MEMORANDUM TO

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I am enclosing a copy of the thesis entitled "Nga Wahine Kai-Hautu O Ngata Porou. The Female Leaders of Ngati Porou" submitted by Mr. Apirana T. Mahuika for the Pass degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Anthropology.

The candidate has successfully completed the requirements for the degree.

R.B. Fisher,
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ERRATA:

p. 4 line 15 the words "is formed" to be omitted.
p. 21 fn 1 should read "Chapter 3."
fn 2 should read "Ngata 1943:13 (Price of Citizenship) Māori proverb: Ko te wānanga nui o nohora he whāwhai. (The chief preoccupation of olden times was fighting.)
p. 74 fn 1 should read Buck 1949:347
fn 2 " " Buck 1949:346-7
NGA WAHINE KAI-HAUTU O NGATI POROU:
THE FEMALE LEADERS OF NGATI POROU.

NA

APIRANA TUAHAE MAHUIKA
PREFACE

The thesis was born because my lecturers at various institutions of learning and the literature on the Maori were unable to justify the system existing in my own area — Ngati Porou. Whenever leadership, successions, rank and status etc. were discussed, it was always stated that these roles were peculiar only to males and that females were either in the background or were inferior and therefore did not aspire to nor would qualify for leadership. Because women were inferior, a person was unable to establish seniority by tracing descent through women even if they were first-born — the greatest seniority came through male ancestors.

In my mind were the ever present questions of:

1. Why was it that the chief subtribes in Ngati Porou, contrary to popular opinion, bore female names? For instance, Whanau-a-Hinerupe, Hinepare, Tapuhi, Uepohatu, Materoa, etc.

2. Why was it that many of our main meeting houses had female names?

3. Why was it that our mana whenua (rights to land), in so many cases came through our womenfolk?
4. Why were our senior chiefs senior, when in fact they used both female and male names to establish their pedigree and having done so were accepted by the people?

5. Why were our women accorded the same right as men, to speak on the marae?

These questions led to research which began in 1968. Interviews with people were arranged and held. The various gatherings and meetings of the Ngati Porou people, together with the interviews became to me, as observer and participant, a classroom. History, oral traditions and genealogies were committed to memory. Fortunately, at the time of the research, our experts on Ngati Porou history and oral traditions were still living. Gradually, some of the answers to these questions emerged.

While the thesis claims that women were in fact leaders, it does not claim that a similar situation exists (or could exist) in other tribes. Further, it does not seek to displace other views on social organisation. However, what it does say is that in Ngati Porou, the system includes women and the case studies in Chapter 8 indicate that there are far too many instances of female leaders, for them to be exceptions. Because the thesis is on the role of women
leaders, very little reference is made to male leaders, but this does not mean that male leaders did not exist nor were they inferior to females.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor I. H. Kawharu of Massey University, Palmerston North, for the encouragement and the tremendous time he gave to me and to this exercise. His advice and direction was invaluable and the study would not have taken shape without his supervision.

To Professor W. E. Geddes, Sydney University for his patience over a long period. His advice and assistance from Sydney, has made it possible for me to complete and to submit this thesis.

My debt to my cousin the late Manaara (Arnold) Tangiawha Reedy O.B.E., an authority on Ngati Porou history is great. I was fortunate that he was alive at the time of writing.

To my uncle, Ruera (Dick) Stirling, my grateful and sincere appreciation for the many interviews, letters and discussions, without which the thesis would lack the data and depth that it has. Another uncle, the late Pine Taipa, cannot be omitted from my acknowledgements for his contribution to my research. My own late father, Hamana Mahuika, O.B.E., has given much to my work, acting as interpreter to much of our tribal history and life.
Left to myself, I would surely have missed the point contained in the material gathered from my other informants.

To Ngati Porou, who provided the "classrooms" where the contents of this thesis were affirmed by the words of the speech makers and singers of song, I, one of its sons, am truly indebted and I hope the thesis projects what we are and in doing so, inject to all Ngati Porou, tribal pride.

My wife, Karin, who was responsible for putting together and committing to paper much of this thesis, I am forever grateful. She was always ready with the right word and was able to rephrase Maori concepts, making them more meaningful to the English reader. Her criticisms and challenging remarks pierced my mind and took us to various parts of New Zealand in pursuit of the truth and facts.

To Pae Ruha of the Correspondence School, Wellington, for her patience and efforts in reading through the Maori draft. To Brenda who typed this thesis, I am greatly indebted. She has done a terrific job for her patience was really tried and proved. While my indebtedness to all is acknowledged and appreciated, I take full responsibility for the contents of this thesis.

A.T. Mahuika
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MASTER GENEALOGIES

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Glossary
CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This thesis aims at examining the leadership role of women in the Ngati Porou tribe of the East Coast of New Zealand. Leadership in Maori society has been regarded as the prerogative of the males only\(^1\) — who should rule being determined by primogeniture in the male line. However, early on in my study of Maori society, I was aware of the contradictions between this assertion and what I knew to be the case in my own tribal area. What follows, therefore, is an attempt to set the record straight where Ngati Porou is concerned.

To do this, I have had to rely largely on the whakapapa\(^2\) of the tribe and its oral traditions, history and literature as recorded by my elders and recounted to me. Where conflict has arisen in the stories told by my informants, I have adopted the one which represents the majority view. This study is simply an ethnographic one and not a dialectal treatise on Maori leadership. Nevertheless I propose to use the conventional topics of leadership (mana tangata, mana whenua etc.) as a frame of reference for my discussion.

\(^1\) This is agreed upon by such writers as Buck, Best and Firth, who are generally considered to be authorities.

\(^2\) Genealogy
The fact that women did become leaders in Ngati Porou is unquestionable. But in examining the material available, I have kept a number of basic considerations in mind:

1. Were these women exceptions to a general rule of male leadership such as existed in other tribal areas?
2. What was the extent of the power they wielded?
3. Did the rights and duties adhering to the first-born apply equally to male and female?
4. Were women used in whakapapa to establish genealogical seniority?
5. Did marriage in any way alter a woman’s leadership?
6. Did women have any knowledge of the things taught in whare wananga, the school of learning to which only the highest born males elsewhere were normally admitted?

Social Organisation

The whole discussion of leadership needs to be considered within the context of general social organisation. The three institutions concerned are the whanau, the hapu and the tribe.
1. The Whanau

This is the smallest social unit. Its genesis is the biological family and it extends to include several other biological families, all members being direct descendants of the founding parent. The members of the whanau act together on social and ritualistic occasions, corporate action being based on their kinship. Size is not confined to a particular number of people nor to a specific generation depth, but it commonly consists of from three to six generations. The usual delineating factor in membership is the size of the area occupied.

New whanau are formed when members of the original whanau move away to neighbouring territories. Those who move are members of the junior families. Consider the following example.

```
A   B
  |   |
C   X
  |   |
D   Y
  |   |
E   Z
  |   |
F   G   H
  |   |
I   J   K
```

D and E are both junior to C, who is the first-born child of A and B. D and E leave the original whanau to found new whanau and the families of F and I respectively.
become the senior families in the whanau founded by D and E. As it is generally accepted that whanau will be named for a male ancestor, in this case the original whanau will be known as Te Whanau-a-A, and the new whanau will bear D's and E's names. It should be noted that although the families of F and I are the senior families of the new whanau, their issue will always be junior to the issue of C by virtue of the fact that C was the first-born child of the founding ancestor of the original whanau. This is important because the whole question of who is senior and who is junior permeates Maori society and is particularly important when one comes to consider leadership.

2. The Hapu

As a result of the expansion and coalition of related whanau there emerges over, say, 6 to 10 generations, a larger social unit known as the hapu or sub-tribe. The hapu is a localised kin group based on residence in a particular area with collective title to certain lands. Its members recognise descent from a common ancestor who, in turn, gives his name to the group, and their membership is cemented by common political, social and economic interests.
In theory a person was a member of all hapu to which he was genealogically connected, but in practice there was a traditional tendency for claims to descent and land rights to grow "cold" (mataactao) after a few generations if they were not revived by residence. It is generally accepted that descent had a patrilineal bias, however "although weight was attached to tracing group membership by descent through males, membership was recognised if a line of descent included several female names. The point of attachment of a person to the hapu could then be through a woman, and the choice would be exercised by a person as to whether he would claim membership through his father or mother or through both."¹ But since marriage within the hapu was the ideal, the choice of belonging to the hapu of the mother or father was usually eliminated. However, in the case of a marriage between the members of two different hapu, residence tended to be virilocal because descent had a patrilineal bias and "when questions of status were involved, it was preferable for a person to trace his rank through as long an unbroken male line as possible."²

¹ Firth 1963:84
² Biggs 1960:23
3. The Tribe

Just as several whanau collectively form a hapu, so several hapu form a tribe, all members tracing their ancestry back to a common ancestor, the original leader or founder of the first whanau. The tribe is a looser confederation than the hapu, being spread out over a large territory and therefore making united action difficult. Political decisions were made at the hapu level and rarely on a tribal basis. Its unity, therefore, was symbolic and based almost solely on the ability of its members to trace descent back to the eponymous ancestor.

The Use of Whakanapa

In his Rauru lectures, Ngata lists the ways in which a genealogy may be used.

1. Tararera

This is to trace a single line from an ancestor without showing inter-marriage or giving other kin on the line. This is the usual method of tracing.

1 See Bibliography
Example:

Porourangi
Rongomaiariwaniwa
Tamataua
Rakaimataura
Rakaihoea
Mahaki
Mahiti
Tangopahika
Rongo-i-te-kai
Te Puriri
Te Rangi
Khirini
Hamana Mahuika
Nepia Mahuika
Hamana Mahuika
Apirana Mahuika

2. Tabu

This method uses the main lines of descent, with a preference given for senior members, though any member may be used to establish a relationship with a given ancestor.
Example:

Porourangi

Hau                        Ueroa                        Rongomaianiwaniwa

Tuere                      Awapururu

Rongomaikarae              Tangihaeere

Whatiuaroa

Uekaiahu (m)               Tuitimatua (f)

Uetaha                      Te Aotaki

Minerupe = Hukarere        Ruataupare

Te Ataskura

Tuwhakairiora             Hukarere

In this genealogy, anyone who is a descendant of Ruataupare and Tuwhakairiora, will use the line of descent through Ruataupare back to Hau because this is the senior line, Hau being the eldest son of Porourangi, the tribe's founding ancestor. If the descendants of Ruataupare wished to show seniority over the descendants of Minelupe, they would do so by virtue of the relationship between Tuwhakairiora and Hukarere, Tuwhakairiora being the elder of the two. On the other hand, the descendants of Minelupe could claim seniority to the descendants of Ruataupare through the relationship between Uekaiahu and Tuitimatua, in this case, Uekaiahu being the senior.
3. **Whakanini**

   This is the selective use of genealogies to establish connections between hapu. In the above example, the connection between the Whanau-a-Hinerupe and the Whanau-a-Rua is twofold... they are linked through the marriages of Hinerupe and Ruataupare to two brothers and through the brother and sister relationship of Uekaiahu and Tuitimutua in the grand-parent generation.

4. **Tatai-Hikohiko**

   This is the practice of indicating a line of descent by naming a few ancestors on that line without giving a complete line. This practice could, in part, explain some of the discrepancies in the whakapapa as they are known today. One can envisage a situation arising where if this practice is continued long enough in relation to a certain line, the names of the omitted ancestors will be lost forever.

5. **Kauwhau taki and He iho makawe rau**

   Kauwhau rau is the term used generally to show the use of genealogies and he iho makawe rau¹ is the tracing of

¹ literally "a line of a hundred hairs."
genealogies to establish one's pedigree. "makawe rau" indicates the black and grey hair on one's head and therefore the taina and tuakana relationships.

All of the methods 1-4 have been used at some stage or other in the thesis, but because the main exercise is to show the place of these women in the genealogies of leadership, and the inter-relationships of the same, the tahu and whakapipi methods are used principally.
CHAPTER 2

The Ascent of Primogeniture

A standard definition of primogeniture, and that used by anthropologists are similar:

"Fact of being the first-born of the children of the same parents...the right of succession belonging to the first-born, esp. feudal right by which real estate passes to the eldest son."\(^1\)

In Maori society, the principle writers on the subject - Buck, Firth, Metge, Best and Kawharu - are, in principle, in agreement on the part primogeniture has to play in determining leadership and chieftainship. Buck says:

"Leadership at home and in foreign affairs was exercised by males and primogeniture in the male line was the deciding factor in succession to chiefly rank."\(^2\)

It will be seen from this that there was a preference for the first-born male and the male line of descent in determining leadership. Kawharu, in his Orakei Study says

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\(^1\) OED 1964:1969
\(^2\) Buck 1949:343
"...the emphasis for status purposes has unequivocally been placed upon the male line: male descent...had always received superior recognition in each group and at each level of segmentation."¹ However, he continues to say that where there are no male issue, women become male substitutes and that "...these women are held to have maintained patrilineal links...and no more. That is, when there is no male in an issue a female may stand substitute, as it were... But none of the females has given her own name to a line or to a segment, all are merely members of named male lines or segments."²

Thus, while Kawharu acknowledges a woman could substitute for a male where there is no male issue, the male line is still viewed as unbroken and the woman in question would only be recognised genealogically as such. One thing is clear once again though. The preference for the first-born male and the male line is supreme and thus is generally accepted as the explanation for the social workings of Maori communities.

When applied to the Ngati Porou case, however, primogeniture operates with some modification in emphasis. This proposition will be discussed under the following headings.

¹ Kawharu n.d.:18
² Ibid
(a) The rights and duties adhering to the role of the first-born.

(b) Primogeniture in relation to leadership and seniority in the tribe.

(c) Primogeniture and Maori terminology.

(a) The Rights and Duties adhering to the role of the first-born

1. The right to perform certain ritualistic functions and ceremonies only the first-born had the right to place and remove a tapu\(^1\) upon a person, material possessions, buildings, land and fishing grounds. This was a function of supreme importance in society.

2. Mana and tapu\(^2\) of the highest order.

3. Direct descent from the Gods. The most senior in society was considered to be the closest to Io, the source of all life. It was from this relationship he acquired his great tapu.

4. He taumata, the resting place of the Gods. The first-born was regarded symbolically as the child of the

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\(^1\) In this sense, prohibition.

\(^2\) Mana (prestige, authority, power) and tapu (awe, sacredness) are discussed fully in Chapter 5.
Gods, the point upon which the power of the Gods rested.
Socially, this resulted in him holding the highest
religious rank in society.

5. Be trustee for all tribal property. This involves the
responsibility for allocating land and other tribal
property among its members.

6. Succeed to his parents' mana and tapu, including the
mana of leadership.

However, to maintain his position in society, the
first-born of the senior line must ensure he is well-versed
in the traditions and history of the tribe, and endeavour to
foster those integrities of character and example that
would earn him the continued respect and trust of the tribe.
The following examples, drawn from oral literature, show
just how highly the first-born in society was regarded:

1. "Tau noa te makau, e, he hūia rerē tonga."¹
Handsome were you my loved one, a rare hūia from the
south. Here the ariki is being compared to a rare
bird.

¹ Ngata 1959:170f
2. "Taku totara haemata, e, no roto no Moehau..."¹
My sapling totara, from the forest of Moehau...
Here the ariki is being compared to the totara, a
tree used for building and therefore of the utmost
importance.

3. "Ka ngaro hoki ra te matau waha ika,
Na Heretatau, Na Punaiterangi..."²
For I have lost my lucky fishhook.
Descended from Heretatau and Punaiterangi...Here the
ariki is being compared with a treasured possession.
Further, he would be addressed along the following
lines: "Haere mai te ariki ihorei...haere mai te
upoko ariki." (Welcome high chief...welcome supreme
chief.) Or, having regard to his descent from the
Gods and the great tapu that this bestows upon him,
he may be addressed thus: "Haere mai e te mana, e
te wahi, e te tapu..." (welcome to power, to
sacredness, to awe or dread...).

(b) Primogeniture in relation to leadership and seniority
in society

Primogeniture involves a status unalterably conferred
by one's birth. Similarly, one's seniority in society is

¹ Ngatā 1959:170f
² Ibid 1959:76f
determined by birth. The general rule, as observed by other writers, is that seniority is determined through the male line, i.e., the longer the unbroken line one can trace through first-born males, the greater one's seniority in society. Buck says: "Among the rangatira class, which comprised the aristocracy, extreme deference was paid to the seniority involved in tuakana[1] birth. The first-born son (matama) of a chiefly first settler succeeded to his father in rank and power and he was tuakana not only to his brothers but also to the families of his younger brothers."[2] In Ngati Porou, however, primogeniture is the absolute determinant of seniority, regardless of the sex of the first-born child. In other words, the longer the unbroken line one can trace through first-born children, male or female, the greater one's seniority in society.

Primogeniture, and therefore one's seniority in society, are both factors in deciding who should be the leader of a tribe or sub-tribe. Leadership may be defined as control over people or mana tangata. It involved the right to direct and control people's lives in terms of the culture and the right to make political decisions on their behalf. The ability to unite the group and to protect it against

other individuals or groups were also important manifestations of leadership.

The exercise of this authority was the prerogative of the first-born of the most senior in society. One may return to Buck's statement that "primogeniture in the male line was the deciding factor in succession to chiefly rank."¹ In practice, however, the governing factor was the ability to lead - only if the most senior in society had the necessary personal qualities to command the respect and confidence of the people would he be given the mandate to lead them. Buck himself acknowledges this:

"Though a first-born male could not be deprived of his seniority, he was sometimes deprived of his leadership through physical or mental incapacity which prevented him from carrying out the duties of his position. Poor leadership lowered the prestige of the tribe and people turned to a younger brother to supply the energy and administrative ability which his senior brother lacked. The wise son of a weak ariki could regain leadership, for if he displayed ability, his uncles, cousins and the people would recognise and respect his seniority. The tuakana is always the tuakana, though some may fall by the wayside."²

¹ Buck 1949:343
² Buck 1949:345
In Ngati Porou, leadership was exercised by male and female alike. Contrary to Buck's contention, when the first-born happened to be a female, the position of ariki did not necessarily pass to the first-born male child.¹ If a first-born female had the required ability she was accepted as leader. Thus women such as Uepohatu, Tamatea Upoko, Materoa, Hinesuta and Hinematioro² - all first-born females - emerged and have been remembered as some of the tribes most powerful leaders.

Similarly, it was possible for a woman to be accepted as a leader in preference to a tuakana brother. The great chieftainess Hinetapora was junior to her brother Parua.

Genealogy ¹

```
Ruataupare — Tuwhakairiora — Te Ihiko
Mariu — Tuterangikapitu
Te Rangitaukiwaho
```

Parua (m) — Hinetapora (f)

¹ Buck 1949:343.
² Details of their leadership and genealogies given in Chapter 8.
Hinetapora's prestige can be measured by the reaction to her marriage proposal and the circumstances of her death.\(^1\)

Further, male leaders in Ngati Porou acknowledged the seniority of their elder sisters.

**Genealogy** \(^2\):  

```
Marara       | Hamana | Harata
-------------|--------|--------
             | Erana  | Nepia  | Hirena
-------------|--------|--------|--------
             |        |        | Ripeka (f) Erana Kawa (f) Hamana (m)
```

In his lifetime, the author's father, Hamana, was the acknowledged leader of his sub-tribe, Te Whanau-a-Rakaihoea.\(^3\) But his two sisters were senior to him - a fact which he recognised. The writer has, on more than one occasion, heard his father refer to the children of his sisters as the writer's tuakana (seniors).

It was also possible for a woman to regain leadership by establishing her seniority as in the case of Tapuhi.\(^4\)

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1 See Chapter 8, p. 174.
2 The writer's father, Hamana Mahuika.
3 Drummond n.d.
4 See Chapter 8, p. 180.
Genealogy

Porouruata——Whaene

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Materoa</th>
<th>Te Ataakura</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tuwhakairiora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapuhi</td>
<td>Hinematioro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tapuhi based her claim to seniority over the chieftainess Hinematioro by virtue of the fact that she was descended from Materoa, the elder sister of Te Ataakura, the mother of Tuwhakairiora and the ancestor of Hinematioro. The people recognised Tapuhi's seniority and gave to her the mana tangata so that to this day there is a sub-tribe known as Te Whanau-a-Tapuhi at Te Araroa.

It should be mentioned here that leadership was not necessarily confined to one person. It was possible for different people to be leaders in different spheres of tribal life. The classic Ngati Porou example is that of the three brothers Te Shutu, Kaitai and Tamahae. Te Shutu, the first-born, was the leader in domestic affairs. Kaitai was the leader in agriculture and Tamahae, a great warrior,

---

1 See Chapter 8, p. 131 for complete genealogy.
2 See Chapter 3
was the leader of the taua. Similarly, in the case of Tuwhakairiora and his elder sister, Te Aomihia. Prior to his marriage, when he went to live in his wife's hapu,¹ Tuwhakairiora led the taua while Te Aomihia was the leader on the domestic front. The importance of warfare and the fact that it was the "chief pre-occupation of the days of old",² meant that warrior leaders were very well known and commanded tremendous awe; and this has led in turn to the assumption that some (like Tamahae, for example), were tribal leaders when in fact they were not. It was possible though, for a warrior to gain such respect and deference, that he was accepted as the sub-tribal or tribal leader over the ariki, as in the case of Tuwhakairiora.

It is important to bear in mind also that it was only political control that a weak ariki lost. The ceremonial and ritualistic role pertaining to the fact of being first-born could never be taken from him. At the tangi and on other religious and ceremonial occasions, the ariki was still supreme. Even when political issues were debated, he held a privileged position for his views commanded the respect due to his birth. He was therefore able to exert pressure on his usurper, who had to be continually on his

1. See Chapter 3.
2. Ngata 1943:13 (Price of Citizenship) Maori proverb: Ko te umanga nui o nehe ra he whawhai. (The chief pre-occupation of olden times was fighting.)
mettle to hold his position, thereby cementing his claim to leadership over and above the ariki.

Further, trusteeship of the land, or mana whenua, remained with the ariki and it could only be lost by raupatu\(^1\) or insanity. However, the acquisition of mana whenua alone was useless in terms of leadership - it had to be coupled with mana tangata. Ruataupare\(^2\) recognised this. Her husband, Tuwhakairi, through his prowess as a warrior, usurped Ruataupare as leader of her hapu. Ruataupare still held mana whenua but realising this was worthless, in terms of leadership, without the political control of the hapu, she migrated to Tokomaru Bay "for no other purpose than to found a tribe that should be known as the Whanau-a-Ruataupare."\(^3\)

There were, however, circumstances in which the prior acquisition of mana whenua resulted in a person being given the mana tangata, thereby being a factor in determining leadership. Firstly, when it was acquired, by raupatu. When the Ngati Ruanuku people of Waipiro Bay were heavily defeated by Tuwhakairi and Pakanui, Tuwhakairi gave the trusteeship of the land to his niece, Iritekura. The

---

1 Conquest  
2 See p.40.  
3 Gudgeon 1895: Vol 4:26
few remaining Ngati Ruanuku accepted her as their new leader and thus she gained mana tangata.¹

Secondly, mana whenua could be apportioned between two or more children of an ariki, these children being then accepted as the leaders in the territory over which they held trusteeship. This happened in the case of the children of the chieftainess Te Aokairau. She divided the territory over which she had mana whenua and mana tangata between three of her children, Putaanga (m), Huanga (m) and Ninepare (f).² Each became the accepted leader in his own territory and to this day there are sub-tribal groups known as Te Whanau-a-Utaanga and Te Whanau-a-Ninepare. Further, in this case because Ninepare was such an exceptional leader and the founder of a sub-tribe, she was accorded the ceremonial and religious position of an ariki - similar to that held by the first-born Putaanga.

It can be seen from the foregoing discussion, that the factors determining leadership in Ngati Porou apply equally to male and female, in the same way as the rules pertaining to primogeniture. The cases cited are by no means exhaustive, but were chosen deliberately to show the

¹ See Chapter 8
² See Chapter 8
position of women. The only position of leadership not held by women was that of leader of the taua,¹ and therefore this means of gaining political control of the hapu or tribe was not open to them.

(c) Primogeniture and Maori terminology

Finally, it remains to look at the main terms which are relevant to the concept of primogeniture and which once again illustrate the lack of sex differential when applied to the Ngati Porou case.

1. **Matamua**: the first-born. Buck² refers to matamua as the first-born son, but in Ngati Porou it is used to denote the first-born child, male or female.

2. **Tuakana**: the Williams' dictionary³ defines tuakana as follows:

   (a) Elder brother of a male.
   (b) Elder sister of a female.
   (c) Cousin of the same sex and of the same generation, but in an elder branch of the family.

¹ *tau* = war party
² Buck 1949:343
³ Williams 1971:445
However, in Ngati Porou the term is applied to all one's genealogical seniors, male and female, regardless of generation.

3. **Taina:** this is defined in a similar way to tuakana.¹
   (a) Younger brother of a male.
   (b) Younger sister of a female.

Once again, as with tuakana, in Ngati Porou the term is applied to all one's genealogical juniors.

4. **Ariki:** the first-born male or female. The ariki is the most senior in society. The inference here is that the term can only be applied in the singular. But in the Ngati Porou case it is possible to talk about "nga ariki" with reference to all the children of an ariki. In this context, the late Arnold Reedy, referred to the three children of Porourangi as "nga ariki". This is because they were the children of the first ariki of the tribe (Porourangi) and they are ariki to everyone else in the tribe.

5. **Kapuataira:** a person of chiefly rank, but junior to the ariki by the fact of not being first-born.

¹ *Williams* 1971:364
The following cases illustrate the use of the above terms in Ngati Porou.

**Genealogy 4**

Apanui Waipapa (m)  
  Pongomaihaustahi (f)  
  Apanui Mutu (m)  
  Tukaki (m)  

Te Khutu (m)  
  Tamahae (m)

In the above genealogy, Te Khutu was:

1. Matamua, being the first-born.
2. Ariki, being the most senior in society, tracing a direct line back to the eponymous ancestor of Te Whanau-a-Apanui, Apanui Waipapa.
3. Tukana, being senior to his brother Tamahae and his issue will always be senior to Tamahae's issue.

**Genealogy 5**

Tataingaoterangi (m)  
  Ngunguruterangi (f)  
  Hinematioro (f)  
  Ngarengikahiwa (f)  
  Te Keni-e-Takirau (m)  
  Kauke (m)  
  Ngarengiteremaouri (m)  
  Hinewahirangi (f)
In Genealogy 5, Ngunguruterangi was:

1. Matamua, being the first-born.

2. Ariki, being the most senior and coming from the senior line of descent.

3. Tuakana, being senior to her brother Kauke, who is therefore her taina.
Summary

As Firth, in particular, has pointed out, kinship in Maori society is optative, e.g. individuals can affiliate themselves to local kin groups through either their fathers or their mothers. However, when a question of seniority is involved, the general preference is to affiliate oneself to groups in which one can establish membership through male lines of descent and through male primogeniture.

In Ngati Porou, the rule of primogeniture in determining seniority, both within the natal family or domestic domain and within the sub-tribe or tribe (or jural domain), applies regardless of sex. Primogeniture is the absolute determinant of seniority. Not only is this borne out by the genealogies of the tribe, but also by the use of the main terms associated with primogeniture, namely tuakana, taina and matama.

Similarly, whereas other writers have said that leadership is also determined by primogeniture in the male line and is passed to the first-born male, in Ngati Porou, if the first-born child was a female and she had the necessary ability to be a leader, then she was accepted as
such. It was not a foregone conclusion that the functioning position of ariki passed to the first-born male child. In fact, our study of leadership in Ngati Porou indicates that it was primogeniture (coupled with the necessary ability) and not one's sex, which determined who should lead.
CHAPTER 3

Achieved Leadership

Primogeniture determines leadership and status in Maori society. It was shown in the last chapter, that in the Ngati Porou case, the primogenital child may be either male or female - as long as he or she possessed the necessary qualities of leadership. If the matama, the first-born, lacked these qualities, then he or she became a figure-head while a taina assumed active leadership. However, a taina assumes leadership with some qualifications.

A taina could never displace the tapu of the ariki. There were certain ritualistic functions, such as exhumation, that only the ariki could perform. My informants have told me that the ariki is so senior and so tapu, that only he or she can stand up to the tapu of Gods and persons. Since the Maori regards death as very tapu, the ariki is therefore the only one who can carry out the ritualistic functions associated with exhumation. He recited incantations to prevent harm befalling the people at large. If the tapu was disregarded, some grave misfortune, even death, could overcome the person or persons who abused the tapu. Further, since part of the exhumation ceremony was a feast, the ariki
must be the first to partake of the food.¹ My informant is supported by Buck when he says, "The whole exhumation procedure was saturated with tapu, and unless the direct representative of the lineage, senior to all who were present, opened the ritual feast by partaking of his restricted oven, the ceremony could not be carried out."²

The ariki could also claim certain property by naming it after parts of his body, investing the object with his tapu. He is able to claim this property by his inalienable right to be the taumata, the resting place of the Gods. It is also the ariki who alone has the power to remove the tapu from certain things. For example, Ngatiaihere, a rangatira, was replaced as leader by his nephew, but when the time for the cultivation of food came along, only Ngatiaihere was able to remove that tapu. In this case, as in the case of other deposed leaders, the power of tapu again operates. It is in the senior lineage that the greatest tapu is found, and, therefore, only the most senior is qualified to remove a tapu. For example, when some restriction is placed on the use of certain land or fishing ground, the tapu remains in force until it is removed by the most senior in society. In the case of

¹ Arnold Reedy interview 1969
² Buck 1947:347
Ngatikaihero, only he was able to remove the tapu to ensure a good harvest.

While an ariki’s tapu cannot be usurped, his mana on the other hand may diminish, but it diminishes only in that area where he lacks actual ability. For instance, if a chief lacked ability as a warrior he would only lose his mana as such, but Gudgeon says, "...his mana on other points holds good against all these obstructions."¹

On this whole question of leadership and achieved leadership, Gudgeon has this to say:

I have said that the dictatorship of a tribe may be assumed by a minor chief of a tribe. Although the natives allow a great influence, and even pay great respect to the offspring of their aristocracy, yet if this power is unaccompanied by intellect and bravery, the ariki of a tribe or a chief of a hapu may be supplanted by an inferior chief, as in the case of the ariki of Ngati Raukawa, who was succeeded by Te Rauperaha. Te Rauperaha was not a chief of rank; that is, he was the offspring of a junior branch of the ariki family of Taimui, and by intermarriage of his progenitors with minor chiefs and women of other tribes, he held no influence by

¹ Gudgeon 1895:223
but when the principal chief of Ngati Raukawa (Hape ki Tuarangi) was on his death-bed and the whole tribe was assembled, the old chief (who had been a noted warrior in his day) asked if his successors could tread in his footsteps and lead his people to victory, and so keep up the honour of the tribe. This question was put to all his sons but no reply was given; when Te Rauparaha got up from the midst of the minor chiefs and people of high rank and said, "I am able to tread in your steps and even do that which you could not do." As he was the only speaker in answer to Hape's question, the whole tribe acknowledged him as their leader."

Augustus Earle\(^2\) goes even further. He claims it was possible for a slave to achieve chieftainship in terms of leadership if he has real ability and intellect, and married the right partner to gain rank and status.

James Gowan uses the Waikato King Tawhiao to show how leadership was effected by men of teina status, while the revered head of the tribe remained the senior member. Of Tawhiao, he says,

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1. Gudgeon: p.223
"Personally he did not exercise a great deal of authority, for Wiremu Tamahana, known as the "Kingsmaker", and the fiery Rewi Maniapoto were far more vigorous and enterprising as leaders of the patriotic cause of self-determination for the Maoris.

Tawhiao was the revered head of the kingdom, receiving the homage and the respect to which his position entitled him."\(^1\)

**Achieved Leadership: The Ngati Porou Case**

Leadership has been achieved in the following ways:

I By the usurpation of leadership from an ariki who lacks the ability to lead. In this regard, two points are noteworthy.

(a) The usurper may be **male or female**.

(b) There may be **more than one usurper**.

II By migration.

III By the equal allocation of certain areas to heirs, male or female, thereby allowing each one to achieve leadership independent from the others.

IV By marriage.

V By inheriting the mana of a taina ancestor who achieved leadership.

\(^1\) Cowan, James: "Book of the Maori Chiefs" p. 1ff (Caltex pamphlet)
THE USURPATION OF LEADERSHIP FROM AN ARTIKI WHO LACKS
THE ABILITY TO LEAD.

In genealogy 4, Te Ehutu is senior, being the matamaa
or first-born. He was from the senior line and was the ariki.
On the home front, he united his people, i.e. he was capable
in domestic affairs.

But it was his taina Tamahae who was the warrior and who
therefore became the acknowledged leader in war, which,
according to the rule of primogeniture, was the right of his
tuakana Te Ehutu.

Genealogy 6.

Hau
Rakaipō
Manutangirua
Hingangaroa
Tua
Apanui Waipapa

Awapururu
Tiai
Tamahinengaro
Rakaipikirarunga
Rutanga
Hinemahuru

Te Aopuhara Te Aongahora Taikorekore Te Aotakaia—Hinerangi

Hinetera Apahoua—Maruhaeremuri

Tautuhiorongo Te Rangihakapuna—Tukaki

Te Ehutu Kaiaio Tamahae

1. Maruhaeremuri is the sister of Tautuhiorongo.
Tamahae was, in fact, one of the greatest warrior leaders in Ngati Porou and Te Whanau-a-Apanui. So great was his mana that he was able to disagree freely with the wishes of his tuakana relatives and his ability was such that he did so with impunity and success.

Kaiiaio also achieved a leadership role for himself. He was an industrious worker, especially notable for crop cultivation. He became the leader of his people in this field, usurping Te Khutu. Thus we have a case of not one, but two taina relations, supplanting the ariki in different spheres of leadership.

Te Khutu, however, still retained his mana and leadership in these fields untouched by his brothers. He remained:

1. The Matamaa
2. Tuakana, the most senior in society
3. The leader in domestic affairs.

Te Khutu displayed the same ability at home as his brother did in war. Tamahae was successful only because of the united front presented and maintained by Whanau-a-Apanui under Te Khutu. So strong was the leadership of Te Khutu at home, that there appears to be no internal conflict at all and this indicates the acceptance of Te Khutu as the leader in Whanau-a-Apanui. He is said to have been a kind
and generous man, concerned always with the welfare of his people. Further, he is said to have delegated certain leadership roles to others more able than himself. For example, leadership in war was placed in the hands of his brother Tamahae and cultivation in the hands of another brother, namely Kaiiaio.

Te Ehutu was, of course, senior because:

1. He is the first born of his parents.

2. In Genealogy 6, Te Ehutu is a direct descendant of Hau, the first born of the eponymous ancestor of Ngatipereu Pereurangi. On these grounds, Te Ehutu is senior.

3. He is also the first born who can trace his descent in a direct line, back to Apanui Waipapa the eponymous ancestor of WHANAU-A-APANUI TRIBE.
In Genealogy 7, it can be seen that Hinerupe was taina to her two sisters, Teopare and Tamateakui. The three girls were the chosen girls of Ngati Porou and the toasting girls of the tribe. Early in life they had displayed great qualities, not only of leadership, but also the ability to work hard. Of the three, however, it was Hinerupe who stood out and it was she who became the acknowledged leader of her people. So strong was Hinerupe's rule, that she was able to withstand a challenge from the greatest warrior of her time, Tushkaairiers, and the people of her area are known to this day as Te Whanau-a-Hinerupe.
Hinerupe even refused the amorous advances of Tuwhakairiora and, feeling disgraced by this, Tuwhakairiora struck Hinerupe on the head giving rise to the saying:

"Te ngawhatanga o te upoko o Hinerupe."

(The striking of Hinerupe's head.)

Such expressions are used in Ngati Porou only if the person to which it refers is of importance.

Hinerupe married the younger brother of Tuwhakairiora, Hukarere, and his mana was considerably increased by the marriage because of Hinerupe's mana.

Hinerupe's sisters also recognised her greater mana and voluntarily surrendered to her those lands under their power and thus made her area very extensive. Ngati Porou indicate the extent of her boundaries:

"Mai te manu tae nonu atu ki te ao parauri."

(From the sea to as far as the eye can see.)

In fact, Hinerupe had mana whenua extending from the Awatere River to Punaruku out to the sea. Hinerupe, like all leaders of chiefly rank, had "te mana tangata and te mana whenua", that is, she had authority over the people and the land. Hinerupe passed this mana on to her daughter Te Aotaihi, who held it intact.
When domestic leadership was in the hands of a female ariki, it was common for a man of lesser rank to become the warrior leader and often, through his ability as a warrior, he increased his mana at home. The classic Ngati Porou case is that of Tuwhakairiora.

Genealogy 8,

Porourangi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hau</th>
<th>Ueroa</th>
<th>Rongomaianiwaniwa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tuere</td>
<td>Awapururu</td>
<td>Tumoana Tamataua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rongomaikurae</td>
<td>Tangihaere</td>
<td>Hinepare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whatiuaroa</td>
<td>Poroumata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuitimatau</td>
<td>Uekaiahu</td>
<td>Mate Te Akaiaura = Ngatihau Iwirakau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Aotaki</td>
<td>Rongomaitapui = Uetaia</td>
<td>Iwitaia Te Aomihia Tuwhakairiora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruataupare</td>
<td>Hinerupe</td>
<td>Rongotaihiaco Iritekura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Te Thiko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen from genealogy 8 that Tuwhakairiora was taina. His sister and tuakana, Te Aomihia, was the leader in domestic affairs. Tuwhakairiora had no people and no land. But he was a great warrior and, through his prowess as a warrior and a fortunate marriage, he became a powerful leader.

1. Uekaiahu was the tuakana.
In his early life, Tuwhakairiora was raised in Opotiki until he returned to Ngati Porou to avenge the death of his grandfather, Poroumata, who was murdered by the Ngati Ruanuku people. This mission of vengeance was drilled into him even when he was in the womb. While pregnant, Tuwhakairiora's mother would say as the child kicked in her: "E e whana koe i reto, i au he tane, ki a e i a koe te mā te to tipuna." (You who kick within my womb, be you a boy to avenge the death of your grandfather.)

His journey to avenge his grandfather led him to Whatahiaka, where he visited the chief, Te Aotaki, and had the good fortune to be accepted as a husband for Ruataupare (see Genealogy 8). Ruataupare was a member of the tuakana line and was tuakana to Tuwhakairiora who was of the Rongomaiwaniwa line.

Eruera Stirling says it should be noted that when Tuwhakairiora arrived at Hicks Bay he was accorded a welcome fitting to one of rank, but that when he wanted to marry Ruataupare's elder sister, Auwhikoata, Te Aotaki said to him, "E Tu, kaua koe e pa ki a Auwhikoata waiko tena ma tu tuakana ma Tautuhiorongo." (Tu, do not make advances to Auwhikoata, let her be for your elder, Tautuhiorongo.)

1 Eruera Stirling letter to author 25.1.72
Auwahikoata went to live with her husband in Whanau-a-Apanui, and in her absence it was Ruataupare who assumed leadership of the hapu after her father.

Tuwhakairiora’s marriage was in effect a launching pad, for through his wife he was able to acquire large tracts of land and set up a pa for himself called Okauwharetoa, on the south bank of the Awhatare River. Ruataupare, though, was the acknowledged leader of her people in Hicks Bay and Te Araroa and it wasn’t until Tuwhakairiora proved himself an outstanding leader in war and in times of peace, that he was able to usurp Ruataupare’s role as leader. His mana was
such that he passed it on to his children and the
Tuwhakairiara line is still a prestigious one, in spite of
it being junior to the ariki line.

Here then, we have the case of a leader gaining mana
whenua through a marriage to a female ariki and later
usurping her mana tangata and displacing her as leader.

It is interesting to note here how Ruataupare was aware,
very early in her marriage to Tuwhakairiara, that her
position as leader was in jeopardy because of the great
ability displayed by her husband. This greatly antagonised
Ruataupare. The people in the area were known as Te Whanau-
a-Ruataupare, but after several victories, Tuwhakairiara was
heralded into the village by the people and his band of
warriors were given the title Te Whanau-a-Tuwhakairiara.
This annoyed Ruataupare so much, that when her husband
approached her to retire with him, she made the remark that
resulted in her final downfall: "Haere ki taku taina ki a
Te Ihiko." (Go to my younger sister Te Ihiko.) Tu replied
that Te Ihiko already had a husband and Ruataupare retorted:
"Kia kiia ai koe he rangatira." (that you may rightly be
called a chief.) This, of course, was an insult to Tu.
Ruataupare was saying that by having intercourse with
Te Ihiko, who was his tuakana, he would achieve chiefly
status. This put into poor repute the status Tuwhakairiara
had gained as a warrior.
Ruataupare's insult back-fired, Tu accepted her challenge and took Te Ihiko as his second wife, and in order to preserve her name, Ruataupare had to depart from the area, settling at Tokomaru Bay where she founded another sub-tribe, Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare.

One further point is worthy of note in connection with Tuwhakairiora. When he avenged the death of his grandfather Poroumata by annihilating his murderers the Ngati Ruanuku, the land was given to Iritekura, Tuwhakairiora's niece, the daughter of his tuakana, Te Aomihia. Iritekura was an able leader, and to this day the people of Waipiro Bay are known as Te Whanau-a-Iritekura and they own the land in that place.

II. Leadership achieved through migration

Migration occurred for any of the following reasons:
1. A deposed ariki might migrate to regain his or her mana.
2. There may be conflict between two or more rangatira in a sub-tribe, one or more of the antagonists being forced out.
3. A rangatira may choose to leave his sub-tribe after it had been defeated in war, rather than become a slave of the victors.
5. A voluntary desire for a rangatira and/or his followers to move out and seek new territory.

On the evidence of the cases examined, the basic requirements for a rangatira to achieve leadership in a new territory were:
1. Lineal seniority.
2. Ability as a leader.
3. The right kind of marriage.

The case of Ruataupare is an example of an ariki migrating to retain and regain her mana. Through his ability as a warrior, her husband, Tuwhakairiora, had displaced her among her own people at Te Araroa and she migrated to Tokomaru Bay. She took with her two of her daughters, Mariu and Te Ataakura II, and these girls married into the existing sub-tribes at Tokomaru, Ngati Ira and Wahine-Iti. Through these marriages, the new sub-tribe, Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare was formed. Ruataupare was able to consolidate her position at Tokomaru Bay through her ability as a leader and was accepted by the people there because of her lineal seniority in both the Ngati Ira and Wahine-Iti. ¹ When Wahine-Iti was wiped out by other Ngati-Perou sub-tribes,

¹ See chapter 8 for genealogy.
the mana of Te Whanau-a-Ruatapure increased, until today it is the most prominent of the sub-tribes in Tokamaru Bay.

The following two cases are examples of conflict within the sub-tribe causing a rangatira to migrate to another territory.

**Genealogy 10**

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         Pouheni
               |
               Nanaia
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Hamoterangi ——— Porourangi ——— Tahu
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Porourangi was the matama and the leader of his people. His brother, Tahu, was secretly in love with Hamoterangi and to avoid conflict between the two brothers, the people suggested to Tahu that he go away, which he did. He settled in the South Island, with some of his followers, and founded the South Island tribe of Ngai Tahu.

The second case concerns the three brothers Taua, Mahaki and Haupiti.
Hauiti, with the aid of his son, Kahukuranui, attacked his brothers and drove them out. Taua migrated to Te Kaha and by inter-marriage with the ancient Ngariki tribe, became the ancestor of Te Whanaunui-a-Apanui. Mahaki dwelt among the Wahine-Iti and his descendants married into that tribe.  

Both Taua and Mahaki had sufficient qualities of leadership and lineal seniority to be accepted as one of the leaders of their adopted sub-tribes.

The case of Tamatea Upoko, presents an example of a rangatira fleeing her sub-tribe as a result of it being defeated in battle. After her mother was murdered by the Ngai-Cho, she fled to Telaga Bay where she married Uekaiahu, chief of Ngai-Tuere. Through this marriage and the fact

1 Gudgeon 1894: 214f
2 See also chapter 8.
that she was the leader of the people who came with her,
Tamatea Upoko was also accepted as a leader by the Ngai-Tuere.

The case of Tuwhakairiona shows how one could achieve
leadership through going to live in the hapu of one's spouse.
On his marriage to Rustaupare, he lived in his wife's hapu
and their union immediately gave him te mana whenua. Later,
through his ability as a warrior, he usurped the mana tangata
from his wife. The important thing to stress here is that
he did not gain full powers of leadership simply as a
consequence of his marriage. It was his outstanding ability
which did this.

Finally, the case of Kahungunu affords an example of
a rangatira desiring to move out and seek new territory,
Kahungunu is the eponymous ancestor of the Ngati Kahungunu
which stretch from Wairea to Wairarapa.¹ Kahungunu was an
inveterate traveller and womaniser and he had issue from one
or more women in those areas where he stayed, hence the
extent of the tribe. He also had the lineal seniority to
got away with this with impunity!

¹ See genealogy 11, this chapter.
III. Leadership achieved through the equal allocation of certain areas to heirs

Genealogy

Pekai
  Rongomaianianiwaniwa  Rongomaianiwaharemanuka
  |
  Tamataua —— Te Aokairau

Putsanga  Huanga  Hinepare

The mother of Putsanga, Huanga and Hinepare recognised that all her children had leadership ability, so she divided up her territory in the Waiapu Valley between the three of them. Hinepare ruled in the northern Waiapu Valley and Huanga to the south, while Putsanga ruled in the area known as the Poroporo Valley. To this day, the people in the Poroporo Valley are known as Te Whanau-a-Putsanga and the people at Rangitukia as Te Whanau-a-Hinepare.

Putsanga achieved fame as a warrior and the strength of Hinepare's rule is illustrated by the following incident. When Kokere's pa was under threat from Tamahae, Tamokai said to the chief Kokere, "Haere tautaki Waiapu ki tatara e maru an ana..." (Let us go to Waiapu where there are many people to help us.) The leader of the people at Waiapu was Hinepare.

Further, if one considers genealogy & the close relationship between Ruaatapare, Whinerupe and Iritikura will
be noticed. It was a close enough relationship for only
the tuakana, Ruataupare, to have become a leader. But
instead, Ruataupare was leader at Te Araroa and later
Tokomaru Bay, Hinerupe was the leader in the Waiapu Valley
and Irikekura was the leader at Waipiro Bay. Both
Ruataupare and Hinerupe inherited their mana tangata and
mana whenua from their father's. Irikekura was given her
mana whenua by her uncle, Tuwhakairiorea, when he conquered
the Ngati Ruanuku and she achieved the mana tangata through
her ability as a leader.

IV. Leadership achieved through marriage to a tuakana
partner

The case of the warrior brothers Tuwhakairiorea and
Hukarewa has already been mentioned. Tuwhakairiorea's
marriage to Ruataupare laid the foundation of his power to
the extent that he eventually displaced his wife as leader.
Hukarewa's marriage to Hinerupe also increased his mana,
but Hinerupe's rule was too strong for him to break and she
remained leader. Both marriages increased the family power
and gave them control of all the land from the Awatere to
the Yaraka—tuwhero streams.
Genealogy 13

Uepohatu → Kere → Hairehau — Kuraunuhia

Whakarore — Umariki — Uspare (W.2)

Taputerakahia — Te Rangikapataua — Hinetapora

Umariki was a noted warrior under Tuwhakairiora and his mana courage and ability he transmitted to his descendants in a remarkable degree. His two sons (from different wives), Taputerakahia and Te Rangikapataua ruled together in the whanau territory in the Tuparoa and Repora districts. However the taina Te Rangikapataua greatly increased his mana by his marriage to Hinetapora, the chieftainess of the Mangahanes area in Ruatoria. Hinetapora was the leader of her people until killed by the Te Whanau-a-Apanui leader, Tamahae. The meeting house and sub-tribe at Mangahanes bear her name to this day.

V. Leadership achieved by inheriting the mana of a taina ancestor who achieved leadership

The cases of Tuwhakairiora, Hinerupe and Tamahae have already been dealt with fully and it is only necessary to say that these people achieved a mana of leadership so great
that they were able to transmit it to succeeding
generations. This is in spite of the fact that their
genealogical lines are taina. The same rules apply to this
mana as apply to the mana of an ariki. If the primogenital
child of the line lacks qualities of leadership he may be
usurped by a taina.

One further case worthy of note is that of Umuariki
(see genealogy 13.) Umuariki was in fact taina to a brother
Paka. Gudgeon\(^1\) says of Umuariki's descendants that they
have held his sub-tribe Te Whanau-a-Umuariki together and
have "presented so bold a front that at the present day it
cannot be said that they have been subservient to even the
greatest chiefs of Ngati Porou."

The Case of Members of the tuakana line regaining leadership
lost by an ancestor

Achieved leadership has been considered principally in
the context of taina relatives usurping the leadership role
of a tuakana. However it was also possible for a member of
the tuakana line to achieve leadership by regaining that
lost by his or her ancestor.

\(^1\) Gudgeon, p. 161
Genealogy 14

Papu wara

Materoa  Te Ataakura  Tawhihare

Tapuhi line  Hinematiro line

Hinematiro, the woman raised to queenly status by Ngati Porou and the grandmother of Te Kani a Takirau, returned to Te Araroa in her old age to visit the village of her ancestor, Tuwhakairiora. On arrival she was accorded the kind of welcome reserved only for the noblest. In her reply to the speeches, Hinematiro asked the people, "Ko wai te pahi o te karaka a Tu?" (Who is the plume of the karaka tree of Tu?) The obvious answer would have been, "Ko koe." (It is you.) But a younger woman, Tapuhi replied, "Ko su." (It is I.) Her claim was based on the rule of tuskana and taina. Tapuhi comes from the senior line, the Materoa line (see genealogy 8) and Hinematiro from the taina line of Te Ataakura. Hinematiro returned to Tolaga Bay and Tapuhi assumed the role of leader at Te Araroa. She further formed her own sub-tribe which is known to this day as Te Whanau-a-Tapuhi.
SUMMARY

The pattern of achieved leadership in Ngati Porou follows the general pattern found in other tribal areas. It may be achieved by usurping the leadership of an ariki, through migration or marriage, through inheriting the mana of an ancestor who achieved leadership and through the allocation of defined areas, to ariki heirs of equal leadership ability.

However, whereas in other tribal areas, judging from published material, it is almost exclusively males who have achieved leadership, in Ngati Porou it was equally possible for a woman to achieve leadership in the same way and some of the tribe's most important female leaders have, in fact, achieved their position, i.e. they were not primogenitors.
CHAPTER 4

Marriage

The choice of marriage partners is central to the whole question of primogeniture and tuakana-taina relationships. Above all it is important in terms of who is to be leader and who is to be chief. In the previous chapter, it was shown how the two brothers Tuwhakairiora and Hukarere improved their status by their marriages to their tuakana Ruatapure and Hinerupe. But it is necessary to take a closer look at the issue of marriage.

The general rule is that rangatira marries rangatira and commoner marries commoner. But one finds this rule is not strictly adhered to.

If a rangatira marries below his status, his own status will be lowered, but more particularly it will affect the status of his children. If members of a particular rangatira line marry beneath their status for a number of successive generations, their descendants status will eventually be permanently reduced, that is, the rangatira line will lose much of its chiefly mana and tapu. It will be recalled that the tapu of the most senior is very powerful since he is directly descended from the Gods. It follows that the more junior a person becomes, the weaker his mana
and tapu since he is further removed from a direct relationship with the Gods.

A case in point is that of the Ngati Raukawa chief, Te Rauparaha. Before he achieved leadership through his exceptional ability, Te Rauparaha was a very minor chief as a direct result of his forebears marrying into inferior ranks over a number of generations.

In the main, marriage was monogamous, though senior chiefs practised polygyny. This was their prerogative as rangatira. The first wife, or te wahine matamua, was usually taken for political or social reasons. She was usually a member of the tuakana class and the children of the union would have their seniority enhanced, inheriting it from both parents.

The children of the wahine matamua would also be tuakana to the children of any second wife, or te wahine punarua. But this was not always the rule as there are cases where the wahine punarua has borne children before the wahine matamua and these children could therefore claim to be patrilineally tuakana to the children of the wahine matamua.

The two Waikato brothers, Turongo and Whatihua illustrate this. Whatihua was the son of a wahine punarua and he was the first born. The Waikato people are still debating as to who is the tuakana. Some claim Whatihua,
being the first-born. Others claim Turongo being the first-born of the wahine matamua.

The wahine punarua was usually taken out of a desire for her or for certain qualities she possessed. If she had outstanding personal qualities she would be an asset to the chief and further increase his mana. On occasions she would be taken for political reasons, as in the case of Tuwhakairiora's marriage to Te Ihiko which increased his mana whenua and made his mana tangata absolute by displacing his first wife, the chieftainess Ruataupare. Plural marriages were also important in cases where a chief's wahine matamua had failed to produce a male heir.

It was further regarded as the duty of a female rangatira to be prepared to be given in marriage in the following circumstances:

1. To seal a peace pact between a conqueror and a defeated tribe. On occasions she would marry the chief of the conquering tribe, rather than be enslaved.

2. As a peace offering to settle a dispute between neighbouring tribes.

3. To seal or maintain an alliance between tribes.

The general rule of residence was that the wife (or wives) would live in the husband's hapu, but it will be seen that in the Ngati Porou case the reverse was more
often than not the case, particularly in the case of the wahiine matamaa.

**THE NGATI PEROU CASE**

The choice of marriage partners in Ngati Perou followed and was subject to the general rules in most cases. The major difference was in the place of residence chosen after marriage and the reason for this will be shown.

**Genealogy 22**

Hinekapuarangi ——— Ngarangikauheke

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hangiwhakama ——— Uspohatu</th>
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<tr>
<td>Te Waipipi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whakarore ———————————— Umuariki ——— Uspare</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taputersakafia</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Umuariki’s ancestral importance has already been mentioned in the previous chapter. His first wife was Whakarore and they had a son Taputersakafia. While Umuariki was in Hicks Bay building a carved house, he feasted well every day, partaking of all kinds of sea food. One day he
became very curious about the identity of his benefactor, so he hid behind some rocks and saw the woman Upare diving into the sea and each time she surfaced her hands were filled with all kinds of sea-food. Umariki determined to make Upare his wahine punarua: "Ka pai nga kuha o te wahine nei hei ruka nga paea o taku kainga o Tokoroa."
(The thighs of this woman are most becoming and will indeed be useful for diving for paea in my home Tokoroa.)

Upare became the wahine punarua of Umariki and they had a son Te Rangikaputua. To this day, the descendants of Upare are referred to as "Ke nga kawhiu paea o Tokoroa." (the paea divers of Tokoroa.) Although Upare was of noble birth, people can never forget the reason for her becoming the second wife of Umariki.

When the two brothers Taputerekahia and Te Rangikaputua were young men they both fell in love with the chieftainess, Hinestora. Neither brother knew of the other's love until one day Te Rangikaputua disclosed his feelings and asked his brother to accompany him to Hinestora's marae to ask her hand in marriage. Although secretly grieved, Taputerekahia agreed. As they approached the marae the people knew the purpose of the visit, but they were under the impression that Taputerekahia was coming for himself.
When Taputerakahia requested Hinetapora for his taina Te Rangiāiapuā, Hinetapora replied, "Penei au i haere mai ki au nau, ma te tama a Whakaroro, kaore i haere mai ke koe ki au ma te kawhiu pawa nei." (I had thought that you, the son of Whakaroro, had come to ask me for yourself, instead you come requesting me for this pawa diver.)

Two points are important here. Firstly, the reference to Taputerakahia's mother Whakaroro indicates his tuakana status and in Hinetapora's estimation he would be the more desirable partner from a status viewpoint. Secondly, that Whakaroro was married by Umuariki as a woman befitting his rank and status. Uepare, on the other hand, though she was of high birth, was married mainly because of her prowess as a diver for sea-food, that is, she had a quality which was useful to Umuariki's people. In spite of this however, Hinetapora did marry Te Rangiāiapuā.

The Alliance of Tribes through marriage

There are a number of examples of marriages which strengthened the alliance between Ngati Porou and neighbouring tribes. The alliance between Ngati Porou and Te Whanau-a-Apanui was strengthened by the marriage of Hinetereonaki and Te Astata (see Genealogy 16.)
Genealogy 16

Mineteronaki —— Te Aotata

Poututerangi —— Wharerakau

Maiko Te KhuTu —— Pekana Ngatai

Keita Herowai —— Mihi Kotukutuku

Mineteronaki was a Ngati Porou chieftainness and Te Aotata was a chief of Te Whanau-a-Apanui.

Genealogy 17 shows how three tribes, Te Whanau-a-Apanui, Ngati Porou and Te Whakathea were united through marriage.

Genealogy 17

Tamahinengaro

Rakaipikirarunga —— Uhengaparoa —— Mokaiaporou

Hutanga —— Tuaomakotere —— Kongomaitauaranu

Minemahuru —— Ngatihau —— Iwirakau

Minemahuru is an ancestor of Te Whanau-a-Apanui, Uhengaparoa comes from Te Whakathea, whose ancestors are settlers from the Mataatua canoe, and Ngatihau and Iwirakau are Ngati Porou.
The marriage of female rangatira as peace offerings

When Ngapuhi attacked Ngati Porou at the Whatunataraum Pa at Te Araroa, Pomare, the leader of the Ngapuhi war-party, called to Ngarangitokomauri, the husband of the chieftainess Te Rangiipaia, "Moe mai ra e hou i ta tawa wahine i tenei po." (Sleep, o friend, with our woman this night.) His meaning was that he had every intention of taking Te Rangiipaia as his wife when he defeated the Ngati Porou, which he duly did, taking Te Rangiipaia to Ngapuhi with him. The alternative, if Te Rangiipaia had refused, would have been for her to be enslaved, as were many Ngati Porou on this occasion.

On another occasion, the war-party of Konohi and Ponapatukia was returning from Te Whana-w-a-Apanui and they stopped at Wharekahika on account of some insulting remarks made about the party and the people in it by Rerekohu, the Wharekahika chief. Rerekohu, realising his possible fate, and that of his hapu, made amends by lowering his two grand-daughters down a cliff in baskets as wives for the chiefs of the war party. One of these women was Ngungururuteringi, whom Konohi gave as a wife to his grandson, Taitokotoringi. From this union was born the chieftainess Hiniaraiti, the grand-mother of Te Kani a Takiraup. Thus
these marriages not only settled the dispute painlessly, but in one case resulted in a strong ariki line.

Residence

As already mentioned, the general rule of residence after marriage may be different in emphasis in Ngati Porou from what would appear to be the case in other tribal areas. In ambilineal systems with a patrilineal bias, residence on marriage would be with the husband's community in the majority of cases. Among Ngati Porou, however, the eldest daughter, whether or not the senior, would normally remain in her natal community on marriage. This is because in Ngati Porou, women are generally the repositories and purveyors of the mana whenua, hence the saying, "No Uepohatu ko te mana whenua, engari na tana uri na Umuariki ka mau."

(From Uepohatu came the authority over the land and by

1 Cf Kawharu nd:15 who says: "he uri wahine he ahi ka ke mai tawiti" (the issue of a woman keep only distant fires alight)
Umariki these lands are retained.) In other words, the mana whenua came from a woman but it was retained by the warrior strength of a man.

The whole question of women and mana whenua is dealt with in Chapter 5, but it can be mentioned here that this phenomenon can be traced back to a woman called Ruawaipu, the first woman to give Ngati Porou their mana whenua, hence it is understood by Ngati Porou that their rights to land came in the first instance, from females. If one accepts the fact that one's turangawaewae is not only the sign of membership, but also of chieftainship, then Ngati Porou rangatirship comes through female ancestresses, hence the naming of sub-tribes after them.

The choice of a marriage partner in Ngati Porou is therefore based on an additional criterion to those which apply elsewhere. As the children of the union will inherit their mana whenua from their mother, the selection of a marriage partner by an ariki will also take into account the mana whenua of his prospective wife, for not only will it increase his own mana (as in the case of Tuwhakairiora and Hukarere), but it will also be passed on to his children. Gudgeon comments, "the issue of Wahine-Iti inherited the maternal lands on both banks of the Waipu River."

1 Metge, J.: 1967 pp 88 & 108
2 See chapter 8 pp 126 & 127
3 Gudgeon, W.E.: 1895:24
As in the case of achieved leadership, Ngati Porou follow the apparently accepted norms, that is, marriage between people of the same status. There is, however, special emphasis placed on the female in relation to mana whenua which affects attitudes towards residence on marriage. And even the selection of a suitable marriage partner for a male ekinaki has to be looked at in terms of her mana whenua because it will be through her that the children will usually acquire their mana whenua.
CHAPTER 5

Personal Mana and Tangata Whenua

Mana

Personal mana is the mana of the individual person. Mana may be defined as power and prestige.\(^1\) It could either be ascribed through descent or achieved through personal ability and performance. Personal mana resulted in te mana tangata, power over people, and te mana whenua, power over land.

Ascribed Mana

Ascribed mana is that mana which is one's right of birth, that is, it is the mana inherited from one's parents. It is therefore subject to the rule of primogeniture - the more senior a person in society, the greater his ascribed mana. Its inheritance also had a patrilineal bias, because of the primogenital preference for the first-born son as heir to leadership and land rights. But if the mother and father were of equal rank, the mana inherited by the children was greater than the individual mana of either of their parents.

\(^1\) Dusk 1949: 346
By the same token, mana could be inherited from other ancestors provided one could establish a genealogical link. One's personal mana could therefore be increased by claiming it from both parents, especially if the mother was tuakana to the father, or by marriage into a higher rank (as in the case of Tuwhakairire.)

To Mana Tangata

This was not usually inherited until the retirement or death of the father (or mother). Buck says the first born child "inherited the power to rule... but this mana lay dormant within him until it was given expression on his father's death or his retirement through old age."¹

As shown in the chapter on achieved leadership, the mana of an ariki could be usurped in those areas where he lacked the ability to give leadership, but that there was some mana which he could never be deprived of. This included the mana of being mataana and the mana of being tuakana, the most senior in society. This was the ariki's birthright and was of importance on ceremonial and ritualistic occasions.

The mana tangata could also be inherited from an achieved leader of a tame line. There were many achieved

¹ Buck, 1949
leaders of a sufficiently high order of ability for this to reflect upon his descendants, as in the case of Tuhakairi Umariki and Hineraupe (f). To show descent from these leaders entitles the descendants to a position of leadership in society and a not inconsiderable amount of respect because of the mana of these lines, which is directly attributable to the personal mana of the afore-mentioned leaders.

To Mana Whenua

The rule of residence meant that an individual usually resided in the father's hapu, therefore he could expect to inherit his mana whenua from his father, except in cases where the mother had greater mana whenua.

The mana whenua could be lost in two ways:

1. Raupatu. This involved the confiscation of land by a conquering chief following war. It was usual for this to happen on a sub-tribal level, that is, following disputes between sub-tribes, as when Tuhaka gave the land of the Ngati Ruamuku to his niece, Iritekura. Today only descendants of Iritekura have mana whenua at Waipiro Bay.

Another example of raupatu, also from Ngati Perou, is that of Tinatoka and the Wahine-iti lands. A battle
took place at Marotarewa and Tarere-ko-au. These places are at Kakariki. As the battle raged, the remaining members of Te Wahine-iti fled to Whenua-a-Kura and Whakawhitiro. Tinatoka pursued them, slaying them as he went and a great number were killed at the Paea-raku Stream. After the battle ended, Tinatoka came upon some of his people claiming the slain dead Wahine-iti warriors as their victims: "Naku tenei i patu, naku tenei" (I killed this and this). Tinatoka replied, "Kei te pai mau ena, maku enei." (That is good, you have these [the dead] and I these [pointing to all the Wahine-iti lands].) In this way Tinatoka took and occupied the Wahine-iti lands.¹

None of the leading writers on Maori society cite incidences of raupatu occurring as a result of war between tribes.

2. Ahi-ka-reo. This involves the principle that the mana whana was dependent upon an individual's residence in the hapu that the land belonged to, and that one could therefore claim land rights in that hapu alone. On occasions, an individual's land rights in a particular hapu were challenged because that individual had not resided in the hapu for a number of years, i.e. his

¹ The story of Tinatoka was recounted by the writer's father, Hamana Mahuika.
interests had grown mataaetoe. If this challenge was successful, that individual would lose his or her mana whenua in that hapu.

Timatea's right to lands in certain parts of Rangitukia was based on this principle of ahi ka rea because he had lived there for many years. His son, Takimoana, succeeded to these lands, which to this day are occupied by Te Whanau-a-Takimoana, that is, the descendants of Timatea.

\textbf{Achieved Mana}

As seen in the chapter on achieved leadership, it was possible for a taina, through exceptional personal ability, to usurp personal mana from the ariki in these areas where he was a weak leader. Most commonly, these were warrior leaders, such as Tuwahakapu and Umuariki, but it was possible to achieve leadership in other fields, as in the case of Karioi.\footnote{See Chapter 3, p.16} Once a taina achieved personal mana, it could be passed on to his descendants and it then becomes subject to the same rules as ascribed mana.
Politics and Personal Mana

The greater an ariki or rangatira's personal mana, the greater the influence he could expect to have in tribal politics. Mair says that in the wide field of human relationships "there are always, and everywhere, persons with conflicting and competing interests, seeking to have disputes settled in their favour and to influence community decisions ('policy') in accordance with their interests. This is politics." 1

Personal mana, therefore, played a great part in the politics of the tribe, for a conflict was always likely to exist between tukana and taina and between ascribed and achieved leaders.

Personal mana is bound up with a person's personality. Is he generous? If so, then his personal mana is increased. Is he a person of outstanding qualities and ability? If so then again his mana is increased and his rule confirmed.

In the case of the Ngati Toa warrior chief Te Rauparaha, who came from the junior lines and therefore did not possess much mana, he acquired a strong personal mana by his personal achievements. Te Rauparaha replaced the rangatira family as leader of all Ngati Toa. His personal mana, which

1 Mair 19:111
he built up by sheer ability, was later inherited by his children.

The rangatira were prepared to show their mettle, to measure it against the ability of the ariki and the other rangatira, in the hope that through their ability they would gain mana enough to win the people's acceptance and thus replace the senior member(s) of the tribe as leader(s). This happened in the case of Ruataupare and Tuwhakairiora.

The Ngati Porou Case

The rules applying to the possession of personal mana generally apply in Ngati Porou. But once again, the importance of women should not be under-estimated. Some of the prestigious lines, and therefore those which bestow great personal mana on individual members, are those of women leaders e.g. Uephatutu, Minourupe, Hinematieru, Hinetape, Ruataupare and Hinetau."
"Te patu ki te tane, te whakawhenua tamariki ki te wahine" (The weapon to the male, giving birth to the woman). Here is a Maori saying which shows a distinction between the male and female. In war man is the leader and at home the woman. It separates the two fields in which one takes precedence over the other.

Tamahae, referred to earlier,¹ and his brother Te Rhotu are good examples of the warrior and the peacemaker. In war both at home and abroad, Tamahae was the acknowledged leader. At home, in times of peace and in the administration of tribal affairs, it was Te Rhotu.

Lastly, as mentioned in the previous chapter, in Ngati Porou it is generally the women who hold the mana whenua, therefore any issue would expect to inherit their mana whenua usually from their mother rather than their father, as would appear to be the case in other tribes.

Tapu

Tapu means sacredness, but this English translation does not bring out the full meaning, for tapu also has connotations of awe, because of the very sacredness of the person. Like mana, it is subject to the rule of primogeniture,

¹ See Chapter 3, p.15 et seq.
the most senior in society being the most tapu because of his descent from the Gods.

Certain parts of the human body were more sacred than others. Buck records that "the tapu of the high chief's person was particularly concentrated in his head,"\(^1\) and in one Ngati Porou haka the words run "...he tapu taku upoke..."\(^2\) The head is so tapu because it is the source of one's thought. Its sacredness is so great that no food must pass over it lest some harm befalls the person who violates this tapu. Similarly, hair from the head of an ariki or chief had to be buried so no ill befall the people.

The tapu of the individual being may be transferred to objects that individual comes in contact with. An ariki, after using certain objects was forced to destroy those objects because they were rendered tapu by that use and harm could befall anyone else using them. Buck tells of the concern and fury of a European woman who, having given a drink of water to a chief, watched him deliberately break it when he had finished.\(^3\) The chief was only concerned for the welfare of the woman, because he had transferred his personal tapu to the cup.

Any path or place where a chief had rested had to be subjected to some form of ritual to remove the tapu before

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1 Buck 1947:347
2 The haka "Tihei Takuhe"
3 Buck 1947:346-7
they could be used by common people again. Similarly, any person who came in contact with the chief or a tapu object, had to perform some form of purifying rite, like the washing of hands, to avoid having some ill befall him.

An ariki's tapu also entitled him, and him alone, to perform certain religious functions. Buck cites a case in the ceremony of exhumation, as observed among the tribes in North Auckland. "The whole exhumation procedure was saturated with tapu and unless the direct representative of the lineage, senior to all who were present, opened the ritual feast by partaking of his restricted oven, the ceremony could not be carried out..."¹

Tapu, like mana, was a powerful political instrument, but unlike mana, an achieved leader did not gain tapu through his ability as a leader. But if an ariki should die without a successor, the tapu would be assumed by the next eldest relative.

Ngati Porou Case

Tapu was held equally by men and women in Ngati Porou. Te Kani-a-takihou inherited his mana and tapu from his grandmother, Hinemahutu.¹

¹ Buck 1949:346-7
The following story illustrates the tapu that could accrue to a female leader in Ngati Porou. The chief, Whakanehu, wanted to attack his related hapu at Tikapa. The people in Tikapa, fearing Whakanehu, sought the protection of another of Ngati Porou's "queens", Himaeuta. It was said she was so tapu that she had to be carried about on a litter. When Whakanehu came to Tikapa he was confronted by Himaeuta and her presence alone was sufficient to subdue the warrior Whakanehu.

On the death of the author's great-grandfather, Hamana Mahuika, who was bush-wacked at Waiapu by a person called Naera, a woman of high rank was engaged to partake of her food where his blood stained the ground to remove the tapu of that place. Hamana Mahuika was the acknowledged chief of all Ngati Rakai, named from the ancestress Rakai-heaea. (See Genealogy 13)

Death Rites

Closely associated with personal mana and tapu are the elaborate ceremonies connected with the death rites of a chief - how the body was prepared for burial and how it lay in state. Special waiata were composed to mark the occasion and these were used to perpetuate the memory of the chief
Genealogy

Pokai
Rongomai-whare-mamuha
Te askairau
Rakai-mataura
Rakai-hoera
Mahaki
Mahiti
Tangopahika
Rongo-i-te-kai
Te Puriri
Te Fengi
Kihirini
Hamana Mahuika
Nepia Mahuika
Hamana Mahuika
Apirana Mahuika (Author)

Porourangi
Rongomianiwaniwa
Tamataua
Tamataua
Roro
Te Bukui
Te Haemata
Tuhorouta
Te Ika
Hine-i-kaukia
Hipora
Ropata Wahawaha
and to tell of his feats and deeds during his lifetime. In these waiata, his line of descent and the feats of his noted ancestors are also mentioned.

The speeches were filled with reference to his rank and his wisdom while he was the rangatira and leader of his people.

Prior to the death of a chief, he was visited by many of his relatives, who came primarily to hear his farewell speech or chaki. The chaki is an expected and important obligation, for in it a chief would give his instructions to his successor(s). Buck says that if there was no chaki, the people would say, "I haere kaha kore, ko te hoa kaore i muna iho."¹ (The friend left without a guiding word, without a word of farewell.)

Death rites were also subject to the rule of primogeniture, in the same way as mana and tapu. The more senior the chief, the more elaborate the ritual on his death.

The following serves to illustrate just how elaborate this ritual could become. At death, the body was beaten with flax to exercise any evil spirits from the body. The deceased was then dressed by the tohunga. The legs were bent and the body placed in a sitting position. The hair was tied in a knot and decorated with albatross feathers, while garlands of flowers were wound around the temples and

¹ Buck 1945: 415
white feathers from the breast of sea birds were stuck into the ears. Red ochre and oil were smeared over the face and the whole body was covered with fine mats, only the head remaining uncovered.

Bones and preserved heads of the chief's ancestors were arranged around the deceased, together with his weapons of war and the weapons of his noted ancestors. Bulrush tufts were usually placed in the chief's hands.

The deceased lay in state until he smelled, while his immediate family sat around him. They would cut their hair short, and lacerate their bodies as signs of the grief. The corpse and the mourners were housed in a temporary shelter built for this purpose, known as te whare mate, the house of the dead. After the funeral, the whare mate was burnt to remove the tapu.

Each party of mourners was lead onto the marae by a chief and te kopaki, or death gifts, such as wrapping shrouds were placed near the corpse. If the gift was free, the wife of the chief spread a cloak at the foot of the bier and the gifts were placed on this. It was significant to make a distinction between free gifts and a kopaki. The kopaki is a gift which had to be returned. When a chief, from the area of those who came to pay their respects, died, those to whom the kopaki was made repaid it in kind.
A free gift needed no such reciprocity.

The body of the dead chief was either put into a tomb, or suspended in a tree, until all the decayed flesh had rotted away and then the bones were scraped and the tohunga took the bones to a secret place. The bones were brought out several times to perpetuate the memory of the chief before they were deposited away for good. Exhumation feasts were held on these occasions, therefore the mana and tapu of the chief did not terminate at his death.

These elaborate death rites were for the chief's only, and there are no recorded incidences of a commoner being accorded such ritual. The more important the chief, the greater the ceremony which surrounded his death.  

The Ngati Parau Case

Just as mana and tapu are held equally by men and women ariki in Ngati Parau, so when one of them dies, the ceremonial surrounding the death is the same:

1. Chiefly clothing is placed on the deceased to denote his or her rank.

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1 (a) Oppenheim unpublished M.A. Thesis, Auckland University
(b) Tawhai, Te Pakaka, dissertation on Tangi, Victoria University 1971.
(c) Beck 1967:415ff
(d) Best 1984:118, 132, 147, 252.
2. The genealogies recited in the orations are also used to show the rank of the deceased.

3. The duration of the tangi again is indicative of the rank of the deceased. The more important the person the longer the tangi.

4. The tapu associated with the deceased is the same for males and females of equal rank, as are the means of removing this tapu.

5. The more important the deceased, the longer and more intense the debate as to where he or she should be buried.

6. The female deceased lies in state in the same way as a male of the same rank and her family acts in the same way as if it were a male leader who had died. The ceremonial accorded several women leaders in recent years shows that this rule still holds good. At the tangi for Materoa Reedy, people gathered to pay homage to her, not only as a rangatira but as a leader of her people. Similarly, on the death of Kahi Ketukutuku Stirling, rangatira from all parts of the country gathered to pay their respects to her as a rangatira and a leader. This pattern was repeated in 1967 on the death of the author's mother, Tangiyo, because of her status as a leader,
With reference to arguments over the place of burial of people of rank, Te Pakaha Tawhai notes that "these arguments will take place whether the person is a female or a male." ¹

To return to the death of the author's mother affords an example of this. Tangipe belonged to several hapu and whanau in Ngati Porou. The author's father, with the support of his family, thought Tangipe should be buried at Whakawhitire where she had lived for over fifty years. But the Tikitiki people asked, "Paha e whakare ke a Rangi kei Tikitiki?" (What about Rangi, buried at Tikitiki.) Rangi was the author's eldest sister ² and the primogenital child, who died when a young woman. This argument won the day, though there were still some who wanted Tangipe to be buried at Tuparua, her birth-place.

Similarly, on the death of Arhia, the first wife of Sir Apirana Ngata, there were some who opposed the taking of her body to Rongomaiwaniwa at Tikitiki. But the author's father said she should be taken to Tikitiki because she had been brought up among Te Whanau-e-Hinerupe and Te Whanau-e-Rongomaiwaniwa and these people had increased her mana tangata. My father was able to insist upon his claim because of his kinship ties with the

¹ Tawhai, Te Pakaha: Unpublished dissertation on the Tongihanga for V.U.W. Maori Stage III 1971
² See Chapter 8, p. 193.
Tamati family. (Arihia was born Arihia Tamati.)

Finally, as an illustration of the extremes these arguments over burial can go to, here is a quote from Reweti Kohere:

My cousin, Mihi Heni, had died at Oratua, and a large number of people came to hold the tangi. The body was laid out on a litter in a large tent, one side of which was raised so that mourners could see the body.

As usual at a tangi, the question of burial of the body was discussed on the marae, and as a matter of courtesy, different tribes asked that the body might be buried in their particular burial grounds. Relatives of the deceased naturally wished to take the body to Rangitukia, and in accordance with Maori custom they were perfectly right, for my cousin really belonged to Rangitukia. My grandfather, however, would not hear of my cousin's body being taken to Rangitukia for burial; he wanted it buried at Taumata-a-kura, near Hororata. I believe now his reasons was because Tuheroata, his warrior ancestor, was buried there. My grandfather, the autocrat that he was, could never brook opposition, particularly
by small men. He lost his temper and broke out into a violent rage. Seizing his axe, he walked towards the body and, poised the axe in the air over his head, he cried out to the already scattered crowd: "I'll decide the matter. I'll cut the body into halves. Your half you can take to Rangitukia and bury it there; my half I'll bury here."  

The laments that are sung at the tangi express the same grief be it a male or female leader who had died and these laments are handed down to succeeding generations. To express this sentiment best, here is an example of the type of tangi given for the dead:

Te ata kitea atu e au te pae ki te whamua, e
I te wai e te hame ka utuhia ki waho, e
I te mate i ahau i te po roa nei, e
I teHere rawa ra kihei rawa i whairo, e
Nga rauku o te Here kia mowai ana, na.

Only dimly can I see the distant horizon
Through the spray of my gushing tears,
All the long night I toss in pain
I could not gain the faintest glimpse
Of the peaceful grove, where lie the dead.  

1 Kohere, Reweti 1949: p.47
2 Ngata, A.T. 1959:102
Lastly, here is a lament showing how the rank and status of a woman is expressed in a tangi. It is a composition by a woman, Hinekitewhiti, for her grand-daughter, Ahuahukiterangi. Originally it was written as a lullaby, but it was used as a tangi at the death of Ahuahukiterangi and it is still used as one.

Mau e ki atu. "Na Te Au o Mawake", ki-
A tangi mai ai o tuakana koka, "I
Haramai ra koe nga kauanga i Kaituri na!
I haramai ra koe nga uru karaka i Ariuuru, na-
Mau te mau mai i nga taonga o Wharawhara, hai
Tehu ra mohou, koi hangia koe, ko
Te Pakura ki te taranga, ko Waikanae ki te rings, hai
Taputapu mohou, e hinei!

You will tell her, you are of Te Au o Mawake;
So that your relatives may greet you and cry -
"Ahi! you have come from the crossings at Kaituri,
You have indeed come from the karaka groves at Te Ariuuru.
You are bedecked with the ornaments of Wharawhara
To signify, that no one may mistake you,
Te Pakura pendent from your ear, Waikanae in your hand -
Precious things for you, little maid."\(^1\)

\(^1\) Ngata, A. T. 1959:42
The significant things to note here are:

1. The reference to the sacred maraka groves as an indication of her rank and the tapu of her person because of her descent from the chief Te Au o Mawaka, who in turn is descended from a woman Te Aotawairangi.

2. The use of the term Wharawhara, which is a head-dress made from the feathers of an albatross, the sign of a chief.

3. The reference to Te Pae-kura, the ear pendant of a chief.

4. The mention of the greenstone adzes Kaitangata and Waikanae, which were given by the Whakatake people to Tamahinengaro for his part in the battle in that district when the Whakatake defeated a warrior named Uxahikatea. They are therefore symbolic of her mana through her descent from the warrior Tamahinengaro and her mana from Uhengaparao, who was betrothed to Tamahinengaro's son at the time the two adzes were given to him. Uhengaparao is the ancestress through which a close kinship tie is established between Ngati Porou, Te Whakau-a-Apanui and Te Whakatake.¹

¹ See Chapter 4 p. 61 Genealogy 17
Summary

In Ngati Porou, the general rules applying to personal mana and tapu and the exercise and transmission of these rights applied to male and female alike. The mana of being matama and tuakana was in no way diminished if it was held by a female. However, in the case of the mana whenua, the source was female. While a father may hand down land rights to his children, if one traces far enough back, it would be found that this mana originated with a woman. This can be correlated with the first person who is attributed with giving the tribe its mana whenua, a woman named Ruawaipu.¹

¹ See Chapter 6 p. 136.
CHAPTER 6

(Nga) Waiata and Their Composers

The term waiata is used in preference to the English term "songs" because a waiata is much more than "a short poem set to music or meant to be sung." It is a fundamental form of Maori oral literature through which tribal history and tradition were transmitted. On specific occasions, the haka was used for the same purpose and both supplemented what was taught in the whare wananga (the house of learning) and on the marae. In composing waiata, therefore, language is used to impart a vast store of tribal history, and a good composer was adept in the use of figurative language and esoteric symbols to convey his or her meaning. The following three examples serve to illustrate these points:

1. By the use of the word "Tongariro", the composer has conveyed the following saying "Ko Tongariro te maunga, ko Taupo te moana, ko Tuwharetoa te iwi, ko Te Heuheu te tangata." (Tongariro is the mountain, Taupo the lake, Tuwharetoa the tribe and Te Heuheu the chief.) By the use of the word Tongariro, the composer may use the term synonymously to mean either the mountain or the chief Te Heuheu.

1 OXD 1964:1220
2. "Let him eat from the oven set apart" does not mean the person referred to is suffering from the plague, but that he is of such high rank that he must eat from the oven set apart for the chiefs and not from that which has cooked the food for the common people.¹

3. "No seer to take him apart to the waters." This is a reference to the ceremony for removing of one's infatuation with or love for, another. The person wishing to be cured was led to the water's edge by a seer, where the appropriate ritual was enacted. In this case the person is of such high rank, that there is no seer of high enough rank to perform the ritual.²

In the first example, the composer has used a symbol to express his meaning, in the second and third the rank of the person concerned is denoted and both show a familiarity with tradition and custom.

The Classes of Maori Waïata

1. Lullabies or Oriëri

On the birth of a child of chiefly and/or warrior ancestry, it was common for the father, mother or relative to compose an oriëri using the following themes:

¹ Ngata: 1959: XV
² Ibid: XV
(a) The child's connections with distant Hawaiiki, with particular reference to the history, traditions and battles of his or her ancestors.

(b) The migration to New Zealand, with the relevant genealogies and history.

(c) If there was an unavenged death or murder in the lineage, special mention was made in the hope that it would be avenged by the child.

The following is part of a Ngati Porou oriori.

Kia tapu heki koe na Tuariki e.
Kia tapu heki na Porouherea.
Kasti nei e noa ko te taina.
Whakaang i runga ra he kauwhau ariki e,
Koi tata iho koe ki nga wahi noa.
Whakaturia te tira hei Ngapunaru,
Tahuri o mata nga kahu tapui, kai
Runga o te Kautuku, e rapa ana hine.
I te kauwhau mua i a Hinemakaho hai.
A Hinerautu, hai a Tikitikierangi, hai.
Kona ra kourua e.
May you be set apart, as is fitting for a
descendant of Tuariki;
May you be set apart, as is fitting for a
descendant of Porouhorea;
Let only your younger relative be free from
restriction.
Soar gracefully on high, O chieftainess,
And do not descend too near to the common places.
Protect your journey to Ngapunara;
Then turn your eyes to the interlaced mists
Which float above Kautuku; for the maiden
Seeks the first-born line from Hinemakaho,
Such as Hinerautu and Tikiti-kiorangi;
And there you will be with your elder.¹

The chief characteristics of the oriori are present:

(a) It was written by the child's grandmother.
(b) The genealogy of the child is recited.
(c) The fact that she is a chieftainess and of the senior
line is noted, "Seeks the first-born line from
Hinemakaho."

¹ Ngata 1959:4.5
2. **Laments or tangi**

These were composed for the dead and the language varied according to how the deceased died. Ngata says that among the laments "will be found the classical songs of the Maori; embedded in them are the most sacerdotal words of the Maori language; in these songs are the famous sayings of the ancestors from Hawaiki."¹

The following is a Ngati Porou lament:

1. **Moe mai e hika**
   
   I te moe o te kino
   
   Kia pouri au.

2. **I te moe a te mamu**

   E korongo noa ra
   
   I te ata Hapara e.

3. **Whaka awhiwhi noa**

   Ki aku rau rakau
   
   Hei whaka mahurutanga.

4. **Mo te mamae ra**

   E ngau nei ia koe
   
   Ko te mate kino nei e.

¹ Ngata 1959:xviii
5. Haere ra e hika  
    To tira mokemoke  
    Ko au hei muri nei e  

6. Tangi noa atu ai  
    Ki te ao rere mai  
    I ahu mai i a koe e. 

1. Sleep loved one  
    death's wretched sleep  
    Which leaves me sad.  

2. I sleep like a bird  
    which chirps only  
    in the early morning.  

3. With sadness I embrace  
    my treasured shrubs  
    to comfort me in my grief.  

4. For that pain which  
    gnawed at you  
    was death's dire affliction.  

5. Farewell loved one  
    as you journey forth alone  
    leaving me lamenting here.
6. In sorrow I vainly
greet the cloud that drifts above
which came from you.¹

Notes:
Verse 1 refers to death as terrible in that it separates
people and leaving a spiritual emptiness, much grief and
sorrow.

Verse 2 likens the bereaved to a bird which sleeps at night
but at the break of day comes to life again. Therefore the
bereaved when asleep is for a time free from his or her
grief but at the break of day, when consciousness is fully
regained, the sadness and sorrow once more comes to life.

Verse 3 speaks of the grieved one fondling the possessions
of the deceased, which is a reminder not only of happier
days, but also of the spiritual presence of the deceased,
thereby bringing a degree of comfort and strength to the
bereaved.

3. Ha Patera or Songs of Abuse

In these derogatory and abusive references are made to
belittle another person or tribe. In order to do this, a
great knowledge of tribal history is required.

¹ Unpublished Ngati Porou lament
The following is part of a patera from Ngati Porou; a patera is an abusive song, performed with grotesque gestures.

Te Aowemāpua upoko kāuaka
Rama tuna pakupaku
O papa hamu paku
E kanga mai rā ki tako upoko.

Te Aowemāpua cabbage headed people
The fisher of small eels
By torch light
Who dares to curse my head. ¹

Te Aowemāpua is the name given to the people who live at Hiruharama, an area where cabbage trees abound and where the eels in the streams are small and these facts were used to point the insult. This composition comes from the Ngutuawa ² people at Rangitukia and the Waiapu Valley.

4. Waiata Aroha or Love songs

These waiata are similar to any love song and Ngata notes that "the most poignant expressions of the Maori

¹ From an unpublished haka "Tihei Taruke"
² Ngutu-awa, literally means the 'mouth of a river'. This has now become synonymous with the people of Rangitukia.
language are in these songs." By the same token, the composers of these songs were not above being quite explicit in sexual matters, either figuratively or literally. The following is a Ngati Porou love song:

Kaore hoki e te po nei
Tuarua rawa ko Te Huirori;
Ko taku hoa moenga ka riro ke,
Ka maunu ke atu he puta ke;
Ko te whakawerawera o taku poho,
Katahi tonu au ka matoa.

The night has brought to me
Twice a vision of Te Huirori.
My sleeping mate has gone elsewhere,
Departed to another lover;
Removed is he, who warmed my breast,
It is only now I feel the cold.¹

The Ngati Porou Case

If one considers the songs in Nga Motesates² for example, it appears that in tribal areas outside Ngati Porou, there are an equal number of men and women composers.

¹ Ngata 1959:xviii
² Ngata 1959:40f
³ Nga Motesates, literally means a 'lament'. It is used as the title to a collection of Maori Waiata, in book form.
but in the Ngati Porou case the waiata have been composed predominantly by women. All the women composers were of rangatira rank and displayed an intimate knowledge of tribal history and tradition and appeared to be more ready to express these in song than the men.

The following female composers from Ngati Porou have had songs recorded in *Nga Motes ata*. However there are other songs composed by women which are as yet unpublished.

Harata Tangikuku of Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare
Hera Hawai of Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare
Hinikaunkia of Te Whanau-a-Rakai and other sub-tribes
Hinekitawhiti of Te Au-o-Mawake aristocracy
Hinewahirangi of many sub-tribes and a cousin of the famous Hinematioro
Irihapeti Rangi teapakura of Te Aitanga-a-Mate
Rangiipaia, of Te Araroa, of the Ngatiporou
Riria Turiwhewhe Whanau-a-Mate and other sub-tribes
Turuhure Hineiwhakina te rangi of Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare
Te Aitanga-a-Mate, Te Whanau-a-Rakairoa
Wharerakau of Te Whanau-a-Apanui and Ngatiporou sub-tribes
Ngati Porou Women Composers

1. Hinekitawhiti

Two verses of her oriori for her grand-daughter Ahuahukiterangi have already been quoted in this thesis - one verse in the previous chapter and one in this chapter. This oriori is a significant waiaata because it is one of the few composed solely for a woman, by another woman.

Hinekitawhiti lived at Te Ariuru in Tokomaru Bay. She was a member of the most aristocratic lines in Ngati Porou. From the same line came the chiefs Makahuri and Auiti and they all received their status through a woman of high rank, Hinetuahoanga.

Genealogy 19

Te Aotawarirangi

/ Taupongarangi | Parua \

| / Hikamumaot | Te Khurua \

Rangimoehau
Tuhene
Hinekitawhiti
2. Hinewahirangi

This woman comes from the ariki line, being of the Hinematioro line. Her father, Ngarangiteremaui, was a younger relative of Hinematioro.

Genealogy 20

Tuwhakairiora
   |
   Tatsingaoterangi

   Ngunguruterangi       Kauke
   |
   Hinematioro
   |
   Ngarangikahiwa

   Ngarangiteremaui
   |
   Hinewahirangi
   |
   Te Wikiriwhi Matauru

The following is part of a lament composed by Hinewahirangi for her husband, Tikitikiorangi, the father of Te Matauru, who was killed during a Ngapuhi invasion. This verse has been chosen because it shows the intimate knowledge Hinewahirangi had of the history and tradition of her people.

Te kōtonga nei mana 'hau e whiu, e
Noho ana hoki au te motu o Kaiawa, e
Te kuri a Tarawhata e kore nei e taea, na!
Oh that this breeze from the South would waft me,
To rest on Kaiawa's isle by Tarawhata's dog!
But alas, they are beyond reach.

In his annotations, Ngata explains the following points:

1. Kaiawa's isle — a name for Whangaokena or East Cape Island. Kaiawa was an ancestor figuring in the traditions of the island.

2. Tarawhata's dog — Tarawhata was a traveller, a member of the early Maori settlers of these parts.¹

3. Hinekaukia

Hinekaukia, a chieftainess, was the ancestor of the famous Ngati Porou chief, Rapata Wahawaha, who lived during the Hauhau wars.

**Genealogy 23**

```
Te Hakuu ——— Te Kauhiwhiri
   |
Whakahana
   |
Hinekaukia
   |
Hipora Koreua
   |
Rapata Wahawaha
```

¹ Ngata 1959:10f
Here is the last verse of a lament composed by Hinakaukie for her son, who was burnt by fire in the Gisborne district.

Tera te Rerenga Whakatarawai ana e i.
Whakaangi mai ra, e tama, me he manu.
Mairatia iho te waha kai rongo rongo e
He whakaoho po i ahau ki te whare ra.

Lo, Te Rerenga like a misty apparition appears.
Soar hither then, O son, like the bird,
And leave behind the sweet sound of your voice
To comfort my wakeful nights within the house.¹

4. **Te Rangiipaia**

Te Rangiipaia was a chieftainess in the Te Araroa area and after Ngati Porou were defeated at Te Whetumatarawa by Ngapuhi,² Te Rangiipaia was taken as a prize by the Ngapuhi leader, Pomare (see page 62). She was known as Te Rangaiipaia II because her grandmother was also a woman named Te Rangiipaia.

¹ Ngata 1959: 134f
² Ngapuhi: a tribal name from North Auckland
Genealogy 3c

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<td>Whakatahaterangi</td>
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The following is part of a lament she composed after being taken from her people by Pomare.

E kainga iho ana nga kai ki roto ra,
Tutoko tonu ake e aku tini mahara.
He mea koroukore i te wa i ora ai, e,
Taria me mate, ka hae au te mahara, e.

I eat and swallow my food,  
But my many thoughts keep welling up.  
I cared little, if at all, for the living,  
But should death come, remorse will be my lot.  

5. Wharerakau

Ngata notes regarding Wharerakau and her descendants that "Poututerangi was a great chief; his father, Te Actata was of the Whanau-a-Apanui, claiming descent from its aristocratic and warrior lines; his mother, Hineteronaki,

1 Ngata 1959:82f
was of Ngati Porou, a descendant of Mahutaiberangi, a leading
Ngati Porou ancestor.

Poututerangi's wife, who composed this lament, was also
descended from Mahutaiberangi.¹

Wharerakau's seniority is therefore established.

Genealogy

Te Aotata ——— Hineteronaki

         Poututerangi ——— Wharerakau

         Maaka Te Ehuatu   Pekama Ngatai

                       Keita Horowai    Mihi Kotukutuku

Following is a portion of the lament referred to by
Ngata above.

E haere noa ana, e karanga noa ana, e u e,
Kia whakacho koe i te ahiahi nei.
Ko te whanau koe a Matukutangotango e u e;
Mate atu, ara mai, kai runga te marama.

¹ Ngāia 1959: 53
I go about aimlessly, I keep calling,
That perchance this evening you may respond.
You are of the breed of Matukutangotango,
Waning, then recovering as the moon, now on high.¹

Wharerekau's lament is for her husband, Poututerangi,
who was killed at Reporua. Her reference to Matukutangotango
is her way of saying that she wishes Poututerangi, like
Matukutangotango, would return to the world of the living,
even briefly. According to tradition, Matukutangotango lived
in the underworld and at certain phases of the moon, he would
return to indulge his taste for human flesh.

6. **Harata Tangikuku**

Harata Tangikuku came from the senior lines of descent
in the Whanau-a-Ruataupare in the Tokomaru Bay district.
She is an ancestress of the well known Tokomaru Bay family,
Pewhairangi. She suffered from asthma and tuberculosis and
it was this which caused her to compose the following lament
or "soliloquy of an invalid".² It is indicative of the
frustration she felt as she watched the other people go about
their daily activities.

¹ Ngata 1959:52f
² Ibid.: 73
E timu ra koe e te tai nei,
Rere omaki ana ia ki waho ra.
Hei runga nei au tiro iho ai
Nga roro whare ki Mihimario;
Naku ia na koe i kakekake
I nga rangi ra, ka hori nei.

E tangi ra koe e te kihikihi;
Tenei koe ka rite mai ki ahau.
Me he hureto au kei ro repo,
Me he kaka, e whakaranoa ana.

Ebb then, oh tide,
Withdrawing swiftly outwards,
While here above I gaze down
On the open porches at Mihimario;
Which place I was wont to ascend
In days that are gone by.

Sing your song, oh cicada;
You are in like case with me
For I am as the bittern in the swamp,
Or the parrot, making its choking sound.¹

¹ Ngata 1959:72f
7. **Turuhira Hineiwhakina**

Turuhira Hineiwhakina or Hineiwhakinaterangi and her husband, for whom the following love song was composed, were members of the Ngati Porou aristocracy. Ngata describes her as "te wahine rahī"¹ (the big chieftainess) of Te Aitanga-a-Mata, Te Whanau-a-Raikoropa, Te Aowera and Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare.

**Genealogy**²³

```
Turuhira Hineiwhakina ——— Te Manana Kauaterangi

Hamiora (Te Morehu) Ngarimu ——— Heni Herewaka

Tuta Ngarimu ——— Makere Fair

Materoa Reedy ——— Hamuera Ngarimu

Arnold Reedy
```

It will be seen from the genealogy above that Turuhira Hineiwhakina was the ancestress of the Ngarimu and Reedy families.

The following is part of a love song she wrote for her husband, Te Manana Kauaterangi, when he was absent fighting Te Whanau-a-Apanui.

¹ Ngata 1959:86
E kuiia ma! Katahi taru poroea ko nga wairua,
E haramai nei, e;
Kia whitiere au me kei te ao koe,
E moe ana taua, e.

My elders! How importunate are these spirits,
Which continually come!
Startled I thought, beloved, it was you in the flesh
And that we embraced.¹

Note that in the first line of the song, the word "kuiia"
is used, which Ngata translates as "elders". Kuiia are of
course female elders and it is significant that she chose to
address her song to the women elders, perhaps because they
are sharing a similar experience at this time.

8. Irihapeti Rangiteapakura

Irihapeti Rangiteapakura was a high born woman of the
Te Aitanga-a-Mate sub-tribe of Ngati Porou. "She was a
famous beauty of her time. She composed many songs and
hakas, and was the subject of a very spirited composition."²

She composed the following in reply to a marriage
proposal from the Te Whanau-a-Apanui chief, Toihau, asking
for her hand for his son Te Keepa. At the time, Irihapeti

¹ Ngata 1959:86
² Ngata 1959:19
was advanced in years while Te Keepa was young and very handsome. It was suggested by my informants that the proposed union was a purely political move to effect a stronger alliance between Ngati Porou and Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Here is the first verse of her waiata:

Kauaka Toihau hei pare a waha,
Ma Te Keepa 'hau;
Kaati ano ra ka rere te waitohu
Te ci ki Karewa.
He mea nei hoki au ka pakaru rikiriki
Te waka ki te akau;
Ka haramai tenei ka kaumatuatia, ka rohe te tokotoko,
Ka kari au ki te rua.

Do not Toihau by mere word of mouth
Assign me to Te Keepa;
Suffice that this bespeaking has been carried
To the quicksands of Karewa.
I am as a canoe shattered
To fragments on the breakers;
I am advancing in years beyond thoughts of marriage
And about to dig my grave. ¹

¹ Ngata 1959: 20f
Ngata says with reference to the quicksands of Karewa, that they were near Gisborne and "were placed there by Ruawharo (of Takitimu canoe) to destroy travellers. It was removed by the charms of Tamakaipi. The name occurs at Tauranga and Kawhia, one probably brought from Hawaiki."¹

9. **Riria Turiwhewhe**

Riria Turiwhewhe was of high birth and was the wahine punarua, or second wife, of Te Rakauhurumai, a chief of Te Altanga-a-Mate. The first wife, Te Titaha, had two children and Riria remained childless.

**Genealogy²**

```
Te Titaha ---- Te Rakauhurumai ---- Turiwhewhe

Hine-mataereaiterangi  Tuterangiwhaitiriao  Renata
```

Another woman, Te Hunayarawera, came and took Te Rakauhurumai, fleeing with him to Taitai. This inspired the composition of the following, a portion of a longer composition.

¹ Ngata 1959:21 fn
Ka mea e te muri, ka tu mai te takahi,
Tenei ano ra te ngakau whanatu,
No roto i ahau te koroukore,
E mahara iho ana, he waka ka urutomo,
He waka he ika rere ki Hikurangi ra ia;
Te tane i parea te Tipi-a-Taikehu,
I tapaia heki te Tone-o-Houku.

There came a northerly breeze, followed by hurried footsteps,

'Twas then the desire to flee was implanted,
But within me there was then no foreboding,
Me thought the canoe was securely moored,
The canoe, alas, became a flying fish to Hikurangi yonder;
The spouse was lured to Te Tipi-a-Taikehu,
And was enmeshed within Te Tone-o-Houku.¹

Ngata says with reference to Te Tone-o-Houku (a peak Hikurangi) that the poetess "has made an oblique
ference to the adulterous behaviour of Te Hunawerawera in
this line, by a play of words on the name of the peak
Te Tone-o-Houku (The clitoris of Houku.)."²

¹ Ngata 1959:122f
² Ibid:123fnt
All the aforementioned women are among the leading composers of waiata in Ngati Porou. Women did not restrict their efforts to the composition of songs however, but extended them into the field of the haka or war dance. The author was told by his informants that the East Coast haka Ruaumoko (see appendix) was formerly part of a song composed by a woman and the main themes were later used in haka form. Ngata describes the haka Ruaumoko as "a classic of the phallic cult".¹ In Ngati Porou therefore the composers of waiata were mainly women.

Further, whether the composer is male or female, there is invariably reference to women in the waiata to indicate rank, leadership, genealogical ties with other sub-tribes and tribes and female courage and/or wisdom.

The late Te Hanara (Nehe or Arnold) Reedy (see Genealogy 31) was one of Ngati Porou's most noted twentieth century composers. His forte lay in his use of classical Maori and his knowledge of the history of the tribe. In one of his songs, composed at a meeting in Ruoeria, he used his historical knowledge to encourage the late Sir Apirana Ngata in 1934 in face of the criticism by the Opposition of his land development schemes and the amount of government money he had spent on them.

¹ Ngata 1943
He mokopuna koe na Uepohatu,
Pakia koe e te ngaru e
No reira ra e Koro
Xi a manawanui.

You are of Uepohatu
Therefore, though lashed by waves,
O Sir, be steadfast and strong.¹

¹ The song is not recalled in detail. The above is the Verse which is sung and recalled.

Song refers to Ngata's pedigree as a descendant of Uepohatu was a famous woman lender, noted for her qualities of patience, courage and forbearance. These were the qualities Reedy wished for Ngata in his strife.

Other modern composers, such as Henare Waitoa, of Tikitiki, also use women ancestors in their compositions to indicate rank, alliances through marriage and outstanding personal qualities. Some of these modern songs are included in the Appendix.
Summary

It can be seen that in Ngati Porou, that the major composers were almost exclusively women. This applies particularly to the waiata of the type found in Nga Maetatea. But they did not restrict their talents to the waiata, extending these to the composition of haka.

Further, in these compositions, the composers have displayed a knowledge of tribal tradition and history and the aascdveal and esoteric symbols and language which were normally only taught in the whare wananga. The whare wananga has always been defined as an exclusively male domain in literature on the subject, but the knowledge that these Ngati Porou women show of the things normally taught only in the whare wananga must open to question whether in fact it was always an exclusively male domain in Ngati Porou, or alternatively, whether there was some built in safeguard for teaching women the essential points so these would not be lost in battle with the menfolk.

1 Haka is a type of posture dance performed by men and conversely the women's posture dance is known by the name 'haka taparahi'.

2 Whare wananga: literally, a house of learning, where the lore, culture, history and the theology of the Gods are taught.
CHAPTER 7

The Tokunga

No discussion of leadership would be complete without some reference to the tokunga. The term is used in several ways:

1. To denote a priest who is responsible for the religious welfare of the people.
2. To denote an expert in various arts and crafts.
3. To denote anyone who excels at a particular task, or who is an expert on tribal history, culture or literature.

For the purposes of this thesis, it will only be necessary to look at the tokunga within the framework of the first definition above, namely, as he functions as a priest.

The tokunga was one of the most important and powerful people in society, being responsible for the religious welfare of the tribe or sub-tribe. It was usual for him to be a member of the senior lines, a view supported by Cudgeon, Best and Buck, and the more senior his descent, the greater his power because the closer he was to the Gods. Like the ariki, his personal tapu was great. He could not, for example, touch food that the common people were to eat
because by doing so he invested it with his tapu and the act of eating such food was symbolically the eating of the very sacred essence of the Gods themselves, from which sacredness was derived.

Similarly, as in the case of the ariki, the tohunga inherited the mana and tapu of his ancestors.

The Function of the Tohunga

The Tohunga's primary function was to act as an interpreter of the will of the Gods. Only the tohunga was considered to have the sacred knowledge of the most important Gods, and therefore, he alone could communicate with them. Inter alia, he was also credited with the gift of prophecy. He was called upon to read the oracles and predict whether the time was favourable for the undertaking of some activity, e.g. war. The tohunga was expected to carry out these duties with diligence, and to fail meant two things. First, he would fall out of favour with the Gods. Secondly, he would lose his mana atua (his godly tapu) and the people would cease to follow and respect him. He could even lose his life if, for example, a war-party lost a battle when he had predicted the time was favourable. By the same token, he could increase his mana and tapu if he was able to accurately
interpret the will of the Gods, and so long as his mana lasted he received aid from the Gods. But if, by any act of omission he lost his mana, the Gods would be the first to destroy him.\(^1\) The Gods are never wrong, only the interpreter is wrong.

It was also common for a tohunga to make an ohaki on his death-bed, in the same way that the ariki did. More often than not it was of a prophetic nature, and was often not understood until later when the events he described came to pass. Here one can draw a parallel with the Biblical apocalypse.

A warrior chief of Ngati Apakura, Tiriwa, who died shortly before Captain Cook’s arrival in New Zealand, made the following prediction in his ohaki:

"Kei tua i te aue Kapara, he tangata ke mana e noho te ato nei, he ma."

(When the tattooed face has passed away, strangers will occupy this world, they will be white.)

It was not until the European arrived, that Tiriwa’s words were given meaning.

A tohunga from Ngati Porou, Te Rangi-tauatia, foretold the arrival in tribal lands of the Ngapuhi and the European:

\(^1\) Gudgeon 1895:65
"Kia tere te pakiaka hinahina i runga i au, ka rongo ake au e mara¹ ana, e kihi² ana."

(When the roots of the hinahina have grown over my grave, I shall hear the "mara" and the "kihi".)

The message was understood only after Ngapuhi had attacked and defeated Ngati Porou at Whetuatarawa, at Te Araroa, and the later arrival of the European.

As an adjunct to his function as the interpreter of the Gods, the tohunga was also required to be the keeper of their reputation and mana, and anyone who abused the Gods would be punished by him.

**Education of the Tohunga**

The tohunga, along with the ariki, was the most educated person in society. The senior tohunga went through an intensive and difficult course of instruction and study in the whare wananga, the school of learning.

The learning process started early in childhood and continued until manhood. "An entrance student was termed a pia; one in the next grade, a taura. Towards the end of the course he became a tauria and was allowed to assist the fully qualified priests in religious ceremonies."³ Only the

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¹ Maru: term of address peculiar to the Tai Tokerau people in North Auckland
² Kihi: reference to the sibilant sound of European speech, strange to the Maori ear.
³ Buck 1947:474
bright students were chosen as tauria (disciples) to enter the school of mystery, the whare maire.

Thus it was that the tohunga was viewed as intellectually superior to all others except the ariki. He had the education and he was able to control the natural elements and had power over the forces of evil. His ability of foresight was attributed to his close relationship with the Gods, being descended from them and not from man.

Priests of the Family Gods

Buck has classified a lesser class of tohunga, the "priests of the family gods" who "were usually self taught and self-created". ¹

Commonly, the family gods took the form of animals or birds. On the appearance of these creatures, or at the sound of their calls, a member of the family would recite the necessary incantations to either ward off evil or encourage good fortune, depending on how he or she read the omen of the God. In the author's own family, one of the ancestral gods is a particular breed of dog and when ever it is seen, it is referred to as the "kaitiaki", the protector, and the appropriate prayer is said.

¹ Buck 1949: 1476
In cases of family illness, the appointed family tahunga is often the person to recite the necessary prayers to speed recovery. When cropping is to be carried out, once again, it is often the family priest who recites the karakia to ensure a good harvest. When a member of the family has a bad dream, if he cannot interpret it himself, he will consult the family priest who invokes the protection of the family Gods.

The Tahunga and the Ariki

The ariki is the temporal head of the tribe or sub-tribe whereas the tahunga is the religious head. However, "first-born chiefs inherited certain religious powers (mana atua) by reason of primogeniture. In youth, they were admitted to the schools of learning together with the theological students and thus acquired a good deal of religious theory and practice. However they rarely practised professionally as priests..."¹

An ariki is therefore a person with a dual role. First, he is of the tahunga class, being of the Gods. Second, he is a temporal leader. A tahunga who is both ariki and priest is the only person other than the ariki who can perform the

¹ Buck 1949:475
exhumation ceremony. A person who is a tehunga, but who is of a junior line, cannot perform it.

**The Tehunga in Ngati Porou**

Generally speaking, the Ngati Porou pattern is the same as is found elsewhere. But Ngata does record a woman tehunga by the name of Rangihurihuia.¹ He says of her: 
"Ko Rangihurihuia he tehunga, he wahine mahi ki nga mahi Maori." (Rangihurihuia is a tehunga, an exponent of the Maori arts.) In this case he is referring to the arts of the tehunga. She performed the rituals of war and those things necessary for the safety and success of the taua.²

This makes it a fact that the knowledge of the Gods was not exclusive to the men only,³ but this may not be an occurrence only in Ngati Porou. When Mihi Kotukutuku was ill and her trouble was diagnosed as makutu, or witchcraft, she was sent to visit a woman tehunga, Miriama, in Maketu.⁴

"Miriama - Te-Manu, ko tenei kuia na nga uri rangatira o Te Arawa"⁵ (Miriama comes from the rangatira lines of Te Arawa). However, as the following genealogy shows, Miriama

¹ Ngata 1929: 215
² taua: war party
³ See also Summary, Chapter 6
⁴ See also p. 188
⁵ Interview Eruera Stirling 30.12.71
also had links with the rangatira lines of Te Whamau-a-Apamu, and hence Ngati Porou.

**Genealogy**

```
Te Ehu Tu  ---  Rukahiku

Nukukaitanga                      Te Whakapuakanga
  Raropua                          Rangitukuia
  Hinemamu                         Aramakarakie
  Teoteta                          Nekonuiarangi
  Poututerangi                     Miriana Te Marama
  Maka Te Ehu Tu
  Mihi Ketukutuku
```
CHAPTER 8

Women Leaders

In Maori society generally, as the stated preference is for male leaders: "Leadership at home and in foreign affairs was exercised by males, and primogeniture in the male line was the deciding factor in succession to chiefly rank."¹ Buck adds, however, that "...the first-born was sometimes a female and, though she could not succeed to the active leadership of the tribe, she was treated with the greatest respect as a female ariki."² Buck is supported in this view by Kawharu in his Orakei studies.³

Netge, on the other hand, says "women are frequently recognised as kaumataua in their own right among the East Coast tribes"⁴ and both Best and Buck have noted exceptions to the rule of male leadership using example from Ngati Porou. Buck says "in rare instances, a female ariki, such as the famous Hinematioro of Ngati Porou, was raised to queenly pomp and power by her people."⁵ Best also mentions Hinematioro in this context:

¹ Buck 1962:343
² Ibid:344
³ See Chapter 2
⁴ Netge 1967:158
⁵ Buck 1962:344
"It occasionally happened that a well-born woman attained a high position in a tribe, owing to special qualities of mind and heart. Thus Hinematioro, grandmother of Te Kani, mentioned above was the most important person of the Ngati Porou tribe in her time. Her fame indeed spread afar, and the tribal enemies asking for mercy in her name were spared. The feeling of her tribesmen towards her was little short of reverence. Tamai Rangi, of Ngati Ira, and Mahina-rangi, of Kahungungu, were also famous and influential women."¹

Both Tamai Rangi and Mahina-rangi were of Ngati Porou descent.

Genealogy ²⁶

```
Popourangi
   | Ueroa
   | Tekerau
   Te Moana-i-Kaukia    Tamatea — Thuparapara
   |                    Iwipupu
   Kahungungu           Iramui
   |                   Taua
   |                 Mahaki
   |               Hauiti

Turongo ——— Mahina-rangi

Potatau (1st Waikato King)
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¹ Best 1924: Vol 1:353
Ngati Ira was also a sub-tribe of Ngati Porou, although branches are found in the Bay of Plenty and Wairarapa. Ngati Porou claim the eponymous ancestor of Ngati Ira was one Ira-kai-putahi (Ira, the devourer of the heart). Ira was the son of the chief Uemuku, who had reason to believe his wife had cuckolded him with two different men. When she bore a son, Uemuku slew his wife and her two lovers and cooked his wife's heart and fed it to her son to eat. This is how Ira got his name and Tamai Rangi was a descendant of his.

**Genealogy 27**

```
Whakatau === Hinewhaiterangi
          |
Paimatangatanga === Rangahua
          |
Takarita === Uemuku === Paimahutanga
          |
         Ira        Faika
          |
          Porourangi
```

Tamai Rangi was the wife of the Ngati Ira chief, Whanake, in the Wairarapa in the early 1800's. Tuhua¹ says she was "as great a chieftainess as Hinematiore"² and that

¹ Tuhua 1906:79
² See this chapter pp 164 & 178
she was always amohia ai. \(^1\) Ngata\(^2\) records that a branch of Ngati Ira migrated to the Wairarapa in the time of one Te Whakumu, some six generations after Ira, but I have been unable to find a genealogy for the line from Ira to Tamai Rangi.

**The Ngati Porou Case**

The observations of writers such as Best, Buck and Metge would indicate that they are aware of Ngati Porou's peculiar position vis-à-vis women leaders and, because none of them has looked at the question in depth, they have drawn the conclusion that these women were exceptions to the rule of male leadership. But, as established in the chapter on primogeniture, in Ngati Porou it would appear that the rule of primogeniture is applied without preference being exercised for the first-born male.

Ngati Porou women have always enjoyed equal status with their men folk. In many instances they were leaders of the tribe or hapu and their male counterparts would bow to their ruling and authority. Women have also given their names to many of the senior sub-tribes of Ngati Porou, although Best says only "occasionally a woman became the

\(^1\) Borne on a litter, of Hineauta, this chapter p. 176
\(^2\) Ngata 1943: Whakapapa tables: 270
eponymous ancestress of a clan, as in the case of one named Ngati Hinepare."¹ The following shows how extensive was the naming of Ngati Porou hapu after women:

1. Te Aitanga-a-Mate (Whareponga)
2. Te Whanau-a-Hinerupe (Waiapu Valley)
3. Te Whanau-a-Hinepare (North Waiapu)
4. Te Whanau-a-Hinerauta (Tikapa)
5. Te Whanau-a-Hinetapora (Mangahanea and Tuparoa)
6. Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare (Tokomaru Bay)
7. Te Whanau-a-Iritekura (Waipiro)
8. Te Whanau-a-Rakairopu (Waiapu Valley)
9. Te Whanau-a-Hinenatiero (Telaga Bay)
10. Te Whanau-a-Uepohatu (Ruatoria and Tuparoa)
11. Te Whanau-a-Tapuhi (Tikitiki and Te Araroa)

In addition to these surviving hapu, there were hapu such as Ngati Ruawaipu, Te Wahine-Iti and Ngati Hinekehu which have been absorbed into the above.

Similarly, if one looks at the names of the meeting houses in Ngati Porou, one finds a number named after women:

1. Hinerupe (Te Araroa)
2. Rongomaitapui Dining Hall (Te Araroa)

¹ Best 1924:
3. Hinepare (Rangitukia)
4. Hinetaora (Mangahanea)
5. Rongomaianiwaniwa (Tikitiki)
6. Iritekura (Waipiro Bay)
7. Uepohatu (Ruatoria)
8. Poho-o-Mate (Wharepenga)
9. Ruatapare (Tuparoa)

These meeting houses constitute a majority of the houses of this class in Ngati Porou. Those meeting houses which are used regularly are at Hicks Bay, Te Araroa, Tikitiki, Rangitukia, Waiomatatini, Mangahanea, Ruatoria, Hiruharama, Waipiro Bay and Tokomaru Bay. Six of these are named after women.

Two questions are posed by this situation of having senior sub-tribes and a majority of the most important meeting houses named after women.

(a) When and
(b) Why did women in Ngati Porou assume a leadership role?

The answers can only be found in the oral traditions of the tribe. The late Hanara (Arnold) Reedy for instance, the leading tribal historian of modern times, offered the following reasons for the high status of women in Ngati Porou:
(a) Since the creation of woman, she was the life source of mana and tapu, since she held the power to cause life to be born or not to be born i.e. she was the bearer of children and through her the tribe received continuity. Arnold Reedy claims that it was within a woman's social and cultural prerogative to destroy the unborn child or to neglect it in infancy. Just how important the child-bearing role of a woman is is shown by the following. The great chief Te Kani-a-Takirau had only one child, a son, Waikari. Waikari had no issue and therefore the prestigious line of Hinematiro is now defunct. The late chieftainess of Te Whanau-a-Apanui, Mini Kotuku Stirling, who assumed tribal leadership, was once heard admonishing a male rangatira thus, "Ko wai kee? Kitea i puta mai kee i konei!" ("Who are you? Your life came from here!") Thereupon she pointed between her thighs. This silenced the male rangatira.

(b) In times of war, men were away from their wives for long periods and often the women would take de facto husbands in their absence, usually men of lesser rank. Therefore, a tendency developed to rely on the mother's genealogy to establish one's pedigree, since one's mother couldn't be questioned. However, it would be
reading too much into this to say that the majority of male sirens were open to question, but only that female ancestresses were chosen as a safeguard for one's pedigree. This does not mean that male lines of descent were not used.

(c) Women became the guardians of the land while the men were at war, they therefore held the mana whenua, and Ngati Porou claim their mana whenua from female ancestresses as a general rule. The holding of the mana whenua by women in Ngati Porou is traced back to the first person to give Ngati Porou their mana whenua, a woman named Ruawaiipu, a descendant of Toi-kai-rakau.

(d) Women had to hold the oral traditions in times of war to prevent them being lost in the event of their men folk being killed. Many of the Ngati Porou songs¹ were composed by women with reference to tribal history and genealogies.

(e) It was common for children to be known by their mother's name, as in the case of Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga. Taranga was Maui's mother and Makea-tutara his father. The rank of a person was often known not only to a person's immediate sub-tribe, but also beyond its

¹ See chapter 6
confines. The following is an example of three brothers being known to their victors in battle by their mother's name:

"Katahi hanga, e nga kuri paka a Uetuhiao, me te manu e pokai." ("There you are ye brown dogs of Uetuhiao, collapsed and huddled like wood pigeons."

This was the comment of the Te Whanau-a-Apanui chief, Taniwha, as he looked upon the three brothers, Kuku, Korehau and Rongotangatake, the sons of Uetuhiao, after the Te Whanau-a-Apanui had slain them thereby ensuring their victory over Ngati Porou on this occasion.

Arnold Reedy is supported in his view by the only other person who has his depth of knowledge of Ngati Porou history, Mr Erurua (Dick) Stirling. They both agree that Ngati Porou is unique in giving its female leaders the same status as its male leaders. Dick Stirling further says that the precedent set by Muriwai, sister of Teroa, the captain of the Mataatua canoe, in assuming a man's role, has had as much affect on the acceptance of women as leaders in Ngati Porou as had

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1 Ngata 1943:12
2 Mataatua - one of several canoes said to have come to New Zealand around 1350
Ruawaipu. At several crucial points in Ngati Porou history, chiefly blood from the descendants of Muriwai has been infused into the chiefly lines of Ngati Porou — lines from which have come some of its greatest chiefs, chieftainesses and warriors.

It remains now to consider some case studies of the Ngati Porou female leaders to illustrate just how important they were as both leaders and as ancestresses.

1. Muriwai

As already stated, Muriwai was a sister of Toroa, the captain of the Mataatua canoe.¹ Best gives her genealogy as follows:

Genealogy 28

```
    Awa-moro-hurehu
  ┌─────────┐
  │     Weka(f)     │   Irakawa   │
  │             │             │             │
  ├─────────┴─────────┐
  │               Toroa  Puhi  Muriwai(f)  Taneatua  │
```

Best notes that there are several conflicting versions as to just when some of the above first came to New Zealand.

¹ Ngata 1943: Lecture 5:5 & Best 1972:709ff. of Gudgeon 1895:Vol 4:19f who claims Muriwai is a daughter of Pakea, her mother being one Nanawa-tini, whom he gives as an aunt of Teroa. Ngati Porou, Te Whanaunui-a-Apanui and Te Whakaterehe traditions do not support Gudgeon's view.
and comes to the conclusion that "it is certain there was more frequent communication between Aotearoa and the isles of Polynesia, prior to the coming of Matsatua, than is mentioned in Maori traditions."\(^1\) The foregoing genealogy, however, represents the general consensus of opinion on the relationship of the people involved.

Best says of Muriwai's father, Irakewa, that he "was practically defied by his descendants. He was utilised not only as a war god, but also his assistance was invoked by members of the Awa tribe who happened to be in serious trouble, such as being overtaken by a storm at sea."\(^2\) Awa-more-hurehu is given as a descendant of Toi-kai-rakau, who was ancestor of Ruawaiyu. So much then for Muriwai's antecedents.

Dick Stirling says of Muriwai, "Muriwai, te kawai wahine mana i pupuri te mana o te wahine me te kaha tomu i runga nga whakapapa o te rohe o Nga Kuri a Wharei,\(^3\) ki Tauranga, ki Tikirau."\(^4\) \(^5\)("Muriwai, that prestigious woman, was the one who upheld the mana of women and this was made possible through her powerful genealogical line which

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\(^1\) Best 1972:718  
\(^2\) Ibid  
\(^3\) Nga Kuri a Wharei - Muriwai (Gisborne)  
\(^4\) Tikirau = Te Kaha  
\(^5\) EKS interview 30.12.71
includes the senior descent lines from Nga Kuri a Wharei, Tauranga and Tikirau.")

Muriwai's story concerns the naming of Whakatane in the Bay of Plenty. The Mataatua canoe was anchored close to the shore and while the men were ashore, the women were left to look after the canoe. When the tide came in, the canoe was threatened and Muriwai said, "Ka whakatane au i au." ("I will make myself as a man.") With this she assumed leadership of the canoe and it was hauled to safety. Thus she has assumed both the responsibility of leadership and the role of the male.¹ The word "whakatane", to cause to be manlike, was adopted as the name of the place and it has survived to the present.

However, as a result of Muriwai's action "i mate nga tamariki a Muriwai i tana takahitanga i te tapu i Hawaiki. No te catanga o te tapu katahi ano ka puta nga uri."² (Muriwai's first three children died because she violated the tapu from Hawaiki.³ However, once the breaking of the tapu was fully avenged, the children she bore survived.¹)

¹ Best 1972:721 attributes Muriwai's action to Wai-raka, daughter of Toroa, but both Te Whanau-a-Apanui and Ngati Porou traditions state it was Muriwai and this is the version I have accepted.
² EKS interview 30.12.71
³ In assuming the role of a man
The people of the Horoutsa\(^1\) and Nukutere\(^2\) canoes intermarried with the Mataatua people and in this way ancestry is traced back to Muriwai and from her the leadership of Ngati Porou women.\(^3\) There appears to be no record of women assuming leadership roles prior to Muriwai and in Ngati Porou territory, no woman earlier than Ruawaipu.

2. Ruawaipu

Ruawaipu was a direct descendant of Toi-kai-rakau, 12 generations separating the two.\(^4\) Ngata claims that Porourangi and Ruawaipu were contemporaries. He says that "when Porourangi and his brother, Tahu-potiki, were living at Whangara and commencing to lay the foundations of the various tribes which trace their descent from them, Ruawaipu and Muritakeke were at the head of the Toi tribes, which occupied the territory from Tuperoa northwards."\(^5\) Further, the author's grandfather, Nepia Mahuika, records a genealogy of Hamo, Porourangi's wife, as following the same line from

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1 and 2 Both canoes arriving around 1350 like the Mataatua.
3 EKS interview 30.12.71
4 Gudgeon claims 8 but Ngata 1943:Lecture 6:1 says "In most tables from TOI the names Rutanga and Hengomai immediately precede Taahutiti.
5 Ngata 1943:Lecture 6:3
Toi to Tamakitera, then to one Tahupukaretu, a contemporary of Tamahurumanu, Ruawaipu’s father, which also makes Hamo a contemporary of both Ruawaipu and Porourangi.

Genealogy

Toi-kai-rakau
  Rauru
    Whatonga
    Apa
    Rutanga
    Rongomai
    Tahatiti
    Ruatapu
    Rakoiora
    Tamakitehau
    Tamakitera
      Tamahurumanu
      Huritakeke
      Tahupukaretu

Tamaikakea — RUAWAIPU — Porourangi — HAMO

(from the Paikea line)

1 I have been unable to establish with certainty the relationship between Tahupakaretu and Tamahurumanu and Huritakeke.

2 Paikea is the Ngati Porou ancestor believed to have come to New Zealand on the back of a whale, the Toi people were settlers earlier than Paikea.
Tamahurumanu was directed to the East Coast by the Whakatane people and he proved to be a man of great integrity and generosity and was a worthy leader of his people. His daughter, Ruawaipu, inherited these qualities and in no time at all became the puhi\(^1\) of the whole area. Although taina to her brother Tamaikakea\(^2\) Ruawaipu gained by birth her mana and tapu from the Toi line. In addition, through her own personal ability and as her father's daughter, she succeeded to his mana whenua and mana tangata. It is said that "...all the land north of Waiapu was originally the territory of Ruawaipu."\(^3\) Today the Toi representatives in Ngati Porou are the Ruawaipu people of Northern Waiapu, the Pokai and Rakairoa peoples of the Waiapu Valley and the Uepohatu people living between Tuparoa and the Tapuwaeroa Valley.

3. **Tamatea Upoko**

Tamatea Upoko was the great great grand-daughter of Ruawaipu, and therefore a chieftainess of Ngati Ruawaipu, but she is better known as a chieftainess in the Whangara district, by virtue of her marriage to Uekaiahu, the chief of Ngai Tuere in that district.

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\(^1\) Puhi = much courted, unbetrothed young woman.

\(^2\) I have been unable to establish whether Tamaikakea came to the East Coast with his father and sister.

\(^3\) Gudgeon 1895: Vol 4, Part II: 28
Ngata 1943: Lecture 6:7 comments: "Rongomaikairae had Whatiuaroa who took to wife a younger sister of Muriwhakaputa, his grand-mother. We may expostulate with the elders for handing down to us such an improbable tradition."
As genealogy 30 shows, however, descendants of Ruawaipu were mating with members of the Porourangi family at Whangara two or three generations before the period of Tamatea Upoko. This would have facilitated her acceptance as a leader in Ngai Tuere and made it easier for her to gain a foothold. Tamatea Upoko's father, Tamatearahia, was murdered by the Nga Oho in the Tihi-o-Manono Pa, a short distance inland from Kawakawa, near East Cape. The result of this murder was that his daughter, Tamatea Upoko, with her immediate followers, fled to Ngai Tuere. For all practical purposes, the mana whenua from East Cape to Hicks Bay was now held by the Nga Oho, but by becoming the wife of Uekaiahu, Tamatea Upoko took the first steps in the inevitable revenge.

Both Arnold Reedy and Pine Taiapa claimed that it was Tamatea Upoko who taught her sons the arts of war and fighting so that they might avenge their grand-father's death. They in their turn exhibited such courage and capability in leading war parties, that when the time came, Ngai Tuere resolved to follow them to Kawakawa to accomplish their revenge.

1 Gudgeon 1895:Vol 4, Part III:178 says "the tribe is represented in the present day by Ngati Kahungunu and Te Whanau-a-Apanui, but the tribe itself no longer exists."
Ngata quotes Paratene's Ngata's account of how the scene was set for their departure:

"Tamatea Upoko lived at Whangara. When her sons went far out to sea to fish she watched the canoes sailing out and disappearing over the horizon, and she wept, bewailing the risks and hardships they faced to obtain food from the ocean. And she cried, "There yonder are the foods of the streams of Ruawaipu gnawing at the shore." Her children asked her what she meant and she explained, that the streams she named abounded in kahawai fish, which at times came of themselves to the shore, literally biting it. It was then that the sons of Uekaiahu and Tamatea Upoko, namely Raramatai, Tahania, Uetaha and Tamakoro determined to avenge the death of their ancestor Tamateaarahia."

But there was a double motive for their action. The Ngai Tuere also sought to avenge the death of Pungawerewere, who was killed by the Ngati Ruanuku and Te Wahine-Iti, and as well as being a numerous and powerful people, "in Tamakoro, Uetaha and Tahania, they had leaders trained in the arts of war."
At the time, a man called Tamawairangi was the leader of Te Wahine-Iti, "a giant of a man whose favourite weapon was a heavy taiaha suiting his proportions." The two parties met at Ngapunaru and Tahania slew Tamawairangi, demoralising the Te Wahine-Iti and bringing about their defeat. Ngata says as Tahania delivered the "coup de grace he made a remark, which has passed into proverb, "Tena te kare a Tamateaupoko te haere na," ("There goes the messenger of Tamateaupoko." ) The saying emphasised the mission laid upon the sons and relatives of Tamateaupoko to fight their way north to regain the lost territory of Ruawaiyu."

The Ngai Tuere and Nga Oho finally met on the site of the ancient pa and stronghold. Tihi-o-Manono, between the Kopua-pounamu and Karakatuwhero streams. Led by Tahania, Tamakoro and Uetaha, the Ngai Tuere defeated the Nga Oho in two battles, forcing them to flee. The mana whenua of the area was then divided between the Ngai Tuere, Ngai Tuiti and other sections of the force led by the sons of Tamatea Upoko. It is generally recognised in the area, however, that this mana came from Tamatea Upoko and through her the land was passed to the people of the area.

2 Ibid: 21
4. **Uepohatu**

Uepohatu is another chieftainship of the Toi line, being descended from Huritakeke, a taina of Tamahurumanu, Ruawaipu's father. Four generations separate Ruawaipu and Uepohatu. Uepohatu had the mana tangata and mana whenua over a territory stretching from Tuparoa to Hikurangi.

**Genealogy**

Porourangi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hau</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rakaipo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakaivetenga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapuatehaurangi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawakeurunga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Te Pikir = Ngateroiti, Tamakoro

Hinekehu, Ngarangikauwheke, Ueroa = Wakanui

Whaens, Tangihiatakaputotara, UEOHATU

Materoa = Tamaterongo

Kuraunuhia, Mairehau

Uumariki

---

1 It will be noticed there is a discrepancy in the number of generations from Porourangi to Umumariki and that from Huritakeke to Umumariki, but the discrepancy is only two generations and could almost be accounted for by earlier marriages, rather than by omissions in the Toi line.
Uepohatu further increased her mana by sending out her daughters to various parts of the district to maintain and increase her control. Uepohatu's rule was so strong that few dared to challenge it. But one of the few chiefs who is known to have made an incursion into the Uepohatu territory was Hauiti, youngest son of Iranui and Rongararoa. His ope killed Ahunoke, the husband of Uepohatu's eldest daughter, Rakaumanawaha. Ngata continues the story:

"He must have taken a fancy to that lady during the raid and conceived a plan to secure her as one of his wives. Presently a young man of Hauiti's people, some say a son of Hauiti's, came to visit relatives at Awanui. He had heard of the great kumara pit of Rangiwhakaoma, husband of Uepohatu. So in passing along the coast the visitor, whose name was Tawakeariki, turned aside to see the famed Rakaupuhi above Reporua. Ngati Uepohatu had not forgotten nor forgiven the death of Ahunoke and so it was decided to do Tawakeariki to death during his inspection of the kumara pit. As he gazed in wonder at the tightly packed tiers of the tuber someone caused the mass to fall on him and smother him to death."
In due course the news of the reprisal reached Hauiti at Uawa and he promptly organised a war-party to avenge the death of Tawake. In addressing the party before their departure, he said, "Kill Ngati Uepohatu, but save Rakaumanawahe as a wife for me." The taua duly avenged the death of Tawake by sacking Kairaumati pa, but they spared Rakaumanawahe and took her to Hauiti at Uawa.

We can reflect on Hauiti's injunction to save the chieftainness of the people whom he planned to destroy. To take her as a concubine and to breed children by her would make the revenge all the sweeter for him and the shame more poignant for her and her kindred.

....So Karihimana, the son of the high-born heiress to the lands of Uepohatu, suffered the disgrace of his mother's captivity. He became a great warrior, as did his son Tuteipine after him. But the Maori college of heraldry put the bar sinister against the line and perpetuated Hauiti's vengeance."

Indeed, it was not until the generation of the great warrior Umuariki, Uepohatu's great-grandson, that the family

1 Ngata 1943: Lecture 5:12f
of Upohatu regained its former prestige and since then her descendants have married into the senior lines of Ngati Porou and to this day, the mana tangata and mana whenua in Tuparoa are held by her descendants.

5. Rakairoa

Rakairoa was a chieftainess in the Waiapu Valley and was a member of both the Tei and Porourangi lines, being a descendant of Muriwhakaputa, a great-granddaughter of Ruawaipu, and Tuere, a grandson of Porourangi.¹

Genealogy

```
Hau
|
Tuere       Muriwhakaputa
 |
 | Niwa I    Tanetangia
 | |
 | Kauwhakahea
 | Niwa II
 | Kainuku
 |
 | Pehatu    POKAI
 | |
Rongomaithiaremanuka
 |
RAKAIROA—— Te Aohore
 |
 | Rakaitemania ——Iwirakau
 | |
 | Ngatihau (tuakana)
 | |
 | Tuwhakairiopa
```

¹ See genealogy 30, this chapter.
Rakairoa inherited the land on both sides of the Waiapu River from Repora to Te Ahikouka. The Whanau-a-Rakai occupied the lands on the north bank of the Waiapu from the time of Rakairoa's grandfather, Pokai. Gudgeon says "they are unable to say how they acquired the right to occupy. It must have been through some marriage, now forgotten, for all the land was originally the territory of Ruawaiipu." 

Ngata says of Rakairoa that it was on her "rights in the Waiapu Valley her husband, Te Aohre, was content to rest." This is in spite of the fact that Te Aohre was from the senior Porourangi line, being a descendant of Rakaipo, the eldest son of Nau, and Tamateataoa. That the Whanau-a-Rakai have retained their mana whenua in this area up to the present is due to the fact that the hapu escaped destruction at the hands of Tuwhakairiora by virtue of the fact that Rakairoa's daughter, Rakaitemania, married Tuwhakairiora's uncle, Iwirakau.

6. Hinepare

Hinepare ruled supreme in the Waiapu Valley, in spite of strong male competition and the fact that she was taina

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1 A block of land at Kakeriki.
2 Gudgeon 1895: Vol 4, Part II: 28
3 Ngata 1943: Lecture 5: 9
to her two brothers, Putaanga and Huanga, who were leaders in their own right - Putaanga in the Poroporo Valley and Huanga in the Waiapu Valley. Hinepare was a niece of Rakairoa, being the daughter of Rakairoa’s younger sister, Te Aokairau.

Genealogy

```
Pohatu ——— Pokai
         Rongomaiwharemanuka
         
Rakairoa ——— Te Aokairau ——— Tama Taua

Rakaitemania ——— Putaanga ——— Huanga ——— Hinepare ——— Rakaimataura
```

Both Rakairoa and Te Aokairau were the leaders of their respective hapu and their mana passed on to their daughters, Rakaitemania, who ruled in the Te Horo area, and Hinepare, who ruled in Waiapu. Both these female leaders were so effective and powerful that they were able to hold together their people. Waiapu was impregnable because of the leadership of Hinepare and her cousin, Rakaitemania.

^ Some claim Tama Taua was the son of Rongomaiwharemanuka but Ngata (1943: Lecture 5:9) comments on “the improbability that a son of the sister of Hau should become the husband of Te Aokairau, eleven generations down from Hau. There is no doubt that a Tamataua descended from Rongomai did live with Te Aokairau at the mouth of the Waiapu River at the pa called Pipiwhakao, a name from the Horouta Canoe.”
Their leadership was also strong enough to hold together the fighting forces of their hapu, so that when the Ngati Ira sub-tribe of Makarika was being threatened by a war party, the chief, Kokere, was advised by one Tamokai to go to Waiapu where there was security.¹

**Genealogy**

Ira-kai-putahi
   │
   Kahukuraao
   │
   Rengomaipapa
   │
   Kahukuramamangu I
   │
   Kahukurapororo
   │
   Kahukuramamangu II
   │
   Kuratau
   │
   Te Ao Kapua
   │
   Tuterangiwehiwehi                           Rutanga (f) line
   │
   Kokere ——— Mamukaipo

It will be seen from the above genealogy that the chief Kokere comes from the Ira-kai-putahi line, one of the most senior lines in Ngati Porou, Ira-kai-putahi being the elder brother of the ancestor Paika. Kokere was an old man at the time and was not prepared to flee. When his people

¹ My informant for this story was Pine Taiapa.
were defeated by the Te Whanau-a-Apanui chief Tamahae and Tamahae wanted to take Kokere as a prisoner, he replied, "Waiho a Kokere ki konei kia heke aku toto ki roto i nga wai ratarata o taku kainga o Makarika." ("Let Kokere remain here, that my blood may run into the clear waters of my home Makarika.")¹ Thereupon Tamahae slew the aged chief.

In the Waipu Valley today, the Whanau-a-Hinepare take their descent from Hinepare and this is one of the most prestigious genealogies in Ngati Porou.

7. **Hinekehu**

Hinekehu is one of the leading ancestresses of Ngati Porou and was a chieftainess of Ngati Ruanuku and Te Wahine-Iti. She is a descendant of Rakaipo, the eldest son of Hau and his second wife, Tamatesatoia.²

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¹ My informant was Arnold Reedy.

² When Hau was bewailing the loss of his chief wife, Takotowaimua, the lesser wife, Tamatesatoia said, "Tahuri mai ki au to wahine iti," "Turn to me, your lesser wife," and this is said to be the origin of the hapu name Te Wahine-Iti.
Hinekehu's name indicates she was a kehu or urukehu, light-haired and fair-skinned and this characteristic is mentioned in two songs:

1. E he ana koe te hua a Materoa,
   Te kiri o Hinekehu, ka tokia e te hau.

   Thou can't not be mistaken as the fruit of Materoa
   The body of Hinekehu, alas, is pierced by the
   wind.¹

2. Ka tuhura to riu koe totara whakarangiura,
   To kiri waitute, te kiri o Hinekehu,
   Ka ngaro ra koe i te rehutai, e i.

¹ Ngata 1970:120f
You who were a red-grained totara
With your tutu-tinted skin,
The skin tint of Hinekehu,
Lost you are in the flying sea spray, alas.¹

Ngata says of Hinekehu’s daughter, Whaene, that she
was “of Ngati Hinekehu and a chieftainess of Te Wahine-Iti
and it has been said that she and her husband lived in the
Whareponga district and among Ngati Ruanuku by virtue of
this status and relationship.”²

Ngati Hinekehu is said to have evolved from the
marriage of Naia and Tihaere and of Tangihiamatatu and
Waipipi, a daughter of Uepohatu.³ It occupied the country
“south of Tuparoa from Tohoratesa Creek to Kaimoho, lands to
the south-west of Ruatoria, Mangaharei, Taumata-o-Mahi and
Waitangi on both sides of the Mata River. The hapu is also
associated with lands in the Tapuuaeroa Valley.”⁴

In addition, by a number of inter-marriages with
descendants of Uepohatu, Ngati Hinekehu became very closely
associated with the Uepohatu branch of the Toi people.

¹ Ngata 1970:264f
² Ngata 1943: Lecture 3:4
³ Ibid:10
⁴ Ibid:13f
8. Hinemakaho

Hinemakaho was the eldest child of Rakaimoehau (younger sister of Hinekehu) and Tangihaereroa\(^1\), and she "ranks as high as Hinekehu as an ancestress of Ngati Porou."\(^2\) She was an elder sister of Poroumata, Whaene's husband.

Genealogy 36

```
       Hau
  /         \
Rakai - Awapururu - Tuere
      /        \
Rakaiwetenga - Taputetaurangi
            \    
            Tawakeurunga
                  \   
                  HINEKEHU  Rakaimoehau  Tangihaereroa
                        \   /  \
                         Mahaki = Hinemakaho  Poroumata
```

Hinemakaho became the wife of Mahaki, the second son of Iramui, sister of Kahungungu, and Hingangaroa. "Her descendants became incorporated with and supplied the chiefs and leaders for a section of Te Wahine-Iti."\(^3\)

\(^1\) Tangihaereroa is said to be a son of Awapururu, a taina of Hau, but it will be noticed there is a discrepancy in the number of generations from the two brothers. This is one of the problems in determining the early genealogies, but one can only give the lines history has handed down.
\(^2\) Ngata 1943: Lecture 3:15
\(^3\) Ibid: Lecture 4:17
Ngata recounts the following story about one of Hinemakaho's children. At the time that Tamatea Upoko's sons returned to Kawakawa to avenge their grandfather's death, one of the leaders was Hinemakaho's son, Kahupakari I. He was allotted a small piece of land at Kawakawa which he transferred to Ngatihau and his wife, Te Ataakura, who appeared in the locality some time after the Ngai Tuere re-occupation. Kahupakari returned to the Uawa district and is credited with the saying, "Akuanei te pakura a Hinemakaho keho rawa atu i nga parae i Takuahiroa." "The swamp hen of Hinemakaho will presently break wind on the level lands at Takuahiroa."²

Kahupakari chose his mother, Hinemakaho, to establish his claim on the Uawa land, not his father, the chief Mahaki. Given that in Ngati Porou as a general rule, the mana whenua is inherited through the female ancestresses, Kahupakari's remark was in accordance with this tradition.

9. Materoa

"Materoa: he tipuna nui no Ngati Porou, e mau nei te ingoa ki tere hapu ki Te Aitanga-a-Mate."³ ("Materoa: a

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¹ Ibid: Lecture 7:8f
² Takuhiroa is inland from Uawa.
³ Ngata 1970:122
great ancestor of Ngati Porou, from whom comes the hapu name Te Aitanga-a-Mate." Materoa was the eldest daughter of Poroumata and Whaene.

**Genealogy 57**

```
Rakaimoehau — Tangihaereroa — Hinekahu (tuakana)

Hinemakahao — Poroumata — Whaene

Materoa — Rangitarewa — Te Ataakure — Ngatihau — Tawhipare — Kahukuranui

— Temateronga
```

From her maternal grandmother, Hinekahu, Materoa inherited the mana tangata and mana whenua over the territory inland from Whareponga and this land is still held by her descendants.

Ngata says of Materoa and her two sisters Te Ataakure and Tawhipare that "they rank amongst the most outstanding members of the Porourangi line, who bred its greatest chiefs and most celebrated warriors."¹ To this can be added some of Ngati Porou great chieftainesses, as a study of the following genealogies shows.

¹ Ngata 1943: Lecture 3:13
Genealogy 38

Materoa — Rangitarewa
   — Tamaahu — Hinepare¹
   — Tutehurutea — Uetuhiao²

Te Atau   Kuku — Hinekahukura  Korehau  Rongotangatake

TE RANGITAWAERA³

¹ Hinepare — the grand-daughter of Hauiti and Kahukuraiti.
² Uetuhiao's sons Kuku, Korehau and Rongotangatake are the "brown dogs" referred to on p. 130 of this chapter.
³ Ko Hikurangi te maunga, Hikurangi is the mountain,
    Ko Waiapu te awa, Waiapu the river,
    Ko Ngati Porou te iwi, Ngati Porou the people,
    Ko Te Rangitawaea te tangata, Te Rangitawaea the man.
    This saying emphasises the importance of Te Rangitawaea in Ngati Porou.
Hukarere and Hinerupe are the parents of Te Aastaihi and Te Atahaia, the 4th and 5th wives respectively of Tuterangiwhiu.

Iritekura is the daughter of Te Aomihia and her second husband, Tatawhie, the son of her uncle Iwirakau.
Genealogy

Tawhiriere — Wahukuramui (na Hauiti)

Tautini — Hurumangangi

Tuterangikapiti — Mariu (a Ruataupare)

Te Kangitaukiwaho — Mariu (a Te Ihiko) — Uetuhiao

Hinetapora — Kuku

Kirimamae — TE RANGITAWAEA

Whaita — Manupokai

Takimoana — Hinewaka

Hineauta

In addition to being important ancestresses who had the mana of leadership in different areas of Ngati Porou, "they developed an intense interest in culture and the arts, basketry, weaving, song and poetry. During this period,\(^1\) the skill of clothing making reached its peak and this was attributable to the interest Materoa, Te Ataakura and Tawhiriere fostered among the women of the local tribes. Further, the murder of their father, Poroumata, tribal stress and war had the effect of strengthening their leadership to the benefit of the whole tribe."\(^2\)

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\(^1\) 1st half of the 17th century.

\(^2\) Pine Taiapa interview 28.1.71.
The story of Materoa would be incomplete without relating the story of her and Rangitarewa. Materoa was betrothed to Tamaterongo, but one night Rangitarewa sneaked into her bed. Believing him to be Tamaterongo, Materoa allowed him to stay the night with her, only discovering his true identity in the morning. Some time later she discovered she was pregnant and in her shame she fled to Gisborne. However, Tamaterongo followed her and embraced her and her child. He brought Materoa back to Whareponga, married her and raised Tamaihu as his own son.

The important thing to note here is, that unlike the lines of Kehutikoparae and Rakaumanawahe, Materoa's infidelity and her self-imposed exile did not affect her status and mana nor that of the tuakana line of Tamaihu. It is from this line that the great chief Te Rangitawaea comes.

10. Whengaparaoa

Whengaparaoa was a descendant of Muriwai and a great granddaughter of the Opotiki chief, Uekahikatea. Uekahikatea was slain and when his death remained unavenged, a call went

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1 Kehutikoparae was the daughter of Hau and his first wife, Taketewaimua and here should be the senior line of Ngati Perou. But because of her mother's affair with Hau's younger brother, Ueroa, and because she was over-shadowed by her husband, Manutangirua, the line did not emerge strongly in terms of leadership and its mana is therefore greatly reduced.
out for an avenging party, which was answered by the chief Tamahinengaro. His two sons, Rakaipikirarunga and Mokaiaporou accompanied the taua, which in due course fulfilled its mission. The people of Uekahikatea made gifts to Tamahinengaro — among them the axes of greenstone, Kaitangata and Waikanae, and a greenstone pendant named Te Paekura.¹ "But the living, vibrant emblem of recognition of service came when to the heap of greenstone articles there was led the high-born lass, Uhengaparaoa. With some reluctance, as she was to pass into the hands of a strange people and to an unknown future, and amid the lamentations of her relatives she took up her position with the heirlooms of her family in the presence of the victorious general, capping the presentation of ceremonial gifts and bringing into the pedigrees of the Ngati Porou tribes another strain from the leaders of the Mataatua migration."²

¹ See Chapter 5, p. 86
² Ngata 1943: Lecture 5:6
Genealogy

Porourangi
  Hau
  Rongomaianiwaniwa
  Rakaipo
  Awapupuru
  Taiau — Rerepuhitai
  Tamahinengaro
  Tuketenui
  Rakaipikirunga — Uhengaparaoa — Mokaiaporou
  Rutanga — Tumeanakotore — Rongomaitsuarau
  Hinemakuru
  Ngatihau
  Iwirakau

Uhengaparaoa was given as a wife to Rakaipikirunga and she bore him a daughter, Rutanga, "who shares with Taua the honour of founding the Whanau-a-Apanui." After Rakaipikirunga was slain in battle, Uhengaparaoa was taken to wife by Mokaiaporou, and bore Rongomaitsuarau. "She is the ancestress who shares with the daughters of Whaene and Poromata, with Hinekehu and Hinemakaho the highest place in the studbook of the Ngati Porou aristocracy."

1 Rerepuhitai is from the Ruawaipu line.
2 Once again a problem is created by oral tradition which gives Tumeanakotore as a son of Rongomaianiwaniwa, four generations before Rutanga and Rongomaitsuarau.
3 Ngata 1943: Lecture 5:7
4 Ibid
Both Rutanga and Rongomaitauarau married the same man, Tumoanakotore and such was the mana of their descendants that it is said, "Ka ai nga wahine a Tumoanakotore, a Rutanga, a Rongomaitauarau." ("The wives of Tumoanakotore, Rutanga and Rongomaitauarau, breed.")

11. Hinemahuru

Hinemahuru was the daughter of Rutanga and Tumoanakotore and the wife of Apanui Waipapa, the eponymous ancestor of Te Whanau-a-Apanui.

Eruera Stirling, an elder of Te Whanau-a-Apanui and an expert on its history, tells the following story of Hinemahuru and her children. 2

"Te Aotakaia took his brothers and their only sister, Rongomaihuatahi, and escaped with them out of the pa, because Hauiti was out to kill all the senior and first-born issue so that the issue of Kahukuranui may emerge as senior. It was through Te Aotakaia's bravery that they managed to make their escape, and they then sought the issue of Muturangi in Te Arawa, to Turirangi who turned and helped his senior relatives and so assured the continuity of Apanui's line.

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1 See fn 2. previous page.

2 EKS letter. The Maori text can be found in Appendix
Hinemahuru went southwards and settled at the pa called Kirieke in Raukokore. There she laid claim to all the land below Whanakao (a mountain in the Raukumara Ranges), to all the surrounding lands in Whangaparaoa, Tikirau, as far as the peaks of Raukumara to Rangamuatai, to Whanakao and thus declared sacred all this land to the land through which the Raukokore stream runs, now a Maori reserve of some 30 acres. The sea foods were also claimed, including the fishing grounds and the mussel beds and this was called "the ocean bed of Hinemahuru." She was a woman who was the leader of the people, and she had the power to lay claim to all things and to do all things and from her such mana was inherited by her descendants. Our own ancestress Maruhaeremuri, a woman, was the leader in her lifetime. Our sub-tribal name is Te Whanau-a-Maruhaeremuri."
Genealogy 44

Muriwai
  | Te Roau
  | Te Puaiti
  | Tamangenge
  | Kauwhataroa
Puatekaraka
  | Hinemahuru
  | Te Aotakaia
  | Taikorekore
  | Hinestera
  | Pararaki
  | Tautuhiorongo
  | Auwhikōata
  | Ruataupare

Maruhaeremuri was an ancestor of many prominent female leaders, the most important being Hinematiorio.

Genealogy 45

Maruhaeremuri—Apahoua
  | Te Herangasterangi—Karongarangi
  | Kurahapairangi—Ruamanawahoro
  | Kauwaetangohia—Te Whataianga
  | Te Warangamisterangi
  | Rangikawahia
  | Hineawe
  | Ngunguruterangi
  | HINEMATIORO
12. Ruataupare

The story of Ruataupare is dealt with in detail in Chapter 3, but the seniority of this woman cannot be over-emphasised.

Genealogy

Ira
   | Kahukuraue
   | Kahukuramamangu
   | Kahukuratamaoka
   | Kahukurapero
   | Pakariki
   | Tanekatchia
   | Whengariki
   | Kahukuramamangu
   | Te Kuarereawaiwa
   | Maiapatu
   | Ruatapu-kauae
   | Porourangi
   | Hau
   | Tuere ——— Muriwhakaputa
   | Rongomaikira
   | Whatiaora —— Tamakihi
   | Uaea
   | Tuitimatus
   | Te Aotaki — Hinemaurea
   | Ruawaipu
   | Parawhenuamea
   | Tamatauira


1 Genealogy of Ira to Ruataupare as given by Nepia Mahuika.
It is said that when Tuwhakairiora came to Te Aotaki's pa, Te Aotaki welcomed him thus, "Haere mai e tama ki reo ki te pa nei ki te wahi noa ki a au hoki ki Hikurangi ki te maunga i tauria e te kohu ara e takiri mai ra....te reo pohiri o Whetuki-te-Rangi i rangia o Puakeamanu. Te tohu o tipuna kei a koe. E moe i to tuihine ia Ruataupare kia puta he uri rangatira hei arahi i te iwi." ("Welcome young sir to this village, to myself and to Hikurangi on which rests the snow from where the welcoming voice of Whetuki-te-rangi can be heard upon Puakeamanu. You have the chiefly bearings of your ancestors. Marry your "sister" Ruataupare that you may have a chiefly child to lead the people.")

The fact that Ruataupare was of higher birth than Tuwhakairiora was the basis of her resentment at not being mentioned at gatherings they attended once Tuwhakairiora's prowess as a warrior was established.

Eruera Stirling says of Ruataupare, "Ko Ruataupare tetahi o nga wahine rangatira i reo o Ngati Porou. Ki te kere one i pai ki nga whakahaere a Tuwhakairiora ka wehea e ia kia Tuwhakairiora, Ko te ra tenei e tu tahi ai taina e

1 E. Stirling, A. Reedy and Ngati Porou say that the reference to Mount Hikurangi symbolises the rank and status of Ruataupare's ancestry down to herself.

2 EKS 1972: letter included in Appendix E
huri koe ki te hausuru ko ahu ki te rawhiti. Ka hoki au ki Waitotoki ki nga kainga o aku tipuna e pohiri mai ra i au." ("Ruataupare was one of the most aristocratic women of Ngati Porou. Because she did not agree with Tuwhakairiwa's administration, she broke off their marriage so that her own desires might be given expression. She then bade farewell to Tuwhakairiwa thus, "Our union has ended, you go to the South and I to the East. I shall return to Waitotoki, to the dwelling places of my ancestors who are beckoning me."\(^1\)

Ruataupare settled at Waitotoki in Tupara. There she erected a pa called Te Rangiwherua (literally, the day when two people separated) and in this way she marked her separation from Tuwhakairiwa. From here Ruataupare moved to Tokomaru Bay and with her went two of her children by Tuwhakairiwa, Mariu and Te Ataakura II. Through these two the Ruataupare line was maintained in Tokomaru Bay and Mariu passed her mana on to her grand-daughter, the chieftainess, Ninotapora.

As can be seen from genealogies 21 and 22, Ruataupare was a member of the most senior lines in Ngati Porou and this is the reason why the people of Tokomaru Bay regard themselves so highly. Ruataupare established herself as

\(^1\) EK8 1972: letter included in Appendix
firmly in Tokomaru Bay, that the following saying arose,
"Te Whanau a Rua, he iwi rite," ("The whanau of Rua are
equal"), and the Whanau-a-Ruataupare was born. Ruataupare's
position was strengthened by the fact that she was a member
of the sub-tribes in Tokomaru Bay, namely Ngati Ira and
Te Wahine-Iti.

13. Hinerupe

Hinerupe, a chieftainess who had the mana whemua and
mana tangata over the land from the Awatere River to
Punaruku, was a contemporary of Ruataupare and Tuwhakairiora.
She married Tuwhakairiora's younger brother, Hukarere, only
in this case, far from usurping the role of leadership from
his wife, Hukarere is reputed to have become little better
than a slave for Hinerupe.
Genealogy

Porourangi
Ueroa
Takupukaretu
Te Aringaiwaho
Tamakerito
Uekaiahu — Tamatea Upoke
Rongomaitapui — Uetaha
Te Aopare
Tamateakui
Hinerupe — Hukarere
Tuwhakairiora
Te Aetaihi — Tuterangiwhiu — Te Atahaia

Both Hinerupe and Ruataupare were indeed "te tumu herenga waka," ("the stake to which the canoe was tied"), for they were the rallying points for their people and the daughters of Hinerupe, Te Aetaihi and Te Atahaia became the "parekereke", ("nursery") for the chiefly lines of Ngati Porou. The eldest daughter, Te Aetaihi, became the leader of Te Whanau-a-Hinerupe after her mother had held a position of respect and awe comparable to that which Te Kani-a-Takirau was to occupy. She received the first fruits of every food, as Te Kani did in his time.

1 See also genealogy 40, this chapter
2 Rongomaitapui's genealogy as given by Nepia Mahuika.
3 See genealogy 18 this chapter
4 Pine Taiapa interview 28.1.71
This is in spite of the mana of Te Aotaihi's husband, Tuterangiwhiu, the son of Ruataupare and Tuwhakairiorea and himself a great warrior.

14. Iritekura

Iritekura was a chieftainess in the Waipiro Bay district. She was a daughter of Te Aomihia, the elder sister of Tuwhakairiorea, and her second husband, Tatawhie, the son of Iwirakau and an uncle to both Te Aomihia and Tuwhakairiorea.

Genealogy 48

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Te Ataakura — Ngatiha — Iwirakau

———
Te Aomihia — Tatawhie — Tuwhakairiorea
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IRITEKURA

The story of how Iritekura gained her mana whenua and hence the mana tangata in the Waipiro district has already been recounted. Before she settled in Waipiro Bay, she lived in Te Whanau-a-Apanui, but she was asked to leave when she was found guilty of polluting a water spring at Whangapararoa which still bears the name of Te Puna o Iritekura.

1 See chapter 3
2 Iritekura's spring
When Iritekura returned to Ngati Poereu, her uncle, Tuwhakairiora was engaged in battle with the Ngati Ruanuku, to avenge the murder of his grand-father, Poroumata. The Ngati Ruanuku people lived at Waipiro and when Tuwhakairiora wiped them out, he gave their land to Iritekura.

Brereta Stirling says the Ngati Ruanuku were from the Tahu line, Tahu being the younger brother of Porourangi who migrated to the South Island, founding the Ngai Tahu tribe. He was asked to leave by the people, who knew he was secretly in love with Hamo, Porourangi's wife, and they wanted to prevent conflict between the two brothers. On the death of Porourangi, Tahu returned and took the widow Hamo as his wife. Tahu then sent his son Ruanuku, and others, to occupy the land at Waipiro to avenge the insult to him when he was asked to leave.

There were several engagements with Ngati Ruanuku, but the last one came when Pakanui, a nephew of Tuwhakairiora, launched an all out attack on Ngati Ruanuku because they had insulted him by saying, "He ure te kai a te tangata haere". ("The penis is the food of the travelling man.") Pakanui summoned the help of his uncle and the battle was quick and decisive. It was known as "Te Rere huka tai" ("The scattering of human brains like the foam of the sea.")
When Iritekura was given the mana whenua after the battle, she received the directive, "E noho ki Waikawa hei tiaki i te punarahu a o tungane." ("Stay at Waikawa to guard the conquered territory of your male relatives.") She held this mana, and today her descendants, Te Whanau-a-Iritekura, still hold the mana whenua and mana tangata at Waipiro Bay.

Iritekura was given the mana tangata at Waipiro, when Te Atau, one of the warrior chiefs and survivors of the battle, said to the few remaining Ruanuku, "Haere mai, haere ki te wahine urukahu ra ki a ora ai koutou." ("Come, go to that fair-headed woman, that you may be spared.") By this, he was telling the people to give the first fruits of the food to Iritekura, as befitting one of her rank.

15. Hinetapera

Hinetapera was the chieftainess of the Mangahanae district and was descended from the senior lines of Ngati Porou.
The story of Hinetapora’s reaction to a proposal of marriage from the taina son of Umariki, Te Rangikaputua, has been recounted in Chapter 4. The fact that she was able to make such a reply with impunity is indicative of her rank. However, Te Rangikaputua had considerable mana as his father’s son and as a descendant of Upehantu. The marriage took place, but the leadership of the hapu did not pass to Te Rangikaputua. It remained with Hinetapora until her death at the hand of the Te Whanau-a-Apanui chief, Tamahae.

1 See p. 60
The fact that Tamahae slew Hinetapora is significant in itself because Tamahae was only interested in killing chiefs. After he killed Hinetapora, he beheaded her and displayed the head to the paramount male chief, Makahuri. Makahuri's reaction was to turn his back to Tamahae and fart at him. By doing so, he not only insulted Tamahae, but he also told Tamahae that his prises were aged people, like Kokere and Hinetapora and, in the latter's case, also a woman. Makahuri's reaction gave rise to the saying, "E akiaki ana tere te whero e te tama a Te Atahaia." ("How explosive is the rear of the son of Te Atahaia.") The significant point here is that, like the sons of Uetuhiao, Makahuri was known as his mother's son, not his father's. The practice of naming a person as a relative of his or her female ancestor is very common in Ngati Porou tradition. This is notwithstanding the fact that in this case Makahuri's father was tuakana to his mother, being Tuterangiwhiu, the son of Ruataupare and Tuwhakairiore. Te Atahaia, on the other hand, was the daughter of Hinerupe and Tuwhakairiore's taina, Hukarere.

Finally, there is Tamahae's reply to Makahuri which serves to emphasise the importance of Hinetapora once and for all. Tamahae said, "Ka nui tenei. He kotahi ia, he
mano kei raro."¹ ("She is enough. Although there is only one of her she represents thousands.")

16. Hineauta

Hineauta was a chieftainess of the Tikapa and Te Horo district, where Te Whanau-a-Hineauta is found today. She was a member of most of the chiefly lines of Ngati Porou.

Hineauta was referred to as a "Queen" by her people and her mana was so great that she never walked anywhere, but was "amohia ai".²

At Tikapa, there is a rock in the sea known as "Te Toka a Hineauta" (Hineauta's rock), and the tapu of the place is such that only the descendants of Hineauta dive for seafood in that place to this day.

The strength of Hineauta's mana has already been referred to.³ Hineauta herself was well aware of her mana and high birth as the following story illustrates. While combing her hair, which was very crinkly and curly and difficult to manage, she exclaimed in exasperation, "Ara noa te mahora i au kei te ware a mau ana." ("Alas, there on the low-born, is the fine hair which should be mine.")

¹ EKS interview 30.12.71
² Borne on a litter
³ See chapter 5, p. 76
See also Gestures 17, 49, 50, this chapter.


17. **Hinematioro**

Hinematioro was a chieftainess in the Tolaga Bay district and her fame spread far. Both Best and Buck have made reference to her and Ngata, speaking of Te Kani-a-Takirau, says he was the "grandson of that Hinematioro who figured in the records of the very earliest European visitors as the 'Queen' of those parts."\(^2\)

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**Genealogy**

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<table>
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<th>Kenehi</th>
<th>Hinerimu</th>
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<td>Te Umupapa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ngunguruterangi</td>
<td>Tanetekerangi</td>
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<td>Te Heatiki</td>
<td>HINEMATIORO</td>
<td>Te Whakataaraeto</td>
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<td>Ngarangikahiwa</td>
<td>Rongotumama</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Waikari (no issue)</td>
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\(^1\) See chapter 8;  
\(^2\) Ngata 1959:57  
\(^3\) Ngata (Ibid) says of Kenehi "he was a converging point of many aristocratic lines of the area between Uawa and Fakutaura."
The story of the marriage of Hinematioro's parents, Ngunguruterangi and Tanetokerangi, has already been referred to. Ngunguruterangi's great grandfather, Rerekohu, had insulted Konchi, Penaapatukia, and others as they travelled to Te Whanau-a-Apamui to avenge the death of Hinetakora by saying, "Tenei te taripari tihei taruke te haere atu nei, heata karia ema kauae," ("Here come the fishers of taruke, do not spare them.") When Konchi returned, Rerekohu had to think of a way to appease him, and he used Ngunguruterangi as a peace offering and she was given by Konchi to his grandson, Tanetokerangi, as a wife.

Hinematioro lived at Uawa among the sub-tribe Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti at the pa called Te Pourewa, on the

1 See chapter 6
2 See the haka "Tihei Taruke" in Appendix B
seaward side of Uawa. But her prowess as a leader had no equal at the time and her mana extended from Te Toka-a-Taiāu to Hicks Bay. Hinematioro passed this mana on to her grandson, Te Kani-a-Takirau, who became the leader of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti when Hinematioro was advanced in years. When he was a child and the Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti was engaged in battle, both Hinematioro and the infant Te Kani-a-Takirau were hidden or taken out of the district, so great was their mana and tauu.

18. Tapuhi

Tapuhi was a leader in the Te Araroa district. It is said that when Hinematioro came in her old age to visit the home of her tipuna, Tawhakariere, she asked, "Ke wai te pahi e te karaka a Tawhakariere?" ("Who is the plume of the karaka tree of Tawhakariere?") She obviously expected the reply to be "Ke koe." ("It is you.") But Tapuhi stood up and said, "Ke au," ("I am,") Tapuhi based her claim on the following genealogy, tracing her genealogy through the female line.

¹ Rock at the mouth of the Turanganui River, Gisborne.
Genealogy

Porowhata—Whaene

Nateroa—Te Ataakura
Pike—Tuwhakairiorea
Tametu—Tuterangiwhiu
Hinemamahiri—Hukarere II
Whiungaterangi—Rerekahu
Whakarengomaiwaha—Te Uhuuiosterangi
TAPUHI—Tataingaeterangi

Ngunguruterangi—Hinematiero

Tapuhi based her claim to seniority through her line to Nateroa, the elder sister of Te Ataakura, the mother of Tuwhakairiorea and ancestress of Hinematiero. Tapuhi thereby asserted her mana tangata and mana whenua, and Hinematiero returned to Talaga Bay. Tapuhi founded the Whanau-a-Tapuhi and her descendants are still found in the Te Araroa district.¹

¹ My informant for the story of Tapuhi was Pine Taiapa in interview 28.1.79.
Modern Female Leaders

1. Materoa Ready

Materoa Ready was a member of several of the leading hapu in Ngati Perou and came from the senior lines of descent.

Genealogy:

Rua taupare — Tuwhakaipiroa
  | Te Ostiraroa — Momens
  | Maniu — Wehiwehi
      | Te Ostiraroa II
      | Mahuta-i-te-rangi
      | Te Uhu-mui-o-te-rangi
      | Te Marangai-tiko-share
      | Nineputarataru
      | Turuhira Hineiwhakia
      | Haimora Ngarimu
      | Tuta Ngarimu
      | Materoa Ready
It was Materoa, and not her brother Kamere, who assumed the leadership of the people. Her leadership was not confined to her own hapu, but extended to the whole tribe.

For example, in 1934 at the Waitangi celebrations, Rgata asked

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1 Genealogy given by the author's father, Kamanuka Mahuika.
my father to speak on behalf of Ngati Porou, but my father replied that Materoa was to speak on behalf of Ngati Porou on this occasion, which she did. She was also responsible for welcoming, entertaining and farewelling important visitors to Ngati Porou.

Ngata recognised her status in Ngati Porou and used her frequently, not only for work among his own people, but for his work among other tribes. In those days it was customary for Ngata to take with him some of his elders and rangatira, and Materoa was invariably one of these. At the Ngarimu V.C. hut in Ruatoria, Ngata chose Materoa as the host for the occasion, not her brother, Hamurea, the father of Moana-nui-a-kiwa Ngarimu.

Her knowledge of tribal history and culture was also recognised by Ngata, and she was one of the chief advisors and informants when he compiled the waiata which make up "Nga Materoatua". My elders have told me that to hear Materoa speak on a marae was an education in itself, not only for the uninitiated, but also for those who were knowledgeable on tribal matters.

Materoa died at Wanganui as the result of an accidental fall over a cliff. Her body was returned to Ngati Porou by the Wanganui chief, Takarangi, and today a memorial stone
marks the place where she fell. At her tangi, people came from all the tribes in the land to pay their last respects. Her body was interred temporarily, because her son, and heir, Arnold, was overseas as a member of the 28th Maori Battalion. This was the last sign of her mana and tapu.

Her mana and knowledge was passed on to her children, notably Arnold, and they mastered the waiata, whakapapa and history of the tribe.

2. **Mihi Kotukutuku Stirling**

Mihi Kotukutuku Stirling was the paramount leader of Te Whanau-a-Apanui, and she came from the most senior lines of Te Whanau-a-Apanui and Ngati Porou. (Genealogies...
Genealogy

Muriwi
   ---
   Te Hao  Rangikurukuru
   ---
   Te Puaiti
   ---
   Tamangengo
   ---
   Kauwhataaroa
   ---
   Puatekaraka
   ---
   Te Rauoteako
   ---
   Hinemahuru --- Apanui Waipapa
   ---
   Te Kawekuratawhiti --- Taikorekore
   ---
   Hinetera
   ---
   Tuwhakairiri --- Ruataupare
   ---
   Auwhikaeta
   ---
   Tautukiorongo
   ---
   Mariu
   ---
   Te Whakapu
   ---
   Te Rangitauikiwha
   ---
   Ruamanawahono --- Kurahapeirangi
   ---
   HINETAPORA
   ---
   Kauwae tangohia
   ---
   Koporuhia
   ---
   Te Waranga
   ---
   Hincaw
   ---
   Makahuri
   ---
   Ngarangikowhawa
   ---
   Ngunguruterangi
   ---
   Te Mauwiwi
   ---
   Rangituke
   ---
   HINEMATORO
   ---
   Te Kohum
   ---
   Te Aotata
   ---
   Ngarangikahiwa
   ---
   Kahurua
   ---
   Poututerangi
   ---
   Te Kani a Takirau
   ---
   Ruiha Rahata --- Maka Te Khutu
   ---
   Waikari (no issue)
   ---
   Keita Herowai
   ---
   Mihi Koku Tutuku

--- Genealogy given by Eruera Stirling
--- Auwhikaeta is tuakana to Ruataupare
--- Kurahapeirangi is from the Rangikurukuru line
Genealogy

Hinemahuru — Apanui Waipapa

Taikorekore  Te Aotakaia  Pararaki  Rongomaihuatahi(f)

Hinetara — Pararaki

Tautuhierongo  Maruhahero毛利率  Te Rangiwhakapunaka  —  Tukaki

(See Gen. )

Te Khu  Kahaio  Tamahae — Hinhehi

To Arikitaikuwha

Rangitake — Hinetuakirikiri

(See Gen. 57)

To Actata

Poututerangi

Maaka Te Khu

Mihi Kotukutuku

1 Genealogy given by Hamana Mahuika
2 Brother of Taikorekore
3 Hinhehi is a daughter of Kahaio
Mihi Kotukutuku was the youngest of three sisters, the elder two sisters dying while they were still young. It was believed that the sisters were bewitched and the elders were fearful for the life of Mihi because if she died, the senior line would also die. After Keita Horowai's tangi, her Ngati Porou relatives took her back with them to Reopoaka. The tohunga Nukumuku, from Whenua-a-kura, was consulted and he diagnosed the trouble as makutu or witchcraft. But he said he was unable to do anything about it and advised Mihi to visit a woman tohunga, Miriama, at Te Puke, and it was Miriama who cured Mihi. However, she was told she was not to marry one of her own people and she eventually married Duncan Stirling, from the South Island.

Mihi Kotukutuku became the spokesman and leader of her people. She was an authority on Maori history and genealogies and when she spoke, she did so with authority, as the following stories illustrate.

When Ngata visited Te Whanau-a-Apanui, he declined, on one occasion, the invitation of the people at Te Kaha to stay the night. The people informed Mihi and she waited for him at Raukokore. She way-laid him and used her influence to get him to stay the night.

On another occasion, at Waimana, she stood up to speak on the marae and a rangatira of that district, Te Paraire,
took exception to Mihi, a woman, speaking on his marae.
Mihi reprimanded him, reciting her genealogy to establish
her seniority and was allowed to continue.

In 1917, when one Albert, the son of Tiwaka Awaru died,
Whanau-a-Apanui went to Rotorua. When Mita Taupopoki, a
chief of Te Arawa, was speaking, an Omaio rangatira,
Timutimu Tawhia, was asked who was going to reply because
Te Arawa would not allow women to speak on their marae.
Timutimu replied, "Ana ra te upoko ariki e noho mai na."
("There, yonder, sits the paramount ariki.") and he pointed
to Mihi. True to form, Mihi stood up, the first time a
woman had stood to speak on an Arawa marae. Immediately,
Mita Taupopoki stood up and demanded that Mihi sit down.
Mihi replied by attacking him, "Koore koe e tau hei koro kiri
au. Ana aku tungi, ma ratu te kore kiri au. O Makawa
hina na i puta ake i kens." ("You have no right to speak
to me. There are my male relatives sitting there, let them
speak to me. Your mop of grey hair came from here.") And
she pointed between her thighs! There was silence and she
was allowed to continue her speech.

When Mihi Katukatuku died, Te Arawa came in full force
to pay their respects and one of their speakers said, "Kaitoa
koe ki a mate atu, te wahine takataki nga ture o Te Arawa."
("Serves you right that you have died, you disrespected Arawa custom.") This was a direct reference to the time she had spoken on one of the marae. The European may think such a remark was disrespectful, but it was part of the tangi and was a sign of the respect Te Arawa had for her.

Mihi's son, Eruaera (Dick) Stirling, inherited her mana and he is the authority on Ngati Porou and Te Whanau-a-Apanui history and whakapapa and the lore of the Whare wānanga, and he has done much to preserve this. Although he has lived in Auckland for some years, he is still one of the acknowledged leader of Te Whanau-a-Apanui.

3. **Mere Karaka Waititi** *(Nee Walker)*

Mere Karaka Waititi belonged to several hapu in Ngati Porou and is the acknowledged leader of the Makariki branch of Te Whanau-a-Rakai¹ and also of Waiomatatini. She is also a member of Te Whanau-a-Ummariki and other senior lines of Ngati Porou. *(Genealogies 59 and 60)*

Mere Karaka's leadership qualities were recognised early, and it was she, and not her elder brother, Raana, who assumed the leadership role. Whenever meetings or other tribal functions were held in Waiomatatini or Makariki, it was always she who was the organiser and the rallying point.

¹ I have been unable to establish Mere Karaka's genealogy from Rakaihoca
Genealogy

Um

Te Rangikaputua — Hinetapera

Koparahuia

Takereariari(f)

Pahoe

Rongomaitapui

Te Whetukamokamo — Hinewhakirangi

Puaiwhanake(f) — Eru Te Warena

Te Watene Te Ao — Mere Karaka

Te Raana Te Ao

Te Wharepapa

Pahoe Morote

Mere Karaka Waititi

Genealogy

Te Rangitawae

Manupokai — Waititi

Hinewaka

Taharauta

HINEAUTA

Te Ahiara

Hinewaka II — Te Mataumahuna

Eru Te Warena

Te Watene Te Ao

Te Wharepapa

Raana

Merekaraka Waititi

Hone
No meeting in the area was complete without her.

Ngata used Mere Karaka extensively in his political career and in tribal matters. During the Second World War she was one of the people who travelled throughout Ngati Porou and Te Whanau-a-Apanui, calling on the people to support the war effort and she even travelled outside these two tribes for the same purpose. Wherever she went, she was accorded the welcome befitting one of her rank. In recognition of her leadership and the work she did among the people, she received the M.B.E. She has also been intimately involved in the affairs of the Maori Women's Welfare League and the Waipu Anglican Parish.

Like her elder contemporaries, Materoa and Mihi Kotukutuku, she was well versed in the history and waiata of Ngati Porou and Te Whanau-a-Apanui, and she married into one of the leading Whanau-a-Apanui families, the Waititi family. However, even after her marriage, she did not go to Te Whanau-a-Apanui to live, but remained in Kakariki. Until she was confined to hospital earlier this year, Mere Karaka was still active, although she is in her eighties, and her advice and counselling is still sought even now. She is one of the last truly great modern female leaders of Ngati Porou.

1 1971
4. **Tangipo Hēmata Mahuika**

In writing of my own mother, I am reminded of the whakatauki (proverb) that goes, "It is only the shag which displays its feathers." Yet for the purpose of this exercise, I cannot omit her. It would be doing her an injustice and this study would be incomplete.

Tangipo belonged to several hapu, notably Te Whansau-a-Hinesauta and Te Whansau-a-Umuariki (*Genealogy 62*). When she married, she resided in Te Whansau-a-Rakaihoea where, like his grandfather, my father is the acknowledged chief. I recall that on many occasions, she would speak on the marae instead of, or after, my father, thereby asserting her leadership, even in her husband's hapu, in which she was taina.

As a young mother, Tangipo lost her first child, Rangiriri. It was decided that Rangiriri should be interred with her uncle, Rauhui Tawhiwhirangi, at Tikitiki, but many of the people at Tikitiki objected. This was quite an occasion and members of the tribe gathered in number to discuss the question. In anger, my mother stood up and reminded the people that they had no right to question Rangiriri's burial, since on both sides, she was being buried on her own ground, the land concerned belonging to

1 See p. 19
my mother, my father, Te Rauhuia, Koroneho, Whakatihi and Paora Haenga. Ownership was established through their descent from the chief, Makahuri. Tangipo won the day, and when she died she was buried with her daughter.

The following genealogy shows the relationship between Rangiriri and Te Rauhuia:

**Genealogy**

```
Kihirini
  Narara ——— Hamana ——— Harata
  |       |       |
  Kana  |  Nepia |
  Te Rauhuia ——— Hamana ——— Rangiriri
```

Like her relative, Mere Karaka, Tangipo travelled extensively through Ngati Porou and Te Whanau-a-Apanui and other tribes on behalf of Ngata, in particular, and the people in general. Like Mere Karaka, she was active in the affairs of the Maori Women's Welfare League and the Waipu Parish. When a new vicarage was needed for the parish, Tangipo became the organiser to raise funds for it. She was able to go to this one and that one, demanding a bale of wool here and a cattle beast there. In this way, the money for the vicarage was raised.

1 See Genealogy
Genealogy

Ruataupare → Tuwhakairora → Te Ihiko

Te Atahaia → Tuterangihiu → Te Actaahi → Tuhorouta → Te Moahiraia → Tinatoka
(5th W)

Makanuru → Te Moahiraia → Whaita → Namupokai2 → Hunsara → Whakaohenga
(4th child) (2nd child)

Te Auiti

Hinewaka → Takimoana

Te Khu

Hinesuta

Ngaparaki → Muirea → Tamaiwaterangi → Ngarangikatubhi3 → Ngatauweruweru

Te Rangimateroa → Tapiria → Tamaiwaterangi II

Kihirini4 → Umutsapi → Paratene Te Whai

Namana

Ngarangikahiwa → Timeti Kaui

Nepia

Renata Tawhai

Namana

Remoata Tangipo

Apirana

---

1 Both Te Atahaia and Te Actaahi are daughters of Hineraupe and Hukarere
2 Namupokai is the child of Kirimamoa and Te Rangitawaea
3 Ngarangikatubhi is from the Hineraupe line
4 Kihirini comes from Waimarama, a taina of Hinewaka
She, too, was an expert in whakapapa and waiata, having been taught, not only as a child, but also by Ngata himself and no gathering was complete without her and Mere Karaka to lead the waiata. When she died, once again, people from many different tribes gathered to pay their respects and this was the mark of her chieftainship.

5. Putiputi Haerewa

Putiputi Haerewa is a member of the Te Aowera sub-tribe of Te Aitanga-a-Mate, Te Whanau-a-Iritiwha and a number of other sub-tribes. She is a contemporary of both Mere Karaka and Tangipo and was involved in leadership in much the same way. A very outspoken speaker on the marae, I have heard Putiputi on many occasions oppose and subdue the male rangatira in tribal and political matters, and in addition to being active in the Maori Women's Welfare League and parish affairs, she is also a trustee of St Mary's Church in Tikitiki and of the Tikitiki marae. In her area, that is in Tikitiki, it is always she who is informed of the possibility of events or meetings taking place there.
6. *Hariata Turei* (nee Waititi)

Hariata Turei is a chieftainess of Te Whanau-a-Apanui and in this case she shared the leadership of the people with her brothers Kuawaha, Moana and Hirini Waititi. *(Genealogy 63)* She and her brothers travelled extensively with Ngata and the four of them were extremely knowledgeable on tribal history, especially *waiaata*. Her role as a leader was in no way sub-ordinate to that of her brothers, and as the only surviving member of the foursome, her mana today is considerably increased, though ill-health prevents her from being as active as she might otherwise be.

With *Mere Karaka Waititi*, *Putiputi Haerewa* and *Hariata Turei*, the last of the female leaders of the old tradition will die out. They belonged to an era when tribal unity was strong and they were, in part, the instruments of that unity. The new generation of female leaders is different. Their role is more in the field of social welfare, rather than in the field of tribal leadership, with its attendant responsibility as the holders of tribal history, *whakapepa* and *waiaata*. 
Genealogy

Hinemauru — Ngaianum tawā
  | Mokaitangatakore
  | Iwipaca
  | Houtu
  | Tuingaiwaho
  | Tahitoterangi

Ngarangikowhawa — Whakauriki • Heremaurea
  | Hinepuhira
  | Tawiriwhanga
  | Horiana — Haimona
  | Manihere — Tapesora
  | Hariata

1 Genealogy given by Hamana Mahuika
CHAPTER 9

Conclusion

This thesis has examined the leadership role of women in Ngati Porou and the material provided by the oral traditions of the tribe has been examined in the light of the basic requirements for leadership to determine the place of women.

The whole question of primogeniture is important in determining who is to be leader and who holds the highest rank in society. In Ngati Porou, primogeniture may be defined as the fact of being the first-born of the children of the same parents - there is no discrimination between male and female. The most senior in Ngati Porou is the one who is able to trace descent to the founding ancestor through first-born children, male and female alike, as the genealogies of the tribe show. Further, the first-born child was not only the most senior, but was to be preferred as leader and in most cases was so - again regardless of sex.

From the data examined, one may draw a number of conclusions about the basic considerations posed at the beginning.
1. The number of women who became leaders, and who are remembered as prominent ones, are too numerous for them to be exceptions to a general rule of male leadership. Rather, their number would indicate first-born females had as much opportunity of becoming leaders as did first-born males. Further, this opportunity extended to the taina sister of a weak male ariki (as in the case of Hinatapora) or a weak female ariki (as in the case of Hinerupe).

The only area in which women did no provide active leadership was in the field of warfare. But if one considers that leadership in warfare included not only the physical act of fighting, but also the teaching of the arts of war and certain ritualistic ceremonies, then the evidence, scant though it be, would suggest that in Ngati Horo even warfare was not always exclusively the domain of men. Thus, Tamatea Upoko trained her sons in the art of war and recited the necessary incantations for the success of the taha, warparty.

2. The power these women leaders wielded was the same as one would expect a male leader of equal stature to wield. The cases cited indicate that the women in
question held and exercised mana tangata in the fullest sense. The fact that most of them are remembered as some of the tribes most powerful leaders supports this conclusion.

3. As far as one can judge, it appears that the rights and duties adhering to the first-born applied to both male and female first-born. This is only consistent with male and female being genealogically equal when it comes to determining seniority. The principal manifestation of this equality is the right of women to speak on the marae in Ngati Porou and the extreme respect women like Mihi Kotukutuku and Materoa Reedy were accorded on the marae when they spoke. The knowledge these two women and the other modern leaders cited, displayed of tribal history, traditions and literature shows they took seriously the responsibility of their birth to be well-versed in this field.

Women also possessed mana and tapu of the highest order, as the case of Hinesuta, in particular, indicates. The fact that she was "amohia ai" can be correlated with her seniority - her genealogies show that nearly all of the senior lines in the tribe converge upon her.
The fact that women were accepted as trustees of tribal property, particularly land, is supported by the fact that in Ngati Porou mana whenua originated with and was transmitted largely by women. Further, that a first-born female could allocate land among members of the tribe is shown by the case of Te Aokairau, who divided the land over which she had mana whenua between her three children, Putaenga, Huanga and Hinapere.

4. The evidence would suggest that marriage did not materially alter her leadership, unless, as in the case of Rutaupare and Tushakairiore, her husband should win the respect of the people over and above his wife. It appears that in most cases the status and ability of these women was such that their leadership was respected even by their husbands. Further, since the mana whenua was transmitted through women, in the case of marriages between the members of two different hapu residence tended to be unxorilocal and therefore the leadership of the woman was not affected.

5. Women constituted the majority of the song composers in Ngati Porou. Beyond Ngati Porou, much of what is contained in songs is found only in the teachings of
the whare wananga and thus is exclusive to males. However our evidence suggests that women composers in Ngati Porou were in fact products of a whare wananga. Moreover, not only did they compose songs, but they even composed haka for men!

I could not do better than to conclude this account of female leaders in Ngati Porou by quoting the pepeha or saying of the Whanau-a-Ruahe - "Te Whanau-a-Rua he tangata rite" --the Whanau of Rua are of equal status and this equality of status, which applies throughout the tribe, is the key to female leadership.
APPENDIX A.

Notes on chief informants and interviews.

My chief informants were the late Arnold (Hanaara) Reedy, the late Pine Taiapa and Mr Eruera Kawhia Stirling. I also used others, such as my own father, the late Hamana Mahuika. Information was gathered in various ways:

1. During 'whaikorero' (speech making) on the marae or other places.
2. Individual interviews.
3. Group interviews.

All my informants are/were regarded as experts in Ngati Porou tribal history and traditions.

I have drawn heavily from Eruera Stirling in this section, because he not only expresses the same view as my other informants but he also corresponded with me in regard to the material contained in this thesis.

1. Marae: This is the section of land before the main meeting house, and it is the ceremonial place of Maori gatherings.
In Ngati Porou, women have the right to speak here, but in other tribes women are forbidden to speak on the marae.
The late Mr Pine Taiapa on the other hand did not agree with some of the points raised by the others, though he did not disagree in person with the other informants. He expressed his disagreement with the role of women as leaders, because he held to the view that, "Ko te patu ki te tane, ko te whakawhanau tamariki ki te wahine." ("The weapon of war to man, the bearing of children to women.") However, in an interview with him at my father's home in Whakawhitira, Ruatoria, on the 3rd August 1968, he said, "Nga wahine nei, a Te Ataakura, a Materoa me Tawhipare he wahine whai mana, he kai arahi he kaiwhakahiato i te iwi." ("These women, Te Ataakura, Materoa and Tawhipare all had mana, and were leaders and all united the people.") By this statement Pine, admitted that these roles did in fact exist.

All my other informants maintained that women played an active role of leadership and claimed that our aristocracy came from our female ancestors. My recent interviews with Eruera Stirling at his home in Auckland and the letters he wrote me, reaconfirm the role of women leaders in Ngati Porou. The most recent interview took place in January 1972 at Auckland.
There were some differences between the genealogies given to me by the late Pīne Taiapa and those given to me by the other informants. I have accepted the majority view in this matter, consulting not only the other main informants, but also those genealogy books compiled by my tipuna and to which I had access, the genealogies given by Ngata in Nga Moteatea and the genealogies in Ngata's Percourangi School of Maori Culture, given at Ruatoria in the winter of 1943.¹

¹ Copies of which were held by the author's father, Hamana Mahuika.
APPENDIX B

Moa haka Tane me moa haka a moa Wahine
(The men's and women's haka)

A number of haka have been selected in this section to illustrate the similarity in the roles played by men and women in Ngati Porou on ceremonial occasions - not only as performers, but as composers of these dances. In both the men's and women's haka there is a marked likeness in content, language, rhythm and style of performance and the quality of the Ngati Porou women's haka is reflected in the fact that today these dances are used by women in other tribal areas.

In considering haka compositions, it should be noted that women were often composers of men's haka. The classic haka "Puamoko" (contained herein) is said to have originally been a waiata composed by a woman¹ and it was later modified as a haka by the Rev. Mohi Turei.² In the case of another Ngati Porou classic, "Ta Kiringutu" (also contained herein) it was composed in reply to a haka composed by a woman.

¹ The informant was the author's father, Hamana Mahuika.
² An Anglican clergyman who lived in the Waiapu Valley in the early 1900's.
1. **Ruaumoko**

Composed in the 18th century, this ceremonial haka is a classic. Like other old compositions, it contains classical allusions which are obscure to all but students of classical Maori. It has been described as a classic of the phallic cult, though this is not explicitly revealed in the translation.

1. **Men’s Ceremonial haka: "Ruaumoko"**

*a.* Ko Ruaumoko e ngunguru nei!

*ch.* Au! Au! Aue ha!

*a.* Ko Ruaumoko e ngunguru nei!

*ch.* Au! Au! Aue ha!

*a.* A ha ha!

*ch.* E ko te rakau a Tungawerewere! A ha ha!
He rakau tapu, na Tutaua ki a Uenuku,
I patukia ki te tipua\(^2\) ki o Rangitopeka,
Pakaru te upoko o Rangitopeka,
Patua ki waenganui o te tau ki Hikurangi,\(^3\)
He toka whakairo, a tu ake nei,
He atua! He tangata! He atua! He tangata, ho!

---

1 Ruaumoko is the earthquake god. It is said that at one time Sky and Earth were in close embrace, with their children caught between them. The children, desperate for more light and freedom, separated their parents. Ruaumoko, the unborn child, still kicks in his mother’s womb and when this happens, an earthquake occurs.

2 *tipua* - vagina

3 Hikurangi is the highest mountain in Ngati Porou territory.
s. He atua, he atua, Taupare-taitoko,
    Kia kite a Pare-taitoko te whare haunga!

ch. A ha ha! Ka whakatete mai o rei, he kuri! Au!
    Na wai parehua taku hope kia whakaka te rangi
    Kia tare au! Ha!

s. He roha te kawau!

ch. Ha!

s. Kei te pou tara

ch. Tu ka tete, ka teta! Tau ha!

s. Ko komako, ko komako!

ch. E ko hautapu e rite ki te kai na Matariki,
    Tapareireia koi tapa! Tapa konunua koiana tukua!
    I aue!
Rusumoko: English translation

s. Hark to the rumble of the earthquake god!

ch. Au! Au! Aue ha!

s. 'Tis Rusumoko that quakes and stirs!

ch. Au! Au! Aue ha!

s. A ha! ha!

ch. It is the rod of Tungawerewere,
The sacred stick given by Tutaua to Uenuku.
It struck the monster Rangitopoaka
And smashed the head of Rangitopoaka
Cleaving the twin peaks of Hikurangi
Where the carved rock emerges,
A gift of the Gods! The wonder of men!
A miracle of heaven! The lure of mankind!

s. 'Tis divine! 'Tis divine!

Behold Pareaitoko
Searches and finds the hidden places!

ch. A ha! ha! Where the dogs gnash their teeth
In frenzy! Au!

s. A ha! ha!

ch. They have gnawed and bitten deep
Until in pain I see the heavens blaze,
Ere I faint! Ha!

s. Like the shag with outspread wings!

ch. Ha!

s. In the throes!

ch. With its last expiring breath, ha!
211.

2. **Te Kiringutu**

Another Ngati Porou classic. According to the late Sir Apirana Ngata, this haka was composed by Hone Rongomaitu in reply to a haka composed by a woman, Irihapeti Te Rangiteapakura. The following is the original\(^2\) text of the haka, with comments, as given by Ngata to the author's father, Hamana Mahuika.\(^3\)

**Ko te kaupapa mai o "Te Kiringutu"**

"E kia ana na Hone Rongomaitu o te Whanau a Umuariki, o te Whanau a Hinetapora i tito hei whakautu mo te Irihapeti Te Rangiteapakura. Ko Rangiteapakura no Whareponga, no Akuaku, he wahine atashua no tona whakatipuranga, he horetiti ki nga mahi tito haka, waiata. Nana te waiata ra, "Kauaka Toihau hei pareawaha ma Te Keepa 'hau."

---

\(^1\) *Kiringutu* - the skin forming the lips.

\(^2\) For a revised version, which is the one now commonly performed, see haka \(^3\) in this section.

\(^3\) Contained in a letter signed and dated 29.12.43
Toku tara tangata matua, e,
Te makere atu ki raro ra,
A hai! hai!
Iri tonu mai runga
O te kiringutu mau mai ai,
Hei tipare tawa mo te hoa tito.
Tahuna mai koia ki te umu kapurangi
Kia mate ai su;
Ko tuhikitia, ko tuhapainga
I raro i to takini huirapa
E whakatutu nei no mataura,
E kape nei ki te mouru.
Na te rongo o Kaitangata,
Na te wenewene
Ko’i houma ki konei;
Koere ia ra, e haramai tonu koe
Ki te kai hore ure, e,
Kia titiro iho Taiaha ki
Nga hanga riki o Rotorua,
E whakapipipi ake nei nga tamariki
A Kura kai pakupaku
I te roro o te whare o Maui.
Heua ake ra, kei puta atu hoki
Te ihu o te waka i
Nga terouka i Tutesahua,
Ka paia pukutia mai
E nga uaua e te tara whakairo
O Rangiteapakura, e hai!
Ko te kaupapamai tenei, he weriweri. Kaore he haka tatakimori o nehera, i hou tomu atu ki nga wahi tapu o te tane, o te wahine nga kupu nehunehu. Ko te whakamarama o Kaitangata kei te korero o Whaitiri, he wahine no te rangi, he wahine mina ki te kiko tangata; ka rongo i a Kaitangata, ara i te ingoa ka mea hei tane mana, kia kai ai ia i te tangata. Ka hoke iho na, ka moe e ia a Kaitangata. Ko te whare o Maui ko te wahi i kutia ai o Hinenuiotepo. Kaore i su te haka a Rangiteapakura, nona nei tenei whakautu.

He pai tomu te whakawhaiti i enei mea, ki kona takoto ai mo nga whakatipuranga tangata kei te haere.

Te Kiringutu: English translation (with notes)

The origin of "Te Kiringutu"

"It is claimed that Hone Rongomaitu of Te Whansau a Usmariki and Te Whansau a Hinetaapora composed this as a reply to the composition of Irihapeti Te Rangiteapakura, of Whareponga and Akuaku. She was one of the most beautiful women of her generation, a prolific composer of haka and waiata. She composed the song, "Kauska Toihau hei pareawaha ma Te Keepa 'hau"."
My large mortal penis, e,
Shall not pierce your maiden head,
A ha! ha!

Nor would it rest and settle upon your lips
Nor would it be a head band to show all
Of the composer's victory over me.
You were scented in the oven of dried wood
Hopefully to entice me.
Now it is raised, now it is suspended
Before your hymen there below
It is erect, it is stirred
Ready to grasp the bait dangled before it.
It was hearing of Kaitangata
And his anal region
That has brought you here;
I am not fooled, you are here for but one purpose
To devour and partake of man's penis.
However, I cast my eye also
To the young maidsens of Rotorua,
There they are gathered, the daughters
Of Kura, partaking of food
Before the house of Maui.
But in vain, how can the prow of the canoe
On being set free,
Pass the headlands of Tutaehua,
When being confronted with the carved hymen
Of Rangitesapakura, e ha!
This is the origin of this haka and it is very repulsive. In former times offensive hakas were not unknown; on the contrary, many contained frank discussions of the private parts of a man and a woman. A detailed account of Kaitangata is to be found in the story of Whaitiri, a woman from heaven, who craved for intercourse with man; on hearing of Kaitangata, and learning of his name, she determined that he should be her husband so that she may have sexual relations with a human. She therefore came to earth, and she took Kaitangata as her husband. Maui's house is at the place where he was defeated by Hinenuiotepo.¹ I do not have Rangiteapakura's haka for which this composition is a reply. It is desirable that these things be collected and thus preserved for future generations."

3. **Te Kirikingutu; a men's haka taparahi**²

The following is the revised version of this haka, composed by Tuta Mnioniho.

Ngata says of this version that it "has come down the generations and had its greatest revival with topical adaptations in 1888, when the Porourangi meeting house was

¹ Hinenuiotepo - the goddess of death
² Haka taparahi - vigorous ceremonial dance.
formally opened. Led by the late Tuta Nihoniho, a noted chief of the Hikurangi sub-tribes, a section of Ngati Porou registered their protest against the rating of their lands and the taxation of articles of everyday consumption, specifying the 'pua torori' or the tobacco plant. It was revived again at the Waitangi celebrations in 1934, and was adopted by the men of the 9th and 10th Maori Reinforcements as the piece de resistance of the recent celebration of the opening of Tamatekapua at Rotorua. Its main theme is not outdated, the complementary, yet seemingly, contradictory features of civilisation, with the still novel but bitter pill of taxation. In the circumstances the vigour of the recitative and concomitant actions may be appreciated.¹

Whakaara

s. Ponga ra! Ponga ra!
ch. Ka tataki mai te Whare o nga Ture!
   Ka whiria ra te Maori! Ka whiria!
   E ngau nei ona reiti, e ngau nei ona taake!
   A ha ha! Te taea te use! I aue! Hei!

s. Patua i te whenua!
ch. Hei!

s. Whakataua i nga ture!
ch. Hei!
   Na nga Nema ra te kohuru,

¹ Mgarimu Investiture programme: 23
Na te Kawana te koheriheri!
Ka raruraru nga ture
Ka raparapa ki te pua torori! I aue!

**Taparahi**

s. Kaore hoki te mate o te whenua e,
   Te makeke atu ki raro ra!
ch. A ha ha! Iri tonu mai runga
   O te kiringutu mau mai ai,
   Hei tipare tawa mo te hoariri!
A ha ha! I tahuna mai a
   Ki te whakahere toto koa,
   E ki te ngakau o te whenua nei,
   E ki te keura! I aue, taukuri, e!

s. A ha ha!
ch. Ko tuhikitia, ko tuhapainga
   I raro i te whero o te Maori! Hukiti!

s. A ha ha!
ch. Na te ngutu o te Maori, pohara, kai-kutu,
   Na te weriweri ko' i homai ki konei?
E, kaore i ara, i haramai tonu koe ki te kai whenua!
   Pekokohua! Kauramokai! Hei!

s. A ha ha!
ch. Kei puta atu hoki
   Te ihu o te waka i nga torouka o Nui Tirenii,
   Ka paia pukutia e nga uaua o te ture a te Kawana!
   Te taea te usue! Au! Au! I aue!

**Tuku** Ko komako, ko komako
Te Kiringutu: English translation

The rising

s.
The shadows fall! The shadows fall!

ch.
The House, which makes the laws, is chattering
And the Maori will be plaited as a rope!
Its rates and its taxes are biting!
A ha ha! its teeth cannot be withdrawn! Alas!

s.
The land will be destroyed!

ch.
Hei!

s.
The laws are spread-eagled over it!

ch.
Hei!

The Members have done this black deed.
And the Rulers have conspired in the evil;
The laws of the land are confused,
For even the tobacco leaf is singled out! Alas!

The body of the taparahi

s.
Never does the loss of our landed heritage
Cease to burden our minds! A ha ha!
Ever it is upon our lips, clinging
As did the headbands of the warriors,
Arrayed to parry the enemy's blow!
A ha ha! I was scorched in the fire
Of the sacrifice of blood, and stripped
To the vital heart of the land,
Bribed with the Pakaha gold! Alas! Ah me!
A ha ha!

ch.
Lifted are we and suspended on high,
And told to get out of the way!

s.
A ha ha!
Was it not your declared mission
To remove the tatoo from Maori lips,
Relieve his distress, stop him eating lice
And cleanse him of dirt and disgust?
Yea! But all that was a deep-laid design
'Neath which to devour our lands!
Ha! May your heads be boiled! Displayed on the
  toasting sticks!

A ha ha!

How can the nose of the bark you give us
Pass by the rugged headlands of New Zealand,
When confronted with the restrictive, perplexing laws,
Obstacles that cannot be removed! Alas! Ah me!

Reverting to the ground

It is kamako.
4. **Tihei Taruke**

This haka was composed by Mohi Turei.

s. Rangitukia na te Pariha i tukua atu ai nga kai Whakaako, Tokowhai,
Ruka ki Reperus,
Hoepea ki te Paripari,
Kawhia ki Whangakareso,
Apakura ki Whangapirita e.

ch. E i aha tere, e haramai ki roto ki Waiapu,
Kia kite koe i tawa mapua,
E te Paripari tihei taruke i kia nei e Rerekohu,
Hoatu kari ona kauae
Purapipaka, ka uramokai Hei!

**Tihei Taruke: English translation**

s. Rangitukia is the parish whence the four preachers
Of the gospel were sent forth,
Ruka to Reporus,
Hoepea to Paripari,
Kawhia to Whangakareso,
Apakura to Whangapirita e.

ch. Behold! Come to Waiapu
So that you may witness for yourself
The prolific fruit bearing trees
and the prolific fishing nets of the Paripari
about whom Rerekohu said,
"Strike them and smite them on the jaw."
You secundrel! May your head be boiled! Hei!

\(^1\) See chapter 8: for the origin of this title, based on a remark made by the chief, Rerekohu.
5. **Kura Tiwaka Taua**

This haka is a survival from ancient days. "It incorporates the chant, which accompanied and inspired the men in far off Hawaiki to draw the Takitimu canoe to the seaside. There it was fitted out for the long voyage to New Zealand, bringing the ancestors of the East Coast and many other tribes in both islands. The chant is the portion beginning 'He tia, he tia, he tia' down to the end." 2

The author's father, Hamana Mahuika, said this haka was composed to show that the Horeuta canoe was one of the main canoes which came from Hawaiki to New Zealand around 1350. Many people speak of seven canoes and omit Horeuta, leaving Ngati Porou without a canoe. Horeuta, according to Ngati Porou tradition, also brought with it the kumara or sweet potato.

**Whakaara**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a.</th>
<th>Ka kenei ake sui</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eh.</td>
<td>Titaha ake ai, hai!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>He kore e tutaki!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eh.</td>
<td>He pupu karikawa, he pupu harororo hai!</td>
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<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>Ka tikoki!</td>
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<tr>
<td>eh.</td>
<td>Ka tahuri!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>Ka tikoki!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eh.</td>
<td>Ka tahuri!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ka tahuri ra Nui Tiren, i aue!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 Literrally, "let us be fantails", with reference to the dipping and flashing movement of the canoe oars.
2 Need Invest! to Pres. on 8:31.
Taranaki

a. Papa te whatitiri, hikohiko te uira,
I kanapu ki te rangi, i whetu ki raro ra,
Ru ana te whemua, e!

eh. E, i aha tera e! Ko te weroanga
A Porourangi i te Ika a Maui
E taketo nei! A ha ha!
Kia anga tiraha ra te puku ki runga ra!
A ha ha! Kia eke mai o iwi ki runga ki
To tuatua werowero ai e ha! I aue, taukuri, e!

a. Tena ra, e Tama! tu ake ki runga ra
Ki te hautu i ehou waka, i a Korouta,
Takitimu, Mataatua, Tainui, Te Arawa,
E taketo nei!

eh. A ha ha!

a. Aue! He tia, he tia, he tia!
Aue! He ranga, he ranga, he ranga!

eh. Whakarere ihe ana te kakau o te hoe ko
Maninitua! Ko Maniniaro!
Tangi te kura i tangi wiwini,
Tangi te kura i tangi wawana!

a. Tera te haeata takiri ana mai
I runga o Hikurangi!

eh. Aha! Whaiuru, whaiuru, whaiuru!
Aha! Whaiato, whaiato, whaiato!
Arara tini! Arara tini! Ara ri!

a. A ko tena, tena!

eh. A ko tena, tena!

Aha ka te wai o te waha, ko te wai o te waha!
Hei koti, hai koti, hai koti!

a. Ka rere! I ka rere!
Kura Tivaka Taua: English translation

The following is Ngata's translation of this haka. He comments, "the composition is full of archaic matter, difficult to render into English."

The Rising

s. Let me proceed by this way!
ch. Sliding along!
s. Mayhap I shall there meet?
ch. Some ancient lolling his tongue at me!
s. It is heeling over!
ch. It has capsized!
s. It is careening over!
ch. It has capsized!
New Zealand has heeled over! Aue!

The body of the tararahi

s. The thunder crashes, the lightning flashes,
  Illuminating the heavens, while the shock strikes earth
  Which trembles and Quakes! Ha!

1 Ngarimu Investiture Programme: 31
So nature bears witness that Porourangi
Has pierced the great Fish of Maui,¹
Which lies beneath us! A ha ha!
So it is your belly, upturned and laid bare!
A ha ha! So that your people may mount
And spear you! A ha ha!

Arise then, my Son, and take your stand
To direct and urge on your canoes, Horouta,
Takitimu, Mataatua, Tainui, Te Arawa,
The great fleet drawn up here!

A ha ha!

Striking, sweeping, paddling!
Now on the other side paddling!

Down dips the blade of the paddle,
Sweeping behind, flashing before!
The speeding canoe sings in the wind!
Vibrant with energy it chants to the breeze!

Behold the first light of dawn
Is reflected from the crest of Nikurangi!

Aha ha! Dipping close to this side,
Aha ha! Now changing and plunging to that side!
Urging and urging the bark on!

Now faster and faster!
Yes faster and faster!
Is it not like the foam from your mouth,
Thrown out, expelled with force!

So it speeds, so it speeds —
So my canoe rushes along, swiftly, so smoothly!
For it is the canoe of war! It is the master of the seas!
Cleaving the ocean waves, parting the wild rushing seas!

¹ Te Ika a Maui - the North Island of New Zealand, said to have been fished up from the sea by Maui.
6. **Pohiri (Welcome):** Women's Haka Taparahi

(a) s. No wai te motsaka e topa mai nga rori?
   ch. Aue! Nou nei Kawana,
    Tika mai nei taua, i nawa!
    Aue! Aue! Aue ha!
    Aue! Aue! Aue ha!

(b) s. Mahe te marama i haere ai a Moana,²
   ch. Aue! I piki ai ra i te hiwi
    Ki te mate i taua, i nawa!
    Aue! Aue! Aue ha!
    Aue! Aue! Aue ha!

(c) s. Homai he mata, kia haehae au,
   ch. Aue! Kia kotia i te kiri
    I awhi ai taua, i nawa
    Aue! Aue! Aue ha!
    Aue! Aue! Aue ha!

(d) s. Mau ra e Kawana
    E hohoki ai te roimata!
   ch. Aue! E maringi nei me he wai
    Ki te ipo i taua, i nawa
    Aue! Aue! Aue ha!
    Aue! Aue! Aue ha!

---
¹ Ngarimu Investiture Programme
² Moana - Lt. Te Moana-o-Kiva Ngarimu, posthumous recipient of V.C. in World War II.
**Pohiri: English Translation**

Whose is the motor ear speeding hither along the highway?  
It is thine, O Governor, coming direct to me.

March was the month, when Moana scaled the hill.  
Alas! It was to his death that he ascended.

Hand me the sharp obsidian to lacerate myself,  
That I may disfigure the form you have oft embraced.¹

It may be that you can, O Governor, stem this flow of tears,  
Which flows as a torrent for my loved one, alas!²

7. **Pohiri or Dance of Welcome³**

    s. Haukiwi, hauweka, kawea he korero  
       Kia whakarengo mai –
    ch. Nga Iwi o te motu, pakia!
    s. Aue! E te tai whakarunga!  
       E te tai whakararo  
       Ka pupuru tonu
    ch. Te buka tai moana mai aue!  
       Nga Iwi whakakeke o Niu Tirenī,  
       Huri ke,anga ke!  
    s. Ta ke, ta ko, tata rawa!

¹ Grief is often expressed by inflicting lacerations or other kinds of physical injury on oneself.
² The Ngarimu Souvenir Programme pp.8–9
³ Ngarimu Investiture Programme:10
He paruparu no te Tai-rāwhiti,¹
Kia ruku mai koe!
Ana to kai! Ana to kai! Aue hai!
Aue.

Pawhiri: English translation

Softly blowing winds take these words
So that the scattered tribes may hear,
    Strike your thighs!
Peoples of the southern sea,
Peoples of the northern tide!
The waves are breaking along the shores.

Harken, ye stubborn tribes of New Zealand,
Who turn this way and that!
Twisting here and twisting there,
Risky it may be a fall!
Here is the mud of the Eastern sea
Through which you may plunge;
There is your food! There is your food!

¹ Tai-rāwhiti - East Coast of North Island of N.Z. (Ngati Porou territory).
8. Te Urungatū, Te Urungatū Pasi Women’s Haka of Welcome

This haka shows the relationship between Ngati Porou and Ngai Tahu, through Hamoterangi.

**Genealogy**

```
Porourangi → Hamoterangi → Tahu
                         /
                        Ngati Porou     Ngai Tahu
```

**Note:** Porourangi married HAMOTERANGI. At his death, his younger brother Tahu took Hamoterangi to the South Island as his wife. Thus the relationship of the two groups is traced through Hamoterangi.

a. Tena i whiu:
   Taku pohiri e rere atu ra
   Ki te hiku o te ika, ²
   Te puku o te whenua,
   Te pane o te motu ki
   Te whakawhititanga i Raukawa
   Ki te Waipounamu, e....

ch. E i aha tere e!
   Haramai koe i te pohiritanga
   A taku manu!

---

¹ Ngārimu Investiture Souvenir Programme: 142
² Ika - Te Ika a Maui. See
Hara-mai koe i te pohiritanga
A taku manu!

s. He tiwaiwaka 'hau na Maui!
ch. Tiori rau e he ha!
s. He tiwaiwaka 'hau na Maui!
ch. Tiori rau e he ha!
s. Ko tou aro i tahuri mai,
   Ko toku aro i tahuri atui
ch. Takina ko at! Takina ko at!
s. Ko tou aro i tahuri mai,
   Ko toku aro i tahuri atui
ch. Takina ko at! Takina ko at!
s. Perou koe! ¹
ch. Ko Hamo² te wahine koe!
s. Ko Tahu koe!
ch. Ko Hamo te wahine koe!

Nana i tohatoha ki Nui Tirenī ka hipoki!
Haere mai! Haere mai!
Haere mai! Haere mai!
   Taku hui! Hei!

Te Uruma Tu, Te Uramu Pas! English Translation

s. Begin with a swing!

My call has gone forth
To the tail of the fish,
To the belly of the land,
To the head of the island,
Thence by the crossing at Raukawa
To the land, whose streams

¹ Perou — abbreviated form of POROURANGI.
² Hamo — (Hamaterangi).
Abound in greenstone!

ch. The call has gone forth!
So come ye at the welcome
Given by my bird!
Respond ye to the cry
Of my bird's welcome!

s. I am the fan-tail of Maui,¹

ch. Chirping restlessly to and fro.

s. I am the fan-tail of Maui,

ch. Gaily singing, darting here and there!

s. You will turn yourself to me,
And I will turn myself to you.

ch. There is your challenge to me!

s. 'Tis Porou indeed!

ch. And Hame his consort too!

s. 'Tis Tahu indeed!

ch. And Hame his consort also!
They have broadcast their progeny all over
New Zealand!

So welcome to you! Welcome to you!
Come to our hui!

9. Piki Hangi. Here Hangi: a woman's haka of welcome¹

s. Powhiritia stu!

ch. Haere mai! Haere mai!

s. Haramai ra, taku mui, taku wehi,
Taku whakatiketike i ahau ki runga ra, e!

ch. Ei! I aha tēra e!

¹ Ngārimu Investiture Programme: 22f
Piki rangi! Rere rangi! He ruru koukoua.
He aniwahia manawa mai o Porourangi,
Hopukia i te puku o te whenua, e!

E! I aha tere e!
Haramai koe i te powhiritanga a taku manu!
Haramai koe i te powhiritanga a taku manu!

Kaore, kei te kamakama, whawhai ana mai ki-
A kite koe i te wikitoria, e!

E! I aha tere e!
E Porou!
Pakeke i ona mahi!
E Porou!
Pakeke i ona mahi!
Ka tika ha, taku powhiri, taku powhiri!
Haere mai! Haere mai! Ki taku hui! Hei!

Piki Rangi, Rere Rangi: English translation

Give them your welcome!

Welcome, thrice welcome!

Welcome to you great, distinguished ones.
Who have uplifted me to such great honour!

So we greet you, we greet you!

Heaven ascending, heaven soaring like the
screching owl.

Boldly beats the great heart of Porourangi,
Gripping the vitals of the earth the while!

So we greet you!

Come in response to the call of my bird!

Come in answer to the call of my bird!

Stirring and hurrying, speeding to see

To gaze on the Cross of Valour with me!
ch. Welcome, ye Sirs! Welcome to you!
s. Porou!
ch. Be strong in your efforts
s. Porou!
ch. Be valiant in deeds!
Right then is our welcome!
Come then to this assembly!
Join in the acclaim!
APPENDIX C

A Scene From The Past

A description of the Maori Haka, by Sir Apirana T. Ngata

Prologue

We reck 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.
In mem'ry ling'ring, all too hazy,
Blurred, uncertain, still they charm us.
Ah, we love them! Language doth but
Clothe in artifice our passion,
Doth but to the world proclaim
We are traitors to the past.

Traitors? when our hearts are beating,
Thrilling stirred by recollections?
Present, Future? Them we know not;
For us no memories they hold.
Traitors? when our ears are ringing,
Filled with echoes from the dead?
Deaf to all these chords alone
Make heavenly music, penetrating
Souls by strangeness long since deadened,
Now in sympathy vibrating.
Traitors? Nay, we scorn the name!
Bigots, blind fanatic worshippers,
Idolaters serving things of clay!
Call us, and that name were dear!
On life's rough stream you launched us forth;
You thought to buoy us, gave us hope.
Your sturdy oak, our flaxen bark,
Your iron-clad, our humble reed,
Made sorry company, and you glided,
Well equipped, the whilst we trembled.
Ah, no! your hope but kills all hope;
You crush the life you wish to save.
Nay, rather leave us with the past;
In mem'ry let us wander back
Amid the scenes we loved of yore.
There let us roam, untrammeled, free!
For mem'ry, like that herb, embalms,
Preserves, endears our recollections.

The Marsa and Hui

One dear scene in my mind's eye is floating,
Martial, warlike, yet so graceful;
Stag'd in meads that heard no bleating,
Save of savage babes at play.

There the old pa stands to-day,
Where the mountain, clad in koukas,
Bends with gentle slope and fondly
Showers kisses on the stream.
Rippling, laughing, winding, moaning,
Hies she on to join the ocean,
Emblem of a race that's speeding
Sadly onwards to oblivion.
Day is breaking on that pa;  
All within is bustle, stir.  
'Tis the hour of dedication,  
Te Kawanga, solemn consecration,  
When our whare in its beauty,  
Tukutuku pukana, e korirari!  
Duly to the gods in Heaven  
With our war-dance must be given.

All day long from far and near,  
The crowds pour in to see and hear.  
Amid this group are chieftains bold,  
Rei, Taemui - names of old.  
Yonder Kahungunu, mere in hand,  
Frowning marshals forth his band -  
Te Arawa, Taainui me te Whakatohea  
Whakaata, Taupare, Tuwhakairiara.

A noble sight th' intruding band.  
But grander yet unfolds itself.  
Yonder, massed, one sea of forms,  
Maids with warriors alternating.  
In the van are maidens lovely,  
Dressed in mats of finest fibre,  
Cheeks with takou gaily hued,  
Plumed with quills of rarest huia.  
Beyond - but no; no more is seen,  
Though hundreds lie to about "Haere mai!"  
The maids must first display their graces,  
Then we'll gaze on warriors' faces.
Maidens' Welcome

Uplift they their welcome, 'Haere mai! Haere mai!' With knees bent gracefully, with slow step and gesture, As soft as the panther, yet queenly and stately. Hark! now it is changing, in chorus they're joining; It swells and it rings, it bursts forth triumphant. In voice and in gesture, in body and limb, Their welcome is spoken, 'Naumai! naumai! How nimbly they foot it, how supple their bodies; Ye nymphs and ye naiads, beware of your laurels! These children untutored, by Nature endowed, May charm yet Apollo, the god of all graces.

Chant While Withdrawing

Kihei aku mihi i pau atu, e hine! Rokehanga koe ka pikauria e! But now behold the nymphs subside, The rhythmic motion's ceased, and lo! The ranks give way, the van files off, Unfolding terrors to our view. Rows of warriors, dusky war-like, Line the earth and make it bristle; All recumbent, silent, speechless, Seeming in lethargic sleep.
The Man's Welcome

Aotearoa's sons, ye warriors stern,
Awake! awake! they come! they come!
'Welcome, ye strangers; Naumai! Naumai!'
Respond ye to the call so feehly,
Though your war-paint glows so fiercely!
'Welcome ye strangers! Haere mai! haere mai!'
Ha! ye sluggards, raise your voices,
Up and stamp and tread like Maoris!
'Tis the haka, powhiri, war-dance,
Fierce and warlike, savage, martial!

The Whakaara

Ko te iwi Maori e ngunguru nei! Au, au, au e ha!
Ko te iwi Maori e ngunguru nei! Au, au, au e ha!
Ko nga iwi katoa, te, tau tangata e taoho ai koe, Tacho!

Ha! your blood is coursing now!
Ha! your spirit's roused at last!
Ha! the welcome rings out clear!

Powhiriti ki o! Haere mai! Haere mai!
Heads erect and bodies stately,
Proud, imperious, yet be graceful;
Arms and limbs in rhythm moving,
Mars, Apollo, are reviewing.
The Grand Powhiri

Tena i whiuai!
With motion majestic, their arms now wide sweeping
Now circles describing, then to heav'n uplifted,
Their bodies set firmly, yet limbs in mid-air!

Tena i takahia!
With knee joints set loose,
With frenzy in gesture, with eyebrows contracting,
With eyes glowing fiercely, with bounding and leaping!
But, mark, mild Apollo the War-god is soothing.

Powhiritia atu! Haere mai! Haere mai!
Ha! warriors are leaping; the ranks they are surging;
The War-god has conquered; the war-cry is raised!
'Tis sounding, 'tis swelling, 'tis roaring, 'tis thund'ring!
Ha! Frenzy, thou workest; 'tis blood now they smell.
'The battle! the battle! our taiahas and mares!
They shout as they leap; a madness has seized them.
'Tako ki to kai rangatira! Tako!'
APPENDIX D.

He waiata tangi mo Materoa Reedy.¹

I haere ki Wanganui ka tahuri te motoka. Ka taka i runga tahataha ka mate. Na te tuakana o Metekingi Takarangi i whakahoki mai ki te kainga nei te tinana. Ina te waiata:

Materoa i te po e
Maranga mai ki runga manakitia nga mahi nei.
Kapohanga, Nga Tamatoa
Nga oha a nga tipuna
Hei taonga ma nga uri e.
Na hau ra e Api e
I mahi nga mahi nei
I mau ai to Maoritanga
I runga o te motu e
Aue, aue, E te iwi e
Maranga mai ki runga
Manakitia nga mahi nei.

¹ Recorded with notes by the authors father, Hamana Mahuika, 1950.
E tama Takarangi e
Haria mai te mamae kia tangi atu ahau e
Hikurangi te maunga, ko Ngati Porou ra.
Kei raro e hautu ana e
Na reira ra e Mate e.
Kei te kori te wiwi e
Ko nga tumanako ra, kia tutuki e
Aue, aue, E te iwi e
Powhiritia nga ope tuarangi
Haere, haere mai,
I aue, aue Hei.

E mahia ana Kapohanga wharenui, mo Ngati Tamatoa Dining Room i taea wa. I te whapuaretanga e nga whare nei koia nei tetahi o nga action songs a Hinerupe o Tikitiki.

A Lament for Materoa Reedy.

Materoa went to Wanganui, where her car overturned. The car fell over a bank, causing Materoa's death. It was Metekingi Takarangi's older relative who brought her body back home. Here then is the song:


Materoa\(^1\) in the world of darkness
come to life and bless these happenings,
The opening of Kapohanga, Nga Tamatoa
The gifts of our ancestors
As treasures for their descendants.
It was you Api\(^2\)
who gave life to things Maori
sustaining thereby your Maoritanga
throughout the land
Aue, Aue, to the assembled people rise up
sanction and bless all these things.

Sir, Takarangi\(^3\)
Bring with you the spirits of the dead,
that they be mourned by me,
by Hikurangi Mountain and by Ngati Porou people,
here assembled.
Alas Mate,
The people are writhing in grief,
but yet hopeful that what has been started be completed
Aue, Aue, Arise then
and welcome the many distinguished guests
With the call, Welcome, welcome.
I aue hei!

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\(^1\) Materoa: see page 182

\(^2\) Api: Sir Apirani was commonly known by this name.

\(^3\) Takarangi: one of the leading chiefs of Wanganui.
At that time the Kapohanga Meeting House and the Ngati Tamatoa Dining Room were being built. At the opening of these buildings this was one of the songs sung by the Hinerupe group of Tikitiki.

Note on Materoa.

A full treatment of Materoa Reedy is given in Chapter 8. Briefly however, it is important to note that, because of her seniority in Ngati Porou, a song for such a woman was inevitable. This is a common feature in our tribal area, where not only events of importance are recorded in song or dance, but also senior and important people.
APPENDIX E

Letter From Eruera Stirling - Dated 26.2.72

The following is a letter to me from Eruera K. Stirling; the letter is written mainly in Maori; I record the letter verbatim and supply the translations. It deals with the whole question of the importance of women and some cases are cited. Genealogies are used to show the pedigrees of the women mentioned.

Volume 1 A  Mataatua Waka
             1 B  Muriwai

Volume 2  Auwahi Koata - Tautuhiorangi

Volume 3 A  Muriwai's sons, Te Roau, and Rangikurukuru,
             Tekawekuratawhiti marriage to Taikorekore.

Volume 3 B  Ruataupare story of leadership.

Volume 4  Te Arawa Waka - Tuwharetoa Tamatekapua
genealogy.

Volume 5  Ranginui Whakapapa, Tauranga.
Hinemahuru's marriage and Maruhaeremuri.

Both were leaders of the tribe of Te Whanau-a-Apanui.
Ko Maruhaeremuri, he wahine. Tae mai ki taku mama kia
Mihi Kotukutuku, koia ano te kai arahi o te iwi i nga mahi
katoa, ahuwhenua hoki. He piri pono ki a Apirana Ngata tae
mai ki a su ki tana tama ko tauta wairua ano.

**Translation:**
( Maruhaeremuri was a woman. So too was my mother Mihi
Kotukutuku in her lifetime a leader of the people in all
tribal affairs and in the farming of the land. )
Matautua Waka (Canoe)

Iwai
Te Roau
  Te Puaiti
  Tamangenge
  Kauwhataroa
  Pusetakara
  Te Rauoteoke
Te Kawekuratawhiti — Taikorekore

Hinetere — Pararaki
Te Tautuhierongo — Auwhikoata
  Ruataupare — Tuwhakairiora

Te Whakapunuiotearangi — Rautaokura
Ruamanawahono — Kurahapeirangi
Kauwasteangohia — Te Whatianganiuho

Te Waranganuiotearangi — Kurakakai
  Hineswe — Tataingaotearangi
  Ngarangikowhawa — Te Whakauariki
  Rangituke — Hinestakirekire
  Te Aotata — Hinesteronaki
Poututerangi — Wharerakau
Maaka Te Ekutu — Ruiha Rahuta

Nihi Kotukutuku — Duncan Stirling
Koia nei te huarahi e mama ki roto i a Ngatiwa, i heke mai i a Toroa.

Translation:
(This is mother's descent to the Ngatiwa tribe, through the ancestor Toroa.)

In Volume 3:
Auwahikoata married Tautuhiorongo. Te Aotaki said to Tuwhakairiora, "E Tu, kaua koe e pa ki a Auwhikoata waiho tena ma to tuakana ma Tautuhiorongo, kia tapu ana," katahi ano a Tuwhakairiora ka mau i a Ruataupare ki te pa i Okauwharetoa. Ka moea e ia i runga i te kupu a Tuwhakairiora.

"Haere mai e tama ki roto ki te pa nei ki te wahi noa, ki su hoki ki a Hikurangi ki te maunga i Tauria e te kohu ara e takiri mai ra, te reo pohiri o Whetuki-te-Rangi i runga o Pukemanu; te tohu o tipuna kei a koe, e moe i to tuahine i a Ruataupare kia puta he uru rangatira hea arahi i te iwi, hei ngaki i te mate o to tipuna o Poroumata."

Translation:
(Auwahikoata married Tautuhiorongo, Te Aotaki said to Tuwhakairiora, "E Tu, do not make love to Auwhikoata, let
her be untouched, for your elder relative Tautuhiorongo. Tuwhakairiata thereupon took Ruataupare to the pa at Okauwharetea. He married her with the consent of Te Actaki, whose words of welcome to him were,

"Welcome young man to this humble pa¹, to me and to Hikurangi, to the mountain on which rests the mist, yonder is our place of birth and origin which beckons us in Whatukiterangi's speech of welcome upon Pukemana; you bear the marks of your ancestors, marry therefore your sister,² that a child of chiefly rank may be born to lead the people, and to avenge the death of your ancestor Porounata."

Tuwhakairiata
Maruiterangi
Te Rangitauiwhao
Minetapera
Koparehua
Makahuri
Te Mauwiwi
Te Mohumu
Kahurea
Ruia Rahuta——Naaka Te Khutu

Mihirotokutukutuku

¹ Pa - fortified village.
² Classificatory "sister".
Muriwai

Te Rosau
Te Pusaite
Tamangenge
Kauwhaturea

Taikorekore — Puatekaraka

Tutawanatai
Taikorekore
Puatchimaruru
Rerekuhu
Teuhunieterangi

Tataingaeterangi — Hineawe (see below)
Ngunguratangeri
Hinematerioro
Ngarangikahiwa (see below)
Te Kanistakirau
Waikari

Ngunguratangeri — Hineawe

Tataingaeterangi
Te Rosamakuru
Te Rangipaea
Tepohokuru
Kauke

Tahimaro
Petaatau
Ka pau katoa nga rangatira o Ngatiporou, tane, wahine ki reto i enei tipuna katoa.

Translation:
(All the aristocracy of Ngatiporou both men and women are descendants of these ancestors.)

Hinetama (in the above genealogy) ko iea tetahi onga wahine mui o reto i Mataatua¹ in Te Arawa². A nei tonina whakatauki "He kotahi na Hinetama, e horua te moana."

Ki te haere ki nga hui me ona atu hui tangi, te tangata, te kai, me ona atu mea katoa o te moana, kei muri katoa i tere e tauawhi ana.

Translation:
(Hinetama – this was one of the noble women in Mataatua and Te Arawa. Here is the proverb related to her: "Hinetama's one blood representative fills the sea to capacity."

If attending a gathering or a funeral, man, food and all other things of the ocean are second to her and to her look for guidance.)

¹ Te Mataatua: The canoe in which the people of the Bay of Plenty came to N.Z. in 1350 A.D.
² Te Arawa was also a canoe which came to N.Z. in 1350. It is the tribal name of the Rotorua tribes.
Volume 3B.

Ko Ruataupare tetahi o nga wahine rangatira o roto i a Ngatiporou. I te kore ona i pai ki nga whakahaere a Tuwhakairiora, ka wehea e ia to raua marenatanga, kia puta ai ona hiahia. Ka poroporoaki ia ki a Tuwhakairiora, "Ko te ra tenei e tu tahi ai taua, e huri koe ki te rawhiti. Ka hoki su ki Waitotoki, ki nga kainga o aku tipuna e pohiri mai ra i a su." Ka hoki a Ruataupare ki Waitotoki ki Tuparoa, Ka Waihangatia te pa ki Waitotoki, ka huaina ake e ia te ingoa ko Te Rangiweherua, ko te ra i wehe ai raua i roto o Okaunwharetia. Koia nei tetahi o nga pa nui o Ngatiporou ko Rangi Weherua. Ko ia te rangatira whakakotahi i te iwi. Ka mate a Ruataupare ka hoki mai a Makahuri ki reira noho ai. Ka whanau nga uri a Makahuri, a Ngaparaki, a Te Muiroa, a Hinauta, ka puta nga rangatira nunui o roto i te Whanau a Ruataupare, a Te Rangimateroana, a Tamaruaterangi, a Hinewhaikinerangi, a Hotere Porourangi, a Te Marukitipua. He tatai wahine anake te nuinga, taka iho ki nga mokopuna wahine a nga tipuna ka mau tonu te mautiri mana ki te tu marae, no Ruataupare mai ano te mana.

No Muriwai te kawai wahine nana i pupuri te mana o te wahine me te kaha tonu i runga i nga whakapapa o te rohe, nga Kuri-a-Wharei, Tauranga ki Tikirau.
Translation:

Ruataupare is one of the senior women in Ngatiporou. Because she was not in agreement with Tuwhakairiora’s administration and policies, she brought their marriage to an end, so that her own ambitions may find expression and fulfilment. She said farewell to Tuwhakairiora “This is the day when we stand together. You now turn westwards and to the East. I shall return to Waitotoki to the lands of my ancestors, who are welcoming me.” Ruataupare returned to Waitotoki in Tuparoa. A fortified village was erected at Waitotoki and called Te Rangiweherua, commemorating the day of their separation at Okauwharetoa. This is one of the famous pa of Ngatiporou. Ruataupare stayed at Rangiweherua. She was the leader who united the people. When Ruataupare died, Makahuri returned there to live Makahuri’s issue were born there, Ngaparaki, Muiroa, Hinauta and from these were born the noble chiefs of Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare, namely Rangimataesana, Tamaruaterangi, Hinawhakinaaterangi, Ketere Porourangi and Te Marukitipua. Most of the above are descendants of women, and the female grandchildren of these ancestors received the mana and right to stand on the marae, and this mana and right came from Ruataupare.
Muriwai by her prestigious background maintained the authority of women. This was also made possible by the seniority of her genealogical ties with other tribes throughout the land, stretching from Kuri-a-wharei, to Tauranga and Tikirau.

**Porourangi**

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Porourangi ——— Hamo
  
Rongomaianiwaniwa ——— Tawakika

Tumonaakotore ——— Rutanga

Hinemahuru ——— Apanui Waipapa
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Te Aopuhara    Te Aetangahoro   Te Aotakaia    Taikorekore
Paraki         Makaitangakore   Rongomaihuatahi  Matapiko
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Koiane i nga tamariki a Hinemahuru raua ko Apanui. Na Te Aotakaia i mau ana tuakana me to ratou tuahine kotahi a Rongomaihuatahi, i kahaki ki waho e te pa, e whakangaromia ana hoki e Hauiti kia ngaro nga uri matamua, kia puta ai ko nga uri a Kahukuranui. Na te toa o Te Aotakaia ka puta ratou i waho e te pa. Ka whai na ratou ki nga uri o
Mutu rangi ki Te Arawa, ko Turirangi tenei ka awhinatia ana tuakana ka whai morehu nga uri o Apanui. Ka heke hoki a Hinemahuru ka noho rawa atu i te pa o Kirieke, Raukokore. Ka poua e ia te rahui o nga whenua katoa i raro i te kaokao o Whanakao, o te rohe katoa, o Whangaparaoa, o Tikirau, ka rere ki runga i te puke o Raukumara tutuki atu ki te Rangamiratai, ki Whanokao tapu iho ki te awa o Raukokore te papa tipu toru te kaup nga eka whenua. Koia nei te puna i kootitia ai enei whenua katoa o te rohe o Raukokore. Nga kai o te moana katoa ka rahuitia te rohe o te moana, nga taunga ika, pari kuku ka whakaingoatia te "Kopua a Hinemahuru." He wahine tenei nana te iwi i mau, me te rahui katoa i nga tikanga katoa, heke iho ki ana uri mokopuna. To matou tikipuna a Maruhaeremuri he wahine, koia ano te kai-arahi. To matou ingoa hapu o Raukokore, "Te Whanau-a-Maruhaeremuri."

Translation:
(These are the children of Hinemahuru and Apanui. Te Aotakaia took his elder brothers and their only sister, Rongomaihuatahi, and escaped with them out of the pa, because Hauiti was out to kill all the senior and first-born issue so that the issue of Kahukuranui may emerge as senior.
It was through Te Aotakaia's bravery that they
managed to make their escape, and they then sought the issue of Mukurangi in Te Arawa, to Turirangi who turned and helped his senior relatives and so assured the continuity of Apanui's line and issue. Hinesmahuru then went southwards and settled at the pa called Kirieke in Raukokore. There she laid claim to all the land below Whanakao (a mountain in the Raukumar Range), to all the surrounding lands in Whangaparaaca, Tikirau, as far as the peaks of Raukumara to Rangamiratai to Whanakao and thus declared sacred all this land and the land through which the Raukore stream runs and which is now a Maori reserve of some thirty acres. The sea foods, fishing grounds, and the mussel beds were known as "The Ocean bed of Hinesmahuru." This was a woman, who was the leader of the people, and she had the power to lay claim to all things and do all things and from her such mana was inherited by her descendants. Our own ancestress Maruhaeremuri, a woman, was also the leader in her lifetime. Our subtribal name is "Te Whanau-a-Maruhaeremuri." (The family of Maruhaeremuri.)
APPENDIX P

Notes Recorded in Interviews With
The Late Arnold (H.T.) Reedy - 1968

At Kaitaia

Notes taken down during a series of interviews with the late Arnold Reedy. These notes are not full accounts of these interviews, in that much of what Mr Reedy told me, I had already heard before and therefore there was no need for notes. Some of the material gathered was committed to memory and the need for verbatim notes was unwarranted. I have therefore tried to arrange in some order the data I collected from these interviews.

In answer to the question of how and when did the peculiar role of Ngati Porou women come into existence, Arnold Reedy made the following points:

1. If one were to look back into the history of the Maori as handed down from generation to generation, women have always featured in the social organisation. Women featured strongly in the genealogies and the ranking of senior and junior is determined through women and men
without discrimination in the case of Ngati Porou genealogies.

2. Myths and legends did not deny women an important role. Though woman was created by the first man, Tane, none the less women emerged very strongly, so that they are featured in myths and legends as:

   Hine-nui-o-te-po, the goddess of death.

   Mahuika, the goddess of fire.

Throughout our Maori myths, women defeated men of rank and importance. Maui, who is regarded as a mythical hero, and who was responsible for fishing up the North Island of New Zealand was defeated by the goddess Hine-nui-o-te-po.

3. Women are the bearers of children. They had the power to cause life and death, if the mother cared for the child during her pregnancy all will be well with that child. If she decided otherwise the child may die at birth or she, that is the mother, may procure by some means a miscarriage and thereby end a particular family line.
4. The mana and tapu of a child was not only determined by that of the father but also by that of the mother. This is very much the case in Ngati Porou. Thus our womenfolk, such as Materoa, Te Ataakura, Uepohatu and a host of other women were more than bearers of children, they were leaders and the source of much of our mana and tapu.

5. As the preoccupation of men was war, women became the guardians of the mana and tapu of a tribe. They became the guardians of the land. Women, such as Te Ataakura, lived to bear a male child to avenge the death of her father Poroumata, who was killed by the Ngati Ruanuku. Womenfolk like Te Ataakura can determine the course of their childrens lives from the womb to adulthood. Tuwhakairora, the son of Te Ataakura, avenged the death of his grandfather Poroumata. The wish and instructions of Te Ataakura were fulfilled by Tuwhakairora, who, when he was in his mother's womb, was instructed early in this way by his mother, "E, e whana koe ki roto i a ua he tane, ki a ea i a koe te mate o to tipuna." (You that kick within me, be you born a male child to avenge the death of your grandfather.)

1 See Chapter 8, page 153ff
2 See Chapter 8, page 172
Regarding guardianship of the land, did not Te Atau, on the Ngati Ruanuku's defeat say, if the remaining Ngati Ruanuku people wished to be spared, 'haere ki te wahine urukenua ra' (go to that fair headed woman)? The woman referred to was no other than Iritekura. Tuwhakairiora said to Iritekura, to stay and be the guardian of the land, and from that time onwards, Iritekura had authority over the land and the people.

Usopohatu likewise controlled the land and had authority over it and the people who occupied the land. Through her the mana was handed down to her male grandchild Umuariki.

However to see how the people of this area sought the advice of and followed the leadership of a woman, we must consider the Muriwai story 'kua korerotia atu na e to tawa papa e Eruera ki a koe. Koi nei te matotorotanga o te korero, te nohungihatanga o te mana wahine e mau nei ki a tatau ki te tangata, titi noa ki o tatau whenua. Mēhēna kaore nga kuia nei, kei hea tatau inaianei?' (which our uncle Eruera has told you. This is the very core and depth of our tradition which discloses to us the authority of

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1 See Chapter 8, page 171ff
2 See Chapter 8, page 141ff
3 See Chapter 8, page 141ff
4 See Chapter 8, page 131ff
5 Eruera Stirling, see Appendix F.
women which is ours today, both in authority over people and
the land. Were it not for these women, where would we be
today?}

Since the time of Muriwai and Ruawaipu, our land rights
have come in the main through our women. When these Ngati
Porou lands were settled by the then native Land Court, our
ancestors claimed in many cases through women. This right
to rule and hold the land led to other fields, especially
subtribal and/or tribal leadership. This led to equal rights
to speak on the marae.
Interview with the late Arnold Reedy
1970-71, at his home in Gisborne.

E Api, tirohia o tatau whakapapa. Kei reira tonu e putu mai ana nga whakautu ki te patai, mo nga wahine o Ngati Porou. Ahakoa he aha te whakapapa, puta pakari tonu mai nga wahine i roto. Ko Ruawai Pu tera, no nga whakapapa mai i a Toi. E waru noa iho nga whakatipuranga mai i a Toi ki tana mokopuna ki a Ruawai Pu. Ko te wahine nei to tatau mana whenua. Kei runga ano tatau i tenei whakapapa, tae atu ki tera o korua, ki a Koro. 1 Tuku heke tonu ake te mana ki a Tamatea Upoko, ana te mana whenua, te mana tangata hoki, kareha ki te takiwa o Te Araroa. Tera o tatau tipuna a Te Aokairau, koia te mana o Waipu i ana ra. Na Te Aokairau raua ko Tamataua, ko Putaanga, ko Huanga, ko Hinepare. 2 Kaore a Hinepare i aukatia e ana tunganu tuakana, i a Putaanga raua ko Huanga, engari he mana whenua he mana tangata tonu i raro i a ia. I roherohea e Te Aokairau ona paanga ki ana tamariki, mai reira ki naiane i e mau tonu nei te Whanau-o-Hinepare, ara era o tatau kei Waipu, ko nga Kaa, 3 me era atu kei te noho ki runga o tera o tatau tipuna wahine. Ko Rakai-te-mania, te tuakana o Hinepare, i riro i a ia te mana

1. See chapter 8
2. Koro Dewes, lecturer in Maori language at Victoria University, Wellington.
3. See chapter 8.
4. The Kaa family lives in Rangitukia.
tangata, te mana whenua i te taha Whakarunga (South) o Waiapu. Ina hoki, na Tuere ko Niwa, ko Kauwhakahia, ko Niwa ano, ko Kainuku, ko Pohatu ka moe i a Pokai kia puta ki waho ki Rongomaithawhemanuka, nana ko Rakairoa to mua, ko Te Aokiai to muri iho. Na Rakairoa ko Rakai-te-mania, na Te Aokiai ko Hinepare me ana tungane tuakana. Mahau tonu e titiro mai te kaha o nga wahine nei.

Ko Hinerupe, ko tetahi ano tenei o o tatau tipuna. Whakarongo mai ana ki te heke nei. He poto noa taku tiki atu, kei kona nga roanga ake, kei nga pukapuka a to taua tipuna a Nepia koroua, engari ko tenei noa mo naiane. Na Uetaha rawa ko Rongomaiai, ko Te Aopare, ko Tamateakui, ko Hinerupe. Ko Rongomaiai he wahine, i mau ra tana ingoa ki te whare kei Te Araroa. O ana tamahine kua whakahuatia ake nei, ko Hinerupe o ratau i kaha ake i era, ahakoa ko ia he taina - he wahine mahi, mau tangata hoki. Ki nga korero, i tukua e ona tuakana ki a ia to raua mana whenua, mau i Te A watere, ki Puraruku ki te moana hoki, koia tenei whakatauki, "Mai te moana tae noa atu ki te ao parauri."

Ara ake, are ake nga wahine nei, ko Materoa me ana taina, a Te Ataakura raua ko Tawhipeare. A ratau tamariki mokopuna hoki, a Ruataupare, tana wahine rongonui o tatau.

Na wai i kiia ai a Te Kani ho rangatira? Na tana tipuna
ra na Hinematioro, o korerotia nei i roto i nga pukapuka a Pohi me era atu kaitahi, orangi ia kia maumahara koe,
mehe mea kaore ake a Ponasaputukia raua ko Kenohi, whakaoa i
a Rerekohu i tuku mai ra i ana mokopuna i a Ngungurutērangi
ma, kua kore he Te Kani. Ana he wahine ano te hunga nei na
ratau nei te tane e ora nei e mau nei nga tohu ki runga i a
ratau. Autamia atu nga whakapapa wahine nei, kua korotake
nomihou o tautau tatai.

Anei tenei tipuna e mau mai ra te ingoa nei a Uepohatu
ki te whare kei Ruatoria. Kei a koe nga korero mona ma ana
uri, ki a puta marakerake tonu hoki ki a koe me era o o taua
tuskana ki a Nepia raua ko Mack. He maha nga tangata kei
Ngati Porou e pa katoa ana ki nga wahine nei.

Ko era atu o a taua korero kua mau ki te hinengaro.
Kei kena tonu te taua papa, kei a ia tonu nga reanga atu o
tenei korero. Tene ia, tatautia e taua nga whanau kei koneki
- ko te Whanau a Mate te hapu, ko Poho-o-Materoa te whare kei
Wharepanga.

Ko te whanau-a-Ruataupare, nama tahi kei Tuparoa, ko
Ruataupare ano te whare, ahakoa ra kua tupapakutia te whare
nei e te hau. Ko te whanau a Ruataupare ano hoki kei
Tokomaru, no reira tenei whakatau. "Te Whanau a Ru te
rangata rite." Na te mana o Ruataupare, mana tatai, mana
whenua, me tana mana tonu hoki, i peneti rawa ai te rutu mai
a te whanau a Hua i ta ratau pepeha.

Ko Hinetapora te Whanau, koia ano hoki te whare. Pera ano a Hinepare me Hinerupe e mau mai ra nga rohe me nga whare i Te Araroa ki Waiapu, a ko Hinepare hoki ki Rangitukia. Kei te maumahara koe, i korero ra au mo Hinerupe, ko tana rohe toro mai ai i Te Atawere ki konie, na reira ahakoa tu mai te whare, era a Hinerupe ki Te Araroa, ehara ra, ko tatsu kataa kei roto i tenei wahine.

Huri mai ki Tikitiki, ki te Rahui, ko Rongomaihaianiwaiwa. Kei a koe nga korero o tenei wahine. Ara atu, ara atu nga wahine nei me nga whanau e mau tomu nei o ratau karangarangatanga whanau. Ki te ata whakamatsutautia, ko nga whanau rangatira tomu enei o roto o Ngati Porou. Ko nga marae tapu tonu hoki enei e tapaia nei hei tohu mo ratau.

Ehara ia i te mea, ko enei korero he whakakahore i te tane, erangi he tika tonu kia ata torohia nga wahine nei. Kaore rawa tatau o Ngati Porou i mea kia taurekareka rawa a tatau wahine, kao, erangi no ratau tonu te kahanga o o tatau whakapapa, he rite tonu me to nga tane, na reira hoki ka korero te wahine ki te marae, tae mai ki a mama, ara ki to tana koka ki a Materoa, haere ake nei. Na tenei ahua pea i uma ai te ki atu ki te wahine, i enei ra, kia turituri, kaoreha te momo wahine o naiane, kia patate tonu nga waha i
te ao i te po, karere patiko nga tane ki te rapa oranga i nga paparakaatu.

Ka nui a taua korero mo tenei wa e taku tuakana, te waeswae mahana ki taku moenga i roto i taku mate. Hei tera o putanga mai ka nekehia atu nga korero nei. Anei te kainga mohou me a taua tamariki. Hei konei koutou whiriwhiri ai i nga oma a te wa. Hei korero whakamutunga maku i mua i to tatau korerotanga mo Hukanui, ara, ta taua tamaiti i mea ra su ko Te Rangitawaea,¹ i heke mai ano i nga wahine nei me oma tipuna tane hoki. Anei ra, he mea poto noa nei, hei taonga mana, me tuhitahi o koe - ina hoki, ko Poroumata i a Whaene, kia puta ko Mate to mua. Ka moea hunatia e Rangitarewa, ki a puta ko Tamaihu, na raua ko te Hinepare a Hausiti ko Tutehurutea ka moe i Uetuhiao, kia puta ko nga 'Kuri Paka' a Uehuihiao, ara a Te Atau, a Kuku, a Korohau a Rongotangatake. Brangi ko nga 'Kuri Paka' i whakahutia ra e Taniwha, ko Kuku, ko Korohau, ko Rongotangatake, kaore a Te Atau i haere ki taua whawhai. Na, ko Kuku ka moe i Hinekahukura kia puta ki waho ko Te Rangitawaea, ka moe i a Kirimame, kia puta ko Manupokai i moe ra i a Te Whaita a Tuhourouta. I runga i te whakapapa nei ka puta ki te tamaiti nei. Na tenei ahuatanga kua whakapapatia atu nei e su, i mea atu ai su ki to taua papa, mo muri katoa e re. atu ingoa.

¹ The name given by H. T. Reedy (Arnold) to the author's son.
Api, study our genealogies. There you will find the answer to your question about the womenfolk of Ngati Porou. No matter what genealogy is taken, these women will feature very strongly. Ruawaipu is one who is genealogically a descent of Toi and only 8 generations\(^1\) separate them. It is from this woman that we have our 'mana whenua' (rights to land). We are also of this descent line as is also our other relative Koro. Authority passed directly to Tamatea Upoko, rights over both land and people, and especially in Te Araroa district. Our other ancestor Te Aokairau had authority in Waiapu in her time. Te Aokairau and Tamataua had Putaanga, Huanga and Hinepare. Hinepare was not suppressed by her elder brothers, on the contrary she had authority over land and people. Te Aokairau apportioned her holdings, equally to her children and since then the Whanau-a-Hinepare has remained to this day and our other relatives, the Kaia family and others continue to occupy the Hinepare domain. Rakai-te-mania was an elder cousin of Hinepare and she possessed authority over the land on the Southern banks of Waiapu. Consider therefore this genealogy.

Tuere had Niwa who begat Kaimuku who begat Pohatu who married Pekai to have Rongomeaiwharemanuka who in turn begat Rakaitesmania, the first child, and then Te Aokairau and

\(^1\) But see Chapter 8, p. 135
Te Aokairau had Hinepare and her elder sisters. You yourself bear witness to the strength and power of these women (through genealogy and their roles).¹

Hinerupe, one of our ancestors. Take note of this genealogy. I will make it very brief; details you will find in the books of our tipuna² Nepia Korou³, however this will suffice for the moment. Uetaha and Rongomaitapui had Te Aopare, Tamateakiu and Hinerupe. Rongomaitapui is a woman whose name is now given to the hall at Te Araroa. Of her daughters (i.e. Te Aokairau's), Hinerupe was the most industrious more so than her sisters, though she was the most junior; she was also very kind and hospitable to people. It is said that her elder sisters surrendered to her their rights over land, which is from Awatere to Punaruku out to sea, and this gave rise to the saying, "From the sea, to as far as the eye can see."

There are many such women of nobility, there is Materoa and her younger sisters Te Ataakura and Tawhipare, their

¹ The additions which are bracketed are my own to give the fullest sense to the Maori.
² Tipuna generally means an ancestor or ones grandparents or grand uncles or grand aunts.
³ Korou is an elderly or old man. Often it is used as a form of address and one of respect for one who is older than oneself though not necessarily an old person. Nepia is the author's grandfather.
children and descendants, of whom that famed woman of ours Ruatsupare is numbered.

Why is it then that Te Kani\(^1\) was called (and born) a chief? It was through his grandmother Hinematioro, of whom mention has been made in the books of Best\(^2\) and other authors, but bear in mind also, that were it not for Ponapatukia\(^3\) and Konohi\(^4\) who spared Rerekohu\(^5\) because Rerekohu sought to appease the warrior leaders by surrendering his grand daughter, Ngunguruterangi and others, Te Kani may not have been. Again those who saved man and thereby gave to them their ranks of nobility were women. Remove (or ignore)\(^6\) the female genealogies, our genealogies will be made common.

Another ancestor, is Uepohatu\(^7\) whose name is given to the hall at Ruatoria. You already have the data about her and her issue, since you are directly descended from her and

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1 See Chapter 8
2 Elsdon Best
3 In command of the Ngati Porou war party who went to do battle against Whanau-a-Apanui and so avenge the death of Hinetapora (see page 173)
4 Another commanding officer (see footnote 3 above).
5 Rerekohu refused the Ngati Porou war party entrance through his territory, refused also to feed them and worst of all forewarned Whanau-a-Apanui of the war party - for this reason the leaders, Ponapatukia and Konohi sought vengeance.
6 My own addition and bracketing.
7 See page 141
also our tuakana\textsuperscript{1} Nepia and Mack\textsuperscript{2} and others. There are also many others in Ngati Porou who are descendants of these women.

Our other discussions are now memorised by you. You have with you your father and my uncle and he has the data in detail, in respect to what we are talking about. Now then, let us tally the subtribes here — Te Whanau-a-Mate is the subtribe and the Meetinghouse is Te Pohe-o-Materoa which is in Whareponga.

The Whanau-a-Ruataupare, Number One, is in Tupaaroa and the Meetinghouse though destroyed by the wind, was called Ruataupare. Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare is also to be found in Tokomaru from whence the saying "The subtribe of Rua are all equal, status-wise." It is through Ruataupare's great prestige, through genealogy, authority over land and her own personal mana which has led the Whanau-a-Rua to declare with authority their subtribal saying.

Hinetapora is the subtribe and so is the meetinghouse. In Te Araroa and Rangitukia respectively, Hinerupe the subtribe and house in Te Araroa and Hinerape in Rangitukia. You will recall that I spoke of Hinerupe, and her territory,

\textsuperscript{1} Tuakana, older brother or cousin belonging to the first born in a family.

\textsuperscript{2} Nepia and Mack are brothers of the author and cousins of Mr Reedy.
which extends from Awatea to here (Waiapu), therefore, even though the meetinghouse in Te Araroa bears the name Hinerupe we are all her descendants.

To Tikitiki, the Rahui\(^1\), there we have Rongomaianiwaniwa. You have all the data on this woman. There are so many more such women of rank and after them, many subtribes have been named. On closer scrutiny it will be realised that these are in fact the senior subtribes in Ngati Porou.

The marae\(^2\) (and meetinghouses) named after them, are the sacred and important marae in Ngati Porou.

This is not to say that men are not as prestigious, but it is important that the role and status of these women be considered. We of Ngati Porou do not undermine the status of our womenfolk. On the contrary our noble genealogies come through them, equally as through our men, and so women have the right to speak on the marae, which right came to my mother and so it goes on. Perhaps because of this it has now become difficult to control our womenfolk especially the breed of women we have today, who would talk on endlessly from morn to night, causing the men to escape and seek solace and peace in the hotels.

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\(^1\) The name given to the marae at Tikitiki.
\(^2\) A courtyard before the main meetinghouse.
We have talked enough on this for today my tuakana, my frequent visitor in my illness. At your next visit we shall continue at length and in depth regarding this matter. Make my home, your home and a home for our children, and here let you and they plan and prepare to meet the demands of the future. However to conclude, and before we digress to talk of Hukanui¹, a word about our tamaiti², whom I have named Te Rangitawaea, for this man (Te Rangitawaea) is a descendant of these women and his male ancestors.

Very briefly, as a treasure for our tamaiti, you write this down - Poroumata married Whaene and they had Wateroa who had an affair with Rangitarewa and they had Tamaihu who married Hinespare (of Hauiti) to have Tutehurutea, who married Uetuhiao and they had the brown dogs of Uetuhiao, namely Te Atau, Kuku, Korohau and Rongotangatake. However the brown dogs mentioned by Taniwha were Kuku, Korohau and Rongotangatake, because Te Atau did not partake in that particular battle.

Now Kuku married Hinekahukura and they had Te Rangitawaea who married Kirimamae and they had Manupokai who married Whaita the daughter of Tuhoroata and from this genealogical line

¹ Hukanui a block of land, inland from Ruateria.
² Tamaiti may be a child of a parent or a nephew or niece. In this case Mr Reedy refers to my own son and since we are cousins, according to Maori classificatory terms, my son is his nephew, and therefore his tamaiti (i.e. child) as well as being my tamaiti.
this child. Because of this I said to your father and my uncle, that all other names are second to this (i.e. to the name Te Rangitawaea).
APPENDIX G

Ko te kaupapa o taku korero mo te whanaungatanga o enei hapu nunui ara a Ngatiporou, Whanau-Apanui, me Ngati Kahungunu

Koia nei nga hapu i paiheretia ra, i raro i te Karangatanga o te rohe Pooti o te Tairawhiti. Kua weherua nei i roto i tenei ra. Engari ko te whanaungatanga, e kore e taea te wehe. Ehara su i te tohunga whakapapa me waiho atu tera ma nga tohunga whakapapa e rahiri haere.

Tera atu ona korero nunui o tenei whi o Ngatiporou me timata noa e su i tenei na, na Porourangi ko Hau raua ko Rongomaianiwhaniwa. Na Rongomaianiwhaniwa ko Tamatsua. Ka moe i a Te Aokairau ka puta a Ngatiporou i roto i a raua uri, ka noho nga uri ki te ngutuawa o Waiapu, ki te pa e kia nei ko Pipiwhakao. Ko tera ingoa ko Pipiwhakao i ahu mai i te waka nei i a Horouta ko te waka tenei o te Tairawhiti. E kia ana tona rohe ko Te Paritu, a, ki Tarakaha - ko te tangata o runga i tenei waka ko Paoa.

No raro iho i a Tamatsua ko Tumoanakotore. I noho a Tumoanakotore ki Waiomatatini mo tatahi wa roa tonu. A ko ana koiti hoki i tapukea ki te toma e karangatia ra ko Omarupohatu, kei runga ake i te tunga tawhito o te whare kura i Waiomatatini ra. Ka moe a Tumoanakotore i a Rutanga

1 Broadcast script by author's father, Hamana Mahuika, 1960
ka puta nga uri ki te ao. Ko Hinemahuru pea te mea i whaka rahia o roto o taua whanau kia ora ai te Whanau =a= Apanui.

Ko moe a Apanui Waipapa i a Hinemahuru ka puta ki konei a te Whanau =a= Apanui. Ka moe ano a Tumoanakotore i a Rongomaitaurau ka puta e rua a raua tamatane. Ko Ngatihau raua ko Iwirakau, ka pakaru mai ano tetahi wahanga nui tonu o Ngatiporou. Tetahi paparinga me tetahi paparinga te ngutuawa ki te hukinga o te awa nei o Waipou.

Ka moe a Ngatihau i a Te Ataakura kia puta ki waho ko Tuwhakairiora. Ko Te Ataakura na Poroumata. Ka patua e Ngati Ruanuku, e Te Wahine-Iti, a Poroumata ki te one i Mataahu, ka mate. Ka noho i roto i a Te Ataakura. Ka hapu a Te Ataakura, ka whakatauaki ki tona puku e korikori ana hoki "E whanawhana koe i roto i au, he tane kia e a i a koe te mate o to tipuna o Poroumata." Te whanaungatanga he wahine, ka tapaia ko Te Aomihia.


Kei te moenga o Tumoanakotore ia Rutanga raua ko Rongomaitauaruau ka puta nga uri, ka marenarena haere ano
ki a ratau. No reira tenei kōrero. E mohio katoa ana, a 
Ngatiporou, me te Whanau -a- Apanui.

- Ka huri kia Ngati Kahungunu -

Kua kōrerotia ake e au a Horouta me tona tangata o runga 
a Paca.

Ko Hinetuere no tera hanga, e noho mai ra i Whangara, 
ko Tawhīpare, he uri na Poroumata. No raro iho i a Materoa, 
no tera o nga waka no Horouta. Ka marena ki nga uri a 
Kiwa, o tera o nga waka o te Tairawhiti o runga i a Takitimu.

Ko Ruspani tetahi o nga tipuna rangatira o roto o 
Turanga ka ahu atu ki ona rohe maha e noho mai ra i roto o 
Turanga haere atu.

Ka marena te tamahine a Ruapani, a Ruarauhanga ki a 
Kahungunu. Ka puta nga uri maha. Ka tuitui haere nga 
whakapapa o runga i a Takitimu o runga hoki i a Horouta te 
tonu mai ki tenei ra, kei te tuhonohono haere tonu.

Kei nga whakapapa e takoto ana nga tuhonohonotanga o 
te kawai tangata nana i mohiotia ai te Whanaungatanga, ina 
koa, Tamatea-mai-Tawhiti. E kōrerotia ana e nga tohunga, 
kō tetahi tera o nga tino tangata o runga i te waka nei o 
Takitimu kei te tuawha pe a nga whakapaparanga, mai i a 
Tamatea-mai-Tawhiti, ka puta mai ki a Iranui raua ko tona 
tungane ko Kahungunu.
276.

I hāramaia a Kahungunu i te tai whakararo (Bay of Plenty). Ka haere ka ahu ki Poipoa, ko te Pā tēra o Ruapani, kei te taha Hau-a-uru o Waipaoa, e tata ana ki Kaitaratahi. I reira ka moe i te tamahine a Ruapani i a Ruarauhanga. Ka puta ko tēna whakapaparanga whanui o roto i nga uri a Kahungunu rau a Ruarauhanga. Ka hono ano tēna kawai rangatira o runga i a Takitimu ki tenei kawai rangatira ano e runga i a Horouta.
The purpose for my talk concerns the relationship of these major tribes of Ngatiporou, Whanau-a-Apanui and Ngati Kahungunu. ¹

These are those tribes which were grouped together in the electorate of the Eastern Maori, but have now been separated. However the blood relationship cannot be so separated. I am not a genealogical expert, that part of it I will leave for the experts on genealogy to expound.

There are other important stories related to this tribe Ngatiporou, but I will begin here. Porourangi begat Hau and Rongomaianiwaniwa. Rongomaianiwaniwa begat Tamataua. He (Tamataua) married Te Aokairau and from this union Ngatiporou issue were born and they lived at the mouth of the Waiapu River. They lived at the Pa called Pipiwhakao. This name Pipiwhakao is said to have come from the Horouta Canoe², the canoe of the East Coast people. It is said that the area covered by this canoe (that is the descendants of the canoe)³ extends from Paritu, to Tarakeha – the captain of the canoe was Paoa.

Tumoanakotore was Tamataua's younger brother.

Tumoanakotore lived at Waiomatatini for a considerable

¹ Broadcast by Hamana Mahuika, 1950.
² Horouta is the canoe of the N.P. people who came from Hawaiki to N.Z.
³ The words in brackets are my own.
length of time. His bones were interred in the cave
called Omarupohatu up from the old site of Waiomatatini
school. Tumoanakotore married Rutanga and from this union
many issue were born. Perhaps of this family Hinemahuru
was the one elevated to high status, for she gave rise to
the Whanau -a- Apanui tribe.

Apanui Waipapa married Hinemahuru and from this union
Whanau -a- Apanui tribe was born. Tumoanakotore again married
Rongomaitaurau and the issue was two sons, Ngatihau and
Iwirakau. From the marriages of the two sons a large
section of Ngatiporou was born, populating the northern
and southern banks of the Mouth of the River of Waiapu back
to the source of this river, Waiapu.

Ngatihau married Te Ataakura and Tuwhakairiora was the
son. Te Ataakura is the daughter of Poroumata. Poroumata
was killed by the Ngati Ruanuku and Te Wahine Iti people at
the beach at Mataahau. The death (of her father)\(^1\) remained
in Te Ataakura and when she was pregnant she referred in
proverbial manner to her pregnancy thus, "You that kick
within me, if you are born a male child may you avenge the
death of your grandfather Poroumata." The child was born
a female child and she was called Te Aomihia.\(^2\)

\(^1\) Brackets and additional words are my own.
\(^2\) Female
It was some time afterwards that Tuwhakairiore was born. He grew and attained manhood. He acquired the art of using the taiaha. He came north and slew the people who had killed Poroumata. Thus the death of Poroumata was avenged. These are some of the important genealogies of the Ngatiporou tribe.

When Tumoanakotore married Rutanga\(^1\) and Rongomaitsuarau\(^2\) the many descendants were born and intermarried among themselves. This is known by Ngatiporou and Te Whanau-a-Apanui.

I now turn to Ngati Kahungunu...

I have spoken of Horouta and its captain Paaea.

Hirintuere\(^3\) belonged to these people living at Whangara. Tawihape\(^4\) was one of Horouta’s daughters. She is the younger sister of Waiterea\(^5\) of the Horouta canoe. Marriage took place with Kiwa, of the other canoe of the East Coast, Takitimu.

Ruapani was one of the ancestors of Gisborne and its many districts.

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1 \(\text{ibid}\)
2 \(\text{ibid}\)
3 \(\text{ibid}\)
4 \(\text{ibid}\)
5 \(\text{ibid}\)
Ruapani's daughter, Ruarauhanga\textsuperscript{1} married Kahungunu. Many descendants were born. The genealogical ties between Takitimu and Horouta became stronger and intermarriage continues up to this day.

The genealogies reveal the marriages of people through which the blood ties back to Tamatea-mai-Tawhiti are known. It is said that Tamatea-mai-Tawhiti is one of the senior and important persons on the Takitimu canoe, and it is about four generations from this man Tamatea-mai-Tawhiti to Irirui and her brother Kahungunu. Kahungunu came from the Bay of Plenty and went on to Popoia, Ruapani's Pa, on the western bank of Waipaoa near Kaitaratahi. There he married the daughter of Ruapani, Ruarauhanga. From this union, many descendants of Kahungunu and Ruarauhanga were born. So a blood relationship was further established between Takitimu and Horouta.

\textsuperscript{1} female
APPENDIX H

Tamahae

When Tamahae came to Waipu

Let me begin with the time when Hinetapora was slain by Tamahae. Hinetapora was slain at Mangahanea, where she comes from. She was a chieftainness from that sub tribal area of Ngati Porou.

Hinetapora was slain and beheaded and Tamahae took her head. His party journeyed and moved towards Puputa. Puputa was a fortified village in Waiomatatini and was well known in Ngati Porou. When Tamahae arrived at Puputa, Makahuri was there. Makahuri looked down. When he saw that the head held by Tamahae was that of Hinetapora, he turned his rear to Tamahae and farted. Tamahae thereupon called out, "E! how explosive is the rear end of the son of Te Atahaia." Makahuri's act was to insult and belittle Tamahae because his victim was an old woman.

Tamahae and his party proceeded towards Waipu. They then arrived at Mahaki's Pa. The pa was situated on a high hill, and it was there that Tamahae made the following saying, "Mahaki's food stores are such, that they are impregnable by dogs."
They went on and came upon another pa, situated on a plain and Tamahae again said, "The pa of the son of Iwitaia, is food for the silt of the river." Tamahae's party crossed over to the other side of the Waiapu River. Tuwainoa's party reached Puputa. Tuwainoa's party was in pursuit of Tamahae and his war party, seeking vengeance for the slaying of Hinetapora. By the time they arrived, the war party had crossed over to the other side of the river. Tuwainoa thereupon bade farewell to Hinetapora's head thus, "depart madam, until such time as there will be huge and calm waves of the sea, to convey me to Te Kaha-nui-a-Tiki." 1 Tamahae asked, "To where, To where?"

Tuwainoa replied, "To Te Kaha-nui-a-Tiki."

Tamuhae replied, "To the strength of the axe?" 2

Tuwainoa replied, "That a chiefly quality be bestowed upon you." 3

Tamahae's war party went on towards Putaanga 4 past Puahanui. There Tamahae was engaged in combat with Putaanga. Tamahae thrust out and Putaanga counter thrusted and this lead to the remark by Tamahae, "What an ugly looking man, that thrusts out" to which Putaanga replied, "An ugly man

1. The full name of Te Kaha in the Whanau -a- Apanui.
2. In the Maori text, the play on words is clear.
3. Battle was necessary to avenge Hinetapora's death and by battle, Tamahae will be tested against men and not women.
4. Putaanga the brother of Hinepare. See page 146
indeed from Tau-a-te-wai. Perhaps you have heard of the kumara nursery of Tumoanakotore?" Tamahae replied, "Indeed, we are therefore closely related" (being of the famous ancestor Tumoanakotore¹). Putaanga replied, "Nay, I alone am of this breeding, you are of common descent."

Tamahae was the issue of Tumoanakotore and not Putaanga however due to exchange of words between them, Putaanga's bluff baffled Tamahae.

From here Tamahae and his party journeyed to the area called "Te Ngutu awa o Waiapu"². At Hikitai's pa, Tamahae again was engaged in combat. While they were parrying with one another, Tamahae remarked, "What a small man is this, that battles with me." Hikitai thereupon replied, "A small green bottle indeed from Tau-o-te-wai."

The meaning of this is, that Hikitai was physically a small person, but one from the senior lines of descent, in spite of his physical stature, he was the acknowledged chief (and leader) of many people. The top of a bottle or calabash is small, but from the neck to the base, it is broad, and so it is with Hikitai, small in stature, but of chiefly descent. Tamahae was therefore defeated by words that emanated from the lips of his foes.

¹ The words in brackets are my own, so that the significance of the remark can be seen.
² Lit. Mouth of the River. Now used to mean the people of Rangitukia.
Te Haerenga Mai o Tamahae ki Roto o Waiapu

Me timata tenei korero i te wa i patua ai a Hinetapora e te ope a Tamahae. I patua a Hinetapora ki Mangahanea, no reira tenei wahine. He wahine rangatira no roto i tera wahanga o Ngatiporou.

Ka patua a Hinetapora, ka tapahia te mahuna, ka mauria e Tamahae. Ka haramai toma ope, ka ahu mai ki Puputa. He Pa tera e tino mohiotia ana, kei Waitomataini. Tae mai a Tamahae ki Puputa, i reira a Makahuri. Ka titiro iho a Makahuri. Te kitenga iho a Makahuri no Hinetapora te upoko i a Tamahae ra, ke pihautia iho e Makahuri. Ka karanga ake a Tamahae. "E! akiaki ana te whero o tama a te Atahaia." He whakahawea na Makahuri ki te ope a Tamahae, he kuia rawa te whakatau o toma ope.

Ka haere a Tamahae ratau ko toma ope ka ahu pera ki Waiapu. Ka haere, ka tae ki te Pa o Mahaki. Kei runga i tetahi pupepuhe teitei, ka whakatauaki a Tamahae.

"Te whata o te kai kei a Mahaki, te reia e te kuri."

Kei ko atu i a ratau e haere ana ka tae ki te tahi o nga pa. Kei runga raorao no aiho, ka whakatauaki ano a Tamahae.

"E paru kokopu rawa te Pa o te tama a Iwitaia." Ka

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1 Broadcast in 1950 by author's father, Namana Mahuika.
whakawhiti te ope a Tamahae ki tera tarawahi o Waiapu. Ka tae mai te ope a Tuwainoa ki Puputa. E whai ana mai i te ope a Tamahae. He haramai ki te patu i tona ope mo te patunga ia Hinetaora. Tae rawa mai kua whiti ke ki tera tarawahi o Waiapu. Ka poroporoaki atu a Tuwainoa ki te mahuna o Hinetaora.

"Haere ra e kui e, tena te ngaru puku te ngaruwhati, hei kawe atu i au ki te Kahanui-a-tiki." Ka whakahoki mai a Tamahae. "Ki whea! ki whea?" Ka karanga atu a Tuwainoa. "Ki te Kahanui-a-tiki."

Ka whakahoki mai a Tamahae. "Ki te kaha ia toki?"

Ka karanga atu a Tuwainoa. "Kia ai he tohu mou."

Ka haere te ope a Tamahae ki te Pa o Putaanga, ki te Puahanui. Ka tae, ka timata te wero ake a Tamahae. Ka wero iho hoki a Putaanga. Ka tahi a Tamahae ka karanga ake kia Putaanga. "Te kino tangata, te tangata e wero iho nei."

Ka karanga iho a Putaanga. "He kino tangata no Tau-o-te-wai, tena pe a koe, ka rongo i te kumara kotipu o te maara a Tumoansakotore."

Ka karanga ake a Tamahae. "Ei taua taua."

Ka karanga iho a Putaanga. "Ei au anake. No te wa tau ware noa koe."
Ko Tamahae he uri na Tumoanakotore. Ko Putaanga e hara i te uri na Tumoanakotore. Engari i runga ia raua makamaka korero ka hinga a Tamahae ia Putaanga. Ka mutu ka haere te ope a Tamahae, ka ahu ki te Ngutuawa o Waiapu. Ka tae ki te Pa o te Hikitai, ka timata te wero a tetahi ki tetahi. Katahi ka karanga ake a Tamahae, "Te iti tangata e wero iho nei." Ka karanga iho a te Hikitai. "He iti matihi pounamu no Tau-o-te-wai."

Ko te tikanga o tera korero. He tangata iti noa aia. Engari no runga i nga kawai rangatira, aha koa tona iti, kei raro ia ia te mui-nga o te iwi. He iti a runga o te pounamu, ko raro, he kaita; waihoki me ia, he iti noaiho tona tinana e ngari no nga kawai rangatira. I hinga noa iho a Tamahae i nga makamaka korero.
Tamaheo

See genealogy. He was one of the youngest sons of Tukaki. Through his prowess in war he was in fact a legend in his own lifetime. Tamaheo was the acknowledged leader of the Whanau-a-Apanui in battle.

Tamaheo by the oral descriptions of the man, as handed down from generation to generation, was not a man of great stature, Tamaheo usurped the role of his eldest brother Te E hutu, and while Te E hutu was the leader at home, Tamaheo was the war lord. (See Appendix)
APPENDIX I

Umuariki

Ko tenei tangata he toa ki te whawhai ki te mau rakau. I ako ki roto o Turanga kei runga ake i Otako te Puke i whakakona ai. I tu ki reira te Pa. Engari ko te Ingoa o te Pa kei te wareware ake. Me te Ingoa o te tangata nama i ako ki te mau patu.

Ko te korero na te tohunga a Umuariki i ako ki te mau patu; kaore he toa i ko atu i a Umuariki, hei whakataetae ki a ia ka mutu te tino toa ko ia. Ki te haere te tangata mai i te tai whakarunga e ahu ana ki te tai whakararo, patai rawa ai kei whea te rohe o Umuariki? Timata atu i whea ki whea? Ka tohutohutia atu. Ko te haere a te tangata haere whakangaro noa ai te haere, kia kore ai e rongona, kei te haere he ope i roto o te rohe o Umuariki.

Ki te korero, ka mate a Uepohatu ka tukua te mana ki a Umuariki o te rohe o Uepohatu, tera pea e tika ina hoki, kaore rawa te rohe, o te Papatipu o Uepohatu i riro i te Raupatu.

Tetahi wa ka haere a Umuariki ki Horoera, ki te mahi

1 Broadcast script by the author's father, Hamana Mahuika. Date 1950.
waka he tohunga hoki a Umuariki. I a ia i reira, a mahi ana. He rite tonu te kai i nga kai moana. Ka titiro a Umuariki. Kaore he wa i kore te kai i nga kai moana. Ahakoa penehea, te hau, te marangai, ka rite tonu te kai moana. No tetahi wa, ka haere a ia ki te whakatonga i te tangata i te wahine ranei nana i ruku ana kai moana, ka kitea e ia ko Uepare.

Ka whakatauaki a Umuariki, "e ana rawa te wahine, hei ruku i nga kai o tuku kainga o Tokoroa."

Ka tukua mai a Uepare hei wahine ma Umuariki. Ki a puta ki waho ko Te Rangikaputua.

Ka noho na ka pahake a Te Rangikaputua, ka haere a Taputerakahia he tuakana ki a Te Rangikaputua. Ko tera te mea o mua, koia te rangatira, ki te tiki i a Hinetapora hei wahine ma Te Rangikaputua. Tae atu a Taputerakahia ki a Hinetapora, ka ki atu. I haramai au ki te tiki mai i a koe, ma Te Rangikaputua. Ka ki atu a Hinetapora, Mahara au i haramai koe ki a au mau tonu, kaore ma te Kowhai paua ia o Tokoroa nei.

Ko te tukunga tenu i nga kainga ki a Te Rangikaputua. Ko Turangarahui te pa i tukuna ai.
Translation

This man was an expert at fighting and indeed an expert at the art of using the taiaha.\(^1\) He learnt the art of warfare at Turanga\(^2\) and southwards from Otako stands the hill where he was taught. The Pa\(^3\) was there also. I have forgotten the name of the Pa and the name of the man who taught him the art of the taiaha.

It is said that a real expert taught Umuariki the art of the taiaha; there was no one more expert than Umuariki, and no one would dare challenge him since he alone was the expert. If a person was travelling from the south to the north he would always ask as to the area under Umuariki's control. Where does it begin and from here to where? Then it would be pointed out to him. A traveller going through his area would do so secretly so that it would not be known that a group of people was passing through Umuariki territory.

It was said that when Uepohatu\(^4\) died, authority over Uepohatu's territory passed to Umuariki, this was perhaps very true since Uepohatu's domain was not subject to conquest.

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1 Maori weapon of war. Some authors refer to it as a spear. Maoris also call it a "rakau" (stick) or "patu" (weapon). See Buck: 1947 page 275.

2 Maori name for Gisborne.

3 Pa is a fortified village.

4 See page 141 and master genealogy page 13.
At one time Umuariki went to Horoera to fashion a canoe for he was also an expert in this field. Whilst working there, he was always partaking of sea food. Umuariki observed that there was not a day when he did not eat sea food. Even when the wind blew strongly or the rain fell heavily, he continued to eat sea food. One day he set out to secretly investigate the identity of the man or woman responsible and discovered that it was Uepare.¹

Umuariki then said, "Here indeed is the woman to dive for the food in my home Tokoroa."

Uepare was then given over as a wife for Umuariki and the union gave rise to Te Rangikaputua.

Time passed and Te Rangikaputua reached manhood. Taputerakahia the elder brother and chief, being the first born, went to ask for Hinetapora² as a wife for Te Rangikaputua. On arrival, Taputerakahia said to Hinetapora, I have come to ask your hand for Te Rangikaputua. Hinetapora replied, "I thought you had come for me, for yourself, alas you seek my hand for the paua diver of Tokoroa".

Areas were then given over to Te Rangikaputua. Turangarahui was the Pa given to him.

¹ See page 174
² See page 174
³ See page 174
TABLE 2. The Merging of Muriwai & Porourangi Lines.

Hinemahuru and Hinetera line back to Porourangi, and from Porourangi down to Taiaru.

Porourangi = Hamoterangi (f)

Hau (m) = Takotewaimua = Ueroa = Rongomaianiwhaniwa

Kehutikoparae (f)

Tamateatoa (f) [Hau's 2nd wife].

Rakaipo = Hinehuhuritai (f)

Rakaunweta = (m) (p10)

Taputehaurangi (m) (p11)

Tawakeurunga (m) (pp9 and 10)

Hinekehu (f) (pp9 and 11)

Manutangirua (m) = Kehutikoparae (above)

Awapururu (m) = Hinetehuru

Tangihaereroa (m) = Rakaimochau

Taiaru (m) (p3)

Tuere (m)

Niwa (f)
### Table 3

**Ruawaipu**

- Tei-kai-rakau
- Rauru
- Whatonga
- Apa
- Rutanga
- Rongomai
- Tahatiti
- Ruatapu
- Rakeiora
- Tamahitehau
- Tamaikitera

---

Tamaikitera **Ruawaipu. Porourangi (m) = Hamoterangi**

---

*Porourangi is the eponymous ancestor of Ngati Porou.*
1. This genealogy was given by Piue Taiapa.
2. Ariaterangi is tuakana to Kaiawa.
TABLE 5.

TAMATEAUPOKO

This genealogy shows the linking of the Porourangi and Ruawaipu lines.

Porourangi (p.2)
  Hau (p.2)
    1. Rakaipo
    2. Tuere = Muriwhakaputa
  Rakaiwharenga
  Pihekewaiero (see below)
  Whatinaroa
  Ukeaiahu

Ruawaipu
  Ruawhatiri
  Parawhenuamea
  Uekapuanui
  Tamatauira
  Tamatearahia
  Muriwhakaputa
  Tirahapuke
  Tamateaupoko
  Tamakihi

Pihekewaiero = Ukeaiahu = Tamateaupoko

- Raramatai
- Tahania

- Tamakoro
- Uetaha
- Pungawerewere

1. See Table 2 p.2.
2. See Table 2 p.2.
TABLE 6. UEPOHATU.

Perourangi
   Hau
   Rakaipo
   Rakaiwctenga
   Taputehaurangi
   Tawakeurunga
   Hinekehu

Whaene
   Tangihiatakaputotara
   Materoa
   (2nd Husband)
   Kuraunuhi
   mairehau

Tamahurumanu
   Huritakeke
   Ruawaipu
   Te Kohunu
   Te Mohunu

Te Roi
   Ngatororiti
   Tamakoro

Heroa
   Wakannui
   UEPOHATU

Umuariki

1. Rakaipo is husband to Tewa
2. Ngahau is husband to Tuiramai
TABLE 7.

RAKAIRORA.

Hau

Tuere (p. 2)  Rakaipo' (p. 5)

Niwa (1st) (p. 2)  Rakaiwetanga (p. 10)

Kauwhakahaia  Taputehaurangi (p. 10)

Niwa (2nd)  Tawakeurunga

Kainuku  Rakaimoehau

Pohaku  Rakaiteremia  Rongomaiwharumau (p. 8)

Pokei (p. 7)  Mahaki = Hinemakaho (p. 10)

Te Aohora (p. 10)

Rakairora (5)

Rakaitekawa = Iwirakau (p. 10)  Ngatihau (p. 3)

Tuwhakahairora. (p. 3)

1. Rakaipo is tuakana to Tuere
2. Ngatihau is tuakana to Iwirakau.
1. See p. 13 A. Mataura is known more commonly as Rakai Mataura.
TABLE 9.

HINEKEHU.

Porourangi (p 2)

Hau(p2) = Tamateatoa (p)(p2)

Rakaipo (p 2)(p10)

Rakaiwetenga (p 2)(p 10)

Taputahaurangi (pp 2-10)

Tawakeurunga (p 10)

HINEKEHU (f) = Tangihakeakotea

Tamataonui Waene (f) Naia Tangihiamatatu

Materoa (f) Te Ataakura (f) Tawhipare (f)
Table 10.

Hinemakaho

Hau (p 2)

Rakaipo (pp 2 and 6) Awapururu Tuare (p 2)

Rakaiwetenga (pp 2 and 7)

Taputahaurangi (p 7)

Hinekehu (p 6) Rakaimoehau Tangihaereroa (p 2)

Mahaki - Hinemakaho (B, p 7) Poroumata (p 11)

Te Aohore - Rakairoa (p 7)

Rakaitemonia - Wonahou (m)

Tatawahi - Te Aohihaia (f)
(2nd husband)

IRIT E KURA
Table II.

Materoa, Te Akaakura.
Tawhiripae.

Hau (pp 2,56)

Rakaipo (pp 2,56)

Rakaiwatenga (pp 2,6)

Taputaukaurangi (pp 2,6)

Tawakeuranga (pp 2,6)

Hinakehu (pp 6,9) Rakaimoeau (pp 6)

Wahene —— Poroumata (pp 6,9)

Materoa Te Akaakura Tawhiripae
MATEROA and her Issue.

MATEROA (f) (p.11) — RANGITAREWA

TAMAIHU — HINEPARE (f) 1.

TUTECHRUTEA — UETUHIAO 2. (p.15)

TE ATAU

KUKU — HINEKAKUKU

KOROHANU

RONGOTANGATAKE

(3)

TE RANGITAWAEA — KIRIMAMAE

MANUPOKAI

1. Hinepare = grand-daughter of Haviti and Kahukuraiti (na Rongowhakaata)

2. Uetuhiao’s sons are known as “the brown dogs of Uetuhiao”

3. Te Rangitawaea for whom the saying “Te Rangitawaea displays his chiefly garments.” This saying illustrates his seniority and status.
1. Kahupakari II = Te Aomihia, Tuwhakairiora's eldest sister, and her second husband was

Tatawanie = Te Aomihia

Iritekura
1. Mariu - is known as the 'Mariu of Ruataupare'. Her son Te Rangitaukiwaho married Mariu's sister (half-sister). Tuwhakairiora's first wife was Ruataupare.

2. Mariu - known as the 'Mariu of Te Ihiko' and she married her ½ sisters son (her own nephew) Te Rangitaukiwaho. Te Ihiko, the 2nd wife of Tuwhakairiora.

3. Hukarere, Tuwhakairiora's brother married Hinenupe.

15.

**Tawhiraere.**

Tawhiraere = Kahukuranui

- Tautini
  - Tuterangikapitu = Mariu
    - Te Rangiakawaiaho = Mariu
    - Hinetaipara = Mariu
  - Hurumangiangi
    - Haukawangara
      - Uehuiao
      - Kuku

- Te Rangitawaea = Kirimamae
  - Whaita
    - Manupokai
      - Takimoana = Hinealta
      - Hinealta

1. Mariu = Tuterangiakapitu - see p. 14
2. Mariu - see p. 14
3. Hinetaipara - see p. 14
4. Kirimamae - see pp. 14
5. Whaita - see p. 12
6. Uehuiao - see pp. 12
7. Kuku - see p. 12
Table 12

UHENGAPARAOA.

Peraurangi

   Hau (pp 2, 106)           Rongomaianinwina

   'akairopo (p2)           Awapururu (p2)

   Taiau = Rerepukitai

   Tamahinengaro

   Tuketenui           Rakaipikiroronga=Uhengaparaoa=Mekaiaporous

   Rutonga=Tumoanakotore=Rongomaitanar

   Hinemahuru (p30) Ngatihau (p34) Wiraraku
1. Kehutikoparae  =  Manutangirua  
    Hingangaroa (above)

2. Rakaipo, page 2 et al.

3. Apanui Waipapa  =  Hinemahuru.  
    (above)  
    (above)
TABLE 14.

Maruhaeremuri

Muriwai
| Te Roau
| Te Ruaiti
| Tamangenge
| Kauwhataara
| Puatekaraka
| Te Rawotake
| Te Kawekuratawhiti
| Hinetera

Hinemahuru
| Te Actakaia
| Taikorekore
| Pararaki

Apahoua —— Maruhaeremuri

1. Muriwai (p1)
2. Hinemahuru (pp1 and 2)(p14)
3. Hinetera (p1)
Table 15

Hinematioro descent through her mother

Poroumata (p.2) = Whaene

- Te Ataakura (p.9)
- Tuwhakairiora (p.14)
- Tuterangiwhiu
  - Hukarere Il
  - Rerekahu
- Te Uhunguiterangi
- Tatoingaoiterangi
- Ngungurutereangaro
- Hinematioro
- Ngarangikahina
- Te Kani a Takirau
- Waitari
- No issue.

1. Tuwhakairiora = Ruatanpate (p.14)

2. Tuterangiwhiu had 6 wives—his 4" wife Te Ataiahi (p.14) bore him a child, viz. Te Moahiraia (see p.14)
   His 5th wife Te Atahaia (see p.14) had
   Makahuri (p.14)
HINEMATIORO descent through her father.

Hinckino = Konchi = Hinerimu
  
  Marukawiti  = Te Umupapa  = Te Riwai

Ngunguruterangi = Tanetokorangi  = Hinetuwha  = Ruanuku

Te Hootiki = HINEMATIORO  = Te Whakatataraete

Ngarangikahiwa = Rongotumamao

  |   
  v   

Te Kani a Takorau

  |   
  v   

Waikari

  |   
  v   

No Issue
HINEMATIRO through Maruhaaremuri (p 18)

Maruhaaremuri — Apahoua

Te Herengaoterangi — Karongarangi

Kurahapairangi — Ruamanawahoro

Kauwastangohia — Te Whatianganga

Te Waranganuioterangi — Hineawe — Talaingaoterangi

Rangikawhawha.

Ngungunterangi (see p 20)

HINEMATIRO.

Ngarangikahiwa

Te Kaniatakirau
| Table 16 | Ruataupare |

Porourangi

Teketawanina — Hau — Tamateataoa

Kehutikoparae — Rakaipo

Manukangirua

Hingangaroa — Iranui (sister of Kahungunu)

Hauiti — Kahukuraiti (na Rongowhakaata)

Kahukuranui — Pirau

Kapihoromaunga — Ruaihanaake

Whakapawhero — Raramatini (1.)

Hinemaurea (f) — Te Aotaki

Ruataupare

1. See p. 23.
23.

Porourangi

Hau

Rakaipo

Rakaiwharenga

Awapururu

Rongomaikairae = Whatiuiwhatiwhakiang" (na Ruawaipu)

Whatinaroa = Tamakihi (na Ruawaipu)

Pihatewaioro (Chr' wife)

Uekaiahu (1) Tuitimatu (1)(2)

Raramatari

Hinemaurea

Te Aotaki

Ruataupare

1. See p. 24 for link with Hinerupe line through Uekaiahu's second wife, Tamateaupoko.

2. Tuitimatura's husband was Ruatapukauaenui of Ngati Ira.
1. Younger brother of Tuwhakairiona.
25.

TABLE 18.

HINETAPORA.

RUTAUPARE --- Tuwhakairiora --- Te Ihiko (pp. 211, 226)
(p. 227-23)

| Mariu --- Tuterangi Kapihu (h) Tuterangiwhiu | Mariu (a Te Ihiko) |
| --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- |

Te Rangi Tawhitiwhiti --- Mariu (a Te Ihiko above)

| Parua (m) HINETAPORA |
| --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- |

1. See p. 15.
1. Hiakaitaria was the first-born child of Te Aohore and Rakairoa, and a tuakana of Rakaitemania, grandmother of Iritekura.

2. Te Aomania's genealogy was given by Paratene Ngata in court hearings to determine the ownership of the Poro Block in April 1915 and contained in a record of the proceedings kept by the writer's father, Hamana Nakuika.
MARUPAPANUI.

(A descendant of Ruawaipu.)

Rerepuiti 1 — Taiau 2

| Tamahinengaro |
|---|---|
| Tuketenui 3 |
| Rakaipikirarunga 4 |
| Mokaiaporou 5 |
| Ngakaupukai — Tawakeoneone |

Marupapanui

2B
2. See p.2
3. See pp.3 & 21
4. Ibid
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    pp. 69-93.
| **Haka** | posture dance, performed with hand and body actions. |
| **Hapu** | subtribe. |
| **Iwi** | Tribe, Maori people. |
| **Mana** | power; authority; prestige. |
| **Taina** | younger brother or sister; a person not the first-born child of a family; a person whose ancestors are junior and not senior; younger cousin. |
| **Tangata** | man or person or the people. |
| **Tapu** | sacred; awesome. |
| **Taua** | warparty. |
| **Tipuna** | Ancestor; grandfather or grandmother; grandparents. |
| **Tuakana** | genealogical senior; child of the first-born ancestor etc; the first-born child; elder brother or sister. |
| **Waiaata** | song; chant. |