International Journal of Cultural Property (2008) 15:141–157. Printed in the USA.
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doi:10.1017/S0940739108080120

Te Pahitauā: Border Negotiators

Jade Tangiāhua Baker*

Abstract: Objects were and still are pivotal in configuring intertribal relationships; and equally, they played a crucial role in negotiating the borders between early colonial situations and Māori, the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. This article explores the notion of object efficacy through discussing further relational values such as place, oral and written histories, visionary leadership, and political and culturally defined imperatives, particularly as they contribute to reviving an object's embedded knowledge, in this case the entangled agencies of taonga.

This article develops a *hapū* (kin-based group) perspective of cultural property by exploring pivotal notions that structure and embed relationships with property through, among other things, examining the role of cultural patrimony within these relationships. What ideological shifts occur in assessing appropriate cultural frameworks and for whom are related interpretations most significant? Whereas the art market debates hierarchies of cultural property from a perspective of international players, tracking negotiations across major physical, ideological, legal and cultural borders, these debates also occur in a localized manner. However, often they are unrecorded and sometimes rely on oral memories of participants to convey and link cultural connections. In my discussion of two different property exchanges, at first between individuals and second within institutions, one thing remains clear and consistent: Objects once associated with ancestors continue to exude properties of ancestral efficacy. And although it is often demonstrated the role of people as determining the placement and position of an object, for Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand this role is fluid, and sometimes the object itself is the border negotiator.

*Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Porou and Te Whānau a Apanui, Aotearoa New Zealand. Email: ahua@xtra.co.nz

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0940739108080120 Published online by Cambridge University Press

LANDSCAPES OF MEANING

References in oral stories, proverbs, songs, and other forms of communication recognize certain physical locations as appropriate places for undertaking rituals or engaging in ceremonies as expressions of the extent of relations between people. The importance of place is widely apparent in *iwi* (tribal) traditions. For example Te Motu o Tauā, an island adjacent to Motu Matakohe (Limestone Island)[1] in the Whangarei Harbour, Northland, was, according to local *hapū* stories, an island where *rangatira* (tribal leaders) gathered before embarking on campaigns of significance. Through exploration and occupation of places (land and water based), they are named and therefore incorporated into a knowledge system as remembered and recalled most notably by successive generations. The title of this article alludes to the pivotal role physical landscapes occupy as navigation points, intersections, and sites of dispersal and also, with Te Pahitauā as an example, where some places are deemed and reified as appropriate for certain circumscribed activities.



Figure 1. Te Pahitauā, 5 kilometers west of Whakatāne, Bay of Plenty, Aotearoa New Zealand. This view is southeast, Pūtauaki would be visible immediately to the right. With the draining of the Rangitaiki swamp, much of the land around Te Pahitauā is now above water level. This photograph depicts one area that has been restored to its former wetland ecology under an environmental management plan initiated by Ngāti Hikakino. Photograph credit: J. Hōhāpata-Oke, August 2006.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0940739108080120 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Te Pahitauā is an *iwi*-identified land and water feature positioned between two raised land areas, Moutohorā a volcanic island 10 kilometers directly north into Te Moananui a Toi,[2] and Pūtauaki, a land-based volcano 30 kilometers south. The Oriini tributary flowed through Te Pahitauā, linking three major river systems of the Rangitaiki swamp,[3] hence the recognition of this major waterway as a natural confluence, an innate place to gather and depart. Therefore, it also acted as a natural border connecting people, between different resident and visiting *hapū*, and as a common meeting place between individuals or groups travelling through the area. There are specific places where *iwi* politics were discussed, actions settled on, and forthcoming consequences were embraced. Te Pahitauā was such a place, where *rangatira* gathered and set about negotiating whether to act or to defuse a situation.

Today, the two *hapū* Ngāti Hikakino and Ngāi Te Rangihouhiri, and their *marae*[4] Puawairua and Rangihouhiri, occupy Te Pahitauā. Ngāti Hikakino are the descendants of the *tīpuna* (ancestor) Hikakino who through *whakapāpā*, genealogical recitation, is acknowledged to be 14 generations removed.[5] The ancestor Irapeke, great grandfather of Hikakino, was such a *rangatira*, and in oral stories, Te Pahitauā was where after a decision was settled on, Irapeke gathered the *ope tauā* (war party of warriors) and headed into battle.

TĪPUNA KŌRERO: ANCESTRAL WORDS OF MEANING

> E ʻUpe, he aha kore i whakatū ai tō whare ki runga i te timutimu, wehewehe whenua, wehewehe tāngata, wehewehe tikanga?
>
> Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki, March 29, 1893
>
> O ʻUpe [Taupe], why have you built your house on the stump, dividing the land, the people and their beliefs?[6]

It is commonly believed by many *hapū* and *iwi* of Ngāti Awa[7] that this *kupu whakaari* (prophetic saying) of Te Kooti was fulfilled when Hoani Taupe Poururu and Hōhāpata Oke moved the *whare tīpuna* (ancestor house) Puāwairua from Ōtamauru to Te Pahitauā.[8] Although the displacement of this physical building from its original site to its final residence traversed a distance of only 2 kilometers, much spatial and ideological territory was covered. It was also temporally insignificant that nearly 30 years passed before Puawairua was re-erected and opened on November 8, 1922.[9] After all, decision-making and sequential actions are not trivial matters, especially when they have repercussions that still are of consequence today.

Landmarks such as Te Pahitauā are pivotal places to consider because they offer an insight to contextualizing many different types of negotiations. Equally, *kupu whakaari* are vital mnemonic connectors to oral engagements that have occurred among individuals and between *hapū* representatives for millennia. During Te Kooti Arikirangi's lifetime (?–1893), he was to witness and play a major part in one of the most turbulent periods of Māori and Pākehā (non-Māori) engagements in Aotearoa New Zealand. At this time (c1860s), the newly formed colonial govern-

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ment sought to usurp Māori lands from Māori ownership and engaged in military action into *iwi* and *hapū* territories. Te Kooti, along with many other *rangatira* and *tāngata whenua*,[10] resisted these invasions and through his acts of resistance he was well known in Te Ao Māori and well publicized in the sensationalized media reports of Te Ao Pākehā.[11]

After Te Kooti was officially pardoned (1883) and toward his final years, he travelled extensively throughout the central North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand and spoke many *kupu whakaari*. These were declared before individuals and *hapū*; but significantly, as indicated by Binney,[12] they were remembered as critical to the time, landscape, and the people of that place. Over the years there have been different interpretations offered as his words were examined by individual *hapū* regarding their relevance to present or future situations. Essentially, they are now metaphoric connectors binding *hapū* to consider their ongoing affect in all potential negotiations and for an oral culture, fulfilling a vital role as verbal confluences of meaning.

Although landscapes have changed, the words of our *tīpuna* have often remained within our oral sources, and they continue to play a role in *hapū* life. When history is recalled and in a sense the past is captured, other associated knowledge is evoked and proclaimed before a contemporary audience. History, in par-



Figure 2. Ōtamauru, 3 kilometers west of Whakatāne, Bay of Plenty, Aotearoa New Zealand. This view is north; in the distance is the volcanic island Moutohorā, also known as Whale Island. Adjacent to the tree in the foreground was the original site of Puawairua *marae*. Photograph credit: J. Baker, August 2006.

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Figure 3. Puawairua *marae*, 5 kilometers west of Whakatāne, Bay of Plenty, Aotearoa New Zealand. This view is of the entrance facing north. Photograph credit: J. Baker, August 2006. Reproduced with the permission of Ngāti Hikakino and the Puawairua Marae Committee.

ticular *tīpuna kōrero*, the words of ancestors and their deeds, are not entirely confined to written sources but their efficacy is truly enacted when spoken on the *marae*, as the most appropriate place to express ritual exchanges.[13]

To relate history in an oral format and interweave connections of place, time, events, *tīpuna kōrero*, and *taonga*[14] expresses the ability to contextualize a chosen situation and give heightened authority to a particular interpretation. In relating *tīpuna kōrero*, the words themselves become the negotiated element; they configure whether or not an ideological border is to be traversed. How a *marae*-based audience receives this is often not a passive affair and it may be challenged or be sanctioned. *Marae* are places where convergences of ideas are central to the construction and affirmation of social selves, a *hapū* or common community identity, and perhaps a consensual position reached on an issue. In moving the *marae* of Ngāti Hikakino to Te Pahitauā and with occupation of this site, the welfare of the *hapū* improved and of course, a prophecy was fulfilled.

In his later years, Te Kooti travelled extensively throughout the east and central North Island, often with a group of followers of the Ringatū faith, visiting *marae*, and *rangatira*. An important function of these journeys was to reconcile his previous actions; carry the word of *Te Rongopai*, Eternal Peace; and because he was considered a prophet, to speak on matters of *hapū* importance. In 1884 Te Kooti composed 14 *waiata* (songs) and spoke several *kupu whakaari* to denote a num-

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ber of occasions, including opening the *whare tīpuna* Eripitana at Te Whaiti on January 1[15] and his stay in the whare tīpuna Ruataupare at Te Teko sometime around January 10. Te Teko is less than 30 kilometers south of Te Pahitauā and was also a well-known place of convergence because it is located along the banks of the Rangitaiki River.[16] It was also the last standing ground of the Ngāi Te Rangihouhiri *rangatira* Te Hura Te Taiwhakaripi in the siege of Te Kupenga, ordered by Governor Grey and undertaken by military forces led by William Gilbert Mair (1832–1912), the elder brother of Gilbert Mair (1843–1923) in 1865. According to Binney,[17] sometime between January 10 and 12, 1884, Te Kooti was near Whakatāne, and this is the most likely place and time in which the *taonga* Te Maungarongo (The Peacemaker)[18] was gifted to Wiremu Kingi Te Kawau.[19]

TUKU TAONGA: GIFTS OF MEANING

During the New Zealand Wars (1843–1881)[20] Wiremu Kingi and Te Kooti were on opposite sides of the conflict. Kingi, *rangatira* of the *iwi* Ngāi Tai and who had rallied together a fighting force in support of the Crown[21] was in May 1869 under the command of Major William Mair.[22] The ensuing campaign to apprehend Te



Figure 4. Te Kupenga, Te Teko, 35 kilometers southwest of Whakatāne, Bay of Plenty, Aotearoa New Zealand. This view is south with Pūtauaki in the distance (also known as Mount Edgecumbe). The Rangitaiki River is immediately to the left of this view and Ruataupare marae is 2 kilometers north. Photograph credit: J. Baker, August 2006.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0940739108080120 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Kooti and *te whakarau* (the exiles) redefined traditional roles of leadership, and allegiances to Pākehā were established that were of consequence during and after the wars. Battles once fought on the same lands that Te Kooti now travelled carrying the banner of peace were still navigated by former opponents. However, this time convergences were occurring for different reasons.

Although Wiremu Kingi did not support the religion Te Kooti espoused, it seems some commitments were established. As Binney continues, "these two former enemies exchanged speeches in which both upheld the principle of working within the law and under its protection."[23] Following such speeches and in alignment with *tikanga* (cultural protocols), it is not surprising, then, that the gift of Te Maungarongo would seal some sort of unified agenda between these two men. It is even more of an indication of Te Kooti's frame of mind in that when he met Gilbert Mair, perhaps no more than a day later on January 12, 1884, he also gifted a *kinikini* (a woven cloak with black twisted thrums) by placing it on Mair's shoulders and stating, "Even though this mat be too small to cover you, my love enriches your body from head to foot."[24] Although two very different types of *taonga* were gifted to former enemies, Te Maungarongo and the *kinikini* at one time may have resided together in Tamaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum.[25]

Sometimes, on *marae* and other designated places, *taonga* have a crucial role to play in the unfolding of negotiations, in guiding action or reaction. In particular, a *tuku taonga*, a *prestation* (ceremonial presentation) from one party to another or an exchange of *taonga*, repositions both parties relationship. Through *tīpuna* association and *whakapāpā* (genealogy) the merit of a *taonga* is conferred[26] and some are invested with a role as a border negotiator, moving from one context of possession to another. A *tuku taonga* or *tuku rangatira* is a representative of the ability of a *rangatira* to express the wealth of a *hapū* and convey their esteem to the recipient.[27] Place, occasion, and people are all significant factors. the first, as already mentioned, establishes geographical and ideological convergences; the second denotes the reason for such a gathering in consideration of potential actions and consequences; and the third are those who will carry the *kōrero*, the oral dissemination when the next time this event is discussed and continually reassessed. There are numerous examples in Māori oral and recent written history of *tuku taonga* between *rangatira* that solidified relations and connected once diverse agendas.



Figure 5. Te Maungarongo, AM 331. Photograph credit: Krzysztof Pfeiffer, 2006, Tamaki Paenga Hira, Auckland War Memorial Museum.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0940739108080120 Published online by Cambridge University Press

LAND COURTS: JUDICIAL NEGOTIATORS

Native Land Courts were established immediately following large land confiscations to administer land transfers in the distribution of the *spoils* of the New Zealand War. *Iwi* and *hapū* throughout the country were forced to engage with judiciaries to attempt to seek redress for land invasions and, if possible, compensation for land loss. However, two very different philosophies regarding land were now converging. For the Crown, the Native Land Court was the legal mechanism to initially transfer confiscated land to property law and later to process untitled land (common or reserve lands). However, in general for Māori, dealings with the Native Land Court meant conferring their access rights as guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) and through *tīpuna* and *whakapāpā* association.[28] However philosophically fraught the establishing of legal title, it was further complicated by the self-assumed role of the court in assessing the validity of differing land claims, particularly where physical borders between *iwi* and *hapū* were in dispute. Sometimes this would mean visiting land blocks in question[29]; but because these major decisions were often made not on the land but in a court of law, *rangatira* frequently enacted traditional imperatives to seal these pacts.[30]

A year after Te Maungarongo was gifted (1884), it was possible to explicate the situation and place in which C. Alma Baker perhaps received this *taonga*. Born in



Figure 6. Opotiki courthouse on the corner of Church and Elliott Streets, Opotiki, 25 kilometers east of Whakatāne. The original 1870s building was replaced by this one on the same site in 1910. Photograph credit: Krzysztof Pfeiffer, December 2006.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0940739108080120 Published online by Cambridge University Press

1857 and raised in Otago, Charles Alma Baker trained as a surveyor[31] and was a member of the Wellington Philosophical Society at least from 1878 to 1884. In 1885 William Mair was in Opotiki as presiding judge for hearings regarding land allocations of the Eastern Bay of Plenty and on January 20 the case for the land block Tunapahore began. Ngāi Tai claimants were represented by Wiremu Kingi and Te Whānau a Apanui counter-claimants were represented by Te Hata Te Kakatuamaro and other *rangatira*. An entry in William Mair's diary for January 22, 1885 noted, "Alma Baker here."[32] It is possible that this was the situation where Te Maungarongo passed from Wiremu Kingi to Alma Baker, through William Mair, whereas it is also possible that this was a direct gift because all three men were in the vicinity at the same time.

As negotiators, judges and court interpreters mitigated the Crown's legal system, ensuring that the border between enforcing the law and restraining iwi was controlled. In examining cases of individual *taonga* that are noted to have been presented at Native Land Court proceedings,[33] this intermediary role also proved beneficial in collecting *taonga*, and it was one which William Mair was already familiar.[34] *Tuku taonga*—the presentation of a *taonga*—solidified the perspective presented by a *rangatira*; and while in court, the presence of a *taonga* associated with *tīpuna* activities on this land, confirmed this association. In consulting the volumes of books from Native Land Courts (commonly referred to as the *Land Court Minutes*), scribes, interpreters, and judges diligently transcribed all oral information presented in the courts. Much of this written material recorded *tīpuna kōrero*, *whakapāpā*, and *waiata*, and further demonstrates that for Māori the spoken word is pivotal in conferring relationships.

Taonga presented in Native Land Court situations were and still are material representations of these arrangements. The removal of *taonga* from the negotiating space of *iwi* into Crown ownership and therefore private property law was a transfer of more than just a physical object. The efficacy of a *taonga* to initiate a negotiable situation was guaranteed through *tīpuna* association, *whakapāpā*, and *kōrero*; however, in non-Māori situations there was little or no onus on the recipient to retain this associated information. Therefore, embedded knowledge of place and time was often considered insignificant by Pākehā, whereas it is also possible to speculate that it was prudent for court officials to obfuscate received objects,[35] especially if there was already an intention to build a collection of *taonga*.[36] In this case, it is fortunate that Te Maungarongo did retain its *taonga* name and a connection to one person, Wiremu Kingi.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION: MUSEUM CONVERGENCES

As noted by Tapsell,[37] Gilbert Mair, in relation to the *taonga* he collected, often retained narratives and associated *kōrero*, including *whakapāpā*. In letters to Thomas Cheeseman and Augustus Hamilton,[38] Mair sometimes recorded in-depth infor-

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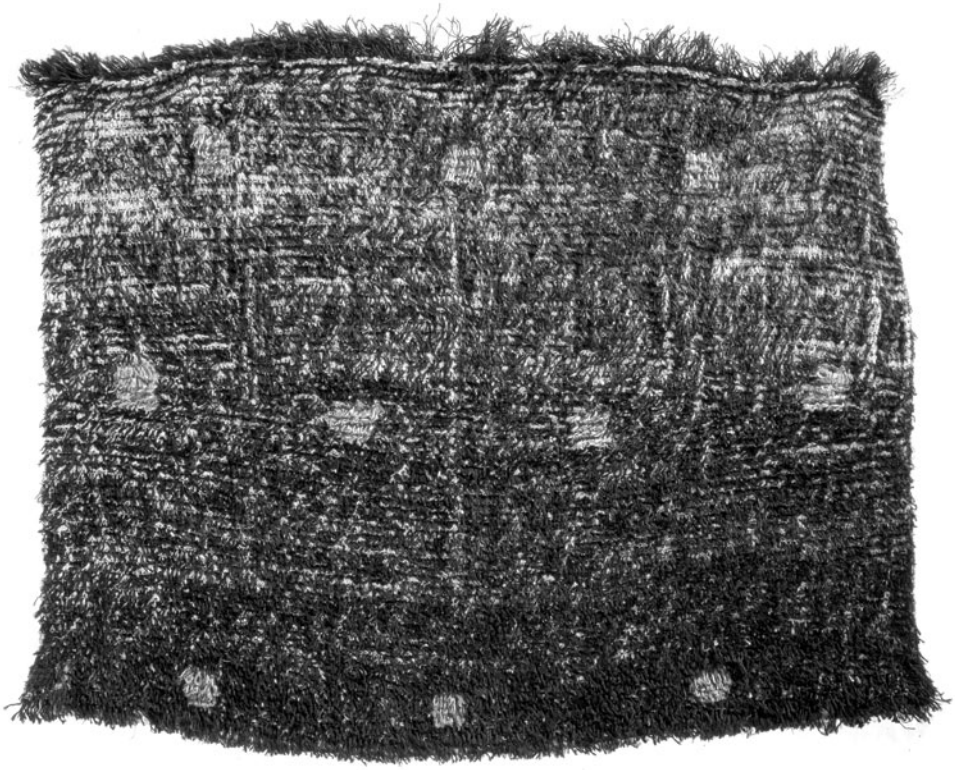


Figure 7. Te *kinikini* o Te Kooti, AM 828. Photograph credit: Krzysztof Pfeiffer, 2004, Tamaki Paenga Hira, Auckland War Memorial Museum.

mation about individual *taonga* and conveyed to James Cowan stories of his adventures as a soldier and government interpreter among *iwi* of the central North Island.[39] During the New Zealand War period and later (as the colonial government consolidated policy), Mair and many of his contemporaries were involved in a unique industry. As civil servants they negotiated the border between government agendas (including continuing the process of annexing *iwi*-occupied lands) and mitigating the competing imperatives of *rangatira*, and mediating between Pākehā and Māori whose borders were still geographically defined. They were appointed often because of their fluency in *te reo Māori* (the Māori language); therefore the ability to engage within *tikanga Māori* (Māori cultural protocols) as orators in the field negotiating between both worlds. This also provided the opportunity to gather *taonga* and in examining early Auckland Museum records, many of the collectors of Māori material culture were, in various capacities, civil servants. Gilbert Mair's predisposition for collecting and his government career of more than 50 years in the field, culminated in an "unrivalled collection of Māori curios."[40] The accession record for Te Maungarongo, held in the Ethnology Department of the Auckland Museum, states that C. Alma Baker sold it to the Auckland Museum in 1890, the same year Gilbert Mair deposited the bulk of his collection.[41]

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In relation to the gift of the *kinikini* to Gilbert Mair, this exchange occurred in Matatā, 25 kilometers due west of Te Pahitauā, when Te Kooti was travelling further west to Maketū. Cowan[42] provides another version of Te Kooti's words, "Wear this *korowai* in memory of me, and if it be not large enough to cover you, let me clothe you with my love."[43] In analysis of the writings of Gilbert Mair for other *taonga*, of which he provides narratives written in *te reo Māori* and translations to the English language,[44] and because of the allegorical nature of both statements, it is most likely these words were spoken in *te reo Māori*. It is also likely the *kinikini* would have continued to remain silent, as it already had for more than a hundred years in the Auckland Museum,[45] except for the intervention of the Ko Tawa Project.[46] Within an institution it would have continued to denote *object passivity*, with its wider association to *tīpuna kōrero* and history, to *tīpuna* and personages, only referenced in diverse sources and disconnected from a contemporary audience.

Hirini Mead[47] explains that the significance of a *taonga* is inscribed through its connection to *whakapāpā*, yet one aspect not apparent in this research is the *whakapāpā* of either *taonga*. That is, neither Te Maungarongo nor the *kinikini* are named for a *tīpuna*; therefore, there is no direct physical link with a *hapū* or *marae*. It is *tīpuna* association that is elucidated. However, in the larger story of the Mair Collection, other *taonga* are individually situated with their *whakapāpā*.

In 2005 Paul Tapsell, Director Māori of the Auckland Museum, instigated offsite research of the Mair Collection, travelling to *hapū* and *iwi* landscapes.[48] The



Figure 8. The Tarawera River at the point it forks left and right, 25 kilometers west of Whakatāne, Bay of Plenty, Aotearoa New Zealand. This view is south, the central landmass in the middle was once an island and a settlement known as Te Kohika. Directly behind and further in the distance is Pūtauaki. Photograph credit: J. Baker, August 2006.

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Ko Tawa Project Team visited many locations and recorded numerous conversations with *rangatira* and others in the field, intent on investigatory research of individual *taonga*. Their expedition into the vicinity of Te Pahitauā was particularly poignant because descendants of Gilbert Mair from his relationship with Anahera Te Poono still reside here, alongside the descendants of William Mair and Raiha Apanui; and both families are entwined in the contemporary life of Puawairua *marae*. An outcome of the Ko Tawa Project Team's visit was the recalling of this *whakapāpā*; and in examining the antics of Gilbert Mair, dissimilar perspectives from Mair's public profile were raised.[49]

HAPŨ CONSOLIDATION

In August 2006 at Puawairua, our *hapū* organized a series of *wānanga* (*marae*-based learning) focusing on historical research and *hapū* development in which, among other things, there was much discussion on what *taonga* are collectively retained. Along with other *hapū* and *iwi* of Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Hikakino and Ngāi Te Rangihouhiri were bereft of their *rangatira* and their material culture during the invasion into *iwi* lands in 1865, the force being led by William Mair. An example of this is the following, but the whereabouts of these *taonga* has yet to be ascertained:

> Huia feathers. Taken from the heads of two rebel chiefs, Te Hura Te Tai and Horamana [*sic*], a native prophet, who planned the murder of James Fulloon. Both were sentenced to death, but the sentence was carried out in the case of the later only, Te Hura being liberated after some years of imprisonment. Captured by Major Mair in Te Teko pa, November, 1866 [*sic*, September 1865].[50]

One aspect of the *wānanga* was a *hīkoi* (march) throughout the Rangitaiki area covering many of the landscapes mentioned in this article, including all three rivers, Ohinemataroa, Rangitaiki, and Tarawera as well as the Oriini and Te Awa o te Atua confluences. We travelled on confiscated lands now in private ownership, retraced the journeys of Te Kooti and in particular recollected his *kupu whakaari*, and listened intently as our *rangatira* expounded interpretations of history not captured in books or journal articles. Both *taonga* Te Maungarongo and the *kinikini* were directly referred to, and many more which continue to reside outside of our *kaitīakitanga* (guardianship). And, before their descendants who are among us, both William and Gilbert Mair were referred to, specifically in reference to their exploits on our landscapes that disempowered our *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination). For me there is no better way to understand the enmeshed nature of relationships between: place, oral and written histories, genealogical connections and *taonga*. It is also preferable that this is explicated on the landscape from which actors (the border negotiators) and actions (the negotiations) transpired,

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because it is here that the entangled nature of these interconnections are captured, albeit reinterpreted before a contemporary office.

> Ko tō mātou whakapāpā ko ō mātou taonga, ka tūhonohono i tō mātou hapū, ā, ki te mātauranga hoki o tō mātou hapū nā reira te mahi a ō mātou tīpuna i te whenua tipu.
>
> Genealogy and taonga link us to our *hapū* and our *hapū*-based knowledge related to the lives of our ancestors upon ancestral landscapes.
>
> Rangihoea Ratahi, Ngāti Hikakino & Ngāi Te Rangihouhiri *kuia* (elder), January 2008.

In investigating *taonga* we are reminded of the agenda of *rangatira*, acts of conflict and struggle, voices of dissonance, and unity and of *hapū* survival and reformation. It is precisely because of the act of disconnection, which has determined the fate of many *taonga* in local and international museums, that *taonga* passivity must be redressed. This disparity will continue to rule the fate of displaced objects, as demonstrated for Te Maungarongo and the *kinikini*, until rekindled or *new* connections are forged. For *iwi* and *hapū* there is more at stake than just the *return* of an object, because research and associated knowledge reinvests *taonga* back into physical and cultural landscapes. Museum collections are a pivotal in-



Figure 9. Ngāti Hikakino and Ngāi Te Rangihouhiri *hapū* standing on a raised knoll beside the Tarawera River, 25 kilometers west of Whakatāne, Bay of Plenty, Aotearoa New Zealand. Photograph caption: J. Baker, August 2006.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0940739108080120 Published online by Cambridge University Press

tersection because they are significant repositories of *iwi* and *hapū* knowledge. For our *hapū* it is not totally up to museums to undertake research in our community, nor is it entirely appropriate; but it is now up to us to follow the path of *taonga* that have left our landscapes.[51] To enact an age-old tradition of renegotiating the borders of intellectual and cultural property[52] and understand that ancestor efficacy will truly be enacted through us, the next generation of border negotiators, as we prepare to take the challenge of continuing the *kōrero*.

ENDNOTES

1. Limestone is the English-language equivalent for *matakohe*, which is found in abundance on this island and demonstrates that, for Māori, naming places often exhibits a particular knowledge base, in this case a natural resource.

2. In 1769 Captain Cook named this area the Bay of Plenty in reference to the abundance of food resources and the number of settlements he saw along the hillsides and shoreline (Salmond, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog*, 128). The Bay of Plenty is commonly accepted to describe not only the bay but also now the inland area. However, Te Moananui a Toi, the sea of Toi, is a term that describes only the bay as a large body of water.

3. Until large-scale draining of the swamp and substantial stopbank construction reduced sections of the Oriini river to a stream and at other places to a drain.

4. A *marae* is an open courtyard area where two groups face each other to discuss the purpose of meeting. Contemporary colloquial use of the term *marae* often associates it to the wider marae complex, therefore including the buildings and in this case referring to the *whare tīpuna* Puawairua.

5. In this case a ambilineal descent to the present generation.

6. Binney, *Redemption Songs*, 492.

7. "Ngāti Awa is an *iwi* (tribe) consisting of a confederation of 22 *hapū* (sub-tribes) located around Whakatāne, Te Teko and Matatā in the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand." Available at http://www.ngatiawa.iwi.nz/about-us/ (accessed February 20, 2008).

8. Two other *marae* were also shifted. Taiwhakaea was relocated to Pāroa, an area adjacent and to the north of Te Pahitauā, and Rangihouhiri, which now resides less than a kilometer northeast of Puawairua *marae* and still within the area known as Te Pahitauā. It is generally believed that Te Kooti's *kupu whakaari* was a prophecy applicable to the situation of all three *marae*, because they once stood close together at Ōtamauru, an area prone to seasonal flooding. Takotohiwi, *Ngā marae o Whakatāne*.

9. Phillis, *Eruera Manuera*.

10. *Tāngata whenua* literally translates into the English language as "people of the land" and in this instance describes Māori local to the areas invaded and who were affected disproportionately from other Māori (i.e., those whose lands were not initially confiscated through acts of war). In general the term is also associated with indicating the indigenous status of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.

11. Te Ao Māori, the Māori world, and Te Ao Pākehā, the Pākehā world. These terms describe two very different scenarios being created at this time, one describes the plight of an indigenous people resisting subjugation, the other a juggernaut of political power, entrepreneurship, and military aggression. Binney, *Redemption Songs*, 302–03.

12. Binney *Redemption Songs*, 25.

13. Mead, *Māori Art on the World Scene*.

14. The word *taonga*, cultural treasures, describes in this article purposely created physical objects as expressions of Māori material culture. However, I acknowledge the term *taonga* encompasses relations and ideas about other physical and nonphysical traits, as explicated in the Flora and Fauna

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Claim (Wai 262) before the Waitangi Tribunal. Although the *marae* Puawairua falls within this category and has been briefly discussed, this article further delineates a particular type of *taonga*, physical objects amassed and now residing in museum-based collections. See Tapsell, *Ko Tawa*, 17–20.

15. Binney, *Redemption Songs*, 321.

16. The Rangitaiki, Tarawera, and Ohinemataroa rivers (also in oral literacy referred to as *Whakatāne* at different sections of its natural traverse) all flowed into the Oriini.

17. Binney, *Redemption Songs*, 329.

18. Te Maungarongo is a mere pounamu, a short handheld weapon shaped from nephrite or greenstone.

19. Also known as *Wiremu Kingi Kuhukuhu* (Cowan 1983: 632), and variations of his name are present in other documents: Wiremu Kingi Tutahuarangi (Binney 1995: 656), Wiremu Kingi Tu Tahuarangi (text for the *taonga* Te Maungarongo, case 18, main gallery, Auckland War Memorial Museum).

20. The New Zealand Wars lasted more than 40 years, but within this period conflict was intermittent. For this article it refers to the years of 1868 to 1872 as relevant to the lives of Wiremu Kingi, Gilbert Mair, and Te Kooti.

21. The New Zealand government, whereby the first sitting of parliament was in 1854.

22. Cowan, *Tales of the Māori*, 463.

23. Binney, *Redemption Songs*, 329.

24. Mair letter to Hamilton.

25. See endnote 45.

26. Tapsell, *Ko Tawa*, 19.

27. Tapsell, *Ko Tawa*.

28. Minutes of Native Land Court sittings record in detail lengthy oral *kōrero* of *tīpuna* activities on individual sites; and with the recitation of *whakapāpā* lines of descent, a speaker's direct physical relationship to individual lands was conferred. This role was often undertaken by *rangatira* as they spoke on behalf of their *iwi* or *hapū*.

29. In an earlier case between Te Whānau a Apanui and Ngāti Porou, William Mair noted in his diary, "Whānau a Apanui asked for block to be inspected, so Gilbert and Ereatara with a party of natives for each side left by boat for Maraenui to examine marks on block" (December 11, 1884, MSS A-31).

30. Tapsell, *Ko Tawa*, 163.

31. A contemporary of Percy Smith, also a surveyor, they were both in Rotorua soon after the Tarawera eruption of June 10 1886. As noted in his diary, William Mair "saw P. Smith, Alma Baker and others," (June 16, 1886, Diary, Box 5, W G).

32. Mair continues in his diary stating that he stayed with the Baker family in Hastings (January 22, 1885). It may have been through Percy Smith that Alma Baker was first introduced to William Mair, but Mair also attended dinner meetings of the Wellington Philosophical Society (October 11, 1879).

33. Baker, "Mair's Relationship With Iwi," 80.

34. William Mair's meeting with Te Whenuanui, October 1870 and the exchange of *taonga* that sealed a pact of peace between the Crown and Tuhoe. Binney, *Redemption Songs*, 240.

35. As demonstrated with the case of another *taonga* Pukaki, of which Gilbert Mair was involved. Tapsell, *Pukaki—A Comet Returns*.

36. As irrefutably indicated in Gilbert Mair's letter to William Mair (May 8, 1874) and reprinted in Ron Crosby's book *Gilbert Mair: Te Kooti's Nemesis*, 229.

37. Tapsell, *Ko Tawa*.

38. Respectively, curators and directors of the Auckland Institute and Museum (later the Auckland War Memorial Museum) and the Colonial Museum (later the Dominion Museum and now known as Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand).

39. Crosby, *Gilbert Mair: Te Kooti's Nemesis;* Neich, *Carved Histories*.

40. Titled *Major Mair's Collection of Māori Antiques*, the reference for the original newspaper article is unknown, because this version has been pasted into a scrapbook of articles. Cited on page 174 of the Mair Scrapbook No. 10, AC 5, M22, Auckland War Memorial Museum Library. Some-

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times, even in official documents, the titles of captain and major were occasionally mixed up for Gilbert and William Mair. Suffice to say, Gilbert never attained the rank of major.

41. Noted in Royal Society of New Zealand, *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, "Some valuable Māori ethnological specimens have been purchased from Mr. Alma Baker, including some greenstone meres, canoe-carvings, &c. Captain Gilbert Mair has deposited in the Museum the whole of his Māori collection, admitted to be one of the most complete in New Zealand . . ." (620).

42. Cowan, *Tales of the Māori*, 142.

43. For both versions see Tapsell, *Ko Tawa*, 12.

44. For example, the *taonga* Te Mautaranui. Tapsell, *Ko Tawa*, 66.

45. Research undertaken by Tapsell ascertained that the *kinikini* was actually in Te Papa Tongarewa's collection. It was originally accessioned into the Auckland Museum's collection (AM 828); but sometime between 1899 and 1901, Gilbert Mair sent it to his good friend Augustus Hamilton, and it stayed in the Colonial Museum's collection. Therefore, to include the *kinikini* in the Ko Tawa exhibition, proprietor negotiations were initiated between the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and the Ko Tawa Project.

46. The Ko Tawa Project was led by Dr. Paul Tapsell, Director Māori *Tumuaki Māori* of the Auckland War Memorial Museum. Outcomes of the project are a touring exhibition of some of the *taonga* from the Gilbert Mair Collection and a comprehensive web site outlining individual *taonga* and related research, available at http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/90/ko-tawa (accessed January 10, 2008).

47. Mead, "The Nature of Taonga," and Mead, *Māori Art on the World Scene*.

48. Accounts of this journey and research are provided in the Ko Tawa book. Tapsell, *Ko Tawa*.

49. See Baker, "Mair's Relationship With Iwi," 67, for this *whakapāpā* and an explanation of the differing perspectives (74–86).

50. Reproduced here in its entirety, this was a clipping lifted from a newspaper or magazine that has been pasted on the final page of an incomplete accession register. The register was compiled by Katie Reynolds nee Pickmere, curator of the Whangarei Museum (1941–1949); however, the original source remains unknown. This register is located alongside the museum's main register in the Archive room of the Whangarei Museum, July 2007.

51. This *wānanga* also instigated a *Recording Taonga Project* of which stage 1, collating an archive of *taonga* images, has been completed (document tabled at Ngāti Hikakino Trust meeting, Puawairua *marae*, December 3, 2006).

52. As proclaimed in articles 2.1–3 of *The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property*.

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https://doi.org/10.1017/S0940739108080120 Published online by Cambridge University Press