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AN INVESTIGATION OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN
NEW ZEALAND AS A MEANS OF ESTABLISHING VIEWS
ABOUT THE PAST

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Ma te atua ratou e tiaki i nga wa katoa

(May God care for them always)

I must pay my respects to the Maori elders in the appropriate way.

E nga mate o nga waka, e nga mate o nga iwi, e nga mate o nga hapu, rau rangatira ma, me hurihuri mai o koutou mate ki oku mate, haere nga mate, haere, haere, haere. Ki a tatou te hunga ora kia tau te rangimarie ki a tatou katoa. Tenei te pon onga o Te Aupouri o Te Rarawa o Ngapuhi, e mihia nei ki a koutou mo enei kohikohinga nau i rapu nau i whirihiri hei korero mo tatou i roto i te ao hou. No reira e aku rangatira pena e tika ana enei whakaaro na te iwi i tika ai. Engari pena e he ana nau ano te he mea e tamariki tonu ana he kuare. No reira e rau rangatira ma e noho atu nei i roto o Te Waipounamu, e tangi atu nei nga wai o Otakou ki te iwi. Tena koutou, tenei koutou, tenei koutou katoa.

The dead of the canoes, the dead of the people, the dead of the tribes, to you my
many chiefs, face all your dead towards my
dead, farewell the dead, farewell, farewell.
To us the living may peace always be with
us. This is a grandchild from the tribes
Te Aupouri, Te Rarawa, and Ngapuhi, paying
respects to you for this material searched
for and presented in this thesis to provide
a basis for discussion for the people in
these modern times. So to you my many chiefs
if this material is correct credit goes to
the people. If it is incorrect then it is
my own fault due to youthful ignorance.
Finally my many chiefs I am living in the
South Island where the waters of Otago
weep incessantly for the people. Greetings
and my respects to you all.
An Elders View

Ka hoki ano waku korero nei na i runga i nga raputanga i haramai tatau ko te iwi whenua e koreritia ai tona korero i haramai i Hawaikiroa i Hawaikinui i Hawaiki pamamao. Kei hea tenei wahi? Ka rapu te matauranga. I haramai tatau no tehea wahi? Kare kau i kitea e ratau. E kore e kitea. E kore e kitea e ratau na te mea ko taua i haere wairua mai ka hoki wairua taua.

I now return to what has been said that we the original people came to this land from Long Hawaiki, from the Great Hawaiki, and from Distant Hawaiki. Where are these places? The learned have searched. From which place did we come from? They will never find it because we came in spirit and we return in spirit. (Chapter 2).

A Pakeha View

I tell the story as I see it and people can read my material if they wish to but if they don't then that is their problem. The trouble with New Zealanders is that they do not care about archaeology. The Maoris are the worst offenders. Their attitude is one of indifference, they couldn't care less. When I have excavated on Maori land I have contacted the Maori organisations concerned and I have invited them to come along and observe what is being done because after all it is their history that I am digging up. However the decision is not really for the Maori to decide when I am working on Pakeha land, and anyway the land does not belong to the Maori, it belongs to all. I admit that I am sorry that archaeologists destroy sites but they do record them in their books. (Chapter 6).
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CHAPTER ONE
A EUROPEAN VIEW OF THE PAST

Introduction:

The quest for man's antiquity has preoccupied Western thought for many years. What limited man's investigations according to Piggott a well known European prehistorian was that, "When from the rennaissance onwards man began to speculate about his ultimate physical and social origins he could turn only to ancient literary sources, biblical or classical, or to the reports of voyages to the Americas who had there encountered what looked like primitive man himself" (Piggott 1967:7).

The view of the past as interpreted from the literary evidence of the Bible and the Classics was not absolute. Neither were those from the voyages where primitive man was said to have been sighted. It wasn't until some Europeans began studying monuments which were obviously from the past, and digging for information in the ground that an alternative means of viewing the past and investigating man's antiquity was discovered. The materials they collected were measured and recorded and were either published or submitted to certain learned groups for their appraisal.

By the end of the 18th century archaeology was and had begun to be, "applied systematically to a study of the prehistoric as well as the historic ages of Man" (Clark 1965:1). Isaac de la Peyrere a Frenchman in the 17th century dug up a large collection of stones and he published a book suggesting that the stones were shaped by primitive man who lived before the time of Adam. (According to the Bible Adam was the first man on earth created by God.) Johann Friedrich Esper
in 1771 excavated human bones which were associated with the remains of extinct cave bears in a site in Germany and he too suggested that they were the bones of ancient man. John Frere in 1790 excavated at Hoxne a site in England and found stones associated with extinct rhinoceros and in a letter to the Society of Antiquarians he ascribed them to a very remote period, beyond that of the present world. Jaques de Berthes in 1839 dug up flint stones found in association with the bones of extinct elephants and he concluded that the tools had come from a race of men who lived before the Great Flood. (This refers to the flood mentioned in the Bible.) Charles Lyall, an Englishmen excavated a site in the Somme Valley in which several layers of earth were found to contain rich tool material. By applying his geological knowledge to his work on the site, Lyall calculated that the site was at least 100,000 years old and he argued that the people who made the tools were just as old.

These Europeans excavating, studying, questioning, recording and publishing their findings were the first archaeologists. Their written reports followed prevailing scientific methodology in which they sought the truth about man's antiquity. Their factual reports were written as though they were the history of their own past and these were presented to their peers for acceptance. At first the reports were ignored and later criticised and rejected but gradually a society accustomed to believing that the earth was only 6000 years old (Archbishop Ussher of Ireland dated the creation of the earth by God as 4004 B.C.) began to take notice of these new ideas. The archaeologists' arguments
that the earth is an extremely ancient place, long populated by many kinds of animals, some of which were no longer living, and that man himself, like the animals had his origins far back in time, were very convincing. If these ideas were to be accepted then the biblical version of God's creation of man and of the earth in six days and held by the public to be the truth, had to be questioned. This was done by regarding the Bible's version of the creation as a myth and in the myth man was merely attempting to demonstrate symbolically the majesty of God and therefore its prehistory was only a poetic theological prehistory. Having thus established the nature of the Bible's prehistory it was made clear that European archaeology was not that kind of prehistory. Instead it studies, "all changes in the material world that are due to human actions naturally in so far as they survive. The archaeological record is constituted of the fossilised results of human behaviour and it is the archaeologists business to reconstruct that behaviour as far as he can and so to recapture the thoughts that human behaviour expresses" (Childe 1964:2).

European archaeologists at first excavated only in their own countries. From the artefacts they collected and studied they made their own interpretations which represented their view of human behaviour in the past. They later extended their work into other parts of the world where they were allowed to dig and therefore stay in business.
A MAORI VIEW OF THE PAST:

New Zealand's past is essentially the Maori's past. What is clear is that archaeology is culture specific and hence the values it represents are not absolute. There are other views of the past and values for the past. Over the past 40 years New Zealand has had a thriving archaeological tradition and yet no effort has been made to ascertain the Maori understanding of and attitude towards what archaeologists do or what their view of the past is.

To the Maori, *Papa* (mother earth) is an *urupa* (grave yard) because it is a repository for *taonga* (ancestral treasures). The *taonga* represents the remains of the past and whoever digs them up destroys them because from the Maori point of view the remains are the past. For the Maori his past is not something that is behind him but instead he sees it as *Nga ra kei mua* (the days immediately in front of him). Not only is his past in front of him but so is the present because the past and the present are considered to be one. What is present is not an illusion but the facts concerning his history. The physical features contain *taonga* which are protected and preserved in and by *Papa* and are *tapu* (sacred and therefore not to be touched). The Maori's history is oral and he tells the version of his history on his *marae* where it really matters because it is there that it is valued by tribal members, other Maoris and the ancestors.

This states the problem. What happens when two views come into contact under specific circumstances? Archaeologists dig up remains whereas for the Maori his history is a living tradition.
ARCHAEOLOGY IN NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand did provide a place for archaeologists to carry out their work. Man has lived in New Zealand for more than 1000 years but it is only for the last 200 years that there are any substantial written records for his presence. The main records of the past come from the orally transmitted traditions of the Maori and from the physical remains which survive in the places where people have lived, worked and fought. Archaeologists refer to these places as archaeological sites and it is from the material contained within them that he believes he is able by excavation, recording and analysis to describe the life patterns, reconstruct the behaviour of successive occupants through space and time and explain the processes by which change has occurred.

The development of archaeology in New Zealand as an academic discipline owes much of its theoretical attitudes and research methods to those long established schools in Europe. New Zealand archaeologists are also European and are European trained.

The influence of scientific methods in archaeology in combination with ethnographic data was adopted early in New Zealand archaeological practice. One of the first attempts to link documentary and archaeological data was made by Groube (1966) in his excavations of the Paeroa village site in the Bay of Islands. The site itself had been well mapped by Crozet in 1772. However, since that time many of the physical features had altered so that the process of testing Crozet's records against that of the archaeological data could not be accurately evaluated. W. Shawcross also
used historical sources to interpret archaeological evidence from his excavations at Ngaroto pa and the Galatea Bay midden. Because of the absence of post cranial bones of the snapper from the above sites, Shawcross saw this as evidence supporting the written historical data which recorded Maoris transporting preserved fish to winter habitations (Shawcross 1967:128). A. Fox combined literary and political evidence and archaeological evidence of field survey and excavations to complete her book and therefore record her special interest in comparing Maori pa sites in the North Island with British Hill forts (Fox 1976).

In recent years ploughing, road building, quarrying and archaeological activity have affected the physical remains which represent New Zealand's past and the rate and the scope of destruction has suddenly become a matter of National concern. The outcome is that the Historic Places Amendment Act 1975 was passed and came into force on 1 April 1976. The Act is administered by an Archaeological Committee which includes two Maoris. The Act requires the Historic Places Trust to:

(a) Control the destruction, damage or modification of archaeological sites by a system of 'authorities';
(b) Control the scientific investigation of sites by a system of 'permits';
(c) Establish and maintain a register of the archaeological sites in New Zealand.

Although it is the intention of the legislation to protect archaeological sites the Trust may authorise their destruction or modification but in so doing it may impose any conditions it thinks fit, including the necessity for a prior investigation of the site. The Trust may itself carry out
investigation of archaeological sites, or it may permit others to do so, but no excavation may take place without the concurrence of the owner and the occupier of the land concerned, and where the Trust considers it necessary, of the appropriate Maori association (extracts taken from the New Zealand Historic Places Trust Pamphlet - protecting archaeological sites, n.d.).
CHAPTER TWO

THESIS RESEARCH

For the archaeologist archaeology is a scientific activity which is morally neutral, to be enjoyed for its own sake in the enlightenment of mankind. The past will be revived by the archaeologist. For the Maori the past is alive, hence it is morally partial. To dig the past up is to expose it and even to kill it by exposure.

This thesis is a scientific study of the general problem of what happens when two views, those of the Maori and Pakeha come in to contact with one another under specific circumstances. For the Pakeha the specific circumstances to be investigated will be on his archaeological activity in Whakatane and for the Maori focus will be on his views concerning the traditions and physical features of the same area. I propose to investigate Maori and Pakeha interest in the past by detailing the archaeology of Whakatane.

Whakatane was selected as the district in which to carry out this case study because the records for such a study are there. Whakatane had an active archaeological group who were responsible for recording many archaeological sites. In addition archaeological excavations were carried out there (Figures 1, 6, 7 and 9). While the archaeological work may not have conformed to what would be regarded as good examples of professional archaeology, nevertheless, what was done there represented archaeology. Whakatane also has many historic sites which are rich in Maori tradition and are well known to many of the Maoris living there. In addition Whakatane has a large Maori speaking population who pride
Fig. 1 ARCHAEOLOGY WITHIN THE WHAKATANE DISTRICTS
themselves in maintaining their traditional customary and cultural obligations.

This field research was initially designed to investigate the diversity or unity of Maori opinion, values and attitudes towards archaeology. The method of investigation was to interview in people's homes and on the marae a cross section of the Maori population, taking into account such variables as tribal affiliation, education and status levels, occupation, residence, sex and age differences, in an attempt to gauge variation of attitude and to identify possible causes. However what actually happened in the field was totally unexpected and requires explanation.

MEETING THE ELDERS:

I decided to stay with relatives from my own tribes (Te Aupouri, Ngapuhi and Te Rarawa) who were resident in Whakatane and had lived there for several years in the hope that they would introduce me to the people who could assist in my research. When I acquainted my relatives with my take (purpose for being in Whakatane) they quickly interpreted my take as a very tapu (sacred) one, because it concerned nga ra o mua (the past or literally the days in front) and they immediately set about arranging meetings for me with the experienced elders. These were the people who were at the forefront on the marae and therefore were closest to the past and to the sacred. My relatives were experienced in Maori protocol and they considered it wise that I should meet the elders first and discuss my take with them. These meetings were necessary to ensure that I would not be the recipient of any evil backlash as they warned, "kei whananga koe e
Ngatiawa". (You might get harmed by Ngatiawa.) I was grateful to my kinsfolk for their concern for my safety and I was only too willing to follow the sensible arrangements made to meet the elders.

The following speech which was tape recorded is given here in full because it indicates the many speeches of welcome and of the elders acceptance of me which opened the way for the many friendly and useful talks that followed.

"A tihei mauriora. Hono hai kupu timatake maku e Muru me penei ake na ko te wehi kia Ihoa te timatanga o te matauranga. Na koi nei te wahi hai wairangi maku e korerotia ana hoki tona korero ko te Amorangi ki mua ko te Amotangata ki muri. No reira kei roto kei oku na mahara e penei ana ta te wa i homai ai i whakatutakitia ai tawa i korerotia ra te wahi tuatahi ko te wehi kia Ihoa te timatanga o te matauranga. Aneira tawa kei runga i te mata o te whenua e whai ana i enei huarahi katoa. Na ko koe he tamaiti koe na te Atua i manaakitia whakaurutia ki roto i nga kura o te matauranga roto i tenei wa ko hoki mai koe. Kua kitea koe te taumata ki runga ki nga whakaaro kei roto kei to ngakau. Kwa hoki mai koe i runga i tena nohonga kua whakawhiwhitia nei kei runga ki a koe na ki te whakanoho ki nga ropu haku i nga taonga kei roto kei te whenua i whakanganitia ai hai whakarite i nga noho tahitanga o nga tipuna i nga ra ka huri. Tenei korerotia e Muru na te ao tawhiti. Na reira kua tae mai koe ki te whakatorotoro haere ki te whakatutaki kia tawa i nga uru o tawa tipuna ki runga i enei matauranga kua whakawhiwhinga ki runga i a koe. No reira ka mihi nga whakaaro. Ka hari te whakamoemiti o tenei taonga nui i korerotia ai i te tawa tipuna e toru nga mea nunui o tawa to te Maori, Tuatahi ko te whenua, taurua ko te tangata, tuatoru ko te taonga. Na kare he whakapanui mo nga wairangi o nga engari ka whakawhangainga i runga i te korerotia o te taonga. He nui nga korerotia. He maha mo tenei te whakawhangainga ko te taonga penei na ko te taonga i huatia ko te kupu he taonga mo nga whakaaro. Ka oti ka hoki tenei ki te mea ora. Ko te korerotia o te ora ko te wairua o te tangata. Na ko eneiki nga wahi kei te kitea ake e hau i roto i tenei wa engari hai tauira to ratau noho ko nga taonga i wairangi o te tangata he tohu ki to ratau whakatutakitia to ratau nohotahitanga. Na ko eneiki nga taonga e haramai nei koe i hunai ai ki runga ki te whenua. Na reira ka mihi au ki tenei wa. Ka mihi au tena koe haerema.
Haeremai i runga i nga ahuatanga e korerotia ake nei ratau te hunga kua wehe. Na ratau te hunga kei runga kei te mata o te whenua kei te ora engari he waha tono ratau ano tenei o wenei taonga kei runga i o tatau tuara. No reira haeremai i runga i enei ahuatanga. Nga mate ki kona kei runga kei a koe a nga mate kei konei kei runga kei ahau. Kua tutuki tatau te hunga ora ki te hunga ora. Kua whakarite ratau tera wahi na he taonga nui teneiki ki a au. No reira haeremai koe i runga i enei ahuatanga engari ko te wahi nui e Muru kei roto i oku mahara noku aku whakaaro naku i whiriwhiri, naku i rapu, naku i whewehae haere, engari ko te vahi nui kataoa ki roto ki ahau ko tenei mea ko te taonga i whakareretia e koe e korerotia ana tana korero ko nga tipuna whare ka whakatungia ki runga ki te marae o te whenua ka wehea ai te marae kia wehe tenei wahiai mo te kataoa mo nga tangata kataoa. Ka whakatungia te whare e korerotia ana tona korero ko tane whakapipiri. Ko te whakapiriiritanga tenei a tawa te hunga ora hai taonga hai korero tanga e kore te tangata e whakahenga i runga i te marae ahakoa pehea te tawhiti o ana korero pehea te tikino o ana korero a kei runga te marae e ruke ai e korerotia ana ko te marae hei tutanga mo te puehu engari kua kuhu ki runga o tane whakapipiri na ko te rongo mou tenei ko te pai ko te rangimarie. No reira ra e Muru ko enei ra nga whakaaro kei ahau. Ehara te mea raua ne kei te tikia tau engari ka whakapiringia i te korero wairua te kupu ke o to tawa Atua i ahu iho i te rangi. Na kia tatau ki te tangata he taonga tatau na te tangata. Engari ka hoki ano waku korero nei na i runga i nga raputanga i haramai tatau ko te iwi whenua e korerotia ai tona korero i haramai i Hawaikiroa i Hawaikinui i Hawaikipamamao. Kei hea tenei wahi? Ka rapu te matauranga. I haramai tatau no tehea wahi? Kare kau i kitea e ratau. E koroi e kitea. E kore e kitea e ratau na te mea ko tawa i haere wairua mai ka hoki widua tawa. Ko wenei te whakapono kei roto kei ahau ka whakaritenga ki te kupu a to tatau Atua nana i homai nana i tangoatu kia whakanuitia tona ingoa. A nei ra te tuaira kei runga i to tawa marae. He aha te kakano kei runga i to tawa marae mo nga tangata kataoa? Ko te aroha ko te aroha. Ka whaka ritenga ki te korero o te kupu ko te whakapono ko te tumanako ko te aroha. Ko te mea nui ano o wenei e toru ko te aroha. Ehoa e Muru ko enei ra te taonga nei. Mehe mea ka haria i runga i tenei whakaaro o te tangata tuku moito ka kitea tenei huarahi ma te Maori. Na te mea he aha? A nei tana whakaritenga na ko te ngakau aroha. He ngakau hae taua engari ka hae taua ki nga mea nunui kia taua. Ki te haria tetahi ka hae taua. Na kota nei toa taonga nei. Na reira tenei koe e haramai nei i nga kura o te matauranga. Tenei koe i haramai nei i roto i o taua hoa Pakeha i te
kiritea. Hei aha? Kua uhia ra whakautia tenei taonga kei roto i a koe. Na retra ko enei aku korero penei kia koe haramai. Mehemea he wahi maku hai whatu kia koe hei whakatipu i tena matauranga na ka tukua katoanga atu i runga i taku whakapono na ki nga kupu ki to taua artiki me nga taonga i whakareretia iho e o taua tipuna i pehea kia ngaro? Ko to taua reo ra kua riro engari ko to taua ngakau kare e riro i tera mea te aroha. E kore e riro. No reira haramai hokiatu haere ki te hao here i nga taonga. Manaakitia te taonga a o taua hoa Pakeha. Kua kitea ra koe to taua whakapiripiritanga korerotia ai ko tana whakapiripiri. E hara te mea ko whakapiripiri ko taua ano ko te Maori engari whakapiripiri ki nga reo katoa ki nga kiri katoa hai aha hai painga mo tatau mo nga pononga a to tatau Atua. Ka mutu ra aku korero kia koe. Nau mai hokiu ki to taua nohonga kainga. Na reira tena koe".

This free translation attempts to convey the spirit in which the welcome speech was made.

"I am alert I am alive. Let my opening remark Muru be this, respect God from whom comes all wisdom, for it is said that respect for God precedes respect for man. The thoughts within me are that the time for our first meeting must be a time to show respect to God because we are here on the face of the earth pursuing knowledge. You are a child of God cared for and sent into the Schools of learning and now you have returned. You have seen the heights for which your goals can be achieved. You return from your research centre to investigate the works of the archaeologists who disturb and record the settlement sites of our ancestors. This talk deals with the sacred past. You have come to discuss our ancestors according to the nature of your research, therefore, the thoughts associated with our customs are of greetings. Gladly I respect the valued treasures of our ancestors.

The Maori respects three things, first is the land, second is man and third is taonga (things that belong to the Maori). Many explanations concerning taonga are possible, and yet when discussions of taonga have ceased one must return to the world of the living. Discussion concerning life is to talk about man's soul. This is how I see these archaeological sites now. These settlement sites were treasures left by the hand of man as a reminder of their living and meeting places. Now these are the treasures deeply embedded in the soil that you have come to investigate. I must pay my respect to those times. To you again greetings and welcome. Welcome according to the age old custom of those who have passed away and to us the living who are
left on the face of the land who must bear the responsibility of bearing these treasures on our shoulders. Welcome in the spirit of these thoughts. The deaths in your area you have supported them, the deaths in my area I have also carried out the responsibilities associated with them. We the living have met. We have fulfilled that part which to me is also a very important taonga (a greeting custom preserved). So welcome with these ideas in mind.

The most important thing to remember in what I say is that these are my own ideas which I have gathered, searched and sifted. It was said that ancestral houses were built on the courtyards of ancestral land. The marae was set aside for all people. It was said that the house was erected as a house of peace. Here we the living are gathered together in peace as a taonga (ancestral treasure custom), where it is said no man can be wronged on the marae, however irrelevant his words may be or however bad are the things he says, it can all be expressed on the marae because the marae is the standing place for the experienced. However, on entry into the meeting house peace and goodwill prevails. These then Muru are my ideas. If what you are pursuing is to be put right then it must be found according to the word of our God above. To us we are taonga (product) of man.

I now return to what has been said, that we the original people came to this land from long Hawaiki from the Great Hawaiki and from the Distant Hawaiki. Where are these places? The learned have searched. From which place did we come from? They will never find it because we came in spirit and we return in spirit. This is my belief and I liken it to what our God has said, He gave and He took away in order that his name be glorified. This is the example set by our marae. What is the most important thing planted on our marae for all men? It is aroha (love). When likened to the word of God it is Faith, Hope and Love. The greatest of these three things is Aroha. Friend Muru these then are taonga. If it is approached along these lines then to me it will be correct according to Maori ways of thinking. Why? Because the explanation lies in one's ngakau aroha (one's actions where deep feelings of caring are demonstrated). We are jealous people but jealous only for those great things that touch us deeply. Even if only one part is taken away then we become jealous. This is my explanation of taonga. So greetings to you who have come from the schools of learning. Greetings to you who have come from amongst our white skinned pakeha friends. You have arrived so draw these ideas about taonga unto you. These are the things I have to say to you, welcome.

If there was something for me to give you to increase your knowledge I would give it all to you according to my faith in the words of our God and
the \textit{taonga} (treasures) left behind by our ancestors otherwise it would be lost like our language. They are gone but our souls will not be taken away because of our \textit{aroha} (sense of caring). So welcome and return. Go in search of the \textit{taonga}. Take care of the \textit{taonga} of our pakeha friends. You have seen how peaceful we discuss things. It is not that we the Maori must cling only to one another but we must get on with all those of different languages and different coloured skins so as to benefit us all the children of God. My talk to you must end here so welcome and farewell, return to our home. My respects to you".

\textbf{THE RESEARCH FINALISED:}

I had become so deeply involved in digging out information from the elders that I realised it would be absolutely discourteous and therefore improper to consult other Maoris in the district without giving offence. It is for this reason that I sacrificed my original plan to interview a cross section of the Maori population and decided to investigate the attitudes of the elders instead. I preferred to be identified by them as the anthropologist who went into their district and got hold of their story and their trust and they in turn could expect my loyalty.

The fears that the elders would not divulge information of a personal nature to me was largely overcome by the manner in which our first meetings always observed the traditional forms of greetings, namely, the welcome call to the visitor, the visitors' response, time to reflect on the recent and past dead, the speeches, the songs sung as relish for the speeches, the touch ritual and then some food to eat. While the meetings always took a long time it was a vital time to openly display oneself and allow the elders to make their judgements concerning the character, credentials and sincerity of the Social Anthropologist.
Eating was a time to relax and listen to the talk about the day to day events which concerned the people and it was only when everyone retired to a special place always away from food that the **take** was discussed. The **take** was discussed exclusively in the Maori language much to the delight and interest of the people who enjoyed the opportunity of talking to someone who cared about the things that touched them deeply.

My first attempts at tape recording our meetings were too distracting and since I sensed it embarrassed the elders I kept the recorder out of sight and in a **kete** (flax basket) which I was able to place casually in the best position without drawing attention to it, "**Nga mihini a te Pakeha**" (these pakeha machines). I also took notes in a small notebook which I later expanded back in my room in private.

Through the many meetings we had I sensed the warmth of the elders towards me and I knew I was accepted. Being accepted was very important if I was to gain the information from the people who were the respected elders of the community and therefore were regarded as the ones who knew what they were talking about. I noticed that with every speech there followed a warning that my responsibility as a Maori was first, as a child of God pursuing a very sacred cause. Success would only be achieved if respect was observed for the past, for the dead, and for the treasures of the ancestors.

At night when I expanded on my notes I was able to recall vividly the events of my meetings with the elders and I felt uneasy about the material I was handling. It was clear that the discussions had brought on meanings which
were not commonly understood and these would require thoughtful explanation if the elder's views were to be understood.

A total period of eight weeks field research was spent in Whakatane during 1976. I had previously been associated with Whakatane through sporting associations, in-service teacher training courses, attendance at large scale Maori gatherings, and had spent some holidays there. I also have many personal friends in Whakatane who are engaged in school teaching, in the medical profession, in the Maori Affairs Department, as ministers of religion, as employees of the Tasman Paper Mill, as farmers, in business and in various Government Department, and their opinions were eagerly sought. As a member of the Archaeological Committee for the New Zealand Historic Places Trust I received assistance from Mr Van der Wouden, Curator of the Whakatane Museum, Mr Kingsley-Smith, historian for the Whakatane Beacon Press and Mr Moore, file keeper for the Bay of Plenty.

Interviews with the elders were conducted mainly in Maori and where Maori has been used in this thesis efforts were made to retain as much of the natural style of language as used in discussions and therefore any alterations normally required to make them conform to correct written Maori have been ignored.

English translations are given but they are not word for word translations and are included to convey what was meant at the time the discussions took place.

A glossary of Maori words and meanings has been included.

An explanation of how the Maori perceives archaeological
sites, the past and the sacred is made and should be of interest to all those interested in anthropology and Maoritanga.

As requested by the people interviewed, their names have not been included although their views have been included unaltered.

This thesis has been organised into seven chapters. Chapter 1 considers European and Maori views of the past. Chapter 2 considers the nature of the thesis research. Chapter 3 present archaeological reports in Whakatane. Chapter 4 identifies the physical features which the Maoris of Whakatane hold to be sacred. Chapter 5 recalls Whakatane traditions. Chapter 6 deals with some archaeologists' views about archaeology as well as the views of some Maoris, and chapter 7 deals with conclusions.

Investigating Maori views is not a simple task especially when one is working in an area that is different from one's own tribal district. Hopefully this thesis provides some useful guidelines for dealing with such a situation. While it was thought that wider expression of Maori opinion would be sought it was only the elder's views that were finally taken for consideration in this thesis. This view was taken because of my deep respect for the elders who are closest to the past. It is still customary to regard them in this way because of their perception into the sacred which has never been properly explained, which hopefully this thesis is able to do. With an assurance of welcome and support the time was appropriate to give serious consideration to what the elders meant when they continually reminded me:

"You will not find the answers to your research until you investigate how our traditions and
our lands have been used by the Pakeha. Only then will you know our feelings."
CHAPTER THREE

ARCHAEOLOGY IN WHAKATANE

[1] THE WHAKATANE HISTORIC SOCIETY

The large amount of data presented in this chapter is vital in order to understand archaeological values and attitudes in Whakatane.

The archaeological group of the Whakatane Historic Society were practising archaeology as early as 1952. Their archaeological activities included site recording; marking all local pa sites, small villages, pits, working floors and middens; and conducting scientific excavations at selected sites (Davis 1958). The following examples indicate the extent of archaeological work by the Society.

KAREAREA PA:

The following notes are taken from an archaeological report by Mabon (1961).

Karearea pa site is situated at the top of the bluff base of Whakatane town. Its Grid reference is N69/437253. The bluff part of the faultline scarp is associated with a major fault. The basement rock is greywacke and the cover beds pumice ajaactamenta. The site was once a small peak now truncated to form an irregularly shaped platform 300ft x 100ft., and little more than \frac{1}{2} acre in area. On the west side the scarp drops sheer away and on the north, one side of the shallow valley has been artificially steepened to a bank. To the east and south are gentle spurs across which ditches have been cut (Figure 2). At an altitude of 400-500ft., the site has a commanding position with an unrestricted view to the west and north, and being situated on a bluff, only two sides required defensive earthworks (See section B-B, C-C and D-D in Figure 2). For purposes of preparing a house site, part of the platform has been excavated on the western side. In the wall of the house-site, section A-A (Figure 3) - now lined
with concrete, could be seen the outlines of five pits, number I to V. These were filled largely with extraneous material including greasy black earth, pumice blocks and lapilli, greywacke stones, some burnt, and quantities of *pīpī* and *trochus* shells. Because of building operations, the fill could not be examined in detail. The pit outlines were shaped as in Figure 4. The presence of greasy black earth and burnt stones suggest the floor of a pit house or storage pits. In common with most *pa* sites in the district, Karearea *pa* did have a number of pits scattered over its surface. Pits may be classified into two main types. The first is the rectangular to square semi-subterranean pit, the other is the bell shaped fully subterranean pit. The worker in the field can distinguish two types of rectangular to square semi-subterranean pit, on the basis of whether the pit has a level or raised rim. These pits, of course, vary considerably, not only in size and shape but also in location within the site itself (Mabon 1961a).

On soil examination, no age can be assigned to the site (Pullar 1961a:51).

My task here is not to judge what archaeologists do but to present their records impartially and in their own terms. The report describes in technical terms what was carried out on an ancient Maori *pa* site. The diagrams represent visually the extent of excavation.

**KAPUTERANGI PA:**

The following notes are taken from an archaeological report by Mabon (1961).

The site itself is in two distinctive parts, firstly, the *pa* site and, secondly, a series of non defensive terraces which are to the north west, and below the *pa* (Figure 5). In comparison with other *pa* sites in the district, the area of the *pa* is rather small, the habitation area roughly rectangular in shape is approximately 110ft long (north to south) by 80ft (west to east). The transverse defence system represents the most conspicuous defence features. This consists of (going from south to north) (1) a raised bank, (2) a ditch - 5ft deep at the shallow point in the centre, 10ft at the deepest, (3) a bank approximately 60ft long and 6ft wide, (4) another ditch 17ft at its deepest points, on the
Platform excavated for house site

bulldozed track
ditch now levelled for track

ditch

Fig. 2 KAREAREA PA
Ridge top cut flat

black greasy earth

manuka

I fern II III IV V bracken

firepit

pipi shells

burnt greywacke stones

white pumice lapilli

highly carbonaceous

Section AA showing pits

Fig. 3 KAREAREA PA
Fig. 4 KAREAREA PA
ends and 7ft at its shallowest - and then (5) a raised bank on the northern edge of the ditch.

This system has been spoilt by the creation of what appears to be a cattle track across the western end (see Figure 5). The lateral defence system consists of a raised bank and ditch. This is found on both sides but not on the northern end. It is not as clearly marked as the transverse system, the ditch in places being difficult to recognise. On the south-east corner of the habitation area is a raised terrace about 40ft long and 15 to 20ft wide. In front of this are two pits circular in shape. The largest of these, the site of probe 3 (Figure 5) was about 9ft across at its widest point and about 23" deep. Near the north-west corner there is another track, this time down on to the non-defensive terraces. There is a raised bank on top of the side of the ditch along it and perhaps this could have been a means of entry to the pa itself, although it is apparent that the track itself has been used by livestock in quite recent times. The non-defensive terraces run along the top of a ridge which itself runs in an east-west direction. All three distinctive steps can be seen, each seeming to be about 6 to 8ft higher than its predecessor. The highest of these terraces (that nearest the pa itself) is about 40ft wide by 25ft in depth. The next is the largest terrace, being approximately 44ft wide and about 40ft in depth; the lowest terrace narrows off, following the natural contours of the ridge, it being about 40ft in depth and 40ft in width at the widest point but only 60 to 10ft at the narrowest. These non-defensive terraces show no evidence of pits on their surface (Mabon 1961).

This is another archaeological report which speaks for itself. In this case the site selected for excavation is one of the most well known, historically and traditionally amongst the Maoris.
Fig. 5 KAPUTERANGI PA
THE MURIWAI CAVE (see Figure 10)

The following notes have been taken from an archaeological report by Pullar (1961).

Muriwai Cave is situated on the Muriwai Road about 60 chains north of the Whakatane Post Office, (grid reference N67/452266). It occurs near sea level in a spur at the foot of the bluff overlooking the town. The bluff is a fault line scarp associated with the major Whakatane fault and the rock is undifferentiated greywacke of Jurassic-Permian age, highly deformed and with marked jointing and bedding. A weakness in the bedding planes has allowed the sea to excavate the cave and subsequently the void has become refilled with debris fallen from the scarp. Spoil from the cave was removed by the Whakatane Jaycees during October, 1961, but no artefacts were discovered. The stratigraphy of the cave debris, however, was carefully recorded and its interpretation offers an interesting exercise in recent geological history. Tide marks left on the walls of the cave after excavation indicates that the debris is stratified. At the base are cobbles and boulders of hard greywacke subangular and irregular in shape with chamfered edges. Above the small pumice gravels is a midden composed principally of charcoal fragments and shells including the ringed dosinia (Dosinia anus) triangle shell (Spisula aequilateralis), common mussel (Mytilus canaliculius), knobbled welk (Austrofusus glans), common pipi (Amphidesma australe) and the purple cockle (Venericardia purpurata) but the midden is restricted to an area between 10 and 27 feet from the mouth of the cave. Cobbles and boulders of a size found in the cave would normally be found in the headwaters of a river and not at its mouth. Hard, massive beds do occur in greywacke of this age so that a postulate for local origin of the cobbles is not unfeasible. The date of the Taupo pumice eruptions, according to carbon datings, is about A.D. 150, but a correction of + 300 years or more must now be applied to arrive at the correct date (Rafter 1961:21, 22). If the date of eruption is assumed at A.D. 500, then the Taupo pumice floor in the cave can be assumed to be of the same age or a little later. No doubt the copious supply of Taupo pumice ash would supply material for the grey beach sand covering the Taupo pumice gravels.

Before any excavational work could be commenced it was necessary to have the approval of the Maori elders. This was readily given once the
intention to beautify the cave was fully explained and clearly understood. On 25 September, 1961, in the presence of a respectful group of people, representative of both races, the ceremony of lifting the tapu was performed by Mr Ira Manihera, a tohunga and elder of Murupara, aided by Mr Iki Pouwhare chief of the Waiotahi people, and Mr Haumata Mika, of Ruatoki North. The service followed mainly the form of the Ringatu religion (Pullar 1961b:194).

This is another example of an archaeological report which deals with excavations carried out on a well known historical and traditional Maori site. The difference with this report and previous examples given is that with this report the archaeologists had indicated to the elders that their intensions were to beautify the site and as they have stated they went to great pains to ensure that the elders understood. It is however clear from the report that it does not say what the archaeologists had said it would. Instead of a report on the beautifying of the site, an archaeological report is produced stressing a geological history. For the Maori the archaeologists ruined rather than beautified the site. Because of their aroha (respect) for Papa (mother earth) they left the cave site for Papa to protect and preserve. This illustrates a problem in the differences between Pakeha and Maori cultures when they come into contact with one another. The problem is that a view taken for granted by one culture in a particular setting is not necessarily understood by another culture who is being required to conform to that viewpoint.

TAUANUI PA: (see Figure 6)

Tauanui was one of the earliest sites of the district having been occupied circa A.D. 1550, when Kahuki flourished (Best 1925:108, 1144). This site would be classified as a
headland pa (Golson and Green 1958:51). The site was surveyed but no excavation was carried out.

PORT OHOPE (see Figure 7)

The following notes are taken from an archaeological report by Moore (1972).

Realizing that the society lacked the expertise to excavate at Port Ohope assistance was sought from the New Zealand Archaeological Association, and particularly from Miss Janet Davidson, Archaeologist, Auckland Institute and Museum, as also Mr Jim McKinlay, archaeologist on the staff of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington. In November 1969, excavation commenced with the clearing of lupin and fern to establish the squares. Several handicaps were evident in working on this site. Firstly it was exposed to the general public and, to deter fossicking, at the end of the day the more promising squares had to be disguised with any rubbish available such as lupin and fern, etc, also care had to be taken with regard to publicity. Secondly, there was no opportunity for reasonably continuous excavation as the programme had to fit in with schedules outings of the society. Initially, 10 squares, each as close as possible, to 10 metres, were opened up leaving 1 metre baulks, later extended to 15 squares, all set close to the scarp and running parallel to the small beach. Additionally, a further two exploration squares were sunk, also probe holes. Considerable emphasis was placed upon the participants using correct equipment such as 6 mm sieves and triangular-shaped trowels and so on. From the outset, it was realised that there was no stratigraphy as such, no layers from which guides could be established. However, it became apparent that the site was considerably disturbed and that even the sides of the squares showed few layers; this, coupled with the fact that excavation was very much on the remaining portion of the refuse deposit site has made evaluation difficult. Over the whole of the site, shell was scattered and, where it was dense, and loose and not compacted; clean shell was in minor quantities suggesting that the dune was simply a place to camp over a short period of time and that large scale gathering of shell-fish for future use was not intended. The foregoing indicates the proximity in the past of Chione beds, whilst pipi beds may have been close in the past but today they are located some considerable distance away. Tuatua is, today, found on the ocean side of the peninsula, particularly at Ohope. Toheroa shellfish appear to have been just as scarce then
as they are today, and this also pertains to rock oysters, *Chione* was found to be in size, average to large, but today beds show medium size and smaller. *Pipī* shell was found over most of the site and tended to be of medium size and smaller, with many definitely pink in colour. Site N69/84 is a *pipī* midden site some ½ mile to the east containing large compacted *pipī* shell in a layer 7" thick and some 15ft long, beneath 4ft of sand, on an area of the peninsula known as Te Kanawa.

The area near the top of the dune, but more to the east, produced the main source of artefacts. Four portions of drilled bone tabs for one-piece bait hooks, were located and are considered archaic (Figure 8'b', 'c', 'd' and 'e'. Perhaps also 'a' is an adze, 5.5 cm long, roughly flaked and no cutting point, but it is rather too small and rough to be very diagnostic). Examination of the particular spot where the articles were found indicated no definite layers of sequence, a feature that was quite disappointing. The artefacts were in no separate layer beneath shell. Some dozen pieces of obsidian were found, of the green variety, at an average length of 4 cm. They were found at varying depths and not concentrated. The chips were mainly broken flakes, thin and showed retouch or use marks.

The quantity of fish-bone, overall, was minimal being mainly snapper vertebrae, and some flounder tail. In the most concentrated area of artefacts were three rather small seeds unidentified, a bone spear point 6 cm in length which may well have been used for picking flesh from within a shell. The earbone of a southern Fur Seal (*Arctocephalus forsteri*) was located and this, to the writer's knowledge, is a rare visitor to the Bay of Plenty. Some bone identification included that of the *Kuri* (Maori dog).

In this particular programme the opportunity was taken to salvage by means of excavation a site supposedly destined for part or complete destruction by natural causes, by land owners, and by fossickers. Steps have since been taken for its preservation by archaeologists for Pakeha interests but not for Maori interests.

The excavations provided the opportunity for a responsible group recognising that its methods were amateurish,
Fig. 6 TAUANUI PA
Fig. 7 PORT OHOPE

Scenic reserve - Matakiripu

Site of former hotel

Buried cave

Duckers or URETAWA IS.

Landing

Old pa Whakatuki

Shark pool

Shark pool

Oyster rocks

Paparoa pa

Kauri Molino Pt.

Whitiwhiti

Paparoa pa

Pa sites

Rec. Res.

Mangroves

Bore

Rutung, landing

Kaingaroa

Bore

Buried cave

Hiwara pa

Hiwara

Awaawaroa

Hiwara pa

Hiwara pa

Billy goat Pt.

"Hokianga pa"

Canoe harbour

Pukerinui

D. Robert Black's

Te Mauihai pa

Peter Jackson's house

Pawhakawhakawhakawhakawhakau

Pahutukawa tree

Oheu pa

Hiwara pa

Oheu pa

Kutarere

Tapu pa

Waianau

Scenic reserve

Matakiripu

Waimana

0 1 2 3 km

N

Highway

PORT OHOPE

New wharf

PORT OHOPE

Site of former hotel

Onekawa pa, Major Kopata's redoubt

Buried cave

Te Mauihai pa

Pa sites

Captain Rupawa's house (now Wedders')

Wharekura pa

Pawhakawhakawhakawhakau

Pahutukawa tree

Oheu pa

Hokianga pa

Canoe harbour

Kutarere

Rutung, landing

I. R. R. H. E. M. S.
to contribute to archaeology the information the site could yield, and to master to as high a degree as possible the techniques of excavation.

The remains of this midden site suggest a temporary camping spot where a few people remained for a short time. It is possible also that they employed a crude type of shelter due to a suspect post hole found. Their diet consisted mainly of Chione supplemented at times by snapper. Some attempt was made at fishing, as evidenced by obsidian which would have been used for cutting up fish and fashioning of fish hooks; a number of these have been found at White's farm near Opotiki and on the coast (White, 1971:134). Techniques of fishing may not have advanced to a great degree, due to lack of fish bone. The rough adze and absence of other similar finds suggests the occasional attempt at tool production. They lit few fires, as the quantity of heat fractured stone was small, and chose a site that afforded a maximum view in many directions. The archaic artefacts found here and at White's support the tradition of the aboriginal people, and the site may at a later date link up with A. Moore's farm also on the coast, west of Whakatane (Shawcross, 1965).

As with Davidson (Davidson, 1964:70) there should be an adoption of adequate techniques for obtaining reliable samples suitable for midden analysis (Moore 1972).

The archaeological report for Port Ohope reveals several insights into archaeological practice in Whakatane. Firstly it is clear that members of the archaeological group were not confident at digging and were prepared to seek outside assistance from experts. Secondly once digging had begun they were not prepared to maintain continuous excavation because their visits to the site had to fit in with the members' spare weekends. With such a programme once the site was exposed it could not be protected from fossickers or from the general public. Thirdly a lot of midden material was collected but these could not be studied because there were no facilities for accurate midden
Fig. 9 PAPAROA PA
analysis. One gets the impression that with such a discontinuous digging programme that the whole experience was carried out mainly for Pakeha interests and not for Maori interests so that destruction and not preservation was to proceed as a matter of course.

PAPAROA PA: (See Figure 1 and 9)

The following notes are taken from an archaeological report by Pullar (1962).

The Paparoa pa (Grid reference N69/527205) is sited on the Paparoa headland along the southern shore of the Ohiwa estuary. The site is reached from the Whakatane-Opotiki Road via Wainui by a secondary road branching at about seven miles from Whakatane. The owner of the land wishes the site to be vested in some public body in order that it may be preserved. It is from 1 - 1½ acres in area. The headland falls gradually from 300ft at the road entrance to 80ft at the cliff face fronting the estuary. At low tide the estuary bed is bare of water. The site was briefly examined and measured and the artificial flatness of the surface indicated that a lot of material was moved in the course of constructing the pa. The pa is of the ring-ditch type with a 100ft bluff facing the harbour on two sides and the effect of tidal waters is strongly marked. Its history has been documented by Elsdon Best (Best 1925:320).

A puzzle to field archaeologists in the Whakatane district is that no trace of wooden defence works can be found in the ground. Were stakes and battens employed only in strongly fortified pas? One wonders if some of the ring-ditches were dug for drainage bearing in mind the high intensity rains occurring in the Bay of Plenty (Pullar 1962a:150).

This report concerns a site located on Pakeha property.

Its Maori history has been well documented by Elsdon Best (Best, 1925:320).
Ethical Implications:

The previous section drew attention to the limited excavational skills of the Whakatane archaeological group and their desire to improve them. This section considers the nature of the assistance that was available from the New Zealand Archaeological Association to the Whakatane members at a site closely identified with Whakatane traditionally and in terms of location.

Rotorua was chosen for the New Zealand Archaeological Association's conference in 1959 because:

(1) It was an important centre of Maori population. Such a centre would provide the opportunity for the association to introduce itself and explain its aims and objectives to the very people to the writing of whose history it hoped to contribute. With this in mind invitations were sent to tribal executives in a wide area covering Rotorua, Whakatane and Taupo.

(2) Rotorua is the centre of many archaeological sites and many of them are recorded in the traditions of the local Arawa people.

(3) There had long been a demand on the part of the association members for instruction in excavation techniques. The site Pakotore, an old Arawa pa standing near the Rotorua/Tauranga highway high above the Kaituna River and in sight of the sea of Maketu was chosen as the site to introduce conference members
to archaeological techniques.

(4) The chosen site lay close to the Bay of Plenty coast on which the traditionally recorded landfalls of Polynesian ancestors were commonly made.

(5) Rotorua offered an ideal opportunity for its members to be introduced to archaeological ethics.

(6) The Rotorua district is one of volcanic activity with at least two dated ash showers within the period of human settlement. The so-called Kaharoa ash shower is of direct archaeological interest because it has been dated by radio carbon between 1000 and 1200 A.D. and it therefore offers the opportunity of defining an early and widespread horizon in Bay of Plenty settlement history when archaeological sites are found in association with them.

It was with these particular objectives in mind that the association organised the programme for its conference on archaeological excavation.

On the first day of the conference the association was given an official welcome by the Maori people of Ohinemutu. Later the ethical implications of archaeological activity was covered by Dr Duff of the Canterbury Museum who spoke in respect of the Maori people. This was followed by Mr Gathercole of the Otago Museum who spoke in respect of scientific standards of excavation. The second and third days were spent in the field.
A Demonstration of Archaeological Methods:

The following notes are taken from Golson's archaeological report.

The site, already surveyed and gridded into four separate excavation areas, awaited the 60 people who were to give it their closest attention for two days. Four team leaders had been appointed to supervise the excavations on the four areas and the teams which they led were chosen to include, as far as possible, people from the same district who might be expected to be doing archaeological work together in the future. These teams were to be restricted to the areas allocated to them, but at lunch time and at the end of the day site inspections were to be conducted to show the progress of the project as a whole.

The four areas chosen for excavation exemplified a variety of problems and enabled a number of archaeological approaches to be illustrated. Thus, three of them comprised visible and identifiable surface features specifically, rectangular pits of the kind that are numerous in North Island pa. Two of these three areas were located on each site of a fosse which divided the pa into an inner and an outer area of defence and the teams working those two sections were to link up their excavations by sectioning the ditch. The fourth excavation point contained no surface indications, though the adjacent road cutting suggested that occupation debris was present there. This excavation was meant to demonstrate exploratory methods of attack when digging is really "blind".

The point which needs emphasizing here is that digging is "blind" because it is not real archaeology that is being carried out but a modelling exercise.

Two days proved too short to do more than sample the areas selected for investigation. A combined Auckland and Rotorua team put in a few days' work some weeks later to complete one of the excavations and finish tidying up the site.

The actual results achieved were:— a complete section across the fosse, the total excavation of one pit and the excavation of two others to the point where original length, breadth, depth and orientation could be seen and something of the post-hole pattern discovered. The demonstration that at least two building phases had occurred on the site, the pits which were still visible on the surface at one place
running across the line of and therefore representing a later stage than structures so completely filled in with earth that no surface indications of them remained. The discovery was that all this building activity took place after the Kaharoa ashfall.

More important than such results, however, was the demonstration of methods to the participants. All the points on which emphasis had been laid in lecture room discussions were most happily and convincingly illustrated by the site: stratification, by the natural processes of erosion and infilling in fosse and pits, which drawing their material from a yellow volcanic subsoil and from vegetable growth had produced filling layers of vividly contrasting colour. The disturbance of earlier features and the recognition of this in changes in the type, colour and texture of soils along a regular line was seen in horizontal plan and tested in vertical section, and the identification and excavation of post-holes. In those circumstances the principles of archaeological recording by photographs and by drawn plans and sections were quickly grasped and easily demonstrated (Golson 1959:150-152).

Traditional History:

The Pakotore site excavated by the New Zealand Archaeological Association has a well documented history.

The following extracts are taken from the traditional history of Pakotore as recorded by Stafford (1959).

Pakotore was a pa of the Arawa people. It stands on the foothills behind the Bay of Plenty Flats, within sight of Maketu, the traditional landing place of the Arawa canoe.

It has always featured in Arawa history as a place of some importance, probably because it both occupied a strategic position on an important track which led inland to the Rotorua lakes district and also commanded any river traffic proceeding up the Kaituna River. Nearby were extensive swamps, now drained, stretching north towards the coast and providing good territory for food gathering parties.

Pakotore itself is one of a group of three fairly large fortified pa and is the largest of these. The other two are known as Matapara and Te Hoe-a-Taunga and probably at one stage formed with Pakotore three divisions of the one settlement. It is known from tradition that the Arawa people moved inland to Rotorua very shortly after the arrival of the
Arawa canoe at Maketu, and it is said that Pakotore was the first camping site. This is logical, as the pa marks about the furthest point the Kaituna River was navigable to canoes and provides the easiest access from the river to the higher land.

There is one traditional reference to the building of the pa, by Kahumatamomoe, a son of Tamatekapua, but very little more is heard of the site until it is mentioned as having been the home of Rangitihi, one of the most famous of Arawa ancestors. As Rangitihi was, according to tradition, born at the pa, we can say that it was at least inhabited and used as a pa since the days of Uenukumairarotonga.

The genealogical connection is given here.

Tamatekapua
Kahumatamomoe
Tawakemoetahanga
Uenukumairarotonga
Rangitihi

Rangitihi had eight important sons, who became known later as "nga pumanawa e waru" (the eight hearts) and they were all born at Pakotore. It was from here that Rangitihi and his sons journeyed inland to Rotorua and as far afield as Maroa and Horotiu on the Waikato River, always, however, returning to Pakotore. Rangitihi died at Pakotore and was buried there, his bones later being exhumed and taken to the ancient wahi tapu on Ruawahia, the central peak of what is now known as Mount Tarawera. Two at least of his sons continued to live at and in the vicinity of Pakotore, and this occupation extended down until comparatively recent times, certainly, until the 1820's (Stafford 1959).

This section provides a useful contrast between the excavation carried out at Pakotore by the New Zealand Archaeological Association and its traditional history as recorded by Stafford. The archaeologists were merely using the sacred site for their own purposes. They were using the site as a model for teaching purposes and not
for 'real' archaeology. At Pakotore the archaeologists were concerned only with their own methodology and what things were like in one place whereas Maori tradition is concerned with the present and the past in the present and always with people.
An Initial Excavation:

The following archaeological notes are taken from Beacon 27/5/75.

The site (Figure 1) in the Whakatane district known as the Kohika swamp site was discovered when the owner of the land was undertaking drainage work on his farm.

The wooden material that had been recovered from the site by the Whakatane Museum was taken to the Auckland University where conservation work was initiated. "I would like to assure all present, that all carvings, artefacts, and objects of interest found at this site, will become the property of the Whakatane Historical Society's Museum", said Mr Geoff Irwin, a lecturer at the Auckland University, who is in charge of the University's excavation group.

An initial excavation was conducted in May 1975, mainly by graduate students of the Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, and associates of the Whakatane District Museum. The work was financed by a special grant from the Golden Kiwi Fund. The main aims of the excavation were to determine the extent of the site, its structure and function, and the quantity and distribution of the prehistoric remains.

Before archaeological work on the site commenced local Maori elders were invited to conduct a ceremony at the site. They were Romana Kingi (Anglican), Mike Mason (Roman Catholic), Albert Te Rere (Presbyterian), Jack Fox (Ratana) and Harry Reneti (Ringatu). They joined in the service to raise the tapu and place the former pa and its contents into the archaeologists keeping (Russell 1978:5). The site now
3 to 4 feet underground was a very ancient one and was therefore sacred to Maoris. The service by the combined clergy was for the purpose of placing a protective barrier over what they all regarded as hallowed ground which had been lived on by their ancestors many centuries ago. Mr White thanked the visitors on behalf of the society. Their deep interest in the work was appreciated. The placing of a protective tapu on the whole site of some 4 acres would emphasise that the place was not an area for idle sight-seers, or treasure hunters. The service, he said, had shown the Pakeha students the deep appreciation the Maori had for all things belonging to the past. This had led to many misunderstandings, and bitter conflicts in the past. He hoped the younger Maoris would show the same interest, for the past had a deep spiritual meaning.

This is one of the main reasons why this thesis is written and obviously why it is needed. As has been stated by the archaeologist the Maori elders were placing a protective tapu on the site thus emphasizing that the place was not an area for sight-seers or treasure hunters. For the Maori tapu means to keep out of the area and leave the taonga (treasures) alone for Papa (mother earth) to protect and preserve. The archaeologists did not pay any attention to the significance of tapu because they did not think it applied to them. The problem is that archaeologists see themselves not as treasure hunters but as neutral scientists so their work is not conceived as being in conflict with that of the Maori at all. The misunderstandings and bitter conflicts in the past are due to the neutral views held by Pakeha and Maori about the past because it is inconceivable to them that there can be an alternative view.
Apart from the finely carved canoe prow, which was discovered early in the piece, the artefacts in the main were objects of everyday life in the average pa of the past. They included such things as whipping tops, coils of flax roping, lashings and well known ko, or Maori digging implement. All owe their excellent state of preservation to the light peaty nature of the site.

A senior technician in the Anthropology Department, Mr K.M. Peters, who spent three months overseas on a Churchill Fellowship studying methods for preservation of perishable prehistoric materials, has taken charge of technical aspects of conservation.

The site was formerly a low mound or island surrounded by swamp, shallow lakes, meandering waterways and larger rivers. At the present time it is unknown whether the site is entirely or only partially artificial. It is intended to enlist the help of a geomorphologist and other specialists to work out some of the problems of swamp stratigraphy. The site was clearly used by people who actually lived there at least on a seasonal basis. However, it was only lightly defended and therefore may have had some relationship with more heavily defended pa sites on higher ground a few miles away.

Preliminary investigations of shell fish remains from the site suggest that they were gathered in the spring. While as yet we have no evidence that the site was occupied at other times of the year, it most probably was. We are predicting year-round occupation by a population of fluctuating size.

The site was probably used largely for exploitation of
local resources of the swamp and to some extent, of the sea nearby. However, prehistorically the site lay near a natural communications route linking the coast with areas inland. It would have been ideally located for people operating trade networks. Indeed, there were quantities of obsidian, an important industrial material, perhaps of Mayor Island origin, which seem far in excess of the needs of the inhabitants of the site alone. They may have been involved in this movement inland.

The most significant evidence collected has been structural. Excavations were commenced in some 12 squares which together covered an area of approximately 80 m². Initial results suggest that activity areas differ considerably as between different parts of the site. On the higher part of the site there was evidence of small storage structures and of houses. House walls were represented by continuous wall slots *circa* 15 cm deep interspersed between deeper post holes dug into sand. Evidence of the same kind of constructions has been found at other swamp *pa*. For example, at Lake Mangakaware (Bellwood 1971) it was established that this pattern of evidence was associated with a wall of vertical house planks identical to those found at Kohika in the peat immediately outside the raised and defended area of the site. At Kohika there is also evidence for three superimposed structures representing a house that had been rebuilt in the same spot and aligned in the same direction as earlier ones.

No evidence of cooking or heating fires has been found in association with houses. Elsewhere on high ground there is evidence of cooking activities represented by firescoops
and hangi. Such areas are composed of complex patterns of disturbance of earlier structures. A succession of episodes of cooking activity is indicated. A likely pattern of settlement for the mound would include a number of houses grouped around open areas where cooking and other activities took place.

On the north-eastern edge of the mound in an area marginal to slight changes in the water level of the swamp, structural evidence of a kind not duplicated in any other excavated swamp pa was found. Briefly, this consists of extensive artificially laid floors mainly of pumice and sand associated with alignments of standing posts which form a perimeter to the floors. The posts probably represent the walls of a series of superimposed structures of a kind dissimilar to those described above. The complete plan of the structure is as yet unknown but they appear to have been substantial. The discovery of what was probably a latrine within one of these implies specialisation of function in this area of the site.

There are many problems to be resolved by further excavation. In general the stratigraphy of the site has proven to be complex. Indeed, there are parts of the site where the build-up has been due to an alternation of cultural and natural events.

Among the organic material recovered are wooden combs which are rare in the archaeological record and evidently of a sacred status in prehistoric Maori society. In addition to this material wooden chisel handles and a greenstone chisel blade were found. There was also a very large quantity of wood chips. It may be possible to infer
details of the wood-working technology that existed prior to the introduction of steel tools. Also found were many house parts. These included well made vertical house planks - some carved - with the notches and lashing holes used for joining them to one another. It would seem to be a relatively simple matter to dismantle structures made of such parts, and move them to erect elsewhere.

Other articles included spears, paddles, canoe parts, feeding vessels, bowls, pounders for fern root preparation, spatulate tools, digging sticks, footrest or ko, rope and vine lashings, woven fabrics, artificial floors of bracken and reeds, gourd remains, red ochre, carvings and vessels of pumice. There was a wide range of remains of both plants and animal foods.

Of great interest was the discovery of the prehistoric latrine which had been built within an above ground structure and which contained faecal material, coprolites to the archaeologists. These are extremely rare in the archaeological record for a variety of reasons. It is expected that analysis of the coprolites will provide important valuable insights relating to the health of the population.

The work done to date has provided some notion of the nature of the site and its contents. Conservation and analysis of the recovered materials are currently in hand.

The next stage will involve further excavation to enable the more detailed investigation of particular problems. High in priority is the uncovering of large areas of the site so as to reveal as completely as possible the pattern of prehistoric structures and associated behaviour. At the
same time a large scale materials conservation programme will be needed to cope with the volume of cultural material that will undoubtedly be produced. This may also require some research into the most suitable laboratory conservation techniques.

A Full Scale Excavation:

The following notes are taken from an archaeological report by Moore (1976).

In January 1976, a full scale archaeological investigation was carried out on the site, lasting nearly four weeks. The work was directed by Mr Irwin, with Mr R. Cassels, lecturer, and Mr Carl Peters, senior technician, both of the Anthropology Department. Students from other universities, including the University of the South Pacific, Fiji, also joined the work force. All recoveries, to the order of 650, were catalogued by members of the group before passing to the care of Mr Peters. According to Geoff Irwin, heading the work, the site is unique for it is circumscribed in area. It is a "single unit", with wooden and fabric items providing an important record of day-to-day life in the past, having been preserved in the swamp peat. The site was at one time a low mound or island surrounded by swamp, shallow lakes, meandering waterways and larger rivers. It is believed that the swamp peat, only lightly fortified, had a specialised role, perhaps for manufacturing or trading. Certainly people lived at various times on the island, which abounded in food sources such as mussels, birds and plants. Strategically, the site was important, lying near a communications route linking the coast with areas such as Tarawera and Taupo. There were quantities of obsidian, an important industrial material, perhaps of Mayor Island origin, which seems far in excess of the needs of the inhabitants alone. They may have been involved in its movement inland. The placing of vertical planks and other materials found in the swamp suggest that houses during the occupation period could be quickly assembled and disassembled. A picture is slowly emerging
as pieces of the Kohika puzzle are put in place. At some stage, and for some particular reason, the island was abandoned, but people probably returned at a later date.

The stratigraphic method of excavation has shown the anthropologists that there are a minimum of four or five occupation levels, with occupation dating back to an upper limit of 500 to 600 years. Each level of activity has to be peeled off and inspected to see what type of behaviour it represents. A three-dimensional record of each layer is required.

For every man-hour spent on the site, 10 hours is taken up in the laboratory. Work on samples taken from the site is likely to continue for several years. The senior technician, Mr Peters, in some respects is pioneering in the preservation of artefacts in New Zealand. He has learned much overseas about freeze-dry techniques, but items found at Kohika do not necessarily receive the same treatment. Some experimentation is necessary to find the most appropriate method for a particular artefact. He had learned a lot from a Dane, Jan Hjarno, who had visited New Zealand on holiday. The Scandinavians have been able to preserve vessels, such as those which took the Vikings to various parts of the world. Certain hard timbers are resilient to specially impregnated wax and could still crack.

Geoff Irwin stresses that, notwithstanding the importance of these artefacts in themselves, their major significance is their relationship to the structural context of the site. Such evidence may be used to reconstruct the patterns of prehistoric behaviour. The extent to which the whole area is excavated will ultimately depend on the funds available. Mr Irwin considers the site sufficiently significant for further excavations to continue.

Despite the hard work required to acquire the material needed for further analysis public relations were fostered when 30 invited guests visited the site to see the excavations first hand. A public address on the Kohika site was given by Mr Geoff Irwin. He supported the address with slides and spoke of the excavations and described the events as being of several phases.

Part of the excavation site was formerly that of a beach sand dune constructed about 2000 years ago. Evidence of this is shown by blocks of pumice sea rafted and found in the excavated squares. The sea moved seawards leaving stranded dunes but the changing river courses cut up the old beach line leaving
islands of dune sand. The Rangitaiki and Tarawera Rivers played their part and it is planned to identify which river was there at Kohika. Evidence through lake bed deposits show that once quite a large lake surrounded Kohika mound, which was possibly in the middle of the lake. Man then came to Kohika and the site became occupied and later light defences were built; this suggests a possible relationship of the people with the more strongly fortified pas on the Manawae and Matata hills. In terms of structure the island also became built up by artificial floors of sand and by rubbish and midden. Whole beds of bracken fern, always aligned, and used for beds and interspersed with reels and raupo, were found in some hut sites. These artifically laid floors of material were carted on to the site. There became a whole complex of associated behaviour of houses and cooking areas, with related midden dumping. Stratigraphic evidence so far indicates a series of styles for storage structures and the earlier types appear as bin-like with stakes set together around the perimeter, followed by a larger oval type and then the large rectangular style. But much of this is at present speculation.

Evidence is tending to show that the area was occupied for quite some time and then a major local environmental change took place. The change suggests a major flood depositing white pumice sand around the edge of Kohika mound and what was once formerly a large lake tended to become a swamp. At that point the people appeared to have left only to return later and intermittently to camp or garden the site. Mr Irwin stressed that this is a very important site because it offers good preservation of organic material and such sites are few and far between for they record the unusual and unrecoverable aspect combinations of technology (Moore 1976:114).

The following notes are taken from Beacon 18/6/76, and Irwin (1975).

Mr Peters spoke of the conservation of artefacts from Kohika pa. He mentioned that some 160 items had been collected, most of which was wooden material. He spoke of two techniques that can be employed, one being the use of Polyethelene-glycol penetration and used under strict humidity conditions. This method of preservation is in use overseas. However, Mr Peters stated that the new freeze drying technique was far superior. Dry ice is
used and covers the artefact which is placed in a vacuum chamber. Thermal couples and heating of the chamber is then carried out and the water in the wooden material is replaced with another agency having a lower freezing point than ice. Both techniques displace the water in the cells of wood and replace with another agency. It is hoped to build a plant using the freeze drying technique at the university, but this process of preservation is lengthy and, for a single artefact several months would go by before completion. However, more than one article could be done at the time.

Mr Irwin (1975) stated that the Kohika site appeared from preliminary investigation to belong to a particular type of archaeological site classified as swamp pa. A number of similar sites are known in the Horowhenua area (Adkins 1948), the Hauraki Plains (Shawcross and Terrell 1966; Green and Green 1966); the Waikato and possibly Hawkes Bay (Shawcross 1968; Bellwood 1969, 1971; Peters 1971). Such sites occupy damp situations and because of this they pose particular problems for the excavator. Working in waterlogged conditions is more difficult than working on most dry land sites.

Similarly, living in swamps, usually beside lakes, imposed certain constraints on the prehistoric inhabitants. For instance, any deep hole dug into such a site would quickly fill with water, so for this reason it is not surprising that subterranean kumara storage pits are not found in swampy sites. Equally, a habitation at the water's edge is more likely to remain dry if its surface is raised. For this reason most swamp pa show evidence of artificial build-up produced by the introduction of material quarried from elsewhere. Such similarities may be seen as common response to common problems arising from the character of the immediate environment. However, while it is convenient to regard swamp pa as comprising a single class of site, it would be premature to ascribe to all of them a common function.

Essentially, swamp pa are similar in terms of their location and consequently in terms of certain aspects of their structure. They have to be. But this does not necessarily imply similarity in other respects. Prehistorically they may have differed in terms of particular aspects of behaviour. For example, some appear to have operated simply as settlement sites, that is, as base camps for the exploitation of the surrounding territory. However, others may in addition, have functioned as centres of
specialisation, of manufacturing or trade. It is tentatively suggested that Kohika may to an extent have enjoyed such a specialised role.

One feature that Kohika shares with a number of swamp pa is that it offers unique conditions for the survival of certain kinds of archaeological evidence. Normally archaeological sites are too dry, or too variable in their moisture content, for organic remains to survive. However, in a small number of swamp sites, preserved in peat, are the wooden and fabric remains which provide an important record of day-to-day life in the prehistoric past. On present indications Kohika appears to be outstandingly rich in this respect. But notwithstanding the importance of the actual items of material culture that are recovered from the site, its major significance lies in the fact that the material can be associated with a structural context within the site by means of controlled excavation. Such evidence may be used to reconstruct the patterns of prehistoric behaviour represented. Further, since the Kohika site is only of moderate size, it is hoped that it will be possible to excavate quite a large portion of it. In that eventuality, it may be possible to recreate a comprehensive picture of its role in the prehistory of this part of New Zealand. Now that drainage of the land is under way, the organic component of the site will certainly undergo destruction. What is not salvaged soon will be lost.

This section draws attention to the academic professional archaeologist at work. His attitude to his work can be contrasted to that of the Maori. At Kohika the archaeologist is concerned with taking things out of the ground and taking them away from its original place to a laboratory where he has to discover new ways for preserving them. Why then is it that since archaeologists want to preserve things do they have to take them out of the ground in the first place and thus threaten them with destruction? Why shouldn't the archaeologist be satisfied in knowing that they are there in the ground? The Maori criticism of archaeology is that
taonga is best preserved in and by Papa so there is no need to dig them up and therefore expose them to destruction.

The purpose of this chapter is to convey the view that recovering the past and the methods used to explain the past in the Whakatane district by the Pakeha agencies, the Whakatane Historic Society, the New Zealand Archaeological Association, and the Auckland University can be contrasted with those views held by the Maori.

For the Pakeha archaeologist recovering the past requires that artefacts be taken from the ground and maybe taken to the museum to be displayed or taken to the University for preservation and further study. Following such archaeological methods it can be seen that all Pakeha techniques for preservation are aimed at things out of the ground which the Maoris believe have been well preserved in and by mother earth. By removing the material the archaeologists are taking something real from its original place and substituting in its place a written report. In order to get the report the site has to be destroyed. Since the site contains the facts which marks the Maoris past it is the Maoris history that is being destroyed. The archaeologist destroys the history to make a replica of it. For the archaeologist the written report is the history. Because it is only a substitute, a replica, or indeed a model for the real history it is clear that archaeologists practise modelling for the purposes of justifying the version of their history. For the Maori his history is his history and there is no substitute.

Archaeologists are sometimes confused as to their motives for involving Maoris in what they do. Archaeologists
may think that in involving Maoris in such things as official welcomes to them or *tapu* ceremonies for them that support for their work is assured. This is not the case because the Maori is indifferent to what the Pakeha is doing so that once the formal Maori part has been completed he retires from the Pakeha. He does this because he knows his past and he might well ask the question, "How can the Pakeha's written report however well it may be written, substitute as an acceptable version of the Maoris history"? The problem here is that the Pakeha is indifferent to the Maori view of the past as well because in insisting on his own view of the past as being the truth he has not prepared himself to accept the fact that there can be an alternative view which this thesis is setting out to establish.
CHAPTER FOUR
WHAKATANE'S HISTORICAL FEATURES

Puritia nga taonga tuku iho a nga tupuna
Hei tiki huia ma nga uri whakatupu o Aotearoa.

Keep the treasures handed down by the ancestors, as an adornment for the descendants yet to be born in Aotearoa.
(New Zealand Historic Places Trust Booklet).

This proverbial saying has been used by the Trust to draw the public's attention to protecting taonga. A Maori elder expressed his understanding of this policy in the following way: "The past contains all the taonga (to the Maori it is the ancestral treasures but to the archaeologists it is the archaeological record) of the Maori and includes the traditions, the settlement areas of the ancestors, the things they made, the rocks, mountains and rivers they named and remembered in their proverbial sayings, and are recalled in their speeches and songs and dances of today. That is why these things are tapu (sacred) and the responsibility of the Maori is to show aroha (respect) for them". He continued, "Ko te mea nui ko te aroha ki te taonga, ae, waihonga. Mehemea ka haria i runga i tenei whakaaro o te tangata, taku mohio, ka kitea tenei huarahi e te tangata" (respect the treasures of the ancestors by leaving them alone. If this procedure is followed then all is well).

Pa Sites:
The ancestors of the Whakatane Maori selected prominent land marks to establish their villages (see Figure 10) Consistent with their belief that these are treasures and
Fig 10 PA SITES
must be left alone the present Maori people have not disturbed
them but use them in their daily lives as a way of gaining
inspiration to keep the past in the present which they do
in their story telling, their songs and dances, and their
speeches. Unfortunately for these historic sites they have
such a commanding view of the town, the Rangitaiki Plains
and the Pacific Ocean, that subdivision and settlement
initiated by the Borough Council as a means of raising
finance has commenced on these favoured hillsides and "many
of these cliff top pas will perish in the interests of
modern house planning" (Kingsley-Smith 1976a).

The first historic pa site along the line of cliffs
situated near the harbour entrance on Kohi Point is called
Kohi (seasick). Kohi pa is valued by the Whakatane Maori
because it gained its name when the Mataatua canoe encountered
rough seas when approaching the harbour entrance and the
captain's daughter Wairaka became seasick. This pa site is
now demolished.

Close to Kohi is another historic pa site called Te
Whakatere which is also situated near the harbour entrance
but is now demolished.

Further along from Te Whakatere is the Rahiri pa
site. This site is of particular interest because it is
held in local tradition that Ngapuhi (a Northland tribe)
who trace their ancestry back to the Mataatua canoe and
Rahiri came with the forefathers of Ngatiawa to Whakatane,
and under Puhi, Toroas young brother, settled on the spur
on the hilltops overlooking the river estuary, while Toroa
and his following lived at the site of the present pa, Te
Whare o Toroa, the main village then of Whakatane.
Along the hilltops from Rahiri is Kaputerangi, where Toi "established his home" (Buck 1949:23). The voyage of Toi in search of his grandsons' Whatonga and Turahui who went missing in a sea fog while taking part in a canoe race from the Isle of Hawaiki to the nearby Isle of Tuhua is well known (Best 1915:455-460; Buck 1949:22-23). On reaching this island Toi visited Great Barrier Island and Tuhua (Mayor Island) before settling at Whakatane about 1150 A.D. (Smith 1910:295). Toi was living on this site when his grandson Whatonga found him. The site was in occupation 200 years later with the introduction of the kumara (Best 1925:693; Grace 1959:91). The rangatira (leader) of the pa at that time was Tama ki Hikurangi who agreed to build the canoe Aratawhao and sail back to Hawaiki to obtain the kumara plant.

This voyage was the cause of the Te Arawa, Mataatua, Tainui and Aotea coming to New Zealand, for the people were attracted by the accounts of the canoe members (Best 1904: 134, 137). The crew of the Te Aratawhao returned to New Zealand in the Mataatua. [The immigrants in the Mataatua canoe under the command of Toroa] took charge of Kaputerangi pa and, with the assistance of some of the chiefs of Te Arawa, who were close by they held out against the tribes of Toi (Grace 1959:96).

Along the line of the hill top descending to a point behind the present courthouse on the summit of a sheer cliff stood Tiko Tiko pa a rocky ridge from which the people were accustomed to signal to Moutohora (Whale Island) by lighting fires.

Further eastward was Pahau which was built just west of the Wairere waterfall.
Another pa not far from there was Tamateiwi a Ngatiawa stronghold which was connected with the next historic site Kohinepipi pa.

The great bluff standing immediately behind the Whakatane Hotel and about whose flanks the present Hillcrest road ascends is Puketapu. Puketapu was captured by the Ngapuhi under Pomare in 1823. A large section of Puketapu was demolished when the road to Hillcrest was constructed and so it is difficult to determine what would have been the extent of level land on its summit available for occupation. As a means of observing Rotary World Understanding Week 1965, the Whakatane Rotary Club erected a Peace Dais on the highest part of Puketapu site. An elder made the remark to me that, Nga taonga Maori kua hipokitia e nga taonga a te Pakeha" (Maori treasures, referring to pa sites, have been covered over by Pakeha treasures, referring to Pakeha houses and Pakeha Monuments). At the service of dedication conducted on the site Mr A.A. Bannan, President of the Whakatane Rotary Club reminded the gathering that the Rotary Club had chosen to "erect on this elevated point a Peace Dais. It stands on an ancient site, the history of which has been marred by the same bloodshed which has stained the history of mankind from time immemorial. Tonight it is our desire to devote this site to the cause of peace" (London 1965a:12).

On the summit of Taketake Cliff overlooking the Borough Council Chambers were the two pas, Papaka (The Crab) and Hauwai. Papaka pa was unsuccessfully assailed by the Ngatipukeko tribe from Poroporo in 1861. Towards the end of 1869 a military redoubt was erected on the front portion of the pa, a position which gave the soldiers a commanding
view of the surrounding district. The armed constabulary redoubt was occupied by Government troops in the time of the wars of the 1860's. Some years later it was turned into a police post and then finally abandoned. The Bay of Plenty Historical Society was responsible for having the area created a public reserve (London 1962).

The next pa site Tupateka is on a ridge at a spot roughly opposite the Domain.

The next pa in line, on the hills facing Louvain Street, was the best preserved of the hilltop pa's. This was Tirotiro and was to be seen to advantage from the Hillcrest Road, but the march of progress is quickly demolishing it.

Karearea pa was exactly opposite the Rotorua sign-post at the Domain Road corner. It was such an outstanding landmark when entering the town, that it was hoped it would some day become a reserve. At the foot of this and stretching up the whole length of a shallow valley to the cliffs above is a deep trench with high earth walls of some six feet in height. This pa has been demolished.

The last pa site along the cliff line is Umu Purupura pa which was occupied by the Ngati Pukeko and captured by the Ngatiawa under Apanui.

A further pa site called Tauanui (Figure 6) was occupied by the Ngati Ruapururu Tribe. Ruapururu, the founder of the tribe, traces his descent as follows:

Te Hapu-oneone
Te Uri
Te Nana
Wai-o-nuku
Wai-o-rangi
Kiri-kino
Tai-rongo
Ngai-mu
Panekaha
Ruapuru (Best 1925a)

Ruapururu's people occupied the fertile alluvial flats on both sides of the Tauranga or Waimana River from its junction with the Whakatane to about the Waipoua tributary. There were three main sites occupied by this group: Kapowhetu near Tauanui, although Best has a further reference to a site called Te Waro, which was on the right bank of the Waipoua stream. By A.D. 1500, the tribe had become intermixed with the people who arrived in the Mataatua Canoe. Best gives a very detailed genealogical line, when discussing the origin of the tribe, mentioning in a footnote that Ruapuru was a descendant of Toi (Best 1925:115). The people had also by this time adopted the new sub-tropical plants brought by the Great Fleet people, as the cultivation of kumara is recorded at Taneatua (Best 1925:100).

The name of the site forms part of a local proverb, "Ka ka Tauanui, ka roroku Otere" (Tauanui burns, Otere declines (Best 1925:109), which means that the fires of the Ngati Ruapuru pa were still burning while those of the Ngai Tamango pa had been extinguished. Briefly, the story is that of Kahuki (Best 1925:99-102), Genealogical Table No. 16) who with his two twin half-sisters, Rangiataura and Rangiatamea, decided to go from Te Kaharoa, a pa on the Waiti stream, a tributary of the Waimana River, to the coast. Their journey took them through the Opouriao Valley. There, while gathering huhi grubs in a clump of white pine
bush known as Te Tarau, the twins were killed by a group of warriors led by Te Tamango, a leader who lived at Otere. Kahuki fled across the Waimana River where he found sanctuary with his uncle Ruapururu. Later, kahuki decided to revenge the deaths of his twin half-sisters and so he had his uncle build a whare pakuwha (special wedding house) at Waiwherowhero, and then tell the Otere leader, that as a peace offering he could marry one of Ruapururu's daughters. When on the happy day Tamango and his tribe arrived for the wedding, they were invited into the whare pakuwha which they filled. At a signal from Kahuki the whare was set on fire, and as the people inside tried to escape through the small front door they were killed.

Tradition does not say whether the site was left unoccupied at any stage in its history or whether it was occupied at a later date by the Ngati Pukeko. The southern boundary of the area peopled by this tribe was the Waiwherowhero stream, south of Tauanui pa and nearby Puketi was one of the sites (Best 1925:110).

Land about the site was first offered for settlement in January, 1893 (New Zealand Gazette, 1893:32-33) when 1400 acres in the block could have been purchased for 10/- an acre.

**Rocks:**

There are many rocks in Whakatane which are associated by the elders with their ancestral past.

The most famous of these and situated in the centre of the township is called Pohaturoa (long rock) rock. Pohaturoa
rock was a wahi tapu (a sacred place). It was there that special ceremonies were carried out. Children were baptised with the female children being dedicated to Tane Mahuta (the god of fruitfulness and industry) and the males to Tumatauenga (the god of war). Ceremonies connected with war such as tohi tu (the dedication of the principal men to the service of Tu the War God) and also Tohi taua (the dedication of the Tohunga (priest) of the war party to make them invincible) were conducted at the rock (Mair 1916:39). It is thought by some of the elders that tattooing, a very sacred rite, was also carried out at Pohaturoa. The descendants of Mataatua maintain that their canoe brought among other things the seeds of the karaka tree and kumara plants. Karaka seeds were planted at the foot of Pohaturoa Rock and when the resultant trees grew in stature they became useful for the purpose of preserving the heads and skeletons of the dead by sun drying them on these trees so that they could be carried away to safety when invaded by enemy tribes or removed for secret burial when the occasion demanded it. Near the dedication tablet was the most sacred spot of all called a Tuahu (a sacred place used for mystic purposes). Captain Mair who visited Whakatane with his constabulary in the latter part of the 1860's reports seeing numerous packages of human bones bound with vines lying about the hollows of Pohaturoa Rock awaiting removal to their final resting place possibly at Opihi the sandhills across the river estuary. The Maori would not risk infraction of tapu by damaging the trees and plants growing on Pohaturoa or eat the berries from the karaka trees. The tablet of Coromandel granite affixed to the
rock in the 1920's is well designed. The sacred colour red has been used for the word Pohaturoa. On each side is contrasted Maori and Pakeha weapons each section entwined with the mournful leaf of the kawakawa. The legend at the foot of the tablet states, "He mata mahera no te ara whanui a tane" (another brave man gone along the long path to Tane).

Every year until a few years ago the Whakatane Anzac Day services were conducted on the lawn alongside Pohaturoa. In 1940 it was used in connection with the Centennial celebrations. In 1952 it was used to proclaim the succession of the Queen and for every official visit of a Governor General it has been used for the public receptions all of which has added lustre to the name of Pohaturoa.

An earthquake occurred in Whakatane in 1917 and nearly destroyed Pohaturoa, with a result that a section of the Pakeha business community agitated for the removal of the rock which in their opinion was an obstruction to the entrance into town, therefore retarding the future economic progress of the borough. The Maori people of the district protested at the proposals to destroy their sacred rock. In 1917 a public meeting was held to debate the future of the rock. One speaker estimated that the rock contained about 300 yards of stone and it would cost about £400 to knock it down. Another speaker however claimed that if anyone told an Irishman that the rock of Cashel would make good road metal, or to an Ulsterman that the old walls of Derry are blocking progress or to suggest to an Englishman that the stones of Stonehenge should be used for road metal, is liable to land one in hospital (London 1952:53a). The ultimate fate of the rock will, of course, be always a doubtful factor and will
rest entirely on the decisions of future administrators as to whether its presence will constitute either an obstruction to or an aid in the accomplishment of their plans for the future advancement of the borough (Kingsley-Smith 1976:20).

At the rear or town side of the rock stands the memorial shelter erected by the Ngatiawa people to the memory of their sons who fell in World War I. Effigies of famous warrior ancestors, Toroa, Pukeko, Ika-Puku, Hikakino, Apanui and Ira Ta Moana have been depicted on the exterior walls of the shelter.

Toroa was the captain of the Mataatua Canoe and from him the Ngatiawa are descended. Pukeko was the eponymic ancestor of the Ngati-Pukeko sub tribe of Poroporo and a warrior of exceptional prowess. He met his death as the result of a fishing expedition. Ika Puku was a noted warrior, grandfather of Whetenui and Hikakino, an ancestor of the Ngati-Hikakino living at Paroa. Several descendants are also to be found along the Ngai-tai of Torere. Apanui was an ancestor of the Whanau Apanui people of Te Kaha, from whom many of the soldiers whose names are engraved on the Roll of Honour could trace their descent. The memorial stone at the extreme southern corner of the triangular lawn stands to the memory of Te Hurinui Apanui, a paramount leader of the district. "Apanui's title was Te Manuka, assumed from the tree made sacred by the incantations of Muriwai. It grew in the wahi tapu of the Whare o Toroa pa now called Wairaka marae. The manuka was the mauri, or talisman, of Whakatane because it had guided the Mataatua Canoe safely to its destination here. The sacred canoe is also represented on the monument. Probably no other place in
New Zealand has a finer or more inspiring memorial. It must be protected as a treasure for the generations yet unborn (London 1963). Ira Tu Moana was credited with having killed the Taniwha, Tara Kura which inhabited the Tarawera side of the Rangitaiki swamp therefore allowing the tribes from Kohi (Whakatane) to Kawerau (below Mt Edgecombe) to once again visit one another. It was their inability to visit one another that led to this well known saying.

\[ \text{Nga mate i Kohi me tangi mai i Kawerau,} \\
\text{Nga mate i Kawerau me tangi atu i Kohi} \]

(Deaths at Kohi were mourned at Kawerau
Deaths at Kawerau were mourned at Kohi)

Ira Tu Moana's descendants are to be found amongst the children of Awanuiarangi, a parent of the Mataatua clan.

Passing to the southern end of the rock, the ancient entrance between this and the overhanging Take-Take cliff (an ancient term meaning everlasting or foundation) was the puru (barrier) which ensured respect from any travelling Maori who had to observe its regulations.

On the lawn itself, each Anzac Day as was the custom, the Cenotaph was decorated with wreaths in memory of those who died for their country in two world wars. Centuries before, the Maoris had at this very spot performed the ceremony of uru-uru whenua (offerings placed on certain mortuary memorials to preserve the title to the land). These offerings mostly consisted of branches of ferns and at Matai Tapu (Black Pine Wishing Tree on Hongi's Track) when Maoris travel to Rotorua they observe this custom.

Another rock of historical interest is the Rock of Houmea located close to the Whakatane township. When the
legendary *tohunga* (expert) Te Tahi o Te Rangi returned to Whakatane Heads from Whale Island and realised he was no longer wanted there, he proceeded inland in the direction of Taneatua. Houmea Rock was his first resting place, and in undoing the flax belt he wore around his waist a seed dropped on the rock and later took root. The flax bush was a familiar sight until fairly recent years and the old-time Maoris knew well its evil influence if interfered with. Old Te Tahi o te Rangi dived into the Whakatane River and turned into a *taniwha* (demon).

For an explanation of the name of the rock, however, we have to turn to another legend. It concerned a greedy woman named Houmea who ate all her husband's catch of fish before any could be given to the children. Naturally, when he found this out he took appropriate measures to punish her. So angry did she become as a result of this that she got herself turned into a shag and followed her husband out to sea on one of his fishing expeditions, and ate his fish as quickly as they were caught on the line. To rid himself of this greedy individual he dropped a hot oven stone into her throat and so she perished. The name still remains as a proverb "Houmea of the rough and ugly flesh", applied to all thieves and evil women. In the neighbourhood of sacred Maungapohatu, on the peak of a hill is a pond known as the "Pond of Houmea", one of her favourite haunts. The rock we see as we travel to Taneatua is the materialisation of that oven stone which killed Houmea (Beacon 6/7/53).

Another tradition regarding the origin of this rock is a story which comes from the Tuhoe people. The mountain
peaks in the great Huiarau Range near Waikaremoana became jealous of one another and decided to rush headlong to the sea. Reaching the sea, Whakaari (White Island) made a gigantic leap which carried her out to the extremity of the Bay of Plenty where she sits today. Moutohora (Whale Island) hurled her burning missile which landed on the summit of Whakaari and there it still burns today. Moutohora did not follow her sister but chose a spot with a commanding view of Whakatane and the entire coastline of the Bay of Plenty (Garraway, 1976).

On account of the stories associated with these rocks it is hoped that they will never be demolished.

At the entrance of the harbour are several rocks, among them being "Toko mauku, Arai-awa, Tokaroa, Himoki and Hoaki" (Best 1925:718) all of which are said to be demons and are the names of descendants who arrived on the Mataatua Canoe.

A rock off Kohi Pint was called Rukupo on which legend has it, old Te Tahi-o-te-Rangi already mentioned, stepped ashore from the back of the whale which brought him from Whakaari Island to the mainland.

Another important rock to the Maoris was Ira-kewa, a saddled shaped mass which faced the eastern shore opposite the cave of Muriwai. Irakewa it is said came from Hawaiki before the arrival of the Mataatua Canoe. He had several children including Taneatua, the priest of the Mataatua Canoe, Toroa its captain, Puhi, and Muriwai, the last named being the most important of the women. This rock was demolished by the Harbour Board and now forms part of the retaining wall. Irakewa was practically deified and was
invoked as a war god, and as a protector of people at sea. He is remembered at Kawerau pa, 20 miles up the Tarawera River in the form of a taniwha, and a large rock at Maungapohatu bears his name. He is credited with having introduced several diseases into New Zealand including "hura" a form of scrofula.

Opposite this, on the foreshore, is to be found a hoanga (a flattened rock) completely pockmarked by the labour of hundreds of Maoris who sharpened their stone tools and weapons there. Several other rocks nearby, similarly marked, are submerged at full tide.

Another rock of great historic interest to the Maori people was Otuawhaki. It served as a place for folk to congregate and repair their fishing gear. This rock vanished when reclamation work was carried out and is roughly underneath the business premises of Bridgers Ltd.

A rock closely associated with Otuawhaki is Wharaurangi a place where councils of war and where grave issues of life and death were decided. Wharaurangi is now beneath the main street, roughly where the Hurinui Apanui Memorial is today. It was there that the 12 local chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi on 16 June 1840. The rocks Otuawhaki and Wharaurangi are linked by the proverb:

He korero riri ki Wharau-rangi, he ta matau ki Otauwhaki.

(War talks emanate from Wharau-rangi, fishing expeditions from Otauwhaki).

Opposite the new wharf once was the rock called Te Punga-o-Mataatua (Mataatua's anchor) also known as Te Toka-a-Taioho, to which the Mataatua Canoe was moored. It was a sad day for the old Maori people when the Harbour Board...
decided to blast the rock from the river bed because it constituted a hazard for navigation of ships wishing to tie up at the wharf. At one time it was to be seen quite clearly but the deepening of the river caused it to be submerged and it was marked by a buoy.

Across the river is Te Hahaina the name of the stretch of sand below the old signal station where the Mataatua first touched the shores of Whakatane and where her people were eventually to settle.

At the entrance of the Whakatane harbour is a 24 foot high rock called Te Turuturu. On it has been erected a modern bronze statue of Wairaka the ancestress of the Ngatiawa tribe. The statue was commissioned by Sir William Sullivan as a gift to the Maori people of Whakatane in memory of his late wife, Lady Elvina Sullivan, who died at sea in 1962 while en route to England. Sir William said he had always thought it would be a fine thing to perpetuate the memory of the chieftainess who over 600 years ago had provided the name for the town. He thanked the speakers for their expressions of gratitude for the gift. "I hope the relationships between our two races in New Zealand continue to prosper" (London 1965). Mr Watene, M.P., pointed out that it had been left to a Pakeha to donate and erect the statue to one of the best known figures of Maori history. He saw this as an indication of the growing closeness between Maori and Pakeha. "This gift", he said, "is not only a tribute to Wairaka but shows that in a troubled, confused world where racial discrimination is rife, we here are able to join together to pay such a tribute" (London 1965).
The sculptor, Mr Allan, said: "A lot of people have criticised the statue saying that the girl was made to look too thin. But one must remember that Wairaka was only a girl of 14 or 15 years and had been on a long voyage from Tahiti with little food before she reached here. The statue was placed on the rock because it shows that although Wairaka is physically apart from us, she is spiritually with us" (London 1965).

Cave Site:

Another place of historic interest is the cave called Te Ana-o-Muriwai (the cave of Muriwai) situated in the face of the vertical bluff near the present Wairaka marae (Figure 10). This cave was known to have been inhabited six centuries ago, and probably before that was a home of the early Maori tribes. This cave could once accommodate about 50 people, but a large part of it was filled in by an accumulation of volcanic ash from the Tarawera eruption, 1886 (Cowan 1920). The cave is traditionally associated with Muriwai, sister of Toroa (Halbert 1961:73-74). It is their claim that Muriwai saved the Mataatua canoe and not Wairaka. In accordance with the wishes by her father Irakewa, before the vessel departed for Whakatane, Muriwai occupied the cave. It is said that an atua (god) spoke to her and as a result she became a seer, making many inspirational statements from time to time. Thus the cave became very sacred to the Maori and when she eventually died there, that also served to strengthen the tapu which has been respected up until the present time.

This chapter has focussed attention on some physical
features which are thought by the Maori to contain all he needs to know about his past and as a sign of respect to those times, places and things he has left them alone. Sadly Pakeha economic development has necessitated the destruction of some of the pa sites by bulldozing to make way for new housing subdivision schemes, and rocks deified as ancestors have been dynamited to make a new harbour entrance. The sacred Pohaturoa rock, the scene of many ceremonies in the past, was about to be dynamited because it was an obstruction to the city and only very strong support from interested people caused this to be retained.

In the previous chapter the work of the archaeologists were noted. Because archaeological activity involved the destruction of the Maoris sacred sites the archaeologists are implicated in the destruction of the Maoris past.

In this chapter the Maori view of history is seen as a relation between man and his environment in which time, the past and the present, are seen as one. To the Maoris it is the natural features that represent his past. They are more than monuments to the Maori but the Pakeha has a different view because Pakeha history is written and monuments are just reminders. Maori history is oral and the record, to be left alone, because it is irreplaceable, is contained not in books, or written form, nor in Pakeha monuments but in the rocks, the waters and the land that mark his history in present time. Also for the Maori there is not the same distinction between man-made and natural remains. No archaeologist would want to dig up a rock. However, archaeology clearly distinguishes man from nature, as does the Pakeha in general, but the Maori does not. Whatever
the Maori makes is 'natural' because the Maori belongs to
nature and nature is part of him. The rocks deified as
ancestors are sacred and like artefacts (culture) they belong
to Papa (nature) and therefore they are the Maoris history,
and consequently they must be preserved and not destroyed.
To the Pakeha a rock is part of nature therefore it is just
a rock and if it is in the way it must be removed. Having
destroyed the rock (nature) the Pakeha then replaces it with
a man-made monument (culture) which is his replica of the
Maoris history he has destroyed.
CHAPTER FIVE

WHAKATANE'S TRADITIONS

Living With the Past:

A remark often made about the Maori is that he lives too much in the past. This remark stands because it is not commonly known that the Maoris view of the past is different from that of the Pakeha. To the Maori recognition of the past is a natural thing as an elder explained:

"You have your face looking fully at the past and there in front of you are your ancestors, your traditions, your land and your history. The Maori brings his past into the present so as to remind him of his identity, make sacred his traditions and reinforce his faith in Maoritanga (Maori ways). He does this first for guidance so that he knows how to act in the future. Through these ways he is nourished by the blood and bones of his Tipuna (ancestors)."

To see the past (Nga ra kei mua), which literally means the days in front, in order to decide on how to act in the future (Nga ra kei muri) or the days behind has never been forsaken by the Maori despite contact over many years with the Pakeha who regard their past as being behind them, whereas plans, goals, directions and ambitions for the future, or the days in front are matters for immediate concern.

Whakatane is rich in traditional history. It seems to have been the landing place of several of the canoes which brought the Hawaiki ancestors of the Maori to New Zealand. Fortunately for Whakatane many of these traditions have been recorded and all the Maori elders I met knew these traditions because they were expected to know them as, Nga taonga a nga tipuna, (ancestral treasures).
The elders had great delight in telling the traditions on the marae where they really mattered and where they could be told, listened to and accepted without question.

According to Best:

"the traditions preserved by the descendants of the original Polynesian inhabitants of the Bay of Plenty the first settlement in these isles was that of an old time voyager named Tiwakawaka. He came from Hawaiki in a vessel named Te Aratauwhaiti Canoe and with his following, settled at Whakatane. [The following genealogy identifies] 38 generations from Tiwakawaka to Hare Kingi which reckoning 25 years to a generation would fix the time of the early settlement of New Zealand at about the year A.D. 950" (Best 1925:681-2).

Tiwakawaka
Tara nui
Ngai nui
Ngai roa
Ngai whare kiki
Ngai whare kaka
Ngai roki
Ngai roka
Ngai peha
Ngai taketake
Ngai te huru manu
Toi
Rauru
Whatonga
Tahatiti
Rau tapu
Rakei ora
Tama ki Te Ra
Tama ki Hikurangi
Unfortunately no record of Tiwakawaka's descendants are known until the time of Toi, 12 generations after the arrival of Tiwakawaka. However there is a well known Whakatane tradition which states that one Maru from Hawaiki reached Whakatane where he "found Tiwakawaka and his wife Haumianui living at Kaputerangi on the hill just above the township of Whakatane, that it was Maku who gave the name Aotearoa to New Zealand" (Best 1925:683).

An important ancestor of the Whakatane people was Toi and those who did not know their origin claimed to be Toi people. The following genealogies as written down by Best indicate that these people were not always fully acquainted with...
their principal line of descent from Toi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngati Manawa</td>
<td>Ngati Manawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toi Te huatahi</td>
<td>Toi te huatahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whaitiri</td>
<td>Rauru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Kura Whakaata=Tahariri</td>
<td>Taha Titi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rua Tapu</td>
<td>Rua Tapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakei Ora</td>
<td>Tama ki te Ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakei Ao</td>
<td>Tama ki Hikurangi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tama ki Tua</td>
<td>(Best 1925:121)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tama ki Waho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tama ki te Ra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tama ki Hikurangi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Best 1925:121)</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngati Manawa</td>
<td>Ngati Whare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toi</td>
<td>Toi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rauru</td>
<td>Rauru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taha Titi</td>
<td>Taha Titi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rua Tapu Nui</td>
<td>Rua Tapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whatonga</td>
<td>Rakei ora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tama ki te Ra</td>
<td>Tama Ki te Ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tama ki te Hau</td>
<td>Tama Ki Hikurangi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tama ki Hikurangi</td>
<td>(Best 1925:122)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(A) has 9 generations from Tama ki Hikurangi to Toi,
(B) has 5,
(C) has 7,
(D) has 6,
(E) has 7.

In genealogy C and B Rakeiora is left out. Whatonga's name appears only in genealogy C and E. In genealogy C Tama ki te Hau is inserted and becomes the father of Tama ki Hikurangi instead of Tama ki te Ra. Inhabitants of the Whakatane district were known as the Tini o Toi (the many families of Toi) and were regarded as aborigines. "Toi lived at Kaputerangi. He was known as Toi te Huatahi [Toi the only child. His later ... descendants called him Toi kai Rakau because ... his peopledlived] on forest products and fern root" (Best 1925:12). An alternative version is given by Buck:

"Toi was a chief who lived in Hawaiki [and] sailed to New Zealand [to look for his grandsons] Whatonga and Turahui. [He
landed at the] (Auckland Isthmus) [and found that] people were numerous there. [He stayed there] for some time [and then moved on to the] (Great Barrier Island) [and] stayed for a time. [He later moved on and] named Tuhua (Mayor Island) after the island of Tuhua (Me'etia) near Hawaiki. From Tuhua, he went on to Whakatane where he established his home at Kaputerangi above the present town of Whakatane" (Buck 1949:22-23).

Whakatane tradition also points to the naming of the canoe

Te Rangi-Matoru

before the arrival of the well known fleet Mataatua, Te Arawa, Tainui, Takitimu, etc. [Hape was the commander of the canoe and he and his follows] settled at Ohiwa ... many assert that these immigrants were the origin of the Te Hapu Oneone tribe (Best 1925:687).

It seems that "Hape and Toi were not connected but that Te Hapu Oneone and Te Tini o Toi were two separate and distinct peoples so far as their near origin was concerned though they become connected in early times by intermarriage" Best 1925:59).

A well known Whakatane tradition deals with the arrival of

"Hoaki and Taukata .. from Hawaiki. Their canoe was Tutarakauika. They were searching for their sister Kaniora [and] the place they landed at was Kakaho Roa [Whakatane] ... Te Kura-Whakaata, the daughter of Tama-ki-Hikurangi [found them lying on the beach near] the rock that stands in the mouth of the Whakatane River. She returned to fort Kaputerangi to tell her father. [The visitors were received and fed with food which they felt was similar to] eating wood. [Taukata mixed some of his own dried preserved kumara with water and he handed over some of it to the people.] They ate it and for the first time they knew the kumara" (ibid.:703). [A decision was made to acquire the kumara. A] "log of driftwood ... (Tawhaowhao) ... cast up by the tide ... was hewn ... by Hoaki and Taukata [into a canoe which was named] Te Ara-Tawhao. [When the canoe left for Hawaiki] Taukata remained at Kaputerangi" (ibid.:704). "The chief on board the Ara-Tawhao was Tama ki Hikurangi" (ibid.:706). "Kupe and Tama ki
Hikurangi ... arrived at Whakatane ... at different times ... and apparently ... before Mataatua arrived ..." (ibid.:234). "One of the big rocks standing in the entrance to the Whakatane River is named after Irakewa" (ibid. 718). [The father of Toroa captain of the Mataatua canoe. The others are also personified by the rocks at the mouth of the Whakatane River.] "The rocks are known as Toka Mauka, Arai Awa and Hingarae, [and] Tokaroa, Himoka and Hoaki" (ibid.:718).

[Tradition states that Irakewa returned to Hawaiki from New Zealand. He was able to describe to the returning crew of the Ara Tawhao, who had transferred to the Mataatua Canoe, of] Te Wai Bere waterfall and of a cave afterwards known as Te Ana-O-Muriwai (Best 1925:717). "The principal man or chief of the immigrants who came on Mataatua was Toroa, son of Irakewa, ... but Tama ki Hikurangi ... acted as pilot" (ibid.:709).

When the canoe landed the men went to explore the new land and left the women to look after the safety of the canoe which caused the daughter of Toroa to cry out: "E! Kia Whakatane ake au i ahau" (Let me act the part of a man ...). This word Whakatane, to cause to be man-like, was adopted as a name for the river and place, and has survived to the present time (ibid.:721).

[The people soon recognised the waterfall and cave described to them by Irakewa.] Hence Muriwai took possession of that cave, ever since known as the cave of Muriwai (Best 1925:724). "The first serious task performed by the immigrants was to set up a tuahu [(a sacred place) to deposit the mauri (life principal)] that represented the prestige, the physical and spiritual welfare of the vessel and its crew. [The spot selected was] on the low mound in front of the present Court House and near the river bank" (Best 1925:724). [The next important thing the immigrants did] was to build houses for themselves ... and ... plant their seed kumara. The house Tupapakurau belonged to Toroa ... and was an important ... house of learning ... where the history of the people, religion, mythology and anthropology ... were taught. Their cultivation ground was called Matireranui (ibid.:725). [Toroa's] brother Puhi constructed for himself and his followers an earthwork redoubt, and built there a house named Rahiri-o-te-Rangi. This fort stood on the top of the spur extending from Ka-pu-te-rangi to Kohi Point, where the remains of it may still be seen. The pa or fort of Puhi was also named Rahiri (Best 1925:725).
The slaying of Taukata in order to prevent the *mauri* (life principle) of the *kumara* returning to Hawaiki must have been delayed until after building operations and the *kumara* had been planted and the crop stored for as Best records:

The blood of Taukata was smeared on the beams of the doorway or entrance to the storehouse in which the prized tubers were placed (Best 1925:709).

Two interesting incidents are told concerning the Whakatane traditions. The first one occurred when the Arawa Canoe first arrived and became:

"grounded at ... Te Marae-o-Whakatane ... on the Awa-A-Te-Atua River and that Toroa and his people assisted in getting her afloat again. The second incident occurred when the Arawa Canoe was beached at Maketu and ... the Arawa immigrants asked Toroa and his people for assistance to haul Arawa to its final resting place" (Best 1925:728). "The incidents suggest that the Mataatua canoe arrived in New Zealand before the Arawa canoe but this is not borne out by the genealogies" (Roberton 1962:304).

The immigrants were not to live peaceably together at Whakatane. Puhi the younger brother of Toroa was assuming too many of the duties of his elder brother and they quarrelled and insulted each other. Puhi decided to take the Mataatua canoe to the far north and surprisingly nearly all the immigrants accompanied him. The only immigrants left at Whakatane were the six members of the Toroa family (Toroa, Muriwai, Taneatua, Raihonga and Tahinga o te Ra and Wairaka) (Best 1925:713, 728).

All lines of descent from the Mataatua immigrants known in the Whakatane district are from three persons only,

"Toroa, his sister Muriwai, and Tane-atua. These three, with the wives and children of the two brothers remained here (Whakatane) but there is no evidence to show that any of the others did so remain" (Best 1925:710).

Whakatane traditions state:
"that a party came from Taranaki and stayed some time with Toroa and his people. One of the party Tamatea Matangi married Toroa's sister Muriwai. Toroa's daughter Wairaka was attracted to one of the visitors Tukaiteuru and after noting where he slept crept up to his sleeping place at night and scratched his face in order to mark him. The next morning Wairaka informed her father of her choice of a husband, and explained how she had marked him for the purpose of identification by all. All her people collected in order to view her chosen man. Wairaka ... was astonished to see ... her chosen man unscathed but next to him was a badly scratched Mai-Ure-Nui. He was so ugly that ... Wairaka became the recipient of many unkind remarks" (Best 1925:720). "The sly Mai had noticed the admiration that Wairaka had for his companion and exchanged places with him. Realizing her mistake ... Wairaka cried: "He po a Wairaka i raru ai", (by darkness was Wairaka misled)" (ibid.:730).

Wairaka declined to marry Mai and eventually married Te Rangikitua a local person "by whom she had a son Tamatea-ki-te-Huatahi, who married Paewhiti who had Ue-imua, Tuhoe-potiki ... Tane-moeahi ... and ... Uenuku-rauiri" (Best 1925:730). Te Rangi-ki-Tua lost his life while fishing during Tamatea Kai Ariki, i.e., the eighth or ninth night of the moon's age, when stormy weather is said to mark this phase of the moon. It was soon after this that Wairaka's son was given the name Tamatea ki te Huatahi in memory of the incident (Best 1925:730).

traditions Questioned:

Some doubts as to the reliability of the Whakatane traditions began to emerge when it was realised that either the information from local and other tribal traditions alongside their genealogies were incorrect or that the incidents popularly accepted as traditions could not have taken place at the times claimed. As early as 1866 J.A. Wilson, judge of the Native Land Court, was aware of the
discrepancy in Mataatua history when he stated that,

"When Ngatiawa, of Mataatua Canoe, under Muriwai, arrived at Whakatane, they seemed to have deliberately wiped six generations of sojourn at the Bay of Islands off their traditional slate, and landed at Whakatane as though they had come straight from Hawaiki. This may have been devised by their leaders in order to appear with prestige, and to avoid the danger in their new location of appearing as a beaten people. This revised tradition is still firmly held at Whakatane, the headquarters of Ngatiawa" (Wilson 1906:X).

Six generations or 150 to 180 years is the gap separating the landing of the Mataatua at Takao (Bay of Islands) and its landing at Whakatane.

"The number of the generations of the descendants of her mixed people at Hokianga tallies exactly with the number of generations for Tainui and Te Arawa. Probably another canoe named Mataatua went to Whakatane because ... 150 to 180 years being possibly too long for a canoe to remain in a seaworthy condition" (Wilson 1906:xi).

A prominent early historian of the East Coast traditions was W.E. Gudgeon who stated

"In the case of Mataatua, we find that practically all the tribes from this canoe are from the one man Toroa. It is true that his sister had children whose descendants are known but they did not found tribes. The descendants of the other persons who formed the crew are not known and this may be accounted for in two ways; either Toroa and his family were the only persons who remained permanently here (i.e., Whakatane) or there never was any such canoe" (Gudgeon 1892).

Clearly the Whakatane traditions were open to question as far back as 1892.

Sir Peter Buck (a noted Maori anthropologist), of the Taranaki tribe points to an irregularity in the Whakatane tradition related to Toi. Toi held captive at Whakatane
ERRATUM
Note that pagination runs from 81 to 83
500 prisoners. Included amongst the prisoners was Piopio the daughter of the leader Pohokura from Taranaki.

"Pohokura travelled to Whakatane to plead with Toi for the release of his daughter" (Buck 1949:24). According to Taranaki traditions "Pohokura was the younger brother of Taitawaru who commanded the Okioki Canoe which brought some of the first settlers to New Zealand" (Buck 1949:10). A problem in accepting the traditions is that Taitawaru settled in Taranaki 300 years before Toi was living in Whakatane and yet here they are associated with one another.

Mr Rongo Halbert of Gisborne was a historian with a far reaching knowledge of his peoples past and a great wealth of Genealogical learning behind him. He discounts the generally accepted Whakatane tradition of the landing of the Mataatua. His reasons seem well founded for he draws on the East Coast traditions which show that Mataatua landed near Whangara and that a number of East Coast ancestors who are completely unknown in the Bay of Plenty were members of the crew. East Coast traditions claim that the

"Mataatua brought the kumara from Parinuiitera in Hawaiki to Parinuiitera (Gable and foreland) on the Ngatiporou Coast. On board were leaders Rauru and Rongoatau and his sons and daughters, Hoaki, Taikutaka, Kanoa, Tuturiwhatu and Kanioro, Matuatonga, Uenuku Whakarongo and wife Hinehakitai, Maia and Te Awariki. Hoaki and Taikutaka undertook a search for their sister Tuturiwhatu and landed at Whakatane then known as Kakahoroa to whom they imparted the knowledge of the kumara (Halbert 1961:72).

Of all the Mataatua historians there was never a more prolific writer than Elsdon Best who lived with the Tuhoe people and who gained his material from the men who were recognised by their own people as the great experts. He
states that nearly all the lines from Toroa to his descendants of the Whakatane district are shorter than the 20 generations which are generally supposed to have elapsed since that ancestor landed there. He points out also that, "the wives of Toroa, Tane-atua and Ruaihonga are doubtful as immigrants, in as much as some authorities claim that they are natives of this island" (Best 1925:713).

He also points out that

"Rauru is given by many tribes as the name of a chief of some standing who came on Mataatua though strange to say, the Mataatua people seem to know nothing of him, not even his name (Best 1975:711)."

The following is an example of how local tradition amongst Mataatua people fail to support their own claims for Mataatua's arrival at Whakatane. A great Whakatohea ancestor was Tutamure who defeated his uncle Kahungunu at his pa on the Mahia Peninsula. Whakatohea claim that Hineikauia the daughter of Muriwai was given to Tutamure as wife. The following genealogy would clearly show that Kahungunu could not have arrived in Aotearoa at the same time as the Tamatekapua of the Arawa canoe four generations earlier.

Tamatekapua (Arawa Canoe)
Kahumatamomoe
Tewakemoitahanga
Uenukumairarotonga
Rangitihi Kahungunu Muriwai
Tuhuurangi = Rongomaipapa = Tutamure = Hinei-kauia

Dr J.B.W. Roberton is a modern historian who has studied Tainui, Mataatua and other traditions. He does not accept the story that Arawa immigrants asked Toroa and his people to help haul up the Arawa canoe as told by Best (Best
1929:728). Roberton stated that "Tainui and Te Arawa Canoes arrived at least 150 years before Toroa was born" (Roberton 1962:304) and says that if Mataatua is to be regarded as one of the fleet, the story of its arrival must be taken as belonging to about 1200. However if the genealogies are to be relied on, this "would make the date of birth of Toroa about 1440" (ibid.:298).

This chapter shows that the traditions written down, appeared at odd intervals in different publications over a period of many years. Collected together as presented here they would seem to justify a suspicion that the tradition in question is ill founded and that Toroa and his party arrived in Whakatane anything from 100 to 200 years after the Fleet arrived in New Zealand. However, the various discrepancies in the Mataatua tradition when taken individually have not been considered important enough by the Maori elders to upset the traditions as a whole. To the elders the facts as recorded in Pakeha books do not matter at all but what happens in the present does. To the Maori his traditions and his past is at the same time part of the present which is his history. This is a completely different view to that of the Pakeha whose history is always in the past and can be considered to be behind him. While the Maoris past is always concerned with people the archaeologist is only concerned with things or artefacts. For the Maori it is the genealogies that link the people of the past, that is, the ancestors, with the people of the present. With the archaeologist it is the bits and pieces that need to be linked together but always with reference to the past. Maori genealogies deal with people and are sacred which
means that the past in the present is sacred. For the archaeologist artefacts are sacred and must be dug up and studied because they are the evidence, the facts regarding the fossilised results of human behaviour of the past. To the elders their history is oral and versions of it are told on their marae and in front of their public with the knowledge that they would not be shamed as an elder stated, "I te whakahengia au i runga i taku marae ka hemo au i te whakama" (If I am corrected on my marae I will die of shame). Pakeha history is written. The written word is sacred to the Pakeha just as the word of God in the Bible has always been sacred to the Pakeha and criticism is an accepted part of getting at the truth. If the past is what can be clearly seen, because to the Maori the past is what is in front of him, therefore it is also part of the present which means then that the past and the present are one and therefore must justify each other. Such a perception of the past is a myth to the Pakeha and not a history but to the Maori it stands as a living part of the present and not as remains from the past. For Pakeha culture the words written down in his books are the facts but for Maori culture it is the telling of the traditions on the marae that really counts and it is the Maori people who will finally determine what is to be accepted because to the Maori his traditions are matters for his heart and his mind to decide and no one elses. However, looked at from the Pakeha point of view it appears as if Maoris tinker with their past, especially with their genealogies. But from the Maori point of view if the past is the present and the present is the past then they must coincide. There are then two versions of the
truth, Maori and Pakeha. Is truth absolute? Is truth relative? In their quest for the truth the more archaeologists do the less they know of what really happens. Pursuing the truth by investigating whether people really made tools is a trivial part of what happened according to the Maori. This can only be a minimal part of what happened because what happened has happened. To the Maori we are what has happened, therefore what we are, what we think, and what we do is what really happened. This then is the conflict between what two groups believe in. Maori philosophy which centres around spiritual concerns, namely *aroha* (love) for *Papa* (mother earth) and *taonga* (ancestral treasures) is as true as Pakeha philosophy based on material objectives which have to be dug up.
ARCHAEOLOGIST'S VIEW OF ARCHAEOLOGY:

In addition to the many discussions I had with the Maori people I also found time to talk with Pakeha archaeologists who had worked in the Whakatane district. An account of my meeting and discussion with four Pakeha academics and professional archaeologists drawn from my field notes are given here to point out their personal views about archaeology.

Archaeologist A considered himself to be a humanist archaeologist,

"I consider myself to be a humanist archaeologist because my approach is to tell the story of what is going on. I am not a believer in figures and computers. I tell the story as I see it and people can read my material if they wish to but if they don't then that is their problem. The trouble with New Zealanders is that they do not care about archaeology. The Maoris are the worst offenders. Their attitude is one of indifference, they couldn't care less. When I have excavated on Maori land I have contacted the Maori organizations concerned and I have invited them to come along and observe what is being done because after all it is their history that I am digging up. However, the decision is not really for the Maori to decide when I am working on Pakeha land, and anyway the land does not belong to the Maori, it belongs to all. I admit and I am sorry that archaeologists destroy sites but they do record them in their books".

Archaeologist B considers the sympathetic approach to be the best.

I have a sympathetic approach to archaeology where my concern is for the people, who they were, what they did and why they lived the way they did. Some archaeologists use a lot of mathematics in dealing with archaeology but in order to cope with mathematics you need
a maths brain and some archaeologists don't like it at all. A problem with archaeology is that archaeologists have failed to circulate their information to the public. Archaeologists are also very ignorant of what the views of archaeology are and of what the public think or know about it. An interesting development in America is that the Indians are demanding that they be consulted on matters pertaining to their past. It is sad that the Maori do not take an interest in archaeology and I think that a possible answer must lie in taking archaeology to them".

Archaeologist C believes that archaeologists must restrict their diggings.

"Archaeologists must restrict their diggings in order to preserve sites for the future. Archaeologists can record sites which is also a very important part of their work. Some archaeologists think that they can dig following the same pattern anywhere in the world. This can be very embarrassing if an archaeologist is kicked off a site because the local elders permission was not sought and this happened in New Zealand. No archaeologist deliberately sets out to dig up pa sites or monuments unless of course they have been threatened with destruction. For some archaeologists it is the abstraction process that is more important. Whatever approach is followed it must be a scholarly one in order that it receives recognition because archaeology is an academic game in which academic respectability must be maintained. Before archaeologists excavate in New Zealand they should observe certain procedures. Preliminary plans should involve a meeting with the local people to get their goodwill. One should also ask where the burial grounds are located and keep well away from them. During the excavations invitations should be sent to the locals to visit the site. Items discovered at the site may be taken to the marae and some explanation of what they are should be made. Human bones found on the site should be reported to the locals so that their own priests who know how to dispose of such things because they have the right and the skills necessary can deal with them. Recording information is the aim of the archaeologist and the fact that some do not write up their reports is a major problem. Materials that have been found and used by the archaeologist should be returned to the
people at the completion of the excavation. During the last five to ten years archaeologists have been trying to rid themselves of the bone and grave digging image probably due to the stigma caused by fossickers and collectors of items, especially items from graves. Archaeologists dig to find out the truth about the history of the people, that is the history of the Maori. The archaeologist has the responsibility of telling the truth even when it conflicts with the Maoris accepted version because his task is to write the truth about prehistory".

Archaeologist D believes in the scientific approach.

"My approach is a scientific one. After observing certain techniques that people use in the manufacture of their ware it may be possible to observe how the application of local knowledge has developed and in some cases radically altered, to suit local conditions. The changes in styles can be recognised over many generations or even centuries. Archaeologists are academics and are made to disagree. Archaeology is an intellectual game. Some archaeologists have such superficial views that they need to be straightened out and it is this straightening out process that motivates the archaeologist to keep his work a science. Some archaeologists are very generous with their information but many are frightened to disclose their ideas for fear that others may get the credit. Professional jealousy does exist. My attitude towards thesis research is that of disseminating knowledge. A nationalistic view emerged in New Zealand with the appointment of a New Zealander as the first New Zealand lecturer to a university prehistory position but this did not last long because the view still persisted that New Zealand archaeologists were not good enough. Some would say that New Zealand archaeologists should go out of New Zealand and work. There are some universities in New Zealand who have developed what could be termed their own particular type of style which can be attributed to their hard and uncompromising manner. Archaeology is one of the few disciplines that makes use of data that has social bearing without racial prejudice. At universities archaeology is sometimes seen as a soft option however, it is important to expose as many students as possible whether they are law, medical or
teachers, who may be more appreciative of the goals of archaeology. Law students should be wooed into the course in the hope that they might one day do something to prevent the destruction of sites by building projects. Archaeologists are dedicated people in their work. Theirs is a scholarly pursuit. Archaeologists are a rare group of people who participate in a rare occupation. There is, however, a steady build up of resentments towards archaeology because the data is taken away from the locals who feel the archaeologists are mining their culture for their own selfish ends. As already mentioned archaeology has maintained a kind of imperialism which the natives cannot do much about. Money however, is the key factor in archaeology. Perhaps this is the reason why some projects have not been completed and satisfactorily written up. Archaeology is truth but when you write you write for an academic group therefore, you write in defence because as you put your results forward you must be able to justify them. So you make cautious statements in order to defend your technique which is concerned with excellence and improvement. This means that the archaeologist is concerned with reporting and defending what he says. Archaeologists should be sensitive to the environment in which they work in. As far as the Maoris are concerned I think that they would be better off if they were to establish their own organization in which they can be the driving force rather than the recipients of an imposed system".

Interpretation:

From this section certain constructions on the assumptions of archaeologists' views can be made concerning their values and attitudes.

Archaeologist A believes that digging up the Maoris history and destroying the sites is justified because this gives importance to his written report which remains as the substitute. He shows little concern for the living especially the Maoris because they don't show any interest in archaeology. It is not clear from his views why Maoris
should take an interest in an activity that methodically destroys his past. What is clear is that it is the materials of the past that are the archaeologist's business and it is on this basis that one concludes that a humanist archaeologist is one who works with the remains of a human past.

Archaeologist B has a different view of an archaeologist. If archaeologists are to rid themselves of the "grave diggers" image then they must communicate archaeology to the general public.

Archaeologist C shares B's concern but goes further in suggesting that since archaeologists dig to find the truth then they must communicate this truth to the Maoris even if it conflicts with their own version of their history. Presumably the archaeologist sees this as an opportunity for getting the Maori to accept the Pakeha version of the Maoris history, which is another way of imposing 'Pakeha truths' on 'Maori truths'.

Archaeologist D believes that archaeology is truth, an intellectual game for the dedicated in which scholastic excellence is desired in order to maintain a scientific approach. It seems that archaeologists can hide behind a 'thing' called science as a means of justifying the sites they destroy.

While these views may not represent a full cross section of archaeological discipline they are the people who did the digging and this is what they have said to me in good faith. Archaeologists are scientists whose views are usually independent of self interest so that their feelings are not known because they are not entered into their
official reports. What we have here then are their personal feelings which are clearly expressed.

Archaeology is a Pakeha practice and is therefore a part of Pakeha culture. It is a culture that pursues self knowledge and truth according to the methods of science. This is why archaeologists claim that archaeology is truth. Stones can't lie but neither can they tell the truth. The truth, that is independent of the self and its judgement, which is archaeological truth can never be a social fact for the Maori because the written word which forms the basis of the archaeologists report is no substitute for taonga which is the only social fact and therefore social truth for the Maori. The problem is that Pakeha archaeologists are naive in not accepting the Maoris belief in the sacredness of taonga as representing his truth because to the Pakeha it is only his truth justified according to the rules of scientific method that matters. Archaeologists think that the stigma associated with their being described as grave diggers is caused by the actions of fossickers and collectors of grave items in the past. But Maoris hold quite a different view which will be explained fully in the next section of this chapter. Archaeologists are a rare group of people indeed. They are the only people in the world whose occupation involves digging up someone elses culture, often without being asked by the indigenous people, and destroy sites in order to justify their writing scientific reports.

A suggestion was made that the Maoris would be better off if they were to establish their own organization for archaeological action in which they can be the driving force rather than the recipients of an imposed system. Such a suggestion is based on the Pakeha view that Maoris are
one people and therefore think as one. While this is not
the view that Maoris have of themselves in such a situation
in which the sacred is involved the Maori might just work
together and be a driving force to outlaw archaeology.

The archaeologists' views given here are their personal
views and not their official views but they do provide the
unconscious views of the scientists values and attitudes
which are clearly neutral.

Maori View of Archaeology:

Many of the middle aged and young Maoris I talked to
felt that it is the elders who still have all the knowledge
to tell as far as the past is concerned and it is their
view that really matters. This is because the elders are
always those who are in the front who can be seen because
they are the closest to the past and who can see the past
more clearly. With this in mind it is only the elders' views
drawn from my field notes that are given here and
an attempt at analysing their views will be made at the
end of the chapter. The elders' views are given in Maori
first and an English translation follows:

Nga mahi a nga Pakeha nei na haramai ratau ki
te hoatu kia ratau te ingoa o te Pa. E mohio
ana au ki te ingoa o te Pa nei. Na kaore au
e pai ki to mahi na te mea kare koe I haramai
ki te korero ki nga Maori. Ka mutu koeki te
kari, ka haramai koe ki nga Maori. Kare au e
whakaae ki te hoatu kia koe nga matauranga.
Ae kia pai kia mohio ki nga mea tawhito na me
haere ki nga tangata na ratau nga Pa ki te iwi
kainga tuturu, na me haere ki retra. Kei nga
iwi kainga te tikanga. Ko nga uri ano e
tika ana me korero.

When the archaeologists had completed their
investigations then they came to me for advice.
I knew the name of the pa site but I refused
to give them any information because they were not courteous enough to approach the Maori first. It is correct that one should know about the past but one should approach the *Iwi Kainga* [home people] who are the original descendants of the sites and seek their advice because they have all the information and the right to tell it.

Why does the Maori claim this to be their right? To the Pakeha the Maori does not have the right to such property at all and therefore it does not belong to anyone in particular. The archaeologist might not admit that information belongs to someone. He wouldn't dream of stealing it but that is what he does. The differences in concept of property is vividly interpreted in ideas about the land. Everything in Maori has an owner but is not exclusive to an individual owner because it belongs to the people since what he has and what he is, is part of *Maoritanga* and therefore belongs to *Rangi* and *Papa*. This is real and not just a romantic notion.

*A Pakeha approached me with a view to be exorcised because a greenstone *patu* he found in a river was affecting him.*

The point that must be made here is that according to the elders all things in Aotearoa belong to someone. In this case the *patu* belonged to the ancestors who were upset
and therefore hit back at the now affected frightened Pakeha.

Prayers were uttered and then the patu was located it was clear that it belonged to a brave warrior Tupurupuru and it had inherited his powers. Prayers were uttered to replace the Maori power that was already in the patu in order to save the frightened Pakeha.

Nga Pa na kua riro katoa i roto i nga whenua Pakeha na kei kona ra. Kei kona ratau e ngaungautia ana e nga kehua. Ka mahia te wahi a te tohunga ka oti kaua e mahia ano kei he. Waihongia nga koiwi he tapu ena. Ahakoa ko wai te tangata te taurekareka i te mate kua tapu nga koiwi. Mohio ana nga Maori ki ta ratau mahi i mua na ratou i korero ka mau. Kare e pirangi ki te kari haere Ko nga tangata karikari haere i roto i nga whenua o te Pakeha. I nga ra o mua ka noho i kona ka haere ki tera vahi a na te mea na tatau katoa tena whenua.

Those pa sites are all on Pakeha land where the Pakeha are being haunted by ghosts. A tohunga was called upon to exorcise the area. His efforts should not be repeated or else something might go wrong. Leave the bones as they are sacred. Whether one is a slave or not, at death all bones are sacred. The Maori know how to tell their past because it has been handed down. The Maori don't go digging sites. Those that do archaeological work should do it on Pakeha land. In the past the Maori roamed freely over this area because the land was his property.

Ko nga paru o te whanua ka keria huri ake ko te whenua mahi kai ka heke ki te whenua matua ka tae ki te oneone koretake. Ka mau ki nga take o mua ko te pakarutanga a Tarawera ko te hu i muri mai ko te ru i muri mai ko te whuru.

During excavations the layer of top soil is called food producing soil, below it is the parent soil and below that is the useless soil. Maori dating procedures are fixed from the Tarawera eruption 1886, the Napier earthquake, 1931 and the flu epidemic 1918.

Ka mirimiria nga tuara o nga koroua ko nga wahine kei muri e takaro ana me nga tamariki. Ko ratau nga pu ko nga wahine nga mata.

(In this interview the kaumatua was referring to the efforts
of some archaeologists to get the goodwill of the people).

The archaeologists are like priests trying to convert the people to their religion. They rub the backs of the old men while their women are behind playing with the kids. The men are the guns and their women are the bullets.

Te tangata kare he whenua e kore e tu. Pai kia pupuri i te whenua kia whai mana ai. Kaua e riri ki te marae. I te riri rite tonu ki ti patiki ka paru te marae. Te tangata nona te whenua e pawa ana te timera.

A person without land has no right to speak so one should hold on to one's land in order to retain one's standing. One must not get angry with the marae or like the flounder that disturbs the dust, the courtyard will get dirty. The man who owns his land, has his chimney smoking happily.

Ehoa o tatau whenua katoa kua ngaro. Kua hokongia kua raupatia. Nga hua o te whenua nga huia o te Moana kua ngaro. Pehea te Maori e ora ai. Kua riro te whakaruruhau. Kua utainangi nga mea ki te taha Pakeha. Tenei te huarahi e kite au kia mama ai nga ture o te whenua na te Atua i hoatu kinga tipuna. Nga urupa kaua e takahia. Kotahi te kuri i ngau nga i te hipi kua ngaungau te katoa na te hiahia ki nga rawe o tenei ao ki te moni. No reira he aha te tikanga o te roopu hahu urupa. Ko te wa hoki o te moni ko mate nga kai. Tangi mai ra nga Kuri a Wharei e papaki ana te tai o te akau e kore e mutu. Kei roto ra tatau i te hara nui e kore tatau e ora. Ka whakahaeretia te paru ki roto i nga whenua Maori ko waihotia te whenua Pakeha ka tae ki te akau. Nga kai na te Atua i homai kua paru katoa. Na te wa o te moni kua mate nga kai kua kai ki te whenua moni. Kua nekengia nga tupapaku o nga urupa kia watea ai mo te paru. I te kore ena mea e oti i nga roopu hahu urupa kaore o ratau pai. He mahi nga tangata Maori kei te taha o te Pakeha e mahi ana hei kai mahi ana hei kai mahi ma te Pakeha.

Our land is gone. It has been sold or confiscated. The fruits of the earth and the sea are gone. How should the Maori survive. They have lost their shelter. Everything favours the Pakeha. A solution is to prevent further loss of land that was given by God to the ancestors. Sacred areas should not be trampled on. If you allow one to do it others will follow because of their desire for money. So what can archaeologists do. In
the time of money food has disappeared. The dogs of Tauranga and the ocean tides have not stopped weeping for the past. We are so deep in sin that there is no salvation for us. A sewerage line was put through Maori land to the sea and it side stepped a Pakeha reserve. Food given by God are all contaminated. One has to survive on the fruits of money gained from the sale of land. Burial grounds have been shifted to make way for a sewerage line. If archaeologists cannot find a solution to this problem what is their worth? There are many Maoris who cannot be trusted because they work on the side of the Pakeha to support the Pakeha's plans.

Maori treasures are hidden and the information is lost to the modern world. The young may search for them but they will never find them because they do not know the rituals associated with them. They must do the menial tasks until such time as the elders die. This is the Mataatua way.

The Pakeha wanted five acres of sacred ground as a camping ground for them. Ngatiawa would not agree to it because it was a sacred area and must be respected. It is by not losing it that the truth behind the attitude of the Maori towards sacred things can be seen. The archaeologists did not seek permission from the Maoris. Their written material does not reflect the opinion.
of the Maori. Respect for these ancient things have been returned because of your respect for them. Some treasures are a waste for the people, and ill feelings have developed. The Pakeha has capitalised on this situation to gain some land. Some land has been taken by the Government, some have been confiscated and some have been held in trust for the people. With a lot of land gone one must hold on to what treasures are left. The old people must not be deserted for fear of exposing the shallowness of Maoritanga.

When visitors come they must be welcomed. The work of those people is a pleasure to see. Land, man and treasures will survive but it is the spirit of man that will die.

An archaeologist excavated on our ancient sites without my permission. A Maori would not do that because he knows the way of his ancestors. I alone have the authority to grant permission and when they don't see me I will never grant permission. A Maori is not disrespectful but is more humble in his approach.

Pakeha questions leave me blank and questionnaires I don't know how to answer them. The trouble with the young today is that they don't know how to inspire the old to talk.
The trouble with the Pakeha is that they have been selling Maori artefacts ever since they arrived here. I'll never agree to disturbing ancient material because they must be respected, because they are treasures. A skull was found and the people knew the history of it. It was returned to the earth. A man who did not respect skeletal material died from unknown causes.

Ko Papa te tino tupuna o nga Maori. Nana nga manu he kai tapu ma nga rangatira kua ngaro katoa i te Pakeha.

Mother earth is a leading Maori ancestor who provided the leaders with pigeon a sacred food now prohibited to the Maori by Pakeha law.

Trying to interpret what the elders mean in what they say is not an easy task. To the elders Pakeha archaeologists are disrespectful of Maori values because they dig up sacred places without consultation with the right Maori people. What is crucial to the elders is their deep association with the land. An interpretation of that association is given here to understand their point of view.

**Interpretation:**

To the Maori elders an archaeologist is a tangata karikari urupa (one who repeatedly digs up grave yards). This is quite different from one who digs a grave in readiness for a dead body for he is called a tangata kari i te puare mo te Tupapaku (one who digs a hole in the ground for the dead body). Archaeologists have always been conscious of the stigma associating their profession with digging graves as well as handling human bones and could
easily dismiss the above definition of them as being based on ignorance. Ignorance or not, it does not remove the view that the elders have of them as people who dig up graves.

An attempt to explain why the Maori elders hold this view is made here and is based solely on my own interpretation of the data of my research.

The word *karikari* refers to repeated digging or indiscriminate digging and is linked with the activities of the archaeologists who have been digging in New Zealand for many years and have encountered human bones and artefacts.

The use of the word *urupa* is more difficult to explain. *Urupa* is commonly used to refer to graveyards. However, the Maori elders are quite certain that *pa* sites which are labelled archaeological sites are not *urupa* (graveyards). While this view is commonly held some did point out that human remains were sometimes found on *pa* sites or in fact places which are not designated as *urupa* (graveyard).

Several explanations were given for this. One reason given was that the persons who knew of the actual burial location either left the district or died before they could pass their information on to others. Another reason was that relatives shifted the remains without consulting anyone else. The threat of warring tribes was also given as a reason for seeking burial places which could not be found by the enemy for fear that some kind of abuse would take place. It seems that some burial places were not known by all members of the public and it was left to the initiative of a few people to seek out these special places. This may explain why archaeologists have come across human bones
in places which are not classed as cemetery. Perhaps a more appropriate word which does not have graveyard or cemetery associations is *uranga* (resting place) except that the elders did not use that word at all and were adamant that *urupa* was the right word because it expressed accurately their view. The question we need to ask ourselves is this. Why is the word *urupa* used when it is clear that no reference is being made to a particular graveyard? In order to understand this we must look at how the Maori perceives his land and his past.

It is tempting to call this explanation a mythological one and to relegate the ideas of the elders to a belief in an almost boundless creative power of the human imagination (Maranda 1972:7). However... myths solve problems or declare them unsolvable as elegantly as pure mathematics, but their language is more difficult to learn (ibid.:12). ... The kind of logic in mythical thought is as rigorous as that of modern science, and ... the difference lies, not in the quality of the intellectual process, but in the nature of the things to which it is applied (Levi-Strauss 1964:230).

Both *urupa* and *urunga* are *wahi tapu* (sacred places) which represent a special place on mother earth (*Papa*) which has been carefully and ceremoniously set aside as a resting place for a part of *Papa’s Iwi* (*Papa’s tribe, or the bones of *Papa’s tribe*). *Koīwi* or *Iwi* is the word for human bones and some Maoris refer to their relatives as their bones.

*Papa* (mother earth) and *Rangi* (sky father) are important Maori ancestors (*tupuna*) who are referred to in
speeches on the marae (sacred courtyard) in warm and respectful terms such as; "Ki te Papa e takoto nei, ki te Rangi e tu nei, tena kourua". (To mother earth lying here, to father sky standing here, respects to you both.) Papa became pregnant (hapu) and gave birth (whanau) to many children. These were special children who had sacred (tapu) tasks to perform. Tane was made protector of all the birds and the forests. Like all Maori mothers in the past when they had children the afterbirth (whenua) was buried in a special place which identified that territory for a special kind of people called the tangata whenua (people with special rights to the land). The ritual burying of the afterbirth also reserved within that territory another special place known as the marae (a sacred courtyard) where one's turangawaewae (a place where one has the right to stand and speak without being questioned) was recognised. Rights to the land were maintained because of the tangata whenua's ability to carry out certain customary obligations. One of these responsibilities was to care for the fruits (hua) provided by Papa which in turn provided food (kai) for the Iwi kainga (residents) and the manuhiri (visitors). A test of the tangata whenua's ability to carry out customary obligations was often demonstrated when visitors were present. The visitors should be provided with food which is considered to be the most precious and therefore the most sacred in the area. Sacred because of the special care (aroha) that the locals take in assuring a supply is available. The imposing of a tapu (territorial restriction) to prevent a source from being depleted and carrying out various techniques for preserving food would be seen as fulfilling the customary obligation and certainly paying respects to Papa as well, the provider of the food. Failure to provide that special food for the visitors could be interpreted by them as an insult to their mana.
(prestige) and serious consequences could occur.

In the past these ways of doing things were vital to the existence of the Maori and are remembered today in the oral traditions and the many archaeological sites (papanga) which testify to their activities in the past. Papanga are sacred places (wahi tapu) because sacred ancestral treasures (taonga) are buried there and to show their respects to mother earth and the ancestors these taonga were left undisturbed by the Maori right up to this day. They have been left undisturbed because they belonged to the past which is sacred. The past is sacred because it deals with the ancestors, their genealogies, their traditions, and their history in such a way that the ancestors are always present and are accessible to the Maori in order to sustain him and to provide him with the inspiration he needs to deal with situations in the present and the future. It might be said that the ancestors sit in judgement of what is the best way of doing things because it is immediately in front of a Maori. This is because the Maori words for the past are, "Nga ra kei mua" (the days in front) and the future is expressed as "Nga ra kei muri" (the days behind). Therefore everything that exists in the boundaries of wahi tapu (sacred places) and papanga (archaeological sites) are taonga (sacred ancestral treasures) which belonged to the tupuna (ancestors) and are tapu (not to be touched).

The Maori has left his taonga (treasures) untouched because of his aroha (deep sense of caring) for the past (nga ra kei mua) the world of his ancestors. Aroha for the ancestors is best explained in this way. When visitors are welcomed on the marae (sacred courtyard) they may wear a
pare kawakawa (a band of kawakawa leaves around the head) which I am going to interpret as symbolising a relationship between man and earth. This relationship can be appreciated by an examination of the following terms. Hapu (Papa's pregnancy) is also the word used to refer to a section of the people or the sub tribe. Whanau (Papa's act of giving birth) is the popular word for the family. Hua (Papa's fruits) also refers to progeny. Iwi (human bones) is popularly used to refer to the tribe. All these terms have a close affinity with man and earth.

As the visitors move closer to the marae the tears (roimata) appear which signals the presence of the ancestors and therefore the past to present time. In addition to the tears is the flow of the hupe (phlegm from the nose) which mixes with the tears and flows undisturbed to the ground (whenua) thus symbolically recapturing a relationship between man and the land (whenua). The phlegm, like the tears, are an expression of deep love for man the ancestors and the land made sacred by the ritual burying of the after birth (whenua) which defined that territory for ever as the place where man has mana (prestige) and all the rights to the food he needs to live a respectful life.

Aroha is therefore very important for without it the Maori has no obligation to others, to things, and to God. Fortunately this can never happen because the Maori has continued to preserve and exercise his faith in those very things, that is his faith in man, things and God.

In concluding this explanation I feel it is the lack of appreciation, courtesy and respect for a Maori point of view that has forced the Maori to adopt the use of urupa
(cemetery) in his definition of an archaeologist because fittingly it embraces every archaeological site on which in the minds of the Maori the archaeologists continue to maintain their disrespectful activities. In my opinion following the arguments I have tried to establish concerning the use of the word *urupa*, it can be said that for the Maori a grave is not just something that need contain human bones but the earth is a grave because it is a repository, a resting place of human culture.

A further explanation is needed and this will be related to the model in Figure 11.

The most important thing in archaeology and to the archaeologists, is *taonga* (the archaeological record) which covers all aspects within the boundaries of the model. The Maori has a *ngakau aroha* (a compassionate heart) for his *taonga* (ancestral treasures). It is *aroha* (love) for his *taonga* which has never been properly understood because it has been expressed as being part of the matters of the heart. The Maori often points to his heart as a means of explaining issues which he finds difficult to explain to the Pakeha. The matters of the heart hold such things together as *aroha* (love), *mauri* (continuing life), *mana* prestige), *tapu* (sacredness) and *koha* (gifts). Without *aroha* the heart has no love, without *tapu* the heart has no respect, without *mauri* the heart knows no continuing life, without *mana* the heart has no authority and without *koha* the heart knows no sharing, to care for, "*Nga taonga tuku iho a nga tupuna*", (the ancestral treasures passed down by the ancestors as gifts for the people).

Because these things are matters of the heart it is
easy for the Maori to accept his ancestral past and his ancestors. He claims that, "Kotahi ano te tupuna o te tangata Maori, ko Ranginui et tu nei, ko Papa tu a nuku e takoto nei" conveniently recorded by Williams (1971:259).
(There is only one ancestor of the Maori, it is Rangi and Papa.) Papa (mother earth) was a very important ancestor and various sites on Papa were called Papanga. Papa gave birth to her children and the whenua (after birth) was buried in a special place which identified that territorial boundary as a turangawaewae (a standing place), a marae (a ceremonial place), a pa (a place to defend and practice their sacred things), a kainga (an ancestral home), an urunga (a resting place) and an urupa (a burial place) for the people. Papa provided the people with kai (food) but the hua (fruits) had to be protected against overexploitation and rigid times for acquiring the food were worked out.

Now central to all these are the people. The tangata whenua (people of the land) had ancestral rights guaranteed to them by the ritual burying of their whenua (after birth) within their lands. Papa became pregnant (hapu) and hapu became an accepted term for referring to sub groups while Papa's giving birth (whanau) provided another term for referring to the family or a sub section of the sub group. Embracing the whole Maori population is the term Iwi which significantly is also the word for human bones, a term which the Maori often use to refer to his relatives. Bones have been placed with people in the middle of the model to show their connectedness in the minds of the Maori. Bones are also found in the middle of Papa mother earth and all these things have been placed with people in the middle of
Fig.11 TAONGA
the model because in reality they figure in the centre of
the hearts and the minds of the elders.

Is it any wonder therefore that the Maori call
archaeologists, "Tangata karikari urupa", grave diggers, or
people who dig without respect to the feelings of the Maori
the sacred treasures handed down to him by the ancestors, as
a koha (gift) for the descendants yet to be born in Aotearoa.
CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

Archaeology originated in Europe and when it spread to other parts of the world and reached New Zealand it was accepted by the Pakeha who were European trained archaeologists. Pakeha archaeologist pursued the belief that the answers to man's antiquity lay in the ground and if the truth about New Zealand's past was to be known then it would have to be dug up. It was easy to get permission to dig because no one really knew what archaeologists did. However it was only when the destruction of archaeological sites by ploughing, road building, quarrying and undisciplined digging had come to the notice of those concerned with the preservation of historic places that a law was passed to control digging through a system of permits and authorities.

Archaeologists believe in taking things out of the ground so that they can preserve them and study them. It is the things being analysed that are sacred to the archaeologists because they are the evidence by which the pieces are fitted together to establish their picture of what they think human behaviour was like in the past. Archaeologists are fully aware that when they collect their bits and pieces they destroy the site as was demonstrated in Whakatane where, "all evidence of the excavation were destroyed and only written records were available for future reference" (Adam 1959). One may question the rights of archaeologists for transforming what has been dug up in to written records. It seems that archaeologists are confused
by ethical aspects because they consider that science can override all other considerations. According to their view the 'scientific approach' is the only way to get at the truth regarding the past. The truth therefore arrived at through the interpretation and translation is finally contained in a written report which will be the substitute or the only record left of the site destroyed. Pakehas believe in the sacredness of the word hence their belief in scientific reports. Archaeology is part of an academic game in which scholastic excellence is desired in the maintenance of scientific standards. The archaeologists technical reports are understood only by archaeologists hence they convey only their version of the history of the Maori.

The Maoris have a different view of the past. To the Maori mother earth is responsible for protecting taonga which is the past. If one digs taonga then the past is destroyed. For the Maori his past is what he sees in front of him therefore it is in the present so the past and the present are seen as one. This is not a myth although the Pakeha tends to see it that way because he has not been prepared to comprehend such a view. It is the physical features that contains taonga which is well preserved in and by mother earth. Clearly Maori culture (taonga) is not built on written abstract records but on the visual and therefore down to earth facts that mark his history.

Maori culture has no museums. Museums are sacred buildings for sacred artefacts taken out of its profane contact (earth) and put into a sacred context (culture). To the Pakeha he has to take artefacts out of the ground and
put them into museums. This is sacrilege to the Maori because Papa is his "museum".

Maori history is oral and is expressed on the marae to the general public where he knows he cannot be shamed.

The Maori today have to face up to a real problem regarding archaeology because his permission is now being sought by archaeologists to dig for taonga. If approval is given by one group of Maoris for archaeological work to be carried out, then this suggests that archaeology can be considered as coming between political power. This is because Pakehas and their ethnographic literature label Maoris as though they are one people with one voice and one mind, yet Maoris say they are heterogenous. This suggests that if all things buried in the ground are tapu then it follows that these things belong not only to the Maoris of one area but to their ancestors as well and maybe to other groups as well. Hence the view given here that archaeology is political because Maoris either individually or as groups will increasingly be required to respond according to the demands of an archaeological legislation. On the other hand if Maoris were not asked this may be taken to be an example of action taken without consultation which could lead to further misunderstandings and conflict. Archaeologists can always dig if they can convince the proper authority that a site is under threat of destruction and therefore requires salvage archaeology to capitalise on what they claim is going to be lost anyway. Successful applicants will be granted the appropriate licence to destroy presumably in the name of science. Under such conditions one might ask, what value can a legislation have
which specifically sets out to sanction the destruction of some sites and not their preservation, have for the Maori? As the law is at present it is clear that since archaeology is not halted it does not work for the interests of *taonga* and the Maori at all. The present law therefore favours the professional archaeologist and assures him of continual excavational work in the future. If a Maori view is requested the question of whether archaeologists be granted the right to dig will certainly challenge his cultural values and beliefs regarding the sacred and the past.

Trying to get information from Maori elders is difficult because the past deals with sacred knowledge which cannot be given easily without endangering the political structure of the tribe. For this reason the researcher must be aware that elders do not give straight answers but tend to pose questions or suggest that some one else's opinion be sought. The tendency is for the elders to treat their contribution as if it came directly from the mouths of the ancestors, thus the saying "*A ratou korero*" (Their word), is often quoted to give validity to their view. This means that the interpretations expressed in this thesis must not be taken for granted because there are other views of the past or even other interpretations of the elders views. The view by the elders that answers be sought in the landscape, the traditions and Pakeha books have been followed in this investigation.

Archaeological evidence from Whakatane reflected a period when archaeology in New Zealand was in its infancy. The efforts of the Whakatane archaeological group were amateurish; they failed to supervise some of the sites they
excavated and left them exposed to the public; they had no facilities for preserving and analysing their material; they were geared more for their own self interest largely as a hobby activity and they excavated historical pa sites. The impression created here is that archaeological activity in Whakatane was geared to the undisciplined destruction of taonga. They appeared to have humanistic intentions in their dealings with the local Maoris but one incident which led to misunderstanding can be attributed to a one way educational process in which the Maori was expected to conform to the Pakeha view of the past. Not even the parent body for all archaeologists in New Zealand, the New Zealand Archaeological Association, were able to improve their performance in the area. They used the Maoris to perform an official welcome for them to the area and then they proceeded to excavate a well known traditional pa site. That experience would have indicated to the Maoris that archaeologists were only concerned with their methodology and artefacts whereas to the Maoris the history and traditions of the site are concerned with the present and the past in the present and always with people. This is obviously a view that archaeologists are not aware of and yet they spent a large part of their time discussing their notions of the ethical implications of archaeology with reference to the Maori.

The professional approach to archaeology was to come from the Auckland University, but they were more concerned with taking things away from its original place and then having to discover new techniques for preserving them which the Maoris believe had been well preserved in and by mother earth.
It is *taonga* that is protected and preserved by mother earth. The *taonga* are *tapu* and *aroha* for them means that they be left alone which is exactly what the Maoris have done. The well known Kaputerangi *pa* was demolished to make way for a new housing subdivision. Rocks in the harbour entrance deified as ancestors were dynamited to make way for a new harbour entrance. Pakehas have replaced those *taonga* with a modern memorial on the *pa* site, and a bronze sculpture monument of Wairaka, one of the main ancestors of the area. To the Pakeha monuments are just reminders of the past but to the Maori the *taonga* were the past in present time which is their history. Situated in the middle of the town is Pohaturoa rock which has a well known history and only strong pressure from the locals saved it from being demolished.

The attitude often expressed that Maoris live too much in the past is a misunderstood view of the way the Maori sees his past. It is stated again that to the Maori it is the physical features around him that represents his past in the present and therefore the past and the present are considered one. Not even the facts in Pakeha history books have changed the Maoris view of the past because the facts in the books don't matter at all but what happens in the present does. The traditional history of the Maori is concerned with people who are linked to the present by genealogies and is oral. Maori history is oral and to be criticised on the *marae* is to bring shame to the individual to the family and to the tribe. On the other hand the Pakeha welcomes criticism because for him it allows for a more certain way of getting at his truth.

Archaeologists are still worried that their image as
grave diggers have persisted, and they believe that this is a derogatory view which can be eradicated by proper educational programmes. If in doing this archaeologists are also concerned at getting the Maori to accept their version of the Maoris history, then it should also follow that they should be prepared to listen to and accept the Maoris version of his history. The notion of grave diggers according to the Maoris interpretation would also have to be taken seriously because in the minds of the Maori those people who dig mother earth for the taonga that she holds and preserves as a repository of human culture are and always will be referred to as grave diggers.

In conclusion this study makes a contribution to anthropology from the view-point of the social anthropologist studying archaeology as part of the social and political system. Maori elders and Pakeha agencies values and beliefs have been gained from actual experiences related to the past and through things dug out of the ground. The digging for artefacts gives offence to Maoris because they are his taonga and are tapu to him, a living thing that exists between people, families and tribes. Social organization, genealogies and land matters also include knowledge that is tapu to the Maori. If that knowledge is divulged to the social anthropologist it is liable to tap the heart of the Maori and endanger the political structure. For this reason it is the social anthropologist's interpretations which should not be taken for granted because there may be other interpretations.

It is clear now that Pakeha and Maori views of the past are not opposed. They are neutral and not absolute because
as has already been pointed out there are other views of the past. Such views are valid and therefore there is no need to judge them separately. What this thesis has done is to lay bare those views which the Pakeha and Maori both take for granted. There is no need now for the Pakeha and Maori to take their views for granted anymore because it was only ignorance and arrogance in the past or before this thesis was written that kept those views separate.
GLOSSARY OF MAORI TERMS USED IN THE TEXT

A.
Aotearoa
Land of the long white cloud. Maori name for New Zealand.
aroha
Love; affectionate regard.
atua
God.

E.
E Kia Whakatane au i ahau
Let me act the part of a man.

H.
Ha he atua ki uta ra
Ha there are demons on shore there.
haka
Dance performed more often by the men.
hangi
Earth oven.
hapu
Section of a large tribe; pregnant.
He mate mahera no te ara whanui a Tane
Another brave man gone along the long path to Tane.
heitiki
A greenstone ornament worn suspended from the neck.
hoanga
A kind of sandstone used in the process of cutting and grinding stone implements.
hua
Fruit; progeny.
huku
Larva of the beetle (prionopus reticularis).
hupe
Discharge from the nose; phlegm.
hura
A disease; scrofulous swelling.

I.
Iwi
Nation; people; bones; relatives.
Iwi kainga
Residents; people who have the rights to a residential territory.

K.
Ka ka Tauanui ka roroka Otere
Tauanui burns Otere declines.
Kaharoa ash
An eruption radio carbon dated to 1000 to 1200 a.d.
kai
Food.
Kainga
Ancestral home; place of lodging or unfortified place of residence of the tribe.
karaka
A fruit bearing tree (corynocarpus laevigata).
karamu
Tree (coprosma variety).
kari
Dig up; dig for.
karikari
To dig about; repeated digging; indiscriminate digging.
Kaumatua
An elder.
kauakawa
Shrub (macropiper excelsum)
Kei whanangia koe e Ngatiawa
You might get harmed by Ngatiawa.
kete
Basket woven from strips of flax.
Ki te Papa e takoto nei, ki te Rangi e tu nei tena kourua.

To earth mother lying here, to sky father standing here, respects to you both.

Kiwa

The Pacific ocean.

kiwi

Wingless bird (*apteryx* of various species).

ko

A wooden implement for digging or planting.

kohā

Present; gift.

kōhi

Wasting sickness; consumption; seasick.

kopū

Morning star (planet Venus).

Korero taua ki wharaurangi

Matters of war are discussed at Wharaurangi while matters concerning fishing are discussed at Otauwhaki.

kumara

Sweet potato (*Ipomea batatas*).

kūri

A shortened version of kūri ruarangi and kūri mohorangi, varieties of the ancient Maori dog.

M.

manuhiri

Visitor; guest.

Māoritanga

Maori ways.

marae

Sacred courtyard in front of the meeting house.

mauri

Life principle; thymos of man; talisman; a material symbol of the hidden principle protecting vitality, prestige, fruitfulness of the people, land and forests.

N.

Na te po a Wairaka i raru ai

By darkness was Wairaka deceived.

Nga kuri a wharei ki Tikirau

From Tauranga to Cape Runaway.

ngakau aroha

A deep sense of affection and regard for others.

Nga mate i Kohi me tangi mai i Kawerau

Deaths at Kohi were mourned at Kawerau.

ngā mate i Kawerau me tangi atu i Kohi

Deaths at Kawerau were mourned at Kohi.

Nga mihini a te Pakeha

Pakeha machines referring to tape recorders.

Nga pumanawa e waru

The eight hearts; referring to the eight sons of Rangitihi all born at Pakotore.

Ngapuhi

Northland tribe.

Ngatiawa

Whakatane tribe.

Nga ra kei muri

The days behind; the future.

Nga ra kei mua

The days in front; the past.

Nga taonga a nga tupuna

Treasures handed down by the ancestors.

Nga taonga Maori kua hipokitia e nga taonga a e Pakeha

Maori treasures are covered over by Pakeha monuments.

noa

Free from tapu or any other restriction.
O.

**Otauwhaki**  A place marked by a stone where fishing matters were discussed.

P.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>Stockade; fortified place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakeha</td>
<td>A person of predominantly European descent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papa</td>
<td>Mother earth; one of the main ancestors of the Maori.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papanga</td>
<td>Site; archaeological sites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papa's Iwi</td>
<td>Wreath worn around the head, made from the kawakawa plant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parekawakawa</td>
<td>Storehouse raised upon posts; elevated stage for the storage of food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patiti</td>
<td>Hatchet; wooden club; weapon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patu</td>
<td>Weapon; club.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pipi</td>
<td>Small shell fish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piupiu</td>
<td>A flax skirt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puare</td>
<td>An opening in the ground to receive the dead body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puru</td>
<td>Plug; a barrier which ensured respect from travellers to observe certain customs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rangi</td>
<td>Sky father; one of the main ancestors of the Maori.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rangatira</td>
<td>Chief; a respected elder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratana</td>
<td>A religion started by Ratana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ringatu</td>
<td>The upraised hand; a religion started by Te Kooti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rua kai</td>
<td>Food pit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raupo</td>
<td>Bullrush (<em>rypha angustifolia</em>).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roimata</td>
<td>Tears.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rau</td>
<td>Pit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruamoko</td>
<td>A small cave at the back of Pohaturoa Rock where the sacred rites of tattooing of both men and women were carried out.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taiaha</td>
<td>A weapon of hard wood about five feet long.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take</td>
<td>Reason; purpose; cause.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamatea kei ariki</td>
<td>The eighth or ninth night of the phase of the moon when stormy weather occurs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tane</td>
<td>Tane mahuta, God of fruitfulness and industry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangata</td>
<td>Man; people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangata karikari urupa</td>
<td>An archaeologist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangata whenua</td>
<td>People belonging to a particular place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taniwha</td>
<td>A fabulous monster supposed to reside in deep water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taonga</td>
<td>Property; anything highly prized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapa</td>
<td>A ritual calling out of a person using his name.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Tapu**
Under religious instruction; a condition affecting persons, places and things; special ceremonies required to remove tapu; sacred.

**Tara kura**
A fabulous monster which ravaged the Tarawera side of the Rangitaiki swamp before it was drained.

**Tarawera ash**
Erupted in 1886.

**Te Aupouri**
A Northland tribe.

**Te Manuka**
Title given to TeHurinui Apanui paramount leader of Te Whanau a Apanui. The name was assumed from the manuka tree made sacred by the incantations of Muriwai.

**Te Rarawa**
A Northland tribe.

**Te tini o Toi**
The many families of Toi.

**Te wai a Tane**
The living waters of Tane.

**Toheroa**
Large shell fish.

**Tohi**
Ceremonies performed over a new born infant in connection with the removal of the naval string.

**Tohi taua**
Dedication ceremony of the priest of the war party to make them invincible.

**Tohi Tu**
Dedication ceremony of the principal men to the service of the war God Tu.

**Tohunga**
Priest; skilled person; expert.

**Toi kai Rakau**
Referring to Toi's people who lived on forest products and fern roots.

**Toi te Huatahi**
Toi the only child.

**Totara**
A forest tree (*podocarpus*).

**Tu**
Tumatauenga the God of war.

**Tuahu**
A sacred place consisting of an enclosure containing a mound and marked by the erection of rods or poles which was used for the purpose of divination and other mystic purposes.

**Tuatara**
A reptile like a large lizard (*spenodon punctatus*).

**Tuatua**
A bivalve mollusc (*amphidesma subtriangulatum*).

**Tupuna**
Ancestor.

**Turangawaewae**
Inherited place where the people have the right to stand and speak.

**U.**

**Urunga**
Resting place.

**Urupa**
Cemetery; burying place for ancestral treasures; archaeological sites.

**Uruuru whenua**
Offerings places on certain mortuary memorials to preserve the title to the land.

**W.**

**Wahi tapu**
Sacred place.

**Wai ewe**
Waters of birth; stream at which ceremonies performed but stream now runs under the Whakatane township.

**Wai tapu**
Sacred stream.

**Whakapapa**
Genealogy.

**Whanau**
Birth; family group.
whao       Carving chisel.
wharaurangi A place marked by a flat stone where matters
             of war were discussed.
whare       House.
whare pakuwha A wedding house.
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