition and Originality,” in *The Force of Tradition: Response and Resistance in Literature*, ed. Donald G. Marshall (London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 81.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ As outlined in *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962).

⁶² *Ibid.*, 39.

problem. They are also usually architectural forms because of “being immobile and often indestructible objects.”⁶³ Mead agrees to the introduction of new elements, “Changes in Maori art are brought about by Maori artists who employ new technologies, introduce new images, and recombine elements of Maori art in new and exciting ways that are accepted by the Maori public.”⁶⁴ As will be shown in Chapter Four, within Maori culture the *whare whakairo* emerged as one solution to pressing issues of where to hold large inter-tribal meetings, as well addressing the problem of how to assert tribal and sub-tribal authority on specific blocks of tribal land. This was certainly not the first time Maori had created a solution to a pressing issue. Indeed it could be seen to characterize Maori art – their arrival from the Pacific required creating solutions to new problems, both practical (such as how to store food in colder climates - the result was *pataka*), as well as symbolic (such as how to visually articulate guardianship over land - the result was *pou rahui*). James Clifford explains the creation of new things in this way,

*It is assumed that cultural forms will always be made, unmade, and remade. Communities can and must reconfigure themselves, drawing selectively on remembered pasts. The relevant question is whether, and how, they convince and coerce insiders and outsiders, often in power-charged, unequal situations, to accept the autonomy of “we.”*⁶⁵

Croteau uses the term “grooming” to describe the way in which communities choose traditions that “are subject to change, even if the authority’s purpose is to ensure that they do not.”⁶⁶ She suggests that change is inevitable for some groups whether they want it or not. Considered by Croteau, such ideas are considered in relation to the political group the Young Maori Party by Toon Van Meijl who claims that “[their] etic conceptions of tradition as static [were combined] with indigenous conceptualisations of history in a timeless mode.”⁶⁷ The result of this was that,

⁶³ Ibid, 41.

⁶⁴ Mead, “Maori Art Reconstructed,” 231.

⁶⁵ James Clifford, “Indigenous Articulations,” *Contemporary Pacific* 13.2 (2001): 479.

⁶⁶ Croteau, “”But It Doesn't Look Indian?”,” 11.

⁶⁷ Toon Van Meijl, “Historicising Maoritanga. Colonial Ethnography and the Reification of Maori Traditions,” *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 105.3 (1996): 313.

*... tradition and history were increasingly represented as timeless in order to defy discontinuities in the Maori way of life ... Maori tradition was reified and substantivised as a timeless treasure in order to counter the increasing influences of European domination.*⁶⁸

This reification thus appears as one strategy of resistance by Maori to colonization. This thesis probes this approach in relation to how it was employed by those involved in the making and breaking of traditions: the communities, their artists and their patrons. The waxing and waning of traditions is connected to the waxing and waning of the styles, forms and genres of art objects within those traditions. A useful framework in which to understand the rise and fall of traditions and their objects is the concept of a biography of an object. Igor Kopytoff first promoted this:

*Where does the thing come from and who made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognized “ages” or periods in the thing’s “life”, and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing’s use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness?*⁶⁹

An examination of the life of an object in turn revealed information about its relationship to the people and culture in which and for which it was made and ‘lived.’ The significance of this discussion within anthropology resulted in an entire issue of *World Archaeology* being devoted to different applications of the theory of the biography of the object. As the editors of the issue, Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall commented, “Until recently, material objects were given little attention in disciplines as anthropology, history of sociology, being seen mainly as functional items vital to the social process but seldom informing it.”⁷⁰ Their interest was how biography created meaning, not only for the object, but also for those involved with it. They contended that the object did not have to be “physically modified” in order to alter its original

⁶⁸ Ibid, 313.

⁶⁹ “The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process,” in *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 66-67. Appadurai also talks of this but in a broader context of commoditization (Ibid, “Introduction”).

⁷⁰ Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall, “The cultural biography of objects,” *World Archaeology* 31.2 (1999), 169.

meaning, though “In some circumstances, particularly those of colonial encounter, a sharp break may occur in a biography [resulting in] a radical resetting of meaning.”⁷¹

The relationship between people and objects remains central to this approach.⁷² Questions revealing this relationship include: When was the object made? By whom and for what reasons? What makes them distinctively belong to a certain artist or art school? Has their use changed over time and if so, how? Is it still circulating or has it stopped being used? Kopytoff uses a car in Africa as an example considering it in terms of what its biography would reveal including:

- the way it was acquired;
- how and from whom the money was assembled to pay for it;
- the relationship of the seller to the buyer;
- the uses to which the car is regularly put [function];
- the identity of its most frequent passengers and of those who borrow it;
- the movement of the car from hand to hand over the years [passing down];
- when the car collapses;
- the final disposition of the remains.

Similarly in New Zealand Sissons argues that meeting houses “are understood to have biographies, sometimes as eventful as those whom they represent.”⁷³ This insight is critical to the conceptualisation of the present research, offering a new way of treating the history of whareniui and of Maori architecture in general. This thesis pivots on the question that grows out of this – do traditions have biographies? Can they, like objects, be born, have lives and then die?

⁷¹ Gosden and Marshall, “The cultural biography of objects,” 176.

⁷² Jody Joy in reviewing the ten years of object biographies based on Gosden and Marshall’s work outlines another less popular approach – that of ‘life-history studies.’ He argues that this approach has “largely been ignored ... probably because the two approaches use a different language, often operate on different scales and set different objectives” (“Reinvigorating object biography: reproducing the drama of object lives,” *World Archaeology* 41.4 (2009), 542).

⁷³ Sissons, “Traditionalisation”, 36.

Placing this idea within a Maori paradigm begs the question of whether a tradition can have whakapapa? Sir Apirana Ngata describes whakapapa as, “the process of laying one thing upon another. If you visualise the foundation ancestors as the first generation, the next and succeeding generations are placed on them in ordered layers.”⁷⁴ Whakapapa defines who Maori are and where they have come from, laying out a matrix of complicated relationships throughout time and across a wide social and political spectrum. Linda Tuhiwai Smith heralds whakapapa both in relation to the nexus between researcher and researched, but also as a methodology for Maori research.⁷⁵ In terms of Kaupapa Maori research, whakapapa is integral as it allows for the positioning and contextualising of relationships between people, communities, participants, landscape, and the universe as a whole.

Relationship to other studies of Iwirakau carving.

This study sits within a wider field of scholarship on Maori tribal carving. Surveys of where whakairo on the East Coast over the past have been the ambit of anthropologists. Augustus Hamilton presented a survey entitled *Maori Art*⁷⁶ (1901), for instance, which included a number of Iwirakau carvings as the epitome of ‘authentic Maori art.’ His book hoped to capture the last vestiges of an artform that was considered to be dying out. In the 1920s there was renewed interest in renovating meeting houses built two generations before, a vision Ngata encouraged through his School of Maori Arts in

⁷⁴ Apirana Turupa Ngata, *Rauru-Nui-a-Toi*. (Wellington: Department of Anthropology, Victoria University of Wellington, 1972), 6.

⁷⁵ Graham Hingangaroa Smith also promotes this approach (“The Development of Kaupapa Maori: Theory and Praxis,” (PhD diss. University of Auckland, 1997). For further explanations of this theory see Linda Smith (*Decolonizing Methodologies*). As part of the ebb and flow of information between researchers and communities two websites have recently been started: the first (www.rangahau.co.nz) was inspired by Leonie Pihama and is a joint venture by a Rautaki Ltd and Nga Pae o te Maramatanga (based at the University of Auckland); the second (www.kaupapamaori.com) is run by Rautaki Ltd, of which Leonie Pihama is a Co-director. Both provide a window into key principles of kaupapa Maori theory, providing references and important articles online. One new feature is the ‘e-Hui’ in which key commentators such as Cheryl Smith and Leonie Pihama discuss pertinent issues within the Maori research community online.

⁷⁶ Augustus Hamilton, *Maori Art* (London: The Holland Press, 1977). This was first published 1898-1901.

Rotorua. Ngata's cultural activism both at home in the Waiapu and in urban centres came at the same time that museum-based men, such as Hamilton, began recording existing meeting houses.

In 1943 W. J. Phillipps (based in the Dominion Museum) wrote to Ngata seeking his guidance for an upcoming trip around the East Coast in search of carved houses there. Ngata's letter provided information about which whareniui to look at and who to contact, as well as a very brief assessment as to the quality of the carving.⁷⁷ Phillipps visited all those houses, and published his account as "Carved Meeting Houses of the East Coast of the North Island"⁷⁸ in 1944. He assessed that there was "a certain amount of overlapping in all carving schools" and found that,

*Numerous problems arise which can be answered only by intensive research not only on old houses and on Museum material, but also by knowledge of the carvers themselves and those responsible for their training.*⁷⁹

His descriptions of each meeting house provide a snapshot of architecture on the East Coast. Phillipps conducted interviews with local people as guided by Ngata which gave an invaluable glimpse into the history of some of the whareniui. His knowledge of other carving schools (from his earlier research in other areas) provided him with skills to identify other carving styles.

Mead's *The Art of Maori Carving* (first published in 1961) provided the first extended compendium of tribal carving styles with visual and textual descriptions and analyses. He identified a number of carving styles along the East Coast which he centred on specific geographic locations: Uawa, Turanga, Waiapu and Te Kaha. He described the people as generally adhering to the tribal identification of Ngati Porou, and identified key tenets of the Waiapu style including a poutokomanawa (interior central post in a meeting house now in Auckland Museum (AM.163)), as well as the whareniui Porourangi, Rakaitemania and Kapohanga. Mead identified the main artists as Hone Ngatoto, Hone Taahu, Wi Tahata, Wi Haereroa and Hone Te Wehi. However, while his

⁷⁷ Apirana Turupa Ngata, "Letter to W. J. Phillipps 31 Oct 1942," qMS-1588, ATL.

⁷⁸ *Records of the Dominion Museum* 1 (1944).

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 70.

analysis provided a baseline of the Waiapu style, it omitted many carvings in museum collections that could have extended his discussion.

Jock McEwan writing for the *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* (1966)⁸⁰ identified the East Coast as one of the ‘culture areas’ of Maori carving. He named Porourangi and Hinetaora as the dominant houses stylistically, and provided details of the types of amo (front panels on a meeting house), maihi (slanted bargeboards descending from the tekoteko), and raparapa (end of the maihi) as well as the figure types and surface decoration from these wharenui (**Fig. 1**). He also described the styles of the carvers Hone Tahu [sic], Hoani Ngatoto [sic] and Tamati Ngakaho. There was no mention of Riwai Pakerau, Te Kihirini and Hoani Ngatai, who worked at the same time as Taahu, Ngatoto and Ngakaho and are considered here to be just as important.⁸¹

McEwan’s study provided the groundwork for David Simmons’s report on 50 meeting houses around the East Coast from Hicks Bay to Tolaga Bay (1973).⁸² Like Phillipps, Simmons described each house and gave his assessment as to the identity of the carver and its history, and in doing so provides a snapshot of wharenui in that year. This manuscript was published as *Meeting-Houses of Ngati Porou o Te Tai Rawhiti*⁸³ in 2006 and was promoted as “the most complete and detailed record of former and existing meeting-houses of Ngati Porou [as] the result of over 30 years’ research.”⁸⁴ The span of wharenui was extensive, including those which were no longer standing. For each house there were a number of photographs. There was also some comparative

⁸⁰ Jock McEwan, “Maori Art,” in *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, edited by A. H. McLintock, 408-429. Wellington: Government Printer, 1966. This was based on an article published in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* in 1947 in which he writes, “I would tentatively suggest the following culture areas as being fairly distinctly defined: North Auckland, Hauraki, Te Arawa, Matatua, Whanau Apanui, Ngati Porou, Gisborne, Kahungunu, Tainui, Taranaki and Whanganui. Just to what extent these differences were due to the styles of individual carvers it is difficult to say and the position is further confused by the custom of importing carvers from other districts. There were doubtless other culture areas, but insufficient material has survived from early times to distinguish them with any certainty.” (“The Development of Maori Culture since the Advent of the Pakeha,” *JPS* 56 (1947), 175).

⁸¹ This omission is curious given the fact that McEwan had included Ngatai in his detailed account of the Waitangi Centennial House (“The Waitangi Carved House,” MS-papers-6717-033, ATL).

⁸² David Simmons, “Report on the Houses of the Tai Rawhiti District, 16-23 January 1973,” MS 636, AIM.

⁸³ Auckland: Reed, 2006.

⁸⁴ *Meeting-Houses of Ngati Porou*, Back cover.

material from museums, both in New Zealand and overseas. However, there are some limitations in his research. He does not note, as may be argued, that in the period between the 1973 manuscript and 2006 book many of those wharenuī featured had in fact been significantly renovated, such as Rongomaianiwaniwa in Tikitiki. There is also little discussion of wharekai, a form which are so significant along the East Coast. At Rangitukia, for instance, the mana of the wharekai Hinepare is such that the marae is generally known as Hinepare rather than that of the wharenuī, Tai Rawhiti. Simmons also has little discussion about individual carvers or patronage of Ngati Porou artists.

In many ways Robert Jahnke addressed these issues in his PhD thesis “He Tataitanga Ahua Toi. The house that Riwai built / A Continuum of Maori Art” (2006).⁸⁵ This added to his earlier research which explored various aspects of Maori art.⁸⁶ Riwai Pakerau was Jahnke’s great-grandfather and one of the most significant carvers in the Iwirakau School. Jahnke argued for a “tataitanga ahua toi” or stylistic lineage. He explained, “This thesis is not about art history but about the genealogy of art within a tribal context.”⁸⁷ His thesis question was “how do form, content and genealogy contribute to art that resonates with Maori?”⁸⁸ He answers, “... trans-cultural practice in contemporary art can resonate with Maori if the art maintains visual correspondence or visual empathy with customary tribal form.”⁸⁹

Jahnke’s training as a carver, artist and academic is clearly demonstrated in the detailed identification and discussions of specific styles found on the East Coast, identifying four major Schools of carving, namely Tukaki of Te Whanau a Apanui, Iwirakau on the

⁸⁵ PhD diss. Massey University, 2006. Another unpublished thesis which provides much material is Te Pakaka Tawhai’s MA Thesis “Te Tipuna Wharenuī o te Rohe o Uepohatu,” (Massey University, 1978). It is based on interviews with his mother and other locals as well as his knowledge growing up on the East Coast. The thesis examines in depth a number of wharenuī within the area of the tipuna (ancestor) Uepohatu, including Rauru Nui a Toi, Ngati Porou, Hinetapora and Umuariki and discusses their history and significance for the community. Tawhai’s insights provide a good counterpoint for Simmons’s work only a few years before.

⁸⁶ In particular Jahnke and Jahnke, “The Politics of Maori Image and Design”; Jahnke, “Maori Art at the Millennium”; and Jahnke, “Contemporary Maori Art. Fact or Fiction,” in *Maori. Art and Culture*, ed. Dorota Starzecka. (London: British Museum Press, 1998).

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 8.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, i.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*.

upper East Coast, the Rawheoro School at Uawa (Tolaga Bay) and the Rukupo/Turanga style of Rongowhakaata. He meticulously analyses the style of individual carvers and discusses how they relate to one another. The last section examines the recent decoration by Jahnke and his students of his own meeting house, thus emphasizing his link – *tataitanga ahua toi* – with his ancestor.

Jahnke's thesis will be used here as a point of departure. The following chapters examine the concept of the art tradition, its making and breaking, rather than focusing specifically on the carving style of artists, though this is included as part of Chapter Five. In addition, the spotlight here is on specific architectural traditions which changed over this period with separate chapters devoted to the chapel, the *whare whakairo* and the *wharekai*. The focus is on the time period 1830 to 1930 when artistic change was most acute. This thesis extends Jahnke's groundwork by identifying further key artistic traits of each carver (plus other subsidiary carvers in Appendix Four) and adding several carvings to each carver's oeuvre. Of interest is the larger picture of each carver's art practice as a chronology and how they worked together. Further, these chapters will demonstrate that the vast majority of these projects were not based on European naturalism as argued by Jahnke, though this did inform *some* of the carving of churches, meeting houses and dining halls. Rather, specific traits were brought through from earlier art traditions, and from one project to the next.⁹⁰

Previous studies on East Coast carving show that this topic is a fertile area for study. Whilst there is information about who carved what, explanations as to the wider dynamic of how these new works operated within specific art traditions and how these traditions changed has not been considered before, particularly in relation to the period 1830-1930.⁹¹ In addition, tradition as a concept specific to one carving school (*Iwirakau*) also remains to be addressed, particularly in relation to agency. In particular, the topic of patronage of East Coast artists has been relatively little researched until now. The house *Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa*, for instance, has not been photographed in full before, especially the unusual figurative painted panels, and are documented in

⁹⁰ Though this is evident in a number of houses, most notably the ones worked on by Pakerau, as well as Rongomaianiwaniwa specifically.

⁹¹ "He Tataitanga," 5.

this thesis for the first time. The discovery and discussion of taonga in museum basements in overseas institutions as well as from New Zealand museums also signals this thesis as distinct from earlier writings.

A whakapapa of tradition.

So how would the concept of a whakapapa of tradition apply to Maori carving? On a micro level, whakapapa could be used to explain relationships between taonga - for instance the meeting house Porourangi (opened 1888) relates to other key meeting houses of the period, such as Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa (opened 1874) and Rauru Nui a Toi (opened 1883), by virtue of a similar style being employed for all of them. As such a whakapapa chart could be compiled showing the primary six carvers of the Iwirakau school and their relationships by virtue of the houses they jointly worked on, as well as through familial lineages.

Specific moments of birth and death of Maori art traditions characterises art practice over 1830-1930. This thesis provides evidence that there were distinct moments of 'birth' of new art traditions in East Coast visual culture during this period, marked by the emergence of distinctive architectural forms. The first was the whare karakia (chapel) at Whakawhitira Pa in April 1839, the second was the whare whakairo Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa which was completed in December 1873 in Christchurch, and the third and final form was the wharekai Lady Arihia Hall which opened in 1930 at Waiomatatini. Many communities were quick to embrace these new forms whose building and decorating practices, over time, consolidated and became fixed in themselves, creating what amounts to a 'tradition'.

Such 'births' of tradition involved the releasing or 'death' of other art traditions. The last known pataka in the upper East Coast were those that stood in Rangitukia and Whakawhitira pa (both were abandoned in the 1840s).⁹² Around the same time the making of waka taua was also discarded. Both had been critical statements of hapu identity during the 17th and 18th centuries if not earlier. However, by the 1850s new

⁹² Other examples would be double canoes (waka hourua) and waka pahi (voyaging canoes).

technologies (of food storage), settlement patterns (away from the pa), and a lack of formal warfare in addition to the advent of the whare whakairo, resulted in both the pataka and waka taua being cast off formally. Nonetheless, aspects of their design and style continued to ‘live’ through the reproduction of elements by the same artists who applied them to new forms – the chapel, the whare whakairo and later the wharekai.

The cyclic nature of Maori art is embedded within whakatauki:

‘Titiro ki muri kia whakatika a mua’ (look to the past to proceed to the future)

‘Hinga atu he tete kura, ara mai he tete kura’ (as one red fern frond dies, another takes its place)

‘Ka pu te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi’ (the old net lies in a heap while the new net goes fishing).

Maori culture is energised by continual renewal and regrowth. New ideas and practices become traditions through re-use. Traditions in this process turn to the past, their ancestors, and to the future, their mokopuna (grandchild/grandchildren). Whakapapa and tikanga become intimately entwined – one only exists because of the other. This thesis is intended to add to the tradition of writing about Maori art and culture, and in its place may one day in turn be replaced by a different thesis – ‘te ao hurihuri,’ the world turns.

Methodology.

As the field of taught Maori art history is still relatively young as a discipline (the first University course was in 1988), research necessarily requires looking to alternative art methodologies and indeed other disciplines for methods and approaches. In Anthropology Maori art was considered within the wider ambit of culture with the key writers within the field of Maori art history, such as Hirini Moko Mead, Bernie Kernot and Roger Neich, all having initially been trained as anthropologists. In their writing they applied discipline-specific methodologies.

Most research on Maori art has focused on the 19th century. This is probably due to several factors including the ‘advent’ of the whare whakairo and the availability of information, both textual and visual. Three main approaches to Maori art history dominate: tribal/geographic, chronological and typographical/taxonomic.

The most popular method (in terms of being published and reprinted) categorises Maori architecture into geographic or waka (canoe) or tribal formations.⁹³ Some examine a single tribe’s work, such as Roger Neich’s study of Ngati Tarawhai carving⁹⁴ where twenty chapters cover a myriad of different aspects of Ngati Tarawhai art and history, including patronage and artists. Neich’s anthropological training and museum practice is drawn upon to examine the work from a number of angles.⁹⁵ He discusses art historical approaches he uses in his research, in particular connoisseurship. Neich, as one of the supervisors on the present project from 2003-7, encouraged this thesis to mirror his own and in many ways it has, particularly in relation to the subject matter of specific chapters, for example carvers and patrons.

Another approach to Maori art history is to use chronology. This assumes a development or evolution ‘to’ and ‘from’ one state to another. Underpinning this is the belief that what was ‘before’ was crude and rudimentary, compared to ‘after’ which is advanced and complex. Almost all writers of Maori art have employed this methodology to some extent - Mead used it most notably in his analysis of the emergence of the whare whakairo in order to chart the ‘progress’ of Maori art.⁹⁶ Similarly Ranginui Walker used it in relation to recounting a whakapapa of those involved in architecture i nga wa o mua (in the old days).⁹⁷ Most recently Deidre Brown

⁹³ See McEwan, “Maori Art”; Mead, *Te Toi Whakairo*; Simmons, “Report” and Simmons, *Meeting-Houses of Ngati Porou*.

⁹⁴ *Carved Histories. Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001).

⁹⁵ Ibid, 3. In doing so Neich commented that he was following Philip Dark’s approach by “combining museum research and fieldwork”. See Philip J. C. Dark, “The Study of Ethno-Aesthetics: The Visual Arts,” in *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts*, ed. J. Helm (Proceedings of the 1966 Annual Spring Meeting, American Ethnological Society, 1967).

⁹⁶ Hirini Moko Mead, “The Development of the Decorated Meeting House in New Zealand,” in *Maori Art on the World Scene*, ed. Hirini Moko Mead, 185-204. (Wellington: Ahua Design and Illustration, 1997).

⁹⁷ Ranginui Walker, “The Meeting House. The Genesis of the Meeting House as a Cultural Symbol,” in *Nga Pepa a Ranginui*, ed. Ranginui Walker (Auckland: Penguin, 1996).

has used chronology in her book *Maori Architecture: From Fale to Wharenui and Beyond* to structure her discussion. This is a popular approach as it neatly places key moments into a sequence. However, some may note that this method leaves little space for analysis and that Maori history is more complex with its matrix of people, places and events.⁹⁸

Merging the tribal approach with the chronological method is the ethno-historical methodology. This suits indigenous art in that it is considered within a wider narrative of social and political networks.⁹⁹ It is part of a suite of methodologies promoted by Jonathan Harris and other exponents of the ‘New’ Art History.¹⁰⁰ They encourage researchers to use approaches which many writing in the field of tribal art have been using for some time, such as stressing the importance of oral accounts, and the significance of reciprocity – returning to the community that which you have learned. As Ruth B. Phillips commented,

*Under the pressure of these new paradigms, art history ... moved away from set canons of great works organised into narratives of the progressive rise of western culture. In their place are being inserted plural histories of art traditions belonging to particular communities and considered as parallel, contemporary and interactive with those of the mainstream culture.*¹⁰¹

This thesis draws on Phillips’s “plural histories” approach by examining Maori architecture within the Iwirakau School in terms of art traditions and their agents. Each of these has a distinct history that is “parallel, contemporary and interactive” with each other. Each will be approached chronologically in order to show the ebb and flow of the lives of traditions, structures and people.

⁹⁸ Pers. Comm., Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, 1999.

⁹⁹ Kelvin Day proposed three methodological options for his study on the carving of Te Tai Hauauru: stratigraphical, iconic and ethno-historical (Kelvin Day, “Te Tai Hauauru: Maori Tribal Carving from the Western Districts” (MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1983)). He decided to apply the iconic approach, dismissing the stratigraphical method due to lack of information about archaeological digs, and the ethno-historical technique because of a similar lack of information about carvers.

¹⁰⁰ Jonathan Harris, *The New Art History. A Critical Introduction*. (London, New York: Routledge, 2002).

¹⁰¹ “Art History and the Native-Made Object. New Discourses, Old Differences?” *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century. Makers, meanings, histories*. Ed. W. Jackson Rushing III (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 99.

The current research began with a literature search for key written texts. These included writers of 19th-century Maori art, eg Neich, McEwan, Mead, Simmons and later Brown; as well as specific studies about Ngati Porou carving, eg Ngata, Phillipps, Simmons and later Jahnke, and Ngati Porou in general, eg Ngata.

A list of known carvings, both in situ but also in museums, and carvers was compiled in preparation for visits to museums in New Zealand with East Coast holdings:¹⁰² Auckland, Gisborne, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. At each site photographs were taken the carvings, visual analysis was applied and available archival material recorded. As the technology improved, digital imaging and note-taking was employed.

From 1998 to 2006 four field trips overseas were made to visit twenty museums around the world with Iwirakau carvings: American Museum of Natural History (New York), Australian Museum (Sydney), Bishop Museum (Hawai'i), British Museum (London), Brooklyn Museum (New York), De Young Museum (San Francisco), the Field Museum (Chicago), Liverpool Public Museum (Liverpool), Melbourne Museum (Melbourne) National Gallery of Australia (Canberra), Museo Nazionale di Antropologia ed Etnologia (Florence), National Museum fur Volkerkunde (Berlin), Peabody Museum (Boston), Peabody Essex Museum (Salem), Perth Museum (Scotland), Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology (Los Angeles), Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford), Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto), Royal Scottish Museum (Edinburgh), and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology (Philadelphia).

However, it was not possible to examine Iwirakau carvings in person at the following institutions: Green Centre for Non-Western Art (Brighton), Musée de Cinquante (Brussels), Musée de l'Homme (Paris), Musée de Rouen (Rouen), Musée de Tahiti (Tahiti), Museum der Kulturen (Basel), Museum für Volkerkunde (Vienna), Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Cambridge), National Museum of Ireland (Dublin), and the Royal Danish Museum (Copenhagen). Nonetheless, all these institutions have

¹⁰² This covered not only the carving but also tukutuku and kowhaiwhai as well as figurative painting in relation to Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa in Canterbury Museum, Christchurch in order to develop an understanding of the full aesthetic and cultural context of the carvings.

been contacted during the research process, and most have been generous in providing information, photocopies and photographs.

Equipped with this documentation, the materials were collated and further visual analysis undertaken using a technique initiated by Giovanni Morelli.¹⁰³ He encouraged looking at the smaller details within a large work in order to identify key traits that could then be tracked over other works to recognize trends and possibly the identity of the artist. Changes within an artist's oeuvre over time could also be identified using this method. Simultaneously, research began to find unpublished textual material outside museums, and subsequently the National Archives, the Alexander Turnbull Library and the Historic Places Trust, as well as the New Zealand Film Archive and documents at Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of New Zealand in Wellington were visited numerous times. At Tai Rawhiti Museum in Gisborne boxes of materials, written and photographic, deposited by whanau and researchers, most notably Rob de Z. Hall, were found and analysed.

Interviews began with experts in the field (such as Bernie Kernot who has written extensively about Maori art) as well as museum curators. Pakeke (elders) and artists were also consulted in order to widen the frame and examine the material from many angles. Conversations at exhibition openings, at hakari (feasts) and by telephone were logged which have added a further dimension to the research.

Making drafts available to carvers and local historians was an important way of ensuring engagement with a diverse range of interested groups. Disseminating the research in progress was undertaken by publishing some material¹⁰⁴ and presenting at conferences, both in New Zealand and internationally.¹⁰⁵ Seminars whilst enrolled as a

¹⁰³ Giovanni Morelli, "Principles and Method," in *Italian Painters: Critical Studies of their Works*, translated by C. J. Ffoulkes (London: J. Murray, 1892).

¹⁰⁴ "Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa," *Canterbury Museum News* (2010), np. This was later republished for wider circulation in *Mana Magazine* 95 (2010). "Narratives of Change: A History of Ngati Porou Carving," in *Te Ata: Contemporary Art from the East Coast of New Zealand*, ed. Witi Ihimaera and Ngarino Ellis (Auckland: Reed, 2004); "He rangatira mahi toi - Ta Apirana Ngata and his Rotorua Carving School, *Te Pouhere Korero* (2002); and "Sir Apirana Ngata and the Rotorua School of Maori Arts," *Art New Zealand* (1998-9).

¹⁰⁵ "The PhD Monologues," (paper presented at He Rau Tumu Korero II: Maori Historians' Symposium, Te Kawa a Maui, Victoria University, Wellington, June 26, 2009); "He tikanga hurihuri: Maori

doctoral student at Victoria University and the University of Auckland, and also as an academic staff member at the University of Auckland were given. Public talks were delivered, including “The Story of St Mary’s Church at Tikitiki” at the Rotorua Museum of Art and History (2009), and “A History of Maori Churches on the East Coast” to a group of artists working on the renovation of St John’s Church in Rangitukia (2010).

Most recently, the author was part of a consultation group for the exhibition *Iwirakau – The House of Ponga* at Tai Rawhiti Museum in Gisborne that ran from December 2009 to February 2010. This involved exchanging information with the curator Jody Wyllie about which carvings to choose, as well as writing the wall text on one of the carvers, Hoani Ngatai. A public talk was presented as part of the seminar series associated with the exhibition which allowed for the research to be presented to the community for their feedback.

The position from which I write is as a Ngati Porou woman. This has informed my engagement with the subject matter as well as inflected the way I write. The architectural forms which are described are part of my whakapapa and stand on the whenua from which I hail. There is a difficult negotiation between on the one hand maintaining an academic distance from the topic as promoted within my discipline particularly in relation to a PhD, whilst being encouraged by my pakeke to write from the position of a Ngati Porou woman on the other. Throughout the thesis I have been given access to information by virtue of this position and would not have such an understanding of the topic without it. My approach is at once ‘insider’ (as a Ngati Porou) and ‘outsider’ (as an urban-based academic writing for a PhD), though these

communities and their churches 1830-1860,” (paper presented at the joint international conference of the ASA, the ASAANZ and the AAS, University of Auckland, December 8-12, 2008); “Maori participation in the art markets of meeting houses 1860-1930,” (paper presented at the Pacific Arts Association International Conference, Salem, July 22-24, 2005); “Ngati Porou Participation in the Art Markets of Taonga in 19th Century New Zealand,” (paper presented at the aaANZ (Art Association of Australia and New Zealand) Conference, Auckland, December 1-4, 2004); “Narratives of Change: Ngāti Porou architectural history in the 19th century,” (paper presented at SAHANZ. Society of Architectural Historians of Australia and New Zealand, Victoria University, Wellington, July 1-4, 2000); “Sir Apirana Ngata and the relationship between artistic and cultural rejuvenation,” (paper presented at the annual meeting of the New Zealand Historical Association, Waikato University, Hamilton, September 22-23, 1999). These are all available through the author.

lines are entangled and prone to slippage which I believe has ultimately enriched both the research process and the outcome.

The thesis uses Te Reo Maori which are translated in the Glossary of Maori Terms. The macron has been deliberately omitted, as this was the preference of both my grandparents, Emere Kaa and Walter Mountain, who were both Maori first language. In their writings they never used macrons and such a practice is followed here in respect to them. This is at odds with Te Taura Whiri, the Maori Language Commission, who advocate for the use of the macron. Its omission in this text is purely for personal reasons, rather than academic ones.

Terminology.

The architecture and its artists covered in this thesis are located on the upper East Coast of the North Island with some exceptions (**Fig. 2**).¹⁰⁶ Over the years carving from this area has been categorised in a number of ways:

- **Iwirakau:** This ancestor lived c1700 and is credited for reinvigorating the art of carving in the Waiapu region of the northern East Coast. Apirana Ngata, in writing about the origins of Maori carving¹⁰⁷ described the “Iwirakau School” in relation to the carvers of the house Hinetapora. Further on he used the phrase “Waiapu carvings” to describe a related work in Auckland Museum “... and in Wellington and two very fine carved meeting houses, Porourangi at Waiomatatini and Hinetapora near Ruatoria.”¹⁰⁸ Robert Jahnke also uses the term “Iwirakau” in preference to “Waiapu” to emphasise a sense of Tataitanga (lineage) in his PhD thesis.

¹⁰⁶ There are carvings two complete whareniui in museum collections. One is erected – Ruatepupuke in the Field Museum in Chicago. The other was built in Canterbury Museum but later dismantled and currently resides in the basement - Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa. In addition, there are 22 carvings from the whareniui O Hine Waiapu in Auckland Museum (currently catalogued under another house’s name).

¹⁰⁷ Apirana Ngata, “The Origin of Maori Carving,” *Te Ao Hou* 22 (1958), 38.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 38.

- **Tapere-Nui-a-Whatonga:** This term refers to the whare wananga (house of learning) established by Te Whironui, captain of the Nukutere waka.¹⁰⁹ Pine Taiapa used the name “Tapere School” in a series of lectures in 1953 about carving.¹¹⁰ He identified the carvers of this School as Te Kihirini, Tamati Ngakaho and Hoani Ngatai.
- **Ngati Porou:** This is the tribe whose people inhabit the East Coast. The term is used by David Simmons in relation to the forms and artists discussed in this thesis.¹¹¹
- **Waiapu:** Mead uses this term to refer to the geographic region in which the vast majority of the architecture and artists are located. Most of the settlements in which the houses were built were located in proximity to a river, such as Waiapu, due to its importance as a food resource.
- **Te Tai Rawhiti / East Coast:** This is used by Phillipps (1944) and Simmons (1973, 2006) to describe the geographic region in which the architecture and artists reside.

All these terms describe the same houses, artists, patrons and area. A preference for any one of them is as much a political decision as a cultural one. It is unknown what the carvers discussed here called themselves, or whether they even considered themselves to be a distinct school of carvers. For the purposes of this thesis however, the term Iwirakau and Tapere will be used interchangeably. This follows the lead of Pine Taiapa because he is the primary link with the carvers discussed in this thesis as he was taught by the most prolific of the Iwirakau carvers, Hone Ngatoto.

¹⁰⁹ Ngata, *Rauru-Nui-a-Toi*; Pine Taiapa, "The ancestress Hinerupe and the Hinerupe marae," MS 88-150-1/23, ATL.

¹¹⁰ Pine Taiapa, "The ancestress Hinerupe and the Hinerupe marae" (1953). MS 88-150-1/23, ATL.

¹¹¹ Simmons, *Meeting-Houses*; Simmons, "Report."

Chapter breakdown.

There are eight chapters. This Introduction has provided a context for the research as well as outlining the methodology and terminology. Chapter Two, 'Existing Practices,' maps out the visual culture in the northern East Coast until c.1830. The first section 'Mana Tangata' discusses key historical figures Ruatepupuke, Hingangaroa, Te Ao Kairau, and Iwirakau as well as the whare wananga Te Rawheoro and Tapere Nui a Whatonga. The second part, Mana Taonga, examines the main sites of Iwirakau carving: the waka taua, pataka, chief's house and palisade posts. There are no carvings which have survived from before the 1830s.

Chapels are the focus of Chapter Three. New art traditions often emerge at a time of socio-cultural upheaval. In the Waiapu Valley, the year 1839 marks the building of the first "Native Chapel," an event which soon held strong political currency: chiefs used these events to continue existing competitiveness between them by building bigger and more ornate churches as an extension of their mana. There was a transferral of decoration from the pataka and waka taua into the church. This chapter argues that within a single generation, from 1830 to 1855, chapels became a tradition within the community. They epitomised hapu culture and the strength of the leadership, both tribal and religious. Social practices such as those marking significant events like marriage were continued but in this site, rather than in the atea (area in front of a structure) of the chief's house. The re-building of chapels in the mid-1850s into larger chapels demonstrates their enduring importance within their communities. Applying building practices much older than the chapels, both practically (in terms of structure and materials) as well as symbolically (in that each phase of construction was marked with karakia (prayer) and hakari), reveals the way in which Waiapu Maori made use of tradition, maintaining older ideas and applying them to new situations. Such approaches would be drawn on again in the 1850s and 1860s when another disjuncture occurred in their worldviews.

Chapter Four focuses on the period from 1860-1900 during which the whare whakairo became the dominant architectural structure within Maori communities. Part I tracks how traits from the chief's house, the waka taua, the pataka, pou whakarae (large carved

posts on the palisades of pa) and the chapel later contributed to the mature style and function of the meeting house. Part II describes the type of meeting houses built by Iwirakau carvers. It is argued that the meeting house was not static entity, based in some timeless era, but as with the chapel, became another vehicle with which to articulate change and innovation in the community.

Chapter Five argues that the carvers were transmitters of culture who simultaneously retained and broke with tradition. The genealogical relationships, social organisation, reputation and style of Iwirakau carvers are discussed, as are how they were paid. A group of carvers is termed here as The Super Six. They became the primary exponents of a style later known as Iwirakau: Te Kihirini, Hone Taahu, Hone Ngatoto, Riwai Pakerau, Tamati Ngakaho and Hoani Ngatai. The chapter concludes with an analysis of tradition in relation to the carver and considers the ways in which they embraced innovation vis-à-vis their communities and their patrons.

Chapter Six investigates the patrons of Iwirakau carvers who were “dominant personalities” – they made deliberate choices of the type of architecture they commissioned and the artists who would create it for them. Tradition was a fluid concept that they themselves defined in order to demonstrate visual links with the past. Carving in particular was regarded as paramount in the creation of new buildings; ancestors were depicted in order to emphasise and reinforce whakapapa and ties to the land. Part I discusses the nature of both Maori and Pakeha (New Zealand European) patrons of Maori carving. Part II focuses specifically on patronage of Iwirakau carvers in the 19th century. The range of arts patrons is considered, beginning with local Ngati Porou, and moving outwards to other iwi and lastly Pakeha. The last section presents two case studies: the building of Porourangi and Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa. For both, patrons called on the concept of tradition for specific political and cultural agendas.

Chapter Seven examines the period 1900-1930 to show changes to tradition as promoted by Sir Apirana Ngata. Four key moments are addressed: the renovation of Porourangi (1908), the building of Ngata’s carved study (1916), St Mary’s Memorial Church (1924-6) and finally the Arihia Dining Hall (1930). The building of the last structure is used as the end date for the thesis, as the Hall was to form the basis for one final art tradition – the dining hall. Ngata emphasised the continuing importance of

carving as a marker of identity, and acted as artist and patron, vacillating between each as much as he did between tradition and modernity.

The final chapter considers the findings of the thesis. Maori saw tradition as flexible with the potential for transformation of their culture and their art. Tradition was not considered negatively, but rather offered Maori a way to articulate the past and negotiate the contemporary on their own terms. Maori architecture during the period 1830-1930 provided an opportunity for patrons and carvers to forge new pathways within the art traditions of Maori culture. Four of those traditions (the pataka, the chief's house, palisade posts and the waka taua) were left to fade away as they no longer suited the needs of the people. In their place new art traditions were born (the chapel, the meeting house and the wharekai) which encapsulated worldviews and aspirations now promoted by dominant personalities in the community, the patron and the carver. The methodology promoted here of a 'whakapapa of tradition' offers a way to consider change in Maori art. Thus, innovation becomes a certainty rather than an oddity. Tradition emerges as positive and creative, generating new ideas to transmit culture from one generation to the next. It is not created in a void, but is sourced in older ideas. In the next chapter such ideas are identified, reaching back in time several hundred years, which together contribute to the emergence of the Iwirakau School in the 1860s.

CHAPTER 2.

IWIRAKAU VISUAL CULTURE TO 1830.

“A tradition and the artists who follow it form complementary parts of a whole. An individual artist cannot produce innovations without a pre-existing tradition to build on, to rearrange or to depart from.”¹¹²

This chapter surveys the history of art and architecture along the East Coast from the time of arrival of the earliest settlers from the Pacific c800 through to 1830, the starting point of this thesis. The intention is to outline the existing art traditions as they stood in 1830 in order to establish a baseline from which later generations departed. If tradition is a selection of practices carried from the past through to the present, what happens if there are *no* or very few extant models on which to base new work? If nothing was there, how do art traditions develop?

There are two parts to this chapter. The first part, ‘Mana Tangata’, identifies those involved in the history of Iwirakau carving namely Ruatepupuke, Hingangaroa, Te Ao Kairau and Iwirakau. The whare wananga which they were involved in are discussed, as well as the different schools of carving which had emerged along the East Coast by the 18th century. Part 2, ‘Mana Taonga’, identifies four main art forms on which Iwirakau carvers worked until 1830: the chief’s house, the pataka, the waka taua and the pou whakarae. Each of these provided an opportunity for artists to practice their skills, which they later applied to other forms as discussed in Chapters Three and Four.

¹¹² Neich, *Carved Histories*, 115.

Part 1. Mana tangata: an oral history of carved houses on the East Coast.

Maori oral history describes a number of carved chief's houses.¹¹³ Though these have been recounted elsewhere,¹¹⁴ it remains important to outline them in brief in order to provide a context in which to understand and appreciate the emergence of new forms from 1830 onwards. On the East Coast one well-known narrative concerns Ngae (also known as Kae) and his six brothers¹¹⁵ who lived at Reporua in a house named Te Kikihi Taihaki. Surviving a fishing accident that killed his brothers, Ngae landed at the chief Tinirau's village. There he borrowed Tutununui, the chief's pet whale, to return home but his greed made him beach the whale, resulting in its death. Ngae's people then cut up the whale and cooked him in a hangi (earth oven). The smell of this feast soon reached Tinirau who, bereft, sent a group to find Ngae.¹¹⁶ Arriving in Reporua the group made Ngae laugh, enabling them to recognise him from his broken tooth. Tinirau's group then set about seeking utu (revenge, reciprocity). They recited a karakia to make the people sleep. Later they transported the whare (house) to Tinirau's village with Ngae and his people asleep inside. When Ngae awoke he was quickly killed and eaten in revenge for the killing of the whale. Tinirau also took Ngae's carved house as payment for the death.

This account provide evidence that carved houses with poupou (wall carvings) were part of early East Coast history. Another account describes the house as being

¹¹³ See Ranginui Walker, "The Meeting House." Some may describe these stories as myths and legends, while others contend, as here, that as these figures usually have direct descendants then this is not a myth (with all its suggestions of untruths) but rather a recitation of a whakapapa. For instance, the author is a direct descendent from Paikea, whose story must exist as she exists.

¹¹⁴ Jahnke, "He Tataitanga"; Mead, *Te Toi Whakairo*; Simmons, *Meeting-houses of Ngati Porou*.

¹¹⁵ See Anaru Reedy, *Nga Korero a Mohi Ruatapu, Tohunga Rongonui o Ngati Porou*, translated, edited and annotated by Anaru Reedy (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1993), 206-208. Ruatapu was one of the leading tohunga (specialists) at the whare wananga Te Rawheoro which was based at Uawa and is discussed later in this chapter.

¹¹⁶ His children were named Rau-kata-uri, Rau-kata-mea, Itiiti, Rekareka, Kura-hau and Poo-ruhiruhi whilst the others were Poo-roherohe, Whakaaro-rangi, Ruuhi-i-te-rangi and Hine-te-iwaiwa (Reedy, *Mohi Ruatapu*, 207). In the Maori version, Ruatapu describes these women as "ngaa waahine moohio ki te haka" (women who knew about haka (dance)) and that there was also four war parties of men consisting of 140 each (Ibid, 66).

“renowned for its splendid carvings, the work of generations of master carvers, and for the excellence of its rafter paintings and tukutuku panels”¹¹⁷ It further details that when Ngae awoke he challenged Tinirau to reveal where he was. He was told to study the kowhaiwhai patterns on the heke (rafters). When he did he noticed, to his horror, that they differed from the patterns in his own whare. Thus kowhaiwhai appears to be a decorative feature of the period, with at least two patterns being used (given that the one in Ngae’s house differed from that in Tinirau’s). This narrative also records that tukutuku was used.

Probably the most prominent narrative about chiefs’ carved houses on the East Coast comes from the story of Ruatepupuke. This has been recorded in several whakatauki, such as ‘Nga mahi whakairo, nga mahi a Rua’ (the art of carving is the art of Rua).¹¹⁸ There are at least four versions of the story of Ruatepupuke written by Ngati Porou and these are outlined in Appendix 1. A summarised version follows.

One day Te Manu-Hauturuki, the son of Ruatepupuke, was out on the ocean when Tangaroa, God of the Sea, became angry and took him to his own house which was under the sea and named Hui-te-ananui. Ruatepupuke became worried about where his son was, and began searching for him. When he found him, Te Manu-Hauturuki had been transformed into the tekoteko (figurehead) of Tangaroa’s house (**Fig. 4**). Incensed, Ruatepupuke killed those belonging to Tangaroa’s house, grabbed his son and some of the exterior carvings from the house and fled home.¹¹⁹ In doing so he not only avenged the kidnapping of his son, but also brought the knowledge of carving to this world, “... which has been passed down to the present generation.”¹²⁰ This narrative recounts how Tangaroa’s house was fully carved on the interior as well as having poupou in the porch. Those inside could talk to one another, whilst those in the porch were silent; by Ruatepupuke taking only those external poupou, carving today remains silent. Once

¹¹⁷ Anthony Alpers, *Maori Myths and Tribal Legends* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1996), 78.

¹¹⁸ Hirini Moko Mead and Neil Grove, *Nga Pepeha O Nga Tupuna 4* (Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 1996), 69; A. E. Brougham and A. W. Reed. *Maori Proverbs*. (Auckland: Heinemann Reed, 1988), 11.

¹¹⁹ Some say he also burnt the house down.

¹²⁰ Reedy, *Mohi Ruatapu*, 159.

home, Ruatēpupuke kept the carvings for his children and grandchildren “to admire.” These later became the prototype for all carving.¹²¹

In summarising carving in such stories, Walker comments,

Clearly, in myths and legends, chiefs had superior houses. The basic architectural elements of the chief's house are cited in the stories. These included interior fireplaces, the doorway in the front wall, the porch, which is such a distinctive feature of meeting-house design, the bargeboards surmounted by the carved human figure of a tekoteko, the poupou, which are a feature of interior walls as both structural and decorative pillars, and the poutokomanawa, the centre-post supporting the ridgepole.¹²²

Other accounts of carving are recorded in whakatauki. Mohi Turei mentions one Ngati Porou hapu who were renowned as canoe carvers - “Ngati-Nua hiku potakataka,” or “Ngati-Nua of the plump tail.”¹²³ They lived near the mouth of the Waiapu and built a waka taua named Te Ruru-a-Tarapikau (The Owl of Tarapikau) which was used by the chief Kakatarau in the battle of Toka-a-Kuku in 1836.¹²⁴

Peoples of the Pacific were expert canoe builders and had honed their skills well by the time they began travelling back and forth to Aotearoa c.800. There are numerous stories of the building and naming of canoes. One of the most well known is that of Ruatapu. According to Pinky Green, Ruatapu’s father was the high chief Uenuku who shamed him when he tried to release his manu aute (kite) from the gable of a house.¹²⁵ Determined to seek revenge, Ruatapu built a canoe with the intention that all the first sons in the area would, “act as crew. Then he would be in a position to kill them all. To fulfil his plan he carried out many humiliating duties in the tribe, but it gave him a chance to regain their confidence.”¹²⁶ A race began. Once out at sea Ruatapu unplugged a hole in the canoe causing it to sink, and all the first sons except for his own eldest

¹²¹ Hakiwai and Terrell, *Ruatēpupuke*, 44.

¹²² “The Meeting House,” 35.

¹²³ Reweti Kohere, *Story of a Maori Chief: Mokena Kohere and His Forebears*. (Wellington: A. H. and A. W. Reed, 1949), 49.

¹²⁴ This hapu were “practically the same people” as Ngai-Tane (ibid).

¹²⁵ Pinky Green, “A History of Northern Waiapu” (1960), qMS-0882, ATL, 13.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 14.

brother, Kahutiaterangi (some say he was named Paikea) drowned. The rest of the story is well known – Ruatapu chased his brother around the Pacific until he landed in New Zealand where he stayed and later became one of the prime ancestors of the East Coast.

An un-named manuscript dating to the 1870s possibly written by Mokena Romio traces the journey of the carving from Ruatepupuke through to Hingangaroa,

This man, Hingangaroa, was born, grew, and matured. The houseposts brought by Ruatepupuke were shown to him. Later, he erected a house and attached the houseposts to it. Preserved in that house were the models of the manaia, taowaru and many other patterns. When that house was completed Hingangaroa named it Rawheoro [Slow Sun or Rumbling Day]. This house stood at Tolaga Bay, that is, at Mangaheia. The specific place where this house stood was at Mangakūku but it is within the boundaries of the Mangaheia Block. The foundation of this house is still there.¹²⁷

This description is a thought-provoking statement for several reasons. Firstly, it suggests that Hingangaroa learnt carving from copying the poupou brought from Tangaroa's house. There is no mention of who his teacher was, leading to the assumption that his whakapapa gave him innate skills to carve. Secondly, these poupou were used as templates for later carvings, acting as an encyclopedia of patterns and designs. Thirdly, this records the practice of naming houses after they were completed. And lastly, the foundations of the Hingangaroa's whare were still evident many centuries later.

Through Hingangaroa there is a transition from the upperworlds to the present one, as "myth now enters the realm of actual tradition."¹²⁸ In addition to Romio's narrative, there is oral evidence that carving may have arrived in the Uawa area from Hawaiki on the waka Tere Anini. On board was Hingangaroa's ancestor Rongomaituaho who is remembered for bringing with him "various exemplars of carving, adzes and the

¹²⁷ Hakiwai and Terrell, *Ruatepupuke*, 44.

¹²⁸ Mead, *Te Toi Whakairo*, 11.

carvings from the house of Tangaroa.”¹²⁹ In this story the knowledge of carving originates in the Pacific.

Hingangaroa’s knowledge of carving also came from other sources, such as his wife Iranui. This narrative is recounted by Apirana Ngata,

*Hingangaroa was a great artist, carver and builder. He was an expert in the building of canoes. It was this that led him and his wife Iranui to visit [her brother] Kahungunu in the Whakaki district of Wairoa. Iranui, then in child, saw Kahungunu and his people finishing the body of a canoe and fixing the prow and stern pieces by tying them on by straight joints, tuporo haumi. A canoe built in this way depended largely on the rauawa or side boards for strength and rigidity. She told of her husband, who was an expert in such matters and showed her brother the new way of dovetailing the pieces in. She effectually if not modestly illustrated what she meant by lying down and placing her brother’s legs each side of her own. Hingangaroa was invited to Whakaki and there demonstrated the art of joining haumi.*¹³⁰

In another version, Kahungunu invited Hingangaroa to supervise the construction of his new house later named Rangikahupapa at Mangakahia Pa on the Mahia Peninsula.¹³¹ This suggests that it was Hingangaroa who was the master, or alternately that he was a master *house* builder, whereas Kahungunu’s skills lay in building *canoes*.

Soon after, Hingangaroa returned to Uawa and established the Rawheoro School where wananga¹³² at his home at Mangakuku.¹³³ The School is described in verse 6 of Rangiuiua’s lament,

¹²⁹ Verity Smith, *Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Turanga Cluster Oral and Traditional History Report*. WAI 900, A016. (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2007), 46.

¹³⁰ Apirana Ngata, *Rauru Nui a Toi Lecture Series* (1944), lecture 4, 10-11. This story suggests that Iranui, even though a woman, knew intimately at least some stages to building a waka. This refutes many claims that women should not have anything to do with building waka. Furthermore, she was pregnant when she did this, later giving birth to their second son, named Mahaki-ewe-karoro.

¹³¹ Rongowhakaata Halbert, *Horouta*. (Auckland: Reed, 1999), 135.

¹³² Apirana Ngata, “The Origin of Maori Carving, Part 1,” *Te Ao Hou* 22 (1958): 35. Wayne Ngata, in his MA thesis about Rangiuiua’s lament believes that the origins of Te Rawheoro were in Whangara (“Te Waiata Tangi a Rangiuiua,” (MA Thesis, Massey University, 1993), 19). He notes that the ancestor Paikea had built a number of houses around the East Coast but when he arrived in Whangara he found there were “no buildings in which they could learn” which “according to Apirana [Ngata] provided the impetus to start Te Rawheoro” (ibid, 19, 22).

¹³³ Mackay asserts that the whare wananga stood on the Mangaheia No. 1 Block (J. A. Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, North Island, New Zealand*. (Gisborne: J. G. Mackay, 1966), 7). This

*Ko Te Rangi-hopukia, ko
Hinehuhurutai,*

Te Rangihopikia had Hinehuhurutai,

*Me ko Manutangirua, ko
Hingangaroa.*

*Who had Manutangirua, whose son
was Hingangaroa.*

*Ka tu tona whare, Te Ra-
wheoro, e;*

*He it was who established the house,
Te Rawheoro,*

*Ka tipu te whaihanga, e
hika, ki Uawa.*

*And arts and crafts flourished, my son,
at Uawa.*

*Ka riro te whakautu, Te
Ngaio-tu-ki-Rarotonga,*

*There came in payment the Ngaio-tu-
ki-Rarotonga,*

*Ka riro te manaia, ka riro te
taowaru;*

*And there went in exchange the
Manaia and the Taowaru,*

*Ka taka i raro na, i a
Apanui, e;*

*Passing round thence to the north, Te
Apanui,*

*Ka puta ki Turanga, ka
hangai atu koe*

*Emerging at Turanga, where you will
face*

*Ki te ao o te tonga, i patua
ai koe;*

*The clouds from the south, whence
came your doom,*

*Kia whakarongo mai e to
tipuna papa,*

So shall your elder and parent hear,

E Te Matorohanga, na i!

Even Te Matorohanga!¹³⁴

was the old Paremata Soldiers Settlement Block. Archaeological evidence from the site confirms “intensive early occupation and gardening in the Mangeheia lands” dating to the 13th and 14th centuries (Smith, *Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti*, 48, n126). The School also taught “rongoa and healing (at Mangatuna); weaving, taniko and fibre arts (at Puatai); karakia kumara and agricultural pursuits (Whitireia); and the Whare Maire (institution of occult pursuits), in Ngati Ira territory” (ibid, 48).

¹³⁴ Ngata, “The Origin of Maori Carving,” 30-7.

Ngata summarises the lament as “the most definite and authoritative statement of the existence in the old centre, Uawa, of a school of arts and crafts.”¹³⁵ Te Rawheoro soon became the leading whare wananga from Wharekahika down to the Wairarapa.¹³⁶ Its physical structure was described by Mackay as being 19.21m long and 7.93m feet wide with a porch on the eastern side, a fireplace in the central part, while the “holiest of Holies” space was on the western side.¹³⁷ Whare wananga taught a range of topics, including Te Kauwae Runga (celestial knowledge) and Te Kauwae Raro (human history).¹³⁸ Many also specialised in specific topics, such as whakairo as with Te Rawheoro.

Te Rawheoro was by no means the only whare wananga along the East Coast. Others included Te Aho Matariki at Whangara, Puhikia-iti near the Cook Monument in Gisborne, Te Tuahu¹³⁹ and Whare-korero.¹⁴⁰ Ngata names three tohunga (whom he describes as ‘Professors’) at Te Rawheoro: ¹⁴¹ Rangiuiua, Tokipuanga¹⁴² and Mohi Ruatapu.¹⁴³ Rangiuiua was the leading tohunga,¹⁴⁴ whilst Ruatapu was the priest.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁵ Ngata, *Rauru Nui a Toi*, lecture 4, 11. For an extended analysis of the lament see Ngata “Te Waiata Tangi a Rangiuiua.”

¹³⁶ Ngata, *Rauru Nui a Toi*, lecture 4, 11. Current generations reiterate the breadth of the School’s teaching and popularity (Smith, *Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti*, 47).

¹³⁷ Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay*, 7. His informant was Dalton who was “a well-known identity on the East Coast” who had himself based his information on that given by several ‘Pu korero’ (learned elders).

¹³⁸ Williams translates kauwae raro as “Lore of things terrestrial, or the youngest born” and kauae runga as the law of things celestial (*Dictionary of Maori Language*, 105).

¹³⁹ This may be the tuahu which was constructed by Te Whironui when he built Tapere-nui-a-Whatonga. Williams translates ‘tuahu’ as “A sacred place, consisting of an enclosure containing a mound and marked by the erection of rods or poles, which was used for the divination and other mystic rites. It differed from the *ahurewa* in being out of doors, sometimes apart from the *kainga*” (*Dictionary of Maori Language*, 444).

¹⁴⁰ Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay*, 7.

¹⁴¹ M. P. K. Sorrenson, ed., *Na To Hoa Aroha: From Your Dear Friend. The Correspondence Between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck 1925-1950*. (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988), 104.

¹⁴² Tokipuanga of Ngati Ira may have been only a student, as claimed by Ngata (*Na To Hoa Aroha*, 1, 104).

¹⁴³ Mohi Ruatapu of Tokomaru Bay wrote four manuscripts in the 1870s, two of which have been edited and translated by Anaru Reedy. Maori quickly became literate from 1834 with the introduction of

Through the 18th and early 19th century Te Rawheoro continued to attract students from hapu along the East Coast through to Poverty Bay and Mahia Peninsula and across to the Wairarapa. Moihi Te Matorohanga, a graduate of Te Rawheoro, ran his own whare wananga in the Wairarapa but this ended around 1865.¹⁴⁶ By this time knowledge was written down by the tauira (students) into books known as putea whakairo.¹⁴⁷ This was not altogether approved by some of the elders, but nevertheless was done, reflecting a change from te ao kohatu (world of stone) to te ao rino (world of steel).

The link from Ruatēpupuke to Hingangaroa to the carvers of the 19th century can be traced through the presence of the two motifs described in Ranguia's lament, the taowaru and the manaia. The taowaru was either a series of manaia forming a central line down a carving (as claimed by McEwen),¹⁴⁸ or a type of surface decoration sometimes also known as taratara-a-kae (as claimed by Ngata) (**Fig. 5**).¹⁴⁹ The manaia was a subsidiary figure frequently included on carvings in the role of a protector. The carver Hone Taahu used these often, presenting them in bands on either side of the main carving, whilst his nephew Hone Ngatoto often placed manaia as the terminals for arms or legs, as did Hoani Ngatai.

Mead described this transmission of knowledge of carving from Ruatēpupuke through to Hingangaroa as “focused on the progressive desacrilizing of the art of carving ... By the time of Hingangaroa, carving is considered an activity of mortal man and is no

Christianity. Two of Ruatapu's written works were either specifically commissioned by local chiefs, Major Rapata Wahawaha and Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Porter, or later given to them. The extent of detail included in the material situates these as some of the most important historical records for Ngati Porou. His teaching in this whare wananga would have given him a chance to discuss these with other learned men, and so the knowledge would be passed down.

¹⁴⁴ Ngata, *Rauru Nui a Toi*, lecture 1, 36.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, lecture 4, 11.

¹⁴⁶ Nepia Pohuhu for one regarded Te Matorohanga's expertise as sourced from his training at Te Rawheoro and would defer to him in some instances because of that training (Smith, *Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti*, 47 citing Pohuhu's notebook in the Alexander Turnbull Library (qMS-1419)).

¹⁴⁷ Elsdon Best, *The Maori School of Learning: Its Objects, Methods, and Ceremonial* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1986), 21.

¹⁴⁸ “Maori Art,” 424.

¹⁴⁹ “The Origin of Maori Carving, Part 2” *Te Ao Hou* 23 (1958): 37.

longer the preserve of gods.”¹⁵⁰ He notes that the oral history “reveals insights about the nature of Maori art that we would not get from an archaeological perspective”¹⁵¹ in that there is information about the personalities involved as well as cultural norms and practices, some of which were passed down through the generations. The chapter now turns to examine more closely that period of time from 1000 to 1800 which is described by Mead as ‘Te Wahi Ngāro’ or the lost portion,¹⁵² a time when the archaeological and oral records must be read together in order to shed some light on the art scene.

Te Ao Kairau – patron of the arts.

While Hingangaroa was settled in Uawa, further north in the Waiapu Valley lived the chieftainess Te Ao Kairau. According to Taiapa, she was responsible for the erection of the first meeting houses. At this time woodcarving “... was mostly confined to prominent hill tops until the advent of Christianity in 1832 when we find people building on lower country.”¹⁵³ These were described as,

*... [having] no eaves as the buildings were partly submerged but in the latter architectural construction introduced main supports and ridgepoles. Thus were the walls kept upright and rafters caused the making of eaves to take rain water away from the outside wall area.*¹⁵⁴

This description corresponds with archaeological evidence from other parts of the North Island, as will be outlined in Chapter 4. Whilst Taiapa may have called these ‘meeting houses,’ in reality his account suggests it was an early example of a chief’s house.

¹⁵⁰ Sidney Moko Mead, “Ka tupu te toi whakairo ki Aotearoa. Becoming Maori art,” in *Te Maori. Maori Art from New Zealand Collections*, ed. Sidney Moko Mead (New York: Heinemann in association with The American Federation of Arts, 1984), 67.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 72.

¹⁵³ Pine Taiapa, “The ancestress Hinerupe Lecture.” One recent report identifies Te Ao Kairau as a man (Grant Young and Michael Belgrave, *Te Papatipu o Ruawaiapu. Oral and traditional history report. WAI 900, A030*. Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2009), 91).

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Iwirakau.

Te Ao Kairau's desire for carving prompted her to select her nephew Iwirakau¹⁵⁵ (through her husband Tamataua) to travel to Uawa to study at Te Rawheoro to learn "the Arts, house and canoe building, carving and scroll work".¹⁵⁶ Ngata described their education as an "intensive course in wood-carving".¹⁵⁷ Iwirakau was chosen because of his studious nature and demonstration of a "practical bent." Tukaki of Te Whanau-a-Apanui, who was a descendent of Hingangaroa, travelled with Iwirakau to also study at Uawa. Together they took a beautiful cloak named Ngaio-tu-ki-Rarotonga, or 'the ngaio that grew at Rarotonga'. This cloak was, "of the finest fibre and workmanship, an heirloom which some authorities say came with the migrants from Hawaiki."¹⁵⁸

Ngata maintains that Iwirakau *added on* to "designs and styles of the Waiapu new details acquired from Uawa." This strongly suggests that there was a carving tradition in the Waiapu *before* Iwirakau went to Uawa. This is quite possible considering oral accounts indicate that carving was on board the waka pahi from Hawaiki, in the form of whakapakoko atua (figurines) and other decorations.¹⁵⁹ Upon his return, Iwirakau would have been expected to lead carving in the Waiapu area. Even so, it is now unclear whether there are any extant carvings which can be directly attributed to him. Simmons asserts that parts of the pataka Paringamouhoki (now in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Berlin. No VI 31 789) and a paepae from a pataka he names as Poroporongatoa (Private Collection, England) were carved by Iwirakau around 1780. This would make them the earliest known whakairo from the northern East Coast.¹⁶⁰ However, no source of his attributions is given. Jahnke, on the other hand, believes that another carver was responsible for this pataka on the basis that, "In the first instance, the kuwaha [doorway] is carved with steel tools. In the second the sculptural relief compared with the shallow

¹⁵⁵ Iwirakau had many close connections to major lines in Ngati Porou. His brother was Ngatihau, who married Te Ataakura, and their son Tuwhakairiora, became the paramount warrior on the East Coast, joining together many Tai Rawhiti hapu into one group for important strategic purposes, such as warfare.

¹⁵⁶ Taiapa, "Hinerupe Lecture," 2.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ngata, *Rauru Nui a Toi*, lecture 4, 12.

¹⁵⁹ Mead, *Te Toi Whakairo*, 15-16.

¹⁶⁰ Simmons, *Meeting-Houses of Ngati-Porou*, 156.

relief of the Pourewa Island poupou suggests an early 19th century date for its completion.”¹⁶¹

The whare wananga Tapere Nui a Whatonga.

As with all chiefly young men, Iwirakau would have received an education in the Waiapu whare wananga named Tapere Nui a Whatonga. This whare wananga had been founded by Te Whironui, captain of the Nukutere waka, around the time of the establishment of his pa at Nga Puketuru, East Cape.¹⁶² Later, Te Whironui’s son-in-law Paikea relocated and enlarged the whare wananga, an event marked by special celebrations. The practices surrounding the opening of a new house was passed down through to the 19th century, specifically the naming of the house by an important chief and the ritual festivities at the opening. It also indicates the power that Paikea had to move a whare wananga and have it extended, probably in response to population growth. Whether this house was carved or whether carving was taught as part of the curriculum is unknown – that Iwirakau had to study these skills at another whare wananga indicates that it was not.

By the 19th century students were facing a new challenge – how to amalgamate their training in whare wananga with incoming European forms of knowledge. Several Native Teachers, such as Raniera Kawhia of Rangitukia, had attended both Tapere and Rawheoro whare wananga. Kawhia is an interesting example as he had a full moko,¹⁶³ yet was still ordained as the first Maori priest by Williams.¹⁶⁴ Another of the students was Pita Kapiti who attended Tapere as a young man where he “received a full traditional education.”¹⁶⁵ The most tapu aspects of his knowledge was passed down to

¹⁶¹ Jahnke, “He Tataitanga,” 159.

¹⁶² According to Green their pa was named Ngapuketuru (Green, “A History of Northern Waiapu”). Paratene Kamura maintained that the whare wananga was at Mangatuporo.

¹⁶³ Kohere, *The Story of a Maori Chief*, 35.

¹⁶⁴ Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. 2, 19.

¹⁶⁵ Reedy, *Nga Korero a Pita Kapiti*, 13.

his protégé Mohi Turei.¹⁶⁶ Reedy suggests that this may have been a reflection of his awareness of the changing nature of local Waiapu society and the mores which regulated it. Nevertheless, Turei in turn passed on some of the practices he learnt from Kapiti, such as “the ritual presentation on a marae of birds.”¹⁶⁷

The Tapere School served “the Whironui stock”¹⁶⁸ until the 1860s, its demise a product of the changing world. Other whare wananga also closed at this time, including Te Matorohanga’s in the Wairarapa in 1865¹⁶⁹ and one in the South Island three years later. Such changes were inevitable in the face of increasing intrusion of European culture into Maori society. With the creation of alternate education facilities, such as the Anglican Maori boarding schools Hukarere and Te Aute, there was a shift in mindset towards a different set of values. In order to survive, many in the community felt that rangatahi (youth) should learn about the Pakeha world, their language, culture and values. Whilst knowledge of whakapapa and the whenua remained important, increasingly it became clear that Maori needed to understand Pakeha systems of knowledge in order to be able to articulate their worldviews to Pakeha.

After this time Tapere Nui a Whatonga became a, “peripatetic school which served outside the Waiapu area, extending as far south as Wairarapa and the Bay of Plenty on the west.”¹⁷⁰ This fluidity probably reflected the movements of the teachers and pupils around the country. Tapere Nui a Whatonga continued to exist until, as Pine Taiapa so eloquently puts it “the impact of Christianity stole its thunder.”¹⁷¹ Ngata commented,

*Some of the most learned men educated under Rangiuia and Mohi [Turei] up my way joined the church as ‘monita’ and parsons. Mohi Turei, Raniera Kawhia, Hare Tawha are known to have been initiates of the Tapere-nui-a-Whatonga and Rāwheoro. Hare Tawha was probably the most learned of the three. But he closed up like an oyster when he joined the church.*¹⁷²

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 14.

¹⁶⁸ Taiapa, “Hinerupe Lecture,” 1.

¹⁶⁹ Best, *The Maori School of Learning*, 17, 27.

¹⁷⁰ Taiapa, “The ancestress Hinerupe,” 2.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 1.

¹⁷² Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. 2, 19.

The creation of carving schools along the East Coast.

By the late 18th century specific carving styles emerged based on tribal or whare wananga teachings. Along the East Coast four different schools of carving appeared: Te Whanau-a-Apanui (or Tukaki) at Te Kaha, Iwirakau/Tapere in the Waiapu Valley, Te Rawheoro at Uawa and Rongowhakaata at Manutuke. There was also a close relationship with the Ngati Kahungunu carving school. Each group of carvers comprised a School,¹⁷³ as defined by the *Oxford Dictionary of Art Terms*: “a group of artists working with the influence of a single master or sharing common characteristics because they come from a particular region or town, or practice the same local style.”¹⁷⁴ As Jahnke has described these in detail already,¹⁷⁵ the purpose of the next section is to provide a brief synopsis of the main characteristics in order to present a visual and textual context for the following chapters.

Each carving school was keenly aware of the other’s style. With the Tukaki School it was the taowaru motif brought back by Tukaki from Te Rawheoro which made them distinct. This device was used extensively on a set of five pataka carvings in three distinct styles¹⁷⁶ made c1770-80 and named Te Tairuku Potaka (**Fig. 6**) (now in Auckland Museum), as well as a pare now in Canterbury Museum. The former were begun by Apanui but completed by another carver named Puhiahe.¹⁷⁷ Within this School was Tukaki’s father Apanui Ringamotu,¹⁷⁸ who also trained with Hingangaroa.¹⁷⁹ Apanui’s koha for the art of carving was his thumb. This narrative suggests that Te Whanau-a-Apanui sent two carvers to Te Rawheoro at different times to learn about carving.

¹⁷³ *Rauru Nui a Toi*, lecture 4, 12.

¹⁷⁴ Thinking about this in response to a question from Piri Sciascia at the end of a presentation at the Pou Tumu Korero conference, Wellington, June 2009.

¹⁷⁵ “He Tataitanga.”

¹⁷⁶ Jahnke, “He Tataitanga,” 98.

¹⁷⁷ Simmons names him as Puhiake (“The door into the world,” *Baessler-Archiv* 45 (1997), 153).

¹⁷⁸ Jahnke notes that Kahu Stirling calls him Ringamutu in line with the narrative of his gift of a finger as koha for the art of carving (thanks to Robert Jahnke for this information).

¹⁷⁹ Later there was a disagreement between himself and the Uawa chief Kahukuranui, the result of which was the death of Apanui Ringamotu.

Further down the coast at Uawa was Te Rawheoro Carving School. This has recently been described as “a defining cultural institution” of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti.¹⁸⁰ Its style is known primarily through three poupou which were collected in 1769 in Uawa from a house being constructed for the ariki (high-born chieftainess) Hinematiaro (**Fig. 7**).¹⁸¹ One is now in Tubingen University, Germany (which was drawn by Captain James Cook’s artist Sydney Parkinson whilst on their way home to England), and another is in Auckland Museum. Jahnke has recently discovered a third poupou in Te Papa Tongarewa (ME 483) which is stylistically similar enough to the others to assert that it is from the same house.

Some traits from Te Rawheoro can be seen in the Iwirakau style, reflecting the training Iwirakau received at Uawa and the strength of the passing down of knowledge. In particular, there is the use of the wide mouth, the collarbone motif and the subsidiary figure over the genitalia.¹⁸² Carvers from Te Rawheoro kept working through the 19th century, though increasingly they commissioned Iwirakau carvers for their work, for instance on the whare whakairo named Ruakapanga at Hauiti in Tolaga Bay the carvers Riwai Pakerau, Hararaia and Koroniria were brought in.

The last main school of importance operating on the East Coast during the 19th century was based at Manutuke under the tutelage of the Rongowhakaata rangatira Raharuhi Rukupo (?-1873). He was directly responsible for the whare whakairo Te Hau ki Turanga (1839-42,¹⁸³ now in Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of New Zealand) (**Fig. 8**), the waka taua Te Toki a Tapiri (1842, now in Auckland Museum), the second Manutuke Church (1849-63, 57 carved fragments now dispersed throughout New

¹⁸⁰ Smith, *Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti*, 47.

¹⁸¹ Jahnke believes that it was ‘stolen’ from the unfinished house, whereas Salmond asserts that it was given to Tupaia, the Tahitian on board Cook’s vessel. She suggests that although the house would have been tapu because it was associated with Hinematiaro and was also unfinished, it may have acceptable to present carvings the Europeans (Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds. First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*.³ (Auckland: Viking, 1991), 173).

¹⁸² The presence of this negates the idea that prudish missionaries only introduced these smaller figures.

¹⁸³ Barrow gives the date of completion of Te Hau ki Turanga as 1843 (*A Guide to the Maori Meeting House, Te Hau-Ki-Turanga* (Wellington: Dominion Museum, 1965), 7).

Zealand)¹⁸⁴ as well as several carvings in Te Mana o Turanga whare whakairo (1860s, Manutuke). Rukupo came to prominence as a carver in the 1840s, his reputation assured upon completion of Te Hau ki Turanga. Another related Rongowhakaata carving is the pataka kuwaha named Paringamouhoki (Museum fur Volkerkunde, Berlin, VI 27460 a-k) which is discussed later. What distinguishes Rukupo's works in the scheme of Maori art of the period is that they were all carved with steel tools at a time when stone tools dominated. This switch to a new technology enabled carvers to complete works more quickly. The sharpness of the blades allowed a deeper cutting of the wood which in turn allowed much more detail to be accomplished by the carver. It would be at least twenty years before carvers from other areas used similar technology.

While the whare wananga ceased, the style of carving associated with them continued. Arguably the strongest to survive were the Iwirakau and Rongowhakaata Schools. Raids by Ngapuhi warring parties in the late 1810s and early 1820s had devastated many areas around the East Coast from Te Kaha, one of the strongholds of Te Whanau-a-Apanui, through to East Cape and the Waiapu Valley. As a consequence, much of the population was killed or taken prisoner, the settlements burned and carvings looted or destroyed. For the Tukaki carving school the impact was too great - no carvings are known to have been made after this time. On the other hand, Te Rawheoro and Tapere Nui a Whatonga continued to educate young men in the arts of carving, but this was learned as apprentices on projects rather than in the designated space of the whare wananga.

Part 2. Mana Taonga. Carved forms up to 1830.

Until 1830 Waiapu culture was represented visually in four main sites: the chief's house, the pataka, the waka taua and pou whakarae. Each of these encapsulated key narratives about the history of the people, enabling them to link the past with the present with a view to directing the future. These art forms comprised the primary art traditions in the northern East Coast, but when did they begin? In other tribal regions with more

¹⁸⁴ See Richard Sundt, *Whare Karakia. Maori Church Building, Decoration and Ritual in Aotearoa New Zealand*. (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2010), 122-131 for a full discussion of this church which he designates as 'Manutuke IIB'.

archaeological evidence, it appears that the following dates can be assigned to the beginnings of art traditions in the Waiapu area:

Pou whakarae	c1200
Waka taua	c1500 ¹⁸⁵
Pataka	c1500
Chief's house	c1500

There is a lack of archaeological evidence from Te Tai Rawhiti (the East Coast), particularly in the Waiapu area. As such, a comparative approach is necessary which brings together archaeological and artefactual evidence from other tribal areas and applies this to the Waiapu area. Here was a similar stratification of society in which carving was used as political and cultural markers. In addition, oral histories in the form of korero purakau (narratives) and other forms of verbal information such as moteatea (laments) are drawn upon. Knowing of the Iwirakau narrative suggests that carving was being actively practiced in the Waiapu district for several generations before 1830. A final source of evidence is ethnographic material. Eyewitness accounts by Pakeha missionaries and travellers from the 1830s are projected back in time, as the writers and artists believed that the forms they saw had existed for many years, if not centuries. Brought together, there is strong evidence of an active carving community all around the East Coast from at least the early 1700s. Piecing together these strands of information allows the following glimpse of art traditions in the Waiapu area.

Pou whakarae.

One of the earliest carved forms seen in other tribal regions were pou whakarae. These were usually placed in pa whakairo which were described by Elsdon Best as “a first

¹⁸⁵ Certainly other earlier types of waka had some form of carving as embellishment, for instance the Ngati Kahu haumi (early form of carving on the bow of a canoe) dating to the period 1200-1500 (AIM 3078) and possibly another from Te Ati Awa which is known as the Waitore haumi (Waikato Art Museum 1977/60/7).

class type of fortified village, defended by earthworks and stockades. Such *pa* had some of the stockade posts embellished with carvings.”¹⁸⁶ These posts were also called *tumu*, *whakaporo*, *pou tokotu*, *tamarua* or *pou matua* and could measure up to seven metres high. In the Waikato, Best describes what they represented,

*The taller posts, with a tekoteko or whakapakoko (image of human form) carved on their upper parts were known as pou matua. These were named as the carver and donor of the post thought most conducive to their mana and dignity. It might be given the name of an ancestor, or chief of a friendly clan. Te Rau-paraha named one after himself. Chiefs of note and famed warriors might thus be memorialised.*¹⁸⁷

Similarly, along the East Coast *pou whakarae* were included in *pa maioro* (“a village defended by ramparts, fosses and stockades”) and *pa tuwatawata* (fighting *pa*, such as that of Manutahi).¹⁸⁸ These types of settlements emerged at a time when *hapu* began to settle into permanent villages particularly on flat land close to their crops and water sources. *Hapu* lived in at least one settlement, moving to temporary villages in order to harvest food resources. *Pou whakarae* in the Waiapu district most likely emerged during the late 15th century when the ancestress Te Ao Kairau dominated the area.¹⁸⁹ Green, in surveying the history of the Northern Waiapu, noted that during the period 1500-1800 the area “became a compact, independent, society of its own, not dependent on anyone else, consisting of a very self-contented people.”¹⁹⁰

The only account there is of *pou whakarae* in the 18th century in the area comes from the journals of Sydney Parkinson, Captain James Cook’s official artist on his First Voyage (1768-71). Parkinson describes travelling along the East Coast on board the *Endeavour* past Uawa and up around East Cape. Before they came to a bay they named

¹⁸⁶ Elsdon Best, *The Pa Maori: An account of the fortified villages of the Maori in pre-European and modern times: illustrating methods of defence by means of ramparts, fosses, scarps and stockades*. (Wellington: Board of Maori Ethnological Research for the Dominion Museum, 1927), 17-18.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 17.

¹⁸⁸ Best made these distinctions: “The *pa tuwatawata* was a village defended by stockade only, one or more lines thereof. The *pa maioro* was a village defended by ramparts, fosses and stockades, and of both classes of *pa* there were differing forms.” (Elsdon Best, *The Maori. Volume 2*. (Wellington: Polynesian Society, 1941), 306-7.

¹⁸⁹ Green, “History of the Northern Waiapu,” 30.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 32.

Hicks's Bay he saw villages "which seem to have been fenced in art,"¹⁹¹ suggesting that the settlements around the East Cape area were surrounded by pou whakarae. Parkinson was familiar with carving having seen and drawn a number of various forms in Uawa, including a pou pou from the house of Hinematiaro.

That these pou whakarae endured through to the 1830s and 1840s is evident from a number of eyewitness accounts (**Fig. 9**). William Colenso visited the East Coast in January 1838 when he described seeing,

*... main posts consisting of entire and straight trees denuded of their bark with large carved full-length human figures painted red on their tops - of these figures there were above a hundred... And the huge carved figures we ascertained to be more than six feet high, with their heads fully and deeply tattooed, this we proved from one which had been broken off and fallen, and placed upright below its big post.*¹⁹²

Incorporating carvings of non-Maori at this date was extremely rare and signals that changes to the types of figures usually depicted on palisade pou were acceptable and perhaps even encouraged. The primary chief Uenuku would have agreed to such depiction, and may have commissioned them as a political act; Uenuku may have wanted to physically demonstrate his willingness to include nga tangata ke (different people, ie Pakeha missionaries) visually, with all the benefits that he saw, into the fold of the pa.

Another description of pou whakarae around East Cape is found in the writings of the James West Stack who lived in Rangitukia where his father was the local missionary in the 1840s,

*These towns, called pas, were protected by a strong wooden fence, fifteen or twenty feet high, erected round them. The corner posts were painted red, and the tops carved into grotesque representations of the human form, with glaring eyes of paua shell.*¹⁹³

Similarly, the missionary Richard Taylor described Rangitukia Pa in April 1839 as being "a large pa fortified with a double fence, its appearance is not interesting for this

¹⁹¹ Salmond, *Two Worlds*, 185.

¹⁹² A. G. Bagnall and G. C. Petersen, *William Colenso*. (Wellington: A. H. and A. W. Reed, 1948), 68-69.

¹⁹³ James West Stack, *Early Adventures in Maoriland of J. W. Stack* (Wellington: Reed, 1935), 177-178.

kind of defence being formed of poles some larger and shorter than others gives it a very slovenly look.”¹⁹⁴ Another description by Taylor,

*The fence which surround it is double and is composed of thicker and higher posts and poles than usual and at every 40 or 60 feet a trunk of a tree a foot in diameter is raised which is 20 or 30 feet high and has a grotesque figure of a man as large as life carved on top, and I noticed one which was intended to represent an Englishman with & hat on and a round face, no bad representation of a Jack Tar, others had their tongues hanging out with large staring eyes of pearl each as large as a crown piece.*¹⁹⁵

Perhaps this was the one visited by naturalist David Munro in 1842,

*It must cover a surface of at least 3 or 4 acres, and is surrounded by a palisade nearly 30 feet high, the large posts of which, trunks of trees in fact are carved into the most grotesque and frightful representations of deities: the heads of their images are represented as large out of all proportion, their features all distorted, their eyes mother of pearly starting out of their sockets, and their tongues (most prodigious tongues) protruded beyond caricature: the tongue seems in fact to be the part of the face in which according to the Maori expression principally resides.*¹⁹⁶

Such pou whakarae had a number of roles to play. They served to demonstrate the fighting prowess of the community, particularly as Whakawhitira was the main fighting pa in the district. Pou whakarae were composed to inspire awe and dread in any visitor, friendly or otherwise. They would be placed facing outwards in order to “terrify enemies.”¹⁹⁷ They also made visible the lineage of the local people, depicting important ancestors of relevance to the community and would be named as such. This practice was evident in the 19th century in the Waiapu - a pa built at Kapuarangi by Wi Hakopa and Eru Pahau was constructed following the killing of Poututerangi by Paora Tuahiaroa. Most notable was the presence of several pou whakarae all of whom were named: “Patiae was one. Te Auiti another. Mahuika 3rd. Turarawary [sic] 4th. Makahuri 5th. Karanga 6th. Ngapuhuka 7th. These were the only carved posts.”¹⁹⁸ These pou were sentries of sorts, guarding the pa and reminding those inside as well as outside who the

¹⁹⁴ Richard Taylor, “Journals, 1833-1873,” MS 302, AIM, 87.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, Vol. II, 92.

¹⁹⁶ David Monro, “Journal,” MS 210, AIM.

¹⁹⁷ Best, *The Pa Maori*, 63.

¹⁹⁸ Waiapu Native Land Court Minute Book, 20.

main ancestors were. They were a cogent display of the mana of the chief and the economic prosperity of the community; to pay for the services of a carver, or series of carvers required careful planning and management.

Chief's houses.

Houses belonging to chiefs became larger and more decorated during the period 1500-1800. With a settled life and the emergence of distinct personalities, chief's houses took on special significance. In times of pressure for land and resources, new settlements would be created in which chief's houses would feature. Chief's whare constituted visual markers of their status and occupation of the land. They functioned not only as his or her personal residence, but also served to demonstrate his or her position within a wider social and political framework. They were used for receiving visitors and for mourning the dead (although this was yet to move to the porch or even inside the house until at least the 1840s).¹⁹⁹ The importance of the owner/resident was signalled visually by the presence of carving on the exterior of the porch: the amo, raparapa, koruru (figure at apex of bargeboards), tekoteko (figure above the koruru), pare (lintel) and sometimes korupe (lintel above the window) also.

Whare had their antecedents in the Pacific in terms of the rectangular floor plan which was replicated successfully over the generations with little alteration (**Fig. 10**). In addition there is information about chief's houses in oral histories as Ranginui Walker recounts,

While the tekoteko represents an ancestor, the ridgepole is the line of descent. The centre-post supporting it symbolised the chief, the central figure in the tribe, and living embodiment of the ancestors. The space at the base of the poutokomanawa was where the chief sat as a mark of his status as the pillar of the tribe. In the myth stories, the houses of chiefs were large enough to accommodate their whole tribes. In the wars between myth heroes and villains,

¹⁹⁹ See Charles Heaphy's drawing entitled *Corpse of a Chief Killed in Battle* which was drawn at Waikanae as well as John Webster's drawing at Waima, Hokianga in 1847 at a hahunga (bone scraping ceremony). Both are quite obviously outside the chief's house in the marae atea (sacred space in front of the chief's house).

*the defeat of an enemy was not enough. A victory was consummated by the burning of the chief's house, the symbol of tribal identity.*²⁰⁰

Walker's analysis suggests that chief's houses had the same symbolism as the fully decorated whare whakairo of the 1870s with two critical differences: the meaning was linked specifically to a living person - the chief - rather than an older ancestor, and the house was individually owned. Such was the case in the Waiapu district where there were numerous settlements which followed the coast and Waiapu river. As in other tribal regions, the chief's house was utilised on a number of different levels, and by 1830 had become an established form seen commonly in pa and other types of settlements.

That there were earlier fully decorated meeting houses before the 1860s is argued by Melpham in relation to Tokomaru Bay certainly.²⁰¹ In his account of the history of the area for the booklet celebrating the opening of the meeting house Te Hono Ki Rarotonga in 1928, he describes a number of meeting houses. Most notable is one called Rerekohu which,

*... was built about the year 1784. The house, in the course of years, became the repository of many tribal relics. Because of an expected invasion from tribal enemies, the house was completely dismantled to save it from desecration at the hands of the enemies. The rich carvings were immersed in whale oil and then buried in the bed of the Mangahauini stream.*²⁰²

The community under the leadership of Mokena Romio then decided to re-build the meeting house using the old carvings, but due to a change in the course of the river, no carvings could be found. Nonetheless a new "fully carved" meeting house was built measuring 80 feet long "with one ridge-pole and had no windows."²⁰³ He describes how this was *before* the arrival of missionaries yet after the Ngapuhi raids, suggesting a window of around 1825-30 when it was re-built. Rerekohu was used for some of the earliest church services in Tokomaru Bay: "The preachers used to stand outside the meeting-house and read prayers and psalms to those inside. In time the people learnt the

²⁰⁰ "The Meeting House," 35.

²⁰¹ J. M. Melpham, *The Story of Te Hono ki Rarotonga, Carved Meeting House, and Hine-matikotai, Dining Hall, Tokomaru Bay, New Zealand* (Gisborne: Logan Print, 1969), 1.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.

prayers and psalms by heart.”²⁰⁴ The house’s subsequent history is complex, as oral histories collected by Melpham record that Rerekohu was sold to an American geologist around 1885 and taken away for display in a museum, “where, it is understood, it has enjoyed an honoured place to this day.”²⁰⁵

The history of Rerekohu is interesting in a number of ways. Firstly, it suggests that there were fully carved whare before 1830 and that they were used as meeting houses. It also describes the re-using of older carvings in a new house, saving the cost of having new carvings made. Using existing carvings would also transfer the mana of the original meeting house onto the new one. Given this history it is surprising that Rerekohu was sold. Its current whereabouts are unknown.

Pataka.

Also within pa were pataka. These were usually fully carved on the exterior and raised on one or more supports. They ranged in size from a small box to very large structures. These originated in the 1500-1800 period when hapu established settlements and the structures inside them. No longer could hapu be guaranteed all-year access to key foodstuffs,²⁰⁶ but rather required a specific enclosure in which these resources could be protected from the elements. In addition, pataka also stored other goods, such as tools, fishing and agricultural equipment as well as valuable taonga such as kakahu (dress cloaks) and weapons. Because of the nature of their contents, carvers began decorating the exterior front of the buildings with important hapu narratives chronicling both recent and distant histories. Neich summarises,

A very high percentage of the early carvings recovered from swamps are parts of storehouses such as doorways, front or rear panels, side boards or thresholds. These finds confirm that from pre-European times the storehouse

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid, 2.

²⁰⁶ Though kumara, one of the most important foods, were stored in underground storage pits called rua kumara.

was the most prominent decorated structure in a village, proclaiming the high status and command of resources exercised by the chief who owned it.²⁰⁷

That these continued to be built through the period of inter-tribal warfare in the 1820s is evident from an account by the David Munro who in 1842 described seeing structures on posts painted red with feathers and carving in a settlement in the Waiapu.²⁰⁸ Arguably there are no such pataka carvings which have been deposited in museums, though Simmons would disagree (see Table 1).²⁰⁹

Name of pataka	Description of carving	Present location	Source
-	Kuwaha and 4 epa (slanted internal carvings). Credited to Ngatoto Niho Rangi.	Auckland Museum (Sir George Grey Collection 22.149).	Simmons, <i>Meeting-Houses</i> , 157.
Te Paringamouhoki.	Kuwaha and two paepae. Credited to Iwirakau by Simmons, another later carver by Jahnke.	Museum für Volkerkunde, Berlin (VI 31 789).	Simmons, "The door," 146. Jahnke, "He Tataitanga," 159.
Poroporongatoa.	Paepae. Credited to Iwirakau by Simmons.	Private collection, England.	Simmons, <i>Meeting-Houses</i> , 156.
Ngatoto o Haurangi.	Kuwaha and 3 epa. Made by East Coast carvers as a koha to Ngati Paoa.	Te Papa Tongarewa (Webster Collection).	Simmons, <i>Whakairo</i> , 75. Jahnke, "He Tataitanga," 133.
-	Paepae.	Auckland Museum (AM 198).	Hamilton, <i>Maori Art</i> .

Table 1: Iwirakau pataka carvings in museums according to Simmons and Jahnke.

²⁰⁷ Roger Neich, "Wood Carving," in *Maori. Art and Culture*, ed. Dorota Starzecka (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 102.

²⁰⁸ Munro, "Journal."

²⁰⁹ Simmons also analysed this Berlin pou in detail ("The door into the world"). He identified "Ngaatoto" as one of three children sent to a whare wananga in 1780. Simmons writes that the pou, Paringamouhoki, belonged to a pataka, which was sent with Ngaatoto, and "which was filled and kept filled with prestige foods by his tribe" (Ibid, 148). It is unclear the source of Simmons' information.

Using visual analysis allows different interpretations to be put forward. It seems most unlikely, for instance, that the Grey Collection pataka assemblage is in fact from the Waiapu region, if from the East Coast at all. The stacking of human figures in a double column on the epa is highly idiosyncratic and more reminiscent of Tuhoe carving perhaps than from the Waiapu area. The Berlin kuwaha, whilst attributed by Simmons to Iwirakau and an early date (based on his oral evidence and his identification of stone-tooled work), is more likely to have been carved much later, as Jahnke ascribes metal tools at work on that carving, though this is sometimes difficult to ascertain, especially if the carving is worn.²¹⁰ Certainly, the Berlin kuwaha relates stylistically to the pataka named as Poroporongatoa in terms of its composition and extensive use of the raised taratara-a-kae, but whether it relates to the East Coast is not certain because of a lack of comparative carvings, especially with this type of surface decoration which in general was not used extensively in architecture from the 1860s onwards. This was most likely because of the function which the pattern served on the pataka, which was to remind viewers of the importance of fertility and abundance, both associated with the pakake (whale) and specifically recalling the Ngae narrative.

Taratara-a-kae does appear on the Te Papa kuwaha pataka. Other features, such as the placement of the smaller figure over the genitalia and the use of parallel lines of haehae (carved lines or ridges) over the cheeks as well as the size and shape of the mouth would indicate a Waiapu attribution because of its similarity to two pou whakarae in Auckland Museum (AM.153, AM.154). However, there remain a number of enigmas in the kuwaha, such as the use of the central ‘topknot’ which are more reminiscent of Rongowhakaata carving than Waiapu.

Last on the list above is a paepae now in Auckland Museum (AM.198) included by Augustus Hamilton in his catalogue of taonga, *Maori Art* (1898). He attributed the paepae to the Waiapu Valley. Comparing this to the Te Papa Tongarewa Ngati Paoa/East Coast kuwaha mentioned above, there are certainly some stylistic similarities, in particular the composition, type of raised taratara-a-kae surface decoration, plain body, placement and type of hands and background figures. However, against this possibility are the comments of Roger Neich who doubted whether this paepae was

²¹⁰ Pers. Comm.. Roger Fyfe, October 2010.

actually from the Waiapu.²¹¹ In his experience he believed that the carving was a classic example of Ngati Paoa design.

The artefactual record thus appears contradictory and perhaps reflects a transitory phase of Iwirakau style during the period 1500-1800, where ideas from other carving schools were experimented with. Some designs were retained, such as the use of vertical haehae down the cheeks (as seen in the house Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa discussed in Chapter Six) and the wide mouth (as seen in central figure of a pare now in Auckland Museum), but others were discarded.

That pataka were an integral component of the cultural landscape is evidenced by oral accounts. Apirana Ngata narrated the story of the important carver and chief of the South Waiapu named Mokaitapuru.²¹² He carved and built a pataka for Kauwhakatuakina who was “a celebrated fighting chief of the Te Araroa district” for which he expected land as payment. However, he was only given a kumara (sweet potato) pit and two fine dress cloaks. Offended, he returned home and set about exchanging the cloaks for land; he visited the chief Tawhara “who controlled much territory in the hinterland of Ruatoria” and asked him for some land. His reply is now famous: ‘Atua i kainga takoto te aka i roto’ (First let me eat, then the root of the matter that will be embedded within). With that Mokaitapuru threw one of his kakahu (dress cloaks) over Tawhara who then stood on a large boulder at the mouth of the stream which was the centre of his land, “and naming them all bade farewell to its forests, streams and hills.”²¹³

Certainly pataka were important structures in other areas of the East Coast. The carvers of Te Rawheoro built one on commission from Hinematiaro,

An early gift to her, from Tamatere, of Uawa, was a huge tree-trunk, which was hauled and floated out of the bush to the coast, and towed by canoe to Whangara. There it was trimmed and erected as a food storehouse. Known as Te Whatakai-a-Hinematiaro and sometimes as Te Kauta-a-Hinematiaro, it stood near her carved house, Te Hamuti. Its height was about 60 feet, and a carved

²¹¹ Pers. Comm., 2006.

²¹² Apirana Ngata, “Maori arts and crafts,” in *The Maori People Today*, ed. I. L. G. Sutherland (Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1940), 315.

²¹³ *Ibid*, 316.

*storehouse may have been positioned in its upper branches. The remains of this tree-trunk, shortened from successive repositionings when the lower portion of the trunk rotted, were placed in the Gisborne Museum in 1954.*²¹⁴

The oral record identifies the East Coast and in particular the Waiapu area as a place where pataka stood. This claim is supported by the existence of at least one pataka carving which can be attributed to the East Coast. Given the fact that carving schools were active, and that pataka were considered to be an important indicator of rank and achievement, it is most likely that there were many pataka in the area. The fact that so few pataka carvings remain reflects the impact that inter-tribal wars of the 1820s had on the area. As with other regions, carving was frequently targeted as loot (parakete) by taua (war parties) and their leaders. During warfare, structures such as pataka and waka taua would be regularly dismantled and hidden in caves or in riverbeds. Subsequently carvings would sometimes remain hidden for many years either because those who knew of their whereabouts had been killed or taken prisoner, or else because they were considered too tapu. Occasionally the hiding places became volatile, with rivers shifting their courses, and caves falling down. The record which remains of pataka in the Waiapu can only therefore be suggested rather than set down as fact.

Waka taua.

Based on a coast, the waka taua was an important tribal asset for those on the East Coast. They were the largest of all watercraft, primarily built to ferry 100 or more warriors into battle. Carvings decorated the prow (tauihu), stern (taurapa) and sidestrakes (rauawa). The bottom of the prow was usually painted with kowhaiwhai patterns emphasising prowess. Attached to the front and back carvings were soft feather ornaments used as navigational devices as well as to increase the height and length visually of the canoe. Frequently the symbolism on the carvings were tribally specific. For the East Coast, the figure on the tauihu between the two takarangi spirals usually

²¹⁴ Angela Ballara, "Hinematioro – Biography." *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h23/1?setlang=en> (accessed January 12, 2010).

depicted Paikea,²¹⁵ whilst on the underside of the prow were Ngae and Tutunui who were “the objects of the first revenge”.²¹⁶

The earliest record of waka taua on the East Coast dates to the middle of the 18th century. They emerged at a time when Maori society was highly stratified and there was an increasing need to make visually explicit the mana of the people and especially the chief. Rangatira would frequently commission a new waka taua in preparation for war or to emphasise their financial management skills through the ability to pay for and organise such a new venture.

Waka taua were seen in Uawa in the 1760s. Parkinson described seeing,

*The men have a particular taste for carving: their boats, paddles, boards to put on their houses, tops of walking sticks, and even their boats valens, are carved in a variety of flourishes, turnings and windings, that are unbroken; but their favourite figure seems to be a volute, or spiral, which they vary many ways, single, double, and triple, and with as much truth as if done from mathematical draughts: yet the only instruments we have seen are a chizzel, and an axe made of stone. Their fancy, indeed, is very wild and extravagant, and I have seen no imitations of nature in any of their performances, unless the head, and the heart-shaped tongue hanging out of the mouth of it, may be called natural.*²¹⁷

Perhaps this is the one drawn by the Herman Sporing (**Fig. 11**). Further north around East Cape Parkinson had described seeing seven canoes come alongside the *Endeavour*, with “one of these was very large, and had between fifty and sixty people.”²¹⁸ This was almost certainly a waka taua because of its size, though it is unusual there is no mention of carving. Perhaps the whakairo had been removed, which happened occasionally when waka taua were used for peaceful missions, such as trading.

The East Coast had a reputation as canoe builders, attracting not only local patronage but also interest from other iwi, such as Ngati Toa.²¹⁹ A tauihu now in the collection of

²¹⁵ Pakariki Harrison, *Nga Kete Wananga* (Manukau City: Te Tāri Matauranga Māori, Te Whare Takiura o Manukau, 1999), 21.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Salmond, *Two Worlds*, 173, 175.

²¹⁸ Ibid, 186.

²¹⁹ National Museum of New Zealand. *Taonga Maori. Treasures of the New Zealand People* (Wellington: National Museum of New Zealand, 1995), 65.

Te Papa Tongarewa (WEB.1202) is attributed to Ngati Porou carvers though it was collected on Kapiti Island. This was the stronghold of Ngati Toa Rangatira chief Te Rauparaha who from 1810 until the early 1830s used waka taua as part of his campaign to gain control over the lower south-west of the North Island and upper half of the South Island. The *Taonga Maori* catalogue notes that “They [Ngati Toa Rangatira] had a number of canoes of Ngati Porou origin.”²²⁰ Relatively few carvers are known from that area at that time, yet Te Rauparaha was often depicted with carved objects suggesting that he used East Coast carvers on a number of occasions as his reputation and demand for waka taua grew.

The dates of commissioned waka taua for Ngati Toa are in line with other accounts of waka taua on the East Coast. During the mid-1830s waka taua were still being constructed and used in war expeditions. The pepeha ‘Ngati-Nua hiku potakataka’ refers to Ngati Nua who built the waka taua Te Ruru-a-Tarapikau which was used by the chief of Rangitukia Pa, Kakatarau, to ferry warriors around during at the siege of Toka-a-kuku in 1836.²²¹ The names of waka taua from the 1830s were remembered by Paora Haenga. Pakura and Arikirua were two canoes “associated with Ngati Porou,”

*When Ngati Porou were killed at Takeheroa or Tahakenui – there is a dispute as to the right name – those canoes were built, because the slaying of Ngati Porou at that place affected everyone, and everyone was concerned in getting those canoes. All canoes mentioned were for this purpose.*²²²

Haenga describes their purpose as being “to attack Te Whanau Apanui and Ngati Tahu ‘to avenge death of Ngati Porou in the northern part of the district.’”²²³

Missionaries also provide evidence of waka taua production and use. In the early 1840s Rev. Stack recorded seeing twelve ‘or so’ large canoes which were on Waiapu Beach, probably Rangitukia as this was the one nearest to where he lived. One was described as being 60 feet long (18.3m), 5 feet wide in the middle (1.5m) with 1 foot (30cm) on either extremity. Each bow had a figurehead that had black and white feathers stuck into

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Kohere, *Autobiography of a Maori*, 49.

²²² Young and Belgrave, *Te Papatipu o Ruawaihu*, Part 2, 324.

²²³ Ibid, 325.

the top “to represent hair.” Fifteen men on either side dragged the canoes down the beach, using sleepers, which suggests that these were very large waka. It is likely that these waka were originally made some ten years before, in preparation for Toka-a-Kuku.

In addition, there are two prows associated with Hinemaioro (**Fig. 12**) one of which was depicted in a sketch by Sporing on Pourewa Island on 28 October 1769, and the other is a prow in the collection of Te Papa Tongarewa (Web.1202). These are two different types of prow; the former is the tuere-style with the sinuous manaia placed vertically along the carving. The second is the more common tauihu form which is composed of two takarangi spirals side by side with a complete figure in between. That there were two different forms associated with this patron suggests that she encouraged a range of styles, rather than one distinct design.

The carved structures described above suggest that carving was an integral part of the cultural life of people in the Waipua area in the period leading up to 1830. Artistic practices were replicated and modified over the centuries addressing new needs in society. This resulted in new art products being invented – when these were accepted by use by the community they were reproduced again and again. Such acceptance and reuse were the basis for the emergence a new art tradition. Oral narratives gave information about earlier forms, though it was up to the individual carver to interpret them. Taken together with the earliest accounts by missionaries, it is apparent that there was a rich and vibrant arts scene in the area certainly from the late 18th century through to the 1830s. It survived even through devastating times of war in the 1820s which prompted more obvious shows of authority. By 1830, the people of the upper East Coast were exhausted by warfare and focused on simply surviving.

CHAPTER 3.

HE TIKANGA HOU:

CHAPELS IN THE WAIAPU, 1838-1860.

When chapels began to be built in the Waiapu in the late 1830s they were the first new form of architecture in over 200 years (**Fig. 13**). This chapter tracks their emergence, who was in charge, how they differed from earlier forms and, most significantly, how their creation affected understandings of tradition. The year 1834 marked the first foray of the Church Missionary Society onto the East Coast, with the arrival of the Revs. William Williams and William Yate at Hicks Bay on January 16th. With them came a number of Ngati Porou whom they had rescued from a life of servitude as Ngapuhi prisoners-of-war. Their triumphant return undoubtedly influenced the reception of Williams and Yate, and ultimately Christianity. The returned Ngati Porou had experienced first-hand English culture and mission life. Probably the most significant of them was Piripi Taumata-a-Kura of Te Whanau-a-Tinatoka, Te Whanau-a-Haemata and Te Whanau-a-Uruahi²²⁴ who would soon become the most powerful figure in the conversion of the Waiapu (**Fig. 14**).²²⁵

“Survival mode.”

Monty Soutar’s term “survival mode”²²⁶ characterises the period from 1818 to 1832. The starting date represents the first attack by a Ngapuhi war party of over 900 warriors

²²⁴ Apirana Mahuika and Steven Oliver. “Piripi Taumata-a-Kura,” *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara—the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t19/1?setlang=en> (accessed May 29, 2011).

²²⁵ However, he was possibly not the first to actively convert Ngati Porou to Christianity as Irimana Houturangi had been returned from the north, after being captured in 1820, to Hicks Bay and the settlement of Rahui (L. Lawson, *Wharekahika: A History of Hick’s Bay* (Hicks Bay: Lawson, 1986), 54).

²²⁶ Monty Soutar, “Ngati Porou Leadership – Rapata Wahawaha and the politics of conflict,” (PhD. diss, Massey University, 2002), 75.

under the leadership of Hongi Hika. They struck the northern East Coast as far round as Waipiro Bay.²²⁷ Their ultimate intention was “to obtain slaves and food.”²²⁸ Hongi’s men had muskets to which the people of the Waiapu had little defence. The result was the death of hundreds of men, women and children, the enslaving of many hundreds more, and the large-scale destruction of settlements.

There was little time to recover. In 1820, the Ngapuhi chiefs Pomare and Te Wera, “bent on outstripping Hongi’s success,”²²⁹ launched another assault on the East Coast. Horror stories of the casualties of those who sheltered in Whetumatarau pa at Wharekahika are still told on the East Coast today. Further on, the taua attacked Tapatahi pa looking for slaves. Having little advance warning, hundreds were again killed and others enslaved.²³⁰ Three years later Pomare returned to the East Coast on a mission of peace with Te Rangipaia, who had been taken from Whetumatarau in 1820. Arriving at the newly-built pa at Whakawhitira, Pomare sent in Taotaoriri, his most highly decorated warrior. Naturally he was treated with the utmost suspicion, and only after intense negotiations were his – and Pomare’s – intentions made plain.²³¹ After much discussion Uenuku, the head chief of the pa, and a group of his people agreed to accompany Pomare back to Northland. Some of them would later return to the East Coast, but the majority stayed on there.

Soutar describes these raids as “a turning point in the history of Ngati Porou [as it] marked the beginning of colonization on the East Coast.”²³² Hapu changed the way they lived, and began urbanising in huge pa rather than remaining vulnerable in smaller, unfortified settlements. For the next few years their focus was on obtaining muskets. New modes of economic production emerged, centred on external markets (pigs, dressed flax, potatoes for instance). In the meantime, trouble closer to home was

²²⁷ Some argue that Hongi’s war path did not end until he reached Mahia Peninsula (W. L. Williams, *East Coast (NZ) Historical Records* (Gisborne, Poverty Bay Herald, 1900), 4).

²²⁸ Soutar, “Ngati Porou Leadership,” 57. A second motive was to obtain *toi moko* (preserved heads).

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 60.

²³⁰ Williams, *East Coast (NZ) Historical Records*, 4.

²³¹ As a token of his respect for Taotaoriri coming into a hostile pa, Whakawhitira’s major chief Uenuku gave to him Te Hikupoto, who was at that stage the wife of his minor chief Rangiwahakatatae. It is unclear what her first husband thought of the matter.

²³² Soutar, “Ngati Porou Leadership,” 74.

brewing. From 1823, there were a series of attacks between those resident in Whakawhitira pa, most notably the hapu Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare, and those around Uawa to the south. In some settlements, carvings were removed from important structures and hidden – some were deposited in the Maungahauini Stream for protection for instance. Unfortunately the stream changed course resulting in the carvings being lost forever.

Engaging in external markets for muskets influenced the way in which traditional modes of warfare occurred. For instance, whilst previously an enemy chief's head might be removed and preserved in order for it to be derided, by the mid-1820s it was being sold for muskets. One example is the sale of the Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare chief Te Rerehorua's head in exchange for ammunition.²³³ By 1830 the majority of people in the Waiapu were still living in pa, wary of returning to their outlying kainga (unfortified settlements) despite peace being settled with Ngapuhi. There was good reason for this caution, as skirmishes began with Te Whanau-a-Apanui and continued over the next few years. It is at this juncture that this chapter begins.

By 1830 the Church Missionary Society had been in New Zealand for 16 years. The first service in the country was taken by Rev. Samuel Marsden, newly arrived from Sydney on Christmas Day, 1814 at Oihi in the northern Bay of Islands. Within a few years, mission stations were established in the nearby settlements of Kerikeri (1819) and Paihia (1823), resulting in an influx of new types of settlers keen to purchase or otherwise acquire land for a range of different activities. Previously, whalers and sealers had been the most frequent visitors to the area, calling in to the area to stock up their ships and enjoy the 'pleasures of the land'. Missionaries were well aware that their survival depended on maintaining good relations with the local chiefs, especially Hongi Hika.²³⁴ His military schedule of war parties reminded missionaries that the country was tribally-run, and that delicate negotiation and persuasion was required in order to

²³³ Ibid, 84, n34.

²³⁴ Judith Binney, introduction to *Te Kerikeri. 1770-1850. The Meeting Pool* (Wellington and Nelson: Bridget Williams Books in association with Craig Potton Publishing Limited, 2007), 14).

convert Maori into the Christian fold. It was not only to Hongi's local Ngaitawake²³⁵ people that the missionaries were focused on – in their midst were prisoners-of-war brought back by Hongi and others from various military campaigns, as well as several Maori from other areas taken under false pretensions or by force.

Such was the case with a group of seven men and five women from the East Cape who had been taken to the Bay of Islands in April 1833 on board the American whaler *Elizabeth*. Initially they were part of a trading group exchanging local produce such as pigs, corn, whitau (prepared flax) and parareka (potatoes) for guns, ammunition, and powder.²³⁶ However, due to a change in weather, the *Elizabeth* was forced to lift anchor and sail away, much to the distress of their Maori visitors. Those on board included four chiefs: Rangikatia, Rangiwahakatamatama, Te Rukuata and Kakamara.²³⁷ Once they arrived in the North, they were taken ashore where they were considered to be herehere (prisoners) of the local chiefs. However, Henry Williams and other missionaries intervened and organised their release into their care. A few weeks later an attempt was made to return the group, but high winds thwarted their journey and they returned to the North.²³⁸

Over the next few months the East Cape people were introduced to missionary teachings at Paihia. Finally, in December 1833 William Williams organised another expedition, having heard positive reports of the East Coast as one area amenable to Christianity. He travelled to the East Coast with Rev. William Yate, as well as the 12 from East Cape and a number of other Maori, some from the East Coast, others not. They arrived at Wharekahika on 8 January 1834. Small groups of people paddled out to greet them, though cautiously given the recent history. This soon turned to joy once one of the chiefs on board recognised two of his brothers in one of the waka. Williams recounts the moment of landing,

²³⁵ Binney describes how this was “the collective name used .. for the major hapu (tribal) complex associated with Hongi” (ibid, 12). In other literature, the tribal affiliation Ngapuhi is used.

²³⁶ Mohi Turei, “He Korero Tawhito,” *Te Pipiwharauoa* (March 1910), 2.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ William Williams, *Christianity Among the New Zealanders* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1989), 163.

... as soon as we had landed, about three hundred men suddenly sprang up from among the bushes to welcome us. I had never before seen so wild looking a set, and they soon gathered around us to gaze upon their visitors. They were, however, exceedingly friendly, and did not attempt to press upon us. The party which had been living at Paihia soon began to relate their adventures; for their relatives had heard no tidings of them since the ship had carried them away. They told them some of the customs of the missionaries, carefully distinguishing between us and the foreigners they had hitherto had to do with.²³⁹

Williams, who was impressed by his reception, took evening prayers. The next day he and Yate walked over to Rangitukia Pa which they were much impressed by, and on the following day arrived in Whakawhitira pa.²⁴⁰ Whilst Christianity was known in the area due to visiting Europeans as well as travelling Maori, the arrival in the area of official missionaries made a significant impact on the future reception of Christianity. This welcome was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that they were returning people whom many had thought dead. One of those was Taumata-a-kura.

Taumata-a-Kura.

Along the East Coast Piripi Taumata-a-kura is heralded as Ngati Porou's first evangelist. Born in Whakawhitira pa, Taumata-a-Kura was taken prisoner by Ngapuhi at Whetumatarau pa²⁴¹ in 1820 and taken north. William Williams described him,

[Taumata-a-kura] was formerly a slave and had attended school at Waimate, but we had never had any reason to suppose that he took an interest in Christian instruction. He was not even a candidate for baptism but he had learnt to read ... [he] began to teach and to preach according to the little light which he possessed, ... and some short prayers, and hymns, and texts of Scripture were written upon scraps of paper, and were valued in a superstitious regard.²⁴²

However, it was not until Taumata-a-kura was returned to the East Coast that his aspirations to become an evangelist became clear. At Whakawhitira he began teaching about the Bible and what he had seen in the North. He was warmly welcomed because

²³⁹ Ibid, 175.

²⁴⁰ An earlier name for this pa is Whenuakura (Pers. Comm., Hone Kaa, April 2011).

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² William Williams, *Christianity Among the New Zealanders*, 255-7. Curiously he is not mentioned in either William Williams's nor Colenso's Journals of this period.

his return had not been foreseen considering the fate of so many other Ngati Porou who had been taken north. Wright wrote about the capabilities of such returned slaves,

*An ex-slave, for example, one dropped off by the mission schooner at his home on the East Cape or the Bay of Plenty, was likely to be able to read, to repair broken tools, and to cultivate Western crops with some efficiency. It was only natural for him to wish to lead and for the rest of his tribe to follow.*²⁴³

Once home again, Taumata-a-kura initiated classes teaching reading and writing using what he had at hand for his resources - “wood charcoal on wood or sharp sticks scratched into flax leaves.”²⁴⁴ His first students in turn taught others from their whanau and hapu. Literacy was part and parcel of the transmission of religious knowledge, as Lange notes, “Maori interest in literacy may be understood as indicating a desire not just for information about the content of Christian teaching but also for access to the sources of European power and wealth.”²⁴⁵ During his years in the north Taumata-a-kura had been exposed to numerous aspects of not just Christian culture, but all the vagaries of English life that characterised the Bay of Islands in the late 1820s and early 1830s. His insights into life in the north were of much interest to his people who built him a large wharau (shelter house) in which he talked about his experiences. It was such a critical moment in the history of the area that Taumata-a-kura’s first words of his first address have been passed down the generations as Apirana Ngata wrote,

*‘I have come from Keri Keri and from Paihia, and I have seen Williams of the four eyes.’ And at this point, the congregation, thinking that they were being introduced to the God of the pakeha and having received some little instruction in how to act, uttered in chorus a solemn and vibrant ‘Amen.’ This may be described as the first Christian service in the Waiapu district.*²⁴⁶

Between 1834 and 1838 Taumata-a-kura is credited with single-handedly evangelizing hundreds of people, as Soutar notes,

²⁴³ As *qtd in* Michael Jackson, “Literacy, Communications and Social Change. The Maori Case, 1830-1870,” (MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1967), 65-66.

²⁴⁴ Mahuika and Oliver, “Piripi Taumata-a-Kura,” 433.

²⁴⁵ Raewyn Lange, “Indigenous Agents of Religious Change in New Zealand 1830-1860,” *Journal of Religious History* 24.3 (2000), 283.

²⁴⁶ Apirana Ngata and I. L. G. Sutherland. “Religious Influences,” in *The Maori People Today*, ed. I. L. G. Sutherland (Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1940), 339-340. ‘William of the four eyes’ was Henry Williams, and the four eyes referred to his spectacles.

*With no one to advise them otherwise, the teaching and ritual of Christianity was adjusted to the forms and customs of the already existing Maori religious system. An obvious example of this was the naming of ridge poles in early churches after ancestors.*²⁴⁷

Taumata-a-kura's belief in Christianity was soon tested. The people of Rangitukia and Whakawhitira pa spent 1834-6 preparing for a major attack on Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Though he "and his new religion were powerless to stay the tribal vendetta,"²⁴⁸ Taumata-a-kura successfully persuaded the chiefs Uenuku, Kakatarau, and others to allow him to set new "rules of war,"²⁴⁹ which included no unnecessary killing, no cannibalism, and no wrecking of canoes. The fact that he justified the war on the basis of Te Whanau-a-Apanui having broken the laws of Jehovah shows how he was willing to merge the old with the new; that such a battle would go ahead was clear, thus he needed to find some reason for this response all the while mediating his identity as a Christian. An image which remains potent to this day is of him going into battle with the New Testament in one hand and a gun in the other. Indeed in the renovation of St John's Church in Rangitukia (2012, in progress) one of the four new carved poupou depicts him in this way. Within art history, these are his 'attributes' by which he is recognised and revered. His success at Te Toka-a-Kuku was pivotal in the popularity of Christianity. However, Taumata-a-kura's sphere of influence only extended through to the late 1830s, when the arrival of Native Teachers complicated lines of authority, both religious and political.²⁵⁰

The first Native Teachers (kai-whakaako) on the East Coast, 1838.

The Whakawhitira chief Uenuku's requests for a missionary were answered in October 1838 when Henry Williams, William Williams's brother, made his first visit to the East Coast bringing with him six Maori catechists and their wives. Of these, five came from

²⁴⁷ Soutar, "Ngati Porou Leadership," 112.

²⁴⁸ Ngata and Sutherland, "Religious influences," 340.

²⁴⁹ Soutar, "Ngati Porou Leadership," 107.

²⁵⁰ This appears to be the last mention of Taumata-a-kura, even though he didn't die until 1868. It may be that the Native Teachers who arrived in 1838 took over his role in the conversion of the people once he had paved the way for this to occur.

the local area. Three were stationed in the Waiapu – Hone Tino at Te Kawakawa, Hemi Kiko at Rangitukia, and Wiremu Hekopa at Whakawhitira,²⁵¹ while the remainder were placed in Turanga to the south.²⁵² The catechists were called Native Teachers; in Maori they were ‘kura mahita’²⁵³ (literally ‘school teachers’) though the term used today is ‘kai-whakaako’ (literally ‘person who makes learning’).

Soutar describes these men as,

*... critical agents in the process of change ... They afforded channels of communication between the missionaries and the people, and induced the participation of many who would not otherwise have come to the missionaries for instruction.*²⁵⁴

Their names are commemorated in part of the haka called *Tihei Taruke*²⁵⁵ composed by Rev. Mohi Turei in 1856 for the opening of St John’s Church at Rangitukia and still being performed by children and adults alike in the area,

Rangitukia ra te pariha i tukua atu ai nga kai-whakaako tokowha:

Ruka ki Reporua

Hohepa ki Te Paripari

Kawhia ki Whangakareao

Apakura ki Whangapirita, e

Rangitukia is the parish from which four evangelists were sent:

Ruka to Reporua,

Hohepa to Paripari,

Kawhia to Whangakareao,

²⁵¹ Soutar, “Ngati Porou Leadership,” 118.

²⁵² Williams, *Christianity Among the New Zealanders*, 257. Their progress was checked the following year in a visit by William Williams and Richard Taylor who commended the spiritual and educational work begun by the teachers and the emergence of a chapel building impetus. (Ibid, 267).

²⁵³ Pers. Comm., Hone Kaa, April 2011.

²⁵⁴ Soutar, “Ngati Porou Leadership,” 118.

²⁵⁵ Mahuika and Oliver, “Taumata-a-Kura.”

*Apakura to Whangapirita, e.*²⁵⁶

Native Teachers²⁵⁷ were the driving force in conversion along the coast and were seen as "... missionaries in fact if not in name."²⁵⁸ They were the middlemen between missionaries and Maori communities, moving between two worlds, mediating and keeping the peace. Lange describes them in this way,

*While missionaries were continuously influential only in the vicinity of their own stations, "native teachers" were resident in almost every village community. As schoolteachers, worship leaders, preachers, pastors and moral guardians they and their daily activities had a continuing impact on local life and facilitated the steadily proceeding incorporation of Christian ideas and practices into Maori society. Together with their "religious" work, they introduced European knowledge and skills such as literacy, agriculture, and carpentry.*²⁵⁹

Colenso wrote of the successes of Native Teachers. When he visited the East Coast in January 1838 he noted that none of the 3000-4000 residents at Whakawhitira Pa could read and write. However, when he returned in November 1841 as many as 100 were literate, due primarily in his view to the work of the kai-whakaako.²⁶⁰

Nevertheless, the fact that the Native Teachers had been chosen by Pakeha as the leaders for the community often did not sit well within the existing power structures. Who were they to come in and decide what was the law and try and organise the people? Rev. Richard Taylor commented that "... our teacher ... appears to have far more power than any chief and in fact to be chief of Waiapu though but a redeemed slave."²⁶¹ Lange distinguishes between those teachers who were 'commoners' or from

²⁵⁶ Kaa, *Piripi Taumata-a-kura Celebrations*, 2. Their full names were Hohepa Te Rore or Rire (Riley), Ruka and Eruera Apakura. Baker identified Kawhia being at Whareponga and Eruera Paku at Waipiro and Te Rore at Tuparoa. Raniera Kawhia was described as a "venerable, fully tattooed Maori clergyman" (Kohere, *Story of a Maori Chief*, 35). Rosevear noted that he was the first Maori ordained by William Williams, and was the vicar at Whareponga for 24 years (Rosevear, *Waiapu*, 181).

²⁵⁷ Lange, "Indigenous agents," 284.

²⁵⁸ Frances Porter, *The Turanga Journals 1840-50: Letters and Journals of William and Jane Williams, Missionaries to Poverty Bay* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1974), 40.

²⁵⁹ Lange, "Indigenous agents," 287.

²⁶⁰ Bagnall and Petersen, *Colenso*, 108.

²⁶¹ "Journal," 90, as *qtd in* Porter, *The Turanga Journals*, 64.

other iwi, and those who were chiefs. For the former, “conflict sometimes ensued.”²⁶² She gives the example of the Rangitukia chief Mokena Kohere who disagreed with local teacher Pita Whakangaue’s plans for a church in the 1850s, a situation only being resolved when the missionary Baker intervened.²⁶³

Other Kai-whakaako were accepted only by virtue of their wananga training. Raniera Kawhia, for instance, was an “initiate of the Tapere-nui-a-Whatonga and Rawheoro [whare wananga.]”²⁶⁴ as were Hare Te Wha and Mohi Turei. In addition, Kawhia, as well as Hohepa Te Rore and Wiremu Hekopa, were chiefs in their own right. Their knowledge and skills were thus based upon traditional and Christian forms of religion. Their ability to articulate both forms in their evangelism was not always successful, as Ngata had observed, “Hare Tawha was probably the most learned of the three [Mohi Turei and Raniera Kawhia]. But he closed up like an oyster when he joined the Church.”²⁶⁵

The first chapel in the Waiapu – Whakawhitira I (April 1839).²⁶⁶

The earliest chapel in the Waiapu was built between December 1838 when Henry Williams visited, and early April 1839 when his brother William Williams and Richard Taylor travelled to the Coast.²⁶⁷ The first description comes from Taylor,

*We were led to a very neat building which was erected by the natives on their own accord as a chapel. It was full 60 ft by 40 the sides being made of bark and inclosed [sic] by a neat fence the style of which composed of these uncouth figures which were converted into steps.*²⁶⁸

²⁶² Lange, “Indigenous agents,” 288.

²⁶³ In relation to chiefs who were teachers, Lange refers to Renata Kawepo, the Ngati Kahungunu chief who frequently ‘clashed’ with the Hawkes Bay missionary William Colenso (“Indigenous agents,” 288).

²⁶⁴ Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. 2, 32. Kawhia was one of four new deacons in 1860, and the only one from the East Coast

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 19.

²⁶⁶ These early chapels have been given these names on advice from Sundt (Pers. comm., 2007).

²⁶⁷ Sundt, *Whare Karakia*, 82.

²⁶⁸ Taylor, “Journals,” 93.

Taylor's 'uncouth figures' were presumably pou whakarae. This is the first reference to a transferral of the pou whakarae form from surrounding a pa to surrounding a chapel. By including them on a fence, local Maori builders intended to show the missionaries that this site was distinctly and uniquely Maori, even before they went inside the building. Whilst pou whakarae usually depicted ancestors, both in the distant and near past, it is uncertain from the description whether this was also the case with the chapel. Their being cut into steps is most unconventional given the nature of who they depicted.

William Williams described this first chapel as the best building in the country that he had seen²⁶⁹ and as "new and very well built".²⁷⁰ Taylor described how it was constructed: it was "... built of timber well squared with an adze, mortised and fastened with wooden nails, covered by a roof neatly lined with reeds [kakaho], and sides of bark sheets sewn together with flax string."²⁷¹ It is probably this building that Taylor drew twice during his short visit in April 1839; unfortunately he did not record the specific location in which it was located, but rather identified it as being in the Waiapu area.²⁷² The first drawing (**fig. 15, top**) is titled 'A school in the native built church at Waiapu' and depicts the interior. There is a rectangular floor plan and two central posts across which sit cross-beams. Along one long wall there is a central doorway and at least one elongated window. There is another elongated window at the far wall. Three groups of people are depicted, each with a person standing who is presumably teaching those who sit. James West Stack remembered as a child how the churches were used: "the lowest class were learning to teach others to write, or do simple arithmetic; others were being catechised, or receiving instruction in the Bible."²⁷³

The second image (**fig. 15, bottom**) 'Wakawitira in the valley of Waiapu' depicts the exterior of a chapel from a distance. It has a central door, flanked by one long rectangular window on either side. A simple fence surrounds the enclosure. Based on

²⁶⁹ Rosevear, *Waiapu*, 14.

²⁷⁰ Porter, *The Turanga Journals*, 65.

²⁷¹ Taylor, "Journal," vol. 2.

²⁷² There is a third drawing done by Taylor in the area. He titles this 'A chapel in the Valley of Waiapu' yet it does not correlate with contemporary accounts of Whakawhitira I, and was too early for any other chapel in the area.

²⁷³ *Early Adventures*, 179.

eyewitness accounts of Whakawhitira pa which describe pou whakarae the fence on the left of the drawing can be identified as the edge of the main settlement. Given this, it appears that Taylor's 'Chapel in Waiapu' may have been adjacent to Whakawhitira pa. From the similarities in both drawings, it appears that this is probably the same chapel²⁷⁴ as the one in the previous drawing, and as such is one of the earliest visual accounts of both the interior and exterior of a Maori-built chapel.

Richard Sundt describes Whakawhitira I as, "Georgian in style, not a whare-style or type of structure."²⁷⁵ It was based on the chapel in Paihia in Northland, which was the earliest one in New Zealand, having been built some time between late 1827 and September 1828 under the direction of Rev. Henry Williams (**Fig. 16**). The Paihia church was 'Georgian in style' with its "low-pitched saddleback roof, usually hidden by a parapet, which confers a horizontal silhouette to the nave exterior."²⁷⁶ Why Williams adopted the residential style of Georgian architecture rather than the ecclesiastical type for chapels is "puzzling" Sundt writes,²⁷⁷ but suggests that possibly this was to move away from "the strong processional and hierarchical qualities inherent in the elongated plan that typified so much English and Continental ecclesiastical architecture."²⁷⁸ Williams may have wanted to signal visually that New Zealand was a different country from England, and demonstrate this by initiating a new style of church architecture. Many who left England sought to also leave behind the social and religion hierarchies that they saw as burdensome. In moving to New Zealand they sought a 'fresh start' – their architecture showed this.

Oral accounts credit the building of this first chapel in the Waiapu to Taumata-a-kura. His power at this time was paralleled only to that of Uenuku, with whom he worked in order to complete the project. The Whakawhitira chapel had three purposes. The first

²⁷⁴ Pers. Comm., December 2006.

²⁷⁵ I am indebted to Richard Sundt for the many valuable emails discussing aspects of the construction of chapels in the East Coast in the 1830s.

²⁷⁶ *Whare Karakia*, 14.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.* Henry Russell Walden has noted the general style of early churches in the North as being residential in nature, possibly because of their double function as chapel and school (*As qtd in Sundt, Whare Karakia*, 15). See H. R. Walden, "New Zealand Anglican Church Architecture, 1814-1963," (MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1964), 11, 13-19.

was to hold services accommodating up to 500 converts.²⁷⁹ This would represent at least half the resident population in the pa. In 1838 Colenso had estimated that there were between 800-1,000 people present in the pa, including 400 children. He was told that there were a further 2,000 “fighting men” who lived in the settlement but they were away. It was certainly, according to Taylor, the largest pa in the land, measuring “nearly a mile along the riverside and ... strongly fortified.”²⁸⁰ As such, William Williams believed that “Waiapu, as a place for a missionary station, surpassed any I had seen.”²⁸¹ Indeed, Taylor was told as much by Uenuku when they admired his new church, noting “how ready they all were to hear the gospel and that they had built us a chapel and now only wanted a minister to live amongst them.”²⁸²

The second function of Whakawhitira I was as a guest house. Taylor explained how he and William Williams were offered accommodation in the chapel upon arrival in Whakawhitira pa on 8 April 1839. However, upon reflection, their hosts quickly realised that this would transgress the tapu nature of the site. Of more concern was the idea that Taylor and Williams would eat inside, and as Taylor later wrote, “they said it would be profaned by our eating in it, we were therefore located for the night in a native house about 10 ft by 8.”²⁸³

The third function of Whakawhitira I was as a school. Taylor titles his drawing of the interior of the chapel as ‘A school in the native built church at Waiapu’ and shows groups of people receiving instruction, presumably about the Gospel. Who these preachers were is unclear. Almost certainly two would have been Taumata-a-kura and Hekopa, and perhaps Uenuku as an interested third.

Whether Whakawhitira I can be credited as the earliest chapel in the Waiapu area in April 1839 is debatable. Earlier on the same day that Taylor arrived at Whakawhitira he spied a small chapel in a ‘verdant valley.’ He was so struck by its presence – the first chapel he would have seen in the area – that he stopped and made a quick pen and ink

²⁷⁹ F. W. Williams, *Through Ninety Years* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1939), 40.

²⁸⁰ Taylor, “Journals,” 87.

²⁸¹ Williams, *Christianity Among the New Zealanders*, 177.

²⁸² Taylor, “Journal.” vol. 2, 93.

²⁸³ Ibid.

drawing of it (**Fig. 17**). This followed the shape of a whare, with its pitched roof, rectangular floor plan and porch. There was one window in the front wall, with a central doorway. There were no carvings and no fence around the chapel. It was presumably made from raupo as other chapels of the day were, and was about the same size as the Whakawhitira chapel drawn later that day. Sundt's sense of the chapel was "of a small to modest whare-style structure, and probably of intermediate construction."²⁸⁴ Simply put, nothing marks this building as a special structure (as would be the case if it was larger or decorated). Given that it was outside the protection of any of the major pa, it is possible that this chapel was built to test the reception of missionaries to such structures.

Whakawhitira II (May 1840).

By May 1840 the people at Whakawhitira had built another chapel - Whakawhitira II.²⁸⁵ This was quite different from the earlier church, and shows a shift away from Paihia-style churches, with a return to indigenous building design. George Clarke,²⁸⁶ who accompanied James Stack Snr²⁸⁷ to Hicks Bay and the Waiapu, describes it,

It was a very fine specimen of Maori architecture, capable of holding more than a thousand people, unseated, and with few props or pillars to break the whole view of the interior. All the beams and rafters which divided roof and sides into so many panels, were painted with Kokowai (red ochre) and pricked out with a pattern of white, the run of the lines being after the fashion of the tattoo on a Maori's face. A kind of framed pathway extended from the door to the opposite end, and a space on one side being given up to the men, and on the other to the women and children. At the extreme end was the pulpit, or reading desk, resting upon a sort of dias, some two feet above the general ground floor. The pulpit was in fact the remains of a large oil barrel, the front left entire, but the back part sawn half away, the seat resting on the lower half. Like all other wood in the place, it was plastered with red Kokowai relieved by the white moko pattern.

²⁸⁴ Sundt, *Whare Karakia*, 77.

²⁸⁵ Sundt suggests that Whakawhitira I was subsequently used as a school after Whakawhitira II was built (Ibid, 83).

²⁸⁶ George was 17, the son of a CMS catechist of the same name who had been one of Williams's star pupils in Waimate and agreed to go to Turanga for a year with the Williams family, whose nephew, Henry, was also 17. Clarke was fluent in Maori and later became an interpreter.

²⁸⁷ Stack was placed as the Resident Missionary in Rangitukia in 1842.

*The spaces of the panel through the whole building were beautifully filled up with reeds, that looked like thousands of long, white cedar pencils [kakaho].*²⁸⁸

This description provides evidence of a number of innovations initiated by the building team. Kowhaiwhai was used extensively throughout the interior, making this the earliest known use of kowhaiwhai in architecture on the East Coast. The analogy of the kowhaiwhai to moko suggests that the missionaries had not seen kowhaiwhai before. The artist Joel Samuel Polack described seeing painting on houses during his travels around the East Coast over the period 1831-7, though Neich queries whether this was kowhaiwhai or just “wholesale coating with red ochre.”²⁸⁹

The earliest drawing of a house with kowhaiwhai dates to 1839 when Richard Taylor drew a chief’s house in Otumoetai Pa, Tauranga. This shows kowhaiwhai on the porch heke (ceiling rafters). Neich suggests that, whilst this drawing as well as those by George French Angas in 1844 may be the first evidence of kowhaiwhai in houses, the complexity of the designs “would seem to suggest a lengthy period of prior development ... in other fields and then transferred quite rapidly to house rafters as the need to decorate increasingly larger houses [and chapels] became more insistent.”²⁹⁰

The moko analogy also suggests that the patterns used on Whakawhitira II were curvilinear rather than the geometric style favoured in nearby Uawa in the 1870s.²⁹¹ This is not surprising given that some of the earliest examples of kowhaiwhai came from the East Coast.²⁹² A lid of a waka huia decorated with kowhaiwhai now in the British Museum (NZ.113), traded out of Queen Charlotte Sound but originating on the lower East Coast, is innovative because the lid of a waka huia was usually left plain as they were designed to be viewed from below, rather than from above. There are also ten

²⁸⁸ George Clarke, *Notes on Early Life in New Zealand* (Hobart: J. Walch, 1903), 31.

²⁸⁹ Roger Neich, *Painted Histories. Early Maori Figurative Painting* (Auckland: Auckland University Press), 57.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 59.

²⁹¹ Five of these are now in the National Museum of Ethnology in Florence (see Fig. 136).

²⁹² See Ngarino Ellis, “Hoe Whakairo, 1769-1850,” (MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1996).

painted paddles in museum collections which can be sourced to Poverty Bay/East Coast based on their unique style of kowhaiwhai.²⁹³

The colour palette described in Whakawhitira II is restricted to red and white despite other colours being available in the area.²⁹⁴ Red was almost certainly used because of its connotations with mana and tapu. The pou whakarae in Auckland Museum from the Waiapu area are both painted red suggesting that this was a usual practice in the 1830s when they were made. The white would come from the wood being unpainted or painted using uku pigment.

Other decorative elements used elsewhere in Maori architecture in the 1830s were tukutuku and kakaho. Unusually the former were not included in Whakawhitira II despite their use in the chief Te Kani a Takirau's house in nearby Tokomaru Bay. Kakaho, on the other hand, was employed in Whakawhitira II. This art form required great skill from the artist in choosing uniformly coloured kakaho reeds and placing them in a regular fashion in the ceiling of a whare. This was usually seen on a chief's personal house. Its appearance in Whakawhitira II is evidence of a transferral of practice from the whare to the chapel, not surprising given that these structures were usually built by the same people.

Sundt notes that Whakawhitira II could accommodate a congregation double that of the first chapel with 1000 persons able to fit inside, and so was significantly larger than the earlier chapel.²⁹⁵ As Colenso noted in October 1841,

... nearly 700 persons [are] assembled for service in the chapel of this village, a building which they had themselves built of the bark of the Totara tree (Podocarpus? Totarra Don.), measuring nearly 80 feet by 40. In building of chapels, or good houses, throughout the district, the natives generally dig

²⁹³ Neich, *Painted Histories*, 63.

²⁹⁴ In particular the East Coast is known for the blue pigment tutaewhetu, a blue-grey mud found on the banks of river.

²⁹⁵ He distinguishes the degree of ornamentation also; if we believe Taylor's 1839 interior drawing we see no reference to the kowhaiwhai which apparently decorated 'all the beams and rafters' which is pivotal in Clarke's description. We do not see a 'framed pathway' from one side to the other, nor the dias and its pulpit which, if there, would surely have been included by Taylor in his drawing especially considering that his sketchbook is filled with detailed drawing of carvings and other types of Maori art. From this we must conclude that either Clarke or Taylor was incorrect in their description of Whakawhitira II for whatever reason.

*up the large trees out of the ground (which are mostly Totara), and having split and smoothed them, use them for posts; the timber thus procured is dark, somewhat of a chocolate colour, and has a very neat appearance.*²⁹⁶

It is clear that Whakawhitira II was built on a scale previously unknown in the area. Indeed, its size is comparable to other large chapels elsewhere: Matamata [name of chapel not known], Kaupapa, Otawhao and Rangiatea. Its extensive decoration alone suggests that there was an active arts scene in the area, particularly given the fact that kowhaiwhai was not known to have been painted inside where at this time.

There is no mention of who built Whakawhitira II but it was most likely those who had been involved in the creation of Whakawhitira I – Uenuku, Taumata-a-kura and Hekopa. The reason for replacing the existing chapel was probably due to the growing size of the congregation and a desire to demonstrate visually their commitment to the religion, or at the least to having an English missionary in their midst. The earlier chapel was the ‘prime object’ which was ‘studied and copied’ and replicated with improvements – the inclusion of kowhaiwhai, a dias and a pulpit. As such it shows how the leaders were willing and able to refine the model and in doing so create a new template, particularly important in such a large pa to which artists and builders would no doubt look for inspiration. They *had* to lead the way in order to maintain their position as the dominant pa in the area.

Rangitukia I (May 1840).

The creation of Whakawhitira I undoubtedly influenced the building of a chapel in nearby Rangitukia Pa in 1840. The first description of it was on 31 May 1840 when William Williams described seeing “a very neat building 44 feet by 24 and has only one fault which is that it is but half the size required.”²⁹⁷ He assumed that it was the work of Native Teacher Hemi Kiko, a local who had returned from the North in 1838 as one of six Native Teachers brought by Henry Williams.

²⁹⁶ Colenso explained that the timber was dark as much of it was totara which was “split and smoothed” and used in both chapels and “good houses” (Nancy Taylor, ed. *Early Travellers in New Zealand* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 11).

²⁹⁷ Porter, *Turanga Journals*, 106.

Kiko would have worked in tandem with Enoka Rukuata, one of the chiefs taken north on the *Elizabeth* and returned in 1834. Both would have been familiar with the church at Paihia from their time spent in the North, and would have replicated some of the ideas they learnt there when they built Rangitukia I. The major chief in Rangitukia pa was Kakatarau, who was also an important military strategist. Kiko would have required both Rukuata and Kakatarau's support for the project because they were in charge of the materials and labour resources. They would also prove instrumental in encouraging their people to embrace Christianity as promoted by Kiko. Rukuata's powers of persuasion had a history – on the first Sunday after he was returned home he and his 'friends' (presumably Kakatarau and other leaders) organised a gathering of 500 people for the first Christian service on the East Coast.²⁹⁸ The simplicity of this first chapel would soon be overtaken.

Rangitukia II (November 1841).

Williams's criticisms about the size of the chapel in 1840 seem to have been heard, for between another of his visits in June 1841 and Colenso's trip in November 1841²⁹⁹ a new chapel was built – hereafter called Rangitukia II.³⁰⁰ This was larger than the earlier chapel given the size of the congregation who could now fit inside; in Rangitukia I around 250 people could be accommodated, based on the congregation and size of the church at Tokomaru (which was 40 x 25, and could house 250 people). However, the second Rangitukia chapel could hold 700-800 people, thus approaching the size of Whakawhitira II. The size was confirmed by Stack when he visited with his father in 1842.³⁰¹

²⁹⁸ William Williams describes this as "the largest assembly I had yet spoken to in the country" (*Christianity Among the New Zealanders*, 176).

²⁹⁹ My thanks to Richard Sundt for clarifying these dates (Pers. Comm., December 2006). See Bagnall and Petersen, *William Colenso*, 104.

³⁰⁰ The original name of the settlement of Te Urunga o Te Ra. However, the missionaries who witnessed these chapels called the settlement 'Rangitukia.'

³⁰¹ Stack, *Early Adventures*, 178.

For this second chapel Hone Rangikatia, the other Native Teacher working at Rangitukia, was identified as the prime motivator rather than Hemi Kiko.³⁰² Rangikatia was by no means a young man, as he was around 50 when he returned from the North. He was described as “a rangatira of considerable influence and the son of the great chief Te Rangimatemoana who controlled Taitai Pa at the time of Pomare’s raids.”³⁰³ Rangikatia had trained as a carpenter in the North and was particularly adept at cabinet-making, skills which were noticed by Stack Snr,

*The church at Rangitukia was large enough to hold seven or eight hundred people, and was always full on Sundays. Like all other Maori buildings the walls and roof were thatched with raupo and toetoe. The framework consisted of totara slabs eighteen inches wide, to which the battens holding the thatch were fastened, and on which the rafters rested. The heavy ridge-pole was supported by several pillars made of forest trees. The clay floor was covered with flax mattings, on which the congregation squatted in rows, the men on one side and the women on the other.*³⁰⁴

Colenso spent three days at Rangitukia where, as Bagnall and Petersen summarise,

*He preached to large gatherings in the large chapel, which was thronged to capacity. This building, with its native ornamentation and centre-post bearing a carving of Moses lifting up the serpent, pleased him, though he felt compelled to suggest the removal of some drawings "most hideous" depicting the Rev. W. Williams in the act of preaching, with which some unsung native mural artist had decorated the walls.*³⁰⁵

Rangitukia II is striking because of three major features: the kowhaiwhai (‘native ornamentation’), the figurative carving and the mural painting. Kowhaiwhai had not been included in either of the first chapels at Whakawhitira nor Rangitukia, yet by the time subsequent chapels were built more energy was put into decorative elements which would embellish the space and, in their way, increase to the mana of the building.

The figurative carving depicted Moses lifting up the serpent. The post was of critical importance being located centrally within the chapel. This mimicked the symbolic placement of posts in a meeting house, where the central post (called a

³⁰² Bagnall and Petersen, *Colenso*, 107.

³⁰³ Soutar, “Ngati Porou Leadership,” 101.

³⁰⁴ *Early Adventures*, 150, 178.

³⁰⁵ Bagnall and Petersen, *Colenso*, 107.

poutokomanawa) often represented important ancestors; in the house Porourangi (opened 1878) for instance the poutokomanawa represent the daughter and wife of Porourangi. At other times, poutokomanawa emphasised lines of descent. However, it is not only the presence of the pou which is unusual, but also what is depicted and the mode of representation. Using a naturalistic style in carving had no known precedent in the area. Neich suggested how this innovation may have occurred,

*Others are 'sports' that spring from no recognised precedents in traditional art but are probably the result of some strong impression experienced by an exceptionally innovative carver. Some occur as part of an ongoing tradition, others appear once and are never repeated in other houses.*³⁰⁶

This single occurrence characterised the innovative elements in Rangitukia II. The figurative carving was not repeated in any other chapel, though the style of naturalistic representations do appear from the 1860s onwards in meeting house carvings.

The third novel element was a mural painting showing William Williams in the act of preaching. This appears to be the first instance of figurative painting on the upper East Coast. Neich gives credit to the missionaries for the exposure of Maori to European art styles through the publications which they generated that were so popular in the 1840s particularly.³⁰⁷ He also acknowledges missionary and settler wives who consumed English magazines, which began circulating within Maori communities also. As he notes, "These all provided examples to inspire and guide Maori village artists when they set out to paint and decorate their own meeting houses."³⁰⁸ Yet Rangitukia II appears to pre-date this early advertising, and as such seems to be a random novelty by innovative artist.

Rangikatia wanted to impress the missionaries and the mural did prompt some reaction from them. That the artist depicted a living person in the mural (Williams) predates this feature being used in other architectural forms by thirty years or more. This style of painting was not to Colenso's liking – "most hideous" were his words. It is unknown whether the mural was painted over – in later times a change in alliance in the

³⁰⁶ Neich, *Painted Histories*, 97.

³⁰⁷ Ibid, 162.

³⁰⁸ Ibid, 163.

community, such as political or religious, sometimes prompted a painting over of images which were considered inappropriate. The chapel was rebuilt in the mid-1850s when none of these innovations were continued, and was burnt down by Hauhau supporters in 1865.

The period 1830-1860 is characterised by mass conversion to Christianity of Maori on the East Coast. Between 1841-2 hundreds in the area were baptised, at times 200 at a single service.³⁰⁹ One estimate puts the total number of baptised Maori in the area in June 1841 at almost 1,200 people,³¹⁰ a figure surprising even the missionaries.³¹¹ Williams recorded that there were some 8,600 who were receiving instruction along the entire East Coast, representing almost half of the population in the area.³¹² The size of congregations grew so much that by the time some chapels were completed, they could not accommodate their congregations³¹³ as was the case with Rangitukia I. By 1842, there were eleven where raupo functioning as chapels dotted around the Waiapu landscape.³¹⁴ Initially controlled by Native Teachers, the year 1842 marked the arrival of the first missionaries in the area. James Stack was appointed to Rangitukia and George Kissling to Kawakawa and the following year Charles Baker arrive to minister to Uawa. Whilst initially they were welcomed, the enthusiasm for Christianity was waning. Soutar suggests one reason for this, that Maori had “sift[ed] through the new to see what was relevant and what might be kept as part of their developing culture.”³¹⁵ Many merged Christianity with their existing customs and ways of life, and thus missionaries were not required to mediate the faith. In addition there were population

³⁰⁹ W. H. Oliver and J. M. Thomson, *Challenge and response. A Study of the Development of the Gisborne East Coast Region* (Gisborne: The East Coast Development Research Association, 1971), 36.

³¹⁰ Ibid, 36.

³¹¹ This uptake of Christianity is owed to a number of circumstances, including following the group (Ibid, 36-7), interest in literacy (Lange, “Indigenous Agents,” 281) and promise of material return (Baker, “Journal,” 9 September 1845).

³¹² K. M. Sanderson, “These Neglected Tribes. A Study of the East Coast Maoris and Their Missionary William Williams, 1834-1870,” (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1980), 6, 15.

³¹³ Bagnall and Petersen, *Colenso*, 110. Colenso noted how the chapel at Anaura was crowded.

³¹⁴ Oliver and Thompson, *Challenge and Response*, 35.

³¹⁵ “Ngati Porou Leadership,” 139.

shifts, with many moving away from the major pa at Rangitukia and Whakawhitira into smaller settlements.

By the early 1850s many hapu were engaged in new financial ventures and were unable to maintain chapels. These soon became dilapidated or fell down altogether. One casualty was Whakawhitira II which had disappeared by 1847, a result of a shift of the population away from the pa. The high turn-over of missionaries in the area did not help matters: at Rangitukia, for instance, Charles Stack only stayed four years, being invalided out in April 1846. His replacement in early 1847 was Charles Reay who died (and is buried) in Rangitukia in March 1838.³¹⁶ Ralph Barker was then appointed and stayed from late 1850 until 1853.

Despite this, in a number of settlements, chapels were rebuilt in the 1850s, increasing in size and being re-named as 'churches.' As Kissling noted,

*At Rangitukia a quantity of timber has been sawn by the Natives, and they expressed not only their willingness, but even their anxiety, to receive the plan of a Church, and to be told the requisite dimensions of the timber, that they might go in a body to the forest, and prepare the materials with their own hands. Several other settlements are ready to follow this example.*³¹⁷

These plans did not come into fruition until the mid-1850s. With most missionaries having left the area for various reasons by this time, Native Teachers working in conjunction with local chiefs took on the role of initiating new chapels. In fact when replacement missionaries were requested, William Williams advised local Maori that they should take on this role instead.³¹⁸

The catalyst for this second wave of church building was the appointment of Charles Baker as resident missionary to the Waiapu from 1854 to 1857. During this short time eight new churches were built. It is clear from his journals that the process of creating

³¹⁶ *The Church Missionary Gleaner* (London: Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, 1850), 185.

³¹⁷ *Ibid*, 186.

³¹⁸ To this end he initiated eight new pastorates from Te Kawakawa to Gisborne, in which Maori priests were appointed. The first of these was in 1853 with Rota Waitoa being sent to Te Kawakawa. To support this, Williams established a theological college in Gisborne in 1857. Two men of note who went through this training and returned to the East Coast were Raniera Kawhia and Mohi Turei.

new churches was clearly run according to tikanga Maori. One practice which was continued was the observation of key junctures in the building schedule with the recitation of karakia (prayers) followed by a hakari (feast). With the building of St Paul's at Te Horo for instance the erection of the two main posts and tahuhu was celebrated in this way on 2 December 1855. This was followed by more karakia and hakari for the erection of the corner post (25 March 1856).

Such practices did not sit well with the missionaries, as Baker's comments on the church at Horoera demonstrate,

*I do not think that the people at work on the Material of the Church, nor yet those who are in any way interested in the erection of it are influenced by proper motives but rather a display and for the sake of the feasting that attends some portions of the work.*³¹⁹

There was a close nexus between local leaders and the building of new churches. Baker held the local Native Teacher Pita Whakangaua in high regard and worked closely with him until Pita's early death from measles aged 40 in 1855.³²⁰ Baker wrote of the chapel at Anaura being run down, suggesting that this was due to their leader being "sleepy-headed."³²¹

The building of St John's in Rangitukia was indicative of the process of chapel building in the Waiapu in general, and is used here as a case study because of the details recorded by Charles Baker. This church was a replacement for Rangitukia II and was the brainchild of local chief Mokena Kohere who was keen to erect a large and grand church as befitted his personal status. As early as February 1849 he had approached Kissling requesting a plan for a church. Over the next few years he organised for two saw-pits to be built near the banks of the nearby Maraehara River. Within several months, the required amount of timber had been cut and floated down the river to a site that he had chosen for the church. Shingles were also prepared in bundles at this time. This was done by a younger group of men "who were better acquainted with the

³¹⁹ "Journal, 27 December 1854."

³²⁰ Charles Baker, "Report on Pita Whakangaua," *The Maori Messenger, Te Karere Maori* (November 1855), 3-5.

³²¹ Baker, "Journals."

European arts,”³²² whilst the older men “skilled in the use of tools dubbed and prepared” the posts and ridgepole according to Kohere’s instructions.³²³

Kohere was used to being in sole charge of various projects and was unhappy when questioned by Whakangaua regarding the size of the church. As J. G. Baker, son of the missionary Charles Baker relayed,

We found the Maoris busy under the direction of Mokena Kohere and Pita Whakangaua preparing timbers for building a large wooden church. Mokena, having an ambitious turn of mind, was anxious to construct on rather a gigantic scale, chiefly on account of adding importance to Rangitukia, his own principal pa, which he considered should be the recognized centre of attraction. Pita, on the other hand, being a quiet and practical man, contended that it was better to do things in moderation, and advocated building on a modified plan. The impetuous Mokena rose to his dignity and said he would have his own way or abandon the whole scheme, and, as an earnest of his determination, went off to the forest and dragged to the ground a ridge pole measuring eighty feet in length.

Then a battle began and raged so fiercely that at length my father [missionary Charles Baker] was called upon to arbitrate. Although fully in sympathy with Pita, he, finding an overwhelming majority favoured Mokena’s plan, very reluctantly gave his verdict on his behalf. Poor old Pita was much distressed at the decision, but rose high in our estimation by his patient submission, and he entered with all his energy into the work of construction. But before very long he and Mokena again came into conflict, and my father was appealed to settle the dispute. On this occasion he gave judgment in favour of Pita, much to the disgust of Mokena, who, throwing down his tools, stated that he was a passionate man, but having promised himself never to insult the missionary, he would retire from the scene.³²⁴

There were a number of costs associated with building a church. The materials would usually include timber, which could easily be obtained from nearby bush. However, it was the European goods that required cash: paint, nails, glass and tools. There was also the labour cost. Those working on site would include sawyers and carpenters, as well as specialists brought in for particular aspects of construction, such as glasswork. Whilst the congregation offered their labour freely, cash was required for other workers. Funding was acquired from the same congregation in the form of “subscriptions.” They

³²² *The Maori Messenger, Te Karere Maori* (September 1856), 9.

³²³ *Ibid.*

³²⁴ Kohere, *The Story of a Maori Chief*, 34-5, quoting J. G. Baker, son of the missionary Charles Baker. This church was burnt down in 1865 during the Pai Marire episodes.

were also expected to provide food for the workers. This was done not only as part of tikanga Maori, but also as an excuse to see what their neighbours were doing. Any hakari that took place was part of a complex system of social relationships. Mead describes the gifting of food as,

*... an essential part of social ceremonies ... Providing a hakari is not only an expected part of manaakitanga but it is also an occasion for gift giving in the form of food. Huge amounts of food might be set before the guests for them to eat or take away. Specialist and delicacy items were often presented.*³²⁵

At St John's, the erection of the main post was marked,

Many making preparations for the feast. Killing Cattle and sheep &c and many are coming in from different villages, some with subscriptions of food for the feast and others are assembling as speculators and joint partakers. At 3.pm we proceeded to the ground preceded by flags flying. Rev Rota Waitoa and I in our surplices and accompanied by Mrs. B. and family. A stage had been erected for us close by the main post to be erected. I gave out the 95 Psalm which was sung. I then read a prayer and the Lord's prayer. We then repeated the 84th Psalm. Rauriri [Rawiri] Rangikatea performed the ceremony of depositing a bottle containing coins and a paper and of erecting the main post. Many assisted him. I read over a copy of the paper contained in the bottle which was as follows: "This main post of the Church of God was erected by Rawiri Rangikatea Chief of Waiapu. Rev Charles Baker, Minister Pita Whangaua Teacher. Nikorima Tamarerekau the chief Builder.

*The name of the church is St John on the twenty seventh day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty four". The main post was then erected a good number assisting. I gave out another hymn and Rev Rota Waitoa read the 122nd Psalm and three prayers and concluded. A great gun was fired at the close of the ceremony. The people then went to set in order the repast to which from 500 to 600 sat down to partake. A portion was apportioned to our party. This was a grand day for Waiapu and one that will be remembered for many years. The chiefs and Native teachers with some of their friends came from all the villages around. The church will be of timber and lined. Length 77 feet breadth 31. With a belfry, porch and vestry. The height [sic] of the walls is 12 feet: to the ridge pole 24 feet. The main posts are of puriri. The side and ends posts of best totara and very large. Some of the people returned home in the night but the greater part remained.*³²⁶

Feasts catered for any crowd up to 3,000 people (at the opening of St John's) and would typically include beef, mutton, bread and tea with pork and potatoes being offered at

³²⁵ *Tikanga Maori*, 185.

³²⁶ "Journal," 27 December 1854.

larger gatherings. In addition, food was often gifted away to the manuhiri (guests) as a koha.

Baker designed all the churches in the 1850s using an architectural template which would be replicated in all the churches. In those in Horoera, Whareponga and Tuparoa, the main building measured 50 x 25 ft (so larger than the earlier 30 x 20), the vestry 10 x 10 ft with the porch the same size.³²⁷ Baker also chose the site and the name for the church, at times disagreeing with the community. Such was the case at Te Horo, where he disapproved of the name of the church chosen by the Native Teacher, finally demanding that he, as Minister, “should be invited to give the name and perform the [naming] ceremony.”³²⁸

Chapels became popular structures on the East Coast from 1838 as a direct result of the return of a number of local people from the Bay of Islands, specifically Paihia. Their exposure to English models of ecclesiastical architecture was married with the exposure to English culture as well as Christianity. When they returned home to the East Coast, they quickly merged existing art traditions with what they had seen up North.

By the early 1850s Baker, the local missionary, encouraged communities to rebuild their chapels as churches, following a plan decided by him but using local labour and local favour in the form of existing leaders such as Mokena Kohere. Existing practices associated with construction continued, most notably the marking of stages of building with karakia and hakari.

What marked these buildings as distinctly Whare Karakia was their use of Maori decoration. The use of kowhaiwhai predated its use in domestic architecture, certainly on the upper East Coast. Whakawhitira I was contemporaneous with chief's houses which featured kowhaiwhai: Te Hau ki Turanga at Orakaiapu Pa at Manutuke, and the chief's house at Otumoetai Pa in Tauranga in 1839 as drawn by Richard Taylor. However, the fact that the missionaries who first saw the kowhaiwhai in Whakawhitira I

³²⁷ Baker, “Journal.”

³²⁸ Ibid, 2 December 1855.

associated it with moko strongly suggests that they had not seen it used in church architecture at this time. Yet kowhaiwhai was a widespread feature in pataka, where patterns adorned the heke in the porch. Pataka would have been familiar to missionaries who visited the East Coast, as they were present in most large Maori settlements in the North. As such it is unusual that none of those who described the early whare karakia at Rangitukia and Whakawhitira mention kowhaiwhai in relation to pataka.

Kowhaiwhai continued to be used right through to the early 1860s in whare karakia to symbolise the tapu nature of the church, and to delineate it as a distinctly Maori space. At St Paul's Church at Te Horo for instance,

*The ridge pole and rafters are curiously and grotesquely painted, the space between the studs being filled up with diagonal boarding, the sides being dark wood, and the roof light colour in pine which gives a remarkably light and strong appearance to the whole.*³²⁹

The kowhaiwhai in Whakawhitira I represents the first transference of kowhaiwhai from war canoes and painted paddles into architecture, a custom which was quickly taken up and soon widely practiced. The preference for kowhaiwhai may indicate a shift away from carving, and the tapu and tikanga Maori associated with it, towards the noa art form of painting.³³⁰ Ultimately the chiefs and the congregation may have preferred kowhaiwhai as it could be painted over if it did not please the missionaries.

Kowhaiwhai not only marked out the space as one which was uniquely Maori, but also told complex narratives about the history of the people and land. This history was even more priceless following the raids of the 1810s and 1820s. Relating hapu to one another strengthened bonds that would be critical in times of crisis. Kowhaiwhai patterns would refer to these bonds and exploits with patterns representing speed (puhoro) and strength (mangopare). Military prowess was particularly remembered and revered – the success could mean the difference between life and death, as those in the Waiapu had experienced so recently first-hand.

³²⁹ Baker, "Journal of Charles Pratt Baker on a Journey to the East Coast," 28 November 1861.

³³⁰ See Roger Neich's discussion of this in relation to the popularity of figurative painting in *Painted Histories*.

The second new decorative feature in early Waiapu chapels was the figurative painting. The naturalistic painted mural that decorated the walls of Rangitukia II had no precedent on which to draw for inspiration and guidance, and was innovative in a number of respects. In choosing to depict Williams, the artists (as well as Rukuata and Uenuku, the chiefs) drew on an existing art tradition of depicting important figures in their work, in carved or painted form. The choice of depicting a living person challenges an assumption held today that only ancestors were represented in Maori art. The portrait of Williams suggests that possibly in the early 1840s at least it was an acceptable practice.³³¹ Indeed, there may be one other example of contemporary persons being represented in art at this juncture - Rev. Taylor described a palisade post at Whakawhitira pa in 1839 as "... one which was intended to represent an Englishman with & hat on and a round face, no bad representation of a Jack Tar," Jack Tar being a colloquial expression for a drunken sailor.³³² Taylor also drew a Pou Whakarae which might fit this description at Whakawhitira pa.³³³

Figurative painting was one final innovation that had its debut in early Waiapu chapels. The carving of Moses lifting up the serpent in Rangitukia II (1841) possibly had its origin in other carvings in the area. Could this signal transference by carvers of arts of the pa to arts within architecture? Was the mana associated with carving just too strong to ignore? The chiefs and Native Teacher at Rangitukia would have wanted to make their new chapel better than Whakawhitira II. Most likely the same carvers would have worked on pou whakarae and the church, particularly given that the same chiefs would have commissioned both. Unfortunately, figurative carving was not a genre that was replicated in other churches, or indeed even continued in Rangitukia when the second chapel was replaced in the 1850s.

³³¹ At Mana Island just off the Kapiti Coast, Angas painted a house carved by the Ngati Toa chief Te Rangihaeata (his only known work). It was called Kai Tangata and depicted a number of people, both living and deceased.

³³² Thanks to my father for this explanation.

³³³ Based on Taylor's estimates, the pou was 30cm (one foot) wide and six to nine meters high (20-30 foot). However they appear much taller in his drawing. Similarly, the remainder of two pou whakarae in Auckland Museum attributed to either Rangitukia or Whakawhitira pa (AIM.153, AM.154) measure 190cms and 200cm respectively.

The decoration used in chapels at Rangitukia and Whakawhitira was radical. That there was no model in the area gave the artists freedom (within reason) to depict what they wanted, how they wanted. Those chapels built in the first wave of building (1838-45) were initiated primarily by Maori who had returned from the North where their exposure to English churches and culture was evidenced in the style of church which they chose, and the autonomy which they felt they had in terms of the decoration that was used. By the second wave of church building (1848-57), Native Teachers and missionaries were much more intimately involved in the building process. By this time Maori decoration was not as important, but rather the fact that a new building which looked like other churches outside the area became an over-riding concern.

So at what point did the chapels *become* a tradition in themselves? Certainly by the time of the second wave of ecclesiastical structures in the mid-1850s communities saw value in having a chapel and set about replacing or renovating them. This very replication suggests that they had become a fixed custom which was being handed down from one generation to the next. This was made easier because in many cases the same chiefs remained in power between the first and second wave of church building. Witness for instance the popularity of Mokena Kohere based at Rangitukia who was instrumental in the building of both churches there. Such leaders were ‘dominant personalities’ and transferred their ideas about the importance of owning a house to religious buildings. Rev. Mohi Turei, the first ordained vicar of the Waiapu and involved in the construction of St Johns Church in Rangitukia, would later relate,

*We began first with chapels of raupo, which soon decayed and fell to pieces; ... we went into the woods ourselves and cut down timber ... we then became our own carpenters and there the building stands for you to look at now. Now, I recommend to you not to wait for the Pakeha to build your church for you, but to go and put it up yourselves.*³³⁴

Chapels in the Waiapu were very much part of East Coast settlements as Paratene Ngata who was born in the 1850s later recounted³³⁵:

³³⁴ Eastcott, *Te Whakapono: St Matthew the Apostle Church, Tuparoa Bay, 1857-1982* (Tuparoa Bay: Taka Press, 1988), 86.

³³⁵ As translated by Soutar, “Ropata Wahawaha,” 136.

He whare Māori te nuinga o aua whare. He pai anō te mahinga. He whakairo tuhituhi ngā pou me ngā heke, ā he mea tukutuku rawa etahi. He kākaho katoa o roto. He toetoe ā waho, he wīwī. He wini anō o aua whare, e uru ana te mano tangata ki roto, a neke atu. He takatahi nga whare karakia papa katoa engari he whakairo tuhituhi ngā heke me ngā pou pou. He mea whakatutu ngā paetara, arā i mahia i runga anō i ngā tikanga o te hanga whare Māori. He mea kari katoa ki te whenua ngā pou tūhu me ngā pou paetara. He papa whakatū a waenganui, ā ko etahi he kākaho anō.

Most of those abodes were built like Māori houses. The construction was admirable. The wall panels and rafters were carved and painted, while some were decorated with tukutuku. Kākaho reeds were all throughout while raupo and wīwī covered the outside. Those abodes also had windows. Crowds of people would be able to fit inside. The floors of all the churches were dirt, but the walls and rafters were carved and painted. The walls erected and built according to the custom [tikanga] for constructing Māori houses. The main pillars and the walls were dug into the earth. There was a supporting wall in the centre and the other walls were covered in kākaho. [italics my emphasis].

Ngata describes chapels as “He whare Maori,” built from raupo and wīwī (a term originating on the East Coast) with kākaho reeding as lining. He also describes their decoration with “he whakairo tuhituhi nga pou me nga heke” which can be translated as carving and painting (Soutar) or painted carvings (my translation) of the side posts and roof posts. Jahnke considers ‘whakairo tuhituhi’ in this instance as the type of designs applied to wall panels and rafters.³³⁶ Either way, it is clear that Ngata was describing chapels that were heavily decorated in the 1850s, which are at odds with descriptions of the same chapels by Baker. The only explanation for this is that perhaps the congregations decorated their churches after Baker had left the area – only half the churches planned had been completed by the time he left.

However, it cannot be said that the use of Maori decoration within chapels became a tradition in the 19th century. Given that the figurative painting and carving, the tukutuku and the kowhaiwhai were limited primarily to major chapels from 1839-41, it is most likely that these were experimentations. It is only from repeated use that new visual traits like these *become* tradition. By the 1850s Maori had begun to cast their creative eye on new spaces – the emergence of a communal meeting house provided a new avenue in which the decorative arts could be applied. Arguably two spheres emerged – one for religious which was plain (the church) and one for the political and cultural

³³⁶ My thanks to Robert Jahnke for making this clear.

which was embellished (the meeting house). As the latter provided a vent for creative energies, the church could return to a subdued form.

Sissons argues that “the subjects who construct objects, whether these are large churches, *marae* or meeting houses, are also constructed by them.”³³⁷ The communities who built these chapels and churches in the Waiapu were open to new ideas about religion and English culture, but at the same time took only those aspects that they wanted, leading them to think about themselves and ways in which to record and celebrate their world-views. They retained aspects of tikanga in terms of the processes in which new buildings and decorations were built, and in doing so made the chapels in particular sites of “the reinscription of dominant ideologies.”³³⁸ Leadership was maintained, although new types of leaders emerged to deliver Christianity to the people. Tapu sites were preserved, with carving being used to demarcate specific sites such as churches and wahi tapu. At the same time, however, some existing practices were discouraged enough by missionaries, Native Teachers and local evangelists to be discontinued, most notably cannibalism and polygamy. The practice of moko was so entrenched though that it was undertaken secretly, with people sometimes marking their own skins.

A number of questions about tradition have been posed. Customs were retained and actively practised but in new spaces and by different key figures in the community. Leaders emerged who did not have the whakapapa to be rangatira as such, but rather through their skills and knowledge were able to lead the people. The dominant personalities – rangatira, Native Teachers, evangelists – worked together to create structures that became in themselves ‘prime objects’, worthy of study and copy. The encouragement of new forms of decoration – kowhaiwhai and naturalistic depictions of living people – reveals the extent to which tradition was a process, characterized by the fact that, certainly with the building of Whakawhitira II and Rangitukia II, there *was* no model. Nonetheless, the building of ecclesiastical structures in the Waiapu was repeated

³³⁷ “The Systemisation of Tradition,” 61.

³³⁸ Maureen Mahon, “The Visible Evidence of Cultural Producers,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29 (2000): 468.

by generations after the first wave of church building in the 1830s, accepted as such in general by locals and missionaries alike, and in time becoming a new tradition. The way in which Waiapu Maori embraced Christianity was very much on their terms and with their own people in charge, which was reflected in the repeated building of new churches over the generations. The next chapter tracks the emergence of another new form of architecture – the whare whakairo or communal decorated meeting house – from the 1860s, and considers how they also became a new tradition.

CHAPTER 4.

TRADITION AND THE MEETING HOUSE.

In the period 1850-1900, the prime object centered on a new form - the whare whakairo. Specific traits from earlier art traditions were selected by carvers and patrons and used as the basis for the wharenuī which, within a single generation, became a new tradition. Schochet's description of tradition is deployed: "... a form of cultural and societal continuity, for it is a retention of *some* version of the past as a guide to appropriate actions and policies in the present"³³⁹. Part I outlines existing models and examines the ways in which they contributed to the final style and function of the meeting house which emerged on the East Coast in the 1870s. Part II identifies the style of meeting house which became popular for Iwirakau carvers by the 1880s. Tradition was at the same time retained and yet broken in order to create a structure which made explicit hapu and iwi identity in new and meaningful ways.

Part 1. Origins of the meeting house.

The meeting house in form and decoration resembled the chief's house. The main designers, the carvers, retained the rectangular floor plan of the chief's house, with its low sliding door and window leading out to a porch. Oral history reinforced existing models of chiefs houses. East Coast narratives as outlined in Chapter 2 were known to carvers. These revealed information about earlier chief's houses which had carvings on the interior and porch poupou, a tahuhu, pare, whakawae and korupe. There was also tukutuku and kowhaiwhai. The use and placement within the chief's house of these decorations was retained by carvers of the 1860s. Significantly, the representation of ancestors on individual carvings, such as on the koruru, remained. The naming of wharenuī after events or major ancestors was also kept.

³³⁹ Schochet, "Tradition as Politics," 299.

From 1840-1870 ownership of major structures in the community shifted from personal to public. Carol Ivory notes that the function of the chief's house began to change in the 1840s with the introduction of houses for "accommodating visiting chiefs."³⁴⁰ Increasingly their private homes were used to host manuhiri coming to discuss pressing issues of the day, such as land sales and law and order. That this hosting function was noted by commentators of the day, such as Joel Polack in 1840,³⁴¹ as *new* seems unusual given the fact that Maori were very social and would frequently visit one another as part of normal social relations, such as to arrange marriages, and could stay several months. This role of the chief's house continued through to the 1850s and 1860s, taking on even more significance during times of turmoil when negotiation and mediation were pertinent. By 1870 it was hapu who were organising the building of new whareniui and considered them to be communally owned, even though patrons had their names linked with certain whareniui, such as Rapata Wahawaha with Porourangi.

Whether whareniui built in the 1850s and 1860s were considered to be a chief's house or a meeting house is unclear. Certainly over time some whareniui came to be considered to be meeting houses, even though when they were built they were regarded as the private property of a specific chief. One case in point is Te Hau ki Turanga. When the artist/chief Raharuhi Rukupo organised for the building of the house, its function was linked intimately to his role and status within his hapu, Ngati Kaipoho.³⁴² However, after it was seized by the Crown in March 1867 as part of their land confiscation programme,³⁴³ Rukupo's pleas for its return were founded on the basis that the house was not his to sell, but rather belonged to his hapu.³⁴⁴ In relation to the upper East Coast, several houses from the early 1860s were considered to be the private property of

³⁴⁰ Carol Ivory, "The Maori Meeting House: A Reflection of Cultural Stability and Change," (MA Thesis, University of Washington, 1982), 98.

³⁴¹ Joel Samuel Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders with notes corroborative of their habits, usages, etc., and remarks to intending emigrants* (London: J. Madden, 1840), vol. 1, 207, 210.

³⁴² Distinctions between hapu and iwi are nebulous around the middle of the 19th century. Steven Webster notes that while those signing the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 were identified, according to the English translators certainly, in relation to 'iwi', in actual fact these were more like hapu (Steven Webster, "Maori Hapu as a Whole Way of Struggle: 1840s-50s Before the Land Wars," *Oceania* 69.1 (1998), 8).

³⁴³ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Report on the Turanganui a Kiwa Claims*. WAI 814 (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2004), 591.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

the patron: in the case of the house organised by Te Kihirini, this was intended as a private space, built to celebrate the birth of a son. Likewise, Henare Potae's house at Tokomaru Bay was intended as a private whare, and was sold as one, even though it was incomplete at the time.

The pataka's significance as a major asset of the chief was retained and reformatted in the whareniui. Concepts governing specific carvings were transferred into the whareniui, specifically the tekoteko, maihi, raparapa, and paepae, as well as poupou along the walls of the porch and epa on the back wall. Carvers needed to come up with some solution to their new problem – how to transfer the symbolism in pataka carvings into the whareniui. For the ancestral figure depicted on the pataka kuwaha, carvers reconfigured the composition and placed the figure as either the tekoteko or the base of the poutokomanawa in the whareniui. Some aspects of the pataka were not continued, however. Its function as a storehouse of things, such as tools and equipment, was not brought through in the whareniui structure. Similarly, the symbolism on the pataka maihi was not retained as that was specific to the function of the pataka.³⁴⁵

The waka taua also an important indicator of a chief's mana. In the 1850s these, like pataka, were deliberately not built in favour of whareniui. Nonetheless, several traits of waka taua were retained and re-used.³⁴⁶ The naming of waka taua after ancestors remained.³⁴⁷ The symbolism inherent in various parts of the waka taua was transferred into the structure of the whareniui: the body of the ancestor symbolised in the keel of the waka became the tahuu of the whareniui. That body usually embodied Tane

³⁴⁵ Nonetheless, carvers retained the story in another less figurative way – the surface pattern taratara-a-Kae was used in various ways in the whareniui.

³⁴⁶ Pakariki Harrison, Kahu Te Kanawa and Rawinia Higgins, "Nga Mahi Toi," in *Ki Te Wheiao. An Introduction to Maori Culture Maori Culture and Society*, ed. Tania M. Ka'ai, John C. Moorfield, Michael P. J. Reilly and Sharon Mosley (Auckland: Pearson Education New Zealand Ltd, 2004), 132, 136.

³⁴⁷ Paki Harrison explains: "It portrays the journey through this world from birth to death, the mythical origins of war and stories about the building of waka for this purpose. It is imbued with the genealogies of heaven and earth and the creation as well as the descent lines of illustrious ancestor warriors." ("Maori Arts," 21).

Whakapiripiri, a concept transferred or retained through to the meeting house. The trait of bringing together different parts of the structure as one unit was deployed in the waka taua by the takere (keel) from which branches of family descent were traced. The takere was reconfigured by carvers of the whareniui as the tahuhu; the kawei (lines of descent) were likewise reconfigured as the heke. These heke were usually painted with kowhaiwhai designs which encapsulated stories about the local community and their history. Such patterns had earlier adorned the prow of the waka taua.

Sometimes carvers of waka taua (called tohunga tarai waka) were different from those who carved architectural forms such as chief's houses and pataka. Whilst in some areas this distinction between house and canoe builders was maintained through to the 1840s at least,³⁴⁸ in other areas they were one and the same. Kahungunu, for instance, was known for his knowledge of canoe-building as well as other forms of carving. Neich considered the move towards the meeting house from the carvers' point of view when he notes, "The larger flat surfaces of a meeting house provided more unconstrained areas for innovation and experimentation than the restricted, clearly prescribed surfaces of a war canoe."³⁴⁹

Just at the time when chief's houses were being enhanced with more carving in particular, there was a waning of canoe building.³⁵⁰ Indeed, by the middle of the 1850s waka taua had outlived both their practical and symbolic function.³⁵¹ Though many were still used in the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s, no new waka taua were being constructed. Rather, chiefs and their hapu preferred to spend their valuable time and money on building something that the whole community could use, and which could serve to demarcate physically and permanently their turangawaewae, their home space. The same carvers who worked on the canoes soon shifted their focus to meeting houses.

³⁴⁸ See chapter 12, Neich, *Carved Histories*.

³⁴⁹ Ibid, 174.

³⁵⁰ Hapu became specialised in canoe-building, and received commissions from important chiefs such as Te Rauparaha.

³⁵¹ Neich notes that the last great waka taua built by Ngati Tarawhai, who were specialist canoe builders, was Te Arawa which was finished in 1868 (Ibid, 167)

Those ancestors depicted on the palisades of the 1830s were transferred to the meeting house in the 1870s in a number of ways. The three-dimensional form was retained and reconfigured as the poutokomanawa. This, along with other major carvings, notably the poupou, epa, tahuhu, pare and tekoteko, also kept the practice of depicting named ancestors. One of the challenges for the whareniui carver was how to show a hierarchy of ancestors in the house. Whilst on the palisade posts, important figures may have been emphasised using size, within the whareniui, as Neich outlines, senior ancestors were usually placed at the front, and juniors at the back.³⁵²

The last source of traits which carvers used in the meeting houses was the chapel. Ivory writes about this,

For the Maori, the church, it would seem, had much in common with the Maori house, especially the chief's house. The plan was the same, one large room, the decorative elements were Maori in their design and placement, the interior space was tapu, and it was built in part to honor a deified ancestor, Jesus Christ.³⁵³

Even though she was writing about the chief's house, the same could be said for the meeting house. Chapels provided a number of customs which were brought through into the new whare whakairo. Firstly, the process of building by a single hapu was retained. As an economic unit, hapu worked as 'ohu'³⁵⁴ or working bees, organised by chiefs who would divide up the tasks according to skill. Those experienced in logging would be sent into the bush to fell trees, those knowledgeable of tukutuku would be sent to collect materials of kiekie and harakeke, and so forth. Raymond Firth describes how chiefs would sometimes look further afield for skilled labour,

In some cases a single community was not possessed of sufficient labour power to undertake an enterprise of great magnitude, or for some reason desired assistance, and called in the aid of relatives or friends. In the erection of a large carved house, for instance, this was frequently done. Experts from other hapu or tribes would lend their services for the more specialised work, while large numbers of people from other villages might assemble to take part in the

³⁵² Neich, *Painted Histories*, 129.

³⁵³ "The Maori Meeting House," 93.

³⁵⁴ Firth uses the term 'tuao' for working bee brought together for agricultural ventures (Raymond Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1972), 231).

*unskilled labour of hauling timber and hoisting the massive posts for the framework.*³⁵⁵

Co-ordinating different individuals and teams was the prerogative of chiefs. The chapels of the 1830s and 1840s had provided them with the opportunity to manage projects on a scale which was unprecedented. The wharenui allowed chiefs to continue demonstrating their time and team management techniques. For the workers, the large-scale projects of the early 19th century let them practice techniques many had learnt whilst in the Bay of Islands, such as carpentry and cabinetry. None of them would have worked on chapels the size of those in Rangitukia and Whakawhitira whilst up north. Specific skills learnt whilst building chapels embraced new European technology such as “pit-sawing,³⁵⁶ shingling, weatherboarding and general carpentry.”³⁵⁷ Different types of tools were used which streamlined the process of building. Jock McEwan commented on Maori use of European tools,

*During the Centennial Exhibition I saw a Pakeha push through a crowd watching one of the carvers at work and after a contemptuous glance at the slab he said, “I’ll bet your ancestors didn’t carve with an adze like that.” Without hesitation the Maori replied, “No, and I’ll bet you didn’t come here in a stage coach.”*³⁵⁸

Whilst this quote is referring to a period 100 years in the future, the sentiments are the same for then and it was for 1840. Maori were keen to take up new ways of working and new tools. Kowhaiwhai and tukutuku used in chapels was brought through and applied in almost all meeting houses from 1870 onwards on the East Coast. The church at Te Horo (1861), for instance, had kowhaiwhai on the tahuhu and heke.³⁵⁹

As the size of the buildings increased, so too did the degree of complexity of the building process. The role of the carvers became that of engineers, required to know intimate details of the structure. The role between carver and builder became blurred,

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Jock McEwan, “The Development of Maori Culture since the Advent of the Pakeha,” *JPS* 56 (1947), 174.

³⁵⁷ Neich, *Painted Histories*, 107.

³⁵⁸ McEwan, “The development of Maori culture,” 173.

³⁵⁹ Baker, “Journal,” 28 November 1861.

though whether this was always the case is hard to unclear. It is only in the mid-1850s that a builder is named in relation to a church, St John's. Certainly the earliest whareniui were so modest that the carver was almost certainly also the builder. At a later time, when whareniui became much larger, it is likely that this role was split, resulting in a suite of teams at work. Nonetheless the carver and builder would work in synchronicity, knowing the sequence of the building process for instance. Frequently the stages of building a chapel were replicated in building a whareniui: levelling the site, laying out the lines for the front and back walls, erecting the poutahu and poutuarongo, hoisting and laying the tahuhu on the poutahu and poutuarongo, raising the poupou, erecting the heke, and lastly laying the thatched roof.³⁶⁰

Each of these stages was marked with karakia and feasting, a practice which had occurred with the chapels and was replicated with the whareniui. The kawanga (opening) in particular was often a lavish affair with thousands of people attending not only the ceremony but particularly the hakari afterwards. These occasions set a precedent for the massive openings of whareniui along the East Coast which would follow some 20 years later. The display of wealth and performance of tradition were essential in maintaining and actively promoting the identity of individual hapu and the ability of the local chief to orchestrate such large occasions.

Lastly, the social function of the chapels was reiterated in whareniui. Before the advent of the chapels, hapu would regularly meet in the marae atea to discuss important issues, such as marriage proposals or inter-tribal warfare. However, this changed with the creation of chapels. Now there was a central hub for the kainga, an inside space able to host large groups – Whakawhitira II for instance could reputedly hold 1,000. Whilst this was not a space for formal hui, the way in which locals used the church was very much the way they would later use meeting houses. It was a place to meet regularly, especially with Bible and other such classes being run frequently in the space. It was a place in which to catch up and chat before and after services. As such the churches set up a precedent for having a single structure in the village to accommodate everyone to discuss issues, just as the whare whakairo were used later on.

³⁶⁰ Herbert W. Williams, "The Maori *Whare*: Notes on the Construction of a Maori house," *JPS* 5 (1896), 146-152.

Part 2. Birth of the Iwirakau communal decorated meeting house.

The 1850s were a period of transition when existing structures (chief's house, waka taua, pataka and chapels) were reassessed. Did they fulfil any practical function? What about their social and political roles? Did these forms still meet the needs of the community? Overwhelmingly the answer was no. According to Tawhai, in the area between Reporua in the north and Tuparoa in the south there was a distinct evolution of meeting houses,

1. *Unnamed structures:* these were “make-shift frames with open sides and roofing materials that have a short life. It is a fairly large building intended to serve a relatively brief occasion” such as tangi or in the event of flooding. They could be constructed in short notice.³⁶¹
2. *Wharau:* this was a ‘large building’ which may have looked like the one that predated the meeting house Rauru Nui a Toi. Dating to as early as 1845, wharau were,

*... squat. The roof was of raupo overlaid with nikau palms against the rains, and its walls were perana, that is they consisted of upright timbers fixed into the ground. The floor was packed dirt, several inches below the local level and covered with whariki.*³⁶²

3. *Wharenui:* the six discussed by Tawhai range from fully decorated inside and out (such as the house Porourangi) to those only decorated on the inside (such as the Uepohatu Hall). These usually replaced wharau as a more permanent structure and had more decoration on them to reflect this. They also were normally on a different site, close to the original wharau.

³⁶¹ “He Tipuna Wharenui,” 76.

³⁶² Ibid, 56-57.

4. *Hall*: These were buildings modelled on the Pakeha Hall, but on the interior were very much Maori in relation to their range of decoration and function.³⁶³

Tawhai traces the emergence of wharau and later wharenuī as reflective of an increasing social distance that came with times of peace when whanau wanted “an individualistic rather than a pa style of life.”³⁶⁴ The term ‘whakanoho kaenga’ or possession of land became increasingly important in order for each iwi or hapu to respect the other’s sense of tapu according to Tawhai. As whanau staked out their land, so too did their settlements increasingly require a different form of building.

Buildings on the East Coast begin to be described as wharenuī from the 1850s. At Tokomaru Bay there were at least three: Te Rongo a Nga Puhi near Kaingapipi,³⁶⁵ Pohutuawatea which belonged to Tawairau, and Marotiri which was Tamati Waaka's house.³⁶⁶ Some were just described as ‘large houses’ whose functions were probably similar to a meeting house. One example is Tumokai which was described as “a large house belonging to Mokena Romio at the mouth of the Mangahauini Stream which flows into the bay.”³⁶⁷

By the early 1860s communities began urbanising into pa once again. Increasingly movements from outside the East Coast began filtering through to the area - Kingitanga, Pai Marire and, later, Ringatu - quickly divided hapu and affecting architectural projects from the mid-1850s to early 1870s. During 1861-2 supporters of the Kingitanga movement arrived on the East Coast. Originating in the Waikato in 1857 and led by Wiremu Tamihana, this group called for the establishment of a single Maori monarch

³⁶³ Ibid, 88-89. The majority of people lived in modest whare raupo, houses made of packed raupo. In one area Tawhai mentions a unique form of building which evolved in response to the changing environment – the area Manutahi was named after a type of house ‘manu’ (slope) ‘tahi’ (one) which describes “the lean-to roof.” As Tawhai notes, “It appears that at least during the 1800s Te Whanau o Hine Tapora were no pa dwellers, but resident in family units in separate houses raised on poles because of flooding” (Ibid, 74).

³⁶⁴ Ibid, 74.

³⁶⁵ Mark Iles, “A Maori History of Tokomaru Bay, East Coast, North Island,” (MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1981), 216.

³⁶⁶ Ibid, 221; Hakiwai and Terrell, *Ruatepupuke*, 12.

³⁶⁷ Hakiwai and Terrell, *Ruatepupuke* 12. Their full list numbers eighteen meeting houses in the area.

who would speak for all iwi in matters relating to the sovereignty of New Zealand. The first king was Te Wherowhero of Tainui who was installed in April 1858. Disillusioned with increasing Crown interference with their lives and fearing for their land, the Kingitanga was soon welcomed in some areas of the East Coast, dividing hapu and whanau into those for and against the movement.

Several settlements on the East Coast built meeting houses where they could hold meetings and host fellow supporters. One example was the house Niu Tireni at Waiomatatini built by local hapu including Te Whanau-a-Karuai under the leadership of Popata Te Kauru-o-te-Rangi (and his successor, his nephew Hoera Tamatatai). In 1862 Tamatatai journeyed to the Waikato and returned with two Kingite flags as well as a determination to evict all Pakeha from the East Coast.³⁶⁸ When the flags were raised at Waiomatatini, the immediate reaction was for Mokena Kohere, the chief over on the other side of the Waiapu River, to raise the Queen's flag at Rangitukia. Over the next two years two groups of supporters left the area to provide military aid to those fighting for the Kingitanga in the Waikato.

Wharenui became sites of political advocacy. At Pakirikiri in Tokomaru Bay in 1864 a new whare was built and called 'The King' (Te Kingi) after the second Maori King, Tawhiao who had been installed in 1860. The wharenui was conceived as a koha for him. However, in early 1865 promoters of the Pai Marire faith travelled round the East Coast seeking support. Their popularity resulted in many people changing their allegiance from Kingitanga to Pai Marire.³⁶⁹ Only a handful of chiefs refused to join, including Te Houkamau (Te Araroa), Mokena Kohere (Rangitukia) and Henare Potae (Tokomaru Bay).³⁷⁰ War soon broke out between different factions, with the Government sending troops to their 'Loyalist' supporters, such as the chiefs named above.

³⁶⁸ Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay*, 213.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 215.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 219.

Whareniui soon became casualties of the war. The meeting house Te Kingi mentioned above was targeted by “Government Ngati Porou”³⁷¹ in 1866 who demolished it. Others were also deliberately destroyed by kupapa (Maori Governmental soldiers) in order to send a strong message to their owners that their presence would not be tolerated. These included “Te Rangikatoiwaho, Huiteananui, Mariuterangi, and others, unnamed”³⁷² from Tuatini pa in mid-August 1865. It is unknown whether these houses were carved or decorated in any way. However, their existence proves that some communities were building houses for explicitly political reasons in order to show allegiance to specific causes.

The legacy of the New Zealand Wars in relation to meeting houses played out in a number of ways. Hundreds fled for protection to new pa established by Pai Marire (such as Pakairomiromi) and Loyalists (such as Te Hatepe). With the end of the troubles in late 1865, whanau returned home to often find their homes burned and belongings looted.

Apirana Ngata, in writing about Maori arts and crafts, prescribed the need for peace in order for such activities to exist and thrive.³⁷³ He wrote of “periods of activity” rather than a continuous flow of creative energy. These periods were interspersed with times of warfare, the impact of which was the death of artists, and the loss and damage of carvings from looting and wholesale destruction. Ngata’s succession of phases of war and peace characterised the 19th-century arts scene on the East Coast. Following the invasions in the 1810s through to the 1830s, Maori arts flourished in the 1840s and 1850s. The New Zealand Wars brought renewed strife in the 1860s and by the turn of 1870 communities were ready for change.

It is at this moment that hapu and iwi began building and decorating structures which were intended to be *meeting* houses. They were to function as a space in which to hold gatherings focused on important issues of the day, such as the sale of land. In addition,

³⁷¹ Ibid, 245.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Ngata, “Maori Arts and Crafts,” 319.

communities began using them to hold a range of what Anne Salmond would call “rituals of encounter,”³⁷⁴ such as tangihanga (death ceremonies lasting 3-5 days) and weddings. As these often involved some degree of religious sanction, the church would be used either before or after the event was held on the marae. These houses were more than just venues however. Together they would fuse the cultural (on the marae) and the religious (in the church). This functioning of different spaces took hold over time, forged undoubtedly by charismatic leaders such as Mokena Kohere.

Several hapu began building meeting houses as permanent structures named after a significant ancestor in order to assert their status as Te Ahi Kaa.³⁷⁵ As Van Meijl comments,

*... the Native Land Court facilitated the recording of traditional narrative, but at the same time witnesses' accounts were likely to be influenced by the political purpose of their presentation in court. The public arena of the courts provoked the manipulation of genealogies and the reconstitution of traditions in the light of the politicised ambience eliciting their disclosure in the first place.*³⁷⁶

There was also another downside. Some claims were disputed as hapu vied for the same tracts of land. This had more severe implications when a meeting house was sited on it. Such a situation arose in the late 1880s-early 1890s with the house O Hine Waiapu. Some time after the house was opened in 1883 there was a dispute between the hapu on whose land the house stood and it was decided to split the house in two (**Fig. 18**). As Ngata and Mataira relate,

*It is said that toki were used to have the house and that Paratene Kamura hitched the front half to a bullock team and dragged it to its present site. What happened to the other half is not certain. Teki Collier recalls being told by Rawiri Pipipi, a contemporary of Paratene [Ngata], that Ohinewaiapu was the first large wharenuī, had been halved with an axe and one half sold to a museum.*³⁷⁷

³⁷⁴ See Chapter 5, Anne Salmond, *Hui* (Auckland: Reed Methuen, 1976).

³⁷⁵ Literally, to keep the home fires (te ahi) burning (kaa).

³⁷⁶ Van Meijl, “Historicising Maoritanga,” 324.

³⁷⁷ Mihi Keita Ngata and Katerina Mataira, *Taura Tangata. Te Whakapapa o nga Kiore o Ohinewaiapu. Goldsmith Collier Genealogy* (Raglan: Ahuru Press, 1988), 12.

There are a number of traits which characterise Iwirakau meeting houses from the 1870s onwards. Wharenui in general shared some common aspects including their basic floor plan, use, style of decoration, and orientation. However, within each tribe there were often at least one carving school operating. Each taught and encouraged different but related styles which altered over time and space. What was taught in Rangitukia in 1780 for instance was different from what was taught in Waiomatatini in 1880. As well, the emphasis on earlier models on the one hand, and innovation on the part of individual artists on the other, also varied. With some houses, affinity to earlier whare or other forms was critical. On other projects, carvers would have relatively loose guidelines as to what was expected, allowing them a greater sense of freedom on design. Given the fact that there were few models circulating for stylistic guidance for Iwirakau carvers from the 1860s onwards, and that there was an unprecedented demand for new whare, it is likely that carvers were given a strong sense of autonomy in relation to design and building. The pou whakarae and other forms which had survived the turmoil of the 1820s were not in practical use by the late 1860s and early 1870s, at the critical moment when chiefs began commissioning carvers for new whare.

On the other hand, artistic innovations occurring in other parts of the North Island was learnt from locals travelling outside the area for various reasons, as well as from Pakeha magistrates and others. The East Coast was by no means cut off from events elsewhere, but rather was kept well-informed of issues and projects in other regions. Many people were literate and maintained regular contact with a range of people in Wellington and Gisborne. In this way they knew of Te Hau ki Turanga (and its removal) as many Ngati Porou had fought in and around the area where it was originally located. They knew of Tamatekapua being built in Ohinemutu, as Te Arawa had fought side by side with Ngati Porou on a number of military campaigns. Similarly they knew of Te Tokanganui-a-Noho at Te Kuiti, because of its association with the Kingitanga which had been so popular for a time on the East Coast. Ngati Awa's house Mataatua was also well known to Ngati Porou as its tribal area was relatively close geographically and on a major trading route to Auckland. In this way, chiefs and carvers on the upper East Coast became well-acquainted with new large wharenui emerging as tribal statements of survival. The issue soon became, 'why not us?'

Mead characterizes Iwirakau carving, “In contrast to the Turanga style, the Waiapu style is softer, more rounded, more restrained, shallower and consequently less inclined to throw deep shadows.”³⁷⁸ He cites Porourangi as the major house, with Waiapu style also being seen on Rakaitemania and Kapohanga. Iwirakau carving is recognisable in a number of ways. The shaping of the walls is distinct (**Fig. 19**) with the base of the wall leaning outwards which is visible easily from the outside of the house. This is almost certainly a remnant of earlier building practices dating to c1500 onwards in which houses were partly submerged in the landscape as a form of protection against the weather.

Also recognisable is the shaping of the amo. At the top are ‘projections’ which fit into the maihi (**Fig. 20**). This style has been used since the early 1870s particularly by carvers such as Hone Taahu. The projection was disguised in some houses with the placement of an extra figure above the central human depicted. In others, the carver extended the main figure so that the manaia mouth encircled the tongue and became the projection.³⁷⁹ With the house Rongomaianiwaniwa, Hone Ngatoto placed the heads of the siblings represented on the amo, such as Hinepare (as shown on the left amo). The reason behind this projection was probably a practical solution to a problem of how to slot in the slanting amo with the raparapa. As Jahnke observes, “It is a technique that creates a counter-thrust of maihi relative to amo that locks together the architectural elements through oppositional force.”³⁸⁰

A bystander could also identify an Iwirakau house by the shaping of the raparapa (**Fig. 21**). At the end of the maihi, the raparapa usually represented the fingers of the ancestor welcoming the guests. Iwirakau carvers led by Hone Taahu preferred a style where there were a series of manaia between each of the ‘fingers’. At the upper end of these fingers and manaia bands would be a large face depicted in profile either looking up or down the maihi. There was also sometimes a full vertical figure next to the face which would hold part of the facial composition.

³⁷⁸ Mead, *Te Toi Whakairo*, 81.

³⁷⁹ My thanks to Bob Jahnke for this comment.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

According to Mead, a number of carvings in Auckland Museum were made by artists from the Waiapu. These include a pare and whakawae set from a doorway that came into the Museum after they were purchased from a Mr. Walker (**Fig. 22**). He ran a store at Port Awanui and was an important conduit through which many carvings left the East Coast. The pare is in an ABA composition (A: Manaia figure, B: human figure), which Mead explains is “an older concept”, a style that “... may have survived in Waiapu because that region was less involved in the land wars than either Gisborne or the Bay of Plenty.”³⁸¹

Certainly there are pare in other museums which have been attributed to the Iwirakau school on this and other stylistic grounds. One in Liverpool Museum (RI.16 or RI30.20) and another in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, Philadelphia (18129) have a similar ABA composition (**Fig. 23**), as well as similar placement of hands on the chest, curved feet, knob in the middle of the forehead and busy subsidiary figures between the manaia and the human figure. The treatment of the hands is most similar in the examples at Auckland and Philadelphia, yet the form of the base is closer at Philadelphia and Liverpool. These have been provisionally dated to the 1870-1880 period because they are stylistically like other houses which still exist on the East Coast in this style.

A second type of pare emerged around the same time. In this there were three main human figures (thus an AAA composition) surrounded by various types of surface decoration. Two pare by Hone Taahu carved within eight years of each other demonstrates this (**Fig. 24**). On Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa – his first known house and the earliest surviving complete Iwirakau whare – the takarangi spirals which are seen in this space in other tribal regions (**Fig. 25**) have been straightened out and appear like a pattern of parallel lines. This effect has been cleverly achieved through the use of a drill to make holes which are then shaped into the whole design (**Fig. 26**). Taahu repeated this technique when carving the pare for the house Rauru Nui a Toi (1882). The variety in the pare (**Fig. 27**) suggest a tendency of carvers to experiment with

³⁸¹ Ibid, 82.

different styles of pare composition. On Okuri for instance (**Fig. 28**), Hone Ngatoto or Riwai Pakerau³⁸² introduced unusual multi-limbed creatures to flank the central figures.

The Iwirakau style of human figure was also distinct. Most tribal carvings could be distinguished by either a square or a serpentine composition. Not so with Iwirakau artists. They used both styles in their work (**Fig. 29**), though the dominant style was usually the square shaped figure. This was an easier option to produce than a curvilinear design which required more complex uses of space. As such it was usually the more experienced carvers, such as Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto, whose later works show a keen interest in diversifying their repertoire into sinuous form. The serpentine style was usually shown with the body extending down to form one of the legs, with the other leg coming out of the bottom curve of the body, to counterbalance the opposite leg. Taahu used only square shaped figures on his first house (Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa), a style taken up by his apprentice on that project, Tamati Ngakaho, who himself only used square shaped figures when carving the interior of his second house (and only other where, Porourangi).

Another Iwirakau trait was the depiction of two figures in a single carving. This is seen very clearly inside Porourangi where Ngakaho includes double figures in every poupou. He depicts most of these with at least one subsidiary figure who holds on to the main figure, or is held by them. Both main figures are usually the same size, suggesting their having equal status. Ngakaho was not the only carver to employ this form of composition, but was regularly used as the model for others too. Taahu and Ngatai's work in Otago Museum for the Ngati Kahungunu patron Karaitiana Takamoana also shows their use of this stacking of figures.

Within these carvings the more experienced Iwirakau carvers would depict three-dimensional space within a two-dimensional field (**Fig. 30**). In this, parts of the body were shown to go behind or through another part. The hand might be shown holding the lip or moving behind the face to come out through the mouth or eyebrow. Similarly, the hand might move behind the body and come out in front of the leg. The result is a composition which is full of action and one which constantly keeps the eye moving.

³⁸² My thanks to Bob Jahnke for suggesting this choice of carvers.

Treatment of the body differed according to the artist. Nonetheless there were some traits which were followed by most carvers of this era. This is most clearly in the tahuu of Porourangi carved by Te Kihirini (**Fig. 31**). Black paint clearly picks up the dominance of rauponga all over the body. Running down the body there is a central line of rauponga, from which emanate parallel lines of rauponga covering the entire body. On both hips are plain double spirals. A subsidiary figure sits over the genitalia. In the face, the eyes are elliptical, and on the cheeks are more parallel lines of haehae and pakati (notches), while the mouth is wide and large with tiny teeth. The tongue here joins up with the top of the body.

Indeed, the tongue is one feature that Iwirakau carvers experimented with widely, and using the Morellian technique, can be used to attribute works to specific carvers. Hone Taahu stands out as the carver who has the widest range of tongue types (**Fig. 32**). Some are comprised of two elongated bars, one on either side of the inside of the mouth, which join up with the lips at each end. In a number of carvings, such as one in Otago Museum, he has extended the ends of each of the panels up over the lips, and joined the bars resulting in an 'H' formation for the tongue. In this poupou too, he depicts the tip of the tongue extending over the lips. On other carvings, such as on the poutuarongo in Otago Museum, the tongue bars end in manaia. This animalisation of the tongue is extended even further on one of the bottom figures of the same poutuarongo, where the tongue becomes a lizard, resulting in the figure looking at if they are eating a lizard. The meaning of this is discussed later. Conversely, the carver Hoani Ngatai (**Fig. 33**) usually depicted tongues as triangular, extending out from the mouth downwards towards the body and usually ending in a point. On some carvings, he splits the lip which then moves inside the mouth giving the illusion of something coming out of the mouth.

Iwirakau carvers did not limit themselves to depicting only humans and manaia in meeting houses. There is a wealth of animal imagery in Iwirakau carved houses which stems from the oral narratives in which animals play a key part. Ngarara (lizards) were considered by some to have a sense of foreboding. Nonetheless, they were used repeatedly by Hone Taahu in his carvings for the house Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa (**Fig. 34**). This may have been to refer to those killed in the New Zealand Wars. An

alternate reading may be that he placed them there to unsettle his patrons who were pressuring him to complete his work quicker. Taahu also depicted ngarara on the poutuarongo commissioned by Karaitiana (**Fig. 35**). A small lizard is held by one figure, and on another the lizard is shown in the mouth. The reason for his use on Karaitiana's work is unclear.

Dogs were represented in Iwirakau carving a number of times. The indigenous dog (kuri) had died out in the 1830s and so those depicted in later carvings were European dogs. With the move towards sheep farming in the 1870s, dogs were relied upon as an important part of the workforce. On the house Rongomaianiwaniwa, carver Hone Ngatoto depicted dogs on the front of the porch. On the left raparapa there is a dog depicted behind the face of the figure of the ancestress Hinepare who is shown on the amo (**Fig. 36**). Further up the maihi on either side of the koruru is a dog whose tail is being pulled by a monkey.

The sources of this imagery have been speculated upon over the years. In 1944 Phillipps wrote, "Four animals, dogs, lions, or rams, appear on the maihi. I understand that these are an after thought of some of the younger people, though the lower dog on the left may represent Kauerehuanui."³⁸³ More recently, Cliff Whiting described them,

The unusual carvings were inspired by the first students who went from the Waiapu Valley to Hukarere and Te Aute colleges. Some of these students were people in their late 20s and early 30s. On their arrival home, a welcome at a marae was arranged and all the people gathered to hear the students describe their experiences in a Pakeha Education system. The students gave dramatic descriptions of animals from other countries particularly those within the British Empire.³⁸⁴

For Whiting, these descriptions provided inspiration and information for Ngatoto which resulted in the myriad of animals on the front of the house. Dogs are also depicted at the base of the amo of Porourangi, and are used as a mnemonic for the story of the brothers Korohau and Kuku, as Henrietta Kaiwai recounts,

There were really four brothers, and all were brave warriors. Together with other warriors of the Ngati Porou tribe they went to fight the Whanau-a-Apanui

³⁸³ "Carved Maori Houses of the Eastern Districts," 117.

³⁸⁴ Cliff Whiting, "Notes on Rongomaianiwaniwa, 24 November 1986," Gisborne Museum.

*tribe. They fought near Te Araroa at a place called Manairoa. After a long and fierce battle three of the brothers were discovered amongst the dead. The chief of the Whanau-a-Apanui tribe referred to them as dogs, thus giving the carver the idea of carving the heads of dogs to represent the brothers.*³⁸⁵

A much larger corpus of carvings depict imaginary creatures (**Fig. 37**). Taahu, Ngatoto and Ngatai all used various versions of them in their work. Some were used as space-fillers, possibly to avert ‘horror vacui’, or a fear of empty spaces. Others had a much larger part of the composition, as in Ngatai’s double-sided pou in Otago Museum, in which a collection of different creatures was on display. Their meaning is not clear, leaving the viewer to wonder whether they are simply a playful addition to offset the seriousness of the ancestor figures. They have a significant role to play in terms of the design, filling empty spaces in a way reminiscent of medieval church and manuscript decoration which also frequently used mythic animals for this purpose.

Iwirakau houses were almost always named after central ancestors in the area. The whakapapa below provides a glimpse into the importance of the ancestor within the wider whakapapa of the area (those in **bold** are meeting houses built between 1870 to 1900, their location is in brackets). Surprisingly, no community named their whare Iwirakau.

Porourangi (Waiomatatini) *had a daughter* **Rongomaianiwaniwa** (Tikitiki) *whose grandson was* Tamataua *who married* **Te Ao Kairau** (Rangitukia) *whose children included* **Hinepare** (Rangitukia), **Putanga** (Tikitiki) and Rakaimataura.

Rakaimataura *had a child called* **Rakaihoea** (Waiomatatini).

Meanwhile Te Ao Kairau’s sister was **Rakairoa I** (Kiekie) *who had* Hiakaitaria *who had* Te Aomihia *who had* Rakairoa II.

Another of Rakairoa’s children was **Rakaitemia** (Te Horo) *whose husband was* Iwirakau.

³⁸⁵ Henrietta Kaiwai, “The meeting-house Porourangi,” *Te Ao Hou* 53 (Dec 1965), 49.

Significantly, what set these whareniui aside from almost all other meeting houses of the period (and comprises a critical aspect of the Iwirakau School) was that most were named after female ancestors. Mahuika notes that most senior hapu on the East Coast are named after women, providing eleven examples including Te Aitanga a Mate of Whareponga, Te Whanau a Hinepare of Northern Waiapu and Te Whanau a Uepohatu of Ruatoria and Tuparoa.³⁸⁶ He further describes their leadership as more than just figureheads, but as “leaders in the political sphere.”³⁸⁷ In writing about women Manu Korero (speakers) Wi Kuki Kaa described how,

*In 1836, when the Rev. Henry Williams held his first Church service at Whakawhitira, East Coast, he recorded his shock at the fact that of the eighteen chiefs he had asked to meet after the service, twelve of them were women! That was Ngati Porou then and now.*³⁸⁸

The table below has been formulated to provide instances in which whareniui on the East Coast were named after women, and whare named after men.

Iwirakau whareniui named after women	Iwirakau whareniui named after men
Hinepare	Maui Tikitiki a Taranga
Hinetamatea	Pokai
Hinerupe	Porourangi
Hinetapora	Rauru Nui a Toi
Iritekura	Ruatepupuke
Kapohanga	Te Kani a Takirau
O Hine Waiapu	Tuwahakairiora
Rakaitemania	Umuariki
Rongomaianiwaniwa	

³⁸⁶ Apirana Mahuika, “Leadership: Inherited and Achieved,” in *Te Ao Hurihuri. Aspects of Maoritanga*, ed. Michael King (Auckland: Reed, 1992), 47.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ Mere Whaanga, *Carved Cloak for Tahu* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004), 10.

Te Poho o Materoa	
Te Poho o Te Aotawarirangi	

Table 2: The names of houses carved in the Iwirakau style by gender.

Ringatu houses on the East Coast and figurative painting.

Within this corpus of houses built by Iwirakau carvers are those built for Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki. Following the New Zealand Wars, Te Kooti was illegally detained along with a group of men, women and children from the hapu Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki. They had been identified as ‘rebels’ by the Government and were exiled to Rekohu (the Chatham Islands), 770 kilometres away. Ironically Te Kooti had fought on behalf of the Government but later disagreements had led to his imprisonment. Whilst on Rekohu, Te Kooti had a series of visions, which led to him founding a religion named Ringatu (Upraised Hand).³⁸⁹ Together with 168 of his supporters he escaped back to New Zealand in July 1868, and was pursued by Government Forces around the North Island, in a chase named Te Whai a te Motu. He eventually found refuge in the Ureweras and later the Waikato under the mana of King Tawhiao.

Te Kooti identified the meeting house as a symbol of the retention of mana Maori (Maori prestige). He had trained with Raharuhi Rukupo as an apprentice and knew of his carving style and practice. Te Kooti called on communities of his supporters to build and decorate new whare that would reflect their religion and culture. They would be used for services as well as for hosting existing cultural ceremonies. These houses were often very large - the scale of missionary churches – and elaborately decorated.³⁹⁰ Carving was retained on the front of the house as a visual link to the past. Inside was quite different. Te Kooti encouraged the use of painting rather than carving in this space for a number of reasons: it was much quicker to do because the gender division of the arts (male/carving, female/painting and weaving) was put aside allowing for both men

³⁸⁹ See Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997) for a comprehensive history of Te Kooti.

³⁹⁰ See Neich, *Painted Histories* for an in-depth examination and discussion of the history and significance of figurative painting.

and women, young and old to work side by side. In addition, whilst a carver might need years of training, for figurative painters little preparation was needed in some houses. Both these factors resulted in a house being completed in a shorter time frame. Painting alone would expedite the project – wood carving takes several years, from the felling of the trees, through to the final application of polish. Painting, on the other hand, simply required timber and pigments.

The range of imagery used by Te Kooti and his followers was quite unlike any earlier styles. Their focus was on depicting their world, one that embraced and reflected their changing landscape. As such ancestors were juxtaposed with steamships, horse racing with potplants. A number of devices were employed in order to emphasise history and whakapapa, such as placing ancestors on epa and poupou (though these figures were painted). The schema of the house reinforced ideas of the passing down of knowledge by placing ancestors in order of lineage, such as on the poutuarongo, which might depict a grandfather, son and then grandson in descending order.

Te Kooti's buildings need to be considered in light of the period in which they were created. At the start of the figurative painting movement, 1870, the concept of a meeting house was just taking shape. A number of interesting innovations began to emerge sporadically, such as painted tukutuku and representing ancestors in the tukutuku, the use of multicolour paints on carvings and taniko (woven border for dress cloaks) patterns in kowhaiwhai. These contributed to an atmosphere throughout the North Island in which change was embraced and encouraged. As such, figurative painted houses could be considered as just one of a number of different threads which embodied Maori architecture of this period.

Figurative painting was embraced on the East Coast from 1874 to 1926. Roger Neich lists twelve structures from the area in which it featured.³⁹¹ These houses were primarily the work of three carvers: Hone Taahu, Hone Ngatoto and Riwai Pakerau.

³⁹¹ The house Rahiri at Dargaville can be tentatively added to this list as it features very similar fish type creatures to Wahoterangi on the heke tipi of the back wall of the porch, amongst other figurative paintings of the house. This wharenuī was built in 1914 by three Ngati Porou carvers including one named Rongomai. It was commissioned by Te Pouritanga Paratene Parore of Ngati Whatua and her Ngati Porou husband, Wiremu Tamehana Te Hau on the occasion of their marriage. The project was entirely Ngati Porou and predated in many ways the modus operandi of Ngata's building teams in the 1930s – all the artists who worked on the carving, tukutuku and kowhaiwhai, as well as the cooks, were brought in from

Taahu can be credited with the earliest known use of figurative painting. In the house Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa he and his apprentice, Tamati Ngakaho, painted six heke tipi panels with a series of figures (**Fig. 38**). Neich describes them,

*Some of the figures are naturalistic, others are painted in a carving style. Those with faces derived from carving designs follow a recognisable Ngati Porou carving style. The naturalistic figures generally have profile faces with exaggerated features and often sport a beard. Between some of these figures are leaves and flowers. Several of the rafters have leaves and flowers and other non-traditional designs filling in the interstices between otherwise orthodox kowhaiwhai patterns.*³⁹²

It is unlikely that they were ancestors, as their features are exaggerated, in some places enough to suggest the carvers were parodying or satirising their patrons who were putting pressure on them to complete the project. It is also unlikely that these carvers undertook the panels to promote Ringatu ideology, but rather were produced as a spur-of-the-moment decision. Given that the patrons were a museum who had rigid concepts of Maori art (as discussed in Chapter 6), it is unlikely that they would have supported the innovation depicted these panels. There is one glimpse as to why Taahu included these forms in the house. In talking with James Stack, who had been asked by Canterbury Museum to gauge the authenticity of the house, Taahu revealed that the paintings were “intended as specimens of the style adopted in ornamenting whatas [undecorated storehouse] and out-door buildings.”³⁹³ This suggests that this was an accepted practice for ‘second-class’ structures and that he was transferring those arts to the whareniui.

Indeed, Taahu only used figurative painting on one other project – the house Hinetapora at Mangahanea, Ruatoria (1883-95) (**Fig. 39**). Here, key ancestors are depicted in painted medium on panels which sit horizontally across the tukutuku depicting whakapapa as well as more topical issues (such as a boxing match between the

the East Coast, though some of the locals did participate too (Neich, *Painted Histories*, 251). Neich summarises: “It is important to note that this is basically an East Coast type of house, built in the north by men of Ngati Porou obviously trained in the East Coast carving and painting traditions of the turn of the century. This is the only house in all of North Auckland with such decorations” (Ibid, 251-2).

³⁹² Ibid, 272.

³⁹³ James Stack, “An account of the Maori House, Attached to the Christchurch Museum,” *TPNZI* 8 (1875), 174.

politicians William Massey and Joseph Ward).³⁹⁴ Elsewhere in Hinetapora are small paintings of carved waka taua with “over-size” occupants. According to Neich’s informant, J. Tawhai, a sign writer named Ben McGarvey painted these on directions from the kuia (elder women).

The style of some of the figures would later be replicated by Ngatoto, Taahu’s nephew, in his houses, including Hinetamatea (c1900), Rongomaianiwaniwa (1890s) as well as the church of St Mary’s (1925-6). The ancestral figures in Hinetamatea (**Fig. 40**) are shown in customary dress clothing, such as korowai and a form of rapaki and maro. In order to identify those depicted, their names have been included in capitals below the figures. Ngatoto also painted ancestors on the poupou of the house. He departed from the usual red, white and black colour scheme used in most kowhaiwhai of the period, towards a palette including mustard, dark brown and a range of greens. In addition, some of the figures have spirals on shoulders and hips, though with some they are merely speckled dots of mustard and green. There is a depiction of the ancestral Horouta canoe being paddled down the kaho paetara, below which is another innovation of an epa with patterning from tiles (**Fig. 41**). Like Wahoterangi meeting house in Whangara, this imagery was most probably sourced from contemporary magazines or newspapers.

Painting ancestors on poupou was replicated by Ngatoto a number of times. In the house Rongomaianiwaniwa (1890s), the porch poupou feature painted figures (**Fig. 42**) which are similar enough to Ngatoto’s carved forms to support Neich’s assigning an entire ‘tradition’ of figurative painting to these forms.³⁹⁵ Like the carved form, the painted figure has a similar composition, with a tilted head, wide mouth, triangular tongue, shaped eyebrow ridges from the top of the nose around the eye, hand grasping part of the mouth, asymmetrical shoulders, curvilinear shaping of the body ending in one of the legs, and the movement of lines of surface decoration (rauponga on the carved figure, kape on the painted) down the body. Rongomaianiwaniwa was an

³⁹⁴ Issues between Massey and Ward came to a head in 1915 when they were told by the Governor to form a coalition. Ward was Prime Minister from 1906-12, when the mantle of leadership passed to Ward, who continued as Prime Minister until 1925. Ward returned as Prime Minister in 1928, until 1930.

³⁹⁵ Neich, *Painted Histories*, 269. Nonetheless, there are some distinctions such as the lack of a nose bridge on the painted form, the asymmetrical placement of the pupils of the eyes, inclusion of teeth, the lack of spirals at the corner of the mouth and the different position of the hands.

unconventional house – witness the animals on the maihi already mentioned. Thus when Ngatoto began painting the carved figures such innovation would have been considered part of the move away from convention, embracing novel ideas which would have filtered back to the area from other meeting houses.

Perhaps the most surprising use of figurative painting was in St Mary's Anglican Church (1925-6). This church brought Ngatoto's 50 year career as a carver to a conclusion, celebrating his diversity as an artist and as an innovator. This was a Mihinare (Maori Anglican) Church, built under the direction of the local politician Apirana Ngata, and signalled the beginning of a new era of meeting house building and renovation in the 1930s and 1940s, as will be discussed in Chapter 7. The association of figurative painting with Ringatu, and specifically Te Kooti was well-known to Ngata, whose uncle and mentor Major Ropata Wahawaha had led a number of campaigns to seek out Te Kooti. Nonetheless, Ngata knew of Ngatoto's reputation and had in fact employed him ten years earlier to decorate his personal study at his home with carvings. The carver's intention in re-using the same painted figures in the church was deliberately to bring together the marae and church as one.

In other houses, figurative painting was limited to floral motifs. The carver Riwai Pakerau included these a number of times in his houses. Floral motifs were first used by Pakerau when he worked with Hararia on the house Ruakapanga at Tolaga Bay (1880), now known only from two photographs.³⁹⁶ On the front wall are a range of botanical references, including a pot plant and small scene of a man chopping down a tree.³⁹⁷ These are painted on the front wall epa, a place of prominence. When Pakerau created the house Iritekura at Waipiro Bay (c1910), the compositions continued his earlier work, with symmetrical depictions of plants with "finely detailed leaves."³⁹⁸ He included several printed messages at the base, one had a face, and one had two dogs and, most unusually, a crocodile. Text was also included: on one heke was the name 'Iritekura' which was "printed in a green band above a red marakihau figure floating

³⁹⁶ The house was dismantled in 1939 (Ibid, 272.)

³⁹⁷ See *ibid*, fig. 145.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 271. The date 1910 is given by Jahnke ("He Tataitanga," 179) and contrast with Neich's attribution of a 1901 date.

over a plant.”³⁹⁹ On the whareniui Maui Tikitiki a Taranga Pakerau continued to show his interest in botanical material. This house originally stood, “at Paerauta Marae, Mangahauini Valley in about 1865. It was later shifted down to Tokomaru Bay sometime before 1900, then was removed and re-erected at Hikuwai in 1913”⁴⁰⁰ which is when Pakerau worked on it (**Fig. 43**). Here he painted small trees and written messages on the lower portions of the heke.

Whether these twelve houses used figurative painting solely as a political and religious act in homage to Te Kooti and the Ringatu Church is debatable. It is likely that Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa was not painted with this intention given that in the year in which it was produced (1874) the carvers were away from the East Coast and any influential movements popular there. In addition, their patrons would not have encouraged a style of painting associated with a man considered an enemy of the state. Rather, the panels could be considered as a comment on the society in which the carvers were living.

In terms of the meeting house Rauru Nui a Toi in Ruatoria, Tawhai observed,

*Rauru has some European characteristics in both its design and its material of construction. The inhabitants perceive these changes not so much as a break with the past, but rather keeping abreast of trends. They sense, even if vaguely, that this is a building different from the wharau, and that therefore it requires a different life-style.*⁴⁰¹

This suggests that in accepting novelties of design the community was merely keeping abreast of current trends. Painted figures and other novelties could thus be accepted more readily as they were not breaking tikanga (with whatever consequence that may bring) but rather keeping up with the times. They needed to say in their communal house that their lives were different from the generation before, and were keen on embracing new forms of knowledge, new technologies, and becoming part of a wider world.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid, 271. The house was later demolished, and the carvings and kowhaiwhai panels deposited in Auckland and Tai Rawhiti Museums (Ibid, 55).

⁴⁰¹ Tawhai, “He Tipuna Whareniui,” 58.

Tradition as ‘selected customs handed down from the past’ provided guidance to behaviour and relationships, between people and with the land. During the 1850s Maori decided to stop making prime objects of the past (waka taua and pataka) and forge new ones. Objects which had been idolized and celebrated for centuries were, in one decade, thought no longer relevant to the present circumstances of the hapu and discarded. Was this considered a revolution at the time? Probably not given the fact that visually, certainly from the outside, meeting houses looked like earlier houses with their general structure and the inclusion of carving.⁴⁰² Was it the expansion of decoration to *inside* the house that set these whare apart as meeting houses? Certainly there was a need to reconfigure space in order to accommodate more decoration. Where would a descendent be placed in the house? How would whakapapa be expressed?

The earliest Iwirakau meeting house was Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa (1874) carved by Hone Taahu and Tamati Ngakaho. It is in this house that interior decoration begins to feature. This was explicitly meant to be an authentic replica of a chief’s house, which begs the question, why did Taahu move his decorative schema inside? Was he influenced by Rukupo’s house from twenty years before? Quite possibly given the way in which information flowed along trade lines up and down the East Coast. Te Hau Ki Turanga’s innovative format would have appealed to carvers such as Taahu just starting his career as an artist. And what was the influence on Hau Te Ana? In 1878 the house Porourangi was begun formally under the patronage of Ropata Wahawaha. He visited Taahu and Ngakaho in Christchurch whilst they were carving Hau Te Ana Nui and it is likely that he took news of their whareniui back to the East Coast and thus when

⁴⁰² In some whareniui, carved pieces from waka taua and pataka were included in the house to remember the history and also the carver who had worked on them. Neich provides one example with the house Rangitihi which stood at Te Taheke, Lake Rotoiti which used “Some timbers from old war canoes that had been used in the Te Ariki battle on Lake Tarawera.” (*Carved Histories*, 319).

Porourangi began, he called for the same use of space to be employed. Indeed, he hired Ngakaho as the apprentice for his project, perhaps to ensure a continuity of style.⁴⁰³

Part of this negotiation of space was a consideration of the symbolism of the house. At some point, the whareniui began to symbolise the ancestor after whom it was named. Whilst pataka included some of these narratives, it was not decorated on the inside. The Ruatēpūpūke story as recounted by Taahu to Stack in 1874 makes no mention of interior carvings.⁴⁰⁴ However, Taahu did reveal to Stack that the house was meant to symbolise a person,

*... there was a fanciful resemblance supposed to exist between the shape of the house and the human frame – the ridge-pole being the back-bone; the rafters and side-posts, the ribs; and the verandah end, the head – the most sacred part of the human body.*⁴⁰⁵

Here is the first instance in which the symbolism of the house is spelled out explicitly. Given that Stack explained that Taahu was from a line of carvers from Hingangaroa to Iwirakau through to Tukaki and then to himself, it is suggested that this symbolism was an older form, passed down through the generations. This does not explain, however, why Maori did not earlier apply the concept of the house as ancestor. Perhaps this symbolism *was* employed in some earlier structures, from pataka to chief's houses, but it was not until the 'advent' of the meeting house that it could be more explicitly articulated. It may be that the patrons and their carvers realised the importance of retaining important features of their culture only when coming out of times of conflict. They understood the need to mediate between the old ways, the old traditions, on the one hand, and their changing lifestyles and philosophies on the other. Tradition then was something to be preserved as a link with the past, a way of maintaining whakapapa – but in new and exciting ways.

This was made explicit in the early 1860s when patrons and carvers began increasing the size and degree of decoration of the chief's house which emerged at the end of that decade as a meeting house. These were, by then, public buildings, under the ownership

⁴⁰³ Why he did not hire Taahu is a mystery, though it is probable that Te Kihirini made his employment on the new project a condition of sale of the timbers to Wahawaha.

⁴⁰⁴ Stack, "On the Maori House."

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid, 175.

and control of the hapu. Chiefs, meanwhile, had their own personal residences, but without decoration such as carving which was by 1870 considered to fall within the ambit of the meeting house. Chiefs as patrons depended on the support of the hapu for sourcing of materials, such as timber, kiekie for tukutuku, pigments for painting, as well as behind-the-scenes assistance, for example, contributions of food for the artists. Moreover, individual chiefly rule was beginning to be eroded by outside politics: in the 1875 elections, people were allowed to vote as individuals for the first time rather than having a hapu vote.⁴⁰⁶ Van Meijl argues that this shift to the public sphere was closely tied in with the arrival of the missionaries,

*Soon after the missionaries arrived the chief's house acquired new functions, and from the specialized use of the whare puni, the much larger, often fully carved whare whakairo developed. Thus the meeting-house emerged from the domestic level of an extended family of superior rank to the level of the community.*⁴⁰⁷

Changing hapu dynamics were often encapsulated in meeting houses. When hapu split for whatever reason, this was sometimes publicized through the creation of a new meeting houses. For instance, when Riwai Pakerau and others broke away from Te Whanau-a-Iritekura,⁴⁰⁸ they marked the establishment of a new hapu called Ngai Taharora by building a new uncarved meeting house called Taharora.⁴⁰⁹ Similarly, the hapu Te Whanau-a-Rakaihoea emerged some time between 1874 and 1908; they are not listed in the 1868 petition⁴¹⁰ or the 1874 Census, yet are associated with a new wharenui called Rakaihoea which opened in 1908. Disputes over the land could also affect meeting houses. Such is the case with the house O Hine Waiapu which was literally cut in half following a rift over land ownership.

⁴⁰⁶ Oliver and Thompson, *Challenge and Response*, 118-9.

⁴⁰⁷ Toon Van Meijl, "Maori Meeting Houses in and over time," in *Inside Austronesian Houses*, ed. James J. Fox (Canberra: Australian National University, 1993), 217.

⁴⁰⁸ This was due to a makutu placed on Te Whanau a Iritekura by Tuta Nihoniho according to Jahnke ("He Tataitanga," 165, n.460).

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 166.

⁴¹⁰ J. Campbell, "Social and Political State of the Natives of the East Coast." *AJHR* 1868 (11 March 1868), A-4, 16.

Iwirakau architecture stands out in the history of carving in the late 19th century due to the sheer volume of meeting houses that they built. Whereas in other areas, carving schools were closing down, such as Te Whanau-a-Apanui and Ngapuhi, Iwirakau carvers were only just starting their building programme. As they had done with chapels in the 1830s through to the 1850s, each community took it upon themselves to initiate new houses for their own hapu. Makereti wrote that,

*... related hapu would assist on major projects collecting material, sending expert men for carving, scroll-work or growing food for the workers; many were engaged in gathering or growing food for the hui at the opening. The year before the actual opening ceremony related hapu would assist by increasing their plantations of kumara and taro to send or bring to the hui. The result of this was that the actual hapu who owned the whare would have little expense associated with the opening because relative hapu would come and stay in the kainga to help out with the preparations. This would have been part of unspoken reciprocal arrangements between whanau and hapu, a state that permeated and continues to permeate Maori society as a whole.*⁴¹¹

Some wharenui were large-scale with full decoration inside and out, such as Porourangi, while others were modest, both in terms of size and extent of decoration, such as Rakaihoea. In general however, communities ensured that there was a tekoteko or koruru at the very least.

Also continued were the social practices associated with building – karakia followed by a hakari. These were performed in order to mark the passing of time. Competition for the initiation and completion of a building project, whether that be a chapel or whare, was of communal interest, and ultimate benefit. With such ceremonies attached to the completion of stages of the house, there would be a chance by the patron and carver to engender continued support of the project, whether that be in the form of money, food or other resources such as timber or kiekie.

The use of carving was so entrenched in Maori culture that it was not only retained but given absolute prominence by Iwirakau carvers in the formation of the meeting house. Their reputation was uninterrupted since the time of Iwirakau, right back to Hingangaroa and Ruatēpupuke, a factor which resulted in their being sought out not only by patrons living in nearby communities, but also by chiefs from other tribes.

⁴¹¹ Makereti, *The Old-Time Maori* (Auckland: New Women's Press, 1986), 313.

Carving was brought through from earlier structures both as a signifier of a sacred space, but also as a carrier of messages from the past. Its use as a mnemonic device included stories of whakapapa with ancestors chosen whose stories would guide behaviour and articulate relationships with the land. This was not only achieved in the type of representation but also the carving's placement in a structure as well as the surface decoration.

Tukutuku began to feature in Iwirakau houses from the late 1870s. Whilst panels were included in Te Kani a Takirau's house in 1839, they were not included in Iwirakau whareniui until the 1850s according to Paratene Ngata, though this was probably limited to the porch. That Porourangi's tukutuku was considered innovative in its day is evidenced by the fact that it had its own designer - Karauria Kauri. The age of the use of tukutuku in Maori architecture is unclear due to the nature of the material with its propensity to rot over time. Its use in Te Hau ki Turanga may have been one of the first instances of it being used inside a whare, though the degree of complexity in the designs suggests possibly a longer history. Its inclusion in Te Kani's house signals its first known use on the upper East Coast. Following Paratene Ngata's claims, artists were familiar with its manufacture and design a generation before their widespread use in meeting houses.

Tukutuku was not a static art form however, as the innovative designs in Porourangi demonstrate. Within the 42 panels there are a number of 'new' patterns, such as one which came to be called the Porourangi poutama and has been used since then to symbolize Ngati Porou. The representation of ancestors in the tukutuku is also significant, and signals a transference of the ancestor imagery from carving.⁴¹² The colours are also unique - Kauri used not only black and white but also red and green.⁴¹³ Meanwhile in Hinetaipora meeting house, the tukutuku designers used three patterns on single panels: mumu (checkerboard) was the major design, but in each of the squares the artists had used the takitoru and roimata patterns. Such layering of designs allowed

⁴¹² Neich, *Painted Histories*, 102. He believes that this was not the first use of ancestors in tukutuku, pointing to a photograph of the back interior wall of Te Tokanganui-a-Noho (1873) where one of the tukutuku panels between the epa include faces. Similarly, a house named 'Hikurangi' from Wairoa (1880s) also included human figures in the tukutuku, this time on the front porch wall.

⁴¹³ Unfortunately, when Ngata directed the renovations of the tukutuku in 1938 he organised for all the red and green to be turned over in favour of what he called traditional dyes.

for an encyclopedia of stories to be packed into one house. In at least one other house, Hinetamatea, the tukutuku was replaced by painted patterns. In Hau Te Ana Nui they preferred instead to use kauri fluted boards in their place, probably because they either did not have the time or the skills to undertake tukutuku panels as well.

The kowhaiwhai mentioned earlier as featuring as the primary decoration in churches continued to be used in Maori architecture. Within meeting houses, a range of patterns were used, including mangopare, but new designs were also formulated, particularly in major houses like Porourangi. Several of these patterns later became iconic when they were collected by H. W. Williams and published in Augustus Hamilton's *Maori Art*,⁴¹⁴ which was used as a reference book by many communities seeking new designs. In addition, three designs by Riwai Pakerau were included in the book, possibly taken from Ruakapanga (according to Robert Jahnke) as *Maori Art* was published before Pakerau's more well-known work in Iritekura (1910) and Maui Tikitiki a Taranga (1913). With his limited concept of 'Authentic Maori Art', Williams (and later Hamilton) would certainly not have accepted Pakerau's dynamic foliage work. Williams even criticised Pakerau's designs that he did collect, arguing that there were "not in strict canon with Maori art" (patterns 9 and 15), in that "The straight crossbars and other details are foreign to earlier models" (patterns 16, 29 and 30). As Hamilton later wrote, "As a rule ... the Maori artist is singularly ignorant of his subject, and has positively no idea of producing a new pattern which will be in keeping with his ancient exemplaries."⁴¹⁵ Little did he know that the use of kowhaiwhai in architecture was only 80 years old.

Hamilton's selection has recently been criticized by Dashper,

[They were] worthy Ethnological treatises in terms of documenting artifacts of the time ... which in true British Functionalist terms took a small (supposedly

⁴¹⁴ This was the first publication to feature kowhaiwhai. Thirty-six designs were originally copied by Williams over a ten year period but only 29 made the editor's cut – Hamilton "reject[ed] those that were unfinished in Williams's drawings and those that appeared to be duplicates" (Neich, *Painted Histories*, 29). The range was biased in favour of the East Coast (20 panels), and to a lesser extent Te Arawa (four designs), Tuhoe (three panels) and Hawke's Bay (three panels).

⁴¹⁵ Hamilton, *Maori Art*, 120.

*accurate) sample of Kowhaiwhai and defined specific meanings and symbolism ... which has been elevated into a cultural definition.*⁴¹⁶

Similarly, Ngati Porou kowhaiwhai artist John Hovell has questioned the sample collected by Hamilton and Menzies because of “their recording techniques, names, attributed meanings, and the authenticity of some of the patterns themselves.”⁴¹⁷

Taken together, what do these Iwirakau meeting houses say about tradition? Sissons writes of the concept of a conscious traditionalisation process,

*But to say that ‘traditional’ Maori meeting houses were nineteenth-century innovations is not to say that they were invented as traditional. On the contrary, my thesis here is that meeting houses were invented forms that became traditional – nineteenth-century structures that underwent distinctive processes of traditionalisation. By traditionalisation I mean a process or set of processes through which aspects of contemporary culture come to be regarded as valued survival from an earlier time.*⁴¹⁸

A number of ‘processes’ were brought through into ‘contemporary culture.’ These include the conceptualization of architecture as formal structures carrying ideas of culture and identity, building techniques, and the importance of carving, tukutuku and kowhaiwhai to convey selected historical narratives and identify significant local leaders. Recent military events in the areas acted as a catalyst for communities to reconsider their allegiances, and thereby their identity. The people faced a dilemma of how to put the past behind them, but at the same time remember those times in order that they guide behaviour, both present and future. This in turn influenced the way in which they made explicit these loyalties, from the style of new buildings, to the decoration included on and in it.

The parent forms identified here for the wharenuī were the four dominant art traditions (chief’s house, pataka, waka taua and pou whakarae) from which artists and patrons selected various traits to create a new form, the wharenuī. Even the chapel, only 40

⁴¹⁶ Mark Dashper, *Te Whare o Rangi: the meeting house of Te Aute College, opened May 8th, 1993* (Pukehou: Te Aute College, 1993), 25.

⁴¹⁷ As quoted in *ibid.*

⁴¹⁸ Sissons, “The traditionalisation of the meeting house,” 37.

years old by the 1870s when most of the Iwirakau meeting houses were built, was influential in relation to its use and decoration. The demand by communities along the East Coast for similar wharenui repeated the demand for churches in the 1840s and 1850s. Central to this were the dominant personalities, the carvers and patrons, who acted as agents of change, driving new directions in art and architecture for the benefit of the people. The whare whakairo structure became a site in which to engage with modernity (through techniques, tools and imagery) as well as negotiate the past (through inclusion of select ancestors and placement within the decorative schema). But even as a fairly standard type of meeting house emerged in the 1870s change was afloat; for example, figurative painting promoted by Te Kooti was used in several houses to show alliance with the Ringatu faith. In light of these changes, the thesis now turns to the men who created these wharenui and their style, in order to track their individual traits which together became synonymous with the Iwirakau school of carving.

CHAPTER 5.

NGA TOHUNGA WHAKAIRO O IWIRAKAU.

In the 1860s a group of carvers began receiving new commissions for projects based both in the upper East Coast where they lived, and beyond. The names of six men - Te Kihirini, Tamati Ngakaho, Hoani Ngatai, Hone Ngatoto, Riwai Pakerau and Hone Taahu – are particularly remembered in relation to a style they forged which has become synonymous with the name Iwirakau. Jahnke’s discussion of specific carvers’ style in relation to his ancestor Riwai Pakerau⁴¹⁹ will be used as a point of departure, from which to consider the careers of the carvers, and the way in which their style on specific projects influenced subsequent work, both within their own practice, but also others. This chapter begins by outlining the genealogical relationships of Ngati Porou carvers, their social organisation, their reputation and style and finally their payment. It then moves on to examine the major carvers in order to argue that carvers were transmitters of culture who simultaneously retained and broke with tradition. The chapter concludes with an analysis of tradition in relation to the carver and considers the ways in which they embraced innovation vis-à-vis their communities and their patrons.

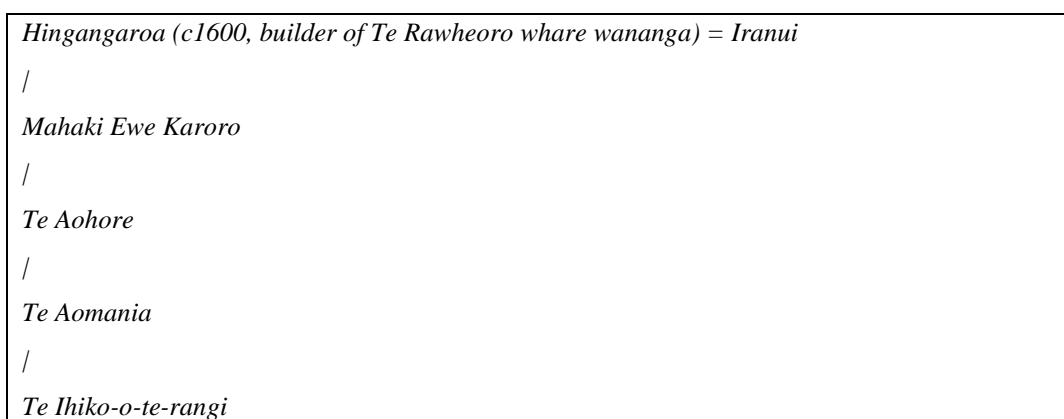
Genealogical relationships of Ngati Porou carvers.

Men became carvers either because they were chiefly figures and this was expected of them, or because they had demonstrated an inclination to be an artist, or because they came from a line of carvers and they were expected to participate in the family business. This changed in the 1860s due to two sets of circumstances. Firstly, whilst in the 18th century and before, all chiefly young men would receive some form of education in carving as part of their training in the *whare wananga*, by the mid-19th century those

⁴¹⁹ “He Tataitanga.”

same whare wananga began closing. In addition, the sheer volume of new building projects which included carving necessitated others in the community taking up the chisel and beginning carving. One of the complicating factors in seeking to trace the emergence of a new group of carvers at this time is that relatively little is known about the identity of carvers between the time of Iwirakau in the 1660s, to the period of the 1860s. It is unfortunate that the names of the earlier carvers have not been passed down, made more difficult by the preference of tribal historians to only record the name of the chief associated with the building project.

From the 1860s the names of four hapu emerge as sources of Iwirakau carvers. Whether this was always the case is uncertain due to a lack of information. The most well-known hapu was Ngati Uepohatu from Ruatoria. Phillips describes them as a famous hapu of carvers.⁴²⁰ The best known of their artists were the uncle and nephew team Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto who “basically ran all projects for their hapu from the early 1870s through to the mid-1920s.”⁴²¹ Others from this hapu were Wi Tahata, Wi Haereroa and Hone Te Wehi. The whakapapa chart below shows a line of descent from the carver Hingangaroa through to Taahu, Ngatoto and Tahata. In relation to generations of carvers, Ngatoto was considered to be Taahu’s nephew by virtue of being the next generation down as they were related through Koparehuia, several generations back. Between Taahu and Ngatoto, over eighteen houses, studies and churches were built between 1870 and 1926.



⁴²⁰ “Carved Houses of the East Coast,” 112. Tawhai describes Te Rohe o Uepohatu as “a belt of land lying between the almost vanished coastal settlements of Tuparoa in the South and Reporua in the north, and stretching *mai i te hiku o te tai ki te ao parauri*” (“He Whare Tipuna,” 2).

⁴²¹ Ellis, “Te Toi Whakairo, He Mana Tangata,” 36-37.

/		
<i>Mariu</i>		
/		
<i>Hinetapora</i>		
/		
<i>Koparehuia</i>		
<hr/>		
/	/	/
<i>Makahuri</i>	<i>Marewa</i>	<i>Takereariari</i>
/	/	/
<i>Te Auiti</i>	<i>Tauarai</i>	<i>Mahuika</i>
/	/	/
<i>Kauere</i>	<i>Tatahau</i>	<i>Hineatauirā</i>
/	/	/
<i>Hone Tahu [sic]</i>	<i>Hohoru</i>	<i>Paora</i>
	/	/
	<i>Wi Tahata</i>	<i>Hone Ngatoto</i>

Table 3: Whakapapa of leading Ngati Porou carvers showing their relationship.⁴²²

Ngati Uepohatu was not the only hub of carvers however. Centred in the village of Rangitukia were four inter-related hapu: Ngai Tane, Te Whanau-a-Takimoana, Ngati Hokopu and Te Whanau-a-Hunaara. The most well-known of the carvers here was Hoani Ngatai (Te Whanau-a-Hunaara and Ngati Hokopu). Other lesser-known, less-prolific artists from this community were Ngatai’s nephew and part-time assistant Haare Tokoata, Hare Kopakopa (Ngai Tane) and Mohi Turei (Ngati Hokopu, Te Aitanga-a-Mate). These carvers worked on local projects, namely O Hine Waiapu, as well as houses further afield, such as Ruatēpupuke II at Tokomaru Bay.

A third group of carvers came from the hapu Ngai Taharora in Waipiro Bay.⁴²³ Riwai Pakerau and Hararaia were both from this hapu, along with the carver Koroniria. Riwai’s brother Haki Hokopaura was also a carver. The fourth and final hapu known for carvers was Te Whanau-a-Rahui based at Rakaihoa. Around the early 1860s Te

⁴²² Jahnke, “He Tataitanga,” 167.

⁴²³ Ibid, 165 n460.

Kihirini began preparing to build a personal house to commemorate the birth of a son. The New Zealand Wars interrupted this project, and he was not to pick up the chisel until 1878. Around the same time as he began carving again, his relation Tamati Ngakaho started his artistic career as an apprentice for Hone Taahu on a meeting house being built in Christchurch in 1874. A few years after his return to the East Coast, Ngakaho was again apprenticed, this time to his pakeke Te Kihirini, and together they worked on the house Porourangi. A third carver from this hapu was Ngakaho's brother Te Karaka, though unfortunately nothing is known of his work.⁴²⁴

Hapu	Location	Carvers (those in bold are major carvers)
Ngati Uepohatu	Ruatoria	Hone Taahu Hone Ngatoto Wi Tahata Wi Haereroa Hone Te Wehi
Ngai Tane Te Whanau-a-Takimoana Ngati Hokopu Te Whanau-a-Hunaara	Rangitukia	Hoani Ngatai Haare Tokoata Hare Kopakopa Mohi Turei
Ngai Taharora	Waipiro Bay	Riwai Pakerau Hararaia Haki Hokopaura
Te Whanau-a-Rahui	Rakaihoea	Tamati Ngakaho Te Kihirini Te Karaka Ngakaho

Table 4: List of the four major hapu from where most Iwirakau carvers from 1860-1930 came from.

⁴²⁴ Steven Oliver, "Tamati Ngakaho." *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2n11/1?setlang=en> (accessed February 5, 2011).

By the 1870s carvers were being sourced from four different hapu (**Table 4**). Unlike other iwi where the knowledge of carving was passed from father to son, for Iwirakau artists it was the relationship between an uncle and nephew where such training took place. Two instances of this stand out. The first was the team of Hone Taahu and his nephew Hone Ngatoto. Together they worked on at least four projects from 1870 to 1886. The second pairing was Hoani Ngatai and his nephew Haare Tokoata. In both cases, it was a challenge for the protégé to assert their own style. With Ngatoto, his method of carving became discernable once he began receiving his own commissions within a few short years of his first project. The case of Ngatai and Tokoata is problematic however. According to Pine Taiapa and others, Ngatai trained his nephew whilst working on the house Tumoanakotore. As will be discussed later, this house is almost certainly the same house now associated with the Ngati Kahungunu chief Karaitiana Takamoana. Certainly, there are a number of carvings clearly made by Ngatai from this house (now in Otago Museum and elsewhere), but whether his student's hand can be seen in any part of the carvings is questionable.

Brothers working together formed a second type of carving team. With Iwirakau carvers, it is the name of the brother who continued to practice carving that it recorded primarily, rather than that of the brother who did not. Riwai Pakerau built the house Taharora with his brother Haki Hokopaura some time around 1889 by which point Riwai was a well-known artist in his own right, having worked as a carver for some 20 years or so on five other projects. This would be the only house Hokopaura was known to have worked on, and it may be that he was brought in as a form of assistant, encouraged by his brother, and their sister, with the goal of building a new meeting house to signal their formation of a new hapu, as discussed later. The second pair of brothers was Tamati Ngakaho and his brother Te Karaka, though which project the latter worked on is unknown as yet.

Iwirakau carvers usually worked in teams. On major projects, such as those in the 1840s, many carvers were required to finish in a reasonable time. This was a huge strain on the local assets because of the concentrated time span, but in many cases it was the most efficient way of building a house. There was strong competition between chiefs,

hapu and iwi in terms of how quickly a house could be raised; speed was a point of pride. Pine Taiapa witnessed this in 1953 in the rebuilding of the house Hinerupe,

*The interior work, carvings and tukutuku were supervised personally by Sir Apirana, who had his School of Maori Arts working day and night. The men and women comprising the school came from North Auckland, Rotorua, Wanganui, Gisborne and the East Coast. Great rivalry existed between the carvers and tukutuku workers in regard to their respective skill and dexterity so that it almost settled down into a competition of speed and craftsmanship. This enabled the work to be done in twenty-four days instead of the scheduled thirty, including the completion of the unfinished carvings and tukutuku from the original Hinerupe.*⁴²⁵

Often the carving team was separate from the building team. This was an established practice on many projects, though by the 1870s the division between carver, builder and architect had become blurred. Carvers would have intimate knowledge of where construction, with carvings being as part of the entire structure, rather than the walls being erected and onto these the poupou attached. The carvings were an important part of the structure, and necessary in order to build the house. The poutokomanawa and poutuarongo both supported the length of the tahuhu which ran from the front of the house along the top ridge to the back of the house. While on some houses the carving and construction would have been simultaneous, in others the building was completed first. With Hinetaora, for instance, the house was erected from 1880 to 1882 at which point the carving had begun (this took four years to complete).⁴²⁶

There were different carvers who worked on separate parts of the whakairo. For instance, the final dressing of the wood (whakangao) would be done by an expert, using different whao (chisels). Firth distinguished their separate roles,

*The latter [tohunga] was par excellence the actual director of the work. Equipped, as a rule, with a deep knowledge of technical procedure and traditional rules, versed also in all the magic of craft – spells, ritual, and tapu observances – he was eminently fitted to assume the post of skilled adviser or practical leader.*⁴²⁷

⁴²⁵ Taiapa, “The ancestress Hinerupe.”

⁴²⁶ Tawhai, “He Tipuna Wharenuī,” 78.

⁴²⁷ Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, 237.

Sometimes the chief carver, in consultation with the patron, would be quite specific on who was to do which part of the house. Ngata wrote of the way in which “the heavier and more deeply indented work was reserved for the greatest expert.”⁴²⁸ He cited the example of Porourangi in which “Ngakaho did the lighter work but Kihirini ... had to do the pou tahuu, the end of the ridge piece.”⁴²⁹ As Binney noted,

Often teams would be drawn together because of a common religion. This can be seen most effectively in the numerous wharehui built under the direction of Te Kooti Rikirangi. Te Kooti inspired many carvers to work for him and the Ringatu church. He would organise teams to move around the country either building new wharehui, or restructuring and decorating existing structures for his particular needs. Hori Paihia of Ngati Porou was part of the team used on the house Takitimu at Kehemane (Tablelands).⁴³⁰

The earliest known carvers of the Iwirakau School in the 19th century were Te Kihirini and Hone Taahu. Both emerged in the early 1860s. Nothing is known of their training. It is most likely that Te Kihirini was a self-taught artist, driven by a desire to decorate a modest whare. Pine Taiapa, however, believed that Te Kihirini learnt carving from the Rongowhakaata master carver Raharuhi Rukupo. Certainly there are some who believe that Rukupo lived for a while in the Waiapu when a boy and may have undertaken some training once there. However, according to the Waitangi Tribunal there were in fact two men called Raharuhi Rukupo, one who lived in the Waiapu, and another who lived at Manutuke,⁴³¹ which calls into question either Taiapa’s recollection or the Tribunal’s findings.

It is unknown where Hone Taahu received his training. Te Rawheoro carving school was still operating until the mid-19th century and it is possible that he may have attended there. The art of carving is not associated with the Tapere whare wananga based at Rangitukia or nearby, though even this School closed down around the same time. That he was approached for a commission in the early 1860s suggests that he had a reputation as a carver by this time, implying that he had worked on earlier projects.

⁴²⁸ Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, II, 123

⁴²⁹ Ibid, 123.

⁴³⁰ Binney, *Redemption Songs*, 327

⁴³¹ *The Report on the Turanganui a Kiwa Claims*, 603.

Despite the possibility that he had no training himself, honour should be paid to Hone Taahu for his efforts in passing on the knowledge of carving. Over the period 1870-86 he trained two carvers to such a degree that they later became significant artists in their own right. Firstly he educated his young nephew Ngatoto when they worked on Te Poho o Te Aotawarirangi (c1870), Taahu's first project to be completed and erected on the East Coast.⁴³² Taahu continued to work with his nephew on several other projects - Kapohanga (c1880), Rauru Nui a Toi (1882) and Hinetapora (1882-6). Jahnke has recently identified two carvings currently in Gisborne Museum as carved by both Ngatoto and Taahu (1999.34.1 and 59/1823)⁴³³ with characteristic traits of both of them in the same carvings.

Hone Taahu's second protégé was Tamati Ngakaho. When approached to complete a meeting house which had been begun in the early 1860s, Taahu asked Ngakaho to travel with him to Christchurch. This is curious for the fact that Taahu did not ask Ngatoto with whom he had just been working. His nephew had no projects on the horizon (unlike the 1880s when he was inundated with work). Perhaps there was a personal element here whereby Ngatoto stayed on the East Coast for private reasons.

That there was a brotherhood of carvers is evidenced⁴³³ by two houses built in the 1880s. By this time six artists had become well-known and some were receiving fairly regular work. Taahu seems to have played a key role as designer in the group projects, and as such could be regarded as the Tuakana (elder, leader) of the Iwirakau School. The Rauru Nui a Toi house just outside Ruatoria was carved by Taahu leading a team consisting of Te Kihirini, Ngatoto and Pakerau, all considered by this time master carvers in their own right, having worked on, or working on, at least one meeting house project. With the meeting house being completed and opened in 1883, Taahu then took his nephew across to Mangahanea to begin work on another new house, Hinetapora, together with a new team of possibly untrained artists: Wi Tahata, Wi Haereroa and Hone Te Wehi. These novices were most likely involved because of their whakapapa links with the house and its hapu.

⁴³² Taahu had worked on carvings for Henare Potae at Tokomaru Bay in the early 1860s but this house was never erected on the East Coast.

⁴³³ Jahnke, "He Tataitanga," 170-1.

On half the projects undertaken by Iwirakau carvers, a pair of artists would be involved. This would expedite a project although it might cost the commissioning hapu more because of having to employ two artists. The benefit, however, would be that a house would have two names associated with it, accruing an increase of mana because of that. The relationship between carvers could continue over several projects – for instance, Taahu also worked with Riwai Pakerau on three projects - Te Poho o Materoa, Maui Tikitiki a Taranga and Rauru Nui a Toi. Their distinctive style is identifiable in each house, and it is likely that they worked together in a form of camaraderie, sharing ideas and drawing inspiration from one another.

The carver's reputation was essential to his obtaining commissions, as Ngata describes, "The carver's proficiency, and his idiosyncrasies, personal and artistic, would all be taken into account in making a choice."⁴³⁴ In turn, each artist's reputation would contribute to the reputation of the carving school as a whole. Customers would come from "far and wide" once a carver's reputation was established.⁴³⁵ A carver would have to work himself through the ranks, proving his ability not only to copy but to innovate too. He would also have to have a good understanding of the practicalities of the building trade and the ability to work with the local people. This could take many years, if not decades.

The Iwirakau style.

The discipline of Art History offers a number of approaches to style. Two of the most influential writers have been Meyer Schapiro (1953) and Heinrich Wölfflin (1968).⁴³⁶ Schapiro's describes style as "the constant form – and sometimes the constant elements, qualities, and expression – in the art of an individual or a group."⁴³⁷ For Wölfflin, there

⁴³⁴ Apirana Ngata, "Tribal Organization," in *The Maori People Today*, ed. I. L. G. Sutherland (Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1940), 315.

⁴³⁵ Mead, *Te Toi Whakairo*, 194.

⁴³⁶ Donald Preziosi, *The Art of Art History* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 112.

⁴³⁷ Meyer Schapiro, "Style" in *Aesthetics Today: Readings Selected*, ed. Morris Philipson (Cleveland: World Pub. Co., 1961), 81.

were a range of styles, “to the personal style must be added *the style of the school, the country, the race.*”⁴³⁸ He also recognised that a ‘national style’ changed over time:

*... we cannot forthwith base a general judgment of a national type on one single epoch. Different times give birth to different art. Epoch and race interact. We must first establish how many general traits a style contains before we can give it the name of a national style in a special sense.*⁴³⁹

These ‘traits’ have concerned George Kubler who considered art as a series of traits which worked together to create “formal sequences.”⁴⁴⁰ These in turn create a style, defined by E. H. Gombrich as “any distinctive ... way in which an act is performed.”⁴⁴¹ As Preziosi notes about Gombrich’s approach, “By placing an *oeuvre* into a continuous chain of developments, we become alerted to what its creator had learned from predecessors, what he transformed, and how he was used, in his turn, by later generations.”⁴⁴²

How might this be applied to Iwirakau carving? Firstly individual carvers each had his own style that changed over time. Jahnke has observed that the notion of ‘constant form’ is “a myth because stylistic evolution of form of ‘an individual or group’ is subject to temporal evolution and change.”⁴⁴³ He supports Kubler’s theory of “altered repetitions of the same trait.”⁴⁴⁴ On the next level is the style of the School (see below) in which general characteristics can be identified which are different enough from other groups to make them distinct. Lastly, there is a period style – the work from the 19th century as distinct from that of the 20th.

Chapter 2 tracked the emergence of an Iwirakau style up to 1830, based on pou whakarae (both existing and in ethnographic reports), chief’s houses, waka taua and

⁴³⁸ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History; The problem of the development of style in later art* (New York Dover Publications, 1932), 6.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid*, 9.

⁴⁴⁰ Kubler, *The Shape of Time*, 39.

⁴⁴¹ E. H. Gombrich, “Style,” in *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. D. L. Sills, (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 352b.

⁴⁴² Preziosi, *The Art of Art History*, 157.

⁴⁴³ Jahnke, “He Tataitanga,” 34.

⁴⁴⁴ Though Jahnke criticises Kubler’s for his objectivity and detailed analyses, rather than having an intrinsic approach and looking at the whole work and the personality who made it (as Jahnke does in his thesis).

pataka. The chapels built later that decade through to the mid-1850s provided another opportunity for carvers to practice their skills, though the focus on was the architecture and building, rather than the decoration. This changed in the early 1860s when there was a return to focusing on decoration once more.

The group of carvers who emerged at this time have been called the Iwirakau School. Led by six carvers, the School worked on houses within the same geographic location and shared similar stylistic characteristics. Pine Taiapa writes of the ‘Hone Taahu School’ which in effect was a group of carvers from the hapu Te Whanau-a-Hinetapora, “of which Hone Ngatoto was a pupil.”⁴⁴⁵

In effect so extensive was Taahu’s influence that his personal style could be considered to be synonymous with the Iwirakau style. Taiapa explains the Taahu style as having,

*Two distinct patterns are incorporated, the Taowara [sic] and the Manaia. Hone Ngatoto is noted for his completeness in surface decoration, every inch of the figure being covered with intricate designs. His work does not vary to any great degree hence it is easily recognisable wherever found on the East Coast.*⁴⁴⁶

Jock McEwan was one of the first to write about the individual style of East Coast artists, grouping them under the nomenclature of a “Ngati Porou style.”⁴⁴⁷ He analysed carvings in the Waitangi Centennial House (opened 1940), providing a description of three sets of poupou in which the head carver Pine Taiapa had interpreted three Iwirakau carvers’ styles. To represent Ngati Porou style in the Waitangi meeting house, Taiapa chose to make three pairs of poupou in the style of carvers whom he considered to be masters of Ngati Porou style: Ngatai, Ngakaho and Ngatoto (**Fig. 44**). McEwan’s analysis and discussion of the style of the carvings suggests that he talked with Taiapa in depth, for little was written as a guide before his essay. Taiapa had a close connection with these artists: Ngatai came from the same community as he did, Ngatoto had first inspired Taiapa to carve when working on St Mary’s in 1925, and Ngakaho was a household name because of his work inside Porourangi. Taiapa would have also seen

⁴⁴⁵ Taiapa, “The Ancestress Hinerupe.”

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ McEwan, “Maori Art.”

some of their work, such as Ngatoto's carvings from O Hine Waiapu (otherwise known as the Buller House/Te Kani a Takirau), whilst studying tribal styles in Auckland Museum in preparation for carving regional styles in the Waitangi House.

Jahnke identifies key traits of the Iwirakau style, as represented by Taahu's carving in Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa,

*... the prominent use of the rauponga pattern, plain backgrounds, neuter figures, naturalistic five fingered hands, central rauponga torso strip, haehae knee and hip bands, spirals ranging from pikorauru to the compound 'S' shaped rauru spiral and arched toes.*⁴⁴⁸

According to Jahnke, the Iwirakau style is epitomised in the style of four meeting houses: Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa (1874), carvings for Karaitiana Takamoana (mid-1870s), Porourangi (1878-88) and Rauru Nui a Toi (1882). Of significance here is the fact that only two of these houses were available on the East Coast as models for subsequent carvers. The first house was erected in Canterbury Museum in 1874, whilst those carvings for Karaitiana (by Taahu and Ngatai⁴⁴⁹) were never placed in a meeting house even though they were carved on the East Coast, but rather were exhibited in Dunedin in 1889 from where they were placed in Otago Museum and elsewhere. While not available as stylistic templates for other carvers, these two projects provided Hone Taahu at least with an opportunity to hone his style for later meeting houses.

In this light, Porourangi and Rauru Nui a Toi have a greater role to play in the development of each carver's style, as well as that of the Iwirakau School as a whole. Whilst few would quibble with Porourangi as a major achievement of the Iwirakau School, others might query the inclusion of Rauru Nui a Toi. Whilst it carries the name of a significant ancestor in relation to carving on the East Coast, the answer may lie in a claim by Tawhai. In his thesis he writes that,

Porourangi was sometimes referred to as an extension of Rauru, and one of the reasons for this remark was that the team of nga tohunga whakairo o Rauru had afterwards done the whakairo of Porourangi. This sets the date for the Rauru whakairo as the first years of the 1880s. ... The tohunga whakairo of Rauru Nui a Toi were said to be Riwai Pakerau, Hone Tahu [sic], Te Kihirini and Hone

⁴⁴⁸ Jahnke, "He Tataitanga," 158.

⁴⁴⁹ As well as Ngatoto and possibly Tokoata according to Robert Jahnke.

*Ngatoto. Hone Ngatoto, a descendent of Hingangaroa, was a young man at the time. I was taken by the fact that for so little whakairo, however fine, so many names of great tohunga should be mentioned.*⁴⁵⁰

This challenges the widely held belief that only Te Kihirini and Tamati Ngakaho worked on Porourangi. Could it be that the masters of the Iwirakau School worked together on both houses? And indeed could a third be added – Hinetapora – which was carved at exactly this time (from 1882-1886) by Taahu and Ngatoto and others?⁴⁵¹ Three major projects were also underway in three nearby settlements (Waiomatatini, Ruatoria and Mangahanea). Carvers would have known what the others were doing, and would call on them if required, either because of the quantity of carving required or the importance of the house or both.

	Porourangi 1878-83	Rauru Nui a Toi 1882	Hinetapora 1882-6
Hone Taahu	?	✓	✓
Hone Ngatoto	?	✓	✓
Riwai Pakerau	?	✓	
Te Kihirini	✓	✓	
Tamati Ngakaho	✓		

Table 5: Distribution of carvers according to building projects 1878-1886.

In all, there were sixteen artists who worked on projects allied with the Iwirakau School. Neich compiled a list of 231 carvers active in the 19th century, in which it seems the School was one of the largest in the country,⁴⁵² outnumbered only by Tuhoe (26 carvers), Rongowhakaata (24 carvers) and Ngati Pikia (22 carvers). Neich warns however that “these numbers reflect all sorts of contingencies and must be treated with caution before drawing any detailed conclusions about the relative importance of carvers in certain tribal areas.”⁴⁵³ He tags activity to specific large projects; in the case of Rongowhakaata, for instance, there were Te Toki a Tapiri, the Manutuke Church and Te Hau ki Turanga being built. The vast majority of projects undertaken by the 231

⁴⁵⁰ Tawhai, “He Tipuna Wharenuī,” 57, 58.

⁴⁵¹ Wi Tahata painted the kowhaiwhai, with Wi Haereroa and Hone Te Wehi providing assistance in the general building of the house.

⁴⁵² This did not include the eight carvers from Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki.

⁴⁵³ Roger Neich, “The Emergence of the Individual in Maori Woodcarving: Toward a Maori Art History,” *Baessler-Archiv (Neue Folge)* 45 (1997): 185.

carvers were meeting houses (172), of which 32 sadly only exist in museum collections. This includes four Iwirakau meeting houses: Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa (Canterbury Museum), Maui Tikitiki a Taranga (Auckland Museum, Tai Rawhiti Museum, O’Kain’s Bay Museum), Karaitana’s carvings (Otago Museum and elsewhere) and Ruatepupuke II (Field Museum, Chicago).⁴⁵⁴

Out of the sixteen carvers associated with the Iwirakau School, six stand out as masters. They are called here the Super Six: Te Kihirini, Hone Taahu, Hone Ngatoto, Riwai Pakerau, Tamati Ngakaho and Hoani Ngatai. Individually and collectively they created a distinctive style of carved meeting houses at a time when there were no models or teachers to guide them. They stand out among the sixteen because of the quantity and quality of the work that they produced, some twenty-eight projects between 1870-1930. Four of them had a carving career spanning at least twenty years, though changing demands meant that work was intermittent, particularly with the increase in the number of trained carvers and a tendency for hapu to use their own men on projects rather than contracting out for work.

Each of the Super Six worked on at least two houses. Ngakaho, for instance, only carved Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa and Porourangi, both initially as an apprentice, yet the quality of his work has ensured his status as a major carver for the Iwirakau School. Similarly, Te Kihirini also worked on only two houses (Porourangi and Rauru Nui a Toi), both in the position of the master carver. At the other end of the scale, Ngatoto worked on at least fourteen projects from the 1860s through to the 1920s. His oeuvre spanned a lengthy period from the 1860s to the 1920s, and included not only meeting houses but also a private residence (‘Te Ao Hou’ for Apirana Ngata in 1916) and a church (St Mary’s in 1925-6).

Carver	Number of projects	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910s	1920s
Te	2	X	X	X				

⁴⁵⁴ To this list some might be added Te Kani a Takirau but, as discussed in Appendix 2, the carvings in Auckland Museum which are provenanced to this house actually originate in the house O Hine Waiapu at East Cape, 10 minutes north-east of Rangitukia.

Kihirini								
Taahu	9	X	X	X	X			
Ngatoto	14	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pakerau	10	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Ngakaho	2		X	X				
Ngatai	4		X	X				

Table 6: Working lives of the main master carvers. Note: the time frame does not reflect the number of projects, as some were started in one decade, and completed in another.

Te Kihirini (Te Whanau-a-Rahui, c1830-1882).

Te Kihirini is the earliest known Iwirakau carver working in the 19th century. There is some confusion as to his exact name – Mead and Cresswell identify him as Kihirini Umutapi,⁴⁵⁵ whilst Jahnke calls him Kihirini Te Ao Tapunui⁴⁵⁶ or simply Te Kihirini.⁴⁵⁷ His grandson, Apirana Mahuika, simply calls him Kihirini.⁴⁵⁸ For the sake of efficacy, he will be identified here as Te Kihirini. He was born some time around 1830 and died c1882. He is known to have carved Porourangi and Rauru Nui a Toi meeting houses. Not much is known about his personal life. Oliver suggests that he was possibly related to Ngakaho as both were from Rakaihoea.⁴⁵⁹ Not much is also known about his early artistic training either. As already discussed, it is highly likely that, due to the nature and modesty of his first project, he was self-trained.

Te Kihirini first comes to light in the 1850s when he began organising materials for a house he wanted to build at Whakawhitira to commemorate the birth of his son (thus suggesting a birth date for Te Kihirini at c1830). Trees were removed from a nearby forest and carving begun. However, the Ngati Kahungunu chief Te Hapuku approached Wahawaha for timbers for a meeting house he was building, who in turn must have then contacted Te Kihirini, as his partially-carved timbers were taken to Rangitukia to await

⁴⁵⁵ Mead, *Te Toi Whakairo*, 193; John Cresswell, *Maori Meeting Houses of the North Island* (Auckland: PCS Publications, 1977), 81.

⁴⁵⁶ Jahnke, “He Tataitanga,” 2

⁴⁵⁷ Jahnke, “Matariki Lecture.”

⁴⁵⁸ Apirana Mahuika, *Porourangi Centennial Hui* (Radio New Zealand, 1988).

⁴⁵⁹ Oliver, “Tamati Ngakaho.”

shipment to Napier. However, when trouble broke out in the Waiapu Valley in 1865 the deal was put on hold. It would be more than a decade before the timbers would be used again. Wahawaha by this time, as will be discussed further in the next chapter, decided that he wanted the carvings for his own meeting house, and intervened in the deal. Te Kihirini agreed to give or sell the carvings to Wahawaha and work began on his project in 1878 at Waiomatatini. Te Kihirini brought on board his relation Tamati Ngakaho to work as his assistant. By the early 1880s most of the carvings were completed, with Te Kihirini carving all works in the porch except the poupou, papaka, pare and pane which are in Ngakaho's distinctive style. But by this time Te Kihirini had his sights on creating another new meeting house further inland.

Across at Taumata o Mihi marae a new house was also beginning. Hone Taahu was leading a team to carve a house to be called Rauru Nui a Toi. Tawhai was told that Rauru was "an extension" of Porourangi, and involved Pakerau and Ngatoto on the team.⁴⁶⁰ Jahnke argues that Te Kihirini carved the left amo of Rauru while Hone Taahu did the right amo and raparapa. Each amo is distinct; on the left amo for instance one figure is depicted facing out, both hands resting on the chest. The figure of eight tongue sits inside a wide mouth with small teeth. This style of tongue is replicated in the koruru.

This was an exciting time for Te Kihirini, but also one filled with a portent. In 1882 or 1883 Rauru Nui a Toi was opened, but whether Te Kihirini was there is not known as a hara (sin) had been committed over on the Porourangi project. Te Kihirini had originally cut the long tahuhu to fit the dimensions of his personal tribute house, but with the larger Porourangi, he needed to re-cut the timbers in order to fit the new dimensions prescribed by Wahawaha. Te Kihirini knew that in doing so there would be consequences because this transgressed tapu which dictated that timbers not be re-cut once they were finished. The repercussion was Te Kihirini premature death – he was only in his 50s.

Te Kihirini's legacy is primarily associated with Porourangi and, more recently, with his relationship with other master carvers on Rauru Nui a Toi. On the former house he

⁴⁶⁰ Jahnke also believes this (email, 11.04.08).

was the architect and primary designer, though he had only completed the porch carvings when he died. He had mentored Ngakaho enough for him to undertake the mammoth task of completing all the carvings as well as seeing through the erection of the house. Te Kihirini's collaboration on Rauru signalled his reputation as a master carver working with fellow artists on a job that brought together all the masters.

Hone Taahu (Ngati Uepohatu, Te Whanau a Rua, c1820/30-1900).

Hone Taahu, also known as Hoani Taahu and Hone Kaahu, is arguably the most significant proponent of the Iwirakau style. Jahnke describes him as “the Raharuhi Rukupo of the Ngati Porou area.”⁴⁶¹ Though not as prolific as his nephew, Hone Ngatoto, the projects he was associated with represent the hallmarks of Waiapu design. His career spanned 30 years, from the 1860s to the late 1890s and all projects except one were firmly located in the Waiapu Valley. He is associated with:

- Maui Tikitiki a Taranga (1860s),
- Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa (pre-1865 - 1874) and another carving in the Royal Danish Museum, Copenhagen (I1673) which may be from the same house.
- Te Poho o Te Aotawarirangi (c1870),
- Te Poho o Materoa (c1870),
- Kapohanga (c1880),
- Rauru Nui a Toi (1882)
- Hinetapora (1882-6).
- Carvings for Karaitiana Takamoana (1870s) including those in
 - American Museum of Natural History (80.0.4108)
 - Berkeley (11.2252),
 - British Museum (1922.5-12.1.11),
 - Musee de Tahiti, Tahiti

⁴⁶¹ “Matariki Lecture,” Napier, 30 June 2007.

- National Museum of Scotland (1939.164)
- Otago Museum (D10.1, D31.1344, D88.42, E31.304, E301.305),
- Peabody Essex Museum, Salem (20-49-70/D1348)
- Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (HB 1548)
- St Louis Museum, St Louis
- Carvings unattributed to any specific house
 - Gisborne Museum (1999.34, 55-780, epa pair 63/2268, 63/2308)
 - Te Papa Tongarewa (ME2590, 8199 (**Fig. 45**), 8195,⁴⁶² 8200, 1893).

Little is known of Taahu's biography. He belonged either to Ngati Uepohatu (Mead) or to Te Whanau-a-Umuariki (as identified by Wi Tahata, Waiapu MB No. 1), or perhaps both. Taahu began his career as a carver in the 1860s⁴⁶³ and received regular commissions from the 1860s through to the 1880s. For the most part, he worked as part of a pair, if not a team, usually as the leader. He worked with his nephew Ngatoto on four projects, with Ngakaho on two, and with Pakerau on two. He also led two of the large group enterprises during the 1880s; he worked with Te Kihirini, Ngatoto and Pakerau on Rauru Nui a Toi, and with Ngatoto as well as newer carvers Wi Tahata, Wi Haereroa and Hone Te Wehi on Hinetapora. It may have been that after working by himself on Maui Tikitiki a Taranga he realised that it was easier to have someone else to work with. Certainly, for his second house project he initiated Ngatoto into the intricacies of carving as his apprentice, as he did with Ngakaho a decade later. It may have also been that as carving was not his full-time occupation he needed someone with whom to complete the project. His *modus operandi* suggests that it was a mixture of both professional and personal pressures on his time that would have led to this collaboration. The result of this was that he was able to work on a number of major projects both in and out of the Valley.

⁴⁶² Of this carving Jahnke notes that the blocking out is pure Taahu, yet the surface decoration suggests the hand of Ngatai.

⁴⁶³ Neich adds three other projects to Taahu's resume: Porourangi (1878-88), Te Aotahi at Hick's Bay (1889) and the Omaha Storehouse (date unknown).

Taahu's style is distinct as Jahnke has noted,

- An interest in asymmetry, particularly his early ones. As Jahnke comments in relation to a carving in Berkeley (11.2251), “asymmetry appears as a signature approach to pattern application”;
- Use of a band of whakarare to distinguish the limbs;
- Use of a double-ridged haehae;
- “Unpredictability” of the number of haehae and symmetry;⁴⁶⁴
- Use of the ‘the Iwirakau spiral’ which are a co-ordination of haehae and pakati notches;
- A frieze of alternating manaia and crescents down the edges of some of his carvings.

The house Maui Tikitiki a Taranga was one of the earliest fully carved meeting houses on the East Coast. Based on Paerauta Marae in Maungahauini Valley, the house was used from the mid-1860s⁴⁶⁵ though it is no longer standing; the carvings and kowhaiwhai are distributed between Auckland Museum (13 heke, one pare and four poupou), Tai Rawhiti Museum (one tahu, two raparapa and one amo) and the O’Kain’s Bay Private Museum (several heke). For this project he brought in Ngatoto, a working relationship that would span from this, his first house, to Hinetapora, his last.

One of Taahu's key traits in the poupou of Maui is a distinctive frieze comprised of manaia around the vertical edges of the panel (**Fig. 46**). There is the hand through the mouth positioning, as well as the placement of the hand of the lower figure on one poupou (AM.45992) which grabs the left leg of the upper figure, making the composition vibrant and active. The tongues are treated in a variety of ways: on one poupou (AM.45991) there is a series of haehae on either side of the mouth, while the bottom figure's tongue is v-shaped. The shoulder spirals are replaced by a complex series of whakarare, which is extended on the lower figure to dominate the entire leg region.

⁴⁶⁴ Jahnke, “He Tataitanga,” 170.

⁴⁶⁵ It was later renovated by Pakerau in 1913 when it was relocated to Hikuwai.

Work on Maui Tikitiki a Taranga set a precedent that was regularly followed by Taahu on most subsequent houses. It seems that in this house he worked out a formula in relation to the treatment of space and positioning of the major carvings that was acceptable to both him and his patrons. His work on Maui could be seen as experimental, in that there are no known earlier works, and thus his design of the carvings were untested and new. When he received subsequent commissions, this confirmed for him that his work was acceptable.

One of these new commissions came from Henare Potae, one of the major chiefs at Tokomaru Bay. Some time between 1860 and 1865 Potae approached Taahu to carve a new whare and work began. However, with the outbreak of trouble associated with Pai Marire along the East Coast in 1865 the carvings were put in storage. By the end of that decade, life had settled down and Taahu was able to benefit from a renewed interest in architecture by communities. Two houses opened around 1870, both carved by Taahu: Te Poho o Materoa at Whareponga,⁴⁶⁶ and Te Poho o Te Aotawarirangi which formerly stood on Te Ariuru Marae at Waima in Tokomaru Bay (**Fig. 47**). There are similarities in both houses, suggesting that Taahu took the lead of the pair of carvers in each house, for Materoa he worked with Pakerau, and for Te Ao he worked with Ngatoto. This latter house was commissioned by Te Whanau O Te Ao hapu to commemorate their ancestress, Te Aotawarirangi.⁴⁶⁷ The amo each have two serpentine figures that have whakarare surface patterning down their lengths. The bodies are split by a band of whakarare which runs across the chest. One arm is shortened in touching the face, but the other is extended onto the chest, and a band similar to that on the chest divides the composition half way.

The raparapa on Te Poho o Te Aotawarirangi are characteristic of Taahu's style,⁴⁶⁸ particularly in comparison with that on Maui Tikitiki a Taranga. This begins with a figure that faces up the maihi, which is attached to a large face with a broad mouth

⁴⁶⁶ Not to be confused with Te Poho o Materoa at Awapuni. There is some link between the two though, as some maintain that carvers from Waipiro Bay came to help on the project – could this be Taahu and Pakerau possibly.

⁴⁶⁷ The pane of this house was carved by Hoani Ngatai and is currently in Gisborne Museum (64-2338-A). Jahnke also suggests that Pakerau had a hand in the house.

⁴⁶⁸ Even though Ngatoto worked with his uncle on this house, he was an apprentice on all accounts, as this was his first house and he would have been learning and following the style of his uncle.

complete with teeth. This mouth is a void to accommodate the top of the amo. There are three ‘fingers’ of banded rauponga between which are a series of manaia faces pointing towards the end with no space in-between. At the terminal of the raparapa is an unadorned full figure shown in side profile facing out.

By the time Potae sold his carvings in January 1873 Taahu had a growing reputation as a carver. The entire year of 1874 was spent with Tamati Ngakaho in Christchurch completing new carvings, kowhaiwhai and figurative painted panels. The patronage of this house named Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa is discussed more fully in the next chapter. The project allowed Taahu to extend his oeuvre in a number of ways. One of these was the use of text. Though Rukupo had used this technique in his meeting house Te Hau ki Turanga some twenty years before, Taahu’s inscribing of the carved body with text in Hau Te Ana Nui is the first known use by Iwirakau carvers (**Fig. 48**). Whether these were the names of ancestors or contemporaries are unknown as it is difficult to identify specific names. Certainly the only other house to use text around the 1870s was Ruatēpūke II (see later in this chapter). Carvers used text as a mode of communication to an increasingly literate community. In doing so it signalled devolution of power to interpret carvings away from kaikorero (speakers) to the common person.

Another innovation introduced by Taahu in Hau Te Ana Nui was the inclusion of European weaponry, especially in the porch carvings (**Fig. 49**). These carvings were almost certainly made in Christchurch and are included as a reference to military troubles on the East Coast in 1865 which caused the original house project to be put on hold.⁴⁶⁹ They are very detailed and show an intimate knowledge of the types of weapons as well as associated paraphernalia, such as cartouches and ammunition belts.

Taahu also began using animal imagery in Hau Te Ana Nui (**Fig. 50**). These were primarily black ngarara. Whilst animal imagery was fairly common in Maori art - lizards were carved on a range of items from poupou to koruru and waka huia – it was not known on any earlier Iwirakau carving. The most recent use of a reptile was back in 1841 with the poutokomanawa in Rangitukia II chapel depicting Moses lifting up the

⁴⁶⁹ Pers. Comm., Roger Fyfe, Canterbury Museum, August 2009.

serpent. However, a renovation of the chapel in the mid-1850s removed this innovative feature. The purpose of Taahu's use of the lizard form here was most likely as another reminder of the recent military troubles on the East Coast.

On the kowhaiwhai Taahu again shows flair. Firstly there is the introduction of blue paint, applied to areas normally coloured black. When questioned about his colour choice – his patrons were a little concerned that it was not 'authentic' – Taahu replied with not only the name of the pigment (tutaewhetu) but also its mode of manufacture (it was made from mud from the banks of the Waiapu River). The kowhaiwhai is also remarkable for the introduction of patterns not normally associated with customary kowhaiwhai, which act as space fillers (**Fig. 51**). In addition, on these heke he frequently outlines the white koru with red dots (**Fig. 52**). Lastly, Taahu innovates on the maihi, where he has painted large white swirling wave-like motifs along the lowest horizontal third of the normally plain boards (**Fig. 53**). This is no doubt to reference Tangaroa, God of the Sea, after whom the house was named. Above the 'waves' is a slightly narrower band of geometric patterns possibly inspired by taniko.⁴⁷⁰

But probably the most unusual innovation introduced by Taahu in Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa is the figurative painting on the heke tipi (**Fig. 54**). He was unique in painting them given two factors: firstly that there was, as far as is known, only one other precedent for figurative painting – Rangitukia II (opened 1841) with its depiction of William Williams preaching. Secondly, the patrons of Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa were Pakeha museum men reluctant to embrace innovation in Maori art. Taahu may have felt able to experiment in this way because a knowledgeable community was not around to criticise. Taahu was more of an innovator than he has been given credit for, constrained only by prevailing ideas of carving held by patrons and communities alike. For these reasons, Taahu's painting here must be considered revolutionary, though he was not to repeat this style of painting again, indicating that its use in the meeting house was specific to the place and time where it made.

⁴⁷⁰ These bear a close relationship to a set of painted heke which are also geometric which date to the 1870s and 1880s. These were originally part of a house in Tolaga Bay in the 1870s and 1880s.

Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa is significant in Taahu's oeuvre in that it allowed him to trial a number of different traits which he would later replicate in other meeting houses. Text, guns, blue paint and lizards were peculiarities of his style. The figurative painting is quite different from any other form either earlier or later. The use of red, white and black, as well as blue pigment was continued on other houses, and would become a characteristic of Taahu's later style such as Rauru Nui a Toi. Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa can be seen then as a turning point in Taahu's career, a meeting house in which he was able to try out a number of new ideas which he would repeat once back on the East Coast in subsequent commissions.

Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa was not the only meeting house carved by Hone Taahu for a patron outside his tribal area. Some time during the late 1860s or very early 1870s Taahu was approached by wealthy Ngati Kahungunu chief Karaitiana Takamoana (**Fig. 55**) to carve a new large meeting house to be constructed at Pakowhai Pa at Heretaunga. At least 60 carvings were completed for the house, by Taahu as well as Hoani Ngatai, including at least 46 poupou, a poutuarongo, one poutokomanawa, one raparapa, the internal rear heke tipi as well as two unusual double-sided tall amo. Taahu's reputation must have been extensive to attract the attentions of such a patron. Rose Mohi, Karaitiana's great-great-grand-daughter, believes that when Karaitiana married his third wife, Peti Aata of Ngati Porou, she brought with her a group of Ngati Porou carvers.⁴⁷¹ It seems that Taahu and Ngatai may have been part of this retinue - certainly, Taahu was not adverse to travelling for work as evidenced by his work in Christchurch.

When Takamoana died in 1879 the house was not finished and his whanau retained those carvings which had been completed. Some time in the late 1880s sixty of them were installed as a meeting house for the 1888-9 South Seas Exhibition in Dunedin. The subsequent history is entangled; the various stories are outlined in Appendix 2. The majority of carvings are now in Otago Museum, with others found in 26 museums both in New Zealand, but mostly overseas, as well as several private collections.

Taahu's work in Karaitiana's house (**Fig. 56**) demonstrates his interest in both serpentine and square body shapes, the dominance of rauponga over the entire body, the

⁴⁷¹ Interview, June 2005.

representation of three-dimensional bodies depicted in two-dimensional space (e.g. the hand through the mouth), the border frieze of manaia, and his interest in tongues. His significance as a carver is evident with his style of poutokomanawa in particular (**Fig. 57**). Here the male figure is shown in an almost identical style to another poutokomanawa, this time in Auckland Museum. Usually identified as Iwirakau and provenanced to the 17th or 18th centuries, the strong stylistic relationship with Taahu's pou for Karaitiana brings this history into question. Could they both be by Taahu? And even, could it be from this house, rather than Pokai meeting house, as the registration cards in Auckland Museum and oral histories have attested? There are differences between the two: the shaping of the hands is much more complex on the Auckland pou, and there is in general more finesse about the body. However, the shaping of the head, the intricacy of the moko, the overall body positioning and the type of feet suggest that either Taahu carved both, or that he had access to the carving as his template. The likenesses between them are too similar to be ignored.

Compared to his work on Hau Te Ana Nui, Taahu was relatively restrained on this house in that there were few innovations included, but rather a set 'type' was created which giving him time to finish all the pou pou rather than rushing through the work (several Hau Te Ana Nui pou are unfinished). For Karaitiana's works, the manaia frieze is employed on many of the pou pou (**Fig. 58**). Lizards appear on at least two of the carvings (both in Otago Museum), but there is no text and no guns. In addition, no kowhaiwhai is associated with this house possibly because Taahu and Ngatai were commissioned solely for the carved work.

Upon Taahu's completion of the Karaitiana job, he was inundated with new commissions. At Hiruharama, Te Whanau-a-Te-Aowera approached Taahu to build them a carved meeting house. This time he chose Ngatoto to work with, rather than Ngakaho. Perhaps Ngakaho had had enough of carving for the meantime and wanted to do something else – certainly his work on Porourangi was not imminent (he would begin this in 1878). On Kapohanga can be traced direct links from Taahu's work for Karaitiana. For instance, the composition of the epa in Otago Museum and the amo on Kapohanga are virtually identical (**Fig. 59**) with the curvilinear figures, the top one with its face in profile. Jahnke believes that this is a "standard epa compositional format for

the Iwirakau style.”⁴⁷² It demonstrates the way in which a carver would have a set number of compositions in their repertoire, which once tried and tested would be used again and again.

Shortly after the opening of Kapohanga c1880, Taahu started another project – the meeting house Rauru Nui a Toi (opened 1882) (**Fig. 60**). For this he called on other carvers with whom he had worked with before and who were becoming prominent in their own right – Pakerau, Ngatoto and Ngakaho.⁴⁷³ He also called upon the services of Te Kihirini who, with Ngakaho, was busy on the Porourangi carvings. The raparapa and amo of Rauru are very similar stylistically to Hinetapora (carved 1882-6) (**Fig. 61**) because Taahu was in charge of both projects, possibly simultaneously. The pare is distinctive in Rauru (**Fig. 62**), and carries over the style used by Taahu on Hau Te Ana Nui, particularly with the background decoration where takarangi spirals which usually adorn pare have been straightened out to create a geometric pattern instead.

Taahu’s next team project was for his own hapu with the building of the house Hinetapora (opened 1886),⁴⁷⁴ which involved the largest team to assemble for any meeting house project on the East Coast during the 19th century: Ngatoto, Wi Tahata, Wi Haereroa and Hone Te Wehi.⁴⁷⁵ Whilst Ngatoto was a master carver in his own right by now, the other three were virtually unknown, and assisted probably because they were the chiefs of commissioning hapu, Te Whanau-a-Uepohatu.

Some of the unique features of Hinetapora were outlined by Phillipps, such as the use of fluted boards instead of kakaho, the depiction of the Star of Bethlehem in the centre of the pare, and the inclusion of a flag pole above the koruru. He also talks of the style of the carving: the maihi and paepae have complex human and manaia figures, the amo fit under the maihi, the use of straight-line rauponga on them, the presence of four ‘fingers’

⁴⁷² Thanks for Robert Jahnke for advising me of this.

⁴⁷³ Robert Jahnke, email, 11.4.06. Neich believes only Taahu worked on this house (*Painted Histories*, 271).

⁴⁷⁴ While it was carved from 1882-6, the year 1896 is recorded for its opening, a delay probably brought about perhaps by a lack of momentum, or a need to stockpile food and goods for the expensive opening ceremony.

⁴⁷⁵ Ngata suggests that the style of the house is similar to Porourangi on the grounds that both jobs employing Taahu, though this is the only mention of Taahu in association with Porourangi.

on the raparapa, and the representation of two figures on each amo. Phillipps attributes some of these traits to what he calls ‘the No. 4 School (Tolaga Bay)’ recognisable because of the square shoulders on the figures, the oblong bodies and straight-line rauponga. He also cites the way in which the figures end with a manaia foot. Taahu’s style is easily recognised in Hinetaora in the painted waist-high boards between the poupou as well as the style of the raparapa which compare with his earlier styles of raparapa, with the shaping of the end of the panel, the use of manaia bands between the ‘fingers’, the whakarare surface decoration on the ‘fingers’ and the wide mouth to be placed above the amo (**Fig. 63**).

The last house Taahu was associated with was Umuariki at Manutahi Marae around 1890 (**Fig. 64**). The treatment of the raparapa alone indicates that Taahu was involved with the upward-facing side-profile face complete with teeth that have been picked out in white paint for effect. Below there are three bands of whakarare similar to his work on Rauru, with manaia beaks packed in between. The inclusion of paua as the manaia eyes gives the effect of a double series of eyes along the length.

Taahu’s reputation as one of the great Iwirakau carvers comes not only from his involvement in a range of projects, but, more significantly, in his training of the next generation of carvers. In this way, he is unique amongst the other master carvers, as he assured Ngati Porou of a fresh batch of artists being trained and guided with care by him.

Hone Ngatoto (Ngati Horowai, Te Whanau a Ruataupare, Te Whanau-a-Te-Ao, c1850-1928).

Productive as Taahu was, he was outstripped by his nephew Ngatoto, undoubtedly the most prolific carver on the East Coast in the 19th century, whose career spanned from 1870 to 1925. Ngatoto was involved in at least 14 projects, ranging from meeting houses to a church to a study in a private residence. As the protégé of Hone Taahu, the grandson of Poukawa, and a descendent of Iwirakau, his lineage showed a dispensation towards carving though little is known of Ngatoto’s biography apart from his hapu

affiliation, which he identified in 1908 as Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare and Te Whanau-a-te-Aotawarirangi.

Ngatoto carved half the time as part of a team, and half the time on solo projects. He was familiar with the style of the other five Ngati Porou master carvers, as at one time or another he worked with all of them. Projects he was associated with are:

- Te Poho-o-Te-Aotawarirangi (c1870) working his uncle Taahu
- Kapohanga (c1880) working his uncle Taahu
- Iritekura II (1880)
- Rauru Nui a Toi (c1882) working his uncle Taahu, as well as Te Kihirini and Riwai Pakerau
- Te Kani a Takirau (1880)
- Hinetapora (1882-6) working his uncle Taahu, as well as Wi Tahata, Wi Haereroa and Hone Te Wehi
- Hinerupe (1880s)
- O Hine Waiapu (1883) with Hoani Ngatai and Mohi Turei. Two carvings in Auckland Museum (AM.712 and AM.713) seem stylistically from this house. Alternately, they may be from the house Tai Rawhiti carved a few years later.
- Rongomaianiwaniwa (1890s),
- Tai Rawhiti (1890s).
- ‘Te Ao Hou’, Ngata’s study inside The Bungalow (1916)
- Hinekorako
- St Mary’s Church (1925-6).
- He also completed some of the carvings for commissioned by Karaitiana Takamoana.
- Carvings in Ngatoto’s style which are at this stage unattributed to a meeting house:
 - Gisborne Museum 59/1823;
 - Museum of New Zealand ME.954.

Ngatoto was initiated into carving by his uncle Taahu who had been commissioned to carve their own meeting house, Te Poho-o-Te-Aotawarirangi at Tokomaru Bay in the 1860s. Ngatoto was probably a young man in his early 20s at this stage - he is described as being an old man when he worked on St Mary's Church in the mid-1920s. Jahnke notes the similarity between the scalloped tongue on the amo of this house and its use on the paepae of Hinetaora. The raparapa also shows a distinct relationship with the raparapa on the house Rauru Nui a Toi.⁴⁷⁶ This would be Taahu's first protégé, choosing his initiate from his own hapu to work on their own meeting house.

Over time, Ngatoto's style becomes distinct. McEwan describes the carvings by Pine Taiapa based on Ngatoto's style in the Waitangi Centennial House as,

... remarkable for their vitality. The head of the upper figure has a fierce, "alive" look produced by the steep brows and the mouth drawn up on each side, with numerous teeth and a tongue which does not protrude. The body of the figure is elongated to form one of the legs. The arms should be particularly observed – each one is really a manaia figure with its mouth shown as biting the neck of the figure. The arrangement of the hands, with one grasping the lower jaw and the other on the chest, is common in Maori carving and serves to enlighten the figure. The feet are formed by a series of loops. The lower figure shows another typical Ngati-Porou style of the grotesque head with rounded brows. The arrangement of the arms differs from that of the upper figure, one hand curving below the thigh and grasping the lower part of the leg. The borders running the full length of the slab consist of circular eyes interspersed with manaia heads.⁴⁷⁷

During the 1870s Ngatoto had regular work with his uncle but increasingly received solo commissions. With some of these he would bring in locals to help. For the house O Hine Waiapu at the mouth of the Waiapu River (**Fig. 65**), Ngatoto was approached by Te Whanau-a-Takimoana and Te Whanau-a-Hunaara to build them a new meeting house. Two men arrived to help – the Rev. Mohi Turei was a well-known figure in the area but not known to have had any carving experience. On the other hand, Hoani Ngatai had carved or was carving Ruatēpupuke II for Tokomaru Bay around this time. Turei and Ngatai both have whakapapa links to the land, a link that would have made them first choices of who to bring into the carving team.

⁴⁷⁶ My thanks to Robert Jahnke for pointing this out.

⁴⁷⁷ McEwan, "The Waitangi Carved House."

Two dates are associated with O Hine Waiapu possibly because of its traumatic history. The first date is that of 1870 when Ngata and Mataira suggest the house was begun.⁴⁷⁸ However, once it was completed, there was a dispute between two of the resident hapu resulting in the house being split and half the house relocated to its present site. This left the house incomplete, and there is a suggestion that Ngatoto was brought back to reorganise the remaining carvings into a new house, and carve new works to complete the whole house (**Fig. 66**). This would have been some time in the early 1880s based on oral accounts - Tawhai writes that the house was opened in 1883, whilst Ngata and Mataira provide the date of 1885. As outlined in Appendix 2 it is argued that carvings from the 'lost' half house currently reside in Auckland Museum, including the pare (**Fig. 67**), tahuhu (**Fig. 68**), poutokomanawa (**Fig. 69**), and several poupou (**Fig. 70**).

It was Ngatoto's solo commissions that sealed his reputation as a master carver. It appears that Henare Potae commissioned two meeting houses in the early 1860s, both for Tokomaru Bay, one from Hone Taahu (Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa) and another from Hone Ngatoto (resulting in Te Kani a Takirau). These were probably commissioned to mark Potae's appointment as an Assessor under the Runanga System in 1862. Both building projects were put on hold due to political instability in the mid-1860s, but were continued later that decade or in the 1870s. It is curious that Potae would initiate two new meeting houses from different carvers, particularly given the fact that the artists were so closely related. As Taahu's reputation was well known at this stage, perhaps he continued with Hau Te Ana and left Ngatoto in charge of the second house. Nonetheless, only Ngatoto's name is known in association with Te Kani a Takirau today.

It was probably in 1869 when Potae was promoted to the position of Chief Assessor with an increased salary that he decided to re-assess the projects under construction. In January 1873 he sold the carvings that Taahu had been working on for £200 (four times his annual salary), which must have enabled him financially to complete the second project, the meeting house named as Te Kani a Takirau. For this second house Patara

⁴⁷⁸ Ngata and Mataira, *Taura Tangata*, 12.

Rangi is named as the builder.⁴⁷⁹ The identity of those depicted in the house were commemorated in a haka named *Paikea* which was composed for the opening in 1880 and led by Wi Pewhairangi,⁴⁸⁰

<i>Uia mai koia</i>	<i>Ask me</i>
<i>Whakahuatia ake</i>	<i>To name</i>
<i>Ko wai te whare nei e?</i>	<i>This house?</i>
<i>Ko Te Kani!</i>	<i>It is Te Kani!</i>
<i>Ko wai te tekoteko kai runga?</i>	<i>Who is the carved figure up there?</i>
<i>Ko Paikea! Ko Paikea!</i>	<i>It is Paikea! Paikea!</i>
<i>Whakakau Paikea</i>	<i>Paikea swam</i>
<i>Whakakau te tipua</i>	<i>The sea god swam</i>
<i>Whakakau te taniwha e</i>	<i>The taniwha swam</i>
<i>Ka u Paikea</i>	<i>And Paikea landed</i>
<i>Ki Ahuahu – pakia!</i>	<i>At Ahuahu</i>
<i>Kei te whitia koe</i>	<i>You changed</i>
<i>Ko Kahutia-te-rangi!</i>	<i>Into Kahutia-te-rangi!</i>
<i>E ai to ure,</i>	<i>And copulated</i>
<i>Ki te tamahine</i>	<i>With the daughter</i>
<i>A Te Whironui!</i>	<i>Of Te Whironui!</i>
<i>Nana I noho</i>	<i>Who sat</i>
<i>I roto whare</i>	<i>In the house</i>

⁴⁷⁹ Mackay in 1945 pencilled in the date 1880 on his own copy of Phillipps' article as he had found a newspaper naming Patara Rangi as the chief was still alive then. In March 1875, Rangi was one of a group of chiefs who sold land at Uawa for £250 to the Crown. He may have lived longer than this though - the sheep returns for 1887-8 record that Rangi had a flock at Te Karaka, Tolaga Bay. There was a power struggle between Rangi and Te Kani, stemming from an incident in the 1840s where Te Kani had begun a relationship with Rangi's wife Papararangi (see Baker's Journal noted in Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay*, 170, and Waiapu MB 8, 76).

⁴⁸⁰ Pewhairangi had his own meeting house at Tokomaru Bay called Rerekohu (Melpham, *The Story of Te Hono ki Rarotonga*, 1).

Aue! Aue!

Alas! Alas!

He koruru koe, koro e!

You are a carved face on a house,

old man!

The name of the house is given as Te Kani and figure on the tekoteko is identified as Paikea. This provides a distinct link from Paikea, the ancestor who travelled from Hawaiki to the East Coast, through to Te Kani, referring to Te Kani a Takirau, the Aitanga-a-Hauiti chief and grandson of the ariki Hinematiaro, who died in 1856. The house enabled a multitude of tribal lineages to come together under the mantle of Paikea, an ancestor to whom most people on the East Coast could whakapapa to. There are conflicting stories about what became of the meeting house – some of these are outlined in Appendix 2. It is now only a memory, but an important one nonetheless.

The 1880s was one of the busiest periods for Ngatoto with six simultaneous projects. He worked on half the projects with his uncle Taahu, most likely as companion carvers, although his uncle retained an important role as mentor. By himself Ngatoto carved meeting houses at settlements in Waipiro Bay (Iritekura I), and Te Araroa (Hinerupe). On the former (opened 1880) the carvings are limited to the porch, probably due to the cost as well as the availability of the carver. In contrast, Hinerupe (opened the same year) was fully decorated in a style described by Ngatoto's own student Pine Taiapa,

The style is that of the Hone Taahu school, Whanau-a-Hinetapora, of which Hone Ngatoto was a pupil. Two distinct patterns are incorporated, the Taowara [sic] and the Manaia. Hone Ngatoto is noted for his completeness in surface decoration, every inch of the figure being covered with intricate designs. His work does not vary to any great degree hence it is easily recognisable wherever found on the East Coast.⁴⁸¹

Ngatoto's work on Hinerupe set a new benchmark for the Coast due to the completeness of the decoration and size of the carvings (**Fig. 71**). There were twelve pairs of carvings on the inside which were taller than usual, measuring 2.1 metres tall. There was also extensive kowhaiwhai and tukutuku. In the mouth of the koruru was a lizard, which was said to represent Tuatara, the lands held by Hinerupe. Ngatoto regularly represented animals in his work, from the lizard and tuatara (on the maihi) to monkeys and dogs in

⁴⁸¹ Taiapa, "The ancestress Hinerupe."

Rongomaianiwaniwa. There are suggestions that the carvings and tukutuku on Hinerupe were incomplete though – when the house was renovated in the 1930s this included “completion of the unfinished carvings and tukutuku from the original Hinerupe.”⁴⁸² The house burnt down in April 1996 (**Fig. 72**) and has since been completely rebuilt.

In the 1890s Ngatoto was involved in three projects. At Tuparoa, Ngatoto worked with Riwai Pakerau on the house Ruataupare that opened in either 1882 or 1890. He was probably handpicked for this position as it was commissioned by his own hapu, Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare, together with the hapu Ngati Uepohatu. Ngatoto had earlier worked with Pakerau on Rauru Nui a Toi (opened 1882) and both were at the height of their careers and keen to undertake work at a time when commissions were becoming scarce because most communities had fairly new meeting houses.

Ngatoto’s last major meeting house project was Rongomaianiwaniwa on Te Rahui Marae at Tikitiki. Apirana Ngata wrote about the similarity in Ngatoto’s carving style from Te Poho-o-te-Aotawarirangi, Iritekura I and Kapohanga through to the present house. Rongomaianiwaniwa was unusual in many respects. The maihi carvings were an interpretation of stories about the British Empire and included monkeys and dogs as previously mentioned. The new was juxtaposed with the old. Whakapapa remained a crucial theme in the house. The wharenuī was named after the daughter of Porourangi, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe Ngati Porou. On the koruru was Pokai, whilst on the amo a set of four siblings (Hinepare, Huaanga, Putaanga and Rakaimataura), children of Te Ao Kairau and Tamataua, who together had mana whenua from the coast through to the hinterland. In this way, Ngatoto was explaining the ancestors of the local communities who would use the meeting house.

Ngatoto identified each sibling by carving their names on their chests, a practice he may have learned from other carvers he had worked with. Taahu had used it on Hau Te Ana

⁴⁸² R. N. McConnell, *Nga Konohi o Rongomaitapui raua ko Hinerupe: The Faces of Rongomaitapui and Hinerupe: A Book of Identity and Remembering* (Te Araroa: Hinerupe Restoration Fund, 1993), 29. When the house was renovated in 1937-8 twenty-four carvings were sent to Rotorua to be restored by a team led by Pine Taiapa with a new dining hall being built at the same time, and opened in April 1938. The poutahu and tahuu which were painted were replaced at this time by carvings upon the suggestion of Dick Wills who thought it would look better. Existing carvings on the maihi and amo were untouched.

o Tangaroa, whilst Hoani Ngatai had carved names on some of his figures in Ruatēpupuke II. This would be the first time Ngatoto had used text however, and by placing it on the front of the house he made an explicit statement about modernity, engaging his audience who were now almost all literate.

Ngatoto's amo are also significant because he has represented the human figures naturalistically (**Fig. 73**), in a mode usually seen on the tekoteko (such as Ngakaho's depiction of the ancestor Tuterangiwhiu on Porourangi) or poutokomanawa (such as Ngatoto's own work in Hinerupe). The hairstyles are contemporary, acknowledging again the importance of modern ways of living and recording current fashions. There is one human figure depicted by Ngatoto on the maihi. On the left raparapa sits a male figure who holds a dog's tail. He is dressed in a black suit jacket with a sad expression looking directly out to visitors. Such forms on the maihi had no precedent on the East Coast and as such Ngatoto was experimenting with a new style, most likely because of the overall kaupapa of the house, comparing the old (whakapapa) with the new (ideas of other cultures). Ngatoto's work on the front of the house acknowledges a changing world - one where rangatahi (youth) were engaging with the outside world, and reinvigorating the area with new ideas upon their return.

Further inside the porch, Ngatoto painted the side poupou with sinuous figures, as discussed in the last chapter (**Fig. 74**). Neich has identified this as a style unique to Ngatoto and can be seen on this house as well as another project of his, St Mary's Church (1925-6), as well as Hinetamatea (c1900) whose style of the figurative painting strongly suggests the involvement of Ngatoto. Further evidence is based on dates - Rongomaianiwaniwa was completed in the 1890s, and Hinetamatea opened c1900, giving Ngatoto time to put his hand to new work. Neich notes that the latter house was "the southern expression" of Ngatoto's style, which he names in his taxonomy of figurative painting, as "Tradition P: Ngati Porou-style contorted figures."⁴⁸³ He notes the strong visual relationship also with the meeting house Rongopai, one of the pivotal wharehenui built for Te Kooti, though the influence of Tradition P seems to have only

⁴⁸³ Neich, *Painted Histories*, 208.

been one way, as Neich considers, “Tradition P never spread beyond the Ngati Porou tribal area.”⁴⁸⁴

With his figurative painting, Ngatoto was breaking with a tradition of the local area that dictated that poupou and epa be carved. Carving was considered to be the most appropriate media through which to communicate ideas of whakapapa. It is highly likely that Ngatoto had heard, if not seen in newspapers, the type of decoration being promoted by Te Kooti. As an artist open to new ideas, and given the brief (in Rongomaianiwaniwa) to encapsulate ideas of progress, it is perhaps not surprising that Ngatoto chose to use a new mode of representation in the house. That it was accepted by the local community is testament to Ngatoto’s mana by this stage, as he had been working steadily for the past 20 years.

Ngatoto probably considered himself a retiree when Apirana Ngata approached him in 1916 to decorate his personal study (**Fig. 75**).⁴⁸⁵ Certainly as Ngata later wrote to his friend Sir Peter Buck in 1935,⁴⁸⁶ his age was an issue, “He lived long enough to put the flattish work into the Tikitiki Church and Hinerupe house at Te Araroa (the latter is unfinished as yet).” Ngata’s study gave Ngatoto a chance to pick up the chisel once more, and apply his style to a new venue; a minimum of innovation was requested in preference for his most classic style, featuring sinuous figures with hands through mouths, and bodies flowing into single legs. The carvings feature compacted figures with their wide mouths and bulbous tongues that by this time had become part of Ngatoto’s repertoire.

By the time Ngata began organising St Mary’s Church in Tikitiki (**Fig. 76**) in the early 1920s he knew Ngatoto was the only man for the job because he was the only one of the old carvers still living. Ngata was also keenly aware that Ngatoto was not getting any younger – indeed, the church opened in February 1926 and the old carver died in June 1928. This was the first and only church which Ngatoto worked on and at the time of its opening it was the most fully decorated church on the East Coast, comparable nationally

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁵ Except for his work on Hinekorako in 1910.

⁴⁸⁶ Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. III, 193.

only with Rangiatea over in Otaki (opened 1850, renovated 1949 under Ngata, burnt down October 1995).

In the Tikitiki church, Ngatoto was able to bring together all those traits that came to be a hallmark of his style – and by extension, the Iwirakau style too. Ecclesiastical architecture often leaves little room for major innovation, certainly in relation to the architectural structure, as Sundt has shown. There are different meanings, uses and symbolisms for each section of the building. As such, as will be discussed further in Chapter 7, Ngata as the primary architect did not contravene convention, choosing to follow a specific template promoted by Anglican church architects. However, he brought on board Ngatoto for a specific purpose – to apply Maori decoration to the church. Ngata had two agendas; firstly, to use the church as a showcase of Maori art, not only for local communities, but, more importantly, on a national stage. Behind this was Ngata's drive to re-invigorate Maori art – St Mary's would encapsulate all those ideas about Maori art which had, for a short time anyway, been dormant. Secondly, Ngata intended St Mary's as a war memorial, which could interest those sectors of the wider population disinterested in things Maori. Rather, a common ground would be the commemoration of fallen comrades.

Ngatoto had virtually no models on which to base his decorative schema in St Mary's. Whilst churches in the 1830s and 1840s were modestly carved, their replacements in the 1850s promoted kowhaiwhai and tukutuku primarily. Thus whilst Ngatoto was familiar with schemas of decoration to be used inside meeting houses, the treatment of space and time was very different inside a church. He chose five different forms of decoration: carving, tukutuku, kowhaiwhai, figurative painting and stained glass. As the master carver he was in charge of co-ordinating the entire plan into a unifying whole. He placed the kowhaiwhai (**Fig. 77**) on the heke on the ceiling, as well as the upper kaho paetara (battens) above the tukutuku panels. No two patterns were replicated on the heke - Ngata conceived the church to be a visual index of every known pattern in order to act as a place of reference for later artists.

For the tukutuku, Ngata placed himself in charge and chose eight 'standard' patterns that would embody the visual vocabulary of Ngati Porou, and thus, as with the kowhaiwhai, be an encyclopaedia for other artists. The patterns were kaokao, poutama,

purapura whetu, mumu, patiki, and Porourangi poutama. In addition to these seven, Ngata chose the Rotorua pattern roimata toroa (albatross tears) as the eighth pattern in order to acknowledge the kaupapa of the house as a memorial church and well as function as a token of thanks to the Te Arawa carvers and other artists who helped on the project.

The figurative painting (**Fig. 78**) was either done by Ngatoto or by an artist called Ringatu Poi, working under Ngatoto's direction.⁴⁸⁷ The use of a form of decoration closely associated with the Ringatu faith in a Mihinare (Maori Anglican) church must have upset some in the community. Only two generations before, men from the area had been part of a tribal contingent who sought out Te Kooti. Indeed, for Ngata it must have been a concession to Ngatoto as it was Ngata's own great-uncle, Wahawaha, who had led the contingent. Ngatoto did not choose any random pattern however, but rather those he had used in Rongomaianiwaniwa meeting house directly across the road. His purpose in doing so was to unite both structures under one visual umbrella. As such, and because of Ngatoto's reputation, Ngata allowed the decoration into St Mary's.

The stained glass is on four elongated windows on the left hand side of the church from the entrance, and three on the right (the fourth being replaced by a commemoration panel naming all the fallen soldiers from the area) (**Fig. 79**). In the apse are two narrow windows on the left hand side, and one on the right, allowing focus to fall on the central large memorial panel above the altar (**Fig. 80**). This depicts, as befits the memorial kaupapa of the church, Christ in Cavalry, flanked on either side by two significant local men, and cousins, who both died as part of the Pioneer Battalion in World War I: Captain Pekama Kaa (killed in Belgium, 1917) and Lieutenant Henare Kohere (killed at the Battle of the Somme, 1916). At the back of the church is a set of three windows behind the baptismal font, with another set of three further up the wall.

In adding Maori patterns to the stained glass Ngatoto was drawing on a history of using stained glass as decoration in churches. The patterns were derived from kowhaiwhai - mangopare, kape rua, puhoro and poutama, and weve been applied as borders around

⁴⁸⁷ Poi would go on to work on Te Ao Kairau (c1935), Takitimu (1935), Iritekura (1936), Hinerupe (1936), Porourangi renovation (1938), Whitireia (1939), the Centennial Meeting House at Waitangi (1940), Rongomaitapui dining hall and the Taihoa dining hall before prematurely dying.

the windows. The curvilinear nature of kowhaiwhai has not hampered the final design, but has been carefully adjusted in light of the media on which it adorns. The patterns chosen represent important local styles, and symbolise genealogical ascent and descent (poutama pattern), warriorhood (mangopare pattern), and speed and dexterity (puhoro pattern). These all tie in with the kaupapa of the church, and would have been chosen by Ngatoto because of this, and out-sourced to glass-makers either in Gisborne or further afield.⁴⁸⁸

Ngatoto extended the Iwirakau style of carving in his work on St Mary's Church. Here he could re-visit the traits he used on Ngata's study such as the use of generic figures on the uprights (**Fig. 81**), as opposed to ancestors which was the norm in meeting houses, as befitted their kaupapa. These figures were applied by Ngatoto in both Ngata's study and St Mary's, in order perhaps to represent the people in general, rather than specifically-named persons. It is arguable whether Ngatoto transferred the symbolism of the wharenui to the church with its intimate association with a named ancestor. For example, in the meeting house much emphasis is placed on the depiction of ancestors on the poupou around the walls, as well as the poutokomanawa in the centre of the main space. In St Mary's there are neither of these forms but rather large panels decorated with tukutuku. Ngata and Ngatoto were well aware of their audience who would only consent to a certain amount of innovation. Transferring the decoration of the wharenui to the whare karakia acknowledged the status of carving by the congregation and its acceptance as part of the visual vocabulary of the area, whatever space it was in.

According to one source, Ngatoto foretold his own death. He was working in a lean-to one day when he saw the carver Rua Kaika's older cousin (tungane), a woman, collecting the wood chips; he asked how long she had been doing this and she replied that since the work began. Ngatoto knew that according to taha Maori, it was preordained that this would be his last job.⁴⁸⁹ His death was recorded by Ngata in a letter to Buck,⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁸ More details of the makers are not known as all the historical records and papers were stored in the church archives in Napier, which was destroyed in the 1931 earthquake.

⁴⁸⁹ Pers. Comm., Paul Weka, September 1998.

⁴⁹⁰ Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, I, 107.

I regret to advise the death of old Hone Ngatoto – the victim of pneumonic ‘flu. The grandson of Poukawa, a noted toa and man-eater, old Hone would have shone in the proper setting. He was a mine of information during spasmodic fits of mental honesty ... I let the old fellow ramble on by the fireside of winter nights and picked up much Tairawhiti history which I have checked from other sources. On songs and hakas he was good. He was the last of our carvers – the last man in NZ to use the straight blade chisel for all his work, some of it beautiful work in the detail.

Riwai Pakerau (Te Whanau-a-Rakairoa and Ngai Taharora, 1830-1930).

Riwai Pakerau was the fourth of the great six Iwirakau carvers of the 19th century. In trying to establish a biography of his work, Neich submitted that “There are still many gaps and a major contradiction in the recorded biography and art history of Riwai Pakerau, especially the dates of birth and death, the circumstances of his art training, and the details of his life.”⁴⁹¹ Pakerau was descended from both Iwirakau and Hingangaroa, and so had a strong lineage of carvers. He was born c1830 to Pakuahi Takapuhia and Harata Hineitungia, and was one of three children. Through his ancestor Koparehuia he was related to Hone Taahu and Hone Ngatoto.⁴⁹²

Pakerau’s personal life influenced his art career. In 1872 Te Kooti shot him at point blank range blinding him in one eye to settle a personal vendetta against Pakerau who had fought against him. Thereafter he was known as Riwai Kapo. In later life Pakerau practised spiritual healing as a Mihinare lay preacher, as his great-great-granddaughter Shelley Jahnke recounted, “He was affectionately known named ‘old blind man Riwai’ and would be seen being led round by his mokos.”⁴⁹³ Neich says that local oral histories also maintain that he gave up his artistic career after this time.⁴⁹⁴ As Neich concedes, this contradicts the dates for the meeting houses he was involved in.

Pakerau is known to have worked on at least seven meeting house projects:

⁴⁹¹ Neich, *Painted Histories*, 189.

⁴⁹² Jahnke, “He Tataitanga,” 167. Koparehuia was the child of Hinetaipora.

⁴⁹³ Shelley Jahnke, “Riwai Pakerau.”

⁴⁹⁴ “The emergence of the individual in Maori woodcarving,” 189.

- Ruakapanga (1880),
- Iritekura I (according to Neich) (1880)⁴⁹⁵ or Iritekura II (according to Jahnke) (1910)
- Ruataupare (1882),
- Te Poho o Materoa (1880s),
- Taharora (1889),
- Kuri (c1900), (also known as Okuri)
- Maui Tikitiki a Taranga II (1913): two raparapa and an epa (74/5-2 in Tai Rawhiti Museum), the pare and poupou (Auckland Museum).
- He also built St Abraham's Church also at Waipiro Bay.

He may have also been involved in:

- Te Poho o Te Aotawarirangi (c1870),
- Rauru Nui a Toi (1882) and
- Hinetapora (1883-96).⁴⁹⁶

Pakerau's working life spanned the late 1870s to 1913. The first house Pakerau worked on was the "now vanished"⁴⁹⁷ Ruakapanga I, commissioned by Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti chief Rutene Haukai and opened in 1880 (**Fig. 82**).⁴⁹⁸ For this project, Riwai worked with fellow Te Whanau-a-Rakairoa carver Hararaia (the only house he worked on), as

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid, 188; Jahnke, "He Tataitanga," 181.

⁴⁹⁶ These attributions are claimed by Robert Jahnke based on stylistic traits on some of the carvings in these houses which have the marks of Pakerau. However, as they are often minor features on larger carvings and do not appear on the majority of the carvings, it may just be that the carver was trying out a trait he had seen on another carver's work to see how it worked.

⁴⁹⁷ Neich, "The emergence of the individual," 189.

⁴⁹⁸ Laurie, *Tolaga Bay*, 140.

well as Koroniria, also of Waipiro Bay.⁴⁹⁹ As little is known of Hararaia and Koroniria's personal style, it is difficult to identify which of the carvings are by Pakerau. However, based on later work the figurative painting is attributed to him. This is the first house belonging to Neich's "Tradition S: Plants in Pots." Other houses in this Tradition are: Rongopai, Waituhi (1887), Tutamure, Omarumutu Marae, Opotiki (1901), and Irapuaia, Waioeka, also in Opotiki (1904).⁵⁰⁰ Neich also ascribes other figurative paintings in Ruakapanga I to "Tradition R: Trees and Foliage," examples of which can be also seen on the back wall of the porch of Te Tokanganui-a-Noho, Te Kuiti (1873).⁵⁰¹ In both houses the imagery was placed in the same site in the house.

In Ruakapanga I, Pakerau painted trees and foliage, figures engaged in various activities such as tree felling, as well as plants in pots (**Fig. 83**).⁵⁰² Reasons for including the foliage in the house are unknown by the communities today, though Neich suggests that possibly they tie in with Te Kooti's advocacy for the retention of land, and that specific types of plants chosen link in with "Ringatu thought." Alternatively, as Neich argues, "the plant paintings could perhaps have related them to the biblical symbolism of certain trees, especially in view of the frequent scriptural allusions in the teachings of Te Kooti."⁵⁰³ Certainly, painting foliage in meeting houses was a new invention, which became popular in some areas where there was strong support for Te Kooti. Using such designs, particularly on the exterior frontage of a meeting house, would signal to those coming onto the marae that this was no ordinary wharenuī, but one whose community was affiliated with Te Kooti. However, given the fact that oral history records that Pakerau "was blinded by a deliberate shot from Te Kooti"⁵⁰⁴ and also that he preached his own faith, it seems most unlikely that in Ruakapanga he was using such designs in

⁴⁹⁹ Phillipps, "Carved Maori Houses of the Eastern Districts," 109. By 1902 the house had been renovated with the maihi being replaced, but keeping the original tekoteko and amo. The house was further renovated in 1939 by Pine and Hone Taiapa who carved new amo, maihi and tekoteko (Laurie, *Tolaga Bay*, 140).

⁵⁰⁰ Neich, *Painted Histories*, 212.

⁵⁰¹ Neich lists other houses which were "earlier examples of Tradition R": Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga, Waipiro Bay (1901), Wahoterangi, Whangara (c1890), and Rongopai, Waituhi (1887) (Ibid, 211). He notes that by the mid-1880s such designs had moved "to the rafters and poupou of the interior of the house" (Ibid, 210-211).

⁵⁰² Ibid, 212, 216.

⁵⁰³ Ibid, 213.

⁵⁰⁴ Neich, "The emergence of the individual," 189.

support of the Ringatu Church. Rather an alternate reading might be that he was depicting the natural world as he knew it according to his faith-healing which was heavily dependent on the use of plants as medicine.

Figurative painting became a distinct part of Pakerau's oeuvre. He later included it on the lower portions of the heke of Iritekura II (1910) (**Fig. 84**) where there is a range of plants in green, red and black painted at the base of the heke. Three years later when working on Maui Tikitiki a Taranga (1913)⁵⁰⁵ he included text, such as people's names (eg 'Hone Paerata') and scripture (eg 'Christ is light of the world') as well as creating small paintings of trees and written messages.⁵⁰⁶ Pakerau also experimented with "the playful naturalistic scenes and plant foliage that he produced within the developing tradition of Ngati Porou figurative painting."⁵⁰⁷ Neich summarises that "it seems very likely that he was probably one of the major innovators of Maori figurative painting on the East Coast, perhaps even independently of the main centre of this development in Poverty Bay to the south."⁵⁰⁸

Pakerau's figurative painting was no doubt influenced or influential on his skills in kowhaiwhai. In the 1890s, Williams collected five designs which he attributed to Pakerau, and were published in Hamilton's *Maori Art* (**Fig. 85**). Though Williams neglected to record the names of the meeting houses the kowhaiwhai was sourced from, a photograph in Te Papa Tongarewa of Ruakapanga I shows a pattern similar enough for Neich to suggest that this house was the source of the pattern. Presumably the other four patterns (*Maori Art* patterns 12-15) were sourced from Pakerau's other houses from around the same period.

The 1880s would be Pakerau's busiest period and it is during this time that his carving style becomes distinct. Shelley Jahnke described it as "two-haehae rauponga structures, single rauponga spiral, central median through upper and lower lip, three fingered hand

⁵⁰⁵ Two of the old heke are now in Auckland Museum with pitau series kowhaiwhai in green and white in the upper portion, lower section has naturalistic painting of a tree with leaves of dark blue, green, red, light blue and black against a white background.

⁵⁰⁶ Jahnke, "Nga Tataitanga," 181.

⁵⁰⁷ Neich, 'The emergence of the individual in Maori woodcarving' 190.

⁵⁰⁸ Neich, *Painted Histories*, 198.

minus opposing thumbs, midrift belt designs, idiosyncratic manaia, niho taniwha pakati.”⁵⁰⁹ She continues,

The pakati are also niho taniwha. Others use tuara kiri. The mouths have a vertical line running straight down the middle of the top and bottom lip. The tahuhu [on Maui Tikitiki a Taranga] is different probably as it was carved in 1913 when Pakerau was partly blind. On the tahuhu he uses 3 haehae and 2 in the background, but his use again of the single spiral is noticeable.

Neich noted that Pakerau used a restricted range of motifs but “also display[ed] the greater freedom of unorthodox figures that was accepted at this later stage of Ngati Porou carving.”⁵¹⁰

Robert Jahnke elaborates on Pakerau’s style, confirming Pakerau’s distinctive two-ridged haehae, as opposed to the three-ridged haehae favoured by other artists, such as Taahu and Ngatoto. Using the Morellian technique, Jahnke identified Pakerau’s work on surviving carvings from Te Poho o Te Aotawarirangi (1860s), Ruakapanga (1882), Kuri (1900s), Iritekura II (1910) as well as Maui Tikitiki a Taranga II (1913)⁵¹¹ even though there was no existing oral account. This deficit in oral evidence characterises several other carvers’ work, and is the result of changing loyalties in the community (particularly where figurative painting is concerned), together with a reluctance or disinterest in generations which follow in the history of the whareniui. In addition, mass urbanisation away from rural centres into urban environments have problematised this transmission of knowledge, as youth literally were not around to pass information on to. Calling on techniques, such as Morelli’s, can allow present generation to recover lost knowledge, as increasing numbers of people actively engage with their culture and history.

Pakerau’s style of carving can be seen on Ruataupare at Tuparoa, on which he worked with Hone Ngatoto for the hapu Ngati Uepohatu and Te Whanau a Ruataupare.⁵¹² Neich

⁵⁰⁹ Shelley Jahnke, “Riwai Pakerau.”

⁵¹⁰ Neich, “The emergence of the individual in Maori woodcarving,” 190.

⁵¹¹ “He Tataitanga,” 152, 181. Ngatoto also occasionally used the two-ridged haehae, as can be seen on Hinerupe and St Mary’s (Ibid, 152).

⁵¹² This house is named after the first wife of Tuwhakairiora who was a leader in her own right in Hicks Bay and Te Araroa (Mahuika, “Leadership: Inherited or Achieved,” 51). Their son was Tuterangiwhiu, who features as the tekoteko on the house Porourangi.

gives the date of opening as 1882, though other accounts give 1890. It is likely that, based on the other houses Pakerau was involved in, he worked on the carvings some time during the 1880s. The serpentine figures which adorn the papaka (**Fig. 86**) represent the early style of Pakerau with the use of traits which were enhanced and feature more prominently in later buildings, including the use of the two-ridged haehae, the serpentine form of the figure, the whakarare on the upper body, and the plain background.⁵¹³

Once Ruataupare was finished, Pakerau began working on Te Poho o Materoa at Whareponga for Te Aitanga-a-Mate, though some believe the house was actually operational by 1870.⁵¹⁴ Carvings on the exterior included the tekoteko, which represented Tuterangiwhiu (like in Porourangi), amo, raparapa, pare and window surrounds. Some of the original carvings are now in Tai Rawhiti Museum, as it was renovated some time in the 1970s when Hone Taiapa replaced the damaged carvings.⁵¹⁵ The poutokomanawa features Karuwai, a renowned local ancestor and father of Tuterangiwhiu.

By the late 1880s, Pakerau had a reputation as a master carver and was living on whanau land with his sister, Mere Karaka Te Kopua, and brother, Haki Hokopaura. However, there was a rift in their hapu of Te Whanau-a-Iritekura,⁵¹⁶ resulting in Pakerau and his siblings deciding to break away and form their own hapu, which they called Ngai Taharora. At this time they lived on their great-grandmother Hine Matakaikai's land. Riwai Pakerau was named as one of the founding trustees of the land. To mark the occasion, the brothers decided to build a meeting house in 1889, and consequently named it after their new hapu, Taharora.

⁵¹³ For a much more detailed analysis of Pakerau's style see Jahnke's PhD thesis, especially chapter 7, "Te Tataitanga."

⁵¹⁴ Anthony Dell, "My Marae. Private Study of One Marae (Te Poho-o-Materoa)." *Ko Toku Marae*. <http://kotokumarae.blogspot.com/p/my-marae.html> (accessed May 23, 2011).

⁵¹⁵ Simmons, *Meeting-Houses*, 85.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid*, 165.

The names of their whanau are commemorated in the wharenuī⁵¹⁷ – their grandparents, Urimaitai and Takapuātua, are depicted on three different poupou inside the house, one of which also shows the siblings’ other grandparents, Aukaha and Urunga-a-Rangi. The pare depicts Matakaikai, and is supported by whakawae, one depicting their mother, Hineitungia, and the other being a self-portrait of Pakerau. The naming of the new house Taharora in 1889 would have cemented this creation of a new entity and demonstrates the way in which the concept of hapu was always nebulous, shifting and reforming as the need arose.⁵¹⁸ The house was named after the founding ancestor who was Iritekura’s brother-in-law.

Pakerau’s next project was close to home. Having completed Okuri in 1900 at Mangatuna Marae,⁵¹⁹ he was approached the next year by the people of Te Whanau-a-Iritekura to renovate their meeting house Iritekura⁵²⁰ which seems somewhat curious given the fact that he and his siblings had only a few years before split off from this hapu to form their own. The existing house was 20 years old, and had been carved by Ngatoto.⁵²¹ The renovations consisted of a total re-carving of the amo, raparapa and koruru.⁵²²

For many years Pakerau put down the chisel and practiced his spiritual healing as a Mihinare lay preacher. However, in 1913 he was convinced to undertake one final project. Maui Tikitiki a Taranga I had been carved by Hone Taahu around 1882 and was

⁵¹⁷ There are extensive whakapapa notes about the house and area written by Mrs Meterini Maraki in Tai Rawhiti Museum (vertical file ‘Marae N-Z’).

⁵¹⁸ This house has recently undergone major renovation, with the exterior carvings now sporting a bright blue paint job courtesy of Robert Jahnke and his students with full support of the pakeke. For further reading about this house, see Jahnke’s thesis.

⁵¹⁹ Simmons also uses the name ‘Aukuri’ for this house. Based at Mangatuna Marae, the pare and whakawae on the house, is, unusually for Ngati Porou, centrally placed in the front porch wall, shows many traits of Pakerau’s style.

⁵²⁰ Obviously no ill feelings were retained by his ‘old’ hapu towards Pakerau for his creating a new hapu. He would have been familiar with the pakeke and their wishes, which would have smoothed the path to his employment perhaps. Iritekura II was later dismantled in 1944 and totally re-carved from 1945-51 by Pine Taiapa under the direction of Ngata, the last house he was involved in before he died. The tahuu was deposited in Auckland Museum. Meanwhile, one of the amo from Iritekura I was gifted to Bob Jahnke in 1988 for safe-keeping by one of the kaumatua of Te Whanau-a-Iritekura. The carving was found on a bank of Waipiro Stream (“He Tataitanga,” 13).

⁵²¹ Pakerau had worked with Ngatoto on Ruataupare in the early 1880s and so was familiar with his style.

⁵²² Thanks to Robert Jahnke for advising of this.

shifted some time before 1900 to Tokomaru Bay, and then on to Hikuwai in 1913. It is at this juncture that Pakerau renovated the house. Robert Jahnke is able to identify sections of the carvings (now in museums) which were carved by him. These are characterised by the use of three fingers instead of five and the two-ridge haehae cuts instead of three-ridged.⁵²³ Indeed, Jahnke asserts that Pakerau not only renovated older carvings, but also carved new amo and raparapa at this time.⁵²⁴ Also new were the naturalistic paintings which were created in a range of colours including green, light blue and black on a white background. Some also include scriptural text, as described above. Jahnke suggests that some of these heke were originally from Iritekura because of the similarity in style.⁵²⁵

Pakerau's carvings in Okuri, Iritekura II and Maui Tikitiki a Taranga II⁵²⁶ can be considered as part of his late career. All are similar in relation to their style and composition. Earlier traits were retained, such as the use of double haehae grooves for the surface decoration, as well as the use of single spirals. Also similar was the style of kowhaiwhai. Maui Tikitiki a Taranga II was to be Pakerau's last meeting house. By this time his eyesight was failing and he found it hard to work on details in the carving. To accommodate this there was a change in his style, such as an increase in the number of haehae. Pakerau died in the 1930s aged about 100.

Tamati Ngakaho (Te Whanau-a-Rahui, 1849-1904).

The name of Tamati Ngakaho is synonymous with the house Porourangi. Ngakaho was born in 1849, the son of Hamure and Huirihutu (Huirotu).⁵²⁷ His elder siblings were Te Karaka Te Rangi and Pineamine Tamahori. The former is also known as a carver

⁵²³ Jahnke, "He Tataitanga," 168. Jahnke also points to Pakerau's distinct use of the niho taniwha-style pakati, rather than the tuarakuri form.

⁵²⁴ Ibid.

⁵²⁵ Thanks to Robert Jahnke for advising of this.

⁵²⁶ Four poupou, the pare and several heke were deposited by Ben and Tate Pewhairangi in Auckland Museum for safe-keeping. Of these, the pare, two of the poupou and two of the heke are the work of Pakerau. The tahuhu (64.2338A), raparapa (74.5.1) and one amo are in Gisborne Museum on deposit.

⁵²⁷ Oliver, "Tamati Ngakaho."

although it is not clear which projects he worked on. Tamati Ngakaho married Arapera Tamatama⁵²⁸ in 1871 and together they had at least three children between 1869-1873. Ngakaho's hapu affiliation was Te Whanau-a-Rahui and he held an interest in several land blocks, including Korakonui, Wharau No. 2 and Whakarei No. 1.⁵²⁹ Later in life, Tamati changed his surname from Ngakaho to Waihi to reflect the location where his whanau were living.⁵³⁰ He is also the only carver with a known photograph of himself **(Fig. 87)**.

Ngakaho's artistic career spanned only nine years, from 1874-83, yet he was able to make a name for himself, probably because he had carved Porourangi.⁵³¹ Oliver describes him as a "... leading exponent of the style of carving that had been founded by Iwirakau in the Waiapu-Te Araroa area in the 16th century."⁵³² As with other carvers discussed here, Ngakaho must have been a "man of rank" as carving was a "chiefly occupation."⁵³³ He was "... presumably a mature man by the time he became prominent as a carver"⁵³⁴ during the 1870s. His skill was such that he became one of the most well-remembered carvers of the 19th century despite only working on four meeting houses:

- Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa (1874),
- Rakaitemania (1874-78),⁵³⁵
- Rauru Nui a Toi (1883),
- Porourangi (1878-88).

⁵²⁸ Pers. Comm., Angela Carroll, June 2010.

⁵²⁹ Oliver, "Tamati Ngakaho."

⁵³⁰ Pers. Comm., Angela Carroll, June 2010.

⁵³¹ Neich however believes he was active from the 1870s to 1890s (Neich, *Painted Histories* 55).

⁵³² Oliver, "Tamati Ngakaho."

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ Ibid.

⁵³⁵ This attribution is based on Robert Jahnke's observations on Ngakaho's work in Porourangi. He assigns the amo and raparapa of Porourangi to Ngakaho on the basis that the "Amo [has] a pito spiral on the central whakarare torso band [as well as] the Rauru hip spirals and the Iwirakau spiral on the shoulders." And further "the amo and raparapa are definitely Ngakaho because of the alternating direction of the pakati on both."

Ngakaho is credited with being the first Ngati Porou carver to use steel tools.⁵³⁶ Given the fact that Rongowhakaata carvers had been using such tools for at least 30 years, it is surprising that carvers on the upper East Coast did not use this technology earlier than the 1870s. Indeed, Ngakaho did not strictly use steel tools, but rather fashioned one out of an ordinary table knife, grinding it to a point.⁵³⁷ Steel tools were available for purchase through catalogues, certainly from 1880 onwards, which catered for a range of trades, including carpentry, of which carving would be an associated skill. Ngakaho's reworking of an everyday object suggests he was familiar with the results of steel chisels – depth of cut, quickness – and that he was willing to experiment with ordinary materials. Rob de Z. Hall suggests that his invention of a steel chisel was born out of necessity because of the volume of carvings he needed to work on.⁵³⁸ It was so unusual that even the local children noticed his way of working, as Apirana Ngata (a boy when Ngakaho was working on Porourangi) later wrote,

*I remember old Tamati Ngakaho working away with the adze on the Porourangi slabs. Not only was the relief of the figure built up in proper symmetry but also smoothed ready for the detail work of the chisel. The method drove the chisel to concentrate on ornamentation, its proper function.*⁵³⁹

Ngakaho's significance in the oeuvre of Iwirakau carving is confirmed by Pine Taiapa's choice of his style to symbolise Ngati Porou tribal carving style. McEwan describes Ngakaho's style,

*The characteristic figure of this tohunga is a relatively squat type of wheku with the forehead wider than the mouth and the space between the brows and mouth cut down almost to the same place as the background of the slab. The tongue is approximately triangular and usually two teeth are shown. Superimposed on the main figures are secondary figures with rounded brows, often with only part of the body showing and sometimes with no body. One of these incomplete figures appears between the legs of the principal figure on this slab. Tamati Ngakaho's work excels in its perfect finish and the delicacy of the surface work.*⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁶ Kernot, "Tohunga Whakairo o Mua," 140; Laurie, *Tolaga Bay*, 2.

⁵³⁷ Laurie, *Tolaga Bay*, 2.

⁵³⁸ "Tamati Ngakaho, Commentary, 7 July 1990," Tai Rawhiti Museum Archives.

⁵³⁹ Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. II, 101.

⁵⁴⁰ The carving on the right hand side is "basically the same as the left except with minor differences" (McEwan, "Maori Art.")

Ngakaho's carving style can be seen clearly in the first house he was involved in, Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa. Taahu was a well-known carver when he was asked to travel to Christchurch to complete the carvings for this house intended for Canterbury Museum. Because of the size of the project and the short time frame – it was only meant to take 90 days – Taahu contacted Ngakaho to be his apprentice. Their Pakeha employers saw them as being of equal level of skill as they were both paid the same rate, though Taahu was always mentioned as the man in charge, the designer. Ngakaho would learn some valuable skills here, of project management, of working to the specifications of the patron, of working the carvings into a whole, of kowhaiwhai painting. These skills were valuable for his next project.

In Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa, Ngakaho at times worked on poupou together with Taahu (**Fig. 88**). It is possible here that Taahu shaped out the main figure, and then asked Ngakaho to fill in the surface decoration, which, at times, seems asymmetrical, but not enough to have been a deliberate design choice. Ngakaho was the apprentice, and as such would be allocated certain parts of the carving to work on. As the year in Christchurch progressed, and his ability increased, Ngakaho would have been allowed more freedom to work on carvings, though always under the guidance of his teacher. It is likely that Ngakaho also worked on the kowhaiwhai on Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa, as he painted all the kowhaiwhai in his next house.

The meeting house Rakaitemania at Te Horo Marae (**Fig. 89**) is located across the river from Tikitiki, on the Tikapa Road which leads from Porourangi further out to the coast past Tikapa Marae ending at Te Wharau Beach. Rakaitemania the woman is significant in the history of carving in the area in two respects: firstly, she married Iwirakau, and secondly her great-grandfather was Hingangaroa. Knowledge of his work in Hau Te Ana Nui would not have filtered back to the East Coast because of the distance from Christchurch and so perhaps Taahu had a role to play in getting the Rakaitemania commission, acting as his agent. This house can be considered to represent his mid-career phase, though nine years can hardly be said to constitute a lengthy career.

Rakaitemania has carvings on the koruru, amo and around the doorway. The koruru replicates the style of koruru used in Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa which, whilst possibly not carved by Ngakaho, shows how he was influenced by it, with the wide

mouth, small teeth, and shaping around the mouth. The amo on Rakaitemania again shows a relationship with Hau Te Ana Nui and Porourangi with a similar shaping of the bodies, type of surface decoration, placement of the hands, and dominance of the Iwirakau two-figure composition. The raparapa on Rakaitemania also shows a link with Porourangi. On both there is the upward-turning end of the maihi, the creation of three ‘fingers’ by carving in two elongated koru horizontally, and the use of bands of haehae in between, and the carving of haehae across the entire raparapa (**Fig. 90**).

With Porourangi, Ngakaho was again brought in as the novice, though he had by now worked on two whare whakairo projects. Te Kihirini was an old man when Wahawaha approached him to use his wood for a new house in the late 1870s.⁵⁴¹ Such a large project required more carvers, and so Te Kihirini contacted Ngakaho, probably because they were whanaunga, both from the same village, Rakaihoea. When Te Kihirini suddenly died in October 1882, five years into the project, it was up to Ngakaho to complete the project. By this time, many of the porch carvings had been completed by Te Kihirini but many more carvings were yet to be completed. The building was walled and roofed with corrugated iron and had progressed enough for Ngakaho to feel confident enough to say to a passing traveller that he hoped to complete the house in eight months.⁵⁴²

However, Ngakaho had limited experience in erecting houses and finishing all the minutiae involved in the final stages, and no one around to advise him, though Taahu was around in the area. Finally, Wahawaha also brought in his own nephew, Fred Cox, to help complete the project.⁵⁴³ The house was eventually opened in 1888, delayed not by the carving and completion of the house so much as by the needs of the local hapu to muster food and other requirements for a proper opening as befitted a major tribal house with the prestige of Wahawaha riding on it.

The sheer quantity of carvings inside the house allowed Ngakaho to hone his style, a chance he did not have as much when working under Taahu. With no one to act as

⁵⁴¹ According to Ngata however, Ngakaho supervised the building of Porourangi, aided by the priest Mohi Turei and the chief Te Hati Houkamau (*JPS* 6 (1897)).

⁵⁴² *Poverty Bay Standard*, November-December 1882.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*

monitor (other than occasional visits by Wahawaha), Ngakaho was free to expand his repertoire and create his own unique style. On the amo of Porourangi the style of human figure is similar to the pou whakarae from the major pa, with the wide mouth, one of the hallmarks of Iwirakau style. Ngakaho reiterates this treatment of the mouth on the koruru, which again is characteristically Iwirakau, with the wheku shaping, the large eyes and the large mouth with small teeth. The tongue fits inside the mouth touching four corners of the lips in a loose square shape. This style was used by Taahu and Ngatoto several times. The tekoteko depicts Tuterangiwhiu, the famed warrior in the middle of a challenge, emphasising his prowess. He is made further distinct by being painted white when most carvers painted their tekoteko red. This draws the eye up, visually increasing the height of by then the largest building on the East Coast, as befitted the major house in the area. Ngakaho re-uses the white paint on the top figures of the whakawae on either side of the doorway and the window. Appropriately, women surround the door, and men the window, most probably recognising the dominance of women as leaders historically in the area.

The pare follows an ABA composition, with a human figure in profile at either edge, with a larger central human in full frontal position in the centre, flanked by a smaller full frontal figure on either side. Between the figures on the upper half are takarangi spirals, whilst on the bottom half are manaia faces. The figures all have a central line of rauponga down the body, with the main form having manaia as feet. This last trait became one of the most recognisable features of Iwirakau, visible in a number of houses.

It is the korupe, however, which is possibly one of the most interesting of all Ngakaho's carvings (**Fig. 91**). Positioned above the window, the korupe is filled with three couples that appear in the middle of copulation. Like similar complex actions depicted on waka huia (containers holding precious items), the couples here are shown in two different entanglements, which are possibly hidden from curious children by the complexity of the surface patterning which partially disguises the real events taking place. Such depictions once dominated many pataka carvings, particularly on the amo, and were important to emphasise the continuity of the people through such activities. However, such compositions were strongly disliked for their sexual content by missionaries, and

actively discouraged. Whether Wahawaha would have approved is unknown, and it may be that these were earlier carvings made before he was involved in the project as such narratives would have been appropriate on a house commemorating the ‘outputs’ of such activities – a new baby. Nonetheless, the subject matter was rarely shown with such clarity after this house.

It is Ngakaho’s unique carving style that resonates within the interior of Porourangi (**Fig. 92**). As with Hau Te Ana Nui, figures display a wide mouth, sparsely decorated rounded tongue, rauponga down the chest, realistic hands, elliptical eyes, and plain background. He is the master of the subsidiary figure, who are depicted in almost all of the poupou. These figures appear in a range of poses bringing movement within the composition. They emerge out of the base of some poupou. In others they are held in loving embrace by the main figure. In others they appear to emerge out of the mouth of the dominant figure. This range propels Ngakaho’s work into the spotlight as one of the most innovative of the Super Six carvers.

Ngakaho’s kowhaiwhai in Porourangi (**Fig. 93**) is organised in pairs across the length of the house. They differ from the porch to the interior, possibly because Te Kihirini was involved in the heke on the porch. Many of the patterns were known, such as maui and mangopare. Some patterns are derivative of these dominant patterns and are un-named according to Neich.⁵⁴⁴ At least one was a new invention by Ngakaho. Now called the ‘Porourangi Maui,’⁵⁴⁵ the pattern is a merging of flowing koru, whose shape is outlined by four lines in the shape of kape. The pattern has now become synonymous with Ngakaho, Porourangi and Ngati Porou in general. The kape rua and ngutu kura patterns have also come to symbolise Ngati Porou. Four patterns were collected by Williams, some of which were later published in Hamilton’s *Maori Art* including an un-named pattern (called pattern 22 by Hamilton) (**Fig. 94**), and some designs which were not published because the original drawing was incomplete (**Fig. 95**).

The tukutuku inside Porourangi is discussed in the previous chapter. The artist, Karauria Kauri, would have worked in close collaboration with Ngakaho. They knew each other,

⁵⁴⁴ *Painted Histories*, 19-22.

⁵⁴⁵ Mephram, *Te Hono ki Rarotonga*, 17.

as both had been part of a group who petitioned the New Zealand Government in 1869 for leniency following land confiscations and other punishments after the New Zealand Wars.⁵⁴⁶ The tukutuku enhanced the messages embodied in the carvings and kowhaiwhai. The importance of ancestors was paramount, evidenced by their residency in the tukutuku. Such innovation was no doubt supported by Ngakaho, and possibly initiated by Te Kihirini before his untimely death. The colours used were novel and emphasized the subject matter in the panels.

Jahnke credits Ngakaho as breaking with tradition in a number of ways on this house, from the pose of the tekoteko, to the inclusion of ancestors in the tukutuku. Porourangi encouraged others to think laterally about the ways in which to communicate important messages of whakapapa and whenua. It is likely that the whare whakairo was considered 'traditional' in its day, given the fact that so many other iwi were also creating similar styles of meeting house in relation to size and extent of decoration. If anything, the East Coast was one of the last to build such a major edifice.⁵⁴⁷

Some time around the completion of Porourangi, Robert Jahnke maintains Ngakaho was involved in helping create Rauru Nui a Toi. Te Kihirini was also involved, as was Ngakaho's former teacher Taahu, and Ngatoto. Taahu had probably brought Ngakaho on board because of their earlier relationship, but also because Ngakaho had proved himself by completing Porourangi by himself. Rauru, as has been mentioned, needs to be seen as a conduit through which the Iwirakau style could be channelled. Having so many of the Super Six working on a single house would have been a momentous occasion, and one in which there was an opportunity for an inter-generational transmission of knowledge (from Te Kihirini and Taahu to Ngakaho and Ngatoto).

This was to be Ngakaho's final wharenuui, despite there being a number of other on-going projects within the area. Why this was so is unclear. Perhaps it was at this point that he shifted to Waihi to pursue other opportunities, prompting his name change to Tamati Waihi. His legacy is based on both his carving and his kowhaiwhai. An ability

⁵⁴⁶ Petition by East Coast Natives Relative to their Lands, 29 July 1869.

⁵⁴⁷ Earlier houses from other tribes include Tama Te Kapua (1872 or 1878), Te Tokanganui-a-Noho (1874), Mataatua (1875), Hotunui (1878) and Ruataupare (1882). All these were major tribal houses which would have attracted hundreds if not thousands to their opening, thus encouraging other tribes to match their house, if not exceed it.

to do both was not uncommon, with both Taahu and Pakerau also showing skills in this area, but what makes Ngakaho's work stand out is the fact that he was involved in carving and painting the largest meeting house on the East Coast at that time, and since.

Hoani Ngatai (Te Whanau a Hunaara, c1850-1910).

Hoani Ngatai was, like Ngakaho, involved in only a few projects, but they were significant enough to mark him out as a major carver of the 19th century. Pine Taiapa described Hoani, also known as Hori Ngatai, in 1953 as “the lead carver of the Iwirakau School of carving based in the Waiapu Valley.”⁵⁴⁸ Ngatai was descended from Tuwhakairiora.⁵⁴⁹ He married Maraea Puahau and they had at least six children.⁵⁵⁰ Ngatai was politically active as well. He is identified as a spokesperson in the Maori Land Court on four occasions: 26 March 1877, 5 August 1879, 27 May 1885 and 19 May 1886. In July 1876 J. H. Campbell, Resident Magistrate and Polling Officer, employed him for the 1876 election. His role was to obtain signatures for two candidates for the Eastern Maori parliamentary seat, Karaitiana Takamoana and Hotene Porourangi.⁵⁵¹ Possibly he met the first candidate and through this meeting obtained the commission for new work for the meeting house described below.

Ngatai is known in relation to at least three meeting houses:

- Ruatepupuke II (1880);
- O Hine Waiapu (1883);

⁵⁴⁸ “Maori Arts and Crafts.”

⁵⁴⁹ The whakapapa outlined in the *Hinerupe Commemorative Booklet* is as follows: Te Ihiko married Tuwhakairiora and they had Tuhorouta who married Moahiraia and they had Whaita, who had Pehautona, who had Pohoitahi, who had Tukutuku, who had Tangiawha who was Hoani Ngatai's parent.

⁵⁵⁰ One of these was Keeti Ngatai who married Captain John Skinner; their son was Terei Ngatai (181?-1912).

⁵⁵¹ “Reports of the Eastern Maori Election Committee, Together with Minutes of Evidence.” *AJHR* (1876). This enquiry came about because the polling booth was changed at the last minute, from Waiapu to Te Awanui, resulting in several hundred people not voting. The exact nature of Ngatai's job was unclear; some believed he was to sign up voters under either of the two East Coast candidates (they apparently believed that Ngatai Porou would not vote for anyone from Te Arawa). This, some argued, was a clear breach of election protocol and privacy. Ngatai was not present in Wellington for the Committee enquiry.

- Karaitiana Takamoana's carvings in:
 - Otago Museum (D88.40, D96.13 and D31.1355)
 - Pane in Gisborne Museum (64-2338-A)
 - Three poupou in Te Papa Tongarewa (ME 1874, 1875 (**Fig. 96**), 8195)
 - Liverpool Museum (D31.135)
 - St Louis Museum, St Louis (88.1977-1).

- Carvings by Ngatai not attributed to a meeting house as yet:
 - Perth Art Gallery and Museum, Scotland (1937.19.1 and 1937.19.2).
 - Possibly two pou at Papawai as shown in two photos in Te Papa (A462, A461). These may have been part of the project to erect the meeting house Takitimu at Kehemane, near Martinborough in 1887.
 - An amo in Te Papa Tongarewa (ME.8616).⁵⁵²
 - Paepae in Museum fur Kulturen, Basle, Switzerland (**Fig. 97**). This is stylistically similar enough to three carvings in Auckland Museum (AM.708, AM.709, AM.711) and three panels in Tai Rawhiti Museum (76-61) to suggest that these are all from the same house, possibly O Hine Waiapu. Another panel, painted in red, white and blue in Te Papa (ME.12985) may also be from this house.⁵⁵³

According to McEwan, the Ngatai style is commemorated in the Waitangi Centennial House, on the eleventh pair of poupou from the front door (**Fig. 98**),

Hoani Ngatai was one of the leading experts in carving revival which took place on the East Coast in the eighties of last century. The comparatively small v-shaped forehead, fairly long body and short legs are characteristic of the wheku figures carved by Hoani Ngatai. The secondary carving running the full length of the slab on either side of the figure was adopted by several famous Ngati-

⁵⁵² Keri Kaa maintains that this carving was one of those removed without consent from the house Tai Rawhiti in the early 20th century (Pers. Comm., 2006).

⁵⁵³ The registration card at Te Papa reads that this poupou was originally from Tikitiki and was purchased at auction at Dunbar Sloane's in 1973 for \$170.

*Porou carvers of the past century. The borders use pitau spirals or takarangi followed by a simple manaia head.*⁵⁵⁴

Jahnke describes Ngatai's style as distinctive,

*Like Hone Taahu, Hoani Ngatai demonstrates a penchant for asymmetry but in a less formal manner. Limbs are often elongated disproportionately depending on the arrangement of the two-figure poupou composition as evidenced in the Otago Museum poupou. When a hand is raised to the mouth he will often drop the shoulder, sometimes to waist level, to facilitate hand to mouth interaction. In comparison, Hoani Taahu shortens the arm length. A two-figure composition, with legs of the upper figure placed on the shoulder of the lower figure, in piggyback fashion, or an inverted lower figure assuming the copulation position is unique to Hoani Ngatai. This compositional strategy is evident on the Maui pane, Otago Museum poupou and endemic in Ruatēpūke.*⁵⁵⁵

Ngatai began carving in the 1870s. One account places Ngatai as the main carver⁵⁵⁶ of a house named either Tuwhakairiora or Tumoanakotore. On this project he worked with Mohi Turei, a fact corroborated by Pine Taiapa,⁵⁵⁷ and may have trained his nephew, Haare Tokoata.⁵⁵⁸ However, what happened to the house is unknown. There is a photo of a wedding around 1865 taking place in front of a house named 'Tumoana-kotore' located in Wharekahika (**Fig. 99**) which shows a raparapa and amo. The next sighting of Tumoanakotore carvings was by Augustus Hamilton, who was photographed twice in front of carvings attributed to this house (**Fig. 100**). The nexus between the house in the wedding photograph and the carvings with Hamilton is tenuous, given the fact that there is no clear chain between the two moments (see Appendix 3 for more).

Undisputable, however, is the existence of at least sixty carvings which belong as a group together, and to which is attached the name Karaitiana Takamoana. Oral accounts state that he commissioned a number of carvings, as already discussed in the section on

⁵⁵⁴ "The Waitangi Carved House."

⁵⁵⁵ "He Tataitanga," 154.

⁵⁵⁶ Maori Land Court evidence from Noho Kopuka (23 July 1886) as cited by McConnell, *Wharekahika*, 161.

⁵⁵⁷ And later Bernie Kernot ("Kernot, Bernie. "Nga Tohunga Whakairo o Mua. Maori Artists of Time Before." In *Te Maori. Maori Art From New Zealand Collections*, ed. Sidney M. Mead and Bernie Kernot (Auckland: Heinemann; New York: American Federation of Arts, 1984), 141) and Hirini Moko Mead (*Te Toi Whakairo*, 193) though this was probably not done on the basis of visual analysis but rather following the other's lead. Kernot knew Pine Taiapa well and so may have been given this information by him.

⁵⁵⁸ Simmons, *Meeting-Houses*, 162.

Taahu, by that carver and Ngatai. The majority of these are now in Otago Museum. Ngatai's style of carving stands out, and shows his passion for experimentation. Firstly, the surface decoration is a compilation of different types that were being used by men like Taahu, such as pakati and whakarare. Hardly any open space remains. Ngatai could sometimes use two or three different types of surface decoration within a very small design field, changing pattern seemingly at will. He apparently enjoyed varying his style, experimenting with different styles, such as tongues (**Fig. 101**). With such a variety, Ngatai's interest in other carvers' work shows through, at times trying out a style used by Ngatoto or Taahu. As such, some of his works could be seen as working templates, in which he tested out different approaches to a certain form, e.g. mouth, hand, foot. He replicated in other later carvings those that he considered to have mastered.

Several of the works appear incomplete (e.g. the poupou registered as ME.1874, Te Papa Tongarewa) (**Fig. 102**). This suggests that perhaps he either ran out of time, or that the carvings were sold for whatever reason incomplete. Possibly Karaitiana's early death in 1879 may have been a contributory factor. Similarly several carvings in Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa are also incomplete, possibly also for these reasons. There, the carvers sought to disguise this by painting in an otherwise carved pattern in black paint.

Several of the Karaitiana carvings by Ngatai are very tall – measuring 290cm to 3m tall. Given that most poupou for the house either measured 210cm or 260cm it is likely that these were to serve some purpose other than interior poupou. Perhaps they were intended for use in the porch – or as independent pieces for sale. For instance, the two large carvings now in Perth Art Gallery and Museum, Perth (Scotland) and the Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh have a provenance of being part of the New Zealand contribution to for the Crystal Palace exhibition in 1867. However, this date is too early for Ngatai to have worked on them. Possibly a more grandiose attribution was given in order to increase the value, cultural and monetary, of the works. On the registration cards, these carvings are attributed to Ngatoto yet the style is clearly Ngatai's. Each pou depicts two figures, the upper 'riding piggyback', as Robert Jahnke would describe it, on the lower, with the body of the upper figure immediately above the lower figure,

with its legs coming down either side of the lower figure's head to stand on its shoulders.

Again there is Ngatai's profusion of surface decorations and spirals with rauponga dividing the body lengthways, with double and triple ridged haehae emanating from this and pakati in between. An unusual feature is the presence of a visual break in the lines of haehae and pakati, where Ngatai has placed a band of haehae and pakati over the main pattern. The hands are depicted naturalistically with five fingers and placed against the body, one above the other. They have a cuff motif of patterning which signals the end of the arms. On the shoulders and above the thigh spirals are inward-facing manaia.

Possibly Ngatai's most unusual contribution to the canon of Iwirakau carving are two double-sided pou, now in Otago Museum (**Fig. 103**). These were probably part of the group of works for Karaitiana. They are too tall to have fitted within a whareniui, and as such were most likely made as exhibition pieces. Both feature unusual creatures on three sides of the pou, juxtaposed with human figures either beside them or below them. They have all the hallmarks of Ngatai's style, including the proliferation of different types of surface decoration and experimentation with a range of body and facial types and compositions. These are unique and not, as far as is known, based on any existing models. As such, Ngatai was breaking new ground, extending the known corpus of carving forms and expanding out the possibilities of the carved surface.

Ngatai's reputation as a master carver was confirmed with the erection and carving of the house Ruatepupuke II in Tokomaru Bay in the late 1870s (**Fig. 104**).⁵⁵⁹ The Iwirakau styling of the house is identifiable through several traits: shallow surface carving, use of wide mouths with teeth, strap tongues, a line of rauponga running down the length of the body, square body shapes, and the hands coming through the mouth.

⁵⁵⁹ This house was supposedly built in 1861. However, this claim is based on a manuscript which came with the house when it arrived in Chicago in 1905. Mokena Romio, a major figure in Tokomaru Bay in the 1860s, wrote this manuscript. In this, he names Wiremu Mangapouri as a person who he would wish to carve a house for him. However, this is not irrefutable proof that Mangapouri carved *this* house. Undoubtedly Ruatepupuke is carved in the 'Iwirakau' style. Other major houses built slightly after Ruatepupuke, such as Porourangi (1872-88) and Hinerupe (1880s), show a similar style of carving.

As with other Iwirakau whareniui, the amo fit underneath the maihi, and the walls are angled out.

Ruatepupuke II was commissioned by Henare Potae. He had sold an incomplete earlier house to Canterbury Museum – it appears that Ruatepupuke II was its replacement in Tokomaru Bay. Why he did not call on Hone Taahu to work on the house is unclear. Perhaps he was in Christchurch and so unavailable. Perhaps Taahu put forward the name of his student Ngatai. It was a massive undertaking on Ngatai's part to create a house on his own. It was also a risk on Potae's part, as Ngatai's reputation was still emerging. Nonetheless, Ngatai was able to deliver a fully-carved house in time for it to open in 1880. He produced a formula for each of the poupou to expedite the carving – each would feature a single figure in similar pose, differentiated with different attributes, such as a mere. Each poupou depicted a specific named person – on a space at the base of the carving is sometimes written in pencil names in script, presumably by Ngatai (**Fig. 105**). On others he has scratched in the names in Times New Roman font. On at least one there is pencilled lettering in this font, presumably in preparation for carving it in.

The tahuhu of Ruatepupuke II shows Ngatai's training by Taahu. Comparing this tahuhu with one carved by Taahu around the same time on Hau Te Ana Nui (**Fig. 106**), many similarities are found: the composition of two figures, the line of rauponga ovals down the body out from which emanate lines of rauponga, placement of both hands on the body, spirals on the shoulders and hips, plain cheeks, spirals on the lips, and the presence of teeth. Ngatai displays his own style on the knees which do not have the Taahu whakarare band but rather changes the direction of the rauponga.

Similarly, the moko on the two poutokomanawa of Ruatepupuke II and that in Otago Museum are alike enough to suggest that either this was an Iwirakau style of moko or that the carvers knew each other's style (**Fig. 107**). A third poutokomanawa belongs in this group – the one in Auckland Museum currently attributed to Pokai meeting house. Based on stylistic analysis, there is a link with Ngatai and Taahu on the one hand (with the moko in Ruatepupuke II and Otago Museum), and Taahu as the carver (or at least teacher of the carver) of the poutokomanawa in Auckland Museum.

Following the opening of Ruatepupuke II in 1880, Ngatai had the opportunity to work with his teacher's nephew, Hone Ngatoto, for his own community, Te Whanau a Takimoana. The meeting house was O Hine Waiapu and would be Ngatai's last project. The house opened in 1883. Ngatai was one of the leading exponents of the Iwirakau style. This is confirmed by his receiving of commissions from outside his local area. Ruatepupuke II was a commission for a Tokomaru Bay chief, whilst Takamoana's carvings certainly would have raised his profile outside the Valley. Ngatai's legacy is in the single example still left of his on the East Coast (O Hine Waiapu), and, possibly more significantly, the only Iwirakau (indeed East Coast) whare whakairo currently erected in any museum, in this case showcasing Iwirakau carving in Chicago.

Other artists.

As well as these six carvers, fourteen others were brought in to work with the masters, to provide backup support on major projects. Several of these men were chiefs and would have been asked to help or even required their presence on the project for which they were patrons. Attribution to these artists on the basis of stylistic analysis is difficult, as often their own work is not marked out clearly within a house because they were following the stylistic preferences of the master carvers. In other cases, such as with chiefs, it may be that their names are remembered because of their position in the community at the time and in relation to the house and that they did not actually do any of the carving. In any case, building and carving a meeting house was a major feat that required everyone's participation; the involvement of these men would surely have facilitated completion, especially on projects which took quite some time. They are discussed in Appendix 4.

Tradition and the carver.

These six carvers worked collaboratively on a number of projects and were so similar stylistically that by the 1860s they were considered to be part of a distinct carving school. There was no single master, though Hone Taahu stands out in teaching three of the other carvers (Ngatoto, Ngakaho and Ngatai). Rather, most used as models the pou

from pa which could be still seen during the 1860s, just when carving was re-invigorated in the Waiapu area.⁵⁶⁰ The style on earlier forms, as identified in Chapter 2, was translated by carvers who took what they liked from the templates (such as rauponga on the chest and on the cheeks, as well as the wide mouth) and transferred that onto smaller carvings which would fit within a new form – the meeting house.

Within the Iwirakau School, there were specific traits which were recognised as ‘theirs’, such as the use of rauponga down the centre of the body, the plain background and the use of a manaia border. Communities embraced such styles of carving because they had been conditioned to recognise these as part of their identity, of who they were. The carvers were key mediators in this respect, maintaining regular contact with the patron and pakeke in order to create a building that would achieve this goal.

Within this ‘norm’, however, innovation frequently occurred. Traits are never stable, but adjust according to the taste of the carver, the patron and the community for whom it is intended. They are melded to the aesthetics of the time. This explains changes inherent in all the carvers’ work, from the position of the hands to the way in which the tongues differ so radically from one carving to the next. Consider, for instance, Rongomaianiwaniwa, and how Ngatoto wanted to bring in contemporary events – such as the education of local children at Anglican Maori boarding schools – and record these for future generations. Innovation was an integral part of any carvers practice; communities demanded meeting houses that would signal their individuality and tell their own stories with their own specific hapu-focused ancestors.

The six primary master carvers were ‘dominant personalities’. Whilst none seem to have been chiefs in their own right – unlike those from other tribes, such as Rukupo, Te Hapuku and Takamoana – their reputations were such that they were approached for important projects. Most projects involved a team who had a master carver who was in charge, and mediated not only between the patron and the carvers, but also between the carvers themselves. Hone Taahu is distinct within the Super Six, taking on the role as

⁵⁶⁰ Only two pou whakarae were deposited in Auckland Museum, prompting the question of the location of the others.

head carver on Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa (1874), Rauru Nui a Toi (1882) and Hinetapora (1882-6).

Phillips writes about the, “transmission of culture,”⁵⁶¹ and how “teaching is fundamental to the work of tradition.”⁵⁶² Within the Iwirakau School, passing down of knowledge was vital to its success; specifically this was undertaken from uncle to nephew and from one hapu member to another. Taahu was the foremost transmitter of culture in the Iwirakau School. The quality of his training was such that his pupils all went on to take up major commissions as individuals. Not only did he pass on knowledge of carving traits, but just as importantly practical aspects of project management in order that the house was finished on time and within budget. He taught his initiates about the process of building – which section goes up first – as well as artistic skills such as kowhaiwhai. Taahu encouraged his students to learn about his idiosyncratic way of carving, but also promoted their own individuality. As Ngata always maintained, if you teach the basics innovation will surely follow.

This chapter has focused on the men who were the transmitters of culture, the retainers but also the breakers of tradition. The Iwirakau name carried a lot of weight in the 19th century – as it does today – and with it brought certain expectations in terms of what would be produced, and also the security that the project would be completed to a high standard. These carvers reinvigorated the practice of carving which had become dormant in the 1830s; it could be said that it was, paradoxically, this hiatus that would provide the impetus for their carving practice. A lack of precedents could hamper the creation of new forms, but as the Iwirakau carvers have shown, it can also provide space in which new designs can emerge. Communities and patrons from the 1860s began reclaiming their art history and culture by initiating new meeting houses in which to display their whakapapa and identity, and thus retained “established folkways, often seen as threatened by the pressures of modernity.”⁵⁶³ This thesis now moves to focus on

⁵⁶¹ “What is Tradition when it is not ‘invented’? A Historiographical Introduction,” 3.

⁵⁶² Ibid, 7.

⁵⁶³ Phillips and Schochet, “Preface,” ix.

the patrons who supported the carvers with regular commissions in order to consider their role in the ebbing and flowing of art traditions created by the Iwirakau school of carvers.

CHAPTER 6.

PATRONAGE.

Introduction.

In 1872 in the suburb of Kaiti in Gisborne lived two men who ultimately drove the ‘birth’ of two of Ngati Porou’s earliest whare whakairo, Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa and Porourangi. Both men had distinguished themselves impressively during the New Zealand Wars and continued to hold leadership positions through the 1870s. Meiha (Major) Rapata Wahawaha and Henare Potae both orchestrated the creation of new meeting houses in order to reflect their own mana as well as to make grand statements about the integrity and unity of their people. This chapter argues that patrons consciously drew on the concept of tradition as a guiding principle for the new art products they commissioned. The first section discusses the role of art patrons within Maori art in general in the late 19th century. The next part examines the types of art patron: those who were Maori, those who were Pakeha, and a last group, here called ‘self-patrons’ (following the lead of Perani and Wolff),⁵⁶⁴ in which the same person was both the patron and the artist. The last section of the chapter provides two case studies in which the nature of patronage can be analysed.

Perani and Wolff describe an art patron as someone who,

... acts individually or as part of a group to commission art products directly from the artist, or alternatively to purchase and use art products while remaining anonymous to the artist. Members of audiences who react to art products when displayed in public contexts also constitute patrons. Through their approval or rejection as critics, future artistic production can be influenced. Whether in a direct face-to-face interaction or through indirect feedback, it is the demands and opinions of art patrons that influence the production acts that encourage continuity or change in artistic tradition. Both

⁵⁶⁴ Judith Perani and Norma H. Wolff, *Cloth, Dress and Art Patronage in Africa* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 1999).

*artists and art patrons are decision-makers, influenced by their particular life circumstances and the cultural constraints that guide behaviour.*⁵⁶⁵

For Perani and Wolff, the art patron was one who was able to change an existing “artistic tradition,” working in close communication with the artist. Both had a vested interest in the final result but for different reasons: for the patron, the completion of a project and the consequential investiture of mana upon them was critical for themselves as well as for their continued patronage of the artist; for the carver, public endorsement of his work ensured recommendations for future commissions. In addition, “If an artist achieved wide fame, it redounded to the credit of the patron and his perspicacity (or at least supposed generosity).”⁵⁶⁶ The patron was an important figure in not only initiating the project but also in ensuring its completion and successful reception. The degree to which this operated differed according to many factors, not least the ethnicity of the patron.

The roles of art patrons.

Eric Fernie in defining patronage narrowed down the roles of patrons, “The primary one is to pay, but to be successful as patrons they also have to develop a means of distinguishing what they think is good from what they think is bad.”⁵⁶⁷ In other words, in order to increase their personal and professional profile, the patron was required to be an arbiter of quality, someone who would be able to judge whether the work they were commissioning would reflect favourably on them, both in the short and long term.

⁵⁶⁵ Perani and Wolff, *Cloth, Dress and Art Patronage*, 14. Also see Judith Perani and Norma H. Wolff, “Traders as Intermediaries,” in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner, (London: Grove’s Dictionaries, 1996), 251, and Judith Perani and Norma H. Wolff, “Patronage: Contexts of Production and Use,” *ibid*, 240-243.

⁵⁶⁶ Christopher F. Black, “Patronage. 1500-1900,” *Oxford Companion to Western Art* [http://http://librarysearch.auckland.ac.nz/primolibweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=uaovoyager1021111&indx=2&recIds=uaovoyager1021111&recIdxs=1&elementId=1&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dscnt=3&frbg=&tab=search_library&dstmp=1306206771434&srt=rank&mode=Basic&dum=true&fromLogin=true&vl\(freeText0\)=oxford%20companion%20to%20western%20art&vid=UOA2_A](http://http://librarysearch.auckland.ac.nz/primolibweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=uaovoyager1021111&indx=2&recIds=uaovoyager1021111&recIdxs=1&elementId=1&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dscnt=3&frbg=&tab=search_library&dstmp=1306206771434&srt=rank&mode=Basic&dum=true&fromLogin=true&vl(freeText0)=oxford%20companion%20to%20western%20art&vid=UOA2_A) (accessed May 24, 2011.)

⁵⁶⁷ Eric Fernie, *Art History and Its Methods. A Critical Anthology* (London: Phaidon, 1998), 350.

Payment of carvers came in a range of forms and changed significantly over the 19th century. Firth, writing in 1929, noted that in earlier days there was a constant supply of work,

*In every Maori community there were a number of people who, through inborn skill or special training, possessed greater ability than their fellows in certain types of work. A man of this kind became a specialist, in that while not necessarily devoting the whole of his time to the one craft he made it his major interest, and was peculiarly expert therein. Such people were valuable, and were called upon by others less skilled to perform work for them. The transmission of technical and magical knowledge in closely guarded fashion, as from father to son, also tended to favour the creation of specialised crafts.*⁵⁶⁸

The patron was expected to financially support every stage of the project. An arrangement would be made with the carver in relation to the price, conditions and time frame involved. Firth talks of the way in which the chief operated in the initial stages of building a meeting house,

*He would propose that a certain piece of work, say the erection of a new carved house, be undertaken, and the people after discussion would accede to the suggestion. Their motive for doing so was to take advantage of the feasting, the sociability, and amusement which such a communal affair always provided, while to have such a building in the tribe meant increased renown for all. The proposal of the chief was due to his interest in the welfare of his people, coupled with a desire to add to his own prestige.*⁵⁶⁹

Careful planning and organisation was required regarding labour and materials.⁵⁷⁰ During the production, the patron would provide food, housing and entertainment⁵⁷¹ to the head carver, as well as a range of gifts such as kakahu and personal adornments. These were regularly presented to ensure continued momentum for the project. This

⁵⁶⁸ Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, 218.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid, 236-237. Anne Salmond summarises the process of building new meeting houses in the 1970s (*Hui* (Auckland: Reed, 1975), 61-70). Firstly a hui will be held to ascertain interest in the idea; secondly, a committee is established to decide on the site for the marae (she uses this term interchangeably with meeting house) and to begin fundraising; once there are enough funds, the Committee decides who should be hired to do the carving and other work. An architect is also usually involved, and a separate team of builders employed.

⁵⁷⁰ Ngata, "Maori arts and crafts," 312.

⁵⁷¹ Terence Barrow, *The Maori Carver* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1973), 6.

financial support extended to the entire carving team, and others associated with the creation of the new art object.⁵⁷²

The patron called on his hapu to also provide koha for the artists as well as materials for the project, such as timber.⁵⁷³ Subscriptions of food would be given too; Ngata talks of the collection and drying of shellfish and deep-sea fish by those people on the coast, while those “River valley populations would contribute fresh-water fish.”⁵⁷⁴ As he explains,

*When such a big project was under way every section of the tribe would make a special effort to demonstrate its excellence in that particular contribution which its location, circumstances and resources made possible, and for which it had a name to maintain. This would be the occasional work of many hands for many years.*⁵⁷⁵

Few carvers worked full-time - in his study of over 230 carvers who worked in the 19th century, Neich concluded that none worked full-time.⁵⁷⁶ As such, practical support of housing and food provisions were a necessity with each new project. Because of the part-time nature of the profession, artists often worked in teams in order to expedite the work, and with minimal financial over-spending.

On a larger scale, the patron would implement the system of the ohu. This was a form of mass labour, where specific tasks requiring group work were assigned, such as hauling the timber to the site as described earlier.⁵⁷⁷ Mere Whaanga noted how the Rongowhakaata chief Te Waaka Perohuka organized for over 1,000 men to help haul a large totara destined to be a waka taua out of the bush several miles to a site where other waka taua had been built at Turamoe pa.⁵⁷⁸ Firth talks of the accumulation and

⁵⁷² Polack, for instance, identifies the following specialists employed for the making of a new waka taua: carpenter flax-dresser, painter, caulker, carver and sail-maker (Polack, *Manners and Customs*, I, 224).

⁵⁷³ Barrow, *The Maori Carver*, 6.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid, 5; Ngata, “Maori arts and crafts,” 314.

⁵⁷⁵ Ngata, “Maori arts and crafts,” 314,

⁵⁷⁶ Neich, *Painted Histories*, 197. This was to change with the advent of tourism in the 1870s in Rotorua in particular (see *Carved Histories* for more).

⁵⁷⁷ Ngata, “Maori arts and crafts,” 314.

⁵⁷⁸ Whaanga, *A Carved Cloak for Tahu*, 223.

possession of wealth⁵⁷⁹ which the chiefs were expected to distribute to guests as well as to their own people, “He was a kind of channel through which wealth flowed, concentrating it only to pour it out freely again,”⁵⁸⁰ especially in the creation of “public works.” As Ngata noted,

*All the tribe participated when the building was an important one, the chief in whose name the house was being built called upon all sections of the people to play their part. Thus every stage in the communal venture was marked by interesting demonstrations of Maori custom.*⁵⁸¹

At the completion of the project, the patron would present further gifts to the head carver and other associated artists. Ngata described how carvers would be paid with cloaks “of the finest sort” and food delicacies.⁵⁸² At other times a marriage to the chief’s daughter might be offered in payment, “together with gifts of land, and there are instances of new tribal relationships originating in this way and in these circumstances.”⁵⁸³

Over the 19th century the type of payment changed in tandem with changes in Maori economy. Earlier, local goods had sufficed, but by the early 19th century this had changed to arms and ammunition, and by the 1840s other European goods, such as horses and blankets, were considered as part of the package for carvers. It was not, however, only the size of the koha, but also the accompanying mana attached to the type of payment. In this way, large waka taua were swapped for relatively modest kakahu. For instance, in 1853 Te Toki a Tapiri, the waka taua in Auckland Museum, was presented by Te Waaka Perohuka to Tamati Waka Nene and his brother Patuone (of Ngapuhi) who in turn presented Perohuka with “a piebald stallion named Taika (Tiger).”⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁷⁹ Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, 133.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 133.

⁵⁸¹ Ngata, “Maori arts and crafts,” 312-313.

⁵⁸² *Ibid*, 315.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid*.

⁵⁸⁴ Whaanga, *A Carved Cloak for Tahu*, 224.

By the middle of the 19th century, many patrons were paying cash to artists.⁵⁸⁵ Such changes reflected the increasing move in Maori communities towards a cash economy, and increasing reliance on external markets for their products. Many Maori patrons had ready access to cash through leasing of their land (to traders and missionaries for instance) as well as through various entrepreneurial ventures. The mana of local gifts was retained however, through to the 20th century. In the late 1870s for instance, the Ngati Kahungunu chief (and carver) Te Hapuku employed Hori Ropiha and a team of twelve to carve a large meeting house, later called Kahuranaki I. The artists were paid in goods including five cartons of tobacco, three cloaks, two blankets, three and a half tons of flour, 2000 tuna, kumara, tuna (eels), poaka (pigs) and sheep, as well as cash (£775 pounds).⁵⁸⁶ Increasingly European goods replaced local goods and foods.

From 1860, carvers were only paid upon completion of the work. Artists not finishing their jobs before leaving may have prompted this move. In addition, with the increase in the size of the meeting houses, carvers sometimes were paid per area, a practice which appears to have favoured quantity over quality of work.

With different groups seeking out carvers, particularly from the early 1870s, Pakeha patrons began paying individual carvers only in cash, as this was their usual mode of business. In turn, with the death of carvers by the end of the 19th century, practising carvers became rare, and thus able to negotiate for cash prices. Due to their economic situation, few found kakahu of practical value. Ultimately they needed to feed their whanau, and these types of ritual goods could not do that. Indeed, many whanau were forced due to their financial situation to sell such heirlooms in exchange for cash. Thus by the late 19th century patrons were in an enviable position of having cash to hire the best quality carvers, often bringing in artists from other areas, as will be discussed later.

Fernie's second role of the patron – that of an arbiter of quality – was just as critical in the duties of the patron. If patrons wished to become successful, they needed to be able

⁵⁸⁵ Neich, *Carved Histories*, 295.

⁵⁸⁶ Hakiwai, "Te Toi Whakairo o Ngati Kahungunu," 233-234.

to discern the good from the bad - in other words, they were expected to be connoisseurs. Fernie defines this practice as involving,

*... the acquisition of an extensive first-hand experience of works of art with the aim, first, of attributing works to artists and schools, identifying styles and establishing sources and influences, and second, of judging their quality and hence their place in a canon.*⁵⁸⁷

Chiefs were often carvers in their own right and thus able to make aesthetic judgements as to the quality of a work. A patron would usually not employ an unknown artist unless they were in no financial position to do otherwise. More often than not though, patrons would wait until they were able to employ a reputable carver. Often the patron remained hands-on through the duration of the project, exercising his or her right of judgment at times. In choosing the artist in charge of large projects, such as meeting houses, the patron had to not only consider their technical skills, but also ability to have,

*... a competent grasp of the whole economic situation ... He specified the time to begin, allotted the different sets of people their portion of the task, supervised the efficiency of the labour, and ordered the whole course of the work, in accordance with practical and magical requirements.*⁵⁸⁸

These were project management skills, negotiating between the patron on the one hand, and his own team on the other. Firth talks of the inter-relationship between the chief and their workers on major projects,

*In communal tasks of any kind the chief held a position of command in the work. He often took the part of the director of the undertaking, keeping them up to the mark of efficiency, and watching that the correct time-sequence of operations was observed. In this capacity he might work equally with his people, or might take no part in the actual labour, but merely exercise supervision over the whole.*⁵⁸⁹

The patron was paying for the final product, and for the carver to deliver that in a timely and budget-conscious manner. Ultimately if a patron was not happy with the work, he could dismiss the carver. However, finding another artist could be a problem, as in general carvers did not touch one another's work. Where patrons were carvers too, one

⁵⁸⁷ Fernie, *Art History and Its Methods*, 330.

⁵⁸⁸ Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, 235.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 236.

option was to finish the work themselves. For some projects, stopping work brought on a state of tapu over the carvings, resulting in works being left to rot rather than be touched by others. In these cases, the patron would ‘write-off’ the house, and move on to another project.

At that stage, the patron might bring in artists from outside the area. This was a method sometimes used by leaders to ‘freshen up’ existing styles and patterns. Perani and Wolff talk of this, “The ability of leaders to recruit artists from a wide area, sometimes from different ethnic groups, is important in contributing to the mobility and spread of art styles.”⁵⁹⁰ They continue, “The reactions to and evaluations of art objects by audiences and critics influence the future decisions of both artist and patrons.”⁵⁹¹ Undoubtedly within Maori culture requests for innovative nuanced work occurred, though rarely. In these cases, the patron would carefully orchestrate the first public viewing, usually in the form of the opening, in order to influence the reception by the audience. If these were accepted publically as significant, they would become part of a carver’s visual vocabulary and would become his ‘signature’ pieces. The introduction of new motifs, their reception and then either dismissal or use in later carvings probably reflected the aesthetic tastes of the patron as much as that of the carver.

The shift away from pataka and waka taua in the 1850s to meeting houses in the 1870s was driven by patrons keen on a new vision for their people. Master carvers working on commission embraced these new forms and, working in close collaboration with the patron chief, soon became adept in creating whare whakairo. Whilst many of these are considered now to be meeting houses, in their day they were seen as belonging to specific patron chiefs; the house Poho o Hiraina was described by Philipps as “the family house of the late Hon. Wi Pere.”⁵⁹² Similarly, the house Tawhirimatea near Gisborne was considered to be the property of Wi Mahuika and Hohepa Waikore⁵⁹³ though it was their hapu who originally commissioned the house in both cases. It is likely that the term ‘meeting house’ which came to describe communal decorated

⁵⁹⁰ Perani and Wolff, “Patronage.”

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

⁵⁹² Phillipps, “Carved Maori Houses of the eastern districts of the North Island,” 97.

⁵⁹³ Ibid, 98.

buildings from the 1870s onwards was projected back in time to describe any building with carving on, regardless of whether these were public or private spaces. This has led to some confusion as to whether some buildings were wharenuī or chief's houses. By the 1870s most chiefs were living in weatherboard houses with shingled roofs, as they were some of the few who could afford such buildings. This left their older abodes – simple whare raupo with occasional carving – for others in the community. In some areas these became communal structures, used for hosting Maori gatherings, whatever size. For the chiefs, their European-inspired houses were used to host Pakeha guests, such as missionaries. All in the communities knew such distinctions in the use of space. Over time, those whare raupo were extended, and decoration added, resulting in the wharenuī.

Research by Neich, Binney, Brown, Sissons and others has shown that all types of meeting houses were innovative to some extent, as they were relatively new forms having only been built en masse from 1870 onwards. As Sissons summarises,

Large carved meeting houses were, therefore, hybrid structures built during a period of rapid political change. During the forty-year period between 1850 and 1890 they were powerful symbols of resistance to military invasion and land alienation and symbols of their owners' [patrons'] allegiance to tribal and pan-tribal movements promoting autonomy and independence (mana motu hake).⁵⁹⁴

Thus, though art patrons wished to show solidarity by keeping within existing templates and models, at the same time they charged themselves to lead by forging modern directions in Maori architecture to make strong visual statements of whakapapa and whenua. Maori patrons first and foremost sought to negotiate changing ideas about group unity and identity through new architectural forms. The pressure was on patron chiefs to signal clearly to their people the importance of keeping together and retaining that which was most important. The past was central, and patrons drew on this to create new art projects.

⁵⁹⁴ Sissons, "The traditionalisation of the meeting house," 39.

Patronage on the East Coast.

At the beginning of the 19th century Iwirakau carvers received commissions from local rangatira for local structures, most notably waka taua, pataka and chiefs' houses, as well as pou on palisades. After the mid-century, patrons put aside existing carved forms and chose others to take their place. Seeking to reiterate their mana, patrons began commissioning new projects on an unprecedented scale. Bolstered by their people who were also reeling from recent turbulent events associated with the Kingitanga, Pai Marire and later Te Kooti, patrons in almost every community actively engaged carvers to make new works for them.

By far the most prevalent group of art patrons of Iwirakau carvers were chiefs from local communities. Usually the artist and patron shared common understandings about art and tradition, with both sides being familiar with existing styles and forms - of what was acceptable and what was not.⁵⁹⁵ They were also usually known to each other, if only by reputation. They would enquire from others to see who the best person for the commission might be and to find out who was available. These were pre-production information-gathering forays which would ensure, as far as was possible, that the project would be undertaken to their exact specifications and would ultimately be completed on time and within budget.

One of the earliest known patrons of the arts on the East Coast was the Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti ariki, Hinematiaro. As befitted her rank, she commissioned the production of a pataka which was known as Te Whatakai-a-Hinematiaro (literally, the food storage house of Hinematiaro), or sometimes Te Kauta-a-Hinematiaro (the cookhouse of Hinematiaro).⁵⁹⁶ The pataka was made from a large tree given to her by Tamatere of Uawa; it is recorded that the tree was “floated out of the bush to the coast, and towed by

⁵⁹⁵ Perani and Wolff, “Contexts of Production and Use.”

⁵⁹⁶ These are probably contemporary descriptions of the building, rather than their actual names, which were usually conceptual, or else named after some distant ancestor.

canoe to Whangara. There it was trimmed and erected as a food storehouse.”⁵⁹⁷ Hinematiaro is also known in relation to two whare. The first was named Te Hamuti,⁵⁹⁸ and was described as a chief’s house. The second was described by Captain Cook and Banks, Solander and Sporing at Pourewa Island on 28 October 1769. Measurements taken at the site indicate that the house, at that stage incomplete, was to be 9.14m long. There were carvings in place along the sides. These depicted human figures. Banks thought the carvings had been done somewhere else - Jahnke believes that these would almost certainly have been carved at Te Rawheoro. Salmond suggests that the poupou collected by Cook were presented as gifts,⁵⁹⁹ though she herself questions this, given that “carvings embodied ancestors and this house must have been highly tapu.”⁶⁰⁰ It is not known what happened to the remaining carvings from this house. Hinematiaro would have also had at least one waka taua, as befitted a person of her high rank. This was almost certainly the waka taua sighted by Cook and his men at Pourewa Pa. This was a significant canoe, measuring 20.9m long and 1.5m wide. Having such carved objects was a visual statement to her people and others of her mana.

Further up the East Coast a few decades later, Iwirakau carvers were busy. Patrons there were usually minor chiefs in smaller communities. Their roles often changed for each project; with some they might co-ordinate the services of a range of artists, whereas for other houses they may negotiate on behalf of another patron. One example of an art patron whose roles changed over time was Mokena Kohere. He commissioned a whareniui named Hoani (John) that was built “using timber taken from Te Porahu and Makawakawa.”⁶⁰¹ Later, he took on the role as agent on behalf of another patron. His grandson, Reweti Kohere, later recounted,

Hikawera [Mahupuku of Ngati Kahungunu] asked Mokena to build him a large carved house, worthy of his position as a great chief. Mokena took with him some of the expert carvers of the Ngati-Porou and the result of their work was

⁵⁹⁷ Ballara, “Hinematiaro.” This whata is no longer standing – the last part of one of the support posts was deposited in Tai Rawhiti Museum in 1954.

⁵⁹⁸ This translates as ‘human excrement.’

⁵⁹⁹ Salmond, *Two Worlds*, 173.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁰¹ WAI 900. *Ruawaipu Report*, 172. Leftover timber was used by Mere Karaka Puwaeari’s father to construct another house called ‘Taiporutu.’

the erection of a magnificent house at Kehemane, Martinborough. It was called "Takitimu," and it took eight years to finish it. The carved slabs of the house were large and high, for timber was abundant in Wairarapa in those early days.

There was some talk of the Government removing the house to Wellington, but before the final arrangements were completed that beautiful work of Maori art was destroyed by fire.⁶⁰²

Some meeting houses were built by chiefs themselves because they could not afford to bring in trained carvers, as Mead comments,

Groups are forced by circumstance to build houses that reflect the size of their purses. Fortunate is a group that has a master carver for it can certainly build a beautiful house. There are numbers of such houses dotted across the country. Sometimes a group will use the talents of a local carver who is not a genius and who will not carve a memorable house. There are also lots of such houses standing today. But the priority is to have a house and a marae; a group with a marae is far better off in all ways than a group which has none. Nevertheless the decorated house is held to be superior. A whare whakairo (carved house) brings great mana to the hapu who owns it.⁶⁰³

Patrons from outside the upper East Coast area also sought out Iwirakau carvers during the mid-late 19th century. The first patron of note was Te Kooti, who was an ardent supporter of the arts, organising his own personal team of artists which would be sent to communities to build whareniui for him. On at least one house, Iwirakau carvers are recorded as having been involved – Takitimu at Kehemane, built between 1880-1887, as mentioned above. Hikawera Mahupuku had been asked by Te Kooti himself to build a large house. As a result, Mahupuku organised, "some of his carvers [to] co-operate in the work."⁶⁰⁴ Neich believes that these same carvers had earlier worked on the house Te Tokanganui-a-Noho (opened 1873)⁶⁰⁵ and maybe Hinetaipora whareniui too (1882-6).⁶⁰⁶ Identifying specific Iwirakau traits based on the only known photograph of Takitimu is difficult. Although it is hard to see the details on the ceiling or side of the porch, the

⁶⁰² Kohere, *Story of a Maori Chief*, 36.

⁶⁰³ *Te Toi Whakairo*, 203.

⁶⁰⁴ "Carved Maori Houses of the Eastern Districts," 71.

⁶⁰⁵ Neich cited the strong similarities between the carved figures in Tokanganui-a-Noho with painted figures in Takitimu (*Painted Histories*, 304).

⁶⁰⁶ Ngata, "The Origin of Maori Carving," 37.

frontal carvings are clear. The raparapa are carved in the Iwirakau manner, with the side-profile face looking up the maihi, and the ‘fingers’ of the terminals ending in koru, an extension of a type used by Hone Taahu.

Te Kooti was not the only external Maori patron of Iwirakau carving. Wi Tako Ngatata of Te Atiawa commissioned carvers from the East Coast to build and carve the pataka named Nukutewhatewha in 1856.⁶⁰⁷ This was designed as one of the Pou o Te Kingitanga (Pillars of the King Movement) which were intended for erection at key locations, thus marking out the territory of the Kingitanga. Ultimately seven Pillars were built, of which only Nukutewhatewha survives. This was one of the last pataka to have been created outside of the Rorotua area where tourism encouraged a longevity of familiar art forms like pataka. Specific Iwirakau traits are difficult to identify on Nukutewhatewha however. Certainly, this building was made before any of the major carvers emerged a decade later. It is unfortunate that the specific names of the carvers have not been recorded, superseded by the name of the patron, Wi Tako Ngatata.

Ngati Kahungunu also sought out Iwirakau carvers. Some time before 1872 Karaitiana Takamoana commissioned Hone Taahu and Hoani Ngatai for a new meeting house at Pakowhai Pa and is discussed in Appendix 2.⁶⁰⁸ This transaction most likely came about from Karaitiana’s marriage to Peti (Betty) Aata of Ngati Porou who brought with her a number of Ngati Porou carvers.⁶⁰⁹ Takamoana’s grandson Te Kauru Karaitiana also wrote that Takamoana wanted to “get some Ngati Porou to do the carvings.”⁶¹⁰ Takamoana died in 1879 by which time the house was not yet erected. Subsequently sixty-six of these carvings left his whanau’s possession, possibly through his brother, Henare Tomoana, who was a dealer in Taonga Maori.⁶¹¹ They are now in a multitude of museums and private collections, both in New Zealand and overseas.

⁶⁰⁷ Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay*, 374.

⁶⁰⁸ It is only through stylistic analysis that these carvers’ names are associated with the carvings.

⁶⁰⁹ Pers. Comm., Rose Mohi, September 2006.

⁶¹⁰ Dimitri Anson, “What’s in a Name? The House Carvings that Dr Hocken Gave Otago Museum,” *JPS* 113.1 (2004): 268.

⁶¹¹ There are too many carvings for a single house (Pers. Comm., Roger Neich, 2005). Ruatepupuke II has 50 carvings, not including the carved façade on the front wall of the porch.

Another Ngati Kahungunu chief, Te Hapuku, also sought out Iwirakau carvers. Some time before 1865, he approached Te Kihirini to buy his carvings and shaped timbers. However, the deal fell through by the end of the New Zealand Wars, when not only was Te Hapuku's financial position precarious, but also a new patron had signalled his desire for the works - Rapata Wahawaha. The subsequent history of the works is discussed later in this chapter.

Pakeha comprised a third distinct group of patrons of Iwirakau carvers. Perani and Wolff would describe this group as 'external patrons,'

*Common cultural understandings cannot be assumed, so that when an out-group commissioning patron enters into negotiation with an artist prior to production, there may be a need for a detailed exchange of information concerning attributes of an art object.*⁶¹²

Within New Zealand, there was no one *type* of Pakeha patron. Some purchased ready-made items, such as meeting houses or panels, at the same time as others commissioned carvers to build or re-model existing carvings. Neich outlines some of the main categories of European patron in the late 1800s as including the church, tourist operators (such as Charles Nelson) and the Tourist Department, and museums (notably Auckland Museum, the Dominion Museum and Canterbury Museum.)⁶¹³ The lines between the different groups were often not clearly drawn however. The roles of individuals altered according to changes in their occupation. This was most notable with men who worked for the Government on the one hand, though acting as agents for museums on the other. Linda Tuhiwai Smith in *Decolonizing Methodologies* talks of this slippage from one role to another from a Maori perspective,

During the Land Wars ... the multiple roles of colonists became far more problematic for some tribes, as military men who led campaigns against Maori then became resident magistrates or land commissioners who presided over the

⁶¹² Perani and Wolff, *Cloth, Dress and Art Patronage in Africa*, 51.

⁶¹³ Private collectors were mostly interested in purchasing existing taonga because of the presumed age of the object which would be considered to be authentic in that the maker had little contact with European culture. Commissioning new works would be presumed to have non-Maori motifs or styles. One exception is Augustus Hamilton who collected taonga but also commissioned new work in his role as Museum Director of the Dominion Museum.

*alienation of Maori land, or interpreters in trials or land dealings, or, in later life, 'reliable' and respected sources on Maori beliefs and customs.*⁶¹⁴

One might use the term 'conflict of interest' to describe the activities of these men. The reality was that there were few Pakeha who were knowledgeable about Taonga Maori. Their awareness of things Maori often came through their wide and constant travelling and meeting with key figures within tribal and sub-tribal districts. Whilst the reputation of East Coast carvers was well-known, within Maori circles at least, it was only gaining momentum in other 'markets' by the 1860s.

In the late 19th century there were several instances of the acquisition by Pakeha patrons of completed art products made by Iwirakau carvers. A number of different, often competitive, markets emerged; the most active patrons were museums (both national and international) and private collectors. One instance is the buying trip for the Berlin Academy of Science in 1897 by its representative Georg Thilenius.⁶¹⁵ He wrote that it was getting difficult to find pieces worthy of being in the museum as most of the pre-Contact pieces were already in collections, and Maori were making carvings which were not to his taste.⁶¹⁶ However, he was optimistic that he could buy a meeting house from East Cape though he conceded to the Assistant Director⁶¹⁷ of the Royal Anthropology Museum in Berlin, Felix Von Luschan,⁶¹⁸ that it might be expensive. Thilenius indicated that there was a second option of commissioning a wharenuī for £150, but his superiors turned down this proposal.

⁶¹⁴ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 82. Smith uses the example of the brothers Mair who both fought in the New Zealand Wars who later became interpreters in the Maori Land Court (Ibid, 93, n.13).

⁶¹⁵ The year before, he was appointed as anatomist at the University of Strasbourg, and was presumably in this role when he visited New Zealand. In 1900 he was appointed Professor of Anthropology and Ethnology at the University of Breslau which led to his appointment in 1904 as the Director of the Hamburgisches Museum für Volkerkunde until 1935. He died two years later.

⁶¹⁶ Marcus Schindlbeck, "On the History of the Maori Collection in the Museum für Volkerkunde, Berlin," in *Taonga Maori Conference, New Zealand, 18-27 November, 1990* (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1992), 70.

⁶¹⁷ File note for VC200, Museum für Volkerkunde, Basel. My thanks to Andrea Muehlebach, Student Assistant, 1998 for sending this through.

⁶¹⁸ Luschan was appointed Assistant Director of the Royal Anthropology Museum in Berlin in 1885, later becoming Director of the African and Oceanic Department in 1904, a role he held until 1911.

The reputation of Iwirakau carvers was also known in Switzerland. In 1903 the Director of Auckland Museum, Henry Suter, purchased a broken raparapa for the Museum für Volkerkunde in Basel. Suter had advised them that for a bit of “ready cash” in Gisborne you could purchase “good Maori curios” but that sometimes it could take years to get more as “often Maoris were not sure whether they wanted to sell them or not.”⁶¹⁹

Nonetheless, there were some houses available for purchase by whoever had the required price. Henare Potae sold his damaged carvings to Canterbury Museum in 1873, Wi Pewhairangi sold Ruatepupuke II in the 1890s to a curio dealer known only by his surname, Hindmarsh,⁶²⁰ while half of O Hine Waiapu was sold around the same time to Auckland Museum.

Little is known about the sale of Ruatepupuke II. Hakiwai and Terrell note that the house was “in disrepair by the late 1880s or early 1890s.”⁶²¹ This seems most perplexing given that the house was still young, having only been opened in 1881. Hindmarsh is identified as a ‘local,’ suggesting that he lived in either Gisborne or Napier, the two largest towns in the area at that time. He must have had contacts overseas as his purchase had been shipped to Hamburg, Germany by 1905,

*In 1905, George Dorsey, the Curator of Anthropology at the newly established Field Columbian Museum (now the Field Museum), was travelling through Europe to purchase interesting specimens to enrich the collections of this fledgling scientific institution in the New world. On July 22, Dorsey wrote to the Museum’s Director, F. J. V. Skiff, asking permission to purchase a long list of things from the firm of J. F. G. Umlauff of Hamburg Germany’s foremost dealer in natural history specimens and cultural objects.*⁶²²

⁶¹⁹ “Ngati Porou Houses file,” AIM.

⁶²⁰ This is Phillipps’ ‘Tolaga Bay House 4’ which he claims was purchased by Henry Hill and on sold to an unknown British buyer (“Carved Houses of the Eastern Districts,” 107). He calls this house Te Kani a Takirau. Conversely, Rob de Z. Hall names Phillipps’ ‘Tolaga Bay House 2’ as Te Kani a Takirau. Laurie, on the other hand, believes this is the house Ruapekapeka. Simmons believes that the carvings in Auckland Museum, commonly called ‘The Buller House’ after the buyer are Te Kani a Takirau.

⁶²¹ *Ruatepupuke*, 13.

⁶²² *Ibid*, 16. Umlauff’s pitch would not go amiss in contemporary auction catalogues; it reads, “This is the only complete Maori house in existence outside of New Zealand.” However, this was not so – Charles Nelson sold the house Rauru to the Museum für Volkerkunde in Hamburg some time around 1904 for the price of £1500; whilst the house Te Wharepuni-a-Maui, also from around Rotorua, was sold in 1911 to the Linden Museum in Stuttgart

But this was not the first whareniui sold by the whanau on the East Coast. According to oral history collected by Melpham, in 1885 the meeting house named Rerekohu was sold to an American geologist whose name was not recorded.⁶²³ Its present whereabouts are unknown. What made whanau give up these two houses is unclear. Ruatepupuke seems to have been considered as run down, and perhaps Rerekohu was the same.

In addition to those mentioned above, a group of carvings from a house only known as ‘Tolaga Bay House (3)’ was purchased by Henry Hill, the Inspector of Schools for the Hawke’s Bay and avid collector of Taonga Maori. Phillipps places Hill “coming into the possession” of carvings some time after a photograph of the house was taken in the early 1890s.⁶²⁴ He later “sold the raparapa and doorway to Augustus Hamilton for the Dominion Museum collection.”⁶²⁵ Where the remainder of the carvings are is a mystery.

Thus the 1880s and 1890s seems to be a period in which new meeting houses were made, prompting a re-evaluation of older existing buildings, such as pataka and chief’s houses. Some of these were sold, while others were dismantled and re-made into other buildings. For many the taking apart of houses resulted in a disappearance of the names and identities of the houses they were once associated with. Numerous carvings in museum collections attest to this. Many of these made their way onto the market via Edward Walker, the storekeeper at Port Awanui. Walker had initially held a store in Opotiki, but fled when Hauhau supporters arrived in the town in 1865. He moved to Whakatane, then on to Waipiro Bay and then took over a hotel at Port Awanui.⁶²⁶ He is known to have obtained a number of carvings from local Maori at this time. One of those was a poutokomanawa in Auckland Museum about which Walker noted that he had “obtained it at Tikapa marae in the 1890s, he was told by Karaitiana Wharehinga that the figure was Iwirakau, an ancestor who lived there ten generations earlier.”⁶²⁷ Walker sold this piece to Auckland Museum in 1898, the year before he died. He would

⁶²³ Melpham, *Te Hono ki Rarotonga*, 1.

⁶²⁴ Phillipps, “Carved Maori Houses of the Eastern districts,” 106

⁶²⁵ Ibid.

⁶²⁶ Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay*, 342.

⁶²⁷ “Poutokomanawa,” *Auckland Museum Taonga Database*, <http://tekakano.aucklandmuseum.com/objectdetail.asp?database=maori&objectid=215> (accessed May 25, 2011).

have been familiar with the value of such objects on the open market, and it is unlikely that he would have on-sold them for no compensation.

Whilst Walker seems to have acted as conduit or middleman, Hill, mentioned above, was on the receiving end of such deals. Through his travels as a head school inspector, Hill was able to purchase a number of carvings along the East Coast area, such as fourteen carvings now in Te Papa Tongarewa that are attributable to Iwirakau carvers.⁶²⁸

Another collector of East Coast material was Walter Buller, a lawyer and ornithologist, who collected a range of taonga, most notably almost an entire house. Simmons identified this as the 'Buller House', but as research has revealed, the carvings were actually from O Hine Waiapu, a house located across the Waiapu River from where Walker's store was. It is most likely that Walker acted as liaison, acquiring the set of carvings, and then on-selling them to Buller. However, it is unclear how Buller would have known about the carvings, or taken possession of them given that his base in the 1890s (the carvings entered the museum in 1898) was in the Manawatu, far away. One possibility is that the carvings were removed from the area and taken to Gisborne or Napier, which were large enough towns to attract sellers and dealers of taonga Maori, particularly those who knew of the reputation of East Coast carvers, which would increase the price of any carving.

The O Hine Waiapu carvings are also associated with the names L. Moncrief Nutt and Goffe on the registration cards in Auckland Museum. Of the former, relatively little is known. He is mentioned in the Annual Report of the Polynesian Society in 1939 as having been elected onto their Council. He lived in Hastings. Further up the Coast was William E. Goffe, who was an interpreter for Parliament, before being promoted to Land Purchase Officer, stationed at Wellington, Whanganui, and lastly Gisborne. Given his positions and last residence it is likely that he would have been given carvings by whanau and hapu or been able to purchase them at cost in order for him to look favourably upon them.

⁶²⁸ ME.273 (paepae), ME.277 (paepae), ME.278 (paepae), ME.287 (koruru), ME.288 (koruru), ME.1892 (amo), ME.1894 (raparapa), ME.1896 (koruru), ME.1901 (whakawae), ME.1902 (whakawae), ME.1904 (whakawae), ME.4229 a and b (two pou) and ME.8517 (carved slab).

Taonga were removed primarily from the porches of meeting and chief's houses (eg. paepae, koruru, whakawae). These carvings are usually easily detached and can be loaded into a cart or other form of transport relatively quickly. Perhaps their movement out of the East Coast began with their being taken down from the whareniui because of rot or a change in allegiance, and being put away for safekeeping⁶²⁹ in the hope that they would be used in a new whareniui. Certainly with the advent of museums, Maori often deposited damaged carvings with them in the hope that they would be conserved and available for study by future generations.

Douglas Cole uses the term 'scramble' to describe the collecting habits which emerged in the 1860s and 1870s in the Northwest Coast of Canada.⁶³⁰ Similarly Ruth B. Phillips in discussing collecting in Canada describes how, "ethnological collectors" acted as "field workers depart[ing] with 'shopping lists' of desired objects."⁶³¹ In relation to Christchurch, Paul Walker commented that "Canterbury was, of course, in competition with other museums in its acquisition and display of objects."⁶³² The politics of collecting taonga in Aotearoa have been well debated (Paul Tapsell's writings, *Ko Tawa* and *Pukaki*, are two cases in point), as has the place that museums played in gathering taonga.⁶³³ What emerges from this research is a call for early colonial collecting habits to be seen in the context in which they occurred, rather than applying contemporary sensibilities to them. But, equally, if the past is not learnt from, then what is the future? The way in which taonga were collected and made their way into museums is a complicated and vexed issue which is only now coming to be understood.

⁶²⁹ Recently this occurred on the house Tai Rawhiti at Rangitukia, whose koruru and raparapa have been removed for this very reason. Considering the history of the amo, raparapa and koruru 100 years ago (where they were taken away by a local and sold) a close eye is being kept on them.

⁶³⁰ Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage. The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artefacts* (Norman: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).

⁶³¹ Janet Catherine Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips, *Native North American Art* (Oxford and New York: Oxford. University Press, 1998), 56.

⁶³² Paul Walker, "'The Maori House' at the Canterbury Museum," *Interstices* 4 (1995): 6, <http://www.interstices.auckland.ac.nz/i4/thehtml/papers/walker/front.htm>.

⁶³³ See Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori: A history of colonial cultures of display* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2007).

Case studies: The formation of tradition by patrons of Ngati Porou whare whakairo.

This next section focuses on two case studies in order to gauge whether Maori and Pakeha patrons formed the concept of tradition differently. The first is the meeting house Porourangi built at Waiomatatini, initially a project of self-patronage, but later taken on by Rapata Wahawaha to epitomize Iwirakau carving excellence. The second is Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa, initially commissioned by Henare Potae of Tokomaru Bay, a friend of Wahawaha, but later sold by him to Canterbury Museum and eventually completed under the direction of Pakeha patrons. There are common elements in both cases: they were commissioned by one patron and completed by another; the change in patrons did not affect a change in artist; external events intervened halting progress on the projects, and the existing carvings were left for at least a decade; both used a team of two carvers – one a master, the other an apprentice; and the majority of the carving was done in the 1870s, and involved the same carver as apprentice – Tamati Ngakaho.

For both houses and all those involved, what was at stake was mana, both personal and tribal. The New Zealand Wars seems to have prompted both Maori and Pakeha to think about the past, present and future more strategically, and the critical ways in which tradition needed to be maintained in order for culture to survive.

Porourangi at Waiomatatini – an example of in-group patronage.

The beginnings of Porourangi date to the early 1860s. Apirana Mahuika recounted at the Centennial of the opening of the house,

*... at the birth of his son [Kihirini] decided he was going to build a house at Whakawhitira so he felled three totara from Mangoporo and floated them on the Mangoparo and Waiapu Rivers to our home called Kaiaha where he began his carving. And after a while he let it settle there so that the timber would season.*⁶³⁴

⁶³⁴ *Porourangi Centennial Hui audiotape*, 1988, Radio New Zealand.

However, Te Hapuku (**Fig. 108**), chief of Ngati Te Whatu-i-apiti of Hawkes Bay, heard about the carvings and approached Te Kihirini some time in the early 1860s.⁶³⁵ Te Hapuku was himself a carver,⁶³⁶ and already had a large whare runanga (meeting house) “which possessed carvings of great stature” at his pa at Waipukurau in the 1850s.⁶³⁷ The carvings were destined for a new house he was planning. A letter from G. Ebbett to W. J. Phillips corroborates the Hapuku connection,

*I understand the carvings were completed but there was difficulty about getting the ridge pole. Finally one was got North of Gisborne. It was floated down the coast to Port Awanui. There was then further hitches and delay and finally it got to Waiomatatini, was incorporated in a house there [Porourangi] and never got to Pakowhai.*⁶³⁸

By the end of the New Zealand Wars, trouble was mounting for Te Hapuku. He was in serious debt⁶³⁹ and unable to afford the shipping fee to take the carvings further down the East Coast to his pa.⁶⁴⁰ This Ngati Kahungunu connection was still remembered fifty years after the opening of Porourangi, when the following history was recounted,

Timbers felled and shaped for a house in Hawkes Bay. A Hawkes Bay chief suggested to Wahawaha that Ngati Porou give the principal beams for a meeting house. Wahawaha obtained the totara from the Mangaoporo Valley. The locality from which it was cut was owned by J McNeil, a sheepfarmer. The trees were felled and stripped in the bush, then floated down the Mangaoporo and Waiapu rivers to Hamana Mahuika's property at Kaitaha. Three totara trunks were reserved for the ridgepole. Carving on them was started by Kihirini

⁶³⁵ Oliver, “Tamati Ngakaho,” According to Oliver, the carvings were intended for Te Hapuku, but there is no mention of Kihirini preparing the carvings for his own project, which would have been a case of self-patronage.

⁶³⁶ Although he was not prolific two carvings can be attributed to him – a rakau whakapapa (genealogical staff) in Hawke's Bay Museum (A.11) and a poupu in Auckland Museum which once resided in the house west of Ahuriri (Hakiwai, “Te Toi Whakairo o Ngati Kahungunu,” 171).

⁶³⁷ Ibid, 230.

⁶³⁸ Ibid, 269.

⁶³⁹ Angela Ballara, “Te Hapuku – Biography,” *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t28/1> (accessed May 26, 2011).

⁶⁴⁰ However, by the early 1870s Te Hapuku's situation had changed, and he commissioned a new house called Kahuranaki, which opened in 1876 at Te Hauke. He was also possibly responsible for another house, this time at Taradale which was called Heretaunga. Those carvings were relocated in 1871, and the house eventually burnt down in 1895.

- they were then floated again to Rangitukia to await shipment to Hawkes Bay.⁶⁴¹

This implies that Wahawaha (**Fig. 109**) had acted as agent for Ngati Kahungunu⁶⁴² in much the same way as Mokena Kohere had acted as agent for Mahupuku in the Wairarapa. Such connections between leaders were the foundation of Maori society. These were strengthened, or weakened in some cases, during times of conflict, such as the New Zealand Wars. The report further provides a sequence of events: timbers felled, timbers shaped or stripped, timbers floated to a separate site, three logs identified for the tahuhu, some carving undertaken, then all floated again to Rangitukia for removal to another location. However, history intervened with the outbreak of the Pai Marire troubles in the area, specifically in Rangitukia, resulting in the carvings remaining there for a further 10 years “uncared for.” At the end of the Wars the carvings were still considered to be Te Hapuku’s by their very placement in Rangitukia awaiting shipment.

By 1878 Wahawaha had just moved from Gisborne back to Waipiro Bay and was at the height of his career: that same year he was awarded a £200 annual pension in acknowledgement of his services to the Crown and was presented with the Sword of Honour by Queen Victoria. He was also appointed a member of the Legislative Council.⁶⁴³ Such funds would enable him to build a meeting house which would rival any of the others built by other iwi at this time, such as Tama Te Kapua (1873) or Mataatua (1873). Having this elevated status as a national leader would have made Wahawaha consider how Ngati Porou compared with other iwi. Militarily they were well-known, but it was time that he too had a whare whakairo which he could call their own.

After “much negotiation” Te Kihirini agreed to Wahawaha’s proposal, selling him the existing material and taking on the job of completing the house. Te Kihirini was a man in his 40s by this time but only had limited carving experience. Perhaps it was for this reason that Tamati Ngakaho was brought in who was also relatively inexperienced.

⁶⁴¹ *Poverty Bay Herald* (April 1938).

⁶⁴² This is in contrast to Mahuika’s claim of Te Kihirini undertaking this massive task.

⁶⁴³ He was not always popular though – in 1875 he stood as candidate for Eastern Maori but was unsuccessful.

When Wahawaha secured the carvings only some had been shaped out; the tahuhu, for instance, was fully carved and sat in three sections.⁶⁴⁴ Te Kihirini returned to the Mangaoporo Valley for more timber which was “pit sawn in the bush under the guidance of William Hillman, a European.”⁶⁴⁵ All the logs were then returned to Waiomatatini which became the main carving site. Te Kihirini soon faced another dilemma - the logs he had carved for his house did not fit with the dimensions of the new house. Mahuika wrote,

Kihirini found that the trees that he had in fact felled and brought here were too long for the ridgepole and he had blessed those trees and according to Maori protocol its [sic] not a good thing to disregard that tapu. However, he decided himself that he would cut the trees shorter to accommodate the dimensions of Porourangi. And he knew full well what the consequences of that act would be on himself personally.

This master carver was in a quandary. He knew that the rules of tapu dictated that carvings should not be tampered with once finished. He was also aware of the consequences. Yet Te Kihirini agreed to cut the tahuhu. Was this due to pressure from Wahawaha? Whatever the case, the tahuhu was cut and Te Kihirini died soon after, aged in his fifties. The tapu was passed down to the next generation also, with Te Kihirini’s son also dying in his 50s, however, his grandson lived much longer, and thus the tapu was broken.

The carvers broke with tradition in a number of ways in this house. The tools that were used embraced new technology, with Ngakaho using “an ordinary table knife, ground to a point”⁶⁴⁶ as described in the previous chapter. The carvers also embraced contemporary building materials such as corrugated iron for the walls and roof. Such use of European building materials was not unusual; Maori used what was available to them and corrugated iron was one medium which could provide much better protection

⁶⁴⁴ Oliver, “Ngakaho.”

⁶⁴⁵ *Poverty Bay Standard* (Nov-Dec 1882). William Hillman, who was a cousin of “Yankee Bill” Hazel, lived at the Bay of Islands before he moved to the East Coast. There he was a cooper (maker or repairer of caskets or barrels) at various whaling stations. He was one of a group which prepared the timber for Porourangi meeting house at Waiomatatini in 1888. In later years he found employment on sheep-stations. He died at the Memorial Home at Gisborne. His claim to fame was that he had helped cut the timber for the first church in Russell in the mid-1830s. As such he would have been familiar with some of the techniques for cutting down tress and pit-sawing (Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay*, 154).

⁶⁴⁶ *Poverty Bay Standard* (Nov-Dec 1882).

against the elements than raupo thatch. Pakeha observers and commentators did not always welcome such innovation, however. Herbert William Williams in writing about Ngati Porou wharenuī in 1895⁶⁴⁷ commented, "... corrugated iron and milled timbers threaten its appearance, as surely as iron tools have affected the method of construction."⁶⁴⁸ Williams and his contemporaries had a distinct view on wharenuī, and innovations like those he describes above, were seen as inauthentic, regardless of what Maori thought.

Porourangi is fully carved and decorated throughout. The carvings record tribal and sub-tribal ancestors, chosen as part of a negotiation between the patron and the carver. Those at the front of Porourangi represented important ancestors to whom many from the East Coast could trace descent from, including Porourangi, Tumoanakotore and Tutē-rangi-whiu. Mahuika noted that Wahawaha was intent on depicting "all the senior genealogies, Uenuku from Hawaiki through Paikea, from Toi Kai Rakau line."⁶⁴⁹ Wahawaha's planned use of the wharenuī is encapsulated in the maihi where only the raparapa are carved. According to Kaiwai, this was in order to "show that no eating, smoking or entertainment should take place in this meeting house."⁶⁵⁰ Wahawaha and Te Kihirini must have thought that there may have been risk of this occurring in order for them to have made these edicts so explicit, placed on the front of the house, before it was entered. Kaiwai later added, "However this rule is not being carried out today, and seems of little importance."⁶⁵¹ This was exactly the reasoning behind Apirana Ngata later initiating the idea of the wharekai, a site where such 'eating, smoking or entertainment' *could* take place. The raparapa is the only place in the house where there is a sense of the concerns of the patron and the carver for the eventual uses of the wharenuī, and their reaction to such frivolities.

⁶⁴⁷ "The Maori Whare," 145. This was based on information provided by Rev. Mohi Turei.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁹ *Porourangi Centennial Hui audiotape*.

⁶⁵⁰ "Porourangi," 49.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid.

Inside the house, there are 12 carvings on either side of the interior of the house, with six epa down each end of the house, and a poutuarongo and poutahu at either end. There are two poutokomanawa. At the base of each tukutuku panel, which intersperse the carvings, is a papaka (carved base board). The carvings depict ancestors from one side of the Waiapu river on one side and ancestors from the other facing them.⁶⁵² Their identities are recognised from their poses and their attributes.

The tukutuku panels also have ancestors, whose poses mirror those in the carvings. Te Rangi Hiroa describes these ancestor tukutuku panels as anthromorphs, and cites Porourangi as the prime example of them.⁶⁵³ Specific traits that Ngakaho used in Porourangi include the hand-through-mouth, and the side profile-faced figure (**Fig. 110**). This suggests that Ngakaho had a close working relationship with the tukutuku master, Karauria Kauri. The tukutuku patterns are arranged diagonally across the house and may be organised with Ngati Porou ancestors on the left-hand side, with ancestors from other areas on the other side.⁶⁵⁴

At the base of twenty of the tukutuku panels, names are included to aid identification and emphasise the transmission of knowledge from one generation to another. The figures on some of the tukutuku panels are stacked in lines of descent, again to mirror compositions in the carvings. On the back wall, for example, one of the tukutuku panels is organised with Tukaki at the top, Kainga in the middle, and Apanui at the bottom. This particular choice of ancestors acknowledges the special relationship with neighbouring tribe, Te Whanau-a-Apanui. At other times, the ancestor figures are arranged according to seniority; for instance, on one of the epa on the front interior wall are Taa and Hauti, two of the sons of Hingangaroa and Iranui (**Fig. 111**). Reference to the patron's whakapapa is made with the inclusion of Pakira from whom Wahawaha was descended. The tukutuku patterns were considered so important that they were incorporated as part of a haka composed partly by notable song-writer and possible carver of the house, Mohi Turei:

⁶⁵² Pers.Comm., Keri Kaa, October 2009.

⁶⁵³ Te Rangi Hiroa, (Sir Peter Buck), "Maori Decorative Art: No. 1 (Arapaki, Tuitui, or Tukutuku)," *TPNZI 1868-1961* 53 (1921), 463.

⁶⁵⁴ Vicki Heikell, "Porourangi," Tai Rawhiti Museum Archives.

Titiro ra o kanohi ki nga pakitara-a-ha-ha!

Ka kite koe i te kurawa wawawawai,

Ka kite koe i te takara rarararau.

Look your face at the wall, hey.

See the kurawa wawawawai [pattern],

See the takara rarararau [pattern].

According to Ngata, Turei described these patterns as “quite modern, if recognized at all,” though they are considered to be ‘traditional’ today. Those recorded in this haka were probably an example of creative licence in order to play with alliteration in the stanza. Te Rangi Hiroa notes that “It is extremely difficult to draw the line of demarcation between original Maori patterns and those of post-European date.”⁶⁵⁵ In fact, he notes that the pattern came first, and then the name,

*The Maori has always been apt at naming places or objects from incidents that actually happened in his new home or were told of the old home in Polynesia, or from resemblances actually seen or attributed by his mythopoetic imagination. He could always find a name. According as the thought struck the tribal craftsman on the completion of his work, so he named his handiwork. The name was adopted by his assistants and became the tribal name. Thus we have a variety of names for the same motives amongst different tribes.*⁶⁵⁶

Artists were encouraged by their patrons to be retainers of tradition, but also generators of new ideas. With the tukutuku, the Porourangi poutama was a new pattern designed specifically for this house. Its success can be gauged by the fact that it has been used in meeting houses around the country through to today as a reference to the East Coast and Ngati Porou.⁶⁵⁷ These patterns were made all the more novel with the use of Judson dyes.⁶⁵⁸ These were synthetic pigments that were readily embraced by weavers because of their range of colours but also because it was much quicker to tint fibre than with

⁶⁵⁵ “Maori Decorative Art: No. 1, House-panels (Arapaki, Tuitui, or Tukutuku),” *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand 1868-1961* 53 (1921), 460.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁷ In a similar way a new pattern initiated in the Arawa house Rangitihi is now known by the name of the house (Ibid).

⁶⁵⁸ In the 1838 renovation, Ngata replaced all the tukutuku using only ‘traditional’ “Maori colours” rather than those offered by Judson dyes. He also repainted all the kowhaiwhai.

existing methods. With Judson dyes, the weaver could go straight on to dyeing the prepared fibres, releasing them from the time-consuming process of preparing pigments from soaking bark of the tanekaha and raurekau and other trees. Te Rangi Hiroa wrote,

*Owing to European influence in providing motives, and colouring-matter in Judson's dyes, the panels, in many instances, became more complicated in design, and, owing to the introduction of greens, violets, and other colours unknown to the tattooed craftsman, more inartistic in effect.*⁶⁵⁹

Having a much broader colour palette was exciting to artists, but not always welcomed by audiences and commentators. Hiroa above calls the final product ‘inartistic’ suggesting that it was not welcome to those with good taste. Similarly, Edward Tregear wrote disparagingly of Judson’s dyes, calling them ‘hideous’, producing “vulgar effects.”⁶⁶⁰ With the tukutuku, Karauria decided to expand on the usual black and white palette to include green, yellow, purple and red.⁶⁶¹ New motifs such as the square and octagon were also introduced. In sum, the tukutuku at Porourangi extended the form beyond anything that had been attempted before, and was sanctioned by the patron because not only did it emphasise whakapapa, but also because he wanted something new and different rather than just like all other meeting houses of the time.

The kowhaiwhai (**Fig. 112**) on the porch heke are linked across the house. The pattern on the tahuhi is mangotipi. The twelve sets of heke are divided down the length into quarters, each distinguished by a different colour. The main patterns on these are maui and mangotipi. Several are un-named. Williams collected several of these patterns as examples of ‘classic’ Maori kowhaiwhai. It is presumed that Ngakaho painted the kowhaiwhai because he had assisted Taahu in Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa. The patterns would have been chosen in conjunction, if not guided by, Wahawaha in order to showcase and record for prosperity the most important patterns of the area.

⁶⁵⁹ “Maori Decorative Art,” 452.

⁶⁶⁰ Edward Tregear, *Maori Art* (Wanganui: Archibald Dudingston Wills, 1904), 221.

⁶⁶¹ *Poverty Bay Herald* (Saturday 31 March 1888). The tukutuku was replaced by Ngata in 1938 when the brilliant colours were left to the past.

The performance of tradition was not only retained but expanded as a reflection of the mana of the patron. The kawanga of Porourangi replicated long-standing protocols used to mark certain stages in the building process. By 1883 the house was ready to be opened but the community was not prepared for such a large undertaking. Perani and Wolff observe,

*... as a consumer, the patron is the economic motivator who stimulates artistic production and thus not only influences stylistic continuity within a tradition but can also function as an agent of change. Of equal importance is the key role the patron plays in introducing the object into the social context where it may be evaluated by the wider community.*⁶⁶²

The opening of the meeting house required careful planning. The kawa had to be carefully choreographed in order to firstly establish Porourangi as the leading house for all Ngati Porou and, by extension, confirm Wahawaha's status as arbiter of quality and tradition. Ngata recalled fondly the preparations that went into the opening of Porourangi.

*I ... accompanied the old people when they gathered the raupo, toetoe, and saplings for the wharous, or sleeping-places, which had to be built to accommodate the 8,000 visitors at the opening ceremony in 1888. For three months I was drilled and disciplined in many kinds of hakas. The celebrations lasted a week. The haka parties occupied from near the gate back to the marae, and thence back to almost where the church is now.*⁶⁶³

Planning to host such a grand occasion was twofold: firstly, the accommodation and feasting requirements, and secondly, the performing arts necessities. Such event management was on a grand scale, particularly given the fact that only a few hundred people lived in the area at that time, and as such Wahawaha needed to persuade other hapu to help out. The mana that would be enhanced, he would suggest, was not that of Waiomatatini or his own, but the mana of the entire tribe.

The opening began on Monday 26 March 1888 and by the Wednesday a full capacity of 8,000 manuhiri had arrived for the festivities, a phenomenal number given that the national Maori population in the Census 1886 was only 43,900. Wahawaha used the opening to identify and discuss key local and national issues, both with Ngati Porou and

⁶⁶² Perani and Wolff, "Patronage."

⁶⁶³ Eric Ramsden, *Sir Apirana Ngata and Maori Culture* (Wellington: A.H. & A. W. Reed, 1948), 54.

other Maori. Wahawaha began his formal address with these words, “Ngati Porou I have finished your house. It is for all your deliberations in conducting the welfare of the people, and I and mine will look after it for you.”⁶⁶⁴ This reveals Wahawaha’s intended purpose of the house, that it be a tribal centre for all hapu to use and enjoy though he advises that his hapu would be the kaitiaki on behalf of the tribe.⁶⁶⁵ By the end of the hui, Wahawaha’s reputation as a champion of Ngati Porou was recognized on a national scale. The meeting house he stood in was a repository of tribal knowledge through the depiction of numerous ancestors in the decoration. Porourangi was also meant as a model meeting house, one that would influence subsequent whareniui, locally and nationally, in relation to its quantity and quality of decoration.⁶⁶⁶ Tradition was one element of Maori culture about which Wahawaha felt very strongly. Recent military upheavals had cemented his resolution for his people to remain ‘tuturu’ (steadfast) in their retention of their culture and their history. Porourangi would be the ultimate site in which this could occur.

Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa – an example external patronage.

In the early 1860s in Tokomaru Bay, the rangatira Henare Potae began thinking about a building a new personal residence.⁶⁶⁷ He had money at his disposal and also a reputation

⁶⁶⁴ *Poverty Bay Herald* (Saturday 31 March 1888 and 14 April 1938).

⁶⁶⁵ Following this, the manuhiri were taken around the house and then seated at a table at one end of the house, with Wahawaha and other chiefs at another table at the other end. A number of speeches were made; James Carroll’s was typical of them, speaking on behalf of the kaumatua, and calling for a number of changes to the policies and infrastructure of Government on a national and local level in order to take account of Maori concerns. Following this, the Native Minister replied that these issues would be considered. They then retired to ‘Wahawaha’s cottage’ for lunch, following which the ‘Ngati Rifles’ paraded in front of Mitchelson who left soon after.

⁶⁶⁶ It is, therefore, surprising that Ngata took Te Hau ki Turanga as his prime model for students enrolled in the School of Maori Arts in Rotorua in the late 1920s, as discussed in the next chapter.

⁶⁶⁷ Leo Fowler, in writing to Duff in 1955, negotiating the relocation of Hau Te Ana Nui back to the Coast, talks of a chief named Patara Rangi whom kaumatua had described as having sold a house, and “that as a consequence his mana diminished as did his fortunes. In short, he makutu’d himself” (“Letter, Fowler to Duff, 30 March 1955,” Canterbury Museum Archives). Rangi had a chequered history. The first mention of him is in 1844 when he was described as being “at war” with Te Kani a Takirau as he had taken his wife. Next it is 1865 when he is labelled “a second ranking Hauhau leader” (Oliver and Thompson, *Challenge and Response*, 91) and was in Opotiki in February with Kereopa. By June he was in the Waiapu along with other Pai Marire supporters prompting Wahawaha to rally his hapu Te Aowera into action, and marching on the pa Te Hatepe (Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay*, 219). By 1880 he was

as a host of political hui - in 1862 he hosted one at Tokomaru Bay attended by 2,000 people and lasting five days.⁶⁶⁸ This was described as "... a great resuscitation of old ceremonies, war dances and sham fights."⁶⁶⁹ Feasting on the scale of the Porourangi hui displayed Potae's wealth,

*... immense qualities of food were consumed. Nine bullocks, a great many pigs, tons of flour, and innumerable potatoes were prepared and disposed of to the satisfaction of all parties. A large shed, 24 feet by 30 feet, had been prepared to receive the visitors. This place was found to be too small.*⁶⁷⁰

The 'large shed' would not have adequately reflected Potae's status as an important chief of Ngati Porou.⁶⁷¹ It was at this juncture that he began organizing a new whareniui. Oliver suggests that the house may have been built to mark Potae's appointment as an assessor in Governor Grey's runanga system in 1862.⁶⁷² Another possibility is that he wanted a whareniui in recognition of his new status as a catechist.⁶⁷³

At this point Potae approached the carver Hone Taahu. Both parties were clear about the expected high standard (to have carving on the exterior at least, to be in the form of a chief's house, but larger) and use (to host hui and accommodate visitors). During the early 1860s Taahu was gaining a name for himself through two meeting house projects he was working on near to where Potae lived in Tokomaru Bay: Te Poho o Te Aotawarirangi at Te Ariuru Marae at Waima and Maui Tikitiki a Taranga at Paerata Marae in the Maungahauini Valley.⁶⁷⁴ Both whareniui were fully carved in the porch suggesting that there may have been some competition between hapu for Taahu's

identified as "one of the principal chiefs of the area" ("Letter, de Z. Hall to Neich, August 30, 1987", Auckland Museum Archives), commissioning a new house, named Te Kani a Takirau, though other sources only put him as the builder. The naming of the whareniui is unusual given the actions of Te Kani only the previous decade.

⁶⁶⁸ *Daily Southern Cross*, 26 June 1862.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷¹ Potae was passed the mantle of leadership when his half-brother Tama Whakanehua (also known as Tamati Waka) died in 1854.

⁶⁷² "Henare Potae." *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand.* <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1p25/1?setlang=en> (accessed May 30, 2011). He began Chief Assessor in 1869, probably in recognition of his outstanding leadership during the New Zealand Wars.

⁶⁷³ A new church had been opened in 1861 at Tuatini, and a new minister installed in 1863.

⁶⁷⁴ Most of the carvings of this latter house are now in Auckland and Gisborne Museums.

services. Taahu had a proven track record – now it remained for Potae to convince him that *his* project needed priority.

During the early 1860s Taahu shaped out and carved several whakairo (which are now in Canterbury Museum) for Potae's new whareniui. At least five poupou⁶⁷⁵ have very plain bodies and simple spirals on the shoulders and hips. One figure has writing on it, and another holds a gun (L2-10). This style is continued on four epa which have a full figure on top with a profile wheku face, and half a figure below them. Again, the hands are on the chest and there is no decoration either on the body or the background.

Are these the works completed by Taahu before the New Zealand Wars? Possibly. Their simplicity sets them aside from the majority of the Hau Te Ana Nui carvings, though the shaping of the figures is very similar. They are also much plainer than Taahu's known style of the time, which was an explosion of rauponga and whakarare. Perhaps Potae had requested this simple style for the house as it was to be his own home.

As with Te Kihirini's carvings discussed above, Taahu's works were placed in safekeeping against possible destruction during the New Zealand Wars. By the early 1870s Taahu had completed his third house – Te Poho o Materoa at Whareponga - and had no other immediate projects. Potae had relocated to Gisborne after being granted a section of land in the suburb of Kaiti, opposite the end of Rutene Road, with Wahawaha as his next-door neighbour.⁶⁷⁶ His position as a chief of the area was solidified upon the marriage in 1872 of his daughter Keriana to Karauria, son of Hirini Te Kani of Te Aitanga-a-Hauti.⁶⁷⁷

Potae was approached by Samuel Locke, acting as agent for Canterbury Museum. Locke was the Native Commissioner based in Napier and was also an agent for museums and other collectors, sourcing taonga directly from their owners.⁶⁷⁸ Deidre

⁶⁷⁵ Including Porch R3-8, Porch R2, Porch L3, Porch L2-02 and Porch L2-10.

⁶⁷⁶ Wahawaha had helped Potae repel Pai Marire from Potae's pa Te Mawhai in Tokomaru Bay in 1865. They later ejected Pai Marire from nearby pa, Tautini and Pukepapa.

⁶⁷⁷ Te Kani lived at Kaiti and was leader of the pro-Government Maori at Turanga. He knew Potae from the repelling of Hauhau from Turanga (1865). He pursued Te Kooti with his troops. His son died 1874 and there was a large tangi for him.

⁶⁷⁸ In 1868 Locke had been the key figure behind the removal of most of the carvings from Raharuhi Rukupo's house Te Hau ki Turanga to the Colonial Museum, much to the carver's anger. With that house,

Brown talks of the desire of museums to ‘have’ a real Maori meeting house, “Indeed, no museum-held Maori collection has been considered complete without its own *whare whakairo* and *pataka*.”⁶⁷⁹ Auckland Museum was the first institution to open in a major centre, though two rooms in a farm workers’ cottage was hardly grandiose. This was 1852 (it was relocated three times between 1867 and 1876, finally being moved into its present building in 1929). The Colonial Museum opened in 1865 in Wellington,⁶⁸⁰ Otago Museum three years later in Dunedin, and Canterbury Museum in 1870 in Christchurch.⁶⁸¹ All sought ‘authentic’ examples of Maori art, believing that the *whare whakairo* particularly was a form of architecture practiced by Maori for centuries – the fact that these were *new* structures, emerging at the exact time as the opening of these major museums seems to have gone unnoticed.

In January 1873 Locke telegraphed von Haast writing “I have just heard of a Maori House as good as Wellington’s one but it would cost full £200. There appears to be great difficulty in getting Poverty Bay house & it is not a first class one.”⁶⁸² This suggests that Locke had been asked to source a meeting house by von Haast; that he had been looking for a while is implied by the reference to a house from Poverty Bay which was not, in his judgment, of top quality. Further, a sum must have been suggested to him, as he points out that it would cost the “full £200.”

In all accounts this would be on the lower end of the scale in terms of how much *whareniui* were worth at this time.⁶⁸³ As early as the 1860s *whareniui* were being sought out for purchase. For Rongowhakaata’s tribal house *Te Hau ki Turanga*, Captain

the carver, who was also the chief and the patron, had been delivered an ultimatum by Locke – your land or your house. This was a clear case of a conflict of interest: the same man negotiating the confiscation of land also suggesting the sale of a meeting house whose very name – the breath of *Turanga* – signals its place within the community.

⁶⁷⁹ Deidre Brown, “The *Whare* on Exhibition” in *On Display*, ed. Lydia Wevers (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004), 65-66.

⁶⁸⁰ Its name was changed in 1903 to the Dominion Museum, and again in 1992 to *Te Papa Tongarewa* / Museum of New Zealand.

⁶⁸¹ Walker notes that the initial collecting focus of the museum was on geological specimens as this was von Haast’s personal history. Once he was appointed Director of the Museum, von Haast retained his Professorship of Geology at Canterbury University College.

⁶⁸² *Ibid.*

⁶⁸³ Brown, “*Te Hau Ki Turanga*,” 14.

Fairchild, the captain of the steamer who collected the carvings from the house, said that he paid £300, though he later boasted he could sell it in London for £1000.⁶⁸⁴ Even the Governor thought this figure of £300 a little low, and suggested a further payment of £100. Maori valuing Te Hau ki Turanga put its value at £700 (Wi Pere). By the turn of the century prices had skyrocketed, certainly overseas. Germany was the main dispersal point for wharehau from New Zealand into overseas museums. In 1905-6 alone two meeting houses were sold – the Ngati Tararua house Rauru went to Hamburg Museum, whilst the Iwirakau whare Ruatēpūpū II was sold to the Field Museum in Chicago.

In early 1873 Locke and Potae met and started negotiating for the sale of Potae's house to Canterbury Museum. The carvings by this time had been partly destroyed either by Pai Marire supporters⁶⁸⁵ or burnt by Te Kooti's people c1866-1869⁶⁸⁶ but Locke was not to be put off. He probably presented what might be called the 'for the good of the nation' argument to Potae. In this Potae would be adding to his own mana, that of Ngati Porou, even of all Maoridom, if he agreed to sell his meeting house to a national museum. Potae was persuaded and agreed to part with the house for the sum of £290, no trifling amount in those days, particularly as it was not a completed house, and some of the carvings were damaged. In 1874 these negotiations were referred to in the biography of Julius Von Haast, Director of Canterbury Museum from its inception in 1868, "It was a difficult and costly job to get it from the Maoris, but, as von Haast was to discover, the purchase was only the beginning of his troubles."⁶⁸⁷

The carvings sold were to be re-erected in Christchurch as "an exact representation of a native chief's dwelling, in the best style of Maori architecture and house decoration."⁶⁸⁸ This suggests that the concept of a communal meeting house had not been recognised within museum circles, or at the very least that there was some slippage of terminology

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁵ Stack, "An Account of the Maori House," 173.

⁶⁸⁶ According to Hans Von Haast (*The Life and Times of Sir Julius Von Haast. Explorer, Geologist, Museum Builder* (Wellington: H. F. Von Haast, 1948), 683) as well as the great-grandson of Henare Potae (Roger Fyfe, Pers. Comm., August 2009).

⁶⁸⁷ Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius Von Haast*, 683.

⁶⁸⁸ Stack, "An Account of the Maori House," 173.

between the two, with museum officials not distinguishing between the two forms, or even knowing that there was a distinction. Within Maoridom, such contrasts may have also existed. However, the size and extent of decoration set whareniui apart from the earlier chief's house.

What makes Potae's transaction with Stack unique in the history of museum collecting in New Zealand is that, as part of the contract between them, Potae included the services of two carvers who would travel with the carvings down to Christchurch where they would complete the carvings and erect the meeting house. Potae probably realized that the carvings were in no fit state to be exhibited as they were, and that in any event there were not enough of them to make up a complete house. Unsurprisingly Potae asked Taahu to continue working on the project. It was almost certainly at Taahu's suggestion that the young Ngakaho was brought on board, someone with no experience in carving but with whom he could work easily. Taahu had not worked on any joint projects until then and was no doubt aware that he needed to select his right-hand man carefully. And thus the carvings left the East Coast and travelled to the South Island.

Taonga circulating were usually completed art products, but during the late 19th century it was *new* work that characterised many of the external patron interactions. Under those circumstances the patron played a far more significant role than mere purchaser. Those keen on such commissions were often inflexible on their vision of what Maori art should *look* like. Toon Van Meijl talks of this in terms of a "reification of art traditions" according to "a rather orthodox doctrine formulated by two European art collectors: C. E. Nelson, the manager of a tourist hotel in Rotorua, and Augustus Hamilton, the director of the Colonial Museum in Wellington."⁶⁸⁹ Both men were intricately involved in the process of creating new art works, setting criteria to be adhered to, correcting work as they saw necessary if it 'deviated' from their instructions, particularly if "these did not concur with their image of traditional Maori art."⁶⁹⁰

Ironically, as Van Meijl later points out, the carvings made for Hamilton and Nelson "displayed some innovative features that have since become canonised as characteristic

⁶⁸⁹ Van Meijl, "Historicising Maoritanga," 325. Neich notes, "During the erection of Rauru [meeting house], Augustus Hamilton often acted as a consultant for Nelson" (Neich, *Carved Histories*, 201).

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid.

of the most authentic style of traditional Maori art,”⁶⁹¹ though he does not expand on what these might be. Thinking about meeting houses that Hamilton and Nelson were involved in, such features might include the three-quarters profile face as in the house Rauru (**Fig. 113**). Van Meijl may also have been referring to the unique panel commissioned from Tene Waitere in 1896-1899 by Hamilton, “to illustrate male and female facial tattoos”⁶⁹² (**Fig. 114**) and which has become one of the icons of Maori art because of the novelty of the form (which would not have had a place in a meeting house), and the manner in which Waitere depicted the three faces. The woman’s face is shown obliquely turned away from the viewer, with her eyes closed. This piece remains an important example of Waitere’s work, and the way in which a carver could assert his own individual style while catering for the tastes of the patron.

Whilst Taahu was familiar with what was expected from him as a master carver with Potae, the expectations in Christchurch were new. Most significantly, his idea of Maori art differed from those of his new Pakeha patrons. Taahu had not worked with Pakeha before; indeed there were few Pakeha living on the Coast in the early 1870s. Compare this to the Christchurch Taahu and Ngakaho encountered in 1874. The population in the province was 71,000. Between 1871 and 1876, a staggering 20,000 immigrants had arrived from southern England primarily to fill a major labour shortage due to a mass expansion of public works, especially on the railways. In 1873 alone, 2,162 were listed as new immigrants. Even so, Christchurch was the smallest of the four major cities, with only half the population of the largest town – Dunedin.⁶⁹³ There were few Maori there, however. Ngai Tahu had their largest pa to the north and some settlements to the south, but the land on which Christchurch (called Otautahi) was built had no permanent Maori settlements.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹¹ Ibid. Mary E. Graham noticed similar collecting practices of Native American art in the late 19th century, where collectors “frequently ignored” the “contemporary and innovative art being produced at the time of collecting” (Mary E. Graham, “Native North American Art: Museums, Collections and Patronage,” in *Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007-2009), 19).

⁶⁹² Neich, *Carved Histories*, 202.

⁶⁹³ In 1874 Christchurch had 14,270 residents, Wellington 15,941, Auckland 27,840 and Dunedin 29,832 (*Christchurch City Historical Overview*, 18).

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid. There was a Native Land Court which sat in Christchurch, which was where Ngai Tahu went to protest against the sale by Ngati Toa of land near Kaiapoi Pa in the late 1840s, land which, Ngai Tahu

When the men arrived with the carvings in Canterbury Museum on 21 February 1874⁶⁹⁵ the expectation was that the carvers would be there for 2-3 weeks⁶⁹⁶ at a rate of 10/- per day.⁶⁹⁷ For that amount of time, they would each receive £45.⁶⁹⁸ The new patrons were under the impression that the carvers were carpenters, whose contract was to erect the carvings in the correct place. Indeed, in some correspondence they were named as such. Von Haast provided an explanation for the delays, “The carvers had been recarving the portions of the building that had been destroyed by the Hau-Haus under Te Kooti.”⁶⁹⁹

There are three carving styles evident in the whakairo in the Canterbury Museum:

- a) Eight poupou in a very early Taahu style (**Fig. 115**), created some time between 1860-5 on the East Coast. These are his earliest known works. Most of these were installed in the porch when the house was first erected;
- b) A later Taahu style, carried out in Christchurch in 1874 (**Fig. 116**). Many of these carvings are incomplete, with shortcuts to make them look ‘complete,’ most notably the painting of parallel black lines around the sides of the face, where ordinarily these would have been carved and then the haehae grooves painted black;
- c) Ngakaho’s early style. Some of these appear to have been shaped out by Taahu leaving Ngakaho to add the surface decoration.

Whilst Taahu’s later work is similar to the style of other houses he worked on, Ngakaho’s is quite different to his later work in Porourangi, where he became master of the subsidiary figure. Ngakaho’s style in Hau Te Ana Nui is much more in line with

argued, was not their’s to sell (see *Ngai Tahu Report 1991*). In 1844, Ngai Tahu had sold much of their land, which equated to almost half of New Zealand’s entire land mass, some 33 million acres.

⁶⁹⁵ Stack puts the date of the arrival of the carvers at January 1874 (“An Account of the Maori House,” 178).

⁶⁹⁶ Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius Von Haast*, 683.

⁶⁹⁷ In addition, the Museum paid for the travelling expenses and freight of the carvings which amounted to £27 4s. 3d. (Ibid, 684).

⁶⁹⁸ They were also refunded costs for staying in Napier en route to Christchurch, their other travelling expenses, as well as clothes (presumably warmer clothes for mid-winter in Christchurch).

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid, 683.

Taahu's, particularly the composition and shape of the figures. One possible reason for this might be that Taahu shaped out the main figures, then left Ngakaho to follow his direction for the surface decoration. Such a nexus between the style of the master and of the student can also be seen in the poutahuhu and poutuarongo (**Fig. 117**) in the middle of each end wall inside the house. It is suggested here that Ngakaho carved the former, and Taahu the latter. Each is composed of three large figures. The similarities (and differences) between each of the pieces points to the master working on one carving, whilst the student copied his style on the other. This method of working was most appropriate given the fact that Ngakaho had no experience in carving before.

Over the months the Provincial Council who was paying for the house to be erected became concerned that the work being carried out by Taahu and Ngakaho was not, in the Member of the Council Thomas Potts's estimation, "simply restoration." Potts argued that,

*... such a departure from the original building will only be accomplished at the costly price of losing a valuable and most interesting ethnological study, illustrating the old habits, manners and customs of many of our fellow subjects.*⁷⁰⁰

The Council was under the impression that the house was almost complete when it was purchased, and that only minor alterations were required in order for it to fit into the structure of the Museum. The carvers were identified as "Maori carpenters" (von Haast called them "artificers"),⁷⁰¹ fitting into this idea of the carvings being *restored*. Von Haast, however, knew that what was happening was something quite different. Whilst he may have also initially subscribed to the carvers coming to Christchurch to erect the house, when they and the whakairo arrived it soon became clear that this was a much larger project - there were not enough carvings to make up the whareniui as he had conceived it, and more would be required. Further, it is unclear whether there were any kowhaiwhai panels – certainly none were mentioned in early correspondence. As such, the carvers had considerable work to do and it was up to von Haast to manage the Council's concerns.

⁷⁰⁰ Thomas Potts, "Letter to the Superintendent," June 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives.

⁷⁰¹ Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius Von Haast*, 683. An artificer is defined as a "skilled craftsman or inventor."

During the time Taahu and Ngakaho were working on the carvings in 1874, Von Haast asked Walter Buller⁷⁰² to “examine the work of the natives” in order to lend support to his position with the Council, and because he was concerned over “deviations” from the type of meeting house he expected to be built. Buller was well respected by many for his knowledge of Maori culture through his collecting of taonga especially personal adornment and weaponry, as well as his upbringing as one of the first Pakeha to have been born in Hokianga (in 1838).⁷⁰³ Firstly, Buller noted that the kowhaiwhai used red, white, blue and green. He explained that these all had Maori names and were prepared in a ‘traditional manner.’ Secondly, in relation to concerns over the use of non-native timbers, he clarified that this was because of issues of access to their usual timber, such as manuka. Also, the strict time frame that they were working to would have forced the carvers to accept alternatives to their usual materials. Thirdly, the Council’s disapproval of the shaping of the top of the poupou was accounted for by Buller who described how this was standard practice in order to slot the heke neatly on to the poupou.

In August 1874 James Stack, who had spent several years of his childhood in Rangitukia with his father who was missionary there, presented a paper about the house to the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury. Entitled “An account of the Maori House, attached to the Christchurch Museum,” the primary purpose of the paper was to address public concerns about the style of the meeting house. He noted that circumstances had changed requiring “alterations” to the original plans. He advised that there was no way round these “incongruities of style” (which is how he referred to innovations) and that there would be less criticism if the building was called what it really was – a Maori Court – rather than a “Maori House.”⁷⁰⁴ Indeed, when the wharenuī was opened, it was filled with large display cases placed around the interior rather than functioning as a whare whakairo.

⁷⁰² Buller just returned from a three year ‘sabbatical’ in London and was riding on the success of the publication of *A History of Birds in NZ* the previous year.

⁷⁰³ See “Walter Buller’s Collection,” *TNZPI 1868-1961* 24 (1891).

⁷⁰⁴ “An account of the Maori House,” 173.

That same month the carvers had another visitor – Rapata Wahawaha. He was in Christchurch and heard of these Ngati Porou working on a house for the Museum. He wrote,

I happened upon there my relations working on carving of the old people of the old days of this island. It was a house. It was a command from the Government to work, in order to see the knowledgeable work of the ancestors of this land, New Zealand. Two short posts have been sent to the English Government, to their Queen, as a gift to her of their work. Nevertheless, there are still two people working, only two who know of that work. They are Hone Taahu and Tamati Ngakaho of Ngati Porou (my translation).⁷⁰⁵

At this time Wahawaha was not yet living back on the Coast, and perhaps it was his meeting with Taahu and Ngakaho that prompted him to consider a meeting house for Ngati Porou. The fact that a museum would have one but Ngati Porou did not may have been a catalyst for his decision. He described the carvers as the “only two who know of that work [carving]” suggesting that he did not know of Te Kihirini’s carvings which were, at this stage, lying at Rangitukia gathering dust.

Buller took charge of the project between August and December 1874 while von Haast was away. In November he wrote,

The carvings in front have a very imposing appearance. I mean those covering the mouldings to the doors and windows. I suggested painting out the silly fancy work on the outside post and giving it a coat of red ... the only defence the Maori artist could offer was that this illustrated the “moku” or “tatu” on a woman’s breast and arms. I told him we wanted a house and not a woman. He grinned and said he would paint it out. We must be careful to have nothing introduced that we cannot defend.⁷⁰⁶

The presence of figurative painting in Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa (**Fig. 118**) provides the some of the earliest known uses in New Zealand of figurative anthropomorphic forms, as well as some of the earliest examples of foliage being painted in whareniui. These figurative panels clearly broke from tradition. The only precedents from an Iwirakau perspective would be the chapel Rangitukia II in which William Williams was painted in a mural spanning the entire length of the small church (see Chapter 3). However, the representations on these panels appear to be in mockery, rather than in

⁷⁰⁵ *Te Waka Maori* 10.16 (11 Aug 1874).

⁷⁰⁶ Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius Von Haast*, 684.

homage, of local figures. Neither Ngakaho nor Taahu had created such works before, and as such these would have been a novelty for them. Given their lack of experience in painting figures, the rather naïve style of the panels is understandable. They also appear to have been done in haste – perhaps they had finished all the carvings and the required kowhaiwhai panels, and then decided to create something very contemporary to engage with their modern world. It is not surprising that the Pakeha patrons were shocked at these panels – Maori might have found them equally surprising.

In December the carvers returned home having made the following:

- 52 poupou and epa
- 1 korupe
- 2 small whakawae (for the windows)
- 1 large pare
- 2 large whakawae (for the doorway)
- 25 painted rafters
- 6 porch rafters
- 1 koruru
- 3 poutokomanawa
- 2 painted kowhaiwhai ‘beams’ measuring 3m long
- 1 plain beam 5m long
- 1 painted panel 5m long
- 12 panels with figurative painting on.⁷⁰⁷

The Museum hired carpenters to erect a framework onto which the carvings and painted panels were installed. This was built on a concrete foundation as the Museum considered the carvings too valuable to be sunk into the earth as was the usual practice (**Fig. 119**). The house measured “60 ft long by 20 ft broad, the side walls were 8 ft high,

⁷⁰⁷ “Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa” file, Canterbury Museum Archives.

and the height to the apex of the rood about 16ft.”⁷⁰⁸ It was positioned adjacent to the main museum building (**Fig. 120**) and was filled with a range of ethnographic cases (**Fig. 121, 122**). In the porch were placed three wax figurines dressed in kakahu (**Fig. 123**), reinforcing the idea that Maori still dressed like this. In fact almost all Maori wore European clothes by this stage, and indeed, kakahu would only have been worn on ceremonial and other important occasions. As there were few Maori resident in Christchurch at this time to compare with, such images would have been very powerful.

In contrast with the celebrations at Waiomatatini in 1888, the opening of Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa was much more subdued. It is not known whether the carvers were still in Christchurch but it is supposed that they had returned to the East Coast. Stack mentions that normally there was,

*... the purifying ceremonies which always attended the opening of a new house – an occasion looked forward to with some anxiety by the builders, for, should any mistake be made by him in repeating the proper charms and incantations, it was an infallible sign that either the house would be destroyed, or the builders die within a year.*⁷⁰⁹

But there would be no fanfare for this house. Instead there would have been a sedate opening, attended by von Haast and his Museum staff as well as selected members of the Provincial Council and other local dignitaries. Hau Te Ana Nui was heralded as one of the main attractions of the Museum. The local press gave the public some idea of what Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa was like,

*On entering ... the building visitors find themselves within the walls of a genuine Maori whare, carved, painted, and embellished in the highest degree of ancient Maori art... The building is substantially erected, on solid foundations, and may probably last long after the Maori race has become extinct.*⁷¹⁰

Maori art was in an impossible position – on the one hand it was expected to soon die out, along with its makers, and so museums started actively collecting whatever they could; on the other hand, Maori art in the community was flourishing and innovative, seeking engagement with a modern world. In Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa the artists

⁷⁰⁸ Von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius Von Haast*, 683.

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid, 174-5.

⁷¹⁰ *The New Zealand Herald*, as cited in Walker, “The Maori House.”

played out this juxtaposition. For the museum patrons the carvers did as they were asked – carving poupou, epa and other forms, as well as painting kowhaiwhai as it was expected to look. But they also subverted their brief, whether consciously or not, in a number of ways: with the creation of the four painted figurative panels; with the use of blue and green in the kowhaiwhai; and with the inclusion of contemporary forms of weapons, such as the scabbard and gun, used so recently on the East Coast.

The degree to which the museum patrons determined the final product is unclear. Certainly their idea of a wharenuī was that it should be fully carved, yet they themselves were not familiar with the style due to their limited exposure to fully carved meeting houses in Christchurch. They called on men who might know, Stack and Buller, both of whom were more experienced when it came to ‘Maori things’ than either von Haast or the Provincial Council. The role of Stack and Buller was as patrons *ex-officio*, guiding the carvers and liaising between the financial providers of the Council and the artists. That von Haast as Director was aware of the stereotypical wharenuī expected by the Provincial Council is clear when he warned, “We must be careful to have nothing introduced that we cannot defend.”⁷¹¹ Taahu too was under no illusions of what was wanted, but nonetheless artistic licence took over and he tested how far he could go with his designs. This would be Taahu’s most adventurous project – after this time his style becomes set into a more formal, tighter composition which shows little of the flair he demonstrated in Hau Te Ana Nui.

That the Museum patrons considered Hau Te Ana Nui to be their property to do with as they wished is indicated from their subsequent dealings with the house. In 1881 it was “dismantled and re-erected to allow for Museum expansion ... [when] four skylights were fitted.”⁷¹² In 1894 the house was dismantled, turned around and re-erected. The interior panels were also re-arranged and new labels attached.⁷¹³ The carvers were not brought back nor anyone consulted from the area. It was considered, thus, to be a re-installation of existing materials. There was no consideration for the kaupapa of the

⁷¹¹ Von Haast, *The life and times of Julius von Haast*, 684.

⁷¹² Roger Fyfe, “A Brief History of the Wharewhakairo Hau-Te-Ananui o Tangaroa (The Sacred Great Cave of Tangaroa), Canterbury Museum Archives.

⁷¹³ *Director’s Report, 1894*. Canterbury Museum Archives.

house. Considering the composition of the figures in the carvings, it is likely that these were generic figures, rather than those with specific individual identities. In 1914 the house was altered again, when extra carvings were added⁷¹⁴ – it was irrelevant that these came from the house formerly occupied by Te Kooti on the shores of Lake Rotorua. Hau Te Ana Nui was dismantled in 1955 when there were plans to extend the Museum. At this stage they contacted Tai Rawhiti Museum with a view to selling the house,⁷¹⁵ but the deal fell through, and the entire contents of Hau Te Ana Nui placed in the basement, where they remain today.⁷¹⁶

When Steven C. Brown pondered the motivations for change in Northwest Coast Native American art from 1865 to 1920, he pointed to “tool development; larger more ambitious productions (bigger boxed, chests, housefronts, etc., created in response to patrons made wealthy through increasing trade) that called for more coverage from the same design structures.”⁷¹⁷ Porourangi and Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa can be explained in a similar manner. Both were built at a time when whare whakairo were becoming popular and considered to be a tradition in the most formal sense of the word. Whilst both houses drew on existing traditions (waka taua, chief’s houses, pataka), they extended them in innovative ways. Each is the product of their patron and their idea of what was tradition, almost as much as of the carvers. H. M. Cole comments in relation to African art,

What is clear for leaders in all African societies – is that they are actively engaged in creating culture. Leaders cause art to be made, often dictating specific form and iconography. In conjunction with artist, chiefs and other

⁷¹⁴ E. R. Waite, “Curator’s Report, 1914.” Canterbury Museum Archives.

⁷¹⁵ Fyfe, “A Brief History.”

⁷¹⁶ There were further plans to resurrect the house in 1991 led by Tipene Reedy who wished the whareniui for Canterbury University. However, Henare Tau, Chairperson of Ngati Tua (the local Maori tribe) objected and the deal fell through (“Letter, Tip Reedy to Bert Brownlee, Vice-Chancellor, Canterbury University, 03 May 1991,” Canterbury Museum Archives).

⁷¹⁷ *Native Visions*, 49.

*patron leaders invent art. Then in commanding its use, they have a strong hand in moulding the events and the people for whom they are responsible.*⁷¹⁸

Such creation of culture at the instigation of patrons occurred in the 1870s and 1880s on the East Coast. Here were leaders knowledgeable about Maori culture and intent on making visible statements of their mana. Wahawaha drew on the known (carving and kowhaiwhai) and extended them to a much larger space, bringing in a wider range of ancestors in order to unite the people under the umbrella of the eponymous ancestor. His choice of figures for the house was considerable, necessitating new directions in art by their inclusion in the tukutuku as well as the poupou. His reputation as a stickler for tikanga influenced the way in which the project was managed; the scale of the kawanga ensured the success of the house, and his own personal success as a true leader of the people. The house became 'traditional' in that it set a precedent for the scale and extent of decoration that could be used within a meeting house and was subsequently followed in other houses in the area by the same carvers.

Meanwhile, in Christchurch Pakeha patrons were not seeking 'invented art.' Their vision was for an 'authentic' whareniui to be recreated inside the museum. Perani and Wolff observe,

*For certain foreign patrons, 'authenticity' becomes important. Authenticity tends to be in the mind of the beholder and often in not a true reflection of indigenous styles and aesthetics. Art showing evidence of modernity is often rejected by Western patrons seeking their idea of authentic.*⁷¹⁹

The critical issue was that the Canterbury Museum patrons believed that whare whakairo, such as the type being built by Taahu and Ngakaho in Canterbury Museum, were a type of architecture enjoyed by Maori for hundreds of years. They supposed that these were traditional structures - established forms passed down through the generations. At that time the word 'authentic' was frequently used when writing about the whareniui. Such narrow views ignored contemporary agency and its significance in the making of the house. The patrons did not realise that the meeting house was a *new* concept, dating to the 1860s at the earliest. They had no engagement or real interest in

⁷¹⁸ Cited in Perani and Wolff, *Cloth, Dress and Art Patronage in Africa*, 57.

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid*, 78.

Maori people or their culture, which resulted in their not knowing whether the whareniui was an ancient form or not.

The carvers were agents of change, pushing the boundaries on an otherwise formal and mainstream set of panels. The inclusion of new types of weapons, the sabre and the gun, strongly suggests that these poupou were part of the original purchase (these weapons were used in the War which halted manufacture of the house). More significantly, they indicate the interest that the artists had in including the modern world in their work, and commenting on recent history as well as the stories of the past. Tradition to them was embedded in the type of work that they were making – carvings and kowhaiwhai – but at the same time they were keen on doing something novel. As Jock McEwan noted in 1947 looking back on Maori art of the past 100 years,

*Another effect of European contact has been the introduction of new patterns hardly consistent with the character of Maori carving, such as stars and other symbols associated with post-European religions and the use of natural objects other than the lizard. This practice, however, is not very common and shows no signs of increasing. Other patterns with no known traditional basis have also been introduced, but without clashing with the characteristic Maori patterns and I, personally, have no criticism of this practice, it being a sign of healthy development, rather than one of decadence. If Maori carving were to remain static, I feel that it would soon be little more than a curiosity of ethnological interest.*⁷²⁰

The figurative panels demonstrate this most clearly. There is the tradition of painting panels for a house, but instead of abstract kowhaiwhai patterns referring to nature there are realistic depictions of people and foliage. The carvers would have clearly understood the brief that they had been given – Taahu had completed two houses by then – but perhaps the cold and homesickness drove them to conceive of something radical which would show their skill as being not only able to continue with their customary usual work, but also to create something dynamic and fresh.

In terms of tradition, figurative painting was novel and had no known precedent on the East Coast, or indeed in New Zealand. As such it can be considered to be a spontaneous creation, driven by artists driven to do something different, hoping that the patrons would also see such work in a similar light. This was not to be. The disdain that Pakeha

⁷²⁰ “Development of Maori Culture,” 182.

patrons felt for this type of work is evident in contemporary writings. These panels could therefore be considered to be what Kubler calls “An initial prime object, which is a first solution to a new problem, begins a formal sequence, and subsequent prime objects occur at critical moments of change in the sequence.”⁷²¹ He explains,

*... like prime numbers, they resist decomposition by being original entities and their character as primes is not completely explained by their antecedents. The number of surviving prime objects is very small and perhaps they exist only as ideals, inferred from the evidence of replicas and poor copies.*⁷²²

Patrons of Ngati Porou carvers were “dominant personalities” in that they made deliberate choices of the type of house they commissioned and the artists who would create it for them. Tradition was a fluid concept that they defined themselves in order to demonstrate visually links with the past. Carving in particular was regarded as paramount in the creation of new *whare whakairo*. Ancestors were depicted within these panels in order to emphasise and reinforce *whakapapa* and ties to the land. Nonetheless, patrons allowed a certain degree of leeway for the artists. Innovation such as the inclusion of ancestors in the *tukutuku* (in Porourangi) and the figurative painted panels (in *Hau Te Ana Nui*) demonstrates that patrons negotiated the past, but were keenly aware of the present, and the needs of the people for a structure that would suit their present and future needs. For Maori patrons, those needs would be those of the *marae*, in which the *wharenui* would be used as a central hub of the community. For Pakeha patrons, their intent was to provide for their museum audience, through the experience of a *wharenui*, a snapshot of Maori culture that was, for them, changing to its detriment. What they ‘captured’ in *Hau Te Ana Nui* would be for them the pinnacle of Maori artistic endeavour.

Paula Ben-Amos asks “... under what circumstances can changes be introduced, and under what circumstances can they be rejected? Who can introduce them?”⁷²³ Patrons of *Iwirakau* carvers negotiated between tradition and modernity, accepting or rejecting

⁷²¹ *The Shape of Time*, 39.

⁷²² *Ibid*, 115.

⁷²³ Paula Ben-Amos, “Patron-artist interactions in Africa,” *African Arts* xiii, no. 3 (May 1980), 57.

innovation during every step of the process of building and decorating a new whareniui. By the 1880s commissioning of new meeting houses became a tradition in the sense that it was something which was being passed down from generation to generation, garnering important aspects of culture along the way. Patrons carefully stage-managed the entire process and labelled it tikanga in order for it to be accepted. At critical moments new solutions had to be generated to solve modern problems, such as how to fit in a large quantity of ancestors into one space, resulting in a new prime object which would be the basis for a changing tradition.

CHAPTER 7.

‘KA PU TE RUHA, KA HAO TE RANGATAHI.’

APIRANA NGATA, HONE NGATOTO AND THE END OF THE IWIRAKAU CARVING SCHOOL?

Arepa and omeka. Omeka and arepa. These two terms describe the Iwirakau Carving School from 1900-30. The arepa (beginning) is the new chapter in the art history of Ngati Porou with the emergence of Apirana Ngata as the dominant personality and Hone and Pine Taiapa as key exponents of it. But as is so characteristic of Maori culture, as one thing rises, another falls, for this period also heralds the end - the omeka - of the Iwirakau School. This season of change can be charted through four distinct moments, in which the old guard falls away to be replaced by a new cohort who moved out of the East Coast to be regarded as master carvers on a national stage.

The renovation of Porourangi whare, Waiomatatini, 1908.

Little is known of the first ‘moment’ by which one can identify this period – the renovation of the house Porourangi in 1908. When it was opened twenty years earlier, Porourangi was heralded as one of the most significant whareniui not only on the East Coast but also in all of New Zealand. Amongst those who hosted the thousands of attendees in 1888 was a 14-year-old Apirana Ngata, who was trained in ancient moteatea and haka specifically for the opening ceremonies. Seven years on his elders groomed him on a higher level when they chose him as the clerk to help organise the hui for the opening of the house Hinetapora at Mangahanea.⁷²⁴ As with the kawanga of Porourangi, and even earlier with those of churches from the 1850s, the hui used the cultural event as a political platform on which to discuss major issues of the day

⁷²⁴ *He Tipua*, 71.

affecting not only Maori locally, but also on a national level. The Hinetapora hui was no different, with the Prime Minister Richard Seddon invited to attend; Ngati Porou's agenda was to present their case against their lands being purchased by Government agents.

Apirana was coached for this role by his father Paratene Ngata and his great-uncle Rapata Wahawaha who acted as his second father. They ensured that he was exposed to Pakeha education through schooling at the local Waiomatatini School (established by Wahawaha in 1871) and later at Te Aute College, the leading Maori Anglican Boys boarding school. Education was highly regarded by Ngati Porou and a critical strategy to building their knowledge and skill capacity. Later Ngata was encouraged to go on to University and he later attended them in Christchurch and Auckland, gaining a BA in 1893 and a LLB three years later, making him the first New Zealander to gain a double degree. Wahawaha's death in 1897 proved to be a turning point for Ngata. The 'old world' was passing, and the new world was full of challenges, which he was expected to take on.

A prize-winning poem penned by Ngata whilst at University offers a glimpse into his determination to rejuvenate mana Maori. Entitled *A Scene from the Past*⁷²⁵ the poem reviewed Maori thoughts on the past, and encouraged them to look to the future,

*We reckon not that the day is past;
That Death and Time, the cruel Fates,
Have torn us from the scenes we loved,
And brought us to this unknown world.*⁷²⁶

In discussing the poem, Jane Stafford and Mark Williams write, "Ngata's grasp of tradition is everywhere informed by his complex sense of the presence of the past within modernity. The dominant view was that Maori had no future in that

⁷²⁵ See for commentary Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, "Apirana Turupa Ngata, 1874-1950," *Kotare, Special Issue – Essays in New Zealand Literary Biography, Series Two: 'Early Male Prose Writers*. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 2008. The poem won first prize in a poetry competition run by the Dialectic Society, Canterbury College.

⁷²⁶ Ibid.

modernity.”⁷²⁷ They describe how Ngata’s perspective was primed by his education at Te Aute and Canterbury College which placed him to “claim the modern world for Maori even as it laments the passing of old Maori ways. At the same time those ways are given vigorous life in the poem as an enactment of the past.”⁷²⁸ *A Scene from the Past* reveals that Ngata knew of the challenges facing Maori in relation to major issues such as employment, education, retention, and saw one strategy for energising mana Maori as advocating for the retention and practice of traditions of the past.

The renovation of Porourangi in 1908 was a testing ground for Ngata to demonstrate his leadership skills in pulling together people and material resources from a number of hapu for a common project. Ngati Porou had put his name forward as their candidate for the Eastern Maori electorate in the 1905 elections, which he won, and the renovation project offered him the opportunity to reciprocate this support by using his skills for the immediate visible benefit of the community. It also gave him the opportunity to develop his position in the tribe by emulating the chiefs, such as Wahawaha, who had initiated such projects in the past. Walker described the project,

*Working parties gathered, dried and prepared the various fibres needed to renew the tukutuku work, while the carvers worked on replacing decayed poupou. Donations of sheep, cattle, kumara and potatoes had to be coordinated and brought to the marae to feed the workers. Firewood had to be fetched, beasts slaughtered and cooks rostered for the duration of the project.*⁷²⁹

Continuing the tradition of inviting significant guests to the re-opening of Porourangi on 23 March 1909 – as he had done in the Hinetaipora hui - Ngata invited the Governor as well as the Prime Minister. This occasion was used to present Maori culture at its best. Having the head of state attend was central to Ngata’s strategy for promoting cultural revival. Walker notes, “That contact was fundamental to fostering mutual respect between Maori and Pakeha.”⁷³⁰ Whilst many Pakeha may have considered Maori to be on a pathway to inevitably dying out,⁷³¹ Ngata was keen to present a different reality –

⁷²⁷ Ibid.

⁷²⁸ Ibid.

⁷²⁹ *He Tipua*, 213.

⁷³⁰ Ibid.

⁷³¹ The ‘Dying Maori Theory’ was promoted by a range of groups, from anthropologists (influenced by Charles Darwin’s *Origin of Species*) through to Parliamentarians. The Maori population dipped to its

one in which Maori were honourable and respectable. He carefully choreographed the proceedings for the opening, ensuring that Maori guests arrived the day before in order to organise themselves and appear united. The success of the hui encouraged Ngata in his belief of the nexus between economic and cultural survival.

Carved study at The Bungalow [Whare Hou], Waiomatatini, 1916.

Five years after the re-opening of Porourangi, Ngata decided to commission a homestead next door to accommodate his growing family – he and his wife Arihia would eventually have 15 children of their own plus numerous whangai (adopted children). He also needed a base in which to host informal hapu and tribal meetings. This would be a visible statement of his mana and as such he was keen to have a type of house on par with well-to-do local Pakeha families, most notably the Williamses. Walker notes, “It was a symbolic statement that Maori were still rangatira in their own land, notwithstanding their debilitation by European colonisation.”⁷³² The finished house had seven bedrooms as well as a dining room, nursery, two bathrooms and a large kitchen/pantry area at the back, with a long verandah running along the length of the front of the house looking out to the Waiapu river.

Ngata’s home was significant enough in the day to warrant its own formal opening (**Fig. 124**). As with the opening of meeting houses which he had organised, Ngata used the event to speak about current issues of the day. Eight years after the opening of Te Whare Hou – later affectionately known as ‘The Bungalow’ – Ngata decided that one of the rooms should be decorated in ‘Maori style’ with carving and tukutuku, and set about looking for a carver to undertake this work. Much to his surprise, there was only one artist trained as a carver still alive – Hone Ngatoto. Ngata knew of Ngatoto’s reputation from nearby meeting houses he had carved including Rauru Nui a Toi, Kapohanga, and Hinetapora. Ngata also liked the idea of employing Ngatoto who he considered to be the

lowest in 1896, when only 42,113 people were listed in the *Census* as Maori. In comparison, estimates of the Maori population at point of Western Contact in 1769 were 100,000. By the start of World War I, ‘Dying Maori Theory’ was being reconsidered in light of a trend, which showed a slow increase in Maori population. At the last New Zealand census (2006), Maori numbered 565,329, or 14% of the population.

⁷³² *He Tipua*, 166.

embodiment of the Iwirakau Carving School. On a personal level, Ngatoto was a close friend of Ngata's father Paratene and so would have been a familiar figure to Ngata, especially in the 1880s and 1890s, which was the zenith of Ngatoto's practice.

In the style of his great-uncle Rapata, Ngata commissioned Ngatoto to create a series of carvings as well as organise the tukutuku (**Fig. 125**). These works were to be placed around a large central fireplace on either side of which were glass cases housing Ngata's extensive library.⁷³³ The carvings are in the archetypal style of Ngatoto with generic figures decorating the panels with their wide mouths and sinuous bodies. This fashion had by this time become a conventional Iwirakau School style.

The poutama pattern was chosen for all the tukutuku panels because of its association with whakapapa. Given the variety of tukutuku in Porourangi (both in terms of patterns as well as colour) as well as Ngata's existing knowledge and skills of tukutuku making, it is surprising that other patterns, especially the Porourangi poutama, were not chosen to complement the carvings. Pine Taiapa later wrote that the pattern "represented in visual form their conception of one who is a leader of the tribe, one who has reached the top-most rung of the ladder of progress and success,"⁷³⁴ in other words Ngata.

A special opening marked the completion of the Maori Room. Ngata had indigenised a formal study by decorating it with distinctly and uniquely Ngati Porou carving and tukutuku. In doing so he emphasised the importance of having a strong visual Maori base in which to carry out his work. Ngata was an academic in the sense that he was dedicated to writing, and thus preserving, history. His collection of books on a range of topics in the study became one of the first libraries on the East Coast. Walker describes how the room was used,

*This large open room was where Ngata held court when he was home to discuss the doings of Parliament. These all-night affairs often saw the Maori room converted into a wharepuni with mattresses put down on the floor for Ngata to doss down with his elders beside the cheery fireside embers... The Maori room was where Ngata held his meetings with leaders of Ngati Porou.*⁷³⁵

⁷³³ *He Tipua*, 164.

⁷³⁴ "The ancestress Hinerupe," 7.

⁷³⁵ *He Tipua*, 164.

Ngata transferred the decorations of the whareniui into a domestic sphere in order to signal that this space was for specifically non-domestic purposes. Given the nature of his personal work habits (he was described by one friend as ‘he tipua’ because he was such a workaholic), having a whareniui-type space on call in his home allowed Ngata to carry out semi-formal hui without some of the customs normally associated with larger public spaces. That Maori usually did not have such ‘Maori rooms’ in their private residences is readily explained by the fact that few Maori could afford homes on this scale. Most houses on the East Coast had few rooms with children (usually 10-12 per family) sharing one bedroom, and their parents in a second one. Ngata did not seem to feel that a lack of precedent need deter him. He was a practical man and realised that to maximise his time at home it would be beneficial to have a space in which manuhiri would feel comfortable discussing important issues of the day.

Whilst a private commission, the project had national consequences; as Ngata would later write,

In 1916 when I wanted to put Maori work in my drawing room I found the art so far as the East Coast was concerned about to pass out with the last artist, Hone Ngatoto. He lived long enough to put the flattish work into the Tikitiki Church and Hinerupe house at Te Araroa (the latter is unfinished as yet). But from 1916 to 1926 when the Tikitiki Church was consecrated there arose a demand in the Waiapu district for rekindling the flames of the dying art. The founding of the School of Maori Arts was the direct result and the first student was Pine Taiapa from Tikitiki.⁷³⁶

The two dates locate two specific projects initiated by Ngata – his Maori room (1916) and St Mary’s Church (1926). In a humility characteristic of him, he named the community as responsible for the resurrection of Maori arts. In reality, it was Ngata who drove this rejuvenation as part of his broader scheme of economic revival. The ways in which whanau and hapu came together for these projects would be replicated in the land consolidation schemes initiated by Ngata from 1918. Aroha Harris noted that,

While land development remained integral to the schemes, Ngata set them in a much wider socio-economic context. They provided incomes for Maori families and a modern economic basis for tribes. They enhanced traditional Maori social

⁷³⁶ *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. III, 193.

*values and organisations, as Maori leaders participated in the schemes, and Ngata encouraged rural Maori communities to build whareniui.*⁷³⁷

The connection between the two was overt - to Maori at least. Condliffe writes in his biography of Ngata's good friend Te Rangi Hiroa that, "Part of the negotiating process [of the land consolidation schemes] was the revival of ancient arts and crafts, the building of meeting houses and churches decorated Maori-fashion, the revival of old and writing of new songs and dances."⁷³⁸

St Mary's Memorial Church, 1924-6.

By the early 1920s Ngata had a new project in his sights – a decorated church at Tikitiki (**Fig. 126**). Raised in a strongly Anglican household, Ngata was well aware of the importance of faith and its immediate history in the Waiapu Valley. Taumata-a-kura was heralded as one of the great men of the 19th century, whose legacy could be seen in the numerous chapels and churches built during the 1830s and later renovated in the 1850s and 1870s. By the 1920s, however, many of these had fallen into disrepair, a state that Ngata was eager to change. The Tikitiki Church project was the first large-scale scheme, and would prove to be a testing ground for his project management skills, which he would later replicate in supervising the building and decoration of new meeting houses around the country. Paki Harrison, carving 'grandson' of Ngatoto, listed those skills of a master carver, including,

Identify who was in charge of the project to whom to carver is answerable.

Stipulate that the carver does not want to answer to a committee.

What is the whakapapa, the conceptual design of the house?

Who provides the conceptual design of the house?

Which ancestors will be included in the house, and where?

⁷³⁷ See Aroha Harris, "Maori Land Development Schemes, 1945-1974 With Two Case Studies from the Hokianga," (M. Phil. Thesis, Massey University, 1996), 12.

⁷³⁸ J. B. Condliffe, *Te Rangi Hiroa: The Life of Sir Peter Buck* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1971), 107.

Negotiate a contract specifying a price per poupou/tukutuku/kowhaiwhai unit.

*Specify a completion date and overall cost at completion.*⁷³⁹

Having commissioned Hone Ngatoto for his Maori room, Ngata had no qualms in approaching him once again, and he still had no choice, as Ngatoto was the only master carver still alive. Billeting him with a local whanau – the Taiapas – meant that Ngatoto would be readily available to undertake the work. Ngata realised the magnitude of the project, however, and commissioned two Te Arawa carvers to assist. Rotorua was a natural source of carvers but even they had few still working, despite the tourist trade. There Ngata approached Wihau and Rotohiko Haupapa,⁷⁴⁰ whose work in the final church can be seen on the pulpit, which has taniko panels made by Hera Tawhai-Rogers, also of Rotorua.⁷⁴¹ A local carver named Rua Kaika also supported Ngatoto.⁷⁴²

In St Mary's Ngatoto transferred the decorations of the meeting house into the structure of a church. There is some parentage, in the form of earlier churches. However, whilst the first wave of churches in the 1830s had carving, kowhaiwhai and tukutuku, the later churches from the 1850s shifted away from Maori decoration, conforming to a national norm in terms of ecclesiastical architecture, with little decoration if any. Ngata's church in 1924 signalled a return to those very early churches, ones in which Maori mediated European culture and faith on their own terms, made explicit in the ways they embellished their religious structures with carving, tukutuku and kowhaiwhai, arts of the chief's house and other important structures.

Specific traits of the wharehau can be seen in St Mary's. Recording important events and narratives of local ancestors was replicated in a number of ways. Firstly, the church was named St Mary's Memorial Church and pays homage to local Ngati Porou men

⁷³⁹ Walker, *He Tipua*, 197-8.

⁷⁴⁰ See *Carved Histories* for more. Ngata would later ask them to be some of the first teachers at the School of Maori Arts in 1926 when the project ended.

⁷⁴¹ Pers. Comm., Ngahua Te Awakotuku, 1997. According to a contemporary newspaper report the "Arawa carvers" worked on "The smaller upright carvings ... the frames for the windows, the small slabs between the main uprights, parts of the altar, the communion rails, the organ frame, and some of the timber framing the roll of honour [which are] modelled in the main on the Arawa school of carving" (*The Gisborne Times*, 2 March 1926).

⁷⁴² According to Paul Weka (Pers. Comm., Sept 1998) Pine Taiapa did not work on the church. He also added that Kaika worked on those parts of the Church where Ngatoto would not.

who served in the First World War. This theme was also made visible in the stained glass window in the nave where the church is located very specifically in the heart of the Waiapu Valley – two soldiers in full uniform are depicted supporting Christ in Cavalry (**Fig. 127**).⁷⁴³ The background locates the pair firmly within the local Waiapu landscape.

The Church also includes a Roll of Honour (**Fig. 128**) listing all 87 officers and men from the East Coast who died in World War I.⁷⁴⁴ These recall carvings in meeting houses in which ancestors were identified through inclusion of various attributes by which they were known. Furthermore, in some meeting houses, such as Porourangi, the names are recorded in text on the tukutuku in order to aid identification.

With the kowhaiwhai Ngata's intent was to create a lexicon of all known kowhaiwhai patterns.⁷⁴⁵ In this way, the Church could be seen as a reference base for later artists. Unlike the arrangement in whareniui, the designs were not paired across the tahuhu. Skilled artists were rare, and Ngata was forced to use a young man called Ringatu Poi (see Appendix 4). He quickly proved his skill, however, painting all the kowhaiwhai as well as the figurative panels.⁷⁴⁶ The inclusion of this latter work is particularly unusual, given the fact that Ngata's family history was very much against Te Kooti and the Ringatu faith with which figurative painting was strongly associated. However, its use was to incorporate visually the meeting house Rongomaianiwaniwa across the road.

⁷⁴³ Those represented are Captain Pekama Kaa, my great-uncle, and Second Lieutenant Henare Kohere, his cousin. Henare Kohere was grandson of Mokena Kohere and died of wounds aged 36 on 16 September 1916 and is buried in Heilly, France. Pekama Kaa died of wounds aged 23 on 14 August 1917 and is buried in Ypres, Belgium.

⁷⁴⁴ Ngati Porou's contribution to the war effort far outweighed any other tribe – of the 2600 Maori who went to war, 350 were killed, or 13%. However, from the East Coast alone 350 men went, but a staggering 87 men (or some 25%) were killed or maimed. See Monty Soutar's book *Nga Tama Toa* (2008) which outlines much of this history.

⁷⁴⁵ *Gisborne Times*, 02 March 1926.

⁷⁴⁶ This was his first project, but one which would lead on to a busy career as a kowhaiwhai artist. Ngata frequently called upon him for his projects. Some were new buildings: Te Ao Kairau (1935)(he was also said to have carved this house), Takitimu (1935), Whitireia (1939) and the Waitangi Centennial House (1940). Others were renovations: Iritekura (1936), Hinerupe (1936) as well as Porourangi (1938). He also worked on two wharekai: Rongomaitapui and Taihoa. He painted the Maori Court Building at the 1940 Exhibition in Wellington as well. In total, from 1935 until his death in 1940 he worked on ten projects.

In terms of the practical side of building the church, Ngata once again used the strategy of the ohu to support the elderly Ngatoto and the other carvers in their work. Pine Taiapa, a young man in his early 20s when Ngatoto stayed with his whanau, remembered about the time,

[Ngata] assembled the greatest number of workers over 400 to do the work for the church tukutuku at Tikitiki. Food and materials flowed from all districts; thus began the revival of Maori arts of all time. Kiekie and pingao had to be obtained from the bush, prepared and dyed. Patterns had to be transposed from mat and basket with materials crossing diagonally to fit a panel having materials crossing horizontally and vertically; their origin and history recorded. There were no text books and eye and sense of rhythm had to be exercised to obtain a pleasing effect. Patience was stretched to breaking point when sections of the work were cut because of careless tying and loosely wrapped cross-stitches. Ngati Porou was on the war path to overcome this artistic inertia. The children of the Tikitiki Maori School took advantage of this occasion and credit for the church tukutuku is due to them.⁷⁴⁷

This reveals the ways in which Ngata was in charge, managing all aspects of the project despite the presence of Ngatoto. He tapped into local resources, identifying those who would have access to kiekie (for tukutuku) or food (for the workers). His high standards, particularly in relation to tukutuku, an art form he had himself been trained in, were well known. His close personal management of this project set a model for later projects as part of his role in the School of Maori Arts and Crafts.

Wharekai: Arihia Memorial Hall, 1930.

Ever practical and aware of the needs of all members of the community, Apirana Ngata can be credited with the increasing the popularity of a new form of building on the marae – the wharekai or dining hall. There were earlier precedents. The earliest known wharekai was initiated by Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kahaki at their settlement in Parihaka in the late 1870s. Named Te Niho o Te Ati Awa (The Teeth of Te Ati Awa), this rare photo (**Fig. 129**) depicts a room lit by electric lights, in which long trestle tables are set with silverware, glassware and crockery, and which guests would sit on backed forms or single chairs. Yet dining halls did not become the norm. Rather large

⁷⁴⁷ Pine Taiapa, “Maori Arts and Crafts,” np, nd, Ngarino Ellis Collection.

marquees were hired for this purpose (**Fig. 130**). As with other spaces, Maori indigenised these tents, utilising local foliage to decorate the walls and tabletops.

Through the building programme of the School of Maori Arts and Crafts, Ngata initiated a step on from the marquee – that of a permanent hall – which extended the function of the dining hall to encompass a community hall as well. This was a deliberate move, as he foretold in 1929 in a letter to Te Rangi Hiroa, “The small wharepuni will disappear but the kauta as social gathering place for the gossips to meet and smoke and the family to discuss matters away from their guests serves an important purpose.”⁷⁴⁸ This purpose was crucial socially in order to bring the community together, particularly if they were to work together successfully on the Land Consolidation Schemes. The social life of the marae was a mirror of the social life of the people, and needed to adjust and adapt in order to maintain this nexus. Ngata noted, “A meeting-house to-day must serve all the community requirements. It is no longer a place where only the elders of the tribe assemble in solemn enclave. You must attract into it your youth as well.”⁷⁴⁹

The first permanent wharekai of the 20th century was Arihia Memorial Hall, which opened at Waiomatatini in 1930. Built next to Porourangi whare, the hall commemorates Apirana Ngata’s wife, Arihia, who had died of dysentery in April 1929 following the kawanga of Mahinarangi Meeting House at Ngaruawahia the previous month.⁷⁵⁰ Their son, Makarini, only 32, had also caught the sickness and had died a week before his mother. Using his home marae as a testing ground, the new hall began construction shortly after these tragedies. It complemented the main wharenuī by being subdued in its decoration and simple in its architecture. The prototype set by Arihia comprised a rectangular hall with a stage at one end, “clear[ing] the meeting houses of the internal columns, fix[ing] seating to the walls, and lay[ing] wooden floors.”⁷⁵¹ In

⁷⁴⁸ Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, Vol. III, 224.

⁷⁴⁹ As qtd in Eric Ramsden, *Sir Apirana Ngata and Maori Culture* (Wellington: A.H. & A. W. Reed, 1948), 47.

⁷⁵⁰ When Te Puea Herangi had brought her concert group around the East Coast to raise funds for the house, Ngati Porou had given a staggering £1336 to the group. In return, Ngata asked that the new house be named Mahinarangi, after the East Coast ancestress who had married Turongo, the Tainui ancestor. In addition, Ngata led an ope of 1000 Ngati Porou to the 11-day opening (11-22 March 1929),

⁷⁵¹ Brown, “Morehu Architecture,” 333.

addition, locals transferred the decoration of the whareniui into a 'noa' space, involved as it was with food. What they created was a showcase of tukutuku and kowhaiwhai, with minimal carving, making them faster and cheaper to build which proved to be popular in areas where fund-raising was an issue.⁷⁵²

The wharekai could thus be seen to have as its visual 'parents' the whareniui and the Pakeha-style hall, with the kauta as its 'functional parent.' Attached to the wharekai were "Pakehaa-style commercial kitchens ... [in order to] encourage communal feasting and tapu-free marae occasions. Previously, temporary buildings had usually been erected to house the cooking and dining functions of large meetings."⁷⁵³ At Waiomatatini, for instance, the Arihia whare kai was next to Porourangi, with the kauta behind it.⁷⁵⁴ Ngata broke with tradition in the advent of the wharekai as a structure in that he juxtaposed kauta that were deemed noa by virtue of dealing with food, with tapu ceremonial and sleeping spaces in the whare whakairo. This break was sometimes criticized by kuia and kaumatua but Ngata persuaded them that this was in the best interests of the community.

The function of these halls "popularised this type of building not only on the Coast, but far beyond it"⁷⁵⁵. Robert Jahnke observed, "Many of the whare kai built during the Ngata era had stages for cultural performances. In time these would also be used ... as dance halls. I attended several of the 'rock and roll' gigs during the 1960s."⁷⁵⁶ In 1935 Ngata would write,

The interior decorative work in this place, together with the plan making it a hall or meeting place for functions not thought seemly in the parent Porourangi

⁷⁵² Northern Maori MP Tau Henare, most notably, advised Ngata that the carved hall was preferable in the North (*Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. III, 194) because of difficulties beginning whare whakairo projects. In May 1932 a wharekai in Ahipara was set to begin, but by March 1934 Ngata wrote that that project, as well as one planned for Peria, had been put on hold in preference for working on the Waitangi Centennial House (Ibid, 137). Another at Waiomio was planned to be modelled directly on Arihia (Ibid) but this never eventuated. On the other hand, the hall at Ngata's old alma mater Te Aute College, also modelled on Arihia Hall, was completed (*Na To Hoa Aroha*, II, 201), one of the first completed houses by the Rotorua School of Maori Arts and Crafts.

⁷⁵³ Brown, "Morehu Architecture," 333

⁷⁵⁴ Ramsden, *Sir Apirana Ngata*, 47.

⁷⁵⁵ Jahnke, "He Tataitanga," 238, n. 590.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid, n. 589.

*and for a kai service unique in its ease and compactness, has popularised this type of building not only on the Coast, but far beyond it. Here is the tale of halls built or projected since its inception: - Torere, Mangahanea, Omahu, finished; Tikitiki, Rangitukia, Te Araroa, Tokomaru Bay, Whangara under way; Wairoa, Ruatoki, Waiomio, Peria, Panguru, Ahipara, Waima projected.*⁷⁵⁷

The last major project that Ta Apirana was involved in was one of the closest to his heart. In 1950 he began renovating his beloved Arihia Memorial Hall, which had been damaged by a flash flood in 1938.⁷⁵⁸ He raised £900 from local farming co-operatives and approached his old friend Dick Wills, who had worked with him on many wharenui projects, to sub-contract a carpenter (Ted Ballantyne)⁷⁵⁹ to undertake the work. Tireless to the end, he also initiated other re-building projects in the Waiapu, including the Tawhiorangi wharekai at Tikitiki as well as the church, wharepaku and meeting house at Mangahanea Marae.⁷⁶⁰ Ranginui Walker notes,

*One by one Ngata completed his marae refurbishment programmes in the Waiapu Valley as autumn gave way to winter [1950]. By the end of June the Lady Arihia Memorial Hall was finished and ready to be opened. It was Ngata's last duty and act of love.*⁷⁶¹

By the first decades of the 20th century tradition had come to mean different things to different people. For carvers such as Ngatoto it was a link with the past, with the work on which he had built his strong reputation. Meeting houses were the embodiment of tradition and of the Iwirakau style of carving. When Ngatoto was commissioned by Ngata to work on his study and later St Mary's, it seemed a natural extension from his earlier projects. In both of these, carving was used as paragon of tradition, tracing back to meeting houses two generations before. But this was not a backward-looking philosophy, but one designed for the present. Ngata orchestrated the retention of tradition in communities in order to reinvigorate the local financial and cultural landscape.

⁷⁵⁷ *Na To Hoa Aroha*, vol. III, 134.

⁷⁵⁸ *He Tipua*, 387.

⁷⁵⁹ Ballyntyne had also worked on the Porourangi renovation.

⁷⁶⁰ Walker notes that other projects (Putanga, Reporua and Waipiro) were "put ... on hold" (*He Tipua*, 388) in order for Arihia to be the complete focus.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid*, 390.

Some have criticised Ngata for actively encouraging the building of whare whakairo in a 'traditional' mode with its heavy emphasis on carving, for instance, and his reluctance for certain styles popular in some areas, particularly figurative painting. Toon Van Meijl argues that Ngata glorified Maori traditions. Ngata was groomed from an early age to appreciate the ways in which Ngati Porou had mediated change and revelled in creating new forms of architecture to embody this. Indeed, Ngata was an innovator in his own way - witness for instance his remodelling of Te Hau ki Turanga in 1938, although he had used it as the template for houses only a few years earlier. And again, his innovation is apparent with the invention of the wharekai, an unknown structure until 1930. Both examples confirm that he readily broke with tradition when he saw a greater social and/or cultural need.

CHAPTER 8.

CONCLUSION.

In describing his new meeting house Te Poho o Tipene in the Bombay Hills in 1983 Paki Harrison wrote,

*Although the wide range of functions performed by the art [of carving] are still relevant today, a whole range of new inventions and conventions is being thrust upon the people by the rapid and urgent changes within society. The social nature of the craft demands that these changes are recognised and expressed. Indeed the modern carver needs to be able to reflect and incorporate these changes in his work ... people who no longer wish to be bound by the rules and conventions of another time are moving very quickly in new directions and seeking and creating further dimensions.*⁷⁶²

He reflects on some of the pressures he faced as a customary carver in the 1970s and 1980s at a time when Maori art had diversified away from arts of the marae towards arts of the gallery.⁷⁶³ His ability to earn a living as a carver was under strain and commissions were few and far between. His peers from the East Coast Paratene Matchitt, Sandy Adsett, and Cliff Whiting had begun their careers as carvers but soon developed away from arts of the marae. In contrast, Harrison chose to remain within the field of customary carving as taught to him by Pine Taiapa. He in turn had received his first exposure to carving during the St Mary's project from Hone Ngatoto.⁷⁶⁴ In this way, it is argued here that as students of Ngatoto, both Taiapa and Harrison were Iwirakau carvers, though during their art careers both shifted away from a strongly Iwirakau style in order to adjust and adapt to a broader set of patrons.

⁷⁶² Pakariki Harrison, *St. Stephen's School: Te Poho o Tipene: opened 1983* (Bombay: St. Stephen's School, 1983), 15.

⁷⁶³ It was at this time more than any other that the divisive terms 'contemporary' and 'traditional' emerged, created as a way of distinguishing between arts of the gallery (contemporary) and the marae (traditional). Yet both were made by Maori artists seeking to articulate their worldview.

⁷⁶⁴ The term 'exposure' is used deliberately here, for while Taiapa may have got his first taste of carving on the St Mary's project, it was not until attending the School of Maori Arts and Crafts in Rotorua from 1926 that he was trained in the ways of the carver. But even in within the School his role soon shifted from pupil to teacher because of a lack of masters willing to pass on their knowledge.

The whakapapa of the Iwirakau School began with Iwirakau and ended centuries later with a group of carvers termed here the Super Six. Historical circumstances conspired to bring these men into prominence as critical agents of change in their communities. Their mana remains today, just as most of their whare whakairo remain, and these such as this one pay homage to them and their work. From Ngatoto to Taiapa to Harrison there is a passing on of knowledge and appreciation of whakairo, which, while it might not amount to formal apprenticeship, was strong enough to encourage them to train as carvers.⁷⁶⁵ Is this a continuation of the Iwirakau school of carving rather than its demise when Ngatoto died in June 1928? This thesis has argued that this was indeed the case. As the majority of commissions for Taiapa and Harrison were from *outside* the East Coast, their style naturally shifted away from being strictly Iwirakau.

The chapters above assessed whether a theory of a biography of objects could be applied to the concept of tradition. It asked whether a single tradition could be considered to have not only a distinct lineage (or whakapapa) but also distinct moments of birth, life and death. The testing waters were Maori visual culture, or more specifically one particular school of tribal woodcarving in the 19th century. It has sought to demonstrate how different art forms - the church and the whare whakairo, and, to a lesser extent, the pataka, chief's house and wharekai – each have their own whakapapa as well as distinct moments of birth, life and death.

A new approach, a Whakapapa of Tradition, through which to track and assess change in Maori art history is called for here. This model offers one way to consider how Maori visual culture responded to social change, such as Pakeha colonisation, whilst maintaining its tribal and sub-tribal integrity as preserved in art traditions. Testing this on Iwirakau carving from 1830-1930 has shown that such a paradigm can provide one way in which to understand the complex social, political and cultural factors at play. Actors (in this case carvers and patrons) deliberately called on tradition as a set of ideas passed down through the generations, and in doing so became agents of change rather than passive onlookers, developing ideas of tradition for new purposes. It was they who articulated worldviews of their time in order to account for the past and direct the

⁷⁶⁵ For more on Paki Harrison, see his published writings associated with meeting house projects (*Tane Nui a Rangi* and *St. Stephen's School*). Also see Ranginui Walker's book *Tohunga Whakairo* (Auckland: Penguin, 2008).

future. Discarding existing “prime objects” and creating new ones was a strategy they employed to make their own mark in tribal and sub-tribal history. That communities embraced their ideas so wholeheartedly was as much due to the careful orchestration by patrons and carvers as it was to the desire of those communities for change themselves.

In summarising Maori architectural history in 2009, Deidre Brown called the 19th century the century for the *whare whakairo*, the 20th century for the *wharekai*, and suggested that the 21st may be for the *Whare Ora* or Health Centre.⁷⁶⁶ Change, it seems, is a characteristic of Maori art rather than its opponent. Tracing architectural forms using the idea of a *Whakapapa* of Tradition results in a layering of matrices of each one over the next; in doing so, relationships between people, their architecture and their history is revealed allowing for a multi-faceted understanding of those relationships.

Widening the lens, such a theory could also be applied to other disciplines apart from Art History, such as History (what events, for instance, could be regarded as the ‘parents’ of the New Zealand Wars or World War II, and which events could be regarded as the ‘children’ of them?) or Museum Studies (the history of Auckland Museum for instance has its antecedents and descendants).

This thesis has also sought to reassess the nature of tradition. That this requires specific values and aspects of culture to be handed down is not at issue. As has been shown within East Coast art history, principles surrounding the importance of architecture were indeed maintained. Having a central meeting space, for instance, changed in shape (from a chief’s house to a chapel and then a *whare whakairo*) but the idea of having that focal place was too entrenched within the culture to be abandoned easily. Similarly the use of *whakairo*, *tukutuku* and *kowhaiwhai* to distinguish *hapu* was retained as the most visible symbol of the past and its continuing importance. Indeed, their retention by leaders – or “dominant personalities” – of successive generations was deliberate in order to emphasise tradition in its most narrow and limited sense. Their continued use of forms and types of decorations, for whatever reason, ensured their survival and continued relevance. *Ngati Porou* carvers have used it as a positive force through which to chart changing dynamics within the community – whatever may happen in life, the

⁷⁶⁶ “Future Issues in Māori Architecture,” *Manu Ao Seminar Series* (11 November 2009).

church and the marae will be a constant reminder of who you are and where you come from.

Finally, this thesis challenges the precept of tradition that demands that a set of practices must be in use for two generations before they can be dignified with the term Tradition. Rather, this requirement can and is at times circumvented according to the demands of the day; witness, for instance, the way in which almost all Ngati Porou communities began building chapels within a few short years of the first one being built in 1839. This embracing of new forms was not limited to that period, as can be seen by a similar taking up of the concept of the whare whakairo in the 1870s, and then the wharekai from 1930. Whether this should be put down to Iwirakau as a carving school or to charismatic leaders is debatable, but certainly the architectural history of the East Coast offers an insight into the dynamics of tribal and sub-tribal life and their adopting new ideas and technologies on their own terms, rather than the process being mediated by non-Ngati Porou.

During the fourteen years of research an attempt has been made to collect as much visual data as possible, particularly from museums overseas. Many carvings reside unnoticed in institutions hopefully not succumbing to being what Ngata called “a dead exhibit in a museum,”⁷⁶⁷ but rather retaining their potential to be, again in Ngata’s words, “a living force in the community.”⁷⁶⁸ The unlucky ones do not even see the light of day, but remain in basements seemingly forgotten. May this thesis be an acknowledgement of them and prompt other Ngati Porou to seek them out and treasure them.

There remain many opportunities for future scholars in this field. Using Maori Land Court documents as the main source of information of the architectural landscape, for instance, would be one useful study. Another might focus more closely on specific hapu and their particular visual culture, and track changes over time. Examining gender roles in Ngati Porou art would also be an interesting study; for example, Ngata was a leading exponent of tukutuku, often considered to be a woman’s art. Another project might use

⁷⁶⁷ Ngata, “Tribal Organisation,” 146.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid.

the idea of Maori carving as vernacular architecture, or look at meeting houses built since 1930, or whare kai as distinct structures.

Current research projects, such as *Te Atakura*, a digital database of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti carvings developed by the group Toi Hauiti, are breaking new ground, not only on the East Coast but in tribal and museum communities, both in New Zealand and overseas.⁷⁶⁹ Witness, for instance, Toi Hauiti's participation in the England-based *Artefacts of Encounter* project (due to end in 2013) in which are being forged,

*... a web-based digital research environment called Te Rauata, which will draw together material now scattered internationally between a wide range of institutions, allowing tribal members not only to view but to contribute to, comment on and 'collect' digital taonga through tailored interfaces built specifically to their needs.*⁷⁷⁰

Such tribal, national and international projects will ultimately benefit not only the present generation from pakeke through to artists but also future generations. In identifying what *was* there, such projects recover visual traditions lost to museums and other places, and provide the capacity for building new knowledge and artworks which will ultimately enrich us all. That has been the overriding goal of the present thesis.

Ahakoā, he iti, he pounamu. Though this is little, it is precious.

⁷⁶⁹ This is but one taonga digitisation project. Over the past five years a number of hui have been convened in order to share knowledge and skills between tribes. One of these was hosted by Te Papa Tongarewa in 2006 and attracted representatives from over twenty iwi, indicating strong interest in the area and enthusiasm for using technology as a vehicle through which to archive taonga tuku iho in a myriad of ways. Such databases open up opportunities for museums to at the very least digitally repatriate Maori tribal cultural heritage. Collections from around the world can be made easily accessible and for the first time ever the quantum of taonga taken outside New Zealand can be assessed. Moreover, by bringing together all examples of, for instance, one carving school in one (digital) space, artists and source communities can understand the breadth of the style and consider changes over time.

⁷⁷⁰ "DISCO Workshop Discussion Document," 5.

APPENDIX 1.

NARRATIVES ABOUT RUATEPUPUKE.

Source: Reedy, *Nga Korero a Mohi Ruatapu*. Informant: Mohi Ruatapu, 1871.

Mohi Ruatapu, a tohunga who taught at the Rawheoro whare wananga during its last session in 1836, was the first to write down his version of the Ruatepupuke narrative in 1871. In this account, Tangaroa took Ruatepupuke's son who was out chasing his canoe. When his father eventually found him, he had been transformed into the tekoteko⁷⁷¹ of Tangaroa's underwater house. Ruatepupuke asked the kuia sitting outside the house, Hine-mati-kotai, where all the people were, and she replied, looking for food. She warned him that they would be back at nightfall. When asked how he could defeat them, she replied that only the sunlight could kill them. To do this she suggested plugging up all the holes in the house to trick them into believing it was night-time as day broke. Soon, Tangaroa and his children returned, and went inside to sleep. Twice during the night the guard on duty warned the people of the impending light, and twice Hine-mati-kotai counselled them, "E moe, e moe, i te po roa a Hine-matiko-tai."⁷⁷² When the sun rose, she pulled open the door of the house and light flooded the interior and quickly killed all its drowsy inhabitants.⁷⁷³ Ruatepupuke then grabbed his son and the poupou from the porch of Tangaroa's house, in doing so not only avenging the kidnapping of his son, but also bringing the knowledge of carving to this world "which has been passed down to the present generation."⁷⁷⁴

⁷⁷¹ Further on in the story, Ruatapu contradicts himself, saying that his son was placed on the maihi (Reedy, *Mohi Ruatapu*, 159). However it is more probable that he was in the tekoteko form though as this is usually a human figure.

⁷⁷² Ibid, 56

⁷⁷³ The only one to escape was the kokiri (leatherjacket).

⁷⁷⁴ Reedy, *Mohi Ruatapu*, 159.

**Source: Best, “The Story of Rua and Tangaroa.” Informants: Mohi
Ruatapu and Henare Potae.**

More details are revealed by an account recited by Ruatapu and Henare Potae of Tokomaru Bay to Samuel Locke which was later published by Best (1928).⁷⁷⁵ Potae was an important figure on the Coast and a repository of much tribal knowledge. In this version Ruatepupuke’s son is named as Te Manu-Hauturuki.⁷⁷⁶ There is also a clear description of the type of poupou, which were located *inside* the house as being able to talk to one another. As Ruatepupuke did not claim these ones, poupou today are silent.⁷⁷⁷ Lastly, Tangaroa’s house is named as Hui-te-ananui.

**Source: James Stack, “An Account of the Maori House.” Informant:
Hone Taahu.**

James Stack (1875) also published an account of the story of Ruatepupuke and Tangaroa. His informant was Hone Taahu, the carver mentioned in the main thesis text.⁷⁷⁸ Here Tangaroa took Ruatepupuke’s son when he was swimming. The story continues like Ruatapu and Potae’s until the morning scene, when not only does Ruatepupuke let in the light, but also goes further to seek vengeance by setting the

⁷⁷⁵ Elsdon Best, “The Story of Rua and Tangaroa,” *JPS* 37 (1928).

⁷⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 257.

⁷⁷⁷ Rua stood outside Tangaroa’s whare with his toki (axe) ready to kill those who fled, but only managed to injure the kanae (mullet), maroro (flying fish) and kokiri (leatherjacket). This is further supported by a haka which was performed by those in the flames:

E Rua-te-pupuke tupou atu ki te moana
Kia mate ana mai to ika ki uta ra, ka kumukumu, he uatini
Horu mai i roto o te mura o te ahi, hu, hu!
Aue, ka matakū, aue!
O Rua-te-pupuke! Dive down into the ocean
That your fish may be destroyed on land, a gurnard, a shark;
Gasping in the midst of the flames, hu! Hu!
Alas! Fear assails us! Alas!

⁷⁷⁸ Taahu was the designer and main artist on this house. This project will be more fully discussed in the Chapters 5 and 6.

house alight, burning everyone inside. Taahu is also more specific about the carvings that Ruatepupuke takes, being those in the porch: “four side-posts, the ridge-pole [tahuhu], and the door and the window frames [whakawae].”⁷⁷⁹

Source: Hakiwai and Terrell, 1993. Informant: unnamed person from Tokomaru Bay.

An alternative story is unveiled in an unnamed manuscript that accompanied the house Ruatepupuke 2 when it was sold to a German buyer Umlauff in the 1890s.⁷⁸⁰ In this version Ruatepupuke is the grandfather of Ruatepukenga, child of his son Manuruhi.⁷⁸¹ Now this child cried constantly for seafood and, exasperated, Manuruhi asked his father to make him a matau (fishhook) to expedite the retrieval of kaimoana (seafood). This was made from a stone from the beach and named Te Whatukuru-a-Tangaroa (the prized stone of Tangaroa). However Ruatepupuke warned him not to go fishing without him so he could take the first fish, but Manuruhi became impatient and started fishing without him. Soon however Tangaroa began to worry that Manuruhi would kill all of Ikatere’s⁷⁸² children, so he transformed him into a tui, “one of the children of Rehua.”⁷⁸³ Meanwhile Ruatepupuke had heard that Manuruhi had gone fishing at Takawhiti and waited for him to bring him his offering. It got late and Ruatepupuke went to see where Manuruhi was, but no one had seen him. He saw footprints leading into the sea and knew instinctively what had happened. He dived into the water, going as he did “to his death.” He reached a village and saw a house, “the body of Huiteananui.” From inside he heard voices and as he neared the house and saw that some of the interior poupou were talking to one another, across both ways of the house. He looked up and saw

⁷⁷⁹ “An Account of the Maori House,” 176.

⁷⁸⁰ This manuscript is currently in the Field Museum in Chicago, but is reproduced and translated in full in Hakiwai and Terrell, *Ruatepupuke*.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid*, 40, 43.

⁷⁸² Margaret Orbell notes that according to Te Arawa tribal history, Ikatere (swimming fish) was one of Tangaroa’s sons, the other being Tu-te-wehiwehi or fear and awe (*An Illustrated Guide to Maori Myth and Legend*. (Christchurch: Christchurch University Press, 1995), 144). When Tawhirimatea attacked his brothers, Ikatere sought refuge in the sea, and Tu-te-wehiwehi ran to land. They remain there today, Ikatere’s children as fish, and Tu-te-wehiwehi’s reptiles.

⁷⁸³ Rehua was a tapu man who lived in the overworlds (*Ibid*, 154).

Manuruhi glaring down at him. Then one of the porch poupou asked him, “Where are you going?” Ruatepupuke said that he was looking for his son, and the poupou replied that he was above him. Then Ruatepupuke asked why his child was treated like this, and the interior poupou explained it was because of the name of the fishhook. Ruatepupuke then asked where the people of the village were, and the inside replied that they were in the ocean, and would return in the late afternoon. He asked where he should hide and they showed him.

Ruatepupuke plotted what to do and decided to burn down the house. When Tangaroa and his whanau arrived home they played with Hineteiwaiwa⁷⁸⁴ for a while before going to bed. Tutapakaurangi warned them at daybreak of the time but they slept on. He called this the great sleep of Hinematikotai (Daughter-descended-from-the-tide). Another warning came from the poupou Wheri (weri-root, rootlet, centipede) and Whera (spread out) that Ruatepupuke was outside but still the people slept on but it was too late. Ruatepupuke quickly released his son the tui and set fire to the house. Then he waited outside armed with his patu (cleaver) to kill any of the children as they tried to escape, which some did, but most died in the fire. Finally Ruatepupuke grabbed the four poupou of the left side of the porch and fled to this world.

Those poupou he took could not talk. Had he grabbed those who could talk, we would have talking poupou today. When they arrived home, Ruatepupuke did not build a house with them but kept the carvings for his children and grandchildren “to admire.” These later became the prototype for carvings and his grandchildren at length brought them from Hawaiki to New Zealand.⁷⁸⁵

⁷⁸⁴ Hineteiwaiwa is also mentioned in the story of Ngae as one of the group of women who searched for him.

⁷⁸⁵ Hakiwai and Terrell, *Ruatepupuke*, 44

APPENDIX 2.

IWIRAKAU MEETING HOUSES IN MUSEUMS.

With the advent of museums in New Zealand from the 1860s onwards, it became an important to ‘have’ a Maori meeting house as the piece de resistance. Conal McCarthy talks about this,

*Exhibiting Maori implied the possession of the people and their land who, like the native flora and fauna, were apparently doomed to extinction. This image is not merely a record of an historical occasion but makes visible connections between material culture and imperial power, between objects and subjects. What the exhibition puts on display is the colonizing culture of Pakeha settlers.*⁷⁸⁶

Ngati Porou houses were collected from 1873 onwards when they were directly sourced from the chiefs who acted as their owners. Tapsell distinguishes between different types of taonga that were gifted away from the original owners. He describes how taonga circulated on ‘trajectories’ or pathways, which could be either within a tribe (for which he uses the metaphor of the tui) or outside (which he likens to a comet). He believes that sometimes taonga were gifted with the intention and understanding that they never ‘return home.’⁷⁸⁷ Such an assertion is contentious given the problematic collecting history over the late 19th and early 20th century, a result of which is the loss of cultural heritage from many whanau, hapu and iwi. Indeed, it calls into focus those moments surrounding the movement of taonga out of Maori ownership. Take for instance the ‘gifting’ of a taonga at a critical land sale or confiscation meeting. In this case, it can be argued that those who were ‘gifting’ the taonga might have been in a position of disadvantage, proffering taonga in order to appease those who were threatening to seize land.

On another level it is clear that with some taonga it was never considered that they would be taken overseas to be permanently alienated from the group for which and from which it derives its value and meaning. The Titore hei tiki/hei matau is a case in point –

⁷⁸⁶ McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori*, 13.

⁷⁸⁷ Paul Tapsell, “The flight of Pareraututu: An Investigation of Taonga from a Tribal Perspective,” *JPS* 106.4 (1997), 354, 355.

‘gifted’ from the Ngapuhi chief Titore to a friend, Captain Saddler in the 1830s with whom he had a strong friendship. Upon Saddler’s return to England in 1834, Titore ‘gifted’ a series of taonga including a unique hei tiki/hei matau. When Saddler died, these taonga were passed down his descendants until they were gifted to the British Museum where they remain.

Whilst there are many meeting houses on the East Coast and several in museums, there are numerous carvings in institutions that are unattributed to a specific house. This is due to a number of factors: wharenuī were sometimes relocated and during this process some of the carvings went ‘missing’; carvings were sometimes commissioned but the house never built due to finances or changing political situations; the houses for which they were made fell down and the carvings placed in museums for safekeeping.

For those from the Rangitukia hapu Ngai Tane, the house which now stands on their marae –generically named Tai Rawhiti – was originally fully carved.⁷⁸⁸ Today no carvings adorn the porch - the koruru and tahuhu have recently been removed for safekeeping (**Fig. 131**). This house once stood further down the Tikitiki-Rangitukia Road and was relocated in the early 20th century due to flooding. Like with other houses, such as O Hine Waiapu, bullock dragged the house to the new site. When it left the original site it had a range of carvings on the outside including the pare, whakawae and paepae. This may be the “well carved house at Rangitukia” mentioned by Ngata to Phillipps in 1942 which “was burnt down many years ago.”⁷⁸⁹ One rare photo in the Alexander Turnbull Library “Waiomatatini and Tikitiki parties (schoolgirls)” depicts a group of schoolgirls in front of a meeting house performing a waiata-a-ringā (action song) (**Fig. 132**). The date is given as March 1945 which was when the wharekai Hinepare was opened next door to Tai Rawhiti. Presumably this photograph documents the kawanga. The girls perform in front of Tai Rawhiti which at this stage has no koruru, but instead a wooden spike. This suggests that the carved koruru was attached some time after 1945. Stylistically the existing carvings are almost identical to those

⁷⁸⁸ There are painted poupou inside the house that were done by locals as part of a PEP Scheme. However, given the location of the house – close to the site of Tapere Nui a Whatonga – and the history, there are thoughts afloat to change this and resurrect the house as a carved one.

⁷⁸⁹ “Letter to Phillipps,” 4.

from O Hine Waiapu⁷⁹⁰ (**Fig. 133**); in fact Ngata's reference to fire may explain the charring on a number of carvings in Auckland Museum in the style of O Hine Waiapu which are, at this stage, unattributed to any specific house and may indeed be from the original Tai Rawhiti (**Fig. 134**). At some point along the journey from one site to the next the carvings were 'sequestered' by a local man and sold to Edward Walker, the storekeeper at Port Awanui. From there the carvings were on-sold to Auckland Museum and Te Papa Tongarewa. Unfortunately this 'trajectory' is difficult to prove due to lack of photographic and written evidence. Many in the community were incensed once this theft was discovered but by then it was too late, and the carvings had been sold.

O Hine Waiapu (previously known as carvings associated with the house Te Kani a Takirau or the Buller House), Auckland Institute and Museum.

The house Te Kani a Takirau originally stood at Tolaga Bay⁷⁹¹ and was opened some time in September 1880.⁷⁹² It had been commissioned by Wi Pewhairangi on behalf of Te Whanau a Ruataupare⁷⁹³ in honour of Te Kani a Takirau (who had died in 1856). Pewhairangi was not Te Kani's successor however - Hirini Te Kani (?-1896)⁷⁹⁴ was – but rather Pewhairangi wanted to pay homage to this important chief by building a new

⁷⁹⁰ They may even have come from that house – when the house was split one half remained, and the other 'disappeared'.

⁷⁹¹ Other sources give its original location as Tokomaru Bay.

⁷⁹² There is dispute here about the date of opening. Phillipps argues for a date of the 1860s when the house was opened, but De Z. Hall notes that (Rob de Z. Hall, "Notes on Te Kani a Takirau Carved House," 29 April 1987, Tai Rawhiti Museum Archives.)

⁷⁹³ Hakiwai and Terrell, *Ruatepupuke*, 14. This was not the only house built for an individual during these times. Wiremu Potae built one called Rongotukiwaho (Ibid, 12).

⁷⁹⁴ Steven Oliver writes this account of Hirini Te Kani's early connection with Te Kani a Takirau: "As a baby, Hirini and his mother accompanied a force led by Te Kani-a-Takirau which tried to raise the siege of Okurarenga pa, later known as Kai-uku, on the Mahia peninsula. It was routed by a section of the besiegers and Hirini and his mother were captured in the retreat. [His father] Rawiri Te Eke ransomed them with a greenstone mere named Pahikauri. There are conflicting accounts of the captors' identity; they may have been Tuhoe, or Ngati Tuwharetoa with Ngati Raukawa allies" (Oliver, "Hirini Te Kani"). In relation to passing on the mantle of power, Oliver continues, "Before his death in 1856 Te Kani-a-Takirau chose Hirini to be his successor as leader of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti. Hirini was related to Te Kani-a-Takirau through his great grandfather, Tama-i-Hikitea-te-rangi, a first cousin of Hinematiaro" (Ibid).

house. This was not Wi Pewhairangi's only house though; he had another called Mahingaroa at Tuatini⁷⁹⁵ and yet another called Mainga at Powhaitapu.⁷⁹⁶

Te Kani a Takirau was considered to be “the most important chief on the East Coast,”⁷⁹⁷ who received his mana through his maternal grandmother, the ariki Hinematiaro. Te Kani's paternal grandfather was also significant - Te Whakatatare o te Rangi had met Captain Cook when he visited the area in the 1769. Rev. Richard Taylor drew his personal residence in Uawa in April 1839, which showed carving and tukutuku. Neich notes that Te Kani a Takirau meeting house was used by the missionaries for “accommodation and meetings on their trips up and down the coast.”⁷⁹⁸ He was a major leader of the area at this time; he had led a large contingent to the battle of Toka-a-Kuku in 1834 against Whanau-a-Apanui. When the Treaty of Waitangi was brought around the East Coast Te Kani refused to sign. His mana was such that when the idea of a Maori King was first floated in the 1850s he was approached to take up this role, but he refused stating ‘*Ehara toku maunga a Hikurangi i te maunga haere. Hikurangi, my mountain, never travels.*’

That a carved meeting house called Te Kani a Takirau was built in the 1870s and opened in 1880 is not in dispute. According to Kernot it was carved by Ngakaho and Taahu and possibly built by Patara Rangi.⁷⁹⁹ The opening ceremony is particularly remembered. The haka that was written recorded the names of all the main exterior carvings:

Uia mai koia, whakahuatia ake;
Ko wai te whare nei e?
Ko Te Kani
Ko wai te tekoteko kei runga?
Ko Paikea! Ko Paikea!

Ask and you will be told;
What is the name of this house?
It is Te Kani.
Who is the carved figure above?
It is Paikea, it is Paikea.

⁷⁹⁵ Iles, *History of Tokomaru Bay*, 224.

⁷⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 225.

⁷⁹⁷ Neich, *Painted Histories*, 57

⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 74.

⁷⁹⁹ Rangi would have been in his 50s at least by the time the house was built – he is mentioned in 1844 in relation to his wife Paparangi having ‘taken up’ with Te Kani a Takirau at this time (see Baker's Journal in Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay*, 170 and Waiapu MB 8, at 76).

Whakakau Paikea. Hei!
Whakakau he tipua. Hei!
Whakakau he taniwha. Hei!

Paikea emerges. Hey!!
A wizard emerges. Hey!
A deep-water prodigy is wading
ashore. Hey!

Ka u Paikea ki Ahuahu. Pakia!
Kei te whitia koe
Ko Kahutia-te-rangi. Aue!
Me ai to ure ki te tamahine

Paikea lands at Ahuahu. Slap!
Your identity is entwined
With Kahutia-te-rangi. Amazing!
You were intimate with the
daughter
Of Te Whironui - really!-
Who settled at Roto-o-tahe.

A Te Whironui - aue!
Nana i noho te Roto-o-tahe.

Aue! Aue!
He koruru koe, koro e.

Alas! Alas!
You are now a figurehead, old one.

The name of the house is Te Kani (line 3), whilst the name of the tekoteko is identified as Paikea (line 5). The remainder of the haka/waiata recounts how Paikea landed at Ahuahu (line 9) where his identity changed from Kahutia-Te-Rangi to Paikea (lines 10-11). He then met the daughter of Whiro-nui (line 13) – Huturangi – and they later settled in Roto-a-Tahe (line 14). The last line contradicts line 5 in that he names the ‘koro’ Paikea as the koruru (line 16) rather than the tekoteko (line 5) but these two terms may have been used synonymously when the haka was originally composed.

The house Te Kani a Takirau was described by a Pakeha reporter shortly after it as opened. In September 1880 the following description was provided,

It is of the usual description of Maori architecture. In size it is about 60 feet by 25 feet, and about 14 foot high from the floor to the ridge-pole. Ventilation is evidently not studied, for it possesses but one door, and three windows, the latter being at the far end, and one near the entrance. The atmosphere inside it was stifling. The carved work in the interior is according to the patterns seen everywhere in similar buildings. Huge wooden carvings representing some ancient warrior, in war paint, denuded of every vestige of clothing, with pigeon f ... for a board hung around his face, red sealing wax to represent the eyes, and black streaks daubed on the forehead, nose, and cheeks for tatoos [sic] marks, are plentiful enough in and about the building. At the base of the main pillars supporting it there are two curious carvings. The first represents a chief – a very notable character in his day – named Whakarara. His face is made to appear from ear to ear about eighteen inches broad, and judging from his likeness which is said to be life size, he must have been able to pull a very long face, for it is fully two feet long. A flax mat was through around his figure, and a splendid greenstone ..., about a foot long, is suspended from his neck. The other carving is a puzzle to the European sight-seers, who, for the life of them could not make

*out the character. It is another of the rude images, but while the head and neck are painted black, the body is white. Enquiries were put concerning it, but the only satisfactory reply received was that it was intended to depict the union of the Maori and Pakeha races, with the former predominating. About the centre of the building there is a well from which the tapu was only removed a few days before the meeting. There a pump has been fixed, which looks like an incongruous object in a ... and surroundings essentially Maori, that it at once attracts attention. It is a decided innovation according to the Maori mind, as much so perhaps, as an organ would be in some Presbyterians Kirks. The inside of the building is lined with Maori visiting beautifully plaited, the outside is of weatherboard, and the roof is of shingles.*⁸⁰⁰

The house then was a mix of the expected and unexpected, the traditional and the contemporary. There are carvings around the interior depicting ancestors. Both poutokomanawa bases have carvings on them: Whakarara is one, with black paint highlighting the moko on his forehead, cheeks and nose. The addition of red sealing wax for the eyes is unusual - paua shell was usually reserved for this role. The status of Whakarara is emphasised by the dress cloak around his shoulders and large pounamu ornament around his neck. The second poutokomanawa figure is described as being “another of the rude images” suggesting a male figure with a phallus; his face and head are painted black with the body painted white. The sinking of a pump in the middle of the floor inside the house is indeed unusual and may in fact have been a temporary fixture installed for the opening alone, to be removed at a later date. There are tukutuku panels around the wall. The exterior walls of the whare runanga are covered in weatherboard, with shingles for roofing.

Te Kani a Takirau reflected the mana of the local community in the nature of the decoration and the way in which the meeting house was so well publicised, both at the opening and also soon after with a major gathering of Maori and Pakeha to discuss land issues and other such topics of the day. At least 500 Maori and several Pakeha, including Captain Porter, attended this latter hui. Henare Potae was the main organiser.

There has been much confusion about the subsequent history of Te Kani a Takirau meeting house. A photo in Te Papa Tongarewa (B.119) (**Fig. 135**) is often cited as depicting Te Kani a Takirau. The photo shows a run-down meeting house with a tekoteko, koruru, broken raparapa, amo, and porch poupou. There is also a series of

⁸⁰⁰ “The excursion to Tolaga Bay,” *The Evening Herald*, September 27, 1880.

narrow vertical timbers which are spaced evenly along the back wall of the porch. These are carved and have paua inlay, reminiscent of Ruatēpupuke meeting house. In between these timbers are tukutuku panels featuring poutama with a central line of reflection; some of these are weatherworn, particularly at the base where some of the flexible material – probably kiekie – has worn away completely. Kowhaiwhai in the porch was a relatively “short-lived innovation in tukutuku”⁸⁰¹ and can be seen on other houses of the period such as Nga Tau-E-Waru at Te Ore Ore Marae, Masterton and a house tentatively called ‘Hikurangi’ at Wairoa. The last feature of the B.119 porch are the unusual geometric kowhaiwhai, some of which may be the ones in Te Papa Tongarewa⁸⁰² (**Fig. 136**) and some of which may be the ones in the Museum of Anthropology in Florence, Italy (**Fig. 137**).⁸⁰³

Phillipps identifies the meeting house in the Te Papa photo as ‘Tolaga Bay House (2)’ for want of a better name. He suggests that the carving style is reminiscent of Whanganui work,⁸⁰⁴ and even identifies the possible carver of the koruru – Patuaka of Wellington. He makes no mention of the history of the house, possibly because, as he admits, “The house is another so far known only from a photograph.”⁸⁰⁵

Neich on the other hand tentatively suggests that the meeting house in photo B.119 is “perhaps Te Kani a Takirau or Ruapekapeka.”⁸⁰⁶ He bases his claim on the work of two scholars looking at the same photo: Laurie names the house as possibly Ruapekapeka which used to stand on the north side of the Uawa River,⁸⁰⁷ whilst De Z. Hall suggests that the house is Te Kani a Takirau. The tekoteko from this photo is currently in the American Museum of Natural History and has the name ‘Paikea’ inscribed on it,

⁸⁰¹ Neich, *Painted Histories*, 102.

⁸⁰² According to Neich, these date to the 1870s or 1880s (*Painted Histories*, 43). See photo C.159 in Te Papa Tongarewa’s Collection.

⁸⁰³ The latter set of heke were collected by Dr. August Scheidel, a German who was brought out to New Zealand and Australia to establish cyanide extraction plants in mines in the 1890s. How he came to acquire these particular heke is unknown.

⁸⁰⁴ Phillipps, “Carved Maori Houses of the Eastern Districts,” 105-6.

⁸⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 105.

⁸⁰⁶ Neich, *Painted Histories*, 42

⁸⁰⁷ Laurie, *Tolaga Bay*, 45

indicating a link between the house and the name Te Kani a Takirau by virtue of the haka performed at the opening, affectionately now known as ‘Paikea.’

To add confusion, Phillipps identifies a different house as Te Kani a Takirau – what he calls ‘Tolaga Bay House (4).’ He attributes this on the basis of three photos in the collection of the Dominion Museum (now Te Papa Tongarewa). These “indicate a close relationship in carving technique with Tolaga Bay houses already considered.”⁸⁰⁸ Phillipps outlines how this house was “purchased in the 90’s by Mr H. Hill, and re-sold to an Englisher (sic) buyer. Its subsequent history is unknown.”⁸⁰⁹ This may be because the meeting house in the photo is actually Ruatepupuke II, now in the Field Museum.

It is unknown what really happened to the meeting house Te Kani a Takirau after the 1880s. Simmons initially made a link between Te Kani a Takirau and a house he named the Buller House in his research on East Coast meeting houses in the 1970s. He reiterated this in his latest book *Meeting Houses of Ngati Porou o Te Tai Rawhiti*,

*Sir Walter Buller purchased 24 carvings from Henry Hill. Buller in a letter to Cheeseman, Director of the Auckland War Memorial Museum, refers to the carvings being taken to Napier. The carvings were received in the Auckland Museum in 1898.*⁸¹⁰

Phillipps’ 1944 article also identifies Hill as the initial purchaser of the house.⁸¹¹ As Hill only purchased one entire house as far as is known – though he also purchased several individual carvings – Simmons makes the assertion, “It would seem reasonable to suggest that the Buller House is Te Kani a Takirau.”⁸¹² In summary, the trajectory of Te Kani a Takirau can be plotted in this way,

Te Kani a Takirau 1878-80 → sold to Hill 1890s → sold to an English buyer (present whereabouts unknown) (Phillipps).

Te Kani a Takirau 1850s → sold to Hill 1890s → sold to Buller 1897 → acquired by Auckland Museum 1898 (Simmons).

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid, 107.

⁸⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁸¹⁰ Simmons, *Meeting-Houses of Ngati Porou*, 30.

⁸¹¹ Phillipps, “Carved Meeting Houses of the East Coast,” 107.

⁸¹² Simmons, *Meeting-Houses of Ngati Porou*, 32.

To add to confusion, the caption writer of a pare in the *Te Maori* catalogue provides the following details: “Pare (lintel), from the house Te Kani-a-Takirau, opened in 1860, carved by Hone Ngatoto. Length 174.4. Auckland Institute and Museum (716)” (**Fig. 137**). Later in the same catalogue is another carving identified as belonging to the same house. Catalogued as number 100 is the following, “This tahuu (ridgepole) of the house Te Kani a Takirau was carvings by Hone Ngatoto at Tolaga Bay and erected in the 1860s” (**Fig. 138**). This is carving is registration number 717 in Auckland Museum. The registration cards for both 716 (pare) and 717 (tahuu) identify that they were acquired from Walter Buller in 1898. For both the location is put as ‘East Cape.’ It is likely that the attributions in the *Te Maori Catalogue* were made by Simmons given his earlier thesis of the carvings belonging to Te Kani a Takirau as well as the fact that he wrote one of the essays in the catalogue and that he was the Ethnologist at Auckland Museum at the time.

However, during the course of researching for this thesis it has been discovered that the carvings in Auckland Museum named by Simmons as ‘possibly Te Kani a Takirau’ are actually from O Hine Waiapu. Opened in 1882 and carved by a team led by Hone Ngatoto and including Hoani Ngatai and Mohi Turei, the large meeting house was subject of a land dispute between two hapu. This resulted, as has been described in Chapter 4, with the halving of the house, “and one half sold to a museum.”⁸¹³ Stylistically there is such a close relationship between the thirteen poupou (AIM 695-707), four architraves (AIM 708-711) and two amo (AIM 712 and 713) in Auckland Museum with the existing carvings in O Hine Waiapu to suggest that they originally all stood together. Further, there may be another carving from the house in Te Papa Tongarewa (ME.12852). This whakairo was purchased by the museum in 1972 through an auction at Dunbar Sloane.

Tuhaka’s suggestion that Ngatoto made an extra set of carvings to ‘complete’ the house on its new site accounts for the double set of amo and tahuu. It is most likely that person or persons unknown sold the carvings to the storekeeper Edward Walker at Port Awanui. On the registration cards of the poupou and architraves (as well as two whakawae 714 and 715) in Auckland Museum Walker’s name is written next to the

⁸¹³ *Taura Tangata*, 12.

locality of East Cape, though Walter Buller is identified as the depositor. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Walker's ability to acquire carvings from those who may have run up a debt at his shop (like Hare Kopakopa in 1901) came into the radar of Buller, ever anxious at the dwindling availability of 'authentic' Maori carvings. Walker is known to have sold Auckland Museum a pare (AM164) in 1897, as well as two amo (AM5153 and AM5156) three years later, presumably sourced from the local area. Buller meanwhile was also gifting to the Museum at this time – two amo (712 and 713), a tekoteko (718) and a poutokomanawa (719). The accession numbers reveal that these came into the Museum's collection at the same time as the Walker/Buller carvings, further suggesting a strong link between them.

REGISTRATION NUMBER	TYPE OF CARVING
695-707	Thirteen poupou
708-711	Four carved architraves
712 and 713	Two amo
714 and 715	Two whakawae
716	Korupe
717	Tahuu
718	Tekoteko
719	Poutokomanawa

Table 7: Carvings in Auckland Museum from East Cape (Walker) deposited by Walter Buller in 1898. The total is twenty-five carvings.

It seems that there were in fact at least two meeting houses involved here. The first is named Te Kani a Takirau and was originally built in Tolaga Bay in 1878-1880. The opening was a major event. The house was at least carved and had tukutuku. Person or persons unknown sold this house to Henry Hill in the 1890s and then onward to some other buyer – its present whereabouts are unknown. A second meeting house carved in East Coast style possibly by Hone Ngatoto was purchased by Walter Buller in the 1890s; twenty-four carvings were acquired by Auckland Museum in 1898.

Ruatepupuke II, Field Museum, Chicago

Ruatepupuke is the second house of this name in Tokomaru Bay. The first was a much earlier house that was dismantled in the 1820s upon news arriving of the impending attacks by Ngapuhi. The carvings were soaked in whale oil and placed in the bed of the

Maungahauini River.⁸¹⁴ Unfortunately the river changed its path and the carvings were lost.

During the 1870s Mokena Romio Babbington, a major figure in Tokomaru Bay in the 1860s, decided it to build a new meeting house.⁸¹⁵ Babbington was the son of one of the first Pakeha to live on the Coast, George Babbington.⁸¹⁶ Babbington identifies Wiremu Mangapouri as the person who he wished to carve a house for him. However, this is not irrefutable proof that Mangapouri carved *this* house. The initials ‘OKN’ have been found painted on one of the outside maihi,⁸¹⁷ leading Hirini Moko Mead to suggest that the carver may have been Koroniria Ngawehenga, who is said to be one of the carvers of nearby Ruakapanga⁸¹⁸ which opened in the 1880s.

A third suggestion – made by Ngati Porou master carver Pine Taiapa – is that Hoani Ngatai carved Ruatepupuke II. Pine Taiapa describes Ngatai as “the lead carver of the Iwirakau School of carving based in the Waiapu Valley.”⁸¹⁹ If so, this would have been his first house to work on alone. He had earlier helped carve O Hine Waiapu (1870-82), training under Hone Ngatoto and working with Mohi Turei. He was also carving work for Karaitiana Takamoana around the same time. Taiapa’s identification of Ngatai is based on information he was passed down by Ngatai’s teacher who became his own teacher some 40 years later.

Further support for Ngatai as the carver is based on stylistic analysis of the carvings in Ruatepupuke themselves. These show many of the characteristics of Ngatai’s style, including a preference for asymmetry, use of a variety of different types of surface patterning, the placement of figures in what Jahnke terms ‘piggyback’ position (one on top of the other’s shoulders) and the lengthening of the upper arm (**Fig. 139**).

⁸¹⁴ Hakiwai and Terrell, *Ruatepupuke*, 11.

⁸¹⁵ According to Babbington who wrote a manuscript which came with the house when it arrived in Chicago in 1905, Ruatepupuke was supposedly built in 1861.

⁸¹⁶ Hakiwai and Terrell, *Ruatepupuke*, 11.

⁸¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸¹⁹ Taiapa, unpublished ms.

Some years after the house was opened, it was described as being ‘in state of disrepair’ and a man known only as Hindmarsh purchased the house in the 1890s. The seller and price is unknown. As a curio dealer, Hindmarsh would have been scouting for meeting houses which were becoming to feature on the art market. It is likely that his travel to the East Coast was to seek out such a house. There was a precedent – Henare Potae had sold his meeting house in 1873.

How Hindmarsh removed the carvings is also unclear. The house would have been dismantled, presumably by locals, and boxed up ready for shipment. There were at least 40 large carvings as well as the entire front wall of the porch with its unique carved façade.⁸²⁰ Soon after the carvings were sold to the firm of J. F. G. Umlauff, ‘the foremost dealer in natural history specimens and ethnographic objects.’ By 1902 the house was in Hamburg. Umlauff published a catalogue of their ‘emporium’ and included the house - catalogued under the name ‘Huitemanui’ (**Fig. 140**).⁸²¹

In 1905 George Dorsey, Curator of Anthropology at the new Field Columbian Museum approached the Umlauff firm. He had seen Ruatēpupuke II and was keen to purchase it. He included it in a wish list that he sent to the Director of the Museum suggesting a figure of 20,000 German marks, about \$5,000, “a goodly sum in 1905.”⁸²² Dorsey wrote that Umlauff had bought the house in 1903 from an Englishman who had owned it for several years.⁸²³ Following its purchase, Ruatēpupuke II was packed up and shipped to Chicago. However, the meeting house was not put on display until 1925 because the

⁸²⁰ These comprise of (at least) 10 carvings in the porch, two amo, the pare, the korupe, two pieces of the tahuhu (porch and internal), 12 epa, eight sets of poupou, the poutuarongo, the poutahu and the two poutokomanawa. Twenty-four poupou are shown in the photo of the carvings awaiting shipment from New Zealand in 1902.

⁸²¹ The firm had been established by J. F. G. Umlauff, but upon his death in 1889 his sons took over the business and it is they presumably who sought out the house and on sold it to the Field Museum, along with 2500 other ethnographic objects (Robert L. Welsch, “One Time, One Place: Three Collections,” in *Hunting The Gatherers: Ethnographic Collectors, Agents and Agency in Melanesia 1870s-1930s*, ed. Michael O’Hanlon and Robert L. Welsch. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 167). Umlauff’s interest in dealing meeting houses didn’t stop with the Ngati Porou example; in 1907 he sold the house Rauru to the Hamburgisches Museum fur Volkerkunde in Hamburg, Germany.

⁸²² Hakiwai and Terrell, *Ruatēpupuke*, 16.

⁸²³ Professor von Luschan of the Museum fur Volkerkunde in Berlin was also keen on purchasing the house but the price was more than they could afford. There is some suggestion that there was another house sold from Tokomaru Bay. Melpham notes that the house Rerekohu was sold to an American geologist in 1885. This had belonged to the Pewhairangi whanau.

Museum was relocated.⁸²⁴ In the early 1990s the meeting house was again renovated and re-opened. The link with Tokomaru Bay remains strong to this day, as Witi Ihimaera reminds us,

Whatever you do, never forget that on the other side of the world, where the sun sets in a different manner and the sky is a different colour, there is a meeting house that should never be forgotten. It is named after the ancestor who first brought the art of carving to our world of light, to our world of sunrise. Thereby it ties us to the whakapapa at the beginning of Time.

*Its name is Ruatēpupuke.*⁸²⁵

Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa, Canterbury Museum, Chicago

This house is discussed in Chapter 6.

Karaitiana Takamoana's house, various museums including Otago Museum.

In terms of Ngati Porou whareniui in museums, it is the house built for Ngati Kahungunu rangatira Karaitiana Takamoana (?-1879) which demonstrates most clearly just how museums 'dealt' with Maori whareniui in the 19th and early 20th century. The carvings are known in relation to their patron, Takamoana. They were intended to fill a new meeting house being built at Pakowhai Pa in the Heretaunga (Napier). According to Anson, the carvings may have been made at Tomoana, which is located north of Hastings, 5 kilometres from Pakowhai.⁸²⁶ A letter written by Douglas Harris when the

⁸²⁴ At this time there was a request to New Zealand for whariki (decorated floor mats) for the inside of the house. Three cases were sent, but one was lost before it reached Chicago in early 1926. Those lost whariki were remade under the supervision of Mrs Ngata and sent to Chicago later that year. More whariki were made in 1940s after another request from the Field by women from the Whanau a Aotawarirangi hapu at Te Ariuru.

⁸²⁵ Ihimaera, Witi. "The Meeting House on the Other Side of the World." In *Te Ata Maori Art from the East Coast, New Zealand*, ed. Witi Ihimaera and Ngarino Ellis (Auckland: Reed, 2002), 98.

⁸²⁶ Anson, "What's in a name?" 77.

carvings were purchased in the late 1880s corroborates Takamoana's involvement as it states that the carvings were destined 'for the Hawkes Bay chief Karaitiana.'⁸²⁷ In the 1940s his grandson Te Kauru Karaitiana maintained that Karaitiana wanted to get some Ngati Porou carvers to do the carvings. Te Kauru believed that when Takamoana married Peti Aata of Manutuke she brought with her a number of Ngati Porou carvers who worked on this house.⁸²⁸ This is corroborated by the *New Zealand South Seas Exhibition 1889-1890* official catalogue which states that the carvings were "presented by the Ngatiporou tribe to a late chief of Hawkes Bay."⁸²⁹

The carvings are the work of at least two carvers.⁸³⁰ The hand of Hone Taahu can be seen on carvings in Otago Museum (D31.1344, D96.14, D10.1, E31.301) as well as one in the British Museum (1922.5-12.1.11), one in the Museum of Anthropology in Berkeley, California (11.2251-2) as well as another in the American Museum of Natural History in New York (80.0.4018). Hoani Ngatai's manner is visible on carvings such as the unusual double-sided corner posts (D.8840) and other carvings in Otago Museum (B31.1355 and D96.13). In Elsdon Best's book *The Maori* there is a photo of four Karaitiana carvings.⁸³¹ Three of them feature a unique wide band across the chest joining the shoulders. This same trait is seen in the front poutuarongo in Ruatepupuke II, also carved by Ngatai. The former carvings are in a characteristic Taahu style, and thus Ngatai's use of the motif may be in honour of his teacher. It is notable that Ngatai leaves his band on Ruatepupuke plain, rather than embellished. Similarly, Ngatai uses a scalloped haehae on the shoulder spiral of one of the large Karaitiana carvings as well

⁸²⁷ Harris, D., "Letter – D. Harris of Hastings to Hocken, 4 December 1890," MS-451, HL.

⁸²⁸ Anson, on the other hand, believes that the carvings were possibly made for a chief called Tomoana; this may refer to Henare Tomoana who was Karaitiana's half-brother ("What's in a name?" 78).

⁸²⁹ Douglas Harris, *New Zealand and the South Seas Exhibition, Dunedin, 1889-1890* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1889), 23.

⁸³⁰ Hakiwai notes that Karaitiana's marriage to Peti Te Aata and her bringing through carvers from her home town of Manutuke "may well explain the strong Turanga carving influence on the Heretaunga region" ("Te Toi Whakairo o Ngati Kahungunu," 171).

⁸³¹ Best, *The Maori*, 166.

as one poupou in Ruatepupuke II and an amo in Te Papa Tongarewa (ME.8616) (**Fig. 143**).⁸³²

Takamoana was a paramount chief of Ngati Kahungunu and was elected into Parliament in 1871; he died in 1879 when still in office. During the 1860s he was focused on organising his people against Pai Marire and Te Kooti, both at home and away, as well as selling his land, but by 1870 it was clear that he was heavily in debt, “facing writs, summonses and warrants on all sides.”⁸³³ The 1870s saw Takamoana in Parliament as well as negotiating land issues at home. It was during the late 1860s and early 1870s that he sought out carvers to work on a new house for his settlement at Pakowhai. The earliest drawing of the village was a sketch by Henry Stratton Bates described as “Pakowhai Pah, Ahuriri, in February 1859” (ATL 527271/2) which depicts “four buildings with palisades surrounding the pa. There is no carvings visible in this sketch.”⁸³⁴ In the early 1860s the surveyor C. Weber took a photo of a carved house in the Pa; the same house remained when Pat Parsons photographed it in 1879, possibly at the event of Karaitiana’s tangi.⁸³⁵ The house Takamoana was planning was probably to replace this earlier one, and contribute to his legacy as a leader in doing so.

Carvings from this house – or rather in this distinctive style – were in museum collections, either as loans or gifts or purchases, by the early 1870s. At least two were included in the Trophy Display in the Colonial and Vienna Exhibition in Christchurch in 1872 (**Fig. 144**). Three others were in the Dominion Museum by 1905 when rangatira Tureiti Te Heuheu Tukino (standing in front of ME.8199) (**Fig. 145**) and Maui Pomare (standing in front of ME.1875 and ME.1874) (**Fig. 146**) had their portraits taken. The carvings in this context were used as signifiers of Maori culture in order to give the sitter prestige and to firmly locate them within a Maori world. The fact that the carvings were from the Trophy Exhibition were being used at a time when Karaitiana was still

⁸³² Keri Kaa maintains that this carving was one of those removed without consent from the house Tai Rawhiti in the early 20th century (Pers. Comm., 2006).

⁸³³ Angela Ballara, “Takamoana, Karaitiana, ?-1879.,” <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t5/1?setlang=en> (accessed Aug 06, 2011).

⁸³⁴ Hakiwai, “Te Toi Whakairo o Ngati Kahungunu,” 266.

⁸³⁵ Pat Parsons album, MoNZ F1243-18. Neich believes that the carving is in a Ngati Pikiaio style (Neich, *Painted Histories*, 298-299).

alive (he died in 1879) suggests that either these were carvings from another house or that he had relinquished control of them by that time. Neich suggests that the sheer number of carvings associated with this house strongly points to more than one house being involved; more likely it was two.⁸³⁶ Arapata Hakiwai (who wrote his Master's thesis on Ngati Kahungunu carving) and Anson (ex-Curator at Otago Museum) also believe this.⁸³⁷

A number of Karaitiana's carvings left Hawke's Bay some time in the late 1880s for display in the South Seas Exhibition in Dunedin in 1889-90. Augustus Hamilton and Dr Thomas Hocken organized the Maori Court in the Exhibition. At the time of purchase in the late 1880s Hamilton was still in Napier as the Director of the Hawke's Bay Museum. Anson describes him as the "owner"/organiser" of the house.⁸³⁸ In 1890 Hamilton moved to Dunedin to take up the position of Registrar at the University of Otago. His knowledge of the East Coast would have placed him in prime position as agent for Hocken. Hocken was involved as "the chairman of the Early History, Maori, and South Seas Section of the 1889 Exhibition, contributing an introductory historical essay to that part of the "Official Catalogue," as well as exhibiting historical and ethnographic material for the South Seas Exhibition."⁸³⁹ He was a wealthy doctor and collector in Dunedin. Both Hamilton and Hocken were keen to display "the artistic abilities of the Maori artist."⁸⁴⁰ The carvings were erected as a house (exhibit no. 54) standing 80 x 22 ft. No photograph exists of the house in the Exhibition.

Once the Exhibition ended, Hocken retained possession of the carvings and eventually donated the collection to Otago Museum in 1910 upon his death. He had sought subscriptions from the general public to purchase the carvings; a letter in the Hocken Library from Douglas Harris of Hastings to Hocken written in December 1890 requests £100 pounds for the carvings.⁸⁴¹ Harris was acting as the broker for Hamilton as he

⁸³⁶ Pers. Comm., 2007.

⁸³⁷ Email, 11 Feb. 1998.

⁸³⁸ See *NZ South Seas Exhibition 1889-1890*' official catalogue of the exhibits (Dunedin: 1989)

⁸³⁹ Gloria Margaret Strathern, essay on Hocken in the *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand 1966*.

⁸⁴⁰ McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori*, 46.

⁸⁴¹ "Letter, 4 December 1890," MS 451. Hocken Library.

lived in Hastings, and would have known Hamilton who had lived in the same district. Harris was writing on behalf of the New Zealand Company Limited whose activities were being wound up.

In May 1890 Hocken had decided to purchase the carvings and began by asking for subscriptions to raise funds for this purpose.⁸⁴² Hocken listed forty-five people as ‘interested parties.’ Hocken was keen to have the carvings at all costs - he noted in pencil on the bottom of Harris’s letter,

This letter refers to the beautiful slabs, which are now in the Dominion Museum. They were carved near Napier for the celebrated Hawkes Bay chief, Karaitiana, who proposed erecting with them a Whare-Runanga. But he died in 188 [left exact year, was in fact 1879] and the slabs were left lying ____ [space]. I heard of them and received their loan for the New Zealand Exhibition of 1889-90 where they were erected into a house. At the close of the exhibition, a ____ effort was made to secure them for Paris. Without delay I endeavoured to raise subscriptions to save and purchase them but with little available as people preferred to have crippled themselves with the expense attendant in the Exhibition.

I therefore purchased them and presented them to the Museum. Two of the slabs I gave to the Adelaide Museum, two or three to W. A. Hamilton, Registrar of the Otago University, and ____ four or five for myself.

*Signed, T. M. Hocken.*⁸⁴³

The timeframe suggests that the carvings were removed from Hawke’s Bay but not paid for. Later, at the end of the Exhibition in May 1890, Hocken decided that he wanted the carvings to remain in Dunedin and sought out funding for this. This was probably precipitated by interest from Paris for the carvings. Eventually Hocken paid for the carvings himself, though it is unclear whether any of this money reached the Takamoana whanau.

The carvings acted as comets using Tapsell’s term, leaving their tribal homelands around Napier on a trajectory which took them to the South Island for display in the South Seas Exhibition. It is still unclear who agreed to this happening; Karaitiana’s estate passed on to his young son. One story is that the Karaitiana family sold the

⁸⁴² “Letter, 19 May 1890,” MS 451, Hocken Library.

⁸⁴³ Ibid.

carvings in the mid-1880s; Karaitiana’s brother, Henare Tomoana who was a trader in taonga Maori, may have brokered this. However, according to the family, there is an issue of consent to sell as the rightful owner and inheritor of his estate - Karaitiana’s young son – would have been too young to give full consent. Rather, they believe, the deal was negotiated between the boy’s lawyer and Augustus Hamilton.

The next account of the carvings is in relation to the New Zealand Exhibition in Christchurch in 1906. According to Hakiwai, the authorities approached Karaitiana’s daughter to ‘borrow’ the carvings for display in the Exhibition. This suggests that there were a significant number of Karaitiana’s carvings – some had gone to Dunedin in the late 1880s whilst at least 60 were sent to Christchurch in 1906. At the close of the Exhibition in April 1907, the carvings were crated up and sent back to the East Coast. However, they were mysteriously burnt as they sat in the warehouse of well-known East Coast trading firm Williams and Kettle in Napier. The only carving saved was the poutokomanawa named Whakato who resides with whanau and shows obvious evidence of charring which would corroborate this story.

Otago University Museum became the major repository of Karaitiana’s carvings. As early as the 1890s it began trading the carvings with other museums in order to supplement its collections. With the arrival of H. D. Skinner⁸⁴⁴ as Assistant Curator of Ethnology at the Museum in 1918, this trading increased (**Table 8**) finally involving least 22 public museums and at least 4 private collections.

<i>Name of Museum</i>	<i>Original source</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Carving detail</i>
American Museum of Natural History, New York			80.0.4108 80.0.4109 80.0.5678
Auckland Museum, Auckland			Poupou
Australian Museum, Sydney			E26540 E26441

⁸⁴⁴ Skinner had an interest in taonga Maori from an early age – his father as a surveyor for the Crown Lands Department was a keen collector. Skinner would later become “a founder member of the Polynesian Society and wrote extensively on Maori ethnology and colonial history” (Antholl Anderson, “Skinner, Henry Devenish 1886 – 1978,” *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t28/1> (accessed Aug 06, 2011).

Bishop Museum, Honolulu			C3831
British Museum, London		Presented by C. Hercules Read	BM Ethno. 1922.5-12.1)
Burke Museum, San Francisco		1895	5522 tekoteko
Cinquantaire Museum, Brussels	Otago Museum, Dunedin	1933	ET 8556 poupou
Gisborne Museum, Gisborne			D31.1344 D31.1345 74-198?
Hawke's Bay Museum, Napier			
Liverpool Museum, Liverpool	Otago Museum, Dunedin	1912	NZ Temp 20
Melbourne Museum, Melbourne			2
Musee de Tahiti, Tahiti			1
Museum of New Zealand, Wellington			ME 1874 ME 1875 ME 1893 ME 8200 ME 8195 ME 8199
National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen			1
National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh	Ex Pitt Rivers Museum, 1927		1939.164
Peabody Museum, Harvard, Boston			70/D1348 70/D1348
Peabody-Essex Museum, Salem	Hawke's Bay Museum, Napier	1953	E30,798
Otago Museum, Dunedin	Hocken gift	1910	D31.1344 D31.1345 poutuarongo 1 tahuu from the mahau 2 amo 2 poutokomanawa 14 poupou 10 epa 3 internal maihi 20-49-70
Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto	Otago Museum, Dunedin	1929	HB 1528 HB 1529
Smithsonian Institute, Washington DC			1
South Australia Museum, Adelaide			2 carvings
St Louis, St Louis	Ex Pitt Rivers Museum, 1927		1973.489.1 1973.489.2

Table 8: Karaitiana Takamoana's carvings in museum collections today.

The carvings in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) in Toronto are indicative of the exchange process. In 1923 the Director of ROM, Dr Carrelly, wrote to the Premier of New Zealand, William Massey, asking for 'Maori objects.' His letter was passed on to

Skinner who was increasing his profile in Dunedin: he was appointed the first Lecturer in Anthropology at the University and had secured the position as Librarian at the Hocken Library for some years (1919-1926). In 1937 he was appointed Director of the Museum. Over the years he would swap many of Karaitiana's carvings and by 1951 could boast that the Museum was "richer by more than 100,000 acquisitions since 1919."⁸⁴⁵

Skinner responded to Toronto's request in 1929 with a list of suitable material including two carvings described as "the most important items" which had a price of not less than £30 each, "carved about 1870 by Ngati Porou carvers, the most skilled house-builders in New Zealand."⁸⁴⁶ Skinner even advised how they should be displayed, "so that the light strikes across them, otherwise their whole effect is lost." Soon after two 8-foot carvings were sent from Dunedin to Toronto, where they now reside in the Royal Ontario Museum (HB 1527 and HB 1528). Today Otago Museum still has an important collection of Karaitiana's carvings including the tahuhu, two amo, two poutokomanawa, fourteen poupou, 10 epa and three internal maihi⁸⁴⁷.

Until 2004 and the publication of Anson's article in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* carvings in this style were said by David Simmons to belong to a single house called Tumoanakotore. Basing his assertion on information in the Hocken Collection,⁸⁴⁸ he believed that the carvings were originally destined for a house in 1882, which was not completed. Whilst Ethnologist at Auckland Museum in the late 1970s, Simmons travelled to many museums with holdings of these carvings and in each case attributed them to the house Tumoanakotore; in the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, for instance, on the registration card for C.03831 is written two notes: "McEwan says "Carved by Hoaningatai [sic] of the Ngatiporou, East coast of the North Island. Dates to about the 1880s. Height is 210cm", D. R. Simmons in 1973 said "From Tumoana house, Tolaga Bay, East corner. From 1882. It was never erected. The carvers were Hone Kaaku and

⁸⁴⁵ Anderson, "Skinner, Henry Devenish."

⁸⁴⁶ "Letter, Trudy Nicks, ROM to Ngarino Ellis, March 04, 1998."

⁸⁴⁷ Email, "Dimitri Anson, Ethnologist, Otago Museum, to Ngarino Ellis, February 12, 1998."

⁸⁴⁸ "Report on the Houses of the Tai Rawhiti District."

Hoani Ngatai.”⁸⁴⁹ Similarly from Edinburgh’s National Museum of Scotland for the carving 1939.164 comes this note on the registration card: “From Tumoana-kotore”, a house that stood at “Wharekahika” (Hick’s Bay), between 1862-1872. Opinion D. Simmons, June 1978.”⁸⁵⁰ Later publications of Simmons, such as *Whakairo*, reiterated his attribution. In discussing two poupou in the collection of the St Louis Art Museum, Simmons noted:

*Poupou from Tumoana-Kotore house which was built between 1860 and 1865. A photo exists which shows the house standing in 1865. Tumoana-Kotore was carved by Hoani Taahu and stood at Mamaku marae at the north end of Hicks Bay. In 1872 it was replaced by a house carved by Hone Ngatoto and Hare Tokoata. This second house was moved to the south end of the bay where it still stands but is named Tuwhakairiora so as to incorporate all the hapu in the Bay. Carvings from the first Tumoana-Kotore were sold to Augustus Hamilton, then to Dr Hocken in Dunedin where they were used for the Dunedin South Seas Exhibition then placed in Otago Museum. In later years some of the carvings from the house were exchanged to museums around the world.*⁸⁵¹

One of the earliest accounts of a house named Tumoanakotore comes from Phillipps’ 1944 *Dominion Museum* article where he locates a house at East Cape, noting that “a number of carvings” are now in the Dominion Museum, as it was then known. He explains that they were originally purchased by Hamilton and erected as part of the Maori display for the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition in 1889. He identifies four of the carvings as similar to Ngakaho’s work inside Porourangi, whereas the fifth Museum carving was serpentine, “a feature still well established in East Coast houses”, and on three of them was a “curious ... eyed design along each edge” – this latter style characteristic of Taahu’s work. He also believed that the pare and whakawae in Hamilton’s *Maori Art*⁸⁵² were from this house.

Lawson, in his book entitled *Wharekahika* (1986) also talks of the house Tumoanakotore. He notes that, “Mystery surrounds the earliest [whare runanga]” in

⁸⁴⁹ Email, “Kevin Montgomery, Curator at Bishop Museum, to Ngarino Ellis, Feb 10, 1998.”

⁸⁵⁰ File card notes, National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland.

⁸⁵¹ Simmons, *Whakairo*, 151.

⁸⁵² Hamilton, *Maori Art*, 144, fig. 3.

Hicks Bay.⁸⁵³ He follows Simmons claim of a house in the early 1860s, which was then dismantled and taken to Dunedin. Based on oral evidence he noted,

*The circumstances leading to the sale of these carvings are not known. However, a story told to the author by Te Rangiuiaia Houkamau may shed some light on the mystery. He said that a carved house had stood near Makeronia Pa and was dismantled prior to an attack and the carvings placed in a cave. A Tohunga then induced a landslide to conceal the entrance. He said that he believed the carvings remained hidden. The attack referred to may have been the Hau-Hau attack on Makeronia which took place in 1865 and fearing that the house would be burnt by the raiders the carvings may well have been hidden.*⁸⁵⁴

Lawson described the second house as having been carved by Hoani Ngatai and Hare Tokoata in a style “quite different and generally inferior to the first building.”⁸⁵⁵ This stood at Mamaku, which was near Wharekahika River and was built to “partly to provide a resting place for the parties of Whanau-a-Apanui and Ngati Porou travelling around the Coast as well as serving the residents at the northern end of Hicks Bay.”⁸⁵⁶ The house was later moved and it was in danger from changing site of the river mouth. This house was dismantled in 1936 “owing to decay”⁸⁵⁷ and the carvings put in storage. They were re-used in the present meeting house named after the grandson of Tumoana-Kotore, Tuwhakairiora.

Complicating this history is the Maori Land Court evidence from Neho Kopuka dating to 23 July 1886. Kopuka talked of the house Tumoanakotore,

The present day house in Hicks Bay, East Coast is called Tuwhakairiora. There was at least one other earlier house, which was named Tumoanakotore, which stood on the other side of the Bay. Parts of this house were later sold to Dr Augustus Hamilton late last century. Some carvings of this earlier house are included in Tuwhakairiora. The exact date and identity of the artists of the

⁸⁵³ Lawson, *Wharekahika*, 161.

⁸⁵⁴ Ibid. Anson talks of being told a similar story by Hicks Bay kaumatua, Manu Stainton; in this the house was buried and then disappeared altogether from the area (Email, Anson to Ngarino Ellis, February 11, 1998). However, no one could confirm for Anson whether this was the house Tumoanakotore. He notes that the link to Hicks Bay “is because the Whare Tuwhakairiora was itself once called Tumoanakotore”

⁸⁵⁵ *Wharekahika*, 161.

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁷ Ibid.

*earlier house conflicts ... There were many hapus engaged in building the house Tuwhakairiora. Mohi Turei and Hoani Ngatai assisted to carve it.*⁸⁵⁸

Given the multiplicity of accounts in relation to the Karaitiana carvings Neich's suggestion of the scenario of more than one house is increasingly plausible. The first wharenuī was from Wharekahika, carved in the early 1870s, and later taken down and some of the carvings sold to Hamilton and the Colonial/Dominion Museum. The second house was commissioned by Karaitiana, carved by a number of Iwirakau carvers and later made its way into South Island museum collections. Based on stylistic analysis and Jahnke's "intrinsic perception" at least two artists were involved in the carvings: Hone Taahu and Hoani Ngatai. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Haare Tokoata was involved with some of the carvings, though his specific style is difficult to pinpoint. Within Maori history, there are always stories which change shape over time taking on nuances of the orator in response to their audience and experience. What is clear with Karaitiana's carvings is that many of the carvings were used in the 1889 South Seas Exhibition, that at some point Otago University Museum assumed ownership of the carvings (whether or not payment had been made is unclear) and that after that time they exchanged at least 30 of the carvings with other institutions, both here and overseas.

What is concerning is the way in which so many of them were distributed, especially if the symbolism of a meeting house is considered. Wharenuī most often are conceived as an ancestral figure, from the mahau representing the head, the maihi and raparapa as the arms, the koruru and tekoteko as the face, and moving into the house with the tahuhu as the backbone, the heke as the ribs, the poupou as the descendants. Given this symbolism, what occurs when the wharenuī – the ancestor – is distributed to the four winds? In some sense it is a form of dismembering the ancestor. Whilst in the past carvings were often replaced or used in other houses, what happened with Karaitiana's carvings is on a totally different and much grander scale. Initially the carvings moved away from the East Coast – either sold or lent – but this was not unusual. However, when a large group of them arrived in Dunedin and were erected as a meeting house then their subsequent journey – or to use Paul Tapsell's term, 'trajectory' – away from

⁸⁵⁸ Maori Land Court evidence from Noho Kopuka (23 July 1886) as cited by McConnell, *Wharekahika*, 161.

the others is painful. Skinner prided himself on having acquired so many 'new' objects for Otago Museum but at what cost? On another level, there is the difficulty with the confusion over the name Tumoanakotore and his association with the carvings. That this was not 'discovered' until recently reveals how crucial research on museum collections is.

APPENDIX 3.

TIMELINE OF IWIRAKAU MEETING HOUSES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Name of Whare Whakairo</i>	<i>Present location</i>
1864-88	Porourangi	Waiomatatini
1865	Maui Tikitiki a Taranga I	Auckland Museum (13 heke, one pare, four poupou), Tai Rawhiti Museum (one tahuhu, two raparapa, one amo), O’Kain’s Bay Private Museum (several heke).
1872	Tuwhakairiora I ⁸⁵⁹	Hick’s Bay
1874	Hau Te Ana Nui	Canterbury Museum, Christchurch
1880	Te Kani a Takirau	Tolaga Bay. Present whereabouts unknown.
1880	Ruakapanga	Tolaga Bay
1880	Tu Au Au	Reporua
1880	Iritekura I	Waipiro Bay
	Umuariki	Tuparoa
1880	Ruatepupuke II ⁸⁶⁰	Field Museum, Chicago (ex-Tokomaru)

⁸⁵⁹ The second Tuwhakairiora was opened in 1955 and carved by Pine Taiapa. The time when it was built and carver are outside the ambit of the present study.

⁸⁶⁰ Ruatepupuke I was dismantled upon the impending raid by Ngapuhi in the 1820s, “soaked in whale oil and hidden in the bed of the Mangahauini River” but the pathway of the waters changed over time, and the carvings lost (Hakiwai and Terrell, *Ruatepupuke*, 11).

Bay).

c1880	Te Poho o te Aotawarirangi II	Tokomaru Bay (many carvings from the original house are now in Auckland Museum).
c1880	Kapohanga	Hiruharama
1880s	Hinerupe	Te Araroa
1880s	Te Poho o Materoa	Whareponga
1880s	Karaitiana Takamoana's carvings	Range of museums globally.
1882	Rauru Nui a Toi	Taumata-o-Mihi
1882-6	Hinetapora	Mangahanea
1882	Ruataupare	Tuparoa
1883	O Hine Waiapu I	House dismantled in the 1890s and half the house deposited (21 carvings) in Auckland Museum in 1898.
1888	Rakaitemania	Te Horo
1889	Taharora	Waipiro Bay
1890s	Rongomaianiwaniwa	Tikitiki
1890s	O Hine Waiapu II	Waiapu. Remaining half of the house extended with new carvings.
1890s	Tai Rawhiti	Rangitukia

1900	Pokai	Tikapa
1900	Okuri	Mangatuna
1906	Te Poho o Te Aowera	Whakapourangi
1910	Te Pikitanga	Hick's Bay
1910	Iritekura I	Waipiro Bay
1913	Maui Tikitiki a Taranga II	The original house was renovated by another carver, but later dismantled and deposited in Auckland Museum (23 carvings), Tai Rawhiti Museum (2 carvings) and O'Kains Bay Museum (several heke).
1908	Study in 'The Bungalow'	Waiomatatini
1925-6	St Mary's Memorial Church	Tikitiki
1930	Arihia Memorial Dining Hall	Waiomatatini

APPENDIX 4.

SECONDARY CARVERS IN THE IWIRAKAU SCHOOL.

In addition to the six master carvers mentioned in the main text, there were fourteen other carvers who worked during the period 1830-1930. Their lives and the projects they were involved in are discussed below. A final carver identified below is Iwirakau, who is remembered for initiating carving in the Waiapu area during the 1700s, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Wi Haereroa (Ngati Uepohatu, c1840-?).

Haereroa is associated with the house Hinetapora (1882-6). Haereroa knew two of the other carvers involved in the house. Wi Tahata mentioned Haereroa as one of 16 owners of a block of land named Piritirau.⁸⁶¹ Hone Te Wehi was from the same hapu, Ngati Uepohatu. Simmons maintains says that Haereroa was an assistant on the carving, along with Tahata and Te Wehi, rather than initiating pieces.

Hararaia (or Hararia) (Whanau-a-Rakairoa, practiced in the late 19th century).

Hararaia is associated with the house Ruakapanga at Tolaga Bay, which opened c1880. According to Tai Rawhiti Museum records, Hararaia was from the same school of carvers as Koroniria and Riwai Rakerau (who was also Te Whanau-a-Rakairoa) who made a pair of amo in Tai Rawhiti Museum (63/2268) (**Fig. 148**). However, these amo are stylistically similar to the style of Hone Taahu, as seen in the porch poupou of Hinetapora, with the shaping of the bodies, the bands of whakarare on the shoulders and hips, as well as the tongue shaped as a manaia and moving outside the ambit of the mouth.

⁸⁶¹ *Waiapu Minute Bk 1*, 12 May 1876, 511.

Te Hatiwira Houkamau (Whanau-a-Tuwhakairiora, 1840-1910).

Te Hatiwira was born around 1840. His father Te Iharaira was a great-grandson of Te Rangipaiia I, whose son, Te Pori-o-te-rangi, had been killed in 1831 or 1832 when Ngati Porou and Whakatohea attacked the tribes Te Whanau-a-Ehutu and Te Whanau-a-Apanui.⁸⁶² Before his death Te Pori-o-te-rangi had at least two children, including Whakataha-te-rangi, from whom Te Hatiwira is descended, and Te Rangipaiia II. Te Hatiwira's father Iharaira married three times - Te Hatiwira came from the third wife, Ripeka Paiatehau, who was also the younger sister of the first wife, Mere Raiha Hineitukua.⁸⁶³ His younger siblings were Wingara and Tipiwai. His father's first cousin was the mother of Henare Potae.

Te Hatiwira grew up in a household heavily involved in local politics at Hekawa, near Te Kawakawa (Te Araroa). It was here that his father hosted William Williams and William Colenso when they arrived in 1838, yet he could not be persuaded to sign the Treaty of Waitangi when it was presented at his house in 1840, the year when Te Hatiwira was born. His father continued to be a driving force in the area through the 1850s when he opposed the appointment of a Ngati Raukawa priest to the area, Rota Waitoa, claiming it was inappropriate to have someone from another tribe leading Ngati Porou. In the 1860s Iharaira strategised with his contemporaries Mokena Kohere and cousin Henare Potae on how best to resist Pai Marire supporters from entering the Coast.

When Te Hatiwira was in his 20s his father established a new pa at the northern end of Hick's Bay, which he named Makeronia (Macedonia). By this time, he began taking on a leadership role. He was one of those who defended Te Mawhai pa in Tokomaru Bay from Pai Marire armed with only a few muskets. One of those fighting by his side would later be his wife, Mere Arihi Te Pana. She was also one of Potae's cousins.⁸⁶⁴ Te Hatiwira then saw active service in Poverty Bay and the Ureweras before leading a contingent of Ngati Porou across to Taranaki to fight against Titokowaru.

⁸⁶² Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay*, 92.

⁸⁶³ Mere had two children with Iharaira, Iritana and Petera. His second wife was Hariata with whom he had Apikara.

⁸⁶⁴ Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay*, 221.

In the 1870s two accounts of Te Hatiwira show how quickly popularity in the community could change. In 1874 Te Hatiwira hosted a feast, remembered because of his wife's blue silk gown.⁸⁶⁵ However, by the late 1870s he was imprisoned for two months without opposition from the local community.⁸⁶⁶ Despite this, he became a kaikorero (speaker) in the Maori Land Court, a role he took on from 18 May 1875 to 29 June 1910.⁸⁶⁷ By 1908 he was living in Te Araroa.⁸⁶⁸ Te Hatiwira is mentioned by Wi Tahata, one of the carvers of Hinetaora, as one of 16 owners of the block called Piritirau.⁸⁶⁹

Te Hatiwira is known in relation to carving the meeting house Porourangi. Mead states that he was probably a relative of Ngakaho, Turei and Umutapi (Te Kihirini) thus suggesting that he was brought on board the project because of his whakapapa.⁸⁷⁰ De Z. Hall corroborates this, and mentions that he helped Mohi Turei organise the building of Porourangi.⁸⁷¹ However, it is more likely that Te Hatiwira helped financially with the project than actually carving on this project, as only two carvers' styles can be isolated for Porourangi.

Hirini (19th century).

According to Neich, a carver only known by his first name 'Hirini' (Sydney) worked on Iritekura in 1880.⁸⁷²

⁸⁶⁵ Oliver and Thomson, *Challenge and Response*, 176.

⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 167.

⁸⁶⁷ *Waiapu*: 12 May 1876; 21, 26 Mar 1877; 10 Apr 1880; 27 May 1885; 30 May 1908; 1, 19, 21 Mar 1909; 16 Apr 1910; *Appellate MB*: 16, 23 Apr 1910; *Gisborne*: 5 Aug 1879; 2 Apr 1890.

⁸⁶⁸ In the 1908 elections, he stated that his residence was in Te Araroa.

⁸⁶⁹ *Waiapu MB I*, 12 May 1876.

⁸⁷⁰ Mead, *Te Toi Whakairo*, 193.

⁸⁷¹ Hall, "Tamati Ngakaho, Commentary."

⁸⁷² Roger Neich, "Māori Woodcarvers: Listed A to P," http://www.library.auckland.ac.nz/subject-guides/maori/guides/maoricarvers_2.htm#H (accessed Aug 06, 2011).

Iwirakau (Whanau-a-Tipiwai, 1700s).

Iwirakau has been described as either invigorating the art of carving in the Waiapu Valley or introducing it. See Chapter 2 for further discussion.

Rua Kaika (c1905-1981).

Kaika worked as a carver on St Mary's Church (1925-6)⁸⁷³ as well as the Centennial Meeting House at Waitangi (1940).⁸⁷⁴ It was on this latter project that he met his wife Doreen Heke, one of many such relationships to flourish between women of the north and carvers brought in to work on the Waitangi House. They were to have 15 children.

At this point he answered Ngata's plea for more troops, and enlisted with the 28 Maori Battalion. His occupation listed before enlistment was carver. He left New Zealand as part of the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force (2NZEF), 6th Reinforcements.⁸⁷⁵ He continued to carve when he could; in March 1945 a tokotoko (walking stick) he had carved was gifted on behalf of the Battalion to Major General Kippenberger. Having few materials at his disposal, Kaika used what he could,

*a base a pick handle from Cassino; the eyes of the figures were pieces of glass from the chapel on Monastery Hill; the stick was shod with the casing of a point five Browning cartridge and the rubber at the end was taken from a jeep destroyed at Cassino.*⁸⁷⁶

His rank at this stage was identified as Second Lieutenant. A photograph in Alexander Turnbull Library (Reference: DA-07072) shows Kaika disembarking with fellow 28 Maori Battalion soldiers at Pipitea, Wellington on 6 September, 1945. He is recorded as having been wounded once whilst on active duty. Upon return to the East Coast he

⁸⁷³ Paul Weka, Pers. Comm., September 1998.

⁸⁷⁴ McEwan MS Papers 6717-029; Deidre Brown, "The Architecture of the School of Maori Arts and Crafts," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 108.3 (1999): 358.

⁸⁷⁵ Cenotaph database, Auckland Museum.
http://muse.aucklandmuseum.com/databases/Cenotaph/117119.detail?Ordinal=1&c_keyword_search=kai&c_surname_search=kaika (accessed August 06, 2011).

⁸⁷⁶ J. F. Cody, *28 Maori Battalion* (Wellington: Historical Publications Branch, 1956), 449.

carved the Uepohatu Hall in Ruatoria (1947) (**Fig. 149**).⁸⁷⁷ He died in Wellington in 1981.

Hare Kopakopa (Ngai Tane, c1850-1910).

Kopakopa was born c1850 and lived near Tauma at Rangitukia, the heart of Ngai Tane and is associated with three carvings and one meeting house. He spoke on a number of occasions in the Maori Land Court between 24 March 1881 through to 7 November 1908. Paratene Ngata mentions a 'Hare Kopa' as being present at the baptism feast for Apirana as coming from the mouth of the Waiapu in 1874.⁸⁷⁸

The only extant carvings are those dating to 1901, made as a mantelpiece carved to relinquish a debt with the local storekeeper at Reporua, Mr Milner, and which is now in Auckland Museum (42035.1-.3, AIM) (**Fig. 150**).⁸⁷⁹ The carving style is similar to work in Porourangi and Hinetapora in terms of the composition, the type of haehae and surface ornamentation and the shaping of the figures.

Mrs Mary Roa Walker of Ruatoria saw Kopakopa working on the carvings and deposited them in the Museum in January 1969. Her grandfather was the Milner who owned a shop and pub and who 'kept Kopakopa in tobacco.' She suggested that the works had been given to cover a debt. Milner subsequently did use them as a mantelpiece and when they moved to Reporua took the carvings with him and installed them in his house there. When that house was later dismantled, the carvings were given to Mrs Walker. A letter accompanying the carvings into the Museum outlines their subsequent history,

Wi Tupaea of Rangitukia married Haare Kopakopa's daughter named Keriana. Keriana went to Hukarere with Maami, the wife of Mr Paahau Milner who died in the early sixties. I saw the work for the first time about five years ago at

⁸⁷⁷ Neich, "Maori Woodcarvers."

⁸⁷⁸ *Sir Apirana Ngata Memorial Tribute*, 4.

⁸⁷⁹ According to Simmons these carvings originally belonged to a house named Pakaeromiromi which burnt down, the only surviving pieces being made into a mantelpiece for Milner, the storekeeper at Tauma (*Meeting-Houses of Ngati Porou*, 44).

which time it was stored in the implement shed on the Walker estate. The mantelpiece was intact then. It was later defaced with white and blue paint by "the kids". During the Xmas break of 1968 when my wife and I returned to Tutumatau for Xmas the mantelpiece had been broken, one part was in the shed and the other two were out in the weather. I asked Mrs. Mary Roa Walker (my mother-in-law) whether she would mind if I took the carvings to Auckland so that they could be placed for safe-keeping in the museum. Permission was given. They are to be offered on permanent deposit. The donor Mrs Mary Roa Walker and presented on her behalf by Dr. S M Mead.⁸⁸⁰

Mrs Walker adds that Kopakopa carved a house in his settlement of Tauma, near Rangitukia but it later burnt down.

Koroniria (Te Whanau-a-Te-Iritekura? 1830s-1880s).

Koroniria lived in Waipiro Bay and is associated with Te Whanau-a-Rakairoa carvers Hararaia and Riwai Pakerau. He was also a kaikorero in Maori Land Court meetings in April 1876. He is known in relation to two meeting houses from the late 1870s and several carvings from an unknown house.

In Tai Rawhiti Gisborne Museum are three carvings (carving (63.2306), two amo and two maihi (74.130) (**Fig. 151**) and a panel (59.1823)) which are believed to be the work of a group of Te Whanau-a-Rakairoa carvers: Koroniria, Hararaia and Riwai Pakerau. These men later worked on Ruakapanga meeting house at Uawa. Hirini Moko Mead names a Koroniria Ngawehenga.⁸⁸¹ This house opened in 1880 under the patronage of Hauiti chief Haukai. Around the same time Mead cites a Koroniria Ngawehenga as one of the carvers on Ruatēpūpū II, which opened 1881.⁸⁸²

⁸⁸⁰ Auckland Museum Archives.

⁸⁸¹ Hakiwai and Terrell, *Ruatēpūpū* 11.

⁸⁸² Mead in *Ibid*.

Wiremu Mangapouri (19th century).

Mangapouri is known in relation to Ruatepupuke II (c1880). A manuscript, which accompanied the house when it moved to the Field Museum, notes that the work was possibly by Wiremu Mangapouri according to Romio Babbington who sold the house.⁸⁸³ However, stylistically the house can be attributed to Hoani Ngatai. Perhaps Mangapouri had some other role in the making of the house which is why his name was recorded in relation to it.

Hori Paihia (19th century).

According to Judith Binney, Hori Paihia led a team of Ngati Porou carvers in the building of the house Takitimu in 1887 at Kehemane, near Martinborough (**Fig. 152**).⁸⁸⁴ The local chief Hikawera Mahupuku approached Mokena Kohere for a carved house. In response, Kohere, “brought some of the expert carvers of Ngati Porou to build the magnificent carved house Takitimu, at Kehemane, near Martinborough.”⁸⁸⁵ This team worked for several years in Papawai⁸⁸⁶ though it was not always easy as “there [wa]s some disagreement about the political and religious sympathies of these carvers.”⁸⁸⁷ The house was built by Ringatu “sympathisers and followers.”⁸⁸⁸ Phillipps had been told by Maori elders at Te Kuiti that “Te Kooti had sent down some of his carvers to co-operate in the work”⁸⁸⁹ suggesting that they were more a support team than initiating the project themselves. Ngata was told that the same people who carved Hinetaora carved this house⁸⁹⁰ – both were worked on around the same time by Ringatu supporters.

⁸⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁴ Neich, *Painted Histories*, 304; Binney, *Redemption Songs*, 299.

⁸⁸⁵ Rarawa Kohere, “Mokena Kohere.” *Te Ara*. <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1k15/1> (accessed Aug. 07, 2011).

⁸⁸⁶ Neich, *Painted Histories*, 304.

⁸⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁸ Phillipps, “Carved Maori Houses of the Eastern Districts,” 71.

⁸⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁰ Neich, *Painted Histories*, 304.

Neich credits this house for being one of the most significant houses built for Te Turuki.⁸⁹¹ Subsequently Takitimu was presented to the New Zealand Government upon the passing of the Maori Antiquities Act 1907⁸⁹² but the house burnt down in 1911⁸⁹³ before it left the area. There are no other mentions of Paihia's name in relation to carved houses, either on the East Coast or for Te Turuki. A man named Hare Paihia is mentioned in relation to a claim over land involving Te Aomania, who he said had mana over all land from Waiapu to Reporua,⁸⁹⁴ but whether this is the same man is unknown.

Ringatu Poi (Te Whanau-a-Tapuhi, c1900-1940).

Poi first trained as a kowhaiwhai and figurative artist on the St Mary's Church project (1925-6) presumably being guided by Hone Ngatoto. Brown outlines some of the reasons why Ngata brought him on board initially,

Before Poi was trained, Ngata commissioned Pākehā signwriters, like John Wright, to paint kōwhaiwhai patterned rafters for the School (Ngata 23 February 1934). This was expensive and Ngata disliked the regularity of their work. He did not believe that the signwriters fully understood the theory of kōwhaiwhai (Ngata 23 February 1934).⁸⁹⁵ For these reasons, sometime in the early to mid-1930s he asked Ringatū Poi to teach himself kōwhaiwhai painting. Poi appears to have learned this art by practising patterns from Augustus Hamilton's Maori Art on cheap timber at Mōtatau (Ngata 16 August 1926 and 23 February 1934). His first project was probably the Waitangi meeting house rafters, and he later went on to make new kōwhaiwhai patterned paintings for the Whare Rūnanga at the New Zealand Centennial Exhibition, the Ruakapanga, Tākitimu and Whitireia meeting houses, and the Rongomaitapui, Taihoa and Tawhiorangi dining halls (Ngata 23 February 1934 and 31 October 1942). In addition, Poi repainted the old kōwhaiwhai work of the Porourangi and Hinerupe meeting houses.

⁸⁹¹ Ibid, 176.

⁸⁹² Phillipps, "Carved Maori Houses of the Eastern Districts," 71.

⁸⁹³ Phillipps says it was 1933 (ibid).

⁸⁹⁴ *Waiapu MB #1*: 531.

⁸⁹⁵ Brown, "The Architecture of the School of Maori Arts and Crafts," 249.

He also worked on Te Ao Kairau (c1935). From then until his death five years later, Poi was an essential member of the retinue of the Rotorua Carving School travelling with them around the country working on commission. Though he is primarily remembered as a kowhaiwhai artist, he also applied figurative painting in St Mary's, later replicating this in the whare kai Tawhiwhirangi (1932-3) across the road at Rahui Marae, Tikitiki. In this way he was paying homage to his own teacher, Ngatoto, who had initially applied such designs in Rongomaianiwaniwa.

Wi Tahata (Te Whanau-a-Hinetapora 19th century).

Wi Tahata is known as the kowhaiwhai artist on Hinetaora (carved 1882-6) and Tu Auau (1890-4), the latter of which he also built. Stylistically, there is visual correspondence between the kowhaiwhai in Hinetaora and those patterns in the mahau of Tu Auau.⁸⁹⁶ Tawhai writes in relation to Tu Auau that as Tahata was not from there, "we may assume that he was there by invitation, a noted tohunga hanga whare and therefore a manuhiri tuarangi."⁸⁹⁷ Tahata was told, "The same people who built the house also did the carving."⁸⁹⁸ This contradicts other accounts that put Te Kihirini as the carver though Tawhai's dates for the house would certainly place Te Kihirini out of the picture as he died in 1883.

Hone Te Wehi (Ngati Uepohatu, Whanau a Umuariki, 19th century).

Te Wehi is known to have worked on the house Hinetaora (1882-6). This may have come about as he held interest in the same block of land as Wi Tahata who also worked on the house.⁸⁹⁹ His name is also associated with the carver Hone Taahu and Hori

⁸⁹⁶ "He Tipuna Wharenuui," 85.

⁸⁹⁷ Ibid, 84.

⁸⁹⁸ Ibid, 85.

⁸⁹⁹ *Waiapu MB #1*:10 May 1876, 467.

Paihia, as they all belonged to Te Whanau-a-Umuariki.⁹⁰⁰ He had land interests in Wai Te Kaha and Te Rahui.

Hare Tokoata (19th century).

Hare Tokoata was the nephew of Hoani Ngatai and is mentioned as helping his uncle in his practice⁹⁰¹ though it is unclear which projects he actually worked on⁹⁰² and any specific style which may be attributable to him.

Rev. Mohi Turei (Ngati Hokopu, 1830-1914).

Rev. Mohi Turei (**Fig. 153**) belonged to Ngati Hokopu through his father, Te Omanga Turei, and to Te Aitanga-a-Mate through his mother, Makere Tangikuku, though in general he only identified himself as Ngati Hokopu.⁹⁰³ He was their only child. His father and two uncles were the leading men of the Ngati Hokopu hapu, whilst he was also closely related to Mokena Kohere and Ropata Wahawaha.

Turei was raised in Te Kautuku near Rangitukia and was educated both through the state school system and through the *whare wananga*. Whilst a child he probably attended Rangitukia School where Hemi Kiko was the teacher, an association that would have influenced his choice to be a priest. It is likely that he returned to the school when in his twenties as one of the teachers. At this time he began attending the Tapere Nui a Whatonga *whare wananga* under the mentorship of Pita Kapiti. During the 1860s he moved to Waerenga-a-Hika to study with William Williams at his theological college there for four years and was ordained a Deacon on 25 September 1864 with

⁹⁰⁰ Ibid, 11 May 1876, 481.

⁹⁰¹ Taiapa, "Tuwhakairiora," 15, Kernot, "Tohunga Whakairo o Mua," 141; Mead, *Te Toi Whakairo*, 193; Lawson, *Wharekahika*, 161.

⁹⁰² Simmons credits Tokoata with helping on a house he names as Tumoana 2 (*Meeting-Houses*, 49).

⁹⁰³ In the 1908 elections, he only identified as such.

Hare Tawha.⁹⁰⁴ Williams would leave the area in April 1865 upon the arrival of Hauhau advocates.

During the 1860s Turei's home life became settled with his marriage to his first wife, Meri Awhina-a-Te-Rangi who was closely associated with Paratene Ngata,⁹⁰⁵ and with whom he had four children.⁹⁰⁶ His second wife was Kararaina Korimete (Caroline Goldsmith), a schoolteacher.⁹⁰⁷

In June 1865 Turei attended the dedication of the new church at Popoti, near Hiruharama where he is remembered for dressing in military uniform, complete with a bandoleer across his shoulders.⁹⁰⁸ He was against the Hauhau and actively sought to move them out of the Waiapu Valley. To this end he went to Tuparoa to meet Donald McLean (the Provincial Superintendent and agent for the general Government) as well Mokena Kohere and William Williams. In November 1865, Turei travelled on the *HMS Esk* with McLean and 260 Ngati Porou to Turanganui.

However, Turei's support was not always welcome; by the late 1860s the Resident Magistrate at Waiapu, J. H. Campbell, was complaining "Mohi Turei was the source of the hostility to settlers which was driving them out of the district."⁹⁰⁹ Local relations soured further – in 1871 his house at Te Rapa was burned down by a taua muru (plundering party) comprised of people from the local hapu. When he moved to Waikoriri the same thing happened - his fences were pulled down. Tamahori described the source of the dispute as being "about land [which] went on for many years."⁹¹⁰

⁹⁰⁴ Williams, *East Coast (Historical) Records*, 193.

⁹⁰⁵ Meri advised them to go see the tohunga when they were having trouble conceiving a child.

⁹⁰⁶ Wiremu Matenga, Mere Te Rina, Erena Heni and Poihipi.

⁹⁰⁷ His first child with Caroline was Te Paraone who carried on the family tradition and entered the Church, gaining his licentiate in theology at Te Rau Kahikatea and later becoming the minister at Tuparoa. His other children with Caroline were Teki, Ngarangi, Peta and Te Paaka.

⁹⁰⁸ Oliver, "Mohi Turei"; Kohere, *The Story of a Maori Chief*, 53.

⁹⁰⁹ J. T. Tamahori, "Turei, Mohi – Biography." *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t113/1> (accessed May 24, 2011).

⁹¹⁰ Ibid.

Yet the church continued to support him. On 30 October 1870 William Williams ordained Turei and he became one of the four pastors along the East Coast with Matiaha Pahoe, Raniera Kawhia and Wiremu Paraire.⁹¹¹ In 1904 he was ordained the first vicar of Waiapu. This spurred him on to rebuild the church of St John's at Rangitukia which had been burnt down by Pai Marire supporters in 1865. Not long after he was struck down by paralysis and spent his remaining days bed-ridden.

Turei is associated with many haka, waiata, and narratives. Some of these were used in his role as a kaikorero in the Native Land Court from 1876 to 1891 in Waiapu, Gisborne and Wairoa.⁹¹² His knowledge was such that men such as Samuel Williams consulted with him (about Maori tradition and language), as did Elsdon Best (about the winds for the points of the compass).

Turei is also known as an assistant carver. When Hone Ngatoto began the house O Hine Waiapu near Turei's home in 1872, Turei worked with him. Tamahori believes that Hoani Ngatai, also of Ngati Hokopu, assisted Turei.⁹¹³ Around the same time Turei may have carved some of the pieces for Karaitiana Takamoana working alongside Ngatai and his nephew Hare Tokoata. One account places him in Te Araroa working on Hinerupe with Ngatoto. There is also a suggestion that he helped Te Kihirini and Ngakaho on Porourangi along with Te Hatiwira Houkamau. Of his skill Tamahori writes, "He was notable carver."⁹¹⁴ Turei also supervised the building of the second St John's Church in 1904.

The evidence of Noho Kopuka in the Maori Land Court on 23 July 1886 identifies another possible project which Turei was engaged upon: "There were many hapus engaged in building the house Tuwhakairiora. Mohi Turei and Hoani Ngatai assisted to carve it." Certainly, the two had worked on O Hine Waiapu together. Kopuka's evidence is contradicted by Pine Taiapa who asserted that certainly Ngatai worked on

⁹¹¹ Williams, *East Coast (Historical) Records*, 278.

⁹¹² (12 May 1876 - 16 Oct 1891) *Waiapu*: 12 May 1876; 26 Mar 1877; 30 Mar, 2 Apr 1878; 10 Apr 1880; 13 Apr, 30 May 1885; 21 May 1886; 21 Feb, 16 Oct 1891; *Gisborne*: 26 Oct 1870; 13 Aug 1880; 13 Feb 1882; 26 Mar 1889; 20 Jan 1890; *Judge Puckey's MB No. 09*: 25 Oct 1886; *Wairoa MB No. 03a*: 21 May 1888.

⁹¹³ Tamahori "Turei, Mohi."

⁹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

the house, but that he did so with his nephew, Tokoata; Taiapa does not mention Turei in relation to the house.

Due to Turei's limited participation in carving it is difficult to attribute a specific style to him. That Turei was involved in carving activity in the Waiapu is certain; his position as a Minister perhaps prompted that. The fact that he was involved in his own hapu's meeting house was deliberate, and may have been influenced by the fact that he was the local priest. His name is remembered today more for his religious work than his artwork – he is depicted on the gateway to St John's Church which was carved by Pine Taiapa, opposite that other Ngati Porou icon, George Nepia, as one of the key figures in the local scene in the 19th century (**Fig. 154**).

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Abbreviations:

- AJHR Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives
- AIM Auckland War Memorial Museum Library, Auckland.
- AMA Ethnography Files, Auckland Museum.
- ATL Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
- CM Canterbury Museum Archives.
- NE Author's own collection.
- GH Gisborne Herald
- HL Hocken Library, Dunedin
- JPS Journal of the Polynesian Society.
- NA National Archives, Wellington.
- NZFA New Zealand Film Archive, Wellington.
- TNZI Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute.
- TRM Tai Rawhiti Museum, Gisborne.
- WT Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington.

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Oral informants.

a. Interviewed by the author.

Angela Carroll.

Dr. Pakariki Harrison.

Rev. Gordon Kaa.

Canon Dr. Hone Kaa.

Keri Kaa.

Rev. Wiremu Kaa.

Apirana Mahuika.

Professor Roger Neich.

Rose Mohi.

Nunu Tangaere.

Paul Weka.

b. Interviewed by others.

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