Mana Māori : the power of New-Zealand's first inhabitants

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MANA MĀORI

THE POWER OF NEW ZEALAND'S FIRST INHABITANTS

MUSEUM VOLKENKUNDE LEIDEN

MANA MĀORI

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THE POWER OF NEW-ZEALAND'S FIRST INHABITANTS

MUSEUM VOLKENKUNDE, LEIDEN
FANNY WONU VEYS

LEIDEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

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INTRODUCTION

Mana Māori, the Power of New Zealand's First Inhabitants **is a book made to accompany an exhibition of the same name held at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, the Netherlands, from 16 October 2010 until 1 May 2011. The book pays attention to the Māori people, New Zealand's indigenous population, as well as to the centuries-old relationship between the Netherlands and New Zealand. It is the first time that an exhibition of this importance is held in the Netherlands on the subject. Moreover the Dutch-language publication will be the first of its kind aimed at a Dutch public. The book, also gives useful background information to accompany both Māori canoes (*waka*) that the museum receives as a permanent loan from October 2010 onwards.**

New Zealand is about seven times the size of the Netherlands and almost as large as the British Isles. It forms the southernmost angle of the Polynesian triangle. Hawai'i is positioned at the northern point and Rapa Nui (Easter Island) lies in the east of the triangle. Within the Polynesian region, New Zealand is the only area which is not tropical but lies in the more temperate zones of the southern hemisphere. Two thousand two hundred kilometres of sea keep New Zealand apart from Australia. In relation to Western Europe, New Zealand is situated at the opposite side of the globe. In the seventeenth century all sorts of stories and speculations already existed about the 'antipodes' or 'opposite footers'. People living at the opposite side of the globe were believed to exhibit bizarre, anti-human qualities such as barking like dogs, wearing skins and walking upside down on the world. Also amongst Māori people speculation existed about white-skinned people living in the hills, flying men and guardian monsters.[1]

New Zealand or Aotearoa, the indigenous Māori name for the country, consists of two main islands, the North Island, the South Island and numerous smaller islands of which the larger ones include Stewart Island or Rakiura and the Chatham Islands. It is one of the most isolated countries in the world. It has a number of large cities and its capital Wellington is situated in the south of the North Island. Elizabeth II, Queen of the British Isles, is also New Zealand's head of state. Political power, however, is held by the democratically elected Parliament of New Zealand.

New Zealand has a varied mountainous landscape including lakes, hills, plains, different coastlines with sand dunes and sandy beaches, fjords, and spectacular rocks; there are also volcanoes with deep craters, hot water springs and mud pools. The country's many rivers are short and often difficult to negotiate due to their heavy currents and high flow. Because of this spectacular landscape, New Zealand is the

Auckland city with statue of Māori warrior on Quay Street. Molly Macalister's figure is intended to greet visitors and new settlers.
Herman de Boer, Museum Volkenkunde 2010

favourite setting for many blockbuster films of which the trilogy *Lord of the Rings* is perhaps the most famous. The New Zealand film maker, Peter Jackson, exploited the diversity of locations available in his home country to set different scenes. The rolling hills of Matamata became Hobbiton, while the volcanic region of Mount Ruapehu transformed into the fiery Mount Doom where Sauron forged The Ring, and Queenstown, New Zealand's adventure capital on the South Island, served as source of inspiration for the numerous scenes set in the 'Eregion Hills' and the 'Pillars of Argonath'. The New Zealand-made animation film *Avatar*, which won numerous Oscars, features many New Zealand landscapes and plants in Pandora and the language spoken by the Na'vi is partially based on *Te Reo Māori*.

The film *Whale Rider*, based on a book by well-known Māori writer Witi Ihimaera, also made use of the beautiful land- and seascapes one finds on the East Coast of New Zealand. It is in this environment that the emblematic indigenous kiwi bird lives. The flightless endangered bird is endemic to New Zealand and has really become the country's mascot, so much so that a New Zealander is colloquially called a kiwi. About the size of a chicken, kiwis lay the largest egg in relation to their body weight. Another animal which is closely associated with New Zealand is the sheep. It was

introduced by the Europeans in the late eighteenth century. There are now ten times more sheep than people in New Zealand which makes it now one of the largest wool-producing countries in the world.

Rugby, New Zealand's national sport, has made the *haka* known to the world. The *haka* is actually a combination of dancing, singing and poetry. It can serve multiple purposes, but on the rugby field it prepares the players for battle while challenging and scaring the opposing team. This was very well illustrated in the William Lawson's Scotch Whiskey commercial of 2000 where the New Zealand rugby team, in an effort to intimidate the opposing team, performs a fiery *haka*. In response, the Scots lift their kilts.

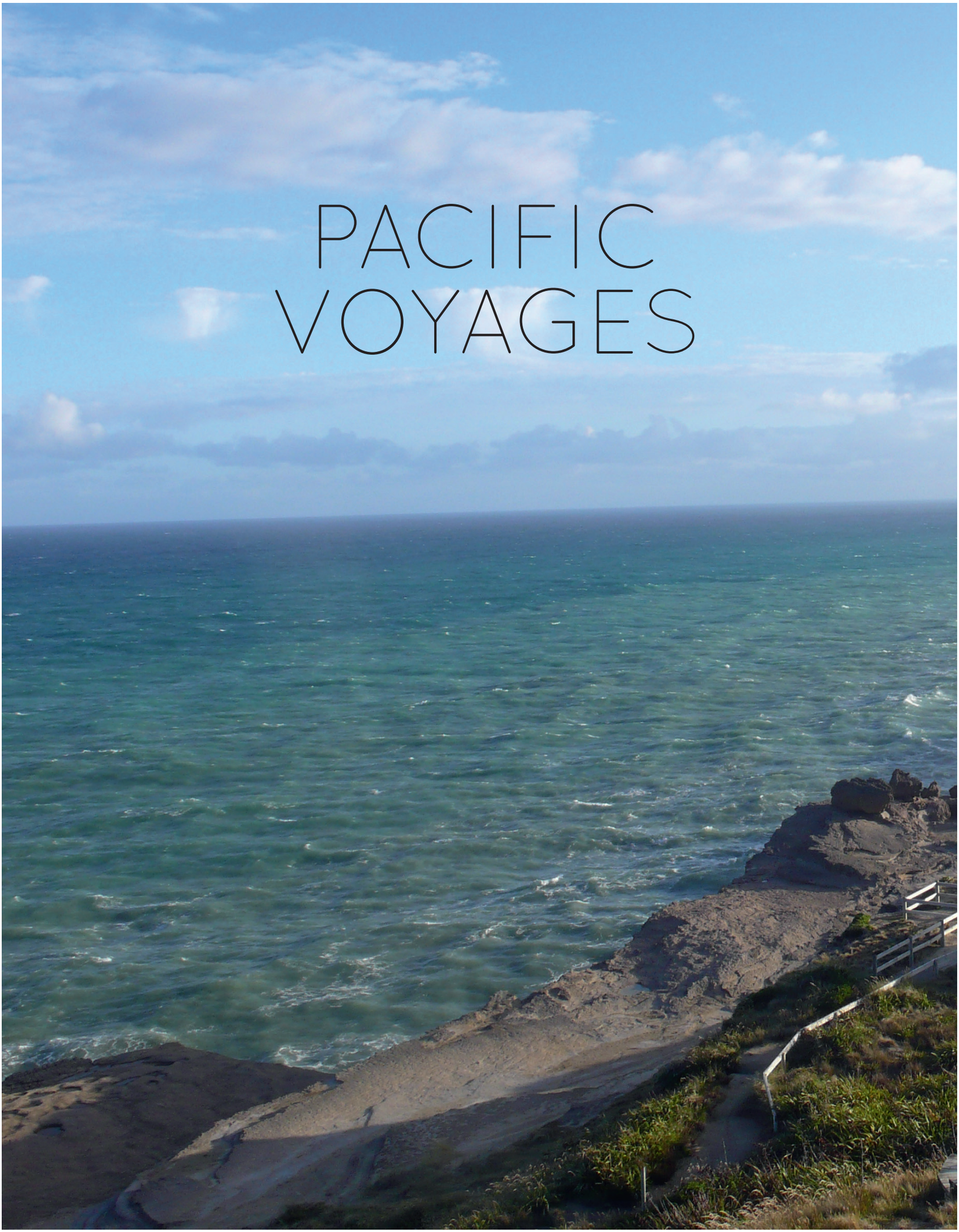
The hugely popular practice of tattooing was introduced into Europe from Polynesia. While tattooing was initially limited to the sailor population who returned from their travels with a souvenir tattoo, the practice is now widespread. Today many tattoos are inspired by Māori motifs. In New Zealand, the full facial tattoo for men and the female chin and lip tattoo is experiencing a revival.

This book consists of three chapters and starts with the story of different encounters. Attention is paid to Abel Tasman and his encounter with the Māori. Where did the Māori come from and when and how did they arrive in New Zealand? Answers to these questions will be sought in the first chapter, followed by a discussion of how different Europeans, including explorers, merchants and missionaries, tried to make contact with the indigenous people in New Zealand. This first part will be concluded with the story of the encounters with the Dutch.

The second chapter looks at the Māori people in relation to the land. What is the importance of the land? How do people express their belonging to the land? Issues of social organisation and key concepts to Māori culture will be explained. In relation to the land, the meeting grounds and the meeting house occupy a central position. It is also in this context that the Treaty of Waitangi and its present-day implications and significance will be approached.

The final and third chapter pays attention to Māori treasures or *taonga*, which include items of material culture and intangible heritage, like carvings, canoes, storehouses, tools, items of personal adornment, weapons, treasure boxes, tattooing, treasures of the sea, and fibre arts made by men and/or women. Some aspects of the more intangible heritage will be touched upon, such as the *haka* and *Te Reo Māori*, the Māori language, on which the performing arts of oratory and song rely.

This book gathers history and present-day data about Māori arts and culture for a wide audience. At the end there is a glossary meant to facilitate the reader's understanding of Māori terminology.


PACIFIC
VOYAGES

THE DUTCH ‘DISCOVERY’ OF NEW ZEALAND

A view of Murderers’ Bay (Golden Bay) with Tasman’s ships and Māori canoes. Photolythograph from a drawing made by Isaac Gilsemans.

Reference No. PUBL-0086-021 Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

These people were of ordinary height (as far as we could observe) but they had rough voices and strong bones, their colour being between brown and yellow; they had black hair right upon the tops of their heads, tied fast in the manner and the way of the Japanese at the back of their heads, but somewhat longer and thicker; surmounted by a large, thick white feather. Their boats consisted of two long narrow prows side by side, over which a number of planks or other seats were placed in such a way that those above can look through the water underneath; their paddles are upwards of a fathom in length, narrow and pointed at the end; with these vessels they could make considerable speed. Their people’s clothing consisted of (so it seemed), mats for some, cotton stuffs for others; almost all of them were naked.[2]

Dramatic encounters

On the bright summer's day of 13 December 1642, two Dutch ships, named the *Heemskerck* and the *Zeehaen*, reached the northern tip of the South Island of New Zealand.[3] The expedition was led by a ship's council with Abel Tasman as skipper-commander. Other officials for the *Heemskerck* included the skipper T'Jercxzoon, the pilot-major Frans Visscher, and the subcargo Abraham Coomans; and for the *Zeehaen* the skipper Gerrit Janszoon, and the merchant and draughtsman Isaack Gilsemans. The arrival of the ships probably went unnoticed at first.[4] When, however, the ships sought anchorage at Taitapu (Golden Bay) on 18 December, the sailors were approached by canoes while fires were being lit on the shore. Based on the journals, the Māori most probably performed a *haka*, a war chant and blew a *pūtātara*, a shell trumpet. The Dutch replied with trumpet music and by getting muskets, pikes and cutlasses ready for use.[5] The next morning, a double canoe carrying thirteen men came out to look at the ships. The Dutch showed them white linen and knives in order to convince them to come closer. Using a vocabulary supplied by the *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (Dutch East India Company, VOC), they also tried to understand what the warriors were saying. The Māori warriors were joined by seven more canoes that paddled around the ships. When the *Zeehaen*'s boat rowed across to the *Heemskerck* so that the officers could discuss the situation in a joint meeting with Tasman, the crews of the canoes shouted and waved their paddles. The Dutch completely misinterpreted the happenings as a quest for friendship. When the *Zeehaen*'s boat returned to the ship, a canoe paddled towards it at high speed and rammed it. In the collision, one warrior killed the quartermaster, while others attacked its crew with their wooden clubs and paddles, killing three more sailors and mortally wounding another. The warriors took one dead body into their canoe, threw another overboard, set the cockboat adrift, and swiftly paddled back to shore. Two other canoes managed to avoid the musket and cannon shots being fired from the *Heemskerck*. The Dutch set sail while Māori men in twenty-two canoes gathered on the shore, watching them. Eleven of these paddled towards the Dutch vessels. A Māori man holding a small white 'flag', probably as a sign of peace, was standing in the largest canoe. The man was hit after he was fired at by sailors from both the *Heemskerck* as from the *Zeehaen*. Gilsemans, the expedition's artist, recorded this clash between the ships and a fleet of Māori canoes in the official journal of the voyage. After this brief but bloody encounter, Tasman sailed north to the Tongan archipelago.[6]

The Dutch East India Company

As a thirty-year old sailor, Abel Tasman (1603-1659), born in Lutjegast, a small village in the province of Groningen, signed up with the *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (Dutch East India Company, VOC) in 1633. After having participated in voyages to Formosa, Japan and Sumatra, Tasman became an experienced commander and learned to manage ill-equipped ships for long periods at sea. The VOC, founded in 1602, had built up a network of trading posts from Bengal to Batavia. The Dutch protected the private trading interest of the Company by securing the exertion of sole rights to grant licenses in the region, thus creating a kind of early corporate monopoly. The Company's exclusive control extended throughout the Pacific with the exception of the Spanish Philippines. No Dutchman was authorised to trade privately within that region. The company moreover contributed greatly to the development of cartography in the Netherlands, so much so that Dutch cartographers in the seventeenth century were regarded as the best in Europe. The ship's journal and any new charts drafted at sea had to be handed in with the other documents at the end of each VOC voyage. Despite the technical shortcomings of the methods used to fix longitude and latitude, the Dutch progressed significantly in charting the Pacific Ocean.[7]

Looking for the 'Southland'

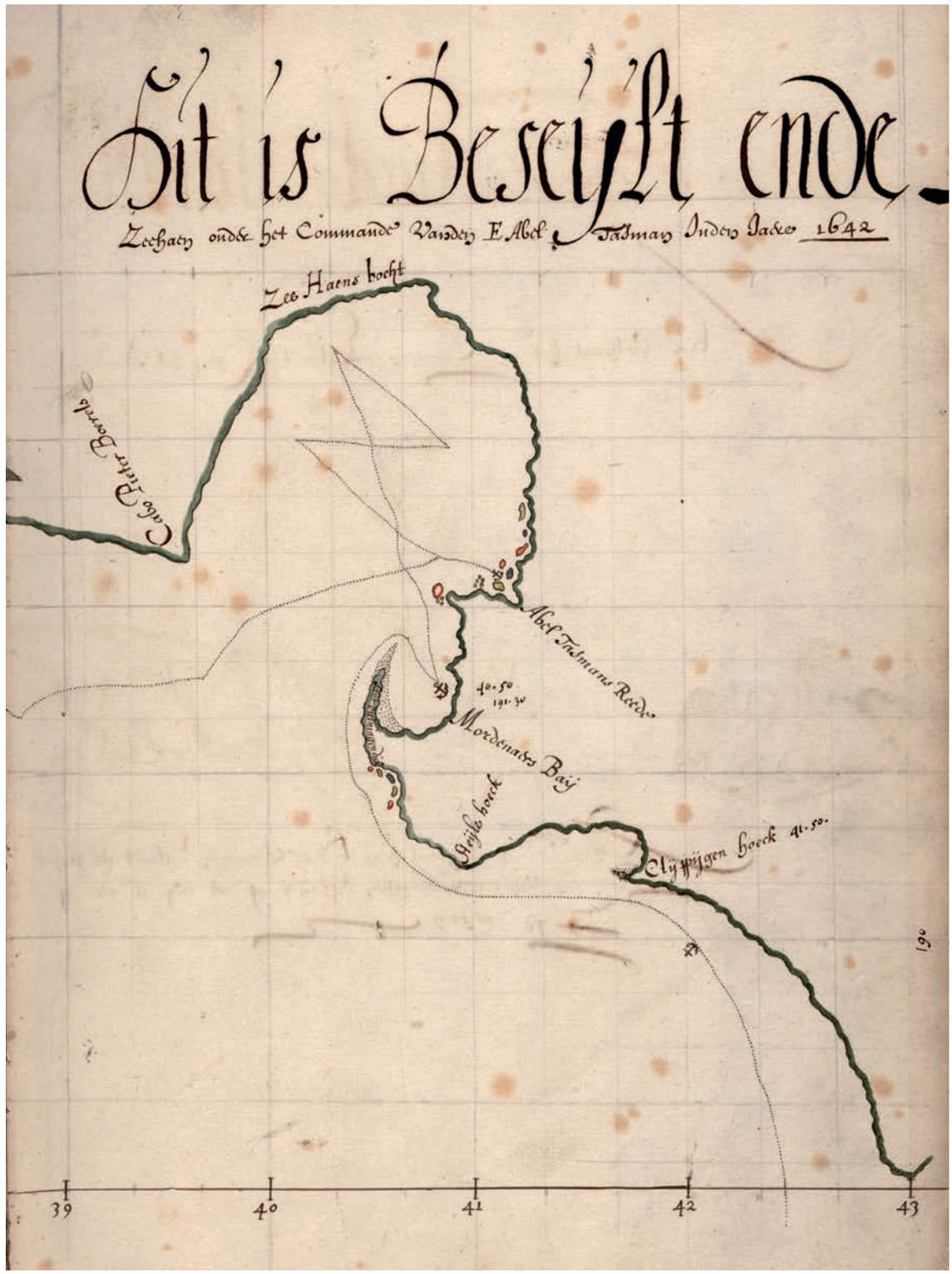
In 1642, Tasman was sent out by the VOC council in Batavia, present-day Jakarta, to discover the 'Unknown Southland' or *Terra Australis Incognita*, which had featured on European world maps for centuries as a necessary counterpoise to the great landmasses of the north. *Terra Australis Incognita* had been dreamed of for centuries and was the fabled continent of gold and spices, princes and pearls.[8] Initially, Tasman thought the New Zealand coastline he had discovered was part of the same great South-Land, that the Dutch navigator Le Maire had sighted earlier in 1616 off the east coast of Tierra del Fuego. Following in Le Maire's footsteps, Tasman also named it 'Staete Landt'. The name was indicated on a map based on a draft by Visscher, which showed that Taitapu was called 'Moordenaers Baij' (Murderers' Bay). In 1643, it was established that the land Le Maire had discovered was just a small island off the coast of Tierra del Fuego.

Portrait of Abel Tasman, his second wife Janetje Tjaers and Claesgen, his daughter by his first marriage to Claesjie Heyndricks. Attributed to Jacob Gerritsz Cuyp (1594–1651/52).
nla.pic-an2282370 National Library of Australia

Names for the 'new' land

He ao, he ao tea, he ao tea roa!
A cloud, a white cloud, a long white cloud![9]

As the whole South-Land theory began to fall apart, Tasman's coastland was renamed after the Dutch province Zeeland. Perhaps Willem Janszoon Blaeu, an Amsterdam mapmaker was responsible for this relabelling as he showed New Zealand for the first time as a landmass not connected to Australia and bearing the name 'Zeelandia Nova'.[10] The generally accepted name for New Zealand is Aotearoa which is increasingly used by both Māori and non-Māori. However, before the arrival of the Europeans there was no single name for New Zealand. The North Island was called 'Aotearoa' (long white cloud) or 'Te ika a Maui' (the fish of Maui) referring to Maui, the trickster hero. Hidden in a canoe, he went out fishing with his brothers and forced



Map of Murderer's Bay drawn in Tasman's journal.

Nationaal Archief Den Haag, Coll. Aanwinsten 1e Afd., 1.11.01.01, inv. Nr. 121

them to stop in the middle of the ocean. His fish hook, made from the jawbone of his grandfather, was decorated with mother-of-pearl and tufts of dog's hair. As his brothers would not give him any bait to fish, he punched himself on the nose and smeared the blood on the hook. Immediately, something bit and he chanted the song that makes heavy weights become light. The canoe was lifted up by the catch, which turned out to be a piece of land resembling a huge shining fish. While Maui was making offerings to appease the angry sea god, his greedy brothers could not wait to get a piece of the new land. They started hitting and slashing it with their weapons so that its smooth surface became ruffled into mountains, cliffs and gorges. The South Island was referred to as 'Te wai pounamu' (the waters of nephrite/jade). It is only in the twentieth century that the name Aotearoa started being applied to the whole of New Zealand.[11]

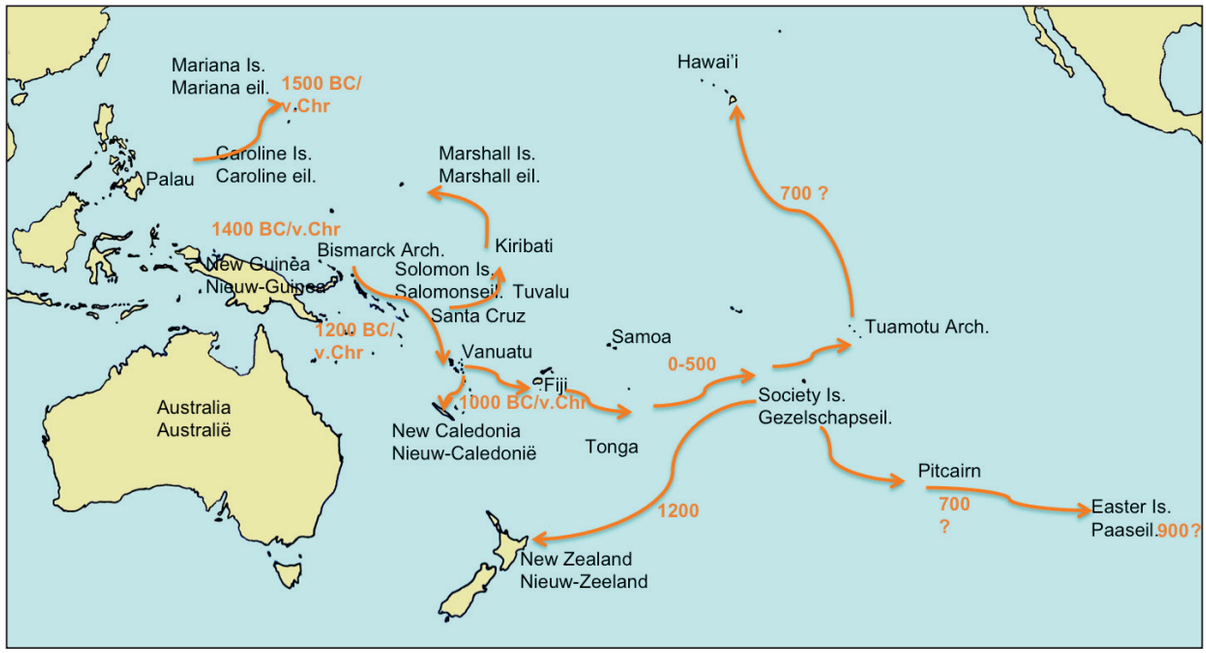
THE POLYNESIAN DISCOVERY OF NEW ZEALAND

The world of our ancestors was a large sea full of places to explore, to make their homes in, to breed generations of seafarers like themselves. People raised in this environment were at home in the sea. They played in it as soon as they could walk steadily, they worked in it, they fought on it. They developed great skills for navigating their waters, and the spirit to traverse even the few large gaps that separated their island groups. Theirs was a large world in which peoples and cultures moved and mingled unhindered by boundaries of the kind erected much later by imperial powers. From one island to another they sailed to trade and to marry, thereby expanding social networks for greater flow of wealth. They travelled to visit relatives in a wide variety of natural and cultural surroundings, to quench their thirst for adventure, and even to fight and dominate.[12]

In claiming to have discovered New Zealand, the Dutch overreached themselves, for the land had been settled since about 1200 and constitutes as such the last land on earth to be permanently populated by humans. For a long time historians doubted whether the nautical skills of the Polynesians were developed enough to reach such far-flung places as New Zealand, Hawai'i or Rapa Nui (Easter Island). The idea that Polynesian fishermen and coastal voyagers discovered islands by accident was popular well into the twentieth century.[13] Present-day theories based on archaeological, historical, anthropological and linguistic research give a very different picture.

Ancestral homeland of the Polynesians

Some 10,000 years ago, humans had occupied virtually all habitable land on the planet. With the exception of Australia and Papua New Guinea, all of the places had been reached by walking. The relatively small Pacific islands, however, were very difficult to get to, extremely remote and had relatively poor flora and fauna, incapable of sustaining human populations in the long term. People settling on the islands therefore needed to possess the techniques of long-range ocean voyaging, and the know-how to transport and keep alive the food plants and domesticated animals necessary for survival.[14] Archaeologists argue that remote Oceania began to be colonised after 1500 BC by the so-called Lapita people, so named after their unique style of pottery discovered at Lapita on the Foué Peninsula in New Caledonia. The Lapita people were seafarers who dared to venture beyond the coastal waters and lived in an area ranging from the Bismarck Archipelago to Samoa and Tonga. It is in the most eastern areas of the Lapita area that Polynesian culture gradually developed over the course of the first millennium BC. Tonga, Samoa and their close neighbour Futuna thus form the original Polynesian homeland.[15]



Map of exploration of the South Pacific.

After Irwin 2006:67

Intentional exploration of the Pacific

Skilled navigators gradually explored islands to the east using their knowledge of the stars and winds. The order of settlement was determined by safety and not by order of accessibility. Polynesians going into the unknown sailed upwind in order to ensure the most secure return. This explains why New Zealand, which lies much closer to the Lapita homeland than most of the rest of East Polynesia, was settled last. The same holds for the archipelago of Hawai'i which is closer to West Polynesia than tiny Rapa Nui, far upwind in the east. Contemporary scholars conclude that Polynesians explored as far as they could go to the east, but did not venture much into the west. The reason surmised for this is that it was much easier and the chance of survival greater when one could return from the east instead of from the west. Factors such as sea level rises and drops might have influenced the settlement of the islands. Around 5,000 to 3,000 years ago, sea levels which were a metre or more higher than at present started to decline. This meant that lower-lying atolls now became visible and available for settlement. Another theory suggests that the El Niño phenomenon changed prevailing winds in such a way that during certain periods Polynesian navigators did not have an easterly upwind.[16]

Wooden paddle or *hoe*.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 253-8, 183 cm. Purchased: W.D. Cutter via Hjalmar Stolpe, 1880

The American connection

Archaeological evidence suggests that Polynesians explored as far as possible to the east, thus reaching the American continent. The introduction of the American sweet potato and bottle gourd in Polynesia as long as a thousand years ago provides clear evidence of contact and westward transportation. Travelling in the other direction, the coconut with its Asian-Melanesian origin was established on the west coast of Panama and on Cocos Island before the arrival of Europeans. More and more evidence points to Polynesians being responsible for these plant introductions rather than Americans having ventured into the Pacific.[17]

Finding New Zealand

Ko te pae tawhiti whāia kia tata
Ko te pae tata whakamāua kia tīna

Seek the distant horizons
And those that you attain, treasure them[18]

New Zealand was the last part of Polynesia to be settled by humans. The homeland of the Māori, often called Hawaiki, is probably situated in the Cook Islands, Society Islands and Austral Islands.[19] Like the rest of East Polynesia, New Zealand was originally settled by double-hulled canoes. It is probable that migrating birds were followed: the long-tailed cuckoo (*Eudynamys taitensis*) leaves tropical Polynesia to arrive in New Zealand in September; the shearwater (*Puffinus griseus)* leaves tropical Polynesia in October and the bar-tailed godwit (*Limosa lapponica baueri*) tells of lands to the south-west. People could therefore infer that there was land in a particular direction. They only did not know how far away that land lay. Several reasons can plausibly explain why Polynesians ventured out into the wide sea to finally land in New Zealand; those include trade, the need for prized resources and the search for empty land to relieve overpopulation. Perhaps the hunger for personal power played a role: some chiefs belonging to junior kinship lines might have wanted to become more important and therefore establish themselves as pre-eminent on a new island. Other possibilities include curiosity, adventure, prestige, wanderlust, exile and shame because of a lower position in society, an insult or a humiliation.[20]

Dating the first settlement

The date of the first settlement in New Zealand has been the subject of much debate. Using diverse scientific methods, the first settlement of New Zealand is dated at around 1200 AD. Using genealogical dating by counting generations gives, depending on the story, several dates: 950 AD for Kupe, 1150 for Toi and 1350 for the Great Fleet. In oral history, Kupe is the first person to have visited Aotearoa, naming many spots on his way. He went back to his homeland Hawaiki and gave instructions on how to find the newly discovered land.[21] Toi, whose name means 'original inhabitant' is said to have been the first person living in Aotearoa. He had no knowledge of fire nor of the sweet potato.[22]

The Great Fleet Theory refers to the seven legendary canoes – *Aotea*, *Kurahaupo*, *Matatua*, *Tainui*, *Tokomaru*, *Te Arawa*, and *Takitimu* – aboard which the Māori came to New Zealand.[23] The oldest radiocarbon-dated archaeological sites give the thirteenth

Contemporary double hulled canoe at Waitangi Day Celebration, 6 February 2010.

F.W. Veys, Museum Volkenkunde 2010

century. The environmental impact people might have had by deliberately clearing pieces of land is also dated at around the thirteenth century. Research on the dating of the bones of the Polynesian rat or *kiore*, which was introduced by humans as the animal is unable to swim long distances and cannot survive on a flotsam, is still being carried out. Some scholars suggest that the Polynesians who first discovered New Zealand made voyages back to tropical East Polynesia and gave people there instructions on how to find New Zealand.[24] In April 2010, in an attempt to revive traditional sailing skills, four double-hulled canoes set off from Auckland, aiming to sail to central Polynesia. The sailors, who came from different islands across the Pacific, thus recreated the reverse journey from the traditional homeland of the Māori.

DNA and the settlement of Polynesia

Genetic evidence agrees with the pattern of migration proposed by archaeology: Polynesia was settled from west to east. Studies of mitochondrial DNA, which is only maternally inherited, show that the further east you go, the more genetically similar Polynesians are. Māori seem the least genetically diverse of all. DNA researchers conclude that settlement happened through 'island hopping' where people first went to one island and then proceeded from there to another in a general west to east direction. In so doing, the genetic pool available became smaller and thus less diverse. DNA evidence therefore concurs with other evidence that New Zealand was the last part of the Pacific to be settled.[25]

Waterfall on the South Island.
Herman de Boer, Volkenkunde 2010

Abundant natural resources

The first settlers who were used to a warm and humid climate and had been living on relatively small islands discovered a vast cool archipelago. They brought with them a suite of mainly tropical plants such as taro, yam, *kūmara* (sweet potato), gourd, paper mulberry and the Pacific cabbage tree. Coconut, breadfruit and banana simply could not survive in New Zealand's temperate clime. The Māori introduced the dog and the rat. Perhaps they also brought pigs and fowl, but those did not survive. New Zealand was largely covered in forests, and there was a rich fauna that included amazing birds. There were eleven species of giant flightless birds or moa – ranging from 20 to 250 kilograms in weight – and other now extinct birds included the New Zealand swan (*Cygnus atratus sumnerensis)*, the North Island goose (*Cnemiornis gracilis*), the South Island goose (*Cnemiornis calcitrans*) and the world's largest eagle (Haast's eagle, (*Harpagornis moorei*), the moa's only natural predator. Sea mammals, particularly seals, were abundant on the coast, as were shellfish. The waters were teeming with fish. Although the first settlers were agriculturalists, this was a land at first well suited for hunting, fishing and foraging.[26]

Contemporary double hulled canoe and *waka* at Waitangi Day Celebration, 6 February 2010.
F.W. Veys, Museum Volkenkunde 2010

Canoes

The history and development of ocean-faring canoes is difficult to trace as no sunken voyaging canoes have been recovered from the seabed, because if broken, they remain afloat and are slowly consumed by teredo worms, a type of saltwater clam with very small shells. On land, only fragments of old sailing canoes have been preserved in caves and swamps. When the European explorers began sailing across the Pacific in the 1500s, written descriptions as well as sketches, paintings, engravings, models and later also photographs became available.[27] It is known that dugout canoes carved out of a log can make good river or lake crafts, but are not fit for ocean travel. For more stability an outrigger float was added to the canoe, creating an outrigger canoe. The hull was then extended by adding vertical planks, so as to allow more height above the water and prevent it from being swamped by every passing swell. The same was necessary for double-hulled canoes that were suited for long sea-exploring voyages, having, moreover, the extra advantage of being able to transport a sizeable number of

migrants to distant islands. It is probable that New Zealand was reached with double-hulled canoes that were equipped with a triangular sail.[28] In contact-era Aotearoa, Māori adapted their canoes as their navigation and voyaging needs changed, chiefly under environmental pressures. The temperate lands of New Zealand have large lakes and rivers, cliff-bound coasts and unpredictable weather, which presented new challenges for canoe travellers. The huge trees could be used to build broad, mono-hulls without outriggers such as the impressive *waka taua* (war canoe). The development of particular social, political and religious institutions also influenced the canoe's needs. Indeed, a war canoe, a canoe for priests or chiefs, or a trading canoe had to be different from a colonising voyaging canoe.[29]

Canoe bailer of which the carved handle has broken off.
Museum Volkenkunde RMV 253-32, 12.5 x 25 x 45.5 cm.
Purchased: W.D. Cutter via Hjalmar Stolpe, 1880

Way-finding

Way-finding is the word that modern islanders use to describe their skills and the skills of their ancestors in piloting their voyaging canoes around the Pacific.[30] The way-finding system was based on observations of the stars, the sun and the moon. No instruments were used for these observations. The orientation of the sails was predicated by changing winds and sea currents. Cloud patterns told the Polynesian navigators whether they were approaching a high or low island or an atoll. Trade wind clouds pile up above an island even when it is still below the horizon. Shallow

atoll lagoons have green reflections projected onto the undersides of clouds. The flight of land-nesting seabirds informed about the distance and direction of yet to be discovered land. Characteristic disruptions in the ocean swells or streaks of phosphorescence in the sea pointed to an island in the vicinity of the navigators. This knowledge was transmitted from generation to generation,[31] as was witnessed by Captain Cook, when the high priest Tupaia from Ra'iatea (Society Islands) gave him the name and location of seventy-four islands, which were marked on a map. Tupaia, however, knew of more than a hundred islands that surrounded Tahiti and this over a radius that is equivalent to the size of Australia.[32]

ENCOUNTERS

Western navigation

The Dutch found little profit in New Zealand and soon British, French and Spanish expeditions began exploring the country. The voyages happened as a result of competition between those European nations. The results of these voyages usually remained confidential because they were part of the secrets of the State: locations were often not communicated and maps not published.[33] Moreover, calculations of longitude and latitude were so imprecise that islands frequently remained unlocated after their discovery. This was the case of the Marquesas Islands, encountered accidentally by the Spanish explorer Alvaro de Mendaña (1542?-1595) in 1595, to be revisited almost two centuries later in 1774 by James Cook.[34] In fact, measuring remained a complex affair. Very good sailors could calculate latitude, however longitude was more difficult to determine: one had to estimate the distance of the ship from its starting point, which could only be worked out when the travelling time was known. Observing the stars, together with measuring charts, complex astronomical maps and the use of the astrolabe was one way of doing this. Another way was the use of marine clocks which gave the precise time elapsed since the point of departure and which were robust enough to withstand the movements of the ship, the humidity aboard and sudden changes in temperature.

Many lost their lives during exploration voyages not only because of technical difficulties, but also due to health problems. Journeys lasting longer then fifty days, without the ready availability of fresh fruit and vegetables led to a lack of vitamin C causing scurvy: veins became porous and body tissue weakened with wounds festering.[35]

Portrait of Captain James Cook by Nathaniel Dance Holland (1734-1811).
Reference No. A-217-010 Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

Enlightenment and scientific voyages

By the second half of the eighteenth century, Enlightenment in Europe was flourishing. It criticised all things irrational and wanted to develop new ways of knowing. Scientists systematically charted continents, islands and coastlines using instruments and mathematical calculation. For the first time, explorers were joined by scientists who would study local languages, and produce unprecedented records of life in the Pacific through their drawings, descriptions and collections of plants, animals and insects. These scientific voyages reinforced the European Enlightenment thirst for the acquisition of quantifiable data on newly encountered fauna and flora.[36]

Tupaia's drawing of Māori bartering crayfish, 1769.

©British Library, London, Add. MS 15508, f. 11

Captain James Cook (1728-1779)

James Cook's journeys epitomise European imperialist ambitions and the eighteenth-century desire for exploration. Cook, a British Royal Navy lieutenant, had been sent out to record the transit of the planet Venus across the face of the sun in July 1769. The measurements obtained during this voyage would help complete tables and charts used to determine longitude measurements.[37] In the course of his three voyages (1768-1771; 1772-1775; 1776-1779), Cook visited New Zealand four times and spent 328 days off or on its coast. During his first voyage aboard the *Endeavour*, Cook and his crew managed to communicate with the Māori thanks to the linguistic skills of the Tahitian high-priest Tupaia, who had boarded the *Endeavour* at Raʻiatea. He had learned sufficient English to talk to the ship's master and his crew, who in turn had some knowledge of Tahitian. Tupaia relied on Tahitian, which was at that time comprehensible to Māori. This, in addition to his knowledge of English, allowed for a transfer of information on both sides of the divide. Some of the information Tupaia obtained during discussions was reported back to Cook and Banks, specifically data about local beliefs. Scholars think it plausible, however, that Tupaia traced genealogical connections with the local Māori, talked about the Tahitian god ʻOro and the noble class, the *arioi*, and gave news about the homeland Hawaiki.[38] Cook and his men assembled a great corpus of knowledge as they documented the language and material culture of the Māori in the eighteenth century.

Other eighteenth-century European explorers

Cook's reports on the natural resources New Zealand had to offer would lead in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to a quickening of interest by the British in exploiting the country's timber, whales, seals and flax.[39] Cook's first expedition was closely followed by that of the French explorer Jean de Surville (1717-1770) who sighted Tokerau from 17 to 31 December 1769 with his ship the *St Jean Baptiste*, only two months after Cook's men had passed. His voyage was a commercial venture born from the remnants of the defunct *Compagnie des Indes*. The crew had been unable to communicate with the local Māori and gave very negative descriptions of them, probably shaped by their prejudices.[40] Marc-Joseph Marion du Fresne[41] (1724-1772) was the next European navigator to visit New Zealand in April 1772, when he sailed two vessels, the *Marquis de Castries* and the *Mascarin* around the Northland coast. Marion du Fresne and two of his crew members were killed as they had broken *tapu* (sacred restrictions) by fishing in Manawaora Bay.[42] Most scientific and exploratory visits to New Zealand in the eighteenth century were brief and involved very little contact with the local population.[43] The British George Vancouver (1757-1798), who

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had actually travelled with Cook as a junior officer, visited Dusky Sound, situated on the southwest corner of the South Island, with two ships in 1791 en route to the northwest coast of America.[44] The Spaniard Alessandro Malaspina (1754-1810) sailed to Doubtful Sound in February 1793, followed by the Frenchman Antoine Raymond Joseph Bruni d'Entrecasteaux (1739-1793) a month later. The latter went to Northland (North Island) in search of the missing La Pérouse, whose last letter that reached France was dated February 1788. Finding out what had happened to La Pérouse became a matter of national pride: France wanted to prove to England that their expedition prepared by the Academy was at least as grand as Cook's.[45] After all, La Pérouse's expedition had the largest scientific team ever aboard, bringing together the Royal Academy of Sciences, the Royal Society of Medicine and the *Jardin du Roi*, the royal botanists.[46]

Nineteenth-century explorers

Scientific voyages continued well into the nineteenth century with several nation states participating, including the British with Robert Fitzroy (1853), James Clark Ross (1840-1842) and John Lort Stokes (1848-1851); the French with Louis Isidore Duperrey (1824), Jules-Sébastien-César Dumont d'Urville (1827 and 1840), Cyrille Pierre Théodore Laplace (1831) and Abel Aubert Dupetit-Thouars (1838). Jean-Baptiste Thomas Médée Cécille (1838), Charles-François Lavaud (1840-1843) and Auguste Bérard (1843-1846) were French explorers who carried out scientific research as well as commercial business. The Russian Fabian Gottlieb Benjamin von Bellingshausen (1820), the American Charles Wilkes (1840) and the Austrian Bernhard von Wüllerstorf-Urbair in the *Novara* (1858-1859) were also important explorers.[47]

Commercial voyages

In the late eighteenth century, contact between Europe and New Zealand was established.[48] It was, however, intensified through commercial voyages, which were organised to collect New Zealand commodities including timber, flax, seal and whale products for sale in the markets of Europe, America, India or China. In return, European goods and skills were given to local suppliers of merchandise and labour. The first Europeans to live in New Zealand were actually seamen who jumped from vessels that were sailing out of Sydney. They were trying to escape from tyrannical captains, leaky ships, crime or misfortune.[49] From the early 1790s onwards the idea of establishing a British colony was in the air. In the economic history of European colonialism, gold and silver were the most desired goods. However, secondly came all materials required in warfare: saltpetre for gunpowder, timber to build the hulls and flax to make rigging for naval vessels as well as sails and fabric for uniforms.[50] Seals and whales also attracted trading vessels. In the case of New Zealand, flax, timber, seals and whales were the prime resources available.

Imitation *hei tiki*, made in Idar Oberstein (Germany) from nephrite imported from New Zealand.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 1640-1, 9 cm. Purchased: Jacob Wild XIII, 1908

Richly decorated paddle inlaid with pearl shell (*pāua*). It was most probably made to trade with Europeans.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 2399-21, 141.5 cm.

Donated: Miss R. Käyser, 1939

Contemporary flax cloak called *Tukakahumai*. The artist Kohai Grace made the cloak entirely from flax fibre using traditional ancient weaving techniques.

Norm Heke 2010, 115 x 85 cm

Flax

The naval officer Philip Gidley King, was the first to point to flax as one of New Zealand's potential resources. Trials to work with the material started in 1788, as *Pākeha* (Europeans) hoped to have found a lucrative competitor for European linen flax. During the 1820s many Māori communities worked at separating the fibre for what was at that time New Zealand's main export. However, New Zealand flax was mainly made into ropes and attempts to obtain mechanically produced fibre of a quality reached by Māori crafts people using traditional methods failed, so that other cost-effective uses for the flax also proved to be in vain.[51]

Timber

The Western harvesting of New Zealand timber resources started in 1794 to supply the needs of the British navy which was engaged in wars with France and America. English oak groves could no longer meet the demands of the British naval dockyards. While during the American War of Independence Baltic pine was used, more timber was urgently needed when war broke out with France in 1793. Although the forests of New Zealand were remote, they did offer a possible option for wood supplies. The densely forested Hauraki Gulf (Coromandel Peninsula) area, situated on the northeast coast of the North Island, thus became one of the first more densely populated regions in New Zealand to experience sustained contact with Europeans.[52]

Seals

Europeans soon saw the potential in exploiting seals: New Zealand fur seals (*Arctocephalus forsteri*) had pelts as soft as beaver hides which sold for good prices on the European and Chinese markets. The prospect of high profits lured sealing ships from the late eighteenth century to Dusky Sound (Tamatea) in the deep South. Moreover, oil extracted from seal blubber could be used as lubricating oil in machinery that was increasingly needed during the Industrial Revolution. Oil was also used to light cities in Europe and America. After 1804, sealers' attention shifted from Tamatea to the Foveaux Strait (Te Moana-ki-Rakiura) as well as to the islands still further south.[53]

Kauri tree in rich forestland, Bay of Islands.
Museum Volkenkunde 2010

Violin-shaped short-handled weapon or *kotiate*, made of whale bone. Used by Māori chiefs in close combat and as an item of prestige.

Collection: Caroline & George Jollès, 31 x 12.5 x 2 cm

Whales

Despite the fact that unlike sealing, whaling required specialist equipment and skills, mariners were attracted to New Zealand because of its whales. British and American interests dominated this trade from the start. There were two types of whaling: deep-sea whaling which involved chasing sperm whales (*Physeter macrocephalus)* and shore whaling for the southern right whales (*Eubalaena australis*).[54] Different parts of the whale were used and contributed to aid the Industrial Revolution. Whale oil, especially spermaceti, a wax present in the head cavities of the sperm whale, provided lubricant for machines, but also a transparent odourless lighting and cooking oil. It was, moreover, a valued ingredient in candles, soaps, processed wool and tanned leather. Ambergris, found in the guts of sperm whales, became a fixative in perfumes as well as a prized aphrodisiac. Baleen or whale bone – flexible strips that hang in the mouths of southern right whales to filter their food from large mouthfuls of seawater – was used in corsets, umbrellas and upholstery. Whaling in New Zealand waters started from 1798 and was a cosmopolitan industry with ships crewed by men from an exotic mixture of countries. Most headed to the Bay of Islands.[55] Māori played a prominent part in the commercial whaling industry until its cessation in 1964.

Short-handled weapon or *patu* made from the jawbone of the whale. The weapon was used both in combat and as an item of prestige.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 1510-5, 36.5 x 8.5 cm. Purchased: L.C.J.C.A. Dilman, 1906

Sperm whale hunt, hand-coloured steel engraving by J. Stewart, printed by W.H. Lizars in Edinburgh in 1837.

Reference No. PUBL-0027-10 Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

Christianity's arrival

The first mission: Church Missionary Society

John Wesley (1703-1791) started the evangelical revival in England in the 1740s. Evangelical Protestants were initially working within the Church of England but branched off in 1795 into Methodism or Wesleyanism and 'Low Church' Anglicanism. The difference between 'Low' and 'High Church' was that the latter emphasised its Catholic heritage while the former focussed on mission work. For the evangelicals simplicity of worship, a personal relationship with God and the omnipresent threat of sin were essential. Moreover, they wanted to convert the heathen to both capitalism and Christianity. The inhabitants of the newly discovered territories in the Pacific were seen as ideal subjects for conversion.[56]

Samuel Marsden (1765-1838), the principal Anglican chaplain at the penal settlement in New South Wales, Australia, had long considered a mission to New Zealand. Having met with Māori visiting Sydney, he was impressed with their intellectual capacity.[57] Moreover, he believed that Māori would be more open to 'salvation' as they had grasped the European ideals of trade. Christian evangelising in New Zealand effectively began in 1814 with Marsden launching the Christian mission at Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands on behalf of the Church of England's Church Missionary Society (CMS). On Christmas Day of 1814, Marsden gave the first Christian service on New Zealand land. On the same day, but several decades earlier in 1769, De Surville's Do-

Portrait of Reverend Samuel Marsden by Joseph Backler (1815-1897).

Reference No. G-620 Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

minican chaplain had conducted the first Christian service in New Zealand waters. The three lay workers – Thomas Kendall, schoolmaster, justice of the peace and leader of the station; William Hall, carpenter; John King, a cobbler and rope-maker – and their families were unable to work together harmoniously. In 1819, Reverend John Gare Butler (1781-1841) arrived in the Bay of Islands as the mission's first resident clergyman and superintendent. He also opened a second station at Kerikeri where lay workers James and Charlotte Kemp were set to work. However, by 1822, the mission had still not achieved one single conversion. Things started to change in 1823 with the Reverend Henry Williams (1792-1867), who ensured that all new missionaries became proficient in the Māori language as quickly as possible in order for their congregations to understand their sermons. In addition he prohibited missionary involvement in the musket trade and successfully reduced the mission's dependence on the Māori for supplies by acquiring a schooner and by starting to farm. His policies resulted in more than 3,000 Christian Māori by 1842. Stations were opened at Kaitaia, Waimā, Maraetai, Kauaeranga, Puriri, Matamata, Rotorua, Otaki and Waikanae. From the 1830s onwards, Māori evangelists made significant contributions to the number of converts. Thanks to the literacy acquired in the mission schools, William Colenso's (1811-1899) printing of scripture in Māori was rapidly spread.[58] By 1840, Colenso had produced over 74,000 books and pamphlets.[59]

The Wesleyan missionaries

The Wesleyan Methodist missionary Samuel Leigh (1785-1852), a friend of Samuel Marsden, arrived in the Bay of Islands in January 1822. The next year in May 1823, William White (1794-1875) joined him. They decided to establish a mission among the Māori living near Kaeo in the Whangaroa district, and named it Wesley-Dale. They received the help of Nathaniel Turner (1793-1864) and John Hobbs (1800-1883).[60] The Wesleyans wanted to present the Gospel in its simplest and most evident truths and had received the instruction to withhold from owning land personally or trading with the Māori.[61] But they did not welcome Leigh and White. The burning of the ship the *Boyd* by the Māori, in retaliation for the mistreatment of a Māori crew member, had created suspicion and misunderstanding vis-à-vis Europeans.[62] Eventually the mission was sacked in 1827. Wesleyans set up a new mission at Mangunu on the southern shore of Hokianga Harbour, and later relocated to Waimā. They continued setting up stations on the west coast of the North Island, areas that the Anglicans (CMS) had not yet evangelised. New stations included Tangiteroria on the northern Wairoa River, Raglan and Kawhia. The largest Wesleyan success was achieved among the Tainui Māori of the Waikato area. The CMS and the Wesleyans agreed upon their sphere of influence.[63]

'Pompallier house' in Russell, which served in the nineteenth century as the headquarters of the French Catholic Mission in the Western Pacific.
F.W. Veys, Museum Volkenkunde, 2010

The French Catholic missionaries

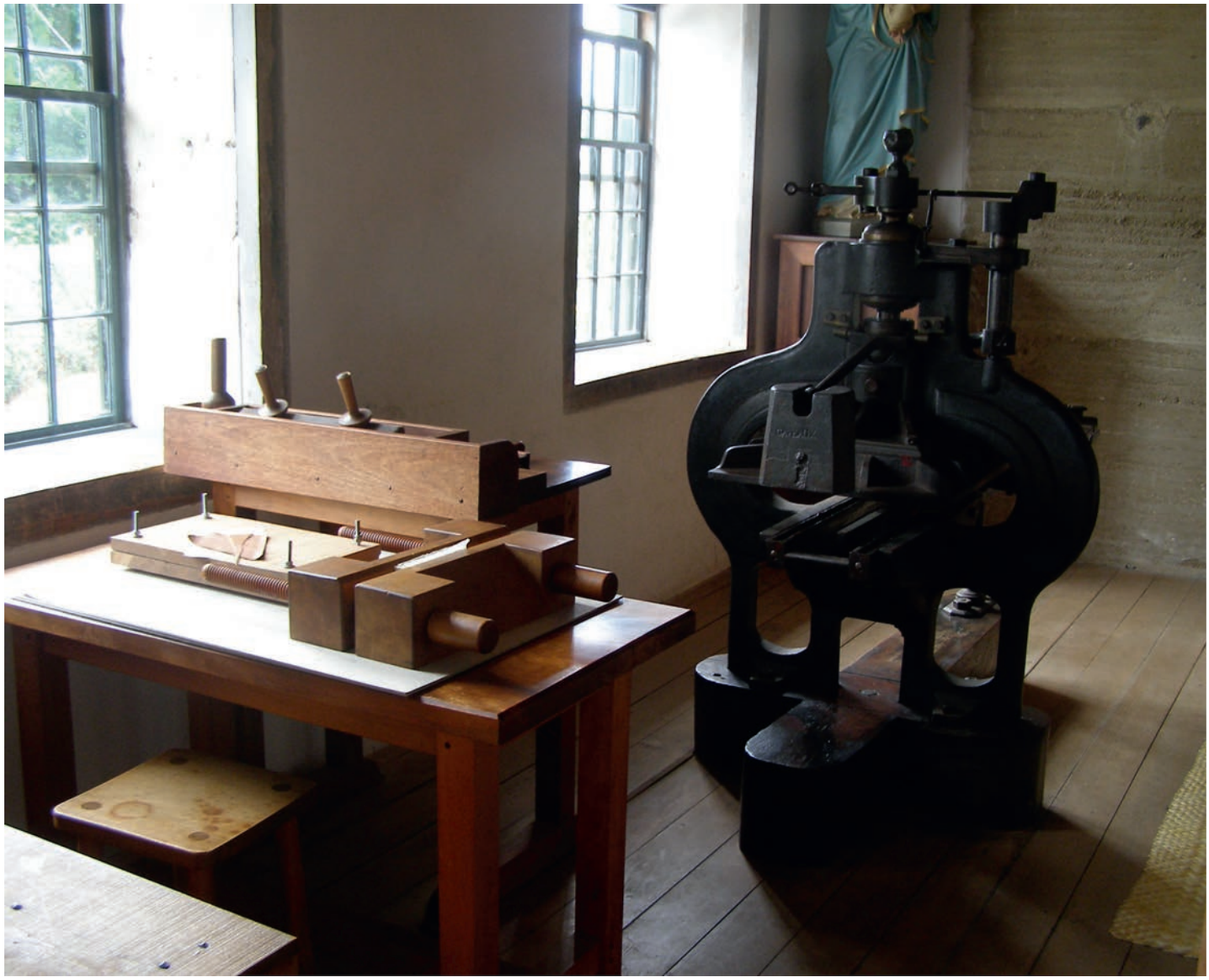
As the last of the major denominations, Catholicism was introduced by French Catholic missionaries who arrived in northern Hokianga from France in 1838. They were backed by money and worked in close association with the Lyon-based Marist Order. The protestant missionaries did not welcome the Catholics. The relations between Britain and France were very tense at that time. However, Bishop Jean-Baptiste François Pompallier (1802-1871) was assisted by English and Irish Catholics and also by Māori converts who helped him to master English and Māori. With the money gathered through the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, the Marist funding organisation, the bishop achieved notable success setting up missions in the Hokianga region as well as on the east coast of the North and South Island. By 1841 he had baptised some 1,000 Māori, which was considerably less than the CMS' achievements, but more than the Wesleyan ones. Forty-one French missionaries had come to New Zealand by 1844, the same year that the first Presbyterian mission opened in Manawatu under James Duncan's (1813-1907) guidance.[64]

Portrait of Bishop Pompallier, lithograph made by J. Meunier.

Reference No. NON-ATL-0061 Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

A syncretic religion

Māori proved extremely interested in discussing religious concepts, an interest intensified by different competing religious denominations. It is not surprising that the first syncretic religion incorporating Māori as well as Christian elements emerged in the Bay of Islands and the Hokianga area in the 1830s.[65] This religious movement named after its founder was known as Papahurihia (?-1875). He identified the Māori with the Jews and as such they were not Christians and worshipped on Saturday. The Biblical serpent was his familiar spirit and channel through which he claimed to communicate with the deceased. His charisma was enhanced by his talents as a ventriloquist, whereby he produced voices and an odd whistling sighing sound through which the spirits talked. He changed his name to 'Te Atua Wera', meaning the 'fiery God'.[66] Although 20 years before his death in 1875 Papahurihia converted to Christianity, he still has adherents today in the twenty-first century in the southern Hokianga area.[67]



Gaveaux printing press brought to the French Catholic Mission in Russell in the early 1840s. The press was used to print bibles, books and tracts, some of which in *Te Reo Māori*.

F.W. Veys, Museum Volkenkunde, 2010

THE DUTCH IN NEW ZEALAND

Nineteenth-century Dutch settlers

Most settlers who came to New Zealand in the nineteenth century were British. However, other nationalities set up home in particular areas: Germans in the Nelson District, the French in Akaroa, Scandinavians in Dannevirke and Dalmatians in the Kauri gumfields of Northland. The Dutch were part of the continental Europeans who settled in New Zealand from the 1840s, but were sprinkled all over the country. It is not known how many Dutch settled before that period.[68]

'Māori bargaining with a Pākeha' by John D. Williams. The European man is thought to be Joel Samuel Polack.
Reference No. A-079-017 Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

Joel Samuel Polack (1807-1882)

Joel Samuel Polack was one of the first people of Dutch descent who came to live in New Zealand. He first settled in Hokianga in 1831 where he learned to speak Māori very quickly and later moved to Kororareka (Russell) in the Bay of Islands. As newly appointed British Resident, representing British law, order and diplomatic interests, James Busby disapproved of Polack's trading activities with the local Māori population. In 1835 Polack set up a brewery that probably contributed to an increase in violence and lawlessness in the area that came to be known as 'the hell hole of the Pacific'. Polack did urge the British authorities to control the area, but his voice was neglected because of his negative reputation and the fact that he had a Māori wife. In 1838 he returned to England and wrote influential books on New Zealand and Māori

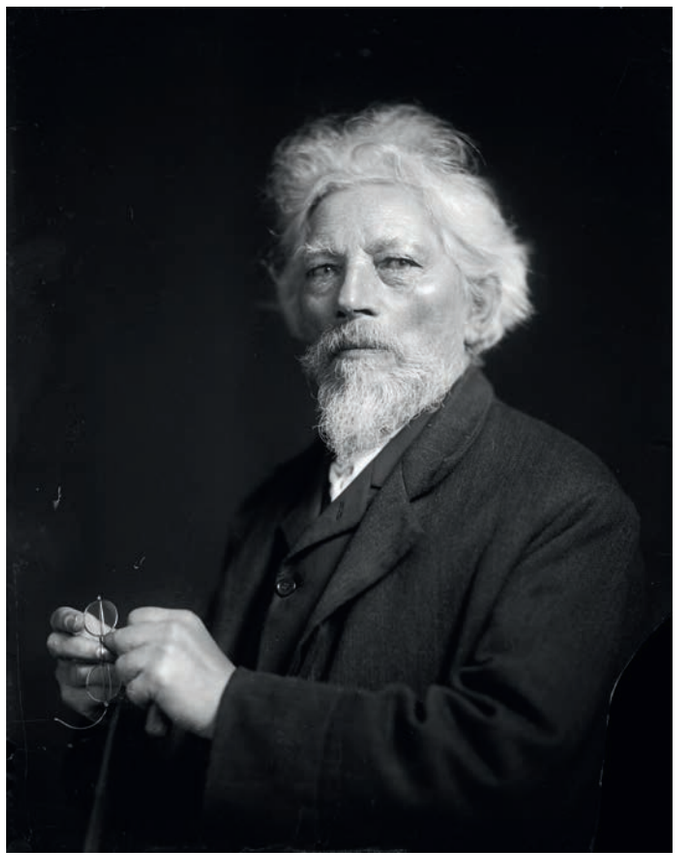
culture. He eventually moved back to New Zealand but after the destruction of his house and land he left for California in 1850 where he died 32 years later.[69]

Henry Keesing (1791-1879)

Born in Amsterdam in 1791 as Hartog ben Tobias, Henry Keesing took his surname when the French Emperor decreed that all Dutch subjects should take a family name. He deserted the French army and went to England where Henry became his first name. He married the daughter of a London tailor and hatter, a previous Amsterdam resident, and the well-off couple had nine children. They unfortunately lost their capital in a banking venture. Following their teenage son, Barnet, they left for New Zealand in 1843 with their six youngest children. Settling was made easy as the Keesings could rely on the trading business set up by Barnet a few years earlier. Keesing helped found the Auckland Hebrew Congregation and retired to Bird Grove, a large country property in Epsom. His wife Rosetta, died from gangrene in 1862 while he passed away at the age of 88 in 1879 leaving over 100 descendants. Barnet was the real pioneer of the family. He eventually sailed for the California gold fields. John Keesing, his brother also spent a year there. On his return to New Zealand he set up a shop in Grahamstown (presently north Thames) but later decided to move back to Auckland where his brothers Ralph and Abraham had a flourishing retail business. The youngest brother Henry Junior was the first to find quartz-bearing gold near Coromandel. Hannah, one of Henry Keesing's daughters, had Auckland's first Jewish wedding ceremony. Most Keesings now live in New Zealand as the Dutch branch of the family was for the large part exterminated in the Nazi death camps.[70]

Petrus van der Velden (1837-1913)

Amongst the early settlers was the landscape painter Petrus van der Velden. He was born in 1837 in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, in a Catholic family as the youngest of five children. He took drawing lessons from the age of 13 and soon became an apprentice in the lithographic trade, then opened his own printing firm in Rotterdam in 1858. He painted mainly maritime subjects, of which an entire series about the fishing people of Marken (the Netherlands), their harsh work and their bond with the sea. His painting activities brought him to Germany, France and Britain. In the meantime he married Sophia Wilhelmina Eckhart, sister of sculptor David Eckhart, and had three children with her. For uncertain reasons he decided to move to New Zealand in 1890. He was soon held in high esteem as a professional artist in Christchurch. When he travelled to Otira Gorge for the first time he developed a passion for landscape painting, especially when weather was stormy, thus vividly



Portrait of Dutch born Petrus van der Velden by Stanley Polkinghorne Andrew in 1909. Reference No. 1/1-014988-G Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

Portrait of Sir Julius Vogel taken by John Morris, c. 1870s.
Reference No. PAColl-0439-1 Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

capturing New Zealand's nature. He died in 1913 from heart failure. His artistic legacy included the dramatic use of light and dark – reminiscent of Rembrandt's style – which had never before been applied in New Zealand landscape painting.[71]

Julius Vogel (1835-1899)

Another famous early settler of Dutch origin was the gold seeker and later Prime Minister Sir Julius Vogel.[72] He was born in 1835 to a British Jewish mother and a Dutch Christian father. His parents separated when he was six, his younger brother died and his mother decided to go and live with Julius and his sister Frances at her father's house in London. When he was 15 he studied chemistry and metallurgy as he wished to gain experience in assaying, which consists of determining the quality of a metal or ore. In 1852, he arrived in Melbourne and set up an assaying and importing business, then a gold buying and retailing business. Eventually he became a talented

journalist, but after a defeat in the election for the Victorian General Assembly in Avoca, he left Australia in 1861 and moved to Dunedin, New Zealand, the newest gold town. He was editor of the *Otago Daily Times* until 1868 after which he took up the same position at the *Daily Southern Cross* in Auckland. He engaged in politics and supported a bold policy aiming to bring thousands of immigrants to New Zealand for construction works and to purchase Māori land for European settlement, thus bringing it into the then extant Western economy. Vogel's policy was adopted by the House in 1870 and implemented subsequently. He remained in the government until 1876 and even became premier. He then alternated business and politics, both with fluctuating success. In 1888, he went back to England and spent his last 11 years there. Vogel was often blamed for the economic recession of the 1880s, but at the end of his life New Zealand was in a period of economic recovery so that public opinion changed and he was praised for his progressive policies.[73]

Herman van Staveren (1849-1930)

Some Dutch men contributed significantly on the community level. This was the case for Wellington's first rabbi, Herman van Staveren.[74] He was born as Manus van Staveren in Bolsward, Friesland, the Netherlands in 1849. He married Miriam Barnett at the Great Synagogue in London in 1875. She gave him nine daughters and four sons. In 1877, he was asked to represent the Wellington Hebrew Congregation in New Zealand as a minister for the Jewish community. So he left for New Zealand with his wife and daughter Manarah. He undertook numerous activities giving the weekly *Shabbat* service, organising a Hebrew school, carrying out kosher slaughter, and performing the rite of circumcision. He also consecrated Jewish cemeteries in Karori (1892) and Gisborne (1904) and encouraged the setting up of a *chevra kaddisha* (burial society) to make sure that religious burial was available to all Jews. He was, moreover, involved in the Wellington Jewish Philanthropic Society. However, he still had time for what he called a hobby: he was active in benevolent work in the wider community as a member of the Wellington and Wairarapa Charitable Aid Board (1878-1910), the Wellington Hospital Committee (1888-1910) and the Wellington Hospital Board (1889-1910). When these three boards became the Wellington Hospital and Charitable Aid Board he was also involved as a member from 1913 to 1921. He was, furthermore, part of the Terrace School Committee, the Wellington Benevolent Institution, the Rotary Club of Wellington and the Waterloo and Hinemoa Masonic Lodges. To the people of Wellington he was known as 'Mr Van' or in later years 'Old Van'. Herman van Staveren died on 24 January 1930 in Wellington.[75]

Rabbi Herman van Staveren and Mrs Miriam van Staveren with their children and grandchildren.

Reference No. PAColl-6181-23 Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

Gerrit van Asch (1836-1908)

Born into a Dutch farming family in 's Gravenmoer in 1836, Gerrit van Asch soon became interested in teaching the deaf. The school in Rotterdam where at the age of 17 Van Asch became an assistant teacher was renowned for using the pure oral method, which was claimed to be more successful than using sign language. Van Asch was the first to introduce the method to England, first in Manchester and then in the school he set up in Earl's Court in London, where he banned sign language and privileged spoken language and lip reading. Approval for the establishment of a school for the deaf was given in New Zealand and Van Asch was invited to take up the directorship. He moved with his wife and children to Beach Glen in Sumner near Christchurch and started the school there. Before the students moved to the two-storey Sumner College building in 1885, they were all living at Gerrit van Asch's home as part of an extended family. His wife was involved in the school as a matron and his four daughters as teachers. Gerrit trained new teachers in his method. By 1890 there were fifty students. Accused by a staff member of retaining the money made by the selling of the school garden vegetables and of imposing too harsh a discipline, Van Asch was relieved of financial responsibilities by the Education Department even though no charges were upheld. Mrs van Asch was replaced and a steward came to manage the school. However, Gerrit continued teaching till the age of 69 in 1906. He died two years later from a stroke in London as he was touring Europe. One of his grandsons, Piet, pioneered aerial mapping in New Zealand. Henry van Asch from Queenstown, another member of the Van Asch clan, started the craze of bungee jumping together with A.J. Hackett.[76]

New-Zealand's pre-Second World War immigration policy

From the 1920s onwards, New Zealand was faced with a dwindling European population. It started discussing immigration issues in order to promote social and economic progress. On one side was the pro-immigration lobby group called the Dominion Settlement and Population Association, active before and after the Second World War and representing business, manufacturing and employer groups. On the other side, the Federation of Labour opposed immigration, fearing it would result in unemployment and low living standards for New Zealanders, as had been the case during the Depression in 1929 when the country underwent a migration outflow. A 1938 report from the British Government's Overseas Settlement Board suggested for the first time that in the face of the decline of the Empire's white population, the supply of Brits might not be sufficient, and that migrants from other parts of the world but from the same 'stock' could be accepted. In accordance with racial ideology

that underpinned Anglo-Saxon and Protestant society at the time, Catholics and non-whites were not easily accepted. The report caught the attention of the Netherlands Migration Foundation in The Hague. After many meetings between representatives of both countries it was decided that five Dutch carpenters, carefully chosen because of what they could offer the New Zealand building industry, were to be provided with a trip to New Zealand by the Dutch government. They were to stay 12 months after which New Zealand could send them back on Dutch expenses should their workmanship or character have disappointed. This proved the Dutch goodwill and actually paved the way for post-war Dutch migration.[77]

The New Zealand–Dutch connection

Events cemented relations between the two countries. The most modern passenger ship, the *Oranje*, operated as a hospital and brought home thousands of wounded New Zealand servicemen from Europe and North Africa. In 1942, the Dutch government sent a delegation to attend the ceremonies of the 300th anniversary of Abel Tasman's arrival in New Zealand. At the end of the war, at the request of the Dutch authorities, New Zealand agreed to host 2,000 Dutch people during a few months, giving them the necessary food and rest to recover from their ordeals in the Japanese camps. By 1946, New Zealand Prime Minister Peter Fraser expressed the wish that some of the young Dutch people stay. New Zealand lacked manpower and a committee suggested that single young men and women from Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland be selected for their skills needed in specific industries. However, immigrants were to come at no cost to New Zealand. New Zealand had an unwritten 'whites only' stance, which in practice appeared even more restrictive than that of Australia as there was a distinct reluctance to admit Jews, southern and eastern Europeans and anybody with even the remotest Indonesian ancestry.[78]

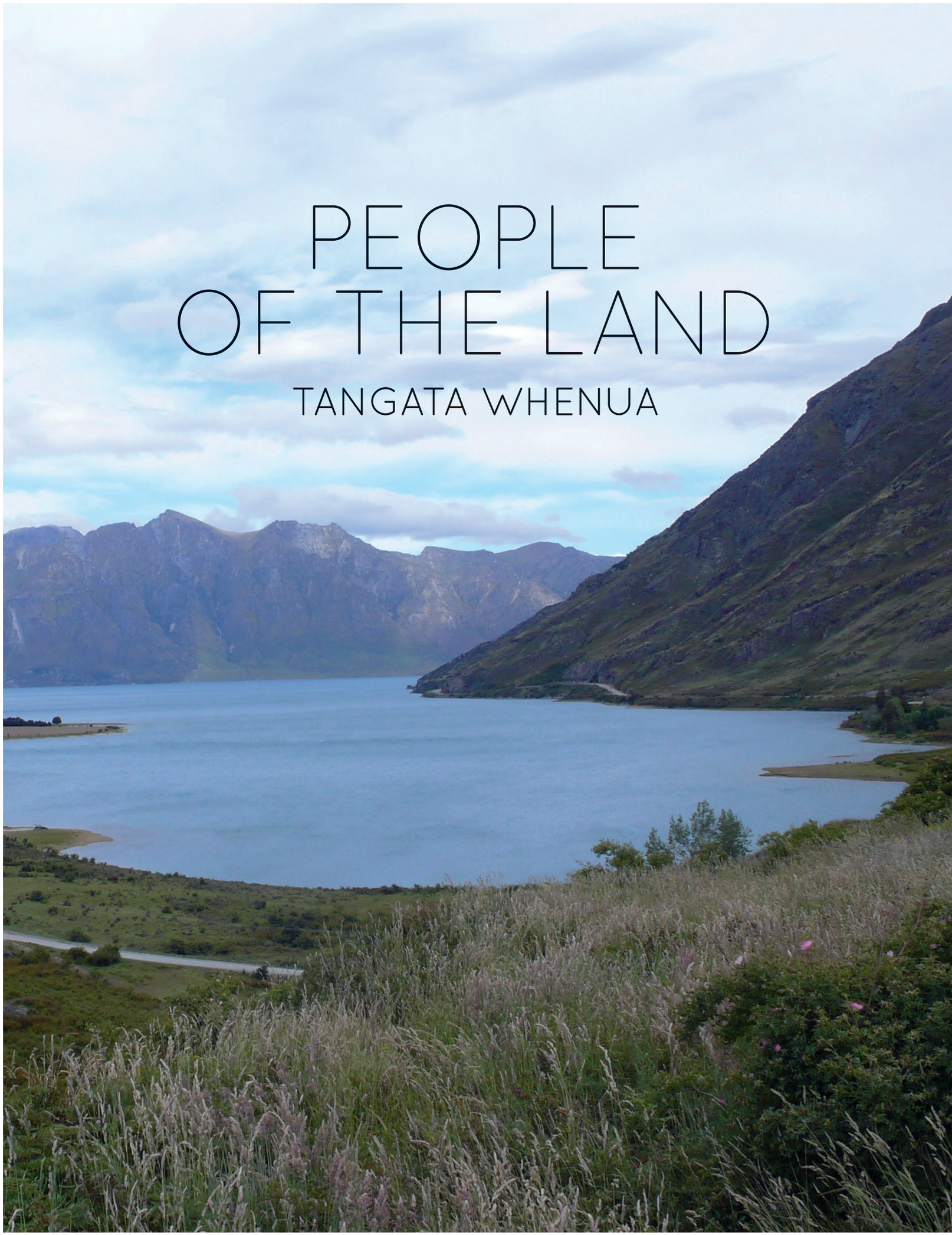
Post-Second World War migration

The migration of Dutch nationals to New Zealand was an answer to the needs of both countries. In the post-Second World War period, the Dutch government was looking for a solution to the homeland problems that found their expression in high unemployment and housing shortages, which were aggravated by a baby boom. At the same time, the Dutch colony of Indonesia was fighting for its independence, leaving 250,000 Dutch nationals in need of new homes: between 1945 and 1949 a lot of the Dutch settlers in New Zealand came from war-torn Indonesia. Many young Dutch born in the Netherlands wanted to emigrate. Indeed, their adolescence had been spent during the war years of 1940-1945 experiencing military occupation and

invasion with the bombing of Dutch cities, the wiping out of the Jewish population, and the rounding up of half a million men to go and work in Germany. Those adolescents had faced the terrible Hunger Winter of 1944-1945 when 18,000 civilians died of starvation. In addition, post-war recovery was slower than expected. The major decision to emigrate was therefore relatively easy.[79]

The first 81 Dutch people emigrating to New Zealand were full fare-paying passengers on the ship the *Volendam* that left Rotterdam on 11 December 1948. On arrival in Sydney some flew directly to Auckland, others took a ship to Singapore and then a plane to Auckland. Amongst them were families with babies and children as well as 18 single farm labourers. The men were scattered all over the country. As they made a very positive impression on their employers, farmers and dairy factories asked for more men. The Dutch agricultural attaché proposed that Dutch soldiers be demobilised in the East Indies. On 11 November 1949, fifty ex-servicemen with little farming experience landed in Auckland. They had paid their own passage and where necessary, the Dutch authorities had helped. Again, the new migrants made a good impression. Some 324 Dutch nationals were brought in March and April 1950 from Surabaya and Jakarta. Most of them were selected for farm work, but some went into the industrial sector. Amongst them were seven women of which shorthand typists, one nurse and one domestic worker. Finally, in July 1950 negotiations started in The Hague after a request from New Zealand for 2,000 carpenters, skilled labourers and farm and domestic workers. While New Zealand was exclusively interested in skilled people, the Netherlands pushed for family groups and unskilled labourers to be accepted. The agreement was that assisted immigrants should be single, be it men or women, and between the ages of 18 and 35. The conditions for the families to receive entry permits were that they had to pay their own way, that the parents would not be older than 45 and that they had guaranteed jobs and accommodation beforehand. The unskilled labourers would if necessary be granted travel subsidies from both countries. However, the Dutch refused to pay for the skilled migrants. The agreement was signed on 16 October 1950 in Wellington. From then on migrants from the Netherlands increased, reaching a peak in 1952 with 4,575 people. Most of them were male and had an average age of 25.[80] While many of the men married local women, some arranged for loved ones to come over. The legendary Brides' Flight of 1953 brought the young women engaged to Dutch men.[81] By 1968 almost half of all migrants from outside the British Commonwealth were of Dutch origin with some 23,879 new settlers.[82] Thousands became naturalised New Zealanders. However, restrictions on naturalisation were heavy: residency in another country for more than six years, criticism of the Queen of England, or being a sentenced traitor

would automatically restrict access to full citizenship status. Thus, naturalised New Zealanders were effectively second-class citizens. Protests eventually led to a change in the law in 1960, giving naturalised people the same rights as New Zealand-born citizens. The 1950s immigrants faced the pressure to assimilate and discard their Dutchness. Therefore the New Zealand authorities insured that new settlers were scattered throughout the entire country.[83] As a result, some Dutch immigrants stopped speaking their language. However, others were keen on keeping their cultural roots alive through Dutch clubs and celebrations of annual festivals like Sinterklaas.


PEOPLE
OF THE LAND
TANGATA WHENUA

New Zealand landscape.
Herman de Boer, Museum Volkenkunde 2010

They were Ranginui, the Sky Father, and Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother, both sealed together in a close embrace. Crushed between the weight of their bodies were their many children, whose oppression deepened. They yearned to be free, they fought their parents and each other to break loose. Tūmatauenga, virile god of war, thrust and shouted; Tangaroa of the oceans whirled and surged; Tāwhirirangaimātea howled with many raging winds; Haumiatiketike and Rongomātea, of wild foods and cultivated crops tried their best but were not successful; and Rūaumoko, god of earthquakes, yet to be born, struggled in the confinement of his mother's womb. Of them all, Tāne Mahuta, the god of the forests, was the most determined; he set his sturdy feet upon his father's chest, and braced his upper back and shoulders against the bosom of his mother. He pushed; and they parted. So the world, as the Māori understand it, came into being.[84]

BELONGING TO THE LAND

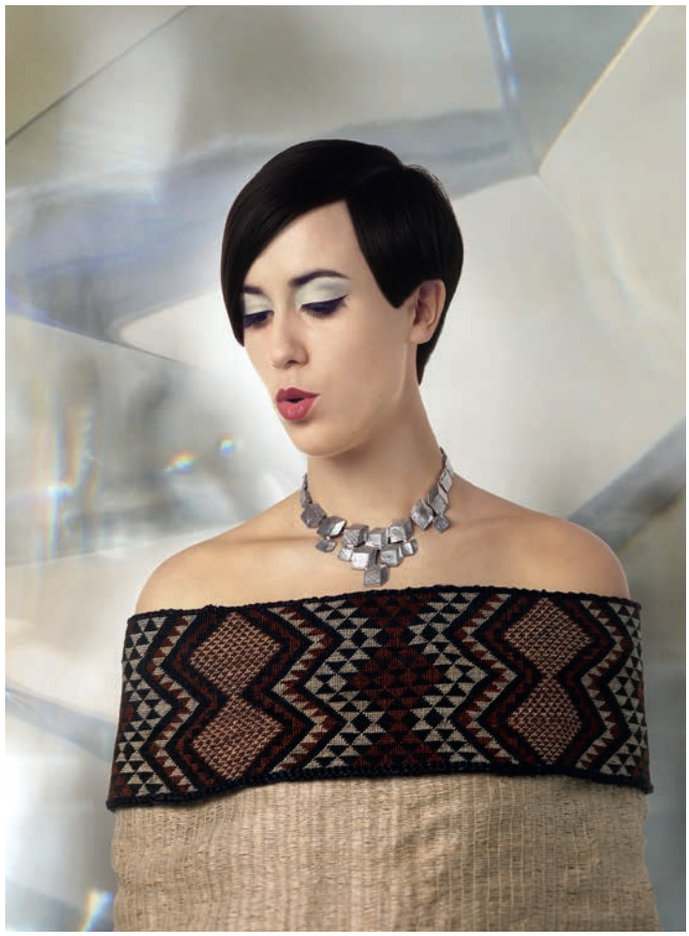
Whatungarongaro te tangata: toi tu te whenua
Humankind fades away: the land endures[85]

Land is an issue over which people in many places in the world are prepared to fight. The Māori word for land is *whenua* and it is the most immediate form of Papatūānuku, the earth mother. *Whenua* actually has a large variety of meanings: it stands for 'placenta', 'ground', 'country' and 'state'. In the same way as the placenta provides life for the foetus, *whenua* sustains 'the people of the land' or *tangata whenua*. In fact, the placenta is buried with a simple ritual after birth, a practice still observed even in the cities.[86] In former times, people did not own the land, but belonged to the land. This is why for Māori, land is not an asset that can be traded. The land was handed down as a treasure from generation to generation and thus linked the people directly to particular ancestors. Places and landscape features such as mountains, rivers, lakes, islands, and coastal sites bear names referring directly to ancestors. The land and the environment in which people lived shaped their view of the world and became the centre of their universe and the basis of their identity as members of a social unit.[87] However, traditional land tenure has been overturned by various acts of Parliament and through the Native Land Court. Now different tribes are asserting ownership rights. Nevertheless, the awareness still exists that land should be treasured and held in trust for future generations. It is considered sacred because it sustains life. The spirit of the land lives in the people who reinforce their emotional and physical ties with it through song, myth, dance and ritual.[88]

Whakapapa, iwi, hapū* and *whānau

E hara taku ora
I te toa takitahi
Engari takimano
Nō aku tupuna

My strength comes not
From one source
But from thousands
From my ancestors[89]



'Nga Hau e Wha', by multimedia artist Lisa Reihana, is a series of photographs that describe geographic locations, demonstrate the connection of the Māori to the land, speak of family connections and re-imagine Māori portraiture.
Lisa Reihana, 2009

Whakapapa (genealogy) is the knowledge of who your ancestors are and where you come from. It is crucial to Māori culture as it binds people together in society and links them to the land. Defining and strengthening relationships between family and tribal groups, it enables Māori to take part in tribal events, to be buried in their tribal cemetery and to claim ownership of the land of their ancestors. In Māori culture, the home of your family and your ancestors is very important and remains your ancestral home even if you have never been there.[90]

Māori trace their descent to the arrival of the first canoes from Eastern Polynesia. Famous voyaging canoes include *Aotea*, *Kurahaupo*, *Matatua*, *Tainui*, *Tokomaru*, *Te Arawa*, and *Takitimu*.[91] Specific crew members from these founding canoes or *waka* became the ancestors of particular tribes or *iwi*. *Iwi* literally means 'bones'. In the past, political and economic alliances could be made with other confederate *iwi*. *Ariki*, paramount chiefs who descended directly from the founding ancestor of a *waka*, were the political leaders of the *iwi*. *Iwi* are segmented into *hapū*, subtribes or tribal sections whose members all have the same founding ancestors. *Hapū* function as autonomous units. The word means 'gestation' or 'pregnancy'. In the past, *hapū* members would live within their guarded domains in which they exerted rights over economic resources such as birds, fish and greenstone. Principal leadership,

direction and defence rested with the *rangatira*, or chiefs, a status which could be either inherited or achieved. *Whānau* are the smallest social unit and consist of the extended family including grandparents, their children and grandchildren. Several *whānau* together constitute a *hapū*. In former times, if a *whānau* outnumbered two or three hundred people, it evolved into a *hapū*. *Whānau* means 'birthing', implying the birthing of new generations.[92] While social organisation has always been complex with new *hapū* being formed and moving to new places, in the twenty-first century it has grown even more complex through urbanisation, which made many Māori groups lose their tribal cohesion and connections.

Tapu, noa and *mana*

Tapu, noa and *mana* are elements pivotal in understanding how Māori engage with the surrounding spiritual realm. Through these concepts a Māori person can relate to the divine, to the ancestors and to other spirits. *Tapu* has many meanings. It may make an object, a person, an environment or a time period restricted and inaccessible to human contact. The thing, person, place or period in a state of *tapu* is then prohibited, unless sanctioned by ritual. Associated with *tapu* are certain behaviours. Those linked to the death ritual or body parts of a chiefly person, in particular the

head, are considered *tapu*. This is also the case for personal ornaments, especially those of a chief. *Tapu* relates furthermore to certain types of knowledge including genealogy, chants and healing techniques.[93]

The notion of *tapu* is balanced by the concept of *noa*. This is not a perfect dichotomy. *Noa* pertains to mundane, ordinary objects – household items and serving utensils – and activities such as preparing and eating food, and other small acts of daily life. *Noa* means safe, without any restricted access. Making things, people, places and time periods *noa* involves blessing them. Women play an important role in this as their reproductive life-giving capacities enable them to neutralise the dangerous effects of *tapu*.[94] Blessing and neutralising rituals continue up to this day and are extended to the museum context: exhibitions are made safe for visitors who might not have the *mana* (power) to cope with what they are about to experience.[95]

Mana is a concept with several layers of meaning. It is primarily about power and empowerment, which find their expression in charisma, personal force, social status, charm, leadership, fertility and health. *Mana* is in fact a manifestation of the divine. The management of potent energies towards positive outcomes require the specialist skills of people who know the protocols to mediate between the realms of spirit and humankind.[96]

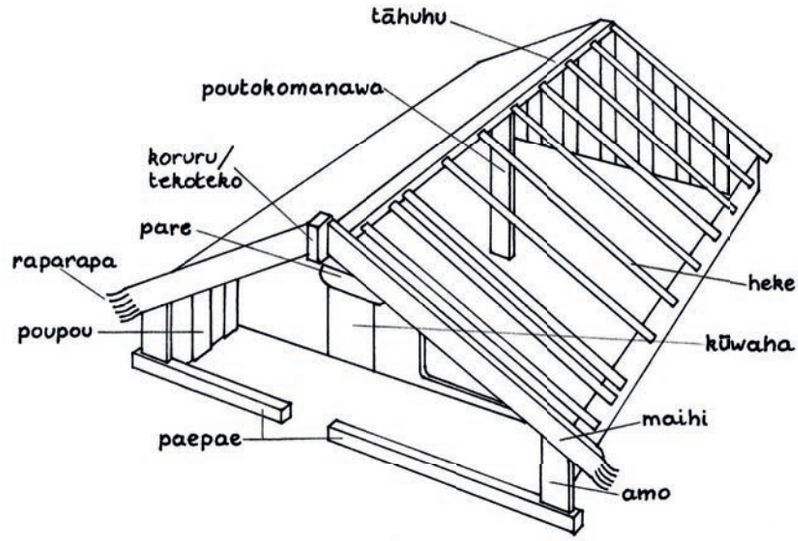
THE BEATING HEART OF THE LAND

Marae

Māori people form a mosaic of tribes and subtribes, which are interlinked to various degrees. All claim special relations to particular pieces of land. This relationship is materialised in the *marae* (meeting ground), the enclosed space surrounding the meeting house. The concept of the *marae* was inherited from the central Polynesian homeland of the Māori. *Marae* embody the attachment to the land and play a central spiritual and cultural role as they are a place where Māori people can meet and celebrate rituals of life or say farewell to those who have passed on. The right for a particular community to 'stand' on a *marae* and use it for ceremonial and social purposes also brings with it the obligation of care. It is thus the place where Māori values, customs, protocols and knowledge are expressed.[97]

Whereas *marae* were clearly a rural phenomenon, today this is no longer the case as there are *marae* in cities and towns, at universities, polytechnics and schools and even at churches.[98] Moreover, *marae* do not look the same everywhere. Twenty-first-century *marae* habitually include a carved or uncarved meeting house, a decorated or undecorated dining hall and an ablution block. Some *marae* also have other buildings,

Master carver Lyonel Grant carved 'Te Noho Kotahitanga', UNITEC's (Institute of Higher Education) first *marae*, which was officially opened on 13 March, 2009.
F.W. Veys, Museum Volkenkunde 2010



Drawing of a meeting house with its most important elements.

Drawing by F.W. Veys

such as the *kōhanga reo* (language nest centres), flats for the elderly, or sporting clubs. Rural *marae* often have an *urupā* (cemetery) at a distance from the *marae* site.[99]

The meeting house

The meeting house or *wharenui* physically takes up a significant place on twenty-first-century *marae*, but is also an important symbol of identity for the people who are the custodians of the house and the land on which it stands. Some meeting houses are carved, others are painted, some are large, others small. Today around one thousand *wharenui* are in use around New Zealand.[100] Erroneously, Māori meeting houses are often seen as a decorative coating to a European-style building. However, where *Pākeha* (white settler) buildings are based on a grid of squares, rooms and walls, Māori architecture is organised around a sheltering roof and open space.[101]

There are a few core architectural elements that unite meeting houses. Coming towards the house, the first feature is the *paepae* or threshold, which is overarched by the *maihi* or bargeboard ending in *raparapa* (fingers of the bargeboard). The bargeboards rest on the *amo*, two vertical posts on either side of the facade. The meeting point of the bargeboards is formed by a carved figure or *koruru*, or by a three-dimensional carved figure named *tekoteko*. In this porch area or *mahau*, shoes are taken off before going through the *kūwaha* (door). The central interior column or *poutokomanawa* supports the *tāhuhu* (ridgepole) from which rafters (*heke*) extend. On the inside of the *wharenui*, the carved wall panels (*poupou*) alternate with lattice wall panels (*tukutuku*).[102]

Gable figure or *tekoteko*, consisting of a full body carving standing on a mask-like head. Probably Hawke's Bay, mid-nineteenth century.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 350-484, 96 cm.

Purchased: A.P. Goodwin, 1883

Carved figure holding a short weapon and serving as the base of the central pole in a meeting house or *poutokomanawa*. It came from a house that was gifted by the Whakatohea tribe of Opotiki to the Aitanga a Mahaki tribe of north Gisborne. Arawa-style, Bay of Plenty, nineteenth century.
Museum Volkenkunde RMV 3414-1, 135 cm. Purchased: Kunsthandel L. van Lier, 1957

A metaphorical body and *whakapapa*

Oral narratives from different regions and/or tribes interpret their meeting house in a specific way. Meeting houses can be seen as metaphorical bodies, as manifestations of *whakapapa* (genealogy), or as representations of the Māori cosmos. When representing the physical body of an ancestor, it usually concerns the tribe's founding ancestor or another important mythological or ancestral person. The gable head (*koruru*) then forms the head of the being and the bargeboard (*maihi*) its arms with the fingers (*raparapa*) extending out. The ridgepole (*tāhuhu*) is the ancestor's backbone with the rafters (*heke*) forming its ribs. The main supporting post (*poutokomanawa*) is sometimes described as the heart. Orators on the *marae* frequently address the meeting house as a living ancestor when giving formal speeches.[103]

The above named features of a meeting house can also be interpreted as the genealogy of a group. Instead of a *koruru*, meeting houses sometimes have a three-dimensional figure (*tekoteko*). It represents the ancestor from which the group using the house claims its descent. The descendants are carved or scroll painted (*kōwhaiwhai*) from along the ridgepole of the house. The role of the ridgepole (*tāhuhu*) is illustrated in the Maui cycle of myths. When Maui was reunited with his mother, who had abandoned him at birth, she invited him to stand on the ridgepole of the family house to show his family his return and thus recover his genealogy. The descendants of the *tāhuhu* characters are painted on the rafters (*heke*); their offspring are portrayed on the carved wall panels (*poupou)*. More significant ancestors are depicted on the central interior column (*poutokomanawa*). The ancestors can be recognised by their poses, the ceremonial objects they carry and their body ornaments. Considering the meeting house as the body of the ancestor and the genealogy (*whakapapa*) of a group unifies its users.[104]

A Māori cosmos

The meeting house can also be seen as a representation of the Māori cosmos embodying different concepts at different levels. Some elders interpret the front or porch as the mythological world because it generally faces eastwards to Hawaiki, the land of the gods, legends and the home of the dead. The inside of the house is then the realm of the present and the living world of the local area. The threshold (*paepae*) symbolises the world between life and death and between the mythological past and the living present. Passing over the *paepae* or under the door lintel (*pare*) equates to changing states of existence. Taking into account the cosmological explanation, the *marae* stands for war, while the meeting house embodies peace. Thus the *marae* is

Lintel or *pare* from a meeting house or a raised storage building. Possibly from the Rotorua area, mid-nineteenth century.
Collection: Cayetana & Anthony JP Meyer, 70 x 29.5 x 7.8 cm.
Collected by John Jacobs before 1892.

often referred to as being the domain of Tū, the god of war, where locals challenge their visitors and people discuss matters. In contrast, the interior of the meeting house is associated with Rongo, the god of peaceful activities. There people study, talk or sleep. In some tribes, women do not speak on the *marae*. In these instances the *marae* can be further described as the male domain and the meeting house as the female sphere.[105]

The first meeting houses

The meeting house actually reveals how architecture is a product of human experience and how it translates people's perceptions of the world. It evolved to adapt to challenges of the natural, spiritual, political and colonial environments met by different Māori tribes.[106]

Up to the sixteenth century, Māori architecture still followed the 'classical' Polynesian form of a *marae* (meeting grounds) surrounded by chiefly and family residences, *noa* (neutral) food preparation shelters and further away dangerous *tapu* places such as cemeteries (*urupā*) and latrines (*heketua*). It was only from the 1500s up until 1800 that a distinctively Māori architecture began to emerge which was different from the Polynesian building style of their ancestors.[107] A significant technological shift impacted greatly on the development of this unique style: from the sixteenth century onwards, softer stone tools were replaced by harder nephrite (*pounamu*) adzes and chisels, which allowed carving experts (*tohunga whakairo*) to create intricate curvilinear figurative carvings.[108] Māori encounters with Europeans

Tamatekapua meeting house at Ohinemutu, Lake Rotorua, which was first opened in 1873.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV A212-1, W.F. Gordon Collection, before 1900

Rare latrine ornament decorated with inlaid pearl shell eyes, c. 1840.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 350-475a, 13 x 25.5 cm. Purchased: A.P. Goodwin, 1883

triggered the development of the meeting house as it is known today. European explorers did mention a few sizeable carved buildings, probably used for hosting large meetings, guests and as a venue for ceremonial occasions. However it is clear from their accounts that those buildings were not yet common.[109] The first small, carved meeting houses were built in the early to mid-nineteenth century on the East Coast of the North Island. These constructions combined several types of Māori architecture: they took the shape of the communal sleeping house (*whare puni*), while the carved elements were inspired by the chiefly *whare puni* and the elevated storehouse (*pātaka*).

With the introduction of metal tools, the carved surfaces could be worked out more extensively as it was not as labour intensive and time consuming. The use of metal tools on architectural carvings had first been applied to the *pātaka*, which became obsolete from the 1870s onwards: its role as a symbol of tribal wealth emphasising group distinctiveness lost its importance.[110]

Short fighting hatchet or *patiti*, incorporating a European iron axe blade marked H.H. Mortimer & Co., and a bone handle from the lower jaw of a sperm whale. Early nineteenth century.
Collection Jean-Pierre Lehmann, 34.2 x 14.9 x 2 cm

The carved meeting house

Tribes were looking towards each other for support to solve land sales and sovereignty issues. The carved meeting houses or *whare whakairo* rose to prominence as places where political discussion among the members of a tribe or between tribes could occur. Meeting houses underwent a great influence from the arrival of Christianity in 1814: people gathered in churches for teaching and discussion, and to listen to the gospel. The most well known and highly regarded example of an early carved meeting house is Te Hau-ki-Turunga, built at Turunga in the early 1840s, but now held at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington. Its shape is long like a sleeping house (*whare puni*), but low when compared to contemporary meeting houses. Its construction was supervised by Raharuhi Rukupo, later also in charge of the Manutuke church project. Metal tools were adopted to carve the exterior and interior panels, and the names of ancestors were engraved in Roman font, a style which had also been used in the newly available Māori language Bible. Other European appropriations are present in this meeting house: European drawing tools were applied to transfer patterns using templates made from paper and cloth. While the carved meeting house (*whare whakairo*) was gaining in importance, the previously most prized carved tribal possession, the *waka taua* (carved canoe) was declining in popularity. Contributing factors were the ineptitude of those vessels to keep gunpowder muskets dry and the availability of European vessels for hire. It is highly probable that a lot of the symbolism of the war canoes was transferred to the meeting house.[111]

'Outer Space Marae' carved by George Nuku.

Carine Durand, 2006

St. Mary's church at Tikitiki, North Island. The structure of the church is entirely European. The interior is typically Māori and was one of the first initiatives of Sir Apirana Ngata in the 1920s.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 11606-01, National Publicity Studios, c. 1970

Effects of the New Zealand Wars on meeting house architecture

The growth of the *Pākeha* (white settler) population meant Māori were soon to become a minority in their own country. By 1860 there were as many Māori as *Pākeha* and fifteen years later *Pākeha* outnumbered Māori six-fold. This meant that there was not enough land available for the increasing number of *Pākeha* immigrants to settle. Therefore the government became involved in conflicts over land, the so-called New Zealand Wars, which resulted in land confiscations and compromises that had dramatic effects on Māori architecture and more specifically meeting houses intimately bound with the land.[112] There was a general decline of customary architectural arts including wood carving (*whakairo rākau*), scroll painting (*kōwhaiwhai*), lattice wall panels (*tukutuku*), and mat plaiting (*raranga*).[113] North Island architecture was particularly affected. However, some Māori leaders saw the time during and after the conflict as an opportunity to demonstrate the *mana*, spirituality (*wairuatanga*) and sovereignty (*rangatiratanga*) of their people through building projects. From the 1860s up to the First World War, several strands of meeting houses began to emerge. The type of large meeting houses developed on the East Coast evolved further with the addition of polychromatic carving and figurative painting (Ringatū style meeting houses). In other parts of the country religious and political movements insured that Christian and Western ideas and materials were appropriated, creating buildings with biblical and colonial precedents. They resembled Western buildings, but were used exclusively for Māori purposes.[114] In Northland (North Island) and the South Island, carving traditions and other forms of decorations had declined, resulting in unadorned meeting houses made of weatherboard. Carved meeting houses (*whare whakairo*) did not thrive there. Actually, the *wharenui* (meeting house) in some Taranaki and southern North Island communities grew into large weatherboard complexes housing dining, meeting and sleeping facilities.[115]

Mrs Betty Winiata, daughter of the chief and leader of the Waiwhetu Māori community in Lower Hutt near Wellington, weaving a *tukutuku* panel for the interior of a meeting house.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 11606-11, Collection: National Publicity Studios, c. 1970

Exterior of the polychrome meeting house of Witi Ihimaera, famous writer of *The Whale Rider*.

Herman de Boer, Museum Volkenkunde 2010

Polychrome porch area of the meeting house of Witi Ihimaera, famous writer of *The Whale Rider*.

Herman de Boer, Museum Volkenkunde 2010

PARE
KOU RUMAKA

Revival of meeting house architecture

In the 1920s, several Māori leaders tried to develop ideas of the future for their peoples. Their concept consisted of reaffirming the *mana* of their people by reinvigorating the enthusiasm for their heritage through an ambitious cultural and economic revitalisation programme.[116] Sir Apirana Ngata played an important role in the development of the meeting house by creating the 'School of Māori Arts and Crafts' at Rotorua in 1926. After the First World War, even the construction of meeting houses was in serious decline. Ngata felt that the arts should play the same role in unifying indigenous identity in the twentieth century as had been the case in the nineteenth century. To achieve that, he felt one should go back to the period before the New Zealand Wars (1860). Evidently Ngata was not in favour of polychromatic and figurative painting which had developed from the 1860s onwards.[117] On the other hand, the incorporation of *Pākeha*-derived materials was continued. The School concentrated initially on the art of carving (*whakairo rākau*). Wall lattice panel (*tukutuku*) weaving classes started in 1933. Despite the widespread belief at the time that *tukutuku* had been done in the past by men, Ngata decided women should be taught the art. However, mat-weaving (*raranga*) was not part of the teaching programme (see Chapter 3, Fibre Arts). In order to obtain government approval and funding for construction projects, the School made sure hygiene and building codes were respected. Elements such as multiple exit routes, electric lighting and opening windows had to be incorporated into the projects. Fire regulations also required working with non-flammable materials and lasting foundations. These new materials were hidden beneath the *whakairo rākau*, *tukutuku*, scroll paintings (*kowhaiwhai*) and plain wall reed linings (*kākaho*). The School wanted to encourage teenage presence and modified the meeting house to accommodate modern social events by removing the internal columns of the building's main body. *Pākeha*-style dining halls and kitchens were introduced next to the meeting house to stimulate get-togethers and informal *marae* occasions.[118] Shortly after the establishment of the School of Māori Arts and Crafts, the 'Kīngitanga School of Customary Māori Arts' was established (see below for *Kīngitanga* movement). The latter wanted a more tribally based arts education that took into account protocols related to *tapu* and *noa*. Te Kirihaehae Te Puea Herangi, a female leader in the *Kīngitanga* movement (see Treaty of Waitangi) initiated the 'Turangawaewae Carving School' in the 1930s, aiming at building meeting houses and dining facilities on every Kīngitanga *marae*.[119]

Meeting house called 'Te Hono ki Hawaiki' at the National Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington, shot from the *marae* floor.

Norman Heke, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, MA_I.007526, 2003

THE
TREATY OF WAITANGI
1840
KO WIKITORIA TE KUINI O INGARANI
I TANA MAHARE A TAMAI KI NGA RANGA
TIRA ME NGA HAPU O NU TIRANI I TANA
MIAHIA HOKI KIA TOHUNGIA KIA MATOU
O RATOU RANGATIRATANGA ME TO RATOU
WENUA A KIA MAU TONU HOKI TE RONGO KI A
RATOU HE TE ATA NOHO HOKI KUA MA-
KARO IA HE ME A TIKA KIA TUKUA MAI
TE TAHI RANGATIRA HEI KAI WAKARITE
KI NGA TANGATA MAORI O NU TIRANI KIA
WAKAETIA E NGA RANGATIRA MAORI TE
KAWANATANGA O TE KUINI KI NGA WAHI
KATOA O TE WENUA NEI ME NGA MOTU NA
TE MEA HOKI HE TOKOMAHA KE NGA
TANGATA O TONA INI KUA NONOI TENEI
WENUA A E HAERE MAI NEI

THE TREATY OF WAITANGI – *TE TIRITI O WAITANGI*

Ko te atakau ō te whenua i riro i a te Kuini,
Ko te tinana ō te whenua i waiho ki ngā Māori.

The shadow of the land is to the Queen,
But the substance remains with us.[120]

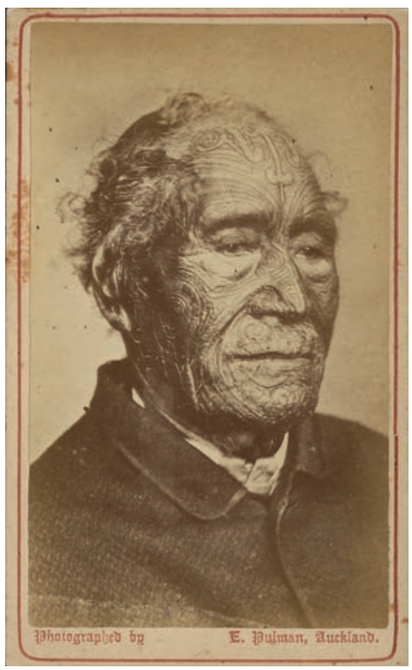
The Treaty of Waitangi testifies to an interesting story of two peoples in one nation trying to live together. It is perhaps of the most significant ever signed between a first nation and its colonisers. New Zealand has no constitution and the Treaty is often considered the country's founding document. It is now such an integral part of the social, cultural, and political make up of New Zealand that it permeates all current legislation. The Treaty was signed on 6 February 1840 by Captain William Hobson, on behalf of the British Crown, and a number of Māori leaders representing different *iwi* and *hapū*. It was then taken around the country in order to secure signatures of other leaders in various tribal areas. More than 500 Māori chiefs signed the Treaty. Many others did not, either because they refused to do so or because they were not given the opportunity. The British thought they had obtained sovereignty over New Zealand, while chiefs were guaranteed authority and protection of Māori land and resource rights. The Treaty also extended to the Māori the same rights and privileges as the British. For Māori people the Treaty had a different significance, mainly due to the disparities between the English and the Māori texts.[121] Several events prompted the writing and signing of the Treaty text. Historians interpret the trends and events leading up to the Treaty in several ways: some stress the humanitarian beliefs of the 1830s; others emphasise the more coercive aspects of British policy. There are also historians who take the middle ground saying that the British were really concerned about protecting the interests of Britain and its subjects while at the same time recognising the predicament of the Māori people.[122]

Events leading up to the Treaty

An important aspect of the work of missionaries in the North Island consisted of trying to convince people that the British had a special interest in protecting them

Treaty of Waitangi Monument with the three articles of the Treaty of Waitangi.
F.W. Veys, Museum Volkenkunde 2010

from other European nations. From 1818, four years after the settlement of the first CMS missionaries, northern Māori war parties were ever more frequent. They were often armed with muskets and attacked tribes further south. Traders found business becoming increasingly difficult because of fighting. Europeans took sides in Māori tribal fighting.[123] Hearing complaints from both Māori and Europeans, and due to a fear of French annexation, the Colonial Office decided to appoint James Busby as British Resident. His main duties were to protect traders and settlers, to apprehend escaped convicts and to check no injustices were committed against the Māori population. Busby however was unable to exert control over his British subjects. When he heard of the Frenchman Baron Charles Philippe Hippolyte de Thierry's (1793-1864) plans to set up an independent state at Hokianga, Busby persuaded thirty-four northern chiefs to sign a Declaration of Independence of New Zealand, calling themselves the Confederation of United Tribes. The document was written in the Māori language.[124] In 1836, the British government agreed to extend the Crown protection and to recognise the country's independence.[125] While the Declaration had very little practical impact, it can still be seen as a significant step towards nationhood, albeit in embryonic form. Two developments continued to be of concern to the British Government: the acquisition of land by British and other European subjects, and the plan of the New Zealand Company – a private firm – to carry out systematic colonisation and set up a government of its own.[126]



Portrait Tāmati Waka Nene. Photographed by Elizabeth Pulman in the 1860s.
Reference No. PA2-1357 Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

Signing the Treaty

William Hobson arrived in the Bay of Islands on board *HMS Herald* on 29 January 1840 with precise instructions to take the constitutional steps needed for the creation of a British colony. This had to happen with the consent of the Māori chiefs. However, he did not have a treaty with him. He had stopped at Sydney where Sir George Gipps, the Governor of New South Wales, had issued a proclamation stating that titles to land in New Zealand had to derive from a grant from the Crown. James Busby was relieved of his authority as British Resident and was asked to cooperate in preparing the formal proclamations stating that Hobson had taken over as Consul and Lieutenant-Governor. The CMS mission printer, William Colenso, prepared these proclamations and also printed a circular letter in Māori for all the 'high chiefs' of the 'United Tribes'. A meeting was set up for the chiefs at Busby's house at Waitangi on 5 February 1840. Waitangi literally means 'waters of lament'.[127]

The notes that Hobson and his secretary, J.S. Freeman, had made to prepare for the meeting were commented on by Busby. The latter offered to improve it, which resulted on 3 February 1840 in a treaty consisting of three clauses. Hobson then added

Treaty of Waitangi Memorial Hall.

F.W. Veys, Museum Volkenkunde 2010

an explanatory preamble and closed off with a short attestation clause. A copy of this draft was given to Henry Williams and his son Edward to translate into Māori. On 5 February Hobson had a treaty text which was debated in front of 500 Māori and 200 *Pākeha*. Many of the speakers were very suspicious of what was intended, but the speech of Tāmati Wāka Nene vanquished the reluctance of the chiefs. Hobson thought the chiefs were going to discuss the Treaty for a few days, but the next day he was called back to Waitangi. It is estimated that forty chiefs signed the Treaty on 6 February. Maybe that same day, or a few days later, the Treaty was translated back into English by Henry Williams for Governor Gipps in New South Wales. This back-translation is considered the official text of the Treaty in English. On 21 February, Hobson sailed south searching for more signatures. By September, in the course of fifty meetings, more than 500 chiefs in different parts of the country had signed, five of which were women.[128]

Content of the Treaty

There are a number of differences in both the Māori and English texts that centre around the issues of land, chiefly authority (*rangatiratanga*) and government authority (*kawanatanga*). These words still form the focus of debate among many historians. The Treaty was certainly a diplomatic and political instrument put to the use of the Crown, who wanted to do something new: create a nation state in a country which had not known the concept before. From that perspective, the Treaty can indeed be seen as a partnership between the Crown and the Māori chiefs and people in which each party would have a specific place and position.[129]

In the English version the preamble states that the British had the intention to protect Māori interests from the trespassing British settlers. At the same time British settlement should be provided for and a government established to maintain peace and order. The Māori text however suggests that the Queen promised to provide a government while securing tribal chiefs' authority (*rangatiratanga*) and Māori land ownership for as long as they wished to retain it.[130]

In the first article of the Treaty, Māori leaders gave the Queen 'all the rights and powers of sovereignty' over their land. In the Māori text, leaders gave the Queen 'te kawanatanga katoa' or the complete government over their land.[131] The second article dealt specifically with issues of land. The English text confirmed and guaranteed that Māori leaders and people collectively and individually had 'exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries and other properties'. The Māori further yielded to the Crown the exclusive right to purchase their land. In the Māori text Māori were guaranteed 'te tino rangatiratanga', the unqualified ex-

Russell, New Zealand's first capital, also holds the oldest church of the country. Its building started in 1835.

F.W. Veys, Museum Volkenkunde 2010

ercise of their chieftainship over their lands (*whenua*), villages (*kainga*), and all their property/treasures (*taonga katoa*). Māori also agreed to give the Crown the right to buy land from them should the Māori wish to sell.[132] The final and third article is considered to have been translated fairly. It gave Māori the assurance they would have the Queen's protection and all rights (*tikanga*) accorded to British subjects.[133]

After the Treaty

Settlements in New Zealand grew rapidly, far faster than the Māori had ever anticipated. The government made more laws and regulations. Moreover, Māori gradually became aware that they were no longer free to dispose of their land as they wished: they could only sell it to the government. Government officials could also force Māori to sell at a very low price. For Māori, land was not a commodity and it was unclear who owned its resources such as stones, metals or anything that lived and grew on the land. This issue often provoked violent conflicts between Māori and settlers. In the far north, Hone Heke and his ally Kawiti challenged British authority by cutting down the flagstaff four times at Russell, New Zealand's capital at that time.[134]

The *Kīngitanga* movement

A number of questions were raised. What were the rights and obligations that Māori and British could expect under the Treaty? Was it fair that the government had a monopoly on the buying and selling of Māori land? Throughout the 1840s, officials and missionaries managed to soothe Māori fears by arguing that the Treaty had been made between the Queen and the Māori people. In the 1850s, settlers took more and more power and land selling increased. Māori leaders started to refuse to sell. It was in this context that the idea of the instalment of a Māori King, first suggested by Tamehana Te Rauparaha and his cousin Matene Te Whiwhi, began to grow. In 1853, travelling through the central parts of the North Island where there was very little European settlement, the two men tried to gain support for their plan. While Māori saw the Māori King as an opportunity for the *Pākeha* and Māori to live together in peace, Europeans thought the King stood for Māori independence.[135] The '*Kīngitanga* movement' as it became known, was not universally welcomed amongst all Māori tribes either: the northern tribes of Tai Tokerau were too strongly associated with the Treaty and many chiefs did not want to put their *mana* under that of another Māori leader.[136] Te Wherowhero became the first King, succeeded by his son Tawhiao in June 1860. Difference in views regarding sovereign rights and land issues between the government and the *Kīngitanga* movement contributed to the New Zealand Wars which dragged on well into the 1860s.[137]

Twentieth-century repercussions of the Treaty

By the beginning of the twentieth century, many Māori were in grim circumstances, and often landless. However, a new generation of Māori leaders emerged who wanted to ensure the survival of Māori culture through measures of modernisation. They were educated and articulate and moved confidently between two worlds. They played a key role in the Young Māori Party in improving the situation of their people. The period between 1920 and 1940 saw some of the grievances regarding land confiscated in the wars of the 1860s addressed. In 1934, Waitangi Day was celebrated for the first time on the Treaty grounds, after Governor-General Lord Bledisloe and his wife had donated the grounds to the nation. The 1930s actually initiated a period of renewed interest in the Treaty of Waitangi as a founding document. Equality between Māori and *Pākeha* grew in the 1940s. Māori soldiers were treated equally to their *Pākeha* counterparts after their return from the Second World War. This had not been the case after the First World War.[138]

Urbanisation in the post-war period put a strain on race relations as *Pākeha* and Māori came to live side by side. Land issues remained a sore point. Grievances were based on what had happened in the past, but were also related to the Māori Amendment Act of 1967, which for many Māori did not take into account their cultural and spiritual links to the land. The Act said that Māori lands should be developed, including those pieces of land which were not of economic interest.[139]

The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

After the wars of the 1860s, Māori realised that the Treaty was not part of domestic law, which meant they could not use it to plead in New Zealand courts in defence of their lands and waters. Roads were being built and drainage work was carried out without prior consultation. Fishing rights also appeared to be an issue as they meant control over the offshore, the foreshores, lakes, rivers and harbours.[140] Therefore, from the 1870s onwards, Māori demands for the ratification of the Treaty grew so as to give it a real effect in support of Māori rights. In the 1970s, urban and often well-educated Māori activists emerged who demanded that governments honour the Treaty. Some more conservative Māori elders did not agree with their confrontational style. *Pākeha*, usually hearing and reading of New Zealand's excellent race relationships, realised that from a Māori perspective all was not well. This resulted in the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 with, shortly after, the founding of the Waitangi Tribunal. It offered some hope that Māori grievances would be heard and investigated.[141] The Tribunal could, however, only bring out recommendations and it was not until 1985 that an amendment allowed it to investigate claims dating back to

1840. In 1988 the Treaty of Waitangi Policy Unit (now the Office of Treaty Settlements) was established within the Department of Justice. It was to advise on policy and assist in negotiations and litigation involving a wide range of Māori claims to lands, forests, fisheries and other resources.[142]

1990 to present

In 1990 Queen Elizabeth expressed the hopes of many New Zealanders in declaring that 'Working together, the people of New Zealand can make a country which is strong and united, and unique among the nations of the earth'.[143] There were serious protest actions by Māori activists from the 1990s onwards. The most famous were the 79-day occupation of Whanganui's Moutoa Gardens in 1995 as well as that of the Northland Takahue School, which was burnt down. There were also a series of symbolic actions, such as attacks on Victorian statues, on the America's Cup and on the lone pine on One Tree Hill, a significant volcanic landmark in Auckland.[144]
In May 2004, about 15,000 people marched on Parliament in protest (*hikoi*) against the pending passing of the Foreshore and Seabed Act. The fact that the Act vested ownership of the foreshore and seabed in the Crown while guaranteeing public access breeched Māori customary rights and did not take into account the Treaty of Waitangi. The Act was passed in November 2004.[145]

The *hikoi* (protest march) on the bridge, Waitangi, 1984.

Ans Westra, 1984

Outside the Treaty grounds, Waitangi, 1982.

Ans Westra, 1982

TREASURES

TAONGA

***Waka taua* at Waitangi Day Celebration, 6 February 2010.**
Herman de Boer, Museum Volkenkunde 2010

The objects that will be discussed in this chapter would commonly be called 'art'. However, Māori have no equivalent for the word 'art'.[146] Instead, *taonga* (treasures) is used, which refers to a wide variety of things, as explained later. The perception of *taonga* has evolved in Western thought. Some objects were first called 'curios' and then 'artefacts', but are now called *taonga*.[147] The *taonga* featured in this chapter include carvings, canoes, storehouses, tools, items of personal adornment, weapons, treasure boxes, tattooing, treasures of the sea, and fibre arts that were made by men and/or women. Some aspects of the more intangible heritage will be touched upon, such as the *haka* and *Te Reo Māori*, the Māori language, on which the performing arts of oratory and song rely.

WHAT ARE *TAONGA*?

Taonga or 'treasure' is a word applicable to a wide variety of tangible and intangible things. It can refer to elements of the natural environment, to people, objects, and non-material entities.[148] The Western separation between the material and immaterial world is not relevant in this context.[149] *Taonga* are passed down from ancestors. They are always related to particular lands and their resources and therefore embody the common identity of a Māori *whānau*, *hapū*, or *iwi* (see Chapter 2). Tangible *taonga* include, amongst others, woven cloaks, greenstone and wooden weapons, carved wooden war canoes and ancestors, musical instruments, personal adornment, decorated containers, but also geothermal hot pools or fishing grounds. Intangible treasures comprise the knowledge to carve, to recite genealogy (*whakapapa*), or to sing a lament, the practice of Te Reo Māori (Māori language), and the execution of performing arts. As they are handed down through the generations, *taonga* become more valuable and accumulate *mana* and stories (*kōrero*). The greater the ancestor to whom the *taonga* once belonged, the greater its *mana*. The treasures are seen as personifications of particular ancestors who are represented, for example, in a wood carving. However, sometimes the connection to ancestors is not visible in the materiality of objects. *Kōrero*, stories, assist in explaining during which important historical event, at what place or by whom *taonga* were used, thus linking the treasures to the ancestors and to the land.[150]

Meeting with *taonga*

When Māori experience particular *taonga*, they respond to them as if they concerned living things: they feel their ancestral spirit (*wairua*) as presence (*ihi*), awe (*wehi*) and authority (*wana*).[151] *Taonga* are protected and reactivated through rituals and incantations (*karakia*) and through close multisensorial contact: it is important to feel, to smell, to see, and in some cases to hear or taste these treasures.[152] *Taonga* do not 'represent' the ancestors, they *are* the ancestors. For contemporary Māori, meeting *taonga* equates to encountering forebears. *Taonga* not only link the past to the present, they also act as guides to help people understand complex *whakapapa* lines.[153] They thus connect the living to the dead and animate relations between the living.[154] *Taonga* allow Māori to draw on customary knowledge to move towards the future. For Māori, the past is in front of them because they can see it; conversely, the unknown future lies behind them.

Exchanging *taonga*

Treasures are exchanged or given spontaneously at important public events. The receiver of *taonga* becomes the custodian, not the owner, and holds them in trust for future generations.[155] For more than two hundred years, Europeans have been bound into these networks of exchange and private collectors have also become the guardians of *taonga*. Over the years the treasures were integrated into museum collections and became accessible to the public at large. *Taonga* interlink the ancestors with the successive collectors, owners and museums. Thus the *taonga* continue to animate a network of relationships between the present-day descendants of their consecutive keepers and the museum-going public.[156]

Shifting meanings

The process of colonisation affected the indigenous historic meaning of *taonga*. Currently, when not used in the cultural field, the term has a legalistic definition, as it is used in claims for stolen patrimony. In this context, it has the same connotations as the English word 'heritage': something that is precious and historic and needs to be saved and preserved.[157] This is undoubtedly a restrictive meaning to the dynamic aspect of *taonga* that used to be exchanged in tribal trade networks and in commerce between Māori and Europeans.[158]

CARVING

He toi whakairo
He mana tangata

Where there is artistic excellence
There is human dignity[159]

The carver

While carving was originally the exclusive domain of men, today the art can be carried out by both men and women.[160] The activity includes carving wood, stone, or skin (tattooing) and is highly *tapu*. To protect the artist, the intended users or owners and the community from supernatural harm, the carver has to observe several ritual restrictions. During the carving project, *noa* objects or activities need to be kept away. The carver should, moreover, abstain from smoking and sex; chips and shavings should be brushed away or tipped off; no mistakes should be made in the composition and the carver should make sure that the work is turned over at night so that the sculpted surface is not visible to anyone. Transgression of any one of these prescriptions is believed to have serious consequences including the cancelling of the building project, or even the death of the carver, the patron or the family.[161] In the past, carvers of canoes and buildings, including storehouses and meeting houses, were paid for their specialist work in food and *taonga*. These could be a finely woven cloak, nephrite weapons and ornaments. The expert carver was also offered the hospitality of the people for whom he worked. From the time of European contact onwards in the early nineteenth century, blankets, guns, ammunition and cash payment were another mode of remuneration.[162]

The origins of carving

The *tapu* origins of carving are told in the Ngāti Porou tribal myth of Rua-te-pupuke, the first human to gain knowledge of carving and to bring it from the world of gods to that of humans. Rua's son, Manu, went fishing in a toy boat. However, he offended the sea god Tangaroa by not asking the god's permission to fish and by not returning the first caught fish to the sea. Tangaroa was angry and carried Manu away to his house beneath the sea where he set Manu up as a gable figure (*tekoteko*) in his house. Looking for his son, Rua-te-pupuke found him, but was very surprised to hear the carvings in the house talk to each other. An old woman advised Rua-te-pupuke to block up the cracks in the house so that no daylight could enter and these creatures of the darkness could be overcome. At night, Tangaroa returned home with his fish children, who sang and danced. After having slept the whole night they had not

Māori woodcarver working with metal tools.
Museum Volkenkunde RMV 11606-13, National Publicity Studios collection, c. 1970.

noticed a new day had begun. When Rua-te-pupuke opened the door, they were all caught in the light. He killed them, and set fire to the house to avenge his son. However, he rescued Manu together with some of the porch carvings, which could not talk. The sculptures became models for carvings in this world, but sadly, like their prototypes, they cannot speak.[163]

Designs

The myth of carvings capable of talking, justifies the standard set up for carved objects: they should be able to communicate effectively. Poor carving work is considered 'dull, dry and stammering', not contributing to successful communication. Adding pearl shell (*pāua*) to the eyes of carved figures helps them to communicate, because shells are taken from the realm of Tangaroa, where carvings

Carved figure holding a lizard-shaped image, part of the central pole in a meeting house or *poutokomanawa*. It came from a house that was gifted by the Whakatohea tribe of Opotiki to the Te Aitanga a Mahaki tribe of north Gisborne. Arawa-style, Bay of Plenty, nineteenth century.
Museum Volkenkunde RMV 3414-2, 124 cm. Purchased: Kunsthandel L. van Lier, 1957

could once talk. Moreover, for Rua's son Manu, his intense stare was the only way to cry for help and get the attention of his father. The aesthetic form and the function of a carved *taonga* are inseparable. The design elements contribute to the effectiveness of the tool, weapon, musical instrument, treasure box or figure. There are four major types of motifs that can be used: the human figure, the supernatural being *manaia*, real animals and surface patterns. These elements are arranged in free compositions.[164]

A *tiki*, is a human figure rendered naturalistically or in a stylised way. It represents an ancestor in abstracted form. Sometimes a particular ancestor can be identified through specific body tattooing or an object he is carrying. Scholars agree that a naturalistic portrayal refers to an ancestor set in his domestic, social and political world, whereas the stylised figure emphasises the mystical power of an ancestor in relation to the world of spirits.[165] There are many interpretations of the *manaia* figure. Some scholars say it represents a bird-headed man, or a human shape in profile. For

Flat rectangular treasure box or *papa hou* decorated with a male and female figure lying together. Probably from the Auckland area.
Museum Volkenkunde RMV 1877-14, 7 x 44 x 15 cm. Donated: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunst en Wetenschappen, 1914

others *manaia* encompass a range of avian, reptilian, human and imaginary features. Each full-frontal *tiki*-face has a matching *manaia* face. *Manaia* probably represent guardians.[166] Animals have significant symbolic meanings. Birds are protective spirits in Māori thought, while lizards are a sign of *tapu* and bring life and death. Māori carving is characterised by its abundance of surface patterns, which include spirals and linear motifs. Each decoration has a specific name that usually refers to the natural world. Examples include fish scales (*anaunahi*), fern fronds (*rauponga*), shoots of young flax (*ritorito*) and spider's webs (*pūwerewere*).[167]

Styles

There are many carving styles, usually following tribal boundaries. However, on the North Island two main style divisions can be distinguished: the north-western style area comprises parts of the Waikato, Hauraki (Coromandel Peninsula) and Taranaki regions; the central and eastern style area comprises the Bay of Plenty, Taupo, Whanganui, Hawke's Bay, the East Coast, and Poverty Bay. In the north-western style area, the human figure is central with little room for surface decoration. The figures are sinuously curved and rhythmically entwined. Most of the carvings of this area were done with stone tools. The central and eastern style area is characterised by square figures, which are often subordinate to the spirals of the surface decoration. The earliest carvings were done with stone tools, but the transition to metal tools was made rapidly in this area.[168]

No matter which carving style is used, time and space are dealt with in a similar way. The spatial organisation is thus: things are always meant to be seen from the front. Even when dealing with fully free-standing three-dimensional objects such as palisade posts, for example, the carving never really frees itself from the surface. Perspective is not used either. When human ancestors (*tiki*) are represented, signs of age are not visible: they are portrayed in a timeless ageless state. Moreover, processes of getting somewhere or doing something are never shown. Instead the activity is frozen in time.[169]

Tools

He iti te toki e rite ana ki te tangata
A little adze can do as much work as a man[170]

Toki or adzes were essential tools in the construction of large structures such as canoes, storage houses and meeting houses. The discovery of nephrite (*pounamu*) on the west coast of the South Island and the inland region of Otago was very important in the development of more effective tools. Greenstone was brought to the North Island through trade networks. Adzes made of *pounamu* were the most highly valued because they kept a sharp edge and were very hard. They actually gave the same cut as metal tools.[171] Sandstone, quartz or greywacke saws and files were used to cut them to shape and polish them. The whole process could take days or even weeks. Chants (*karakia*) carried out by a ritual expert (*tohunga*) cleared the way for the tree, considered an embodiment of the god of the forest Tāne Mahuta, to be felled. The first cut was made with a ritual adze (*poutangata*). This practice still continues today.

Stone blades of different sizes could be incorporated into specialised carving tools for drilling holes and for chiselling. Mallets for striking the wooden chisel handle were made of whale bone or wood.[172]

In coastal areas, the change from stone to metal tools happened much earlier as metal obtained from the explorers' ships was used.[173] Inland areas started using metal much later. Very soon, coastal Māori tribes transformed the scrap metal they acquired into tools. As trade with Europeans increased, Māori obtained factory-made utensils, which soon replaced their home-made metal implements. As with pre-European *taonga*, metal tools carried with them the *mana* of the previous owner, and thus became highly *tapu* objects.[174]

Ceremonial adze decorated with a bird-man and lizard on the blade end and a two-sided symmetrical human face on the other end. This type of adze was used to make the first ceremonial cut in woodwork.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 4552-1, 59 x 31 x 7,5 cm.

Purchased: Paul Rutten, 1972

THE CANOE OR *WAKA*

During the 2010 Waitangi Day celebrations, *waka* from various tribes came to Waitangi to commemorate the national day, creating a stirring sight at dawn off Tī Beach and around the Waitangi River estuary. The 170th anniversary celebration marked the 'Year of the Waka'. A fleet of at least thirty *waka* were put to sea and paddled to Hobson's Beach where the huge ceremonial *waka* Ngātokimatawhaorua was escorted out into Pewhairangi Bay (Bay of Islands). Ngātokimatawhaorua was celebrating its 70th anniversary. It had initially been built for the 1940 centennial Treaty of Waitangi commemoration. It can carry eighty paddlers and fifty-five passengers.

The *waka taua* as a marker of prestige

Originally designed to transport a large party of warriors as quickly as possible, war canoes (*waka taua*) were strategic assets for military expeditions along the extensive coastline and inland waterways. These war canoes were regarded as *tapu*: neither women nor food were allowed on board. The way to enter the canoe was ritually prescribed as it signified entering the body of an ancestor, with the hull as his backbone. *Waka taua* ranged from nine to thirty metres in length. They could carry up to a hundred highly trained warriors, who worked in unison to the commands

Representation of a war canoe by Sydney Parkinson (1745?-1771), hand-coloured engraving, 22,5 x 36,5 cm.
Reference No. B-085-013 Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

***Waka* at Hobson's Beach for the Waitangi Day Celebration, 6 February 2010.**
F.W. Veys, Museum Volkenkunde 2010

***Waka* with a contemporary double-hulled canoe in the background, Waitangi Day Celebration, 6 February 2010.**
F.W. Veys, Museum Volkenkunde 2010

of their leader standing amidships and to the sound of war chants. The *waka taua* was the main marker of tribal identity before the advent of the meeting house.[175] *Waka* carving traditions were revitalised from the 1990s onwards when twenty-one ceremonial *waka taua* were commissioned to mark the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.[176] *Waka taua* carried personal names, which resonated historically and were the focus, pride and prestige of the *hapū* (subtribe) that owned them. Indeed, chiefs demonstrated their influence and resources by attracting carvers and builders to construct a fully decorated canoe. Some subtribes had their own experts (*tohunga*), but many had to rely on specialists imported from other tribes. Sometimes *waka taua* were obtained from another group by the exchange of weapons or fine woven cloaks; others were captured in warfare.[177]

***Waka* at Waitangi Day Celebration, 6 February 2010.**
F.W. Veys, Museum Volkenkunde 2010

Carving a *waka taua*

Waka taua were made from the very hard wood of the *tōtara* (*Podocarpus totara*) or *kauri* (*Agathis australis*) tree, which grow very tall. One tree is enough to carve a complete *waka taua*. After carefully selecting the tree, appropriate ritual was not only carried out to appease the forest god, Tāne Mahuta, but also Rata, the mythological forerunner of canoe builders throughout the Polynesian world. The tree was felled and preliminary shaping of the hull took place, before dragging it to the water's edge. There, the carved prow, stern and sides were lashed with flax fibre. The stern consists of a *manaia* holding two ribs symbolising knowledge and life. The outer surface of the hull was finished with a fine adzing pattern, improving the speed of the *waka* through the water.[178]

Kauri tree trunk from which the Museum Volkenkunde *waka* is carved. Hector Busby's grounds, Doubtful Bay by Taupa in Northland.
Museum Volkenkunde 2010

THE STOREHOUSE OR *PĀTAKA*

Ko te tohu o te rangatira he pātaka whakairo e tū ana i roto i te pā tūwatawata
The sign of a chief is a carved storehouse standing inside a fortified village [179]

The elaborately carved raised storehouse (*pātaka*) was set up on the *marae* (meeting grounds), in front of the chief's house, and constituted an important symbol of wealth and prestige. It held gourds with dried meat and fish, weapons, mats, wooden bowls, and fishing and agricultural equipment. Many were built using the timber from defeated enemy war canoes. In so doing, the *mana* of the enemy was seriously undermined: the highly *tapu* canoe was turned into a building designed to hold amongst others *noa* objects. Storehouses were popular until the second half of the nineteenth century, but disappeared around the 1870s as large meeting houses became the symbol of tribal prestige. Very few complete *pātaka* have survived to this day. The symbolism of the storehouses of the Bay of Plenty area is the most well known. Here, the two prominent themes are: whale or sea monsters depicted together with embracing couples, showing the fertility and abundance necessary for the general welfare of the tribe; and *manaia* figures across the threshold beams, symbolising and helping to facilitate the transition from the primal state of undifferentiated matter to life in this world and to the afterworld.[180]

Carved head which might have come from a pole or storage house.
Museum Volkenkunde RMV 6106-2, 26.5 x 17 x 15 cm.
Purchased: A. Meyer, 2009

WEAPONS

Māori weaponry is regaining popularity, especially through its use in cultural group performances (*kapa haka*) or classes given on the *marae*. Weapons are much more than objects causing death. They are still major items of prestige. Even after the introduction of guns in the 1860s, where the guns' butts were often intricately carved, Māori weapons retained their importance. It is known that some Māori soldiers took their customary weapons with them to the Boer Wars and both World Wars. Weapons are still carried today during protest marches, or by orators during speeches and ceremonial occasions.[181]

Weapons and prestige

Ka tuwhera te tāwaha o te riri, kāore e titiro ki te ao mārama
The gates of war are open and man no longer takes notice of the world of light [182]

For Māori in the past, conflicts could arise for a variety of reasons: disputes over and competition for territory and resources, retaliation for insults, and attacks on people or *mana*. Warfare required particular skills, techniques and protocols, which were taught in the school of martial knowledge, the *whare tū taua*. Young boys and sometimes girls were trained in martial skills by means of games. When older, they learned the skills for close-quarter combat using both short-handled and long-handled weapons. Young men who proved particularly talented often specialised in combat tactics and military strategy. Through their association with renowned warriors and chiefs, weapons could acquire particular notoriety, embodying the *mana* of the *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi* and thus possessing supernatural powers. Some were considered so *tapu* that people were afraid to handle them for fear of misfortune or illness.[183]

Types of weapons

Three types of weapons were available to a Māori warrior (*toa*) when preparing for battle: short-handled weapons, which are often mistaken for clubs and used with one hand; longer staff-like weapons, handled with two hands; and finally spears that were designed to be thrown.[184]

Carved *taiaha* with attached dog hair and parrot feathers.
Museum Volkenkunde RMV 2212-3, 164 x 6 cm. Purchased: J.F.G. Umlauff, 1930

Short-handled weapons

Patu and *mere*, on average 36 cm long and made of stone, *pounamu* or sperm whale bone, were weapons employed in close combat, which demanded swift footwork and agility from the warrior. They have an elongated and oval blade with a sharp striking edge. The warrior used them to attack his opponent's head and body with short, sharp, thrusting movements, which could cause serious injury and even death. Short-handled weapons such as *patu*, *wahaika* and *mere* were secured to the wrist with a cord, so they did not get lost in battle. *Wahaika* are only made of wood or whale bone and have a particular shape with an indent at the back of the weapon (*wahaika* means 'mouth of the fish').[185]

Nephrite short-handled weapon or *mere pounamu* which is also a prestigious object passed down as heirloom from generation to generation.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 1136-1, 45. 8 cm. Purchased: G.A. Frank, 1894

Short-handled weapon with several cords going through a hole in the handle. In this manner the weapon was prevented from dropping during combat.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 360-5598, 45.8 cm. Transfer: Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden, 1883

Early *wahaika*, possibly from the northern point of the North Island.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 6106-1, 34 x 9.5 x 2 cm. Purchased: A. Meyer, 2009

***Wahaika* embellished with surface decorations including a head with extended tongue and inlaid eyes.**

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 539-17, 54 x 16 cm. Purchased: Grand Magasin du Printemps, 1886

***Wahaika* embellished with surface decorations. A *manaia* figure is placed close to the handle.**

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 4552-4, 40 cm. Purchased: Paul Rutten, 1972

***Wahaika* embellished with surface decorations. A *manaia* figure is placed close to the handle.**

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 2399-22, 40.5 cm. Donated: Miss R. Käyser, 1939

***Wahaika* embellished with surface decorations. A small *manaia* figure is placed close to the handle.**

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 4552-3, 36 cm. Purchased: Paul Rutten, 1972

Whale bone *wahaika* embellished with surface decorations. A *manaia* figure is placed close to the handle.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 1877-13, 33.5 x 9 cm. Donated: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunst en Wetenschappen, 1914.

Plain *wahaika*.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 4552-2, 42.5 cm. Purchased: Paul Rutten, 1972

Long-handled weapons

The most prestigious of the weapons used in long-range combat was the *taiaha*. It varies in size from 1.2 to 1.9 metres long and has a striking blade on one end and a carved face on each side of the other end. Each face has a protruding tongue with eyes that see in all directions, exemplifying the alertness of the warrior. The eyes are inlaid with *pāua* shell so as to intensify their gaze. Many *taiaha* are decorated with tufts of dog hair and red feathers of the *kākā* (*Nestor meridionalis*). A well executed blow from the *taiaha* could cave in the skull and kill the warrior instantly.[186] *Tewhatewha* were another type of long-range weapon referred to as 'battle axes' and averaged 1.1 metres long. They consist of a shaft ending in a point at one end and a broad quarter-round head at the striking end. The peculiarity of this axe is that it was the edge of the shaft in front of the rounded head that was used to strike. They were often handled by chiefs to signal to warriors during battle or on the *marae*, or to mark time for paddlers in a *waka taua*. Because of its particular shape it stood out from all the other weapons. The feathers that were attached contributed to their visibility.[187]

***Taiaha* decorated with carved faces.**

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 330-4, 178 cm. Purchased: Professor Moseley, 1882

***Taiaha* decorated with carved faces.**

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 661-1, 159 cm. Purchased: J.F.G. Umlauff, 1887

***Tewhatewha* decorated with a bundle of hawk feathers.**

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 2212-4, 134 cm. Purchased: J.F.G. Umlauff, 1930

The leader of the *waka taua* is holding a *tewhatewha*. Waitangi Day Celebration, 6 February 2010.
F.W. Veys, Museum Volkenkunde 2010

Though not generally agreed upon, *hoeroa* were most probably both ceremonial staffs and weapons. Owned by high-ranking men as symbols of prestige and authority, they were made from the jawbone of the sperm whale and often had fine carving.[188] The Museum Volkenkunde holds one of the very few examples existing in museum collections. It is, moreover, well documented. It belonged to the important Māori chief Tāmati Wāka Nene who was probably born in the 1780s. His *whakapapa* was impressive on both his father's and mother's sides. His father, Tapua, was a chief and ritual specialist (*tohunga*) belonging to the Ngāti Hao tribe of the Hokianga area. He was also related to the leaders of Whangaroa and Bay of Islands. Nene's mother was Te Kawehau, related to Hongi Hika who contributed together with Cambridge Professor Samuel Lee to the first orthography of Te Reo Māori. From a young age Nene excelled as a warrior. After numerous battles Nene became the most important chief in the Hokianga area. He protected the Wesleyan mission and the European traders. Ultimately he also became a Wesleyan Methodist in 1839 and chose the name Tāmati Wāka after Thomas Walker, a trader and protector of the Church Missionary Society. Nene was perceived by Europeans as a trustworthy chief who could be consulted for advice. He thought it was too late to turn one's back on the Europeans and the

Rare finely carved eighteenth-century *hoeroa* or long staff made of the jaw bone of a whale. It used to belong to the Māori chief Tāmati Waka Nene (1780?-1871).

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 6107-1, 70 x 29.5 x 7.8 cm.

Purchased: private dealer, 2009

Below:

Monument set up in memory of Tāmati Waka Nene, churchyard in Russell.

F.W. Veys, Museum Volkenkunde 2010

goods they had brought with them. That is why he convinced chiefs to sign the Treaty of Waitangi. Turmoil increased between Māori and Europeans after the period of 1840. In 1846, Nene went to Auckland to convince the governor to make peace and thus managed to increase his political power. He was seen as the saviour of the government and was finally recompensed with a pension of 100 pounds per year and a cottage in Russell. When Nene died in 1871, he was considered by both Europeans and Māori as a great leader with a lot of *mana*.[189]

The *hoeroa* was given by Nene to Colonel Dunn together with two other weapons. A descendant of Dunn offered it to James Hooper in 1932. James Hooper was a private collector of mainly Polynesian material. He founded the 'Totems Museum' in Arundel (Sussex, England). The largest part of his collection was sold to Christie's between 1976 and 1983.[190] The Museum Volkenkunde acquired the *hoeroa* in 2010 from a private collection.

TREASURE AND FEATHER BOXES – *WAKA HUIA* AND *PAPA HOU*

Treasure boxes and feather boxes (*waka huia* and *papa hou*) are *taonga* of personal significance and value. Both functional and beautiful, they stored personal valuables such as nephrite ornaments or feathers, worn by people of high rank. Most often they contained the black-and-white tail feathers of the now extinct *huia* (*Heteralocha acutirostris*). Treasure containers were hung from the rafters of a chief's house, and because they were mainly seen from below, they had as much carving on the bottom as on the top of the box. Because of their association with a chief, treasure boxes were regarded as *tapu*. They continued being made well into the nineteenth century.[191] Treasure boxes were not necessarily made by specialist carvers, but also by people with varying skills who stayed within the canon of their own tribal carving style. When European influence increased, experiments started in the central and eastern style areas of Gisborne, Rotorua, and Whanganui: boxes with flat surfaces and extended terminal figures appeared so that they could stand on a table or a mantelpiece.[192]

Carved feather box or *waka huia*.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 74-41, 56 cm. Exchange: Christy Collection, 1869

Carved feather boxes or *waka huia*.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 924-85, 51 x 12.5 x 12.3 cm. Purchased: H. Melges at auction, 1893

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 1877-15, 8 x 38 x 10 cm. Donated: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunst en Wetenschappen, 1914

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 360-7230, 13 x 49 x 15 cm. Transfer: Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden, 1883

PERSONAL ADORNMENT – *TAONGA WHAKARĀKAI*

> *A person anxious to follow the fashion to its highest level would need to dress his hair into a topknot, place a decorative comb beside it and stick two or three white feathers into the knot; have greenstone pendants and white feathers hanging from his ears; have the* rei puta *pendant suspended from his neck, have a dogskin cloak around his body; a belt around the waist and a string tied to his penis; have elaborate indelible tattoo designs over his face and forehead, and over his buttocks and thighs* […][193]

Māori adorned themselves with a wide range of items made of wood, bone and various types of stone to signify status and leadership and to show their *whakapapa*. Most ornaments were worn near or on the head, the *tapu* part of the body par excellence. When a chief donned these ornaments, they became even more *tapu* and were kept in special containers such as *waka huia* and *papa hou*.[194] The spatulate feathers of the *huia* were worn in the hair. Flowing plumes of the white heron (*Egretta alba*), the downy feathers of the albatross and red-tailed tropic birds (*Phaethon rubricauda*) were all prized earrings.[195]

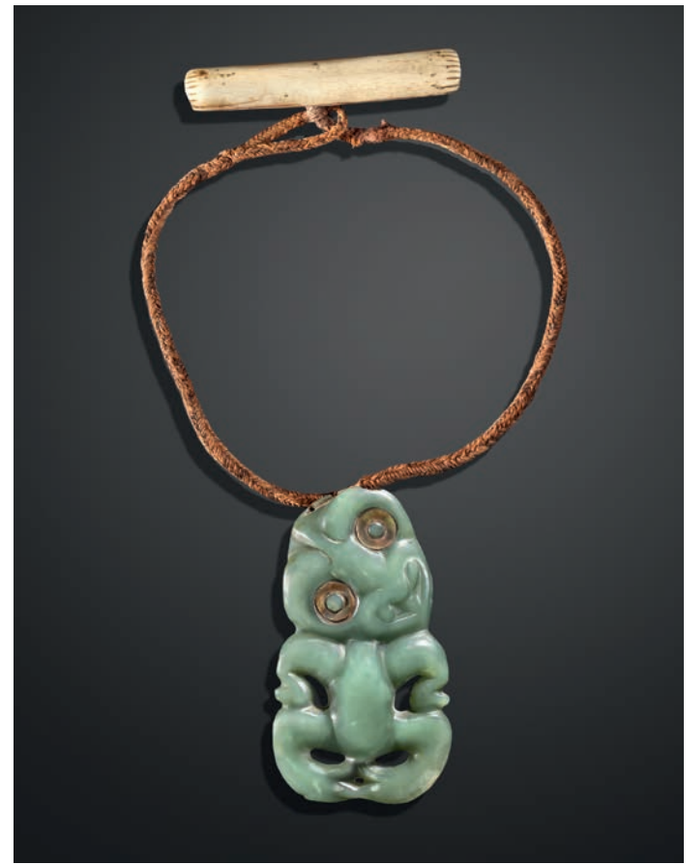
***Pounamu* ornaments**

As explained earlier, the discovery of *pounamu* in remote parts of the South Island led to big changes in what could be made and how it was made. At first, greenstone was only used for adzes and chisels because its very sharp cutting edge was excellent for woodcarving. *Pounamu*, however, revolutionised the styles of Māori personal adornment. Rare and precious, pieces of greenstone were manufactured into pendants, which were worn at the neck or from the ear.[196] Different shapes appeared, such as long earrings (*whakakai*), straight-lined pendants (*kuru*), and pendants with a curved lower end (*kapeu*). More complex shapes included bats (*pekapeka*), miniature eels (*koropepe*), birds and fish hooks (*hei matau*). Greenstone pendants were also made to tether pet birds. These rings, *pōria kākā*, were beautiful but also functional.[197]

Hei tiki* and *rei puta

The most distinctive of greenstone ornaments are the *hei tiki*. *Tiki* literally means 'human figure', which features in a lot of Polynesian art. *Hei* means 'to suspend'. Only Māori made highly stylised human figures to suspend from the neck. It is believed that *hei tiki* became common from the fifteenth century onwards, but increased greatly in popularity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[198] It is unclear what the significance of *hei tiki* is. It might symbolise Māori womanhood and the ability to bear children. Some scholars suggest they may also represent Tiki, the first man. At

Greenstone *hei tiki* with perforated eye that serves as suspension hole.
Collection: Cayetana & Anthony JP Meyer, 6.4 cm.



Greenstone *hei tiki* with bone toggle.
Collection: Caroline & George Jollès

times *hei tiki* were buried with their owner which made them particularly *tapu*. Very rarely, ornaments were made from human bone or from whale teeth or whale bone, a very prestigious material as Māori did not hunt sperm whale, but relied on beached whales. The whale tooth pendants, *rei puta*, have an engraved face on the tip. These ornaments were very much en vogue in the late eighteenth century.[199]

Combs

When Europeans came to New Zealand, they saw men wearing finely carved combs (*heru*). Long hair was high fashion for men who would oil it, plait it and then coil it on the head in a topknot. The hairdo would be finished off with bird feathers and a comb. Women in the past usually had their hair short because it was cut in times of mourning. However, younger women let it grow.[200]

TATTOOING – *TĀ MOKO*

Origins

In contemporary New Zealand, facial tattooing is experiencing a revival. It is an expression of Māori identity and belonging. The mythic origins of the practice are told in the story of Mataroa and Niwareka. Mataroa fell in love with Niwareka, a princess from the underworld. They married, but one day Mataroa beat her and she fled to her father Uetonga in the underworld. Mataroa followed her heartbroken, and when he reached her family his face paint was messy and spoilt. Uetonga wiped his face clean and said that Mataroa's people could not tattoo properly. Uetonga held Mataroa down and began to tattoo him. When he felt the pain, he started singing a song for Niwareka. Upon hearing this, she left her weaving work and went to Mataroa. She brought him to her house and took care of him until his wounds had healed. Mataroa told her they should go back to the world. When Mataroa failed to give one of Niwareka's cloaks to Kūwatawata, who had shown him the way to the underworld, he was forbidden ever to return to the underworld. Mataroa lived with his wife in the world and taught the people the art of tattooing, while Niwareka taught the art of weaving.[201]

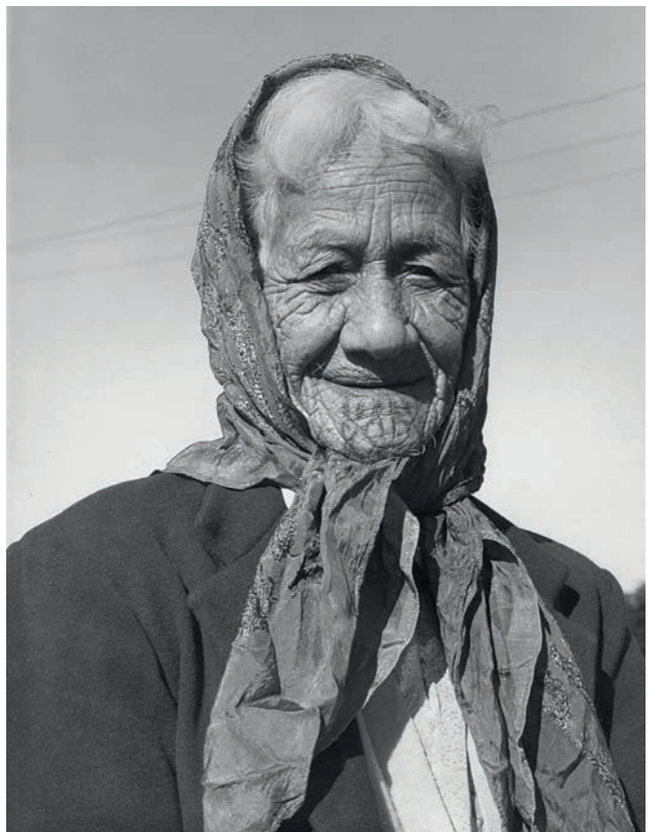
***Kuia* (grandmother) and *mokopuna* (granddaughter), coronation *hui*, Turangawaewae marae. Ngaruawahia, 1962.**
Ans Westra, 1962

The tattooed body

Archaeological research shows that the practice of tattooing was introduced by the Māori from their Polynesian homelands. Men were tattooed on the face and from the waist to the knees, but designs could also appear on the arms, shoulders, lower calves and back. Women generally had fewer *moko* (tattoos), only appearing on the upper lip, chin and nostrils. The chin *moko* for women remained important even into the 1970s and is growing in popularity again. *Moko* could also appear between the eyebrows or on the forehead. Full facial *moko* for women was rare. Other parts of the female body which could be tattooed were the limbs, shoulders, hips and the lower abdomen.[202]

Techniques

To produce the tattooed lines and pierce the skin the Māori used small bone chisels with a serrated edge, hafted on a wooden handle. The chisels were tapped rhythmically with a small wooden mallet. Pigment, giving an indigo blue-black or



Māori woman with *moko*, in Tikitiki, North Island.
Museum Volkenkunde RMV 11606-12, National Publicity Studios Collection, c. 1970

greenish colour, was produced by mixing soot with light fish or dog oil, or spring water. The resulting colour depended on the density of the soot that was obtained by burning caterpillars or resin. To achieve fast healing, the incisions were covered with split leaves of the *karaka* tree (*Corynocarpus laevigatus)*. Two techniques were used. Next to the puncture technique, which is mainly used today when tattoos are applied the traditional way, there was another method, consisting of carving the skin so as to imitate the patterns on wood. For this technique a different very sharp bone chisel was needed. The major design fields are symmetrical, while the secondary are not. Depending on the place where the tattoo appears, the design can be curvilinear or angular.[203] Not only the place where the tattooing was done but also the procedure itself was highly *tapu*: there was an evident risk of infection and in the case of facial tattooing the sacrality of the head was emphasised.[204] The person being tattooed was not allowed to engage in sexual activity or to consume solid food. A special type of feeding funnel (*kōrere*) was therefore developed to supply broth and fresh water to the patient.[205]

Mokamōkai

On 9 November 2005, the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, returned a tattooed head or *mokomōkai* to New Zealand which is now held at the Te Papa Tongarewa National Museum of New Zealand. In the nineteenth century, a trade in tattooed heads began to flourish, with some Māori slaves even being tattooed in view of decapitation. From 1993 onwards after an official declaration that human remains expressed *whakapapa* ties, Māori voices for the return to New Zealand of those heads which are in Western museums began to grow louder and resulted in many European museums returning heads. The latest in that series are the French museums. In May 2010, the French National Assembly voted a law so that fifteen Māori heads could be returned to Aotearoa, something which had been impossible in the past as museum collections belonged eternally to the French State.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS – *TAONGA PŪORO*

Taku pūtōrino
No wai ra ngā ngutu
Hei whakapā ki ōu
Hei puhi i te hou ora
Kia rangonahia anō te reo?

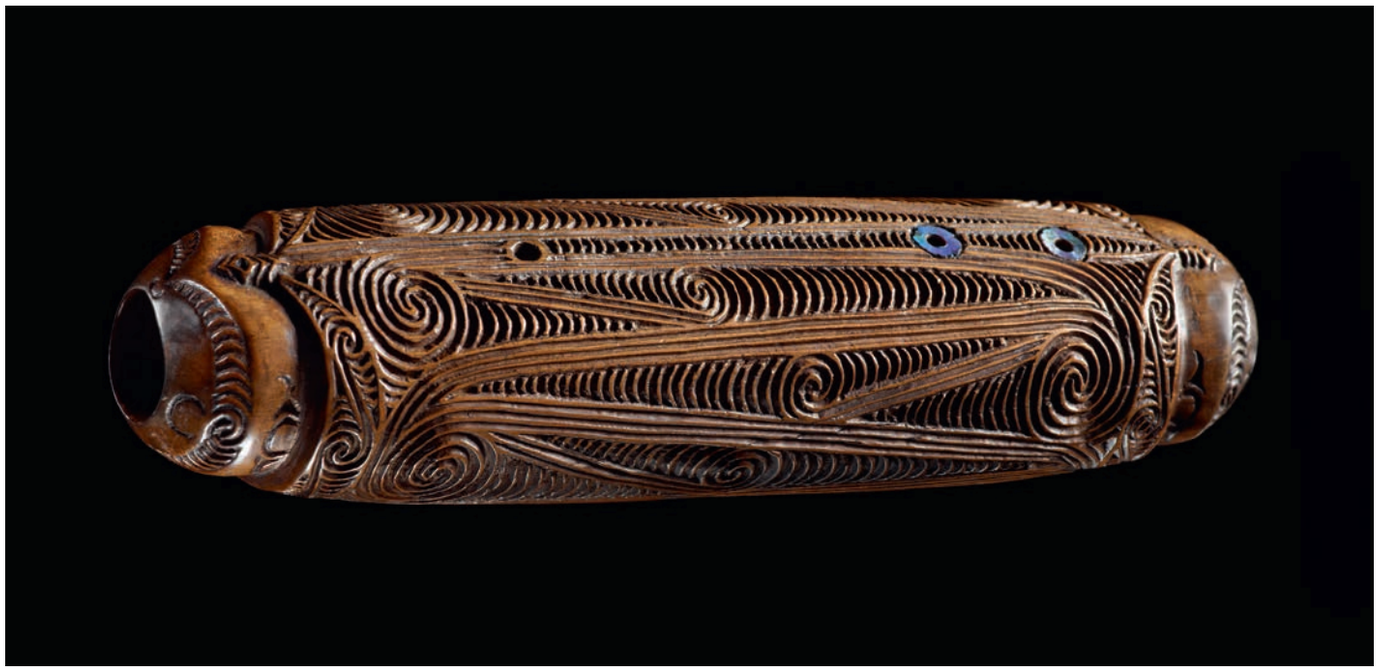
My pūtōrino,
Whose lips will touch yours,
Whose living breath
Will give you voice,
Again?[206]

Traditional Māori musical instruments (*taonga pūoro*) included flutes, trumpets, rhythm instruments and spinning blades. Music has its own creation story. From Ranginui came melody; from the heartbeat of Papatūānuku came rhythm. They gave birth to the *taonga pūoro*, which join rhythm and melody. The musical instruments capture the sounds of the natural environment, including birds, insects and wind, and accompany many occasions, expressing moods and emotions. There is music and song for mourning the departed, for the birth of a child, for insulting the enemy, for reciting genealogies, for fishing, for welcoming people onto the *marae*, in short, for all sorts of ritual occasions and life events.[207] Since the 1990s, there has been a renewal of interest in the making and playing of *taonga pūoro*. People like the late Dr Hirini Melbourne, musician Richard Nunns and carver Brian Flintoff have been instrumental in this revival, contributing to what is now known about Māori musical instruments. Together with other people they form the group Hau Manu, the breath of birds. 'Haumanu' in one word means as a verb 'to revive', 'to restore to health', 'to rejuvenate' and as a noun it signifies 'therapy'. Indeed, *taonga pūoro* are on a very particular and interesting journey, succeeding in making a place for themselves in contemporary New Zealand society. CDs are brought out with Māori music where the *tapu* protocol is respected: only music that everyone is allowed to hear is recorded. *Taonga pūoro* also play an increasingly important role during blessings of Māori exhibitions.[208]

Flutes

Flutes are the gift of the goddess Hine Raukatauri and feature prominently in entertainment.[209] The *kōauau* was heard in many Māori communities well into the early twentieth century and is still the most common Māori musical instrument today. It is usually made of bone and has three finger holes. Some, however, are made of wood and produce a more mellow sound, while stone *kōauau* have a clear ringing tone. They can be played by blowing through the mouth or the nose. Usually the mouthpiece is decorated with an ancestral face, therefore, the person blowing into a *kōauau* (or a *nguru*) is breathing into the lips of the ancestor.[210]

The *kōauau* is known through the story of Hinemoa and Tūtānekai as a courting



Wooden *kōauau* decorated with pearl shell dating to the early nineteenth century.
Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, ME002514, 17.6 x 1.7 x 1.6 cm

instrument.[211] Tūtānekai lived on the island Mokaia in Lake Rotorua and played on his *kōauau* in the evening. His music entranced the beautiful Hinemoa. She lived in Owhata on the shore of Lake Rotorua. When Tūtānekai visited the mainland with his group he met Hinemoa and they fell in love. The young man had to return to his island but the lovers agreed that he would play every night and that Hinemoa would follow the sounds of his music to come to him. Tūtānekai played his serenade every night but Hinemoa, a chief's daughter, was destined for a politically motivated marriage. The family suspected something undesirable was going on and all canoes were hidden to stop her going to Tūtānekai. Determined, the girl sought six dried

gourds to use as a floating aid and swam guided by the sound of the *kōauau* to the island two kilometres away. Exhausted, the brave girl went ashore near the hot springs of Waikimihia, rested and freshened up. There Hinemoa found Tūtānekai. The Te Arawa were so impressed by her bravery that they agreed to confirm the union of the two lovers.[212] The word *kōauau* appears in the world's longest place name: Te Taumatawhakatangihangakōauauotamateaturipukakapikimaungahoronukupokaiwhenuakitanatahu, which translates as 'The summit where Tamatea, the man with the big knees, the climber of mountains, the land-swallower who travelled about, played his flute to his loved one'. Women in particular are thought to be very sensitive to the call of this flute. Cautious husbands usually kept a careful eye on their wives so that they would not be attracted by the luring music of a handsome musician.[213]

Bone *kōauau*.
Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, ME003932, 17.7 x 3 x 2.8 cm

Nguru are straight flutes with one end curving upwards. They usually have four finger holes and are made from whale ivory, stone, wood, clay and gourd stems. They have a fuller tone than the *kōauau* and are mostly played through the mouth.[214]

The *pūtōrino* is described as a bugle-flute and is uniquely Māori. It has a male voice which is heard when the instrument is played like the bugle and a female voice when the instrument is side-blown. The *pūtōrino* is made by splitting a piece of wood into two pieces, hollowing them out, and binding them together again. The instrument

Wooden *nguru*, nineteenth century.

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Oldman Collection, gift of the New Zealand Government 1992, OL000022, 5.2 x 15.5 x 4.5 cm

Wooden *pūtōrino*, early nineteenth century.

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, WE000585, 51.5 x 4.6 x 4.7 cm

resembles the cocoon of the small native moth (*Liothula omnivorus*), which embodies Hine Raukatauri, deity of flutes. Her voice is pure, high and attractive.[215] The moth is called *pūtōrino-a-Raukatauri*. Its caterpillar spins itself into a bag, camouflages it with thin leaves and hangs from a branch. Finally the male moths fly away while their female counterparts remain in their hanging houses calling for their lovers. It is this small sound that all Māori flute music uses to find the right pitch and to tune.[216]

Trumpets

In former times, the *pūkāea*, a trumpet made of two pieces of split wood and bound with aerial roots of the *kiekie* (*Freycinetia banksii*) was used during war. It gathered the troops in battle, announced the coming of an enemy or showed that the fortified village was on the lookout. It could also be used as a loudspeaker to shout insults.[217]

The *pūtātara* or conch shell trumpet, often bound to a wooden mouthpiece, is generally used as a signalling instrument for the arrival of the firstborn or visitors, to convene a meeting on the *marae* or to announce the start of the planting season. Shell trumpets were very rare and for this reason were taken good care of.[218]

Rhythm instruments

Poi are two balls connected to each other by a string. They are usually made of organic material; the woven examples (*poi tāniko*) are very rare. *Poi* generally consist of *raupō* leaves filled with the down of the *raupō* flower (*Typha angustifolia*) and are swung on flax (*muka*) handles. Today, synthetic materials are employed. *Poi* are twirled and beaten against the hand or the body to provide a rhythmic accompaniment to singing and dance movements.[219]

Tōkere are little pieces of bone, wood or shell held in the hands and hit against each other in pretty much the same way as castanets. They accompany certain songs.[220]

Spinning blades

De *kōrorohū* is a whizzing sound producing instrument made of a mostly oval shaped, thin piece of wood or pumpkin peel, not bigger than 7.5 cm to 10 cm in length and 3 cm in width. In the centre there are two small holes about half a centimetre apart through which a string of twisted flax fibre passes, knotted at the ends. The *kōrorohū* is traditionally referred to as a toy for children but adults from certain areas also used it: it was twirled above the chests and faces of sleeping children who suffered a cold or flu. The vibrations helped the expectoration of phlegm. Next to the healing function, the instrument was also used to accompany songs and poetry.[221]

The *pūrorohū* is similar to the *kōrorohū* , but it is bigger, between 30 cm and 45 cm. It is also known as a toy for children. However, it could also accompany incantations (*karakia*), conjure up rain in weather rituals, chase away bad spirits at funerals (*tangihanga*), make the loved one return as charm words were being pronounced, lure away lizards from their holes and prepare for war.[222]

Wooden spinning blade (*pūrorohū*) decorated with a *kowhaiwhai* motif.
Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Gift of Mr Alexander Horsburgh Turnbull, 1913, ME002621, 22.9 x 8.0 x 0.94 cm

TREASURES OF THE SEA

Fish hook probably used by a ceremonial specialist or *tohunga*.
Museum Volkenkunde RMV 547-4, 10 x 12 x 2.5 cm.
Purchased: L. Yvan, 1886

Fish and seafood remain an essential food source for Māori. Providing guests with seafood, particularly at important events, is a way of showing you care for them (*manaakitanga*). In the past, depending on the species, Māori fished with nets and traps, although hooks, lines and sinkers ensuring that nets sank to the desired depths were also used. These objects were functional, but often also finely made. Lines and hooks were very popular for catching *hāpuku* (*Polyprion oxygeneios*), a coastal dwelling wreckfish, as well as voracious surface feeders such as *kahawai* (*Arripis trutta*) or Eastern Australian salmon or seatrout, and barracuda. The latter were caught with a specialised hook called *pā kahawai*. Hooks varied in size and shape, and were carved from wood, bone, stone or shell. Lines were made of processed flax fibre twisted into cord, and were therefore very strong. Customary fishing practices were governed by tides, seasons and ecological knowledge.[223]

FIBRE ARTS

Nau Mai e Hine

Nau mai e hine –
Raranga whakapaepae ana rā
Taku kete taku tō
Ko te aho tuatahi ko te Kāhui Muka
He taura tangata i tō mai i te pō
I takea mai nei i Hawaiki rā anō
Ko te aho tuarua
Ko te whītau ka roia
Hei kaka ka mahana i a tātou
Ko te aho tuatoru
Ko te kiekie anga tai
He anga matakite, he anga matawhiri ki te ao parauri
Ko te aho tuawhā
Nei, ko te rito o te harakeke
Te pū tahitanga o Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa

Welcome o Daughter

Welcome o daughter
To the sacred basket of knowledge
Here delicately woven before you
The first thread is the assembly of scraped harakeke leaves
A human bond that connects us from the homeland
Through the passage of time
The second thread is the harakeke provided here
From which cloaks were woven that now keep us warm
The third thread
Is the kiekie plant that faces the great oceans –
All seeing – providing a pathway carefully entwined to the distant haze
Here then is the fourth strand
The Spirit of the harakeke
Which connects us all as Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa[224]

***Tangi* (funeral), Ngaruawahia, 1963. Note the beautiful cloak draped over the coffin.**

Ans Westra, 1963

The fibre arts were predominantly the domain of women. They made cloaks, plaited mats (including sails), baskets, footwear, belts, waist mats and other household items. Women passed on the knowledge of techniques and materials from one generation to the next. In pre-contact Māori society, men were also involved in fibre arts, but restricted themselves to cordage and binding techniques necessary for canoe and house building as well as fishing and hunting. Weaving today is not exclusively a woman's skill anymore but can be learned and enjoyed by anyone.[225] In the twenty-first century, cloaks play a central role in social life as markers of pride in cultural identity, status and *mana*. They are worn at weddings, graduations and other occasions such as welcoming ceremonies, and draped over coffins at funerals. Woven items provide the thread that links ancestors to their living descendants. The shared vocabulary used to describe genealogical relations and techniques of cloth production testifies to the fibre arts' linking qualities.[226]

Materials

When the Māori arrived in New Zealand, they brought with them the knowledge and the skills necessary to make barkcloth. As the paper mulberry tree (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), of which the inner bark is used to make barkcloth, did not thrive in New Zealand, Māori had to look for other options. There is evidence of the use of birdskins to make aprons, but sealskin and dogskin also provided clothing. Through trial and error the first settlers discovered that the fine flax or *harakeke* (*Phormium tenax*) and the coarser mountain flax or *whaririki* (*Phormium cookianum*) proved important resources for weft twining. According to the strength, length and size of the leaves, the different flax varieties are used for floor mats (long leaves), harvesting and gathering baskets (strong short strips) and fishing nets and traps (long and strong leaves).[227] Other plant materials included leaves of *kiekie* (*Freycinetia baueriana*) to make decorations on baskets, mats and lattice wall panels (*tukutuku*); leaves of *pingao* (*Desmoschoenus spiralis*) were worked into baskets, decorative wall panels and mats. The New Zealand cabbage tree (*Cordyline australis*) was stronger than flax and used for cordage and ropes. Feathers from a wide range of New Zealand birds were often incorporated in the cloaks or worn as ornaments in the hair.[228] Strict protocols and restrictions are observed both for the gathering of material and the weaving itself.[229]

Colours

The colour scheme included black, red/brown and yellow, all of which were obtained from natural materials. Nowadays synthetic dyes are used. The making of black dye was and is surrounded by ritual prohibitions and the location of the black mud needed for its production was and is kept secret.[230] As everywhere else in Polynesia, red was considered sacred. Only the most important chiefs wore cloaks with red feathers. Red in the form of ochre was applied on both persons and things.[231]

Plaiting or *raranga*

The basic techniques of plaiting were brought to New Zealand from tropical Polynesia where coconut and pandanus leaves were used instead of strips of flax and *kiekie*. For plaiting, the strips are laid diagonally while others go under or above one or more strips, thus allowing the production of a variety of patterns and objects. In order to obtain a fine close plaiting, the strips are boiled, then left to dry. They hereby shrink so that no further contracting takes place in the process of plaiting. Patterned mats or *whāriki* are used in the carved meeting house and spread on the floor for visitors.[232] Sir Apirana Ngata was instrumental in promoting the refurbishment of meeting houses through the founding of the School of Māori Arts and Crafts in 1929. However,

as Ngata encouraged the wearing of shoes inside meeting houses, the School did not teach *raranga* because mats would wear out too quickly. Custom prevailed however, and people continued to remove their shoes (see Chapter 2). Finally, both plaiting and fine weaving were revitalised in the 1950s by the Māori Women's Welfare League, and in particular by Rangimarie Hetet (1892-1995).[233] Baskets or *kete* included work baskets for gathering cultivated and wild food. Each set was used for one purpose only. There were also specialised baskets for sweet potato which were made of untreated flax and woven in such a way that the flax strips would curl outwards and therefore not damage the thin skin of the tuber. Baskets for gathering shellfish and diving for seafood were also made from untreated flax. Both types were open-plaited, with spaces between the weave so that the loose soil from the tubers or the water and sand from the shellfish could easily fall or seep through. *Kete* today display a variety of patterns that closely resemble those of the plaited mats. They are used for carrying and storing valuable objects or personal items. Presently they are an important mark of pride and cultural identity.[234]

Cloak-weaving or *whatu kākahu*

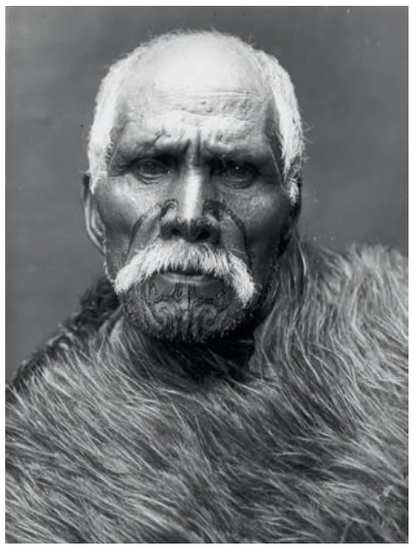
He māhiti ki runga,
He paepaeroa ki raro,
Koia nei te kākahu o te rangatira.

A dogskin cloak over the shoulders,
A fine tāniko cloak round the waist,
These are proper garments for a chief.[235]

For cloak-weaving, no loom is used. The technique is called finger-weaving. The only tools are upright weaving sticks. Vertical warps are set up between the pegs and wefts are twined across them from left to right. While loom-weaving progresses away from the weaver, finger-weaving works downwards and is therefore also called downward-weaving. Most cloaks are woven upside down: the bottom edge is furthest away from the weaver and the weaving continues downwards to finish at the upper edge of the cloak.[236]

Until the early nineteenth century, dogskin cloaks (*kahu kurī*) were the most prestigious of cloaks. Strips of dogskin arranged by hair colour were sewn by two men to a foundation of tightly woven flax fibre, which had been made by women. The dogs had come with the early arrivals. When the Polynesian dog disappeared as a breed by

Wanganui chief wearing a *kaitaka* cloak with elaborate *tāniko* border, before 1900.
Museum Volkenkunde RMV A212-4, W.F. Gordon Collection



Chief Tupotahi from the North Island, wearing a *kahu kiwi* and a *moko*, c. 1970?
Museum Volkenkunde RMV 11606-17, National Publicity Studios Collection

1870, flax and feather cloaks became key symbols of chiefly prestige.[237]

Rain capes (*para* or *pākē*) came in different forms. Some were basic and others were more prestigious. They were in any case very efficient at protecting its wearer, as the strips of unprocessed fibre woven into the cape acted as 'spouts' and guided the rain water down. They could be worn around the waist and the shoulders. A black and shiny type of rain cloak was worn by warriors of the chiefly classes. Today rain capes have gained in popularity, as they are made for paddlers of modern *waka*.[238]

Pukupuku were a type of cloak in use at the time of European contact. They were extremely valuable and only worn by the most distinguished men. Some examples had very complex *tāniko* borders, while others were woven in such a way that the pattern appeared embossed. Others again had bundles of dog hair along the lower edge. A *tāniko* border, characterised by its colours, is made with a special *tāniko* weaving technique. It consists of coloured weft threads that are wrapped around an additional passive straight weft thread.[239]

During European contact *kaitaka* became very popular, but stopped being produced by 1840. They are flax cloaks with a silky golden sheen relying for their beauty on the perfection and quality of its flax fibre, which was not treated so it would not lose its lustre. *Kaitaka* had refined *tāniko* borders on each side and a wider one at the lower edge. *Korowai* were a class of cloaks that were decorated with string cords and stained with red ochre (*kokowai*) before European contact in the late eighteenth century. A subtype was the so-called 'classic *korowai*' which was white, but decorated with black rolled flax fibre cords.[240]

While *kahu huruhuru* or feather cloaks are today the most prestigious garments, they were rarely mentioned by the earliest European visitors. This type of feather cloak became popular and appeared quite suddenly in the middle of the nineteenth century. The feathers are woven into the cloak one by one. In Māori philosophy, birds are seen as the messengers between people and gods. Different feathers were used including kiwi feathers from both the common brown kiwi (genus *Apteryx*) and the very rare albino variety.[241]

***Pihepihe* cloak, worn over one shoulder by men and women for ceremonial occasions.**

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 74-42, 90 x 60 cm. Exchange: Christy Collection, 1869

Paddlers wearing short rain cloaks at Waitangi Day Celebration, 6 February 2010.

F.W. Veys, Museum Volkenkunde 2010

Shoulder cloak *kahu huruhuru* made of New Zealand flax and decorated with peacock and pheasant feathers.

Museum Volkenkunde RMV 3017-1, 100 x 135 cm. Donated: M.L.J. Lemaire, 1952

THE PERFORMING ARTS

Ko te kai a te rangatira, he kōrero
Oratory is the sustenance of the chiefs[242]

The use of words through riddles and word games was very important in Māori society. Oral arts were therefore highly valued. *Whaikōrero* or oratory was a most exacting art, only carried out by learned people. In their addresses, orators would make multiple references, quotations, use genealogical knowledge and include subtleties in the language. At present, the art is almost exclusively performed by men. However, there are some talented female orators as well. In the Te Arawa tribe for example, older women have the right to judge an orator's performance and publicly correct errors. Speeches follow a loose structure and are rarely rehearsed. Chanted poems (*waiata* or *mōteatea*) are part of the oral tradition. Women were and still are active composers in this domain. Texts are composed for a wide range of genres including lullabies, *poi* chants, laments, love songs, songs of challenge and contempt, and war chants. Tone, rhythm, gesture and volume vary according to the text.[243]

Carved wooden panel, possibly from the interior of a meeting house. The extended tongue often seen in the *haka*, symbolises defiance and the pearl shell eyes allow the figure to communicate with the viewer, 1930.
Museum Volkenkunde RMV 2212-1, 58 x 43 cm.
Purchased: J.F.G. Umlauff

Haka

Ka mate! Ka mate!
Ka ora! Ka ora!
Ka mate! Ka mate!
Ka ora! Ka ora!
Tēnei te tangata pū huruhuru
Nāna nei i tiki mai, whakawhiti te rā
Ā, hupane! Ā, kaupane!
Ā, hupane! Ā, kaupane!
Whiti te rā!

'T is death! 'T is death!
'T is life! 'T is life!
'T is death! 'T is death!
'T is life! 'T is life!
Behold! There stands the hairy man
Who will cause the sun to shine!
One step upwards, another step upwards!
One step upwards, another step upwards!
The sun shines![244]

This *haka* text became famous through international sports competitions. The *haka* is an active, chanted dance demonstrating fitness, agility and life force.[245] The *haka* 'Ka Mate' is performed before the start of every rugby match by the New Zealand 'All Blacks' team and nowadays by several other national sports teams. Of this *haka*, composed in the early nineteenth century by Te Rauparaha (?-1849), a warrior chief of the Ngāti Toa, only a small part is shown. The *haka* text was created when he was on the run from warriors and tells the story of pursuit and escape. He expresses his fear of capture and the elation of surviving.[246]

Abel Tasman, the first Westerner to have met with Māori, was most probably also the first European to experience a Māori *haka* (see Chapter 1). Subsequent explorers and travellers including James Cook and his party were confronted with this chanted dance.[247] Nineteenth-century missionaries interpreted the *haka* as an inseparable part of the warlike attitude of Māori, which would constitute a major obstacle in the conversion effort.[248]

Over time, the nature of the *haka* has changed significantly. The alterations happened through contact with Europeans and reflect Māori society today. The number and types of *haka* have decreased as their utility or purpose disappeared. There are many instances known in oral history where *haka* were used to distract vigils or facilitate escape.[249] There are several types of *haka* that can be described looking at their function, the manner and grouping of the performance and the event for which they are carried out. Each type has its own name, but often covers several classes. Some *haka* are performed as a short wake-up action, to express derision or anger and to show contempt and revulsion. There are *haka* that are executed in a kneeling position, that have swaying movements or constantly shuffling feet, or that make use of *poi* balls. The performers of more offensive *haka* expose their posterior in an exaggerated manner. Groups are arranged in rows or in a square. *Haka* are carried out to welcome guests at the *marae* or at funerals (*tangi*). The common denominator in the different types of *haka* is that the whole body is used to enhance the dance. Key elements are the eyes which are rolled back so that only the whites are shown and the tongue, which is protruded and retracted back into the mouth. Faces and bodies are contorted and dancers stamp wildly.[250]

While *haka* are often seen as men-only dances, women did have a specific role which consisted of moving hips and narrowing and expanding the eyes. Men on the other hand should convey aggression, provocation and extend the tongue (*whētero*). In the past, women were often composers and performers of men's *haka*. They sometimes even performed to the side of the main male *haka* group, carrying weapons and protecting its flanks. Today, women's role in the *haka* is more controversial as some leaders believe women have no place in the *haka* party. The female soldiers in the New Zealand army reconfirm their position and prestige by performing at the beginning and the end of the *haka*. Well respected twentieth-century female *haka* composers include Moetū Haangu (Tuini) Ngawai (1910-1965) and Te Kumeroa Ngoingoi (1921-1985).[251]

Because of wars, continued struggle to hold on to land, and imported illness, the Māori population had dropped to an estimated 42,000 people by the beginning of the twentieth century. The performance of *haka* dances was one of the means for Māori to counter the diminution of their culture. The visits of the British royals gave different Māori groups the opportunity to showcase their *haka* traditions and thus regain their cultural heritage. The royal visit in 1901 by the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York was pivotal in this. It came just after the death of Queen Victoria with whom Māori chiefs had signed the Treaty of Waitangi some 60 years previously. It was an occasion of unseen unity among Māori tribes, who trained and rehearsed

their respective *haka*. Still, by 1934, when the first official commemoration of the Treaty was to be held at Waitangi, Sir Apirana Ngata had to send a *haka* specialist from Ngāti Porou to train the Ngāpuhi tribe as their *haka* knowledge base had deteriorated significantly.[252]

On Saturday 27 August 2005 the 'All Blacks' released a new *haka* called 'Kapa o Pango' on the occasion of the Philips Tri-Nations test match against South Africa. The surprise was great and the new *haka* caused immediate controversy, particularly because the All Black players finished off with a throat-cutting gesture. They clarified it as symbolising the cutting edge of sports, because at this level of first class rugby, players compete with great intensity and are aware of the consequences of defeat. The composer Derek Lardelli, affiliated to the Ngāti Porou (East Coast) and the Ngāti Konohi (Gisborne) tribes was inspired by the imagery and actions of Rūaumoko, god of earthquakes and volcanoes, but also by an ancient *haka* 'Te Kiri Ngutu'.[253]

Kapa o Pango ki whakawhenua au i ahau!	*Let me become one with the land!*
Hī auē, hī! Ko Aotearoa e ngunguru nei!	*This is our land that rumbles!*
Au, au, auē hā!	*And it's my time! It's my moment!*
Ko Kapa o Pango e ngunguru nei!	*This defines us as the All Blacks!*
Au, au, auē hā!	*And it's my time!*
I āhaha!	*It's my moment!*
Ka tū te ihiihi	*Our dominance*
Ka tū te wanawana	*Our supremacy will triumph*
Ki runga ki te rangi e tū iho nei, tū iho nei, hī!	*And will be placed on high*
Ponga rā!	*Silver fern!*
Kapa o Pango, auē hī!	*All Blacks!*
Ponga rā!	*Silver fern!*
Kapa o Pango, auē hī, hā!	*All Blacks!*[254]

TE REO MĀORI

The Māori language or *Te Reo Māori* plays a pivotal role in all the performing arts. It belongs to the Austronesian languages, which originate from the islands of South East Asia. Of all language families the Austronesian one is the most widespread: it is spoken from Madagascar to Rapa Nui (Easter Island) and Hawai'i to New Zealand. *Te Reo Māori* belongs to the Polynesian branch and has a number of dialects. There are five vowels: a, e, i, o, u. In pronunciation, a distinction is made between long vowels (written with a diacritic mark ā, ē, ī, ō, ū) and short vowels. The ten consonants are: h, k, m, n, ng, p, r, t, w, wh (pronounced f). Consonants are always followed by a vowel and never appear at the end of a word. *Te Reo Māori* has a very rich vocabulary. Many new words were created with the arrival of Europeans. Some English loanwords were adapted to Māori pronunciation: *pāta* (pot), *naihi* (knife), and *pureti* (plate). New words were created for previously unknown notions: *kuini* (queen), *kingi* (king), *tiriti* (treaty), *kawana* (governor), *kōti* (court), *paipera* (bible), *himene* (hymn), and *pihopa* (bishop). Some words became obsolete and now only belong to archaic texts.[255] Words for contemporary objects and concepts keep being added to a revitalised Māori language. Examples are *motopaika* (motorbike), *paihikara* (bicycle), *raiti* (light), *pene* (pen), *tīwī* (TV), and *eropereina* (aeroplane).

Thomas Kendall (1778?-1832), a CMS missionary, made the first attempts to write down the Māori language. For this reason, he travelled to England in 1820, accompanied by Hongi Hika and the younger chief Waikato of Rangihoua. Together with the Cambridge University oriental linguist Professor Samuel Lee, the three worked on the compilation of a Māori grammar and vocabulary. The work was published at the end of 1820 and laid down the orthographic foundations of *Te Reo Māori*.[256]

Over the course of the nineteenth century the use of the Māori language declined steadily. The Native Schools Act of 1867 enabled Māori schools to be established if Māori communities wished to do so. Many Māori parents believed that their children should be taught in English and *Te Reo* should be used at home. Thus, their children would have a wider access to knowledge. The English language policy at Māori schools was sometimes enforced too rigorously with many reports of Māori children being punished when speaking *Te Reo*.[257] Urbanisation had a devastating effect on the Māori language. By the 1960s, *Te Reo Māori* was widely considered under threat of extinction and by the 1970s it was thought the language could not be saved. Whereas in the late 1950s fifty per cent of children still spoke fluent Māori because they used it every day at home and sometimes at school, only 18 per cent of the total Māori population spoke *Te Reo* in the 1970s. In 1981 the first pre-school language nests (*kōhanga reo*) were established, soon followed by total Māori language immersion

schools (*kaupapa*). By the year 2000, 40,000 children had passed through *kōhanga reo*. The dire predictions thus did not come true. Under the Māori Language Act of 1987 *Te Reo Māori* was declared an official language of New Zealand and the Māori Language Commission (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori) was established to foster and encourage the use of *Te Reo Māori*.[258] In 2003 the 'Māori Television Service Act 2003' gave life to Māori Television. It was to be a high quality television provider, which would broadcast mainly in *Te Reo Māori* and give children the opportunity to complement their language immersion. In 2008, a second channel was launched, named 'Te Reo' on which only the Māori language is spoken.[259]

The dynamic Māori culture continuously explores new horizons. The relationship that the Museum of Ethnology, Leiden has built over the years with New Zealand, finds its expression in the 'Mana Māori' exhibition as well as in the custodianship of two *waka* (canoes). Both projects encourage objects from our own collection to meet with those from other museum collections. Māori people who live in New Zealand or in Europe are given the opportunity to reunite with their *taonga*. Objects are awakened from their museum sleep to take up their roles as ambassadors: they represent both the Māori ancestors as well as their living descendants and revitalise the relations between museums, staff members, visitors and New Zealanders.

NOTES

Introduction

1. Salmond 1991: 63

Chapter 1. Pacific voyages

2. Author's translation, Tasman 1919: 43
3. Salmond 1991: 21
4. Salmond 1991: 73, 75
5. Salmond 1991: 21-23
6. Salmond 1991: 79-84
7. Salmond 1991: 67-70
8. Salmond 1991: 71, 1997: 31
9. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 2
10. Hooker 1990: 23; Salmond 1991: 437
11. Hooper 2006: 119; Orbell 1998: 83-85; Reed 1999: 48-50
12. Epeli Hau'ofa 1993: 8
13. Evans 1998: 17
14. Howe 2007: 21
15. Kirch 2000: 90-93, 208-211
16. Irwin 2007: 82-87
17. Irwin 2007: 84-85
18. Māori saying, Hakiwai 1996: 66
19. Belich 1996: 19
20. Irwin 2007: 84; Evans 1998: 18
21. Evans 1998: 31-32
22. Orbell 1998: 183-184
23. Howe 2007: 284
24. Irwin 2007: 89-91
25. Penny & Meyer 2007: 98-99
26. Irwin 2007: 90-91
27. Finney 2007: 102-105; Guiot 2004a: 51
28. Finney 2007: 119-125
29. Finney 2007: 144; Neich 2007: 225
30. Dening 2004: 167
31. Guiot 2004b: 68-69
32. Finney & Low 2007: 165; Salmond 2007: 260-262
33. Boulay 2005: 30
34. Kjellgren 2005: 3, 17
35. Boulay 2005: 30-32
36. Boulay 2005: 30
37. Boulay 2005: 30
38. Salmond 1997: 108-126; King 2003: 102-103
39. Salmond 2003: ix-xxii, King 2003: 105
40. Salmond 1991: 311-356
41. His name is spelt in several ways and with several first names. He is also known as Marie-Joseph Marion Dufresne or Nicolas-Thomas Marion Dufresne.
42. Salmond 1991: 359-429
43. King 2003: 109-110
44. Tanner 1999: 4
45. Still today, French researchers and public television have put their forces together to research the story of La Pérouse's shipwreck. The project is called 'Opération Lapérouse' and the area of Vanikoro, in the Solomon Islands where La Pérouse disappeared, is visited every year.
46. King 2003: 110-111; Boulay 2005: 98; 116
47. Belich 1996: 121
48. King 2003: 115; Salmond 1997: 175
49. King 2003: 116
50. Salmond 1997: 237
51. Pendergrast 1996: 117; Salmond 1997: 205
52. Salmond 1997: 237, 282
53. Belich 1996: 131; Salmond 1997: 282, 299
54. Belich 1996: 127
55. King 2003: 122
56. Belich 1996: 128-129
57. Salmond 1997: 405
58. King 2003: 110, 141-144
59. Mackay 2007
60. Chambers 2007
61. Gunson 1978: 354; King 2003: 144
62. King 2003: 110
63. Belich 1996: 135; Chambers 2007
64. Belich 1996: 135; King 2003: 145-146; Parsonson 2007; Simmons 2007
65. King 2003: 145-147
66. Binney 2007a
67. King 2003: 148-149
68. Schouten 1992: 31
69. King 2003: 152; Schouten 1992: 32-33
70. Schouten 1992: 33-35
71. Wilson 2007; Schouten 1992: 41-44, Yska 2009
72. Yska 2009
73. Dalziel 2007; Schouten 1992: 35-37
74. Yska 2009
75. Isaacs 2007
76. Schouten 1992: 39-41
77. Schouten: 48-50; Yska 2009
78. Schouten 1992: 48-54, 68; Yska 2009
79. Schouten 1992: 47; Thomson 1970: 153-154
80. Schouten 1992: 54-57; Thomson 1970: 153, 156
81. Yska 2009
82. Schouten 1992: 169-181; Yska 2009
83. Schouten 1992: 71-74

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84. Ngahuia Te Awekotuku 1996: 26
85. Māori proverb, Te Awekotuku 1996: 33
86. Te Awekotuku 1996: 33

87. Mead 2003: 270-271
88. Mead 2003: 273; Hakiwai 1996: 62
89. Māori proverb translated by Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Te Awekotuku 1996: 30
90. Te Awekotuku 1996: 31
91. Howe 2007: 284
92. Te Awekotuku 1996: 30-31
93. Te Awekotuku 1996: 26-27; Hooper 2006: 37
94. Veys 2005: 281
95. Te Awekotuku 1996: 27
96. Te Awekotuku 1996: 27-28; Hooper 2006: 37
97. Mead 2003: 96; Hakiwai 1996: 58-59
98. Mead 2003: 95
99. Hakiwai 1996: 57-58; Mead 2003: 96-97
100. Hakiwai 1996: 57-59; Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 37
101. Brown 2009: 15; 19
102. Brown 2009: 53
103. Brown 2009: 51-52
104. Brown 2009: 53
105. Brown 2009: 53-54
106. Brown 2009: 15, 19
107. Brown 2009: 42
108. Brown 2009: 32
109. Neich 1994: 91-92
110. Brown 2009: 36
111. Brown 2009: 48-49; Neich 1994: 93
112. Brown 2009: 55; King 2003: 213-224
113. Brown 2009: 85
114. Brown 2009: 58-65
115. Brown 2009: 70
116. Henare [Salmond] 2005a: 130
117. Skinner 2008: 16-17
118. Brown 2009: 87-92
119. Brown 2009: 100-101, 105
120. Said by the Te Rarawa tribal leader, Nopera Panakareao about the Treaty of Waitangi, Kaitaia, 28 April 1840; Hakiwai 1996: 60
121. Hakiwai 1996: 60-61
122. State Services Commission 2005a: 1
123. Belich 1996: 156-164
124. King 2003: 155; State Services Commission 2005a: 6
125. Orange 1990: 6-7
126. King 2003: 156
127. King 2003: 156; Belich 1996: 180
128. Orange 1990: 13-21, 23
129. State Services Commission 2005a: 16
130. State Services Commission 2005b: 5
131. State Services Commission 2005b: 5
132. State Services Commission 2005b: 7
133. State Services Commission 2005b: 8
134. Orange 1990: 44-45, 47
135. Orange 1990: 49, 51-53
136. State Services Commission 2004: 9
137. Orange 1990: 59-62
138. Belich 2001: 214; King 2003: 325, 331-344; State Services Commission 2005c: 12-14
139. State Services Commission 2004: 19
140. Orange 1990: 70-73
141. State Services Commission 2005a: 20
142. State Services Commission 2004: 21; State Services Commission 2005c: 18-19
143. State Services Commission 2005c: 19
144. State Services Commission 2004: 24; Belich 2001: 479
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146. Neich 1996: 69
147. McCarthy 2007: 138-139, 152, 156, 175
148. Hedley 2004
149. McCarthy 2007: 29
150. Tapsell 2006: 17
151. McCarthy 2007: 29; Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 1
152. Veys 2008: 114
153. Tapsell 2006: 17
154. McCarthy 2007: 28; Henare [Salmond] 2005b: 7-8
155. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 91
156. Henare [Salmond] 2005b: 7-8
157. McCarthy 2007: 29, 176-177
158. Henare [Salmond] 2005b: 33-36, 47-48
159. Hakiwai 1996: 51
160. Neich 1996: 113
161. Neich 1996: 77-78
162. Neich 1996: 110, 2006: 240
163. Neich 1996: 70, 2001: 70-72; Orbell 1998: 128
164. Neich 1996: 70, 81, 83
165. Firth 1992: 33; Mead 1975: 178-9
166. Neich 1996: 88
167. Neich 1996: 89
168. Neich 1996: 94-95
169. Neich 1996: 90-91
170. Brougham & Reed 1996: 145
171. Hooper 2006: 126; Neich 1996: 74
172. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 57; Neich 1996: 73-74
173. Salmond 1991: 31-174
174. Neich 1996: 76-77
175. Neich 1994: 90-91, 1996: 98
176. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 20
177. Neich 2007: 240
178. Neich 2007: 240

179. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 28
180. Neich 1996: 102-104
181. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 136-137
182. Brougham & Reed 1996: 155
183. Evans 2002: 10; Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 135-136
184. Evans 2002: 10
185. Evans 2002: 9; 30-39; Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 146
186. Evans 2002: 20-29; Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 146
187. Evans 2002: 17-18
188. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 144
189. Ballara 2007
190. Jacobs 2006: 272
191. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 69; Hooper 2006: 124
192. Neich 1996: 96-97
193. Mead 1969: 82
194. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 89
195. Te Awekotuku 1996: 43
196. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 16
197. Te Awekotuku 1996: 43
198. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 89
199. Te Awekotuku 1996: 44-45
200. Te Awekotuku 1996: 45; Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 109
201. Orbell 1998:81; Te Awekotuku 1996: 39
202. Te Awekotuku 1996: 40-41; Simmons 1986: 24-25
203. Simmons 1986: 24-30
204. Moore, 1995: 173; Tischner 1981: 24; Veys 2000: 43
205. Te Awekotuku 1996: 40
206. Hirini Melbourne 1991 on seeing a *pūtōrino* in a museum display case, Te Awekotuku 1996: 45
207. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 109; Te Awekotuku 1996: 47-49
208. Veys 2000: 136, 2008: 115
209. Te Awekotuku 1996: 47
210. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 111; Neich 1996: 81
211. Barrow 1984: 95
212. Barrow 1964: 30; Lewis 1988: 97; Veys 2000: 118-119
213. Lewis 1988: 97; Veys 2000: 119
214. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 111
215. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 117
216. Veys 2000: 118
217. Veys 2000: 59; 116
218. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 119; Veys 2000: 115
219. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 120
220. McLean, 1996: 171
221. Hamilton 1901: 373-374; Hiroa 1950: 268; McLean 1996: 174, Veys 2000: 50, 112-113
222. Best 1925: 163-164; Hamilton 1901: 374; Starzecka 1996: 49; Veys 2000: 173
223. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 124-126, 131
224. Poem by Derek Lardelli, Evans & Ngarimu 2005: 15; '*Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa*' translates as 'The group of plaiters and weavers in New Zealand' (author's translation).
225. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 158-159; Pendergrast 1996: 114
226. Henare [Salmond] 2005a: 121; 128
227. Pendergrast 1996: 116; Wallace 2007: 14-15
228. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 146
229. Maureen Lander, installation artist and senior lecturer at the University of Auckland, personal communication, May 2006
230. Pendergrast 1996: 118
231. Cory-Pearce 2005: 74
232. Pendergrast 1996: 120
233. Brown 2009: 87-88
234. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 184; Pendergrast 1996: 122-125
235. Brougham & Reed 1996: 23
236. Pendergrast 1996: 126
237. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 162; Pendergrast 1996: 135
238. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 176; Pendergrast 1996: 132-133
239. Pendergrast 1996: 129, 134-135
240. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 166, 179; Pendergrast 1996: 137-140
241. Hakiwai & Smith 2008: 165; Pendergrast 1996: 143
242. Te Awekotuku 1996: 45
243. Te Awekotuku 1996: 46
244. Gardiner 2007: 46
245. Te Awekotuku 1996: 47
246. Gardiner 2007: 46; Oliver 2007
247. Salmond 2003: 116-128
248. Gardiner 2007: 39
249. Gardiner 2007: 18, 25
250. Gardiner 2007: 30-31, 33
251. Gardiner 2007: 67-68, 70-73; Ka'ai 2007; Takurua 2007
252. Gardiner 2007: 55-59
253. Gardiner 2007: 108-110
254. All Blacks 'Kapa o Pango', composed by Derek Lardelli, Gardiner 2007: 111
255. Veys 2000: 24-25
256. Binney 2007b
257. King 2003: 234
258. Belich 2001: 480; State Services Commission 2005c: 16
259. Māori Television 2010

GLOSSARY

Amo	vertical posts on the sides of the facade of a meeting house
Anaunahi	fish scales
Ariki	paramount chief
Arioi	noble class (Tahitian)
Haka	dance
Hapū	subtribe
Hāpuku	wreckfish, *Polyprion oxygeneios*
Harakeke	endemic New Zealand fine flax, *Phormium tenax*
Hei matau	bird-shaped or fish hook-shaped pendant
Hei tiki	human-shaped pendant
Heke	rafter
Heketua	latrines
Heru	comb
Hikoi	protest march
Himene	hymn
Hoeroa	long prestige weapon
Hui	gathering
Huia	endemic, now extinct New Zealand bird, *Heteralocha acutirostris*
Ihi	presence
Iwi	tribe
Kahawai	Eastern Australian salmon, *Arripis trutta*
Kahu huruhuru	feather cloak
Kahu kurī	dogskin cloak
Kainga	village
Kaitaka	flax cloak
Kākā	endemic New Zealand forest parrot, *Nestor meridionalis*
Kākaho	plain wall reed linings
Kapa haka	dancing group
Kapeu	pendant with curved lower end
Karaka	tree, *Corynocarpus laevigatus*
Karakia	incantations, chants
Kaupapa	language immersion
Kauri	hardwood tree, *Agathis australis*
Kawana	governor
Kawanatanga	government authority
Kete	basket
Kiekie	woody climber of which different varieties are known, *Freycinetia baueriana*, *Freycinetia banksii*
Kingi	king
Kīngitanga	king movement
Kiore	Polynesian rat
Kōauau	flute
Kōhanga reo	language nest
Kokowai	red ochre
Kōrere	feeding funnel
Kōrero	story
Koropepe	miniature eel pendant
Kōrorohū	spinning blade
Korowai	type of cloak
Koruru	carved gable figure
Kōti	court
Kōwhaiwhai	scroll painting
Kuia	grandmother
Kuini	queen
Kūmara	sweet potato
Kuru	straight-lined pendant
Kūwaha	door
Mahau	porch area
Maihi	bargeboard
Mana	power, prestige
Manaakitanga	care
Manaia	supernatural being
Marae	meeting grounds, village green
Mere	short-handled weapon
Mokamōkai	tattooed head
Moko	tattoo
Mokopuna	grandchild
Mōteatea	chanted poem
Muka	flax, *Phormium tenax*
Naihi	knife
Nguru	flute
Noa	neutral
Pā kahawai	specialised hook
Paepae	threshold
Paipera	bible
Pākē	rain cape
Pākeha	New Zealander of European decent
Papa hou	feather box
Para	rain cape
Pare	door lintel
Pāta	pot
Pātaka	elevated storehouse
Patu	short-handled weapon
Pāua	pearl shell
Pekapeka	bat-shaped pendant
Pihopa	bishop
Pingao	endemic New Zealand sand sedge, *Desmoschoenus spiralis*
Poi	musical instrument consisting of two balls
Poi tāniko	woven musical instrument consisting of two balls
Pōria kākā	ring to tether birds
Pounamu	greenstone, nephrite

Poupou	wall panels
Poutangata	ritual adze
Poutokomanawa	central interior column
Pūkāea	long trumpet
Pukupuku	type of cloak
Pureti	plate
Pūrorohū	spinning blade
Pūtātara	shell trumpet
Pūtōrino	bugle-flute
Pūwerewere	spider's web
Rangatira	chief
Rangatiratanga	sovereignty, chiefly authority
Raparapa	'fingers' of the bargeboard
Raranga	plaiting
Raupō	bulrush, *Typha angustifolia*
Rauponga	fern fronds
Rei puta	whale bone pendant
Ritorito	shoots of young flax, *Phormium tenax*
Tā moko	tattooing
Tāhuhu	ridgepole
Taiaha	long-range weapon
Tangata whenua	people of the land
Tangihanga	funeral
Tāniko	complex woven border
Taonga	property, treasure(s)
Taonga pūoro	musical instruments
Taonga whakarākai	personal adornment
Tapu	sacred, forbidden
Tekoteko	three-dimensional carved gable figure
Tewhatewha	long-range weapon
Tikanga	rights
Tiki	human figure, human ancestor
Tiriti	treaty
Toa	warrior
Tohunga	ritual expert
Tohunga whakairo	carving expert
Tōkere	rhythm instrument
Toki	adze
Tōtara	hardwood tree, *Podocarpus totara*
Tukutuku	lattice wall panel
Urupā	cemetery
Wahaika	short-handled weapon
Waiata	chanted poem
Wairua	ancestral spirit
Wairuatanga	spirituality
Waka	canoe
Waka huia	treasure box
Waka taua	war canoe, ceremonial canoe
Wana	authority
Wehi	awe
Whaikōrero	oratory
Whakairo rākau	wood carving
Whakakai	long earring
Whakapapa	genealogy
Whānau	extended family
Whararíki	mountain flax, *Phormium cookianum*
Whare puni	sleeping house
Whare tū taua	school of martial knowledge
Whare whakairo	carved meeting house
Wharenui	meeting house
Whāriki	patterned mat
Whenua	land
Whētero	to protrude the tongue

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