

Kia ora, gday and welcome to the History of Aotearoa New Zealand, Episode 11: A map, a whare and a marae. Last time we talked about Maori social organisation both at the macro level, the whanau, hapu and iwi and micro level, rangitira, tutua and taurekareka. Don't remember what those words mean? Well, I am building a section on the website with all of the Maori words and terms we have covered so far! This in particular is meant to help those outside Aotearoa that may have difficulty with the Te Reo I use in HANZ and need a visual reference to work with. Let me know if that is something you might find valuable! Anyway, that was the social framework that Maori were working in and in this episode we will talk a bit more about the actual physical structures that this social framework was based around starting with the land itself and the how Maori viewed their own borders.

To do that, I'm going to tell you a little story: When Cook returned from his first voyage to Aotearoa and other places in 1771, one of the ideas he brought back was how Maori made use of flax. He didn't bring back all the knowledge needed and the big wigs back in London decided they would like to use New Zealand flax in their newly established colonies in Australia, or more specifically Norfolk Island, which was under Australian jurisdiction. So they needed to find a way figure out the missing pieces. The main fella behind this was the Lieutenant Governor of Norfolk Island, Philip Gidley King, writing in January 1791, "Every method has been tried to work it; but I much fear that until a native of New Zealand can be carried to Norfolk Island that the method of dressing that valuable commodity will not be known; and could that be obtained, I have no doubt but Norfolk Island would very soon cloath the inhabitants of New South Wales." So they were clearly trying to do it themselves but not having much luck, with the idea being to use the processed flax to make clothes, something Maori used flax for, among other things. The problem was that this was a fairly involved process and so it wasn't really something they could just trial and error to figure it out. As King mentioned in that quote, the plan would be to grab a couple of "New Zealanders" and take them to Norfolk to teach the convicts there how to process flax to make clothes. King was insistent on this plan until in July of 1791 when the Home Secretary, Henry Dundas instructed the Admiralty to use the ship Daedalus, which was currently on its way to Vancouver, Canada, to take "a flax dresser or two" from New Zealand to Sydney, Australia. It did take some time for the Daedalus to reach the south Pacific though and during that time Lieutenant Governor King decided to approach the captain of a whaling ship, offering them some money to do the job. The captain accepted and sailed to somewhere near modern Kaitaia, at the very top of the North Island, to try convince some local Maori to join him, which he failed to do. For some weird reason, the idea was never discussed or implemented to force them onto the ship. Maybe because the whalers weren't soldiers? Who knows. In any case, the Daedalus arrived in 1793 and set about trying to find someone to take to Australia. The big blunder though, comes here, whereby the captain didn't really take too much notice of who he was grabbing, he just imprisoned the first to people he came across, which just so happened to be two young men who were invited aboard with the promise of gifts. They were given something to eat and drink while, unbeknownst to them, the Daedalus sailed off, not realising until it was too late.

The people the Daedalus grabbed were two men named Tuki and Huru. They said the reason they were in the waka was that Tuki was visiting Huru and they saw the Daedalus on the horizon one day while hanging out outside Huru's house. The ship was still there the following morning so they decided to paddle out and see if they could trade for some iron, as well as just generally being a bit curious as to why a ship was hanging out in their locale. Due to the deception, they weren't really that into giving up information. However, after dining with King and the captain a few times, the two Maori became more sociable and cooperated with them. There was just one problem. Flax preparation and weaving was a woman's job, not something a priest and warrior, who were both

chiefs, would really know anything about. Woops. They did have a good crack at teaching the convicts on Norfolk Island as they did know some from hanging around with their wives, but not enough for it to really be of any use. Despite this, one of the most amazing pieces of information that King managed to get from Tuki, the priest, was a map drawn by Tuki himself.

I'll put an image up on the website of Tuki's map as it is one of the first instances of a written Maori map and gives us great insight into how Maori viewed themselves and those around them. For starters it should be noted that the annotations you see were made by King's secretary and would explain why many of the words you see spelt phonetically and don't really resemble written Te Reo Maori today. The most obvious part of the map is that there are two major islands Te Ika a Maui, the Fish of Maui or the North Island and Te Wai Pounamu, The Place of Greenstone or South Island. Obviously the islands aren't to any sort of scale and are a cartographers nightmare with the South Island being fairly small, when in reality it is actually larger than the North Island. The latter also mostly consists of Northland, the area north of modern Auckland. So it's not terribly useful as an actual map but it does tell us a lot about what Tuki knew about his neighbours and the fact that he was at least aware of the South Island as the source of greenstone, even if he wasn't massively familiar with it. Looking into the details more, we can see Tuki has split his local area into eight districts, noting where the principal chief in each one lived as well as how many warriors they commanded. Tuki even notes the chiefs higher than him, possibly the rangitira and ariki, of his area with larger houses than his own, which is located in Hododo as it is shown, or Oruru Valley, as it would have been called. The political landscape is also noted, with Tuki and his people allied with those in Hokianga and the Bay of Islands against another group made up of Whangaroa, Muri Whenua and some others that I failed to translate. This presents an interesting challenge as it would mean that for Tuki to visit Huru, he would have to go past hostile territory in his waka, which makes you wonder how often he would do this and whether the rival tribes would stop him if they found him. Another interesting detail on this map is that it seems to keep to the common Polynesian metaphor of islands being fish. The North Island is called Te Ika a Maui because it was a fish that caught and brought up by Maui himself and the naming of places reflects this. The muri in Muriwhenua referred to the rear part of the fish in the north whereas places that have mua in their name refer to the head of the fish and tend to be closer to the southern part of the North Island. You can also see a pair of dotted lines running up what you might be the spine of the fish and each territory has some access to this spine. This is te ara tapu, the sacred track that souls walk to reach Cape Reinga, which is where they depart for mythical Hawaiki.

Tuki's map tells us a lot but one of the most important things it tells us is that hapu and iwi had very defined territories, there was no doubt in who owned what and where the borders were, which other Europeans around Aotearoa noted as well. It was well known between Maori that there should be no encroachment on hapu or iwi territory by another chief unless given permission. In the event that this did happen, the challenge was taken with the utmost seriousness. Sir William Martin, the first Chief Justice of New Zealand wrote in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, "every tribe sees, in any successful encroachment upon its territory, a peril to its own independence, and even to its existence, as a distinct tribe." So, that is to say that to make a push into a hapu's territory represented a challenge and a threat to the very existence of that hapu. One of the aspects of these very clearly defined hapu boundaries that caused much confusion with Europeans was that despite no land was left unclaimed, much of a hapu or iwi's territory were usually unsettled and the resources within not utilised. To Maori, this was normal, you knew where the boundaries were and who owned what and that was that. It didn't matter that your neighbour wasn't mining those rocks or fishing in that river, that was theirs unless you wanted to go to war. Europeans, coming from a place where every section of arable land was productive and every resource utilised, saw all this land that no one was

sitting on or doing anything with and thought it was up for grabs. Basically the thinking was, how could you claim it was yours if you weren't living on it or using it in some way? This system of not using all the land available to them led a lot of Europeans to think the borders between tribes was ill defined or perhaps didn't even exist at all, such as in the case of Edward Wakefield of the New Zealand Company, who said Maori "knew not of any further right to a district covered in primeval forest, far too vast for the use of any descendants of their tribe." In saying that, not every European held that belief, which we should remember in general going forward. For example, Lieutenant Governor Robert Fitzroy, 2<sup>nd</sup> Governor of New Zealand stated before the Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1838 that, "[he had] heard it asserted, that there is a great deal of waste land which anybody may make use of; but from where I saw myself, I should say that every acre of land is owned, and that there is much tenacity with respect to a particular boundary." As a quick sidenote, don't worry too much about who all these people are, we will talk more about them as we get to them in the narrative. Well, I say narrative, it hasn't been terribly narrative so but it will be once Europeans arrive!

Anyway, all this land that various hapu claimed wasn't all held in the same regard. That is to say, some was valued more than others. Edward Shortland, if you remember who he is, broke it up into four main classes. Going from most highly valued to least, the first class was land that was held by individuals or small groups through inheritance, take tupuna, received as gifts, take tuku or conquered and occupied, take raupatu. The second class was land open to common use of the hapu, although some may be detached for personal use. The third was land claimed by neighbours but not currently occupied by either. The final class was conquered land where some of the original inhabitants were allowed to remain. It's a fairly intuitive system, assuming it was vaguely accurate. Land that your family has always been on or that received as say a marriage gift or now had people on after you fought of it, would naturally be valued higher than land that was seen as common use or had people living on it that wasn't of the same hapu.

Claims and rights over land, fisheries, fowling areas and all sorts of other things were constantly debated, usually coming down to arguments of whakapapa. Shortland describes this process, in a little jest, potentially showing he didn't hold much faith in the idea, "the counsel of the plaintiff [usually a chief with an interest in the matter] opens his case by naming in a loud voice some ancestor of his party, whom he calls the root of the land... He then endeavours to prove this root exercised some right of ownership undisputed by anyone, and deduces, step by step, the descent of his clients from this ancestor or root. If the adverse party cannot disprove the fact of original ownership, or find flaw in the pedigree, the case would be decided against them." In Maori culture, land and resources were owned exclusively at the level they were claimed. By that I mean, when a claim was decided between whanau for say the use of a garden, it would never be ruled that the garden be shared or sections of the garden be shared. Either one whanau gained right to the whole garden or the garden was split in half and each whanau given exclusive access to that section.

Before we move on to what Maori built on the land we have been talking about, lets come back to Tuki and Huru and how their story ended. It's unclear whether Tuki drew the map as a means to show King how to get him home or just as a piece of information about the neighbouring hapu. Either way, King gave Tuki a bunch of gifts such as cabbages, handaxes, carpenters tools, razors, scissors, hoes, spades, seeds including wheat, maize and peas along with ten sows and two boars, which Tuki was to keep for breeding. The intention of King was to give Tuki gifts and the tools to make the most of those gifts for items that might see an explosion of demand in Aotearoa and create some commercial opportunities. After this, Tuki and Huru were returned home where they fade from our story.

Now that we have talked about the land Maori were on, let's talk about the things they put on the land. Whare, houses, in pre-European and into the colonial periods were rather simple in terms of their design, unless you were a chief but even then, some still had rather unassuming dwellings. They tended to be A-frames with a single open space, rather than multiple rooms with an open door and window at the front for ventilation and a small porch where the whanau could sit. Whare, like most things in this era, were made of whatever Maori had available locally, such as manuka, nikau, species of trees, fibres from prepared flax called muka, earth sods or punga, known today as the silver fern. Typically though they would have wooden frames with raupo, cats tail reeds or similar for walls which would be tightly packed and held together with horizontal ties. The South Island is where earthen sod tended to be favoured as it was more insulating for the much colder climates. The roof usually had something similar using tussock, nikau, raupo or bark. It was these sorts of buildings that the whanau would live and sleep in, a whare mahana, warm house. The design and materials of these buildings would remain largely the same up until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, although more European materials like corrugated iron and sawn timber became popular as well European styles of architecture. I'll put some pictures up on the website that were taken in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century of all these sorts of whare so you can kinda see what I'm talking about and I'd highly recommend you do so. They are really fascinating and most feature people in them, giving you a glimpse into their life. Alternatively, if you live in Wellington, the national museum, Te Papa has one set up as a permanent exhibit if you want to see it up close and personal.

You don't keep your food and valuables in your house though, you put it in some sort of storage and by around the time of European contact, Maori were using the pataka. These were small buildings that were on wooden posts, sometimes only one, that were smooth to stop rats climbing up into them up and usually sat just over 2m off the ground. These posts usually had some sort of large steps or ladder system to allow access from under the pataka, rather than from the front as the architectural design may imply. Some pataka could be very large and ornately carved and decorated, which would bring a lot of mana and prestige to a hapu. Again, I'll put a picture on the website of a pataka so you can see what it looks like but if you want to see one up close and inside, Te Papa is the place to go if you're in Wellington. If you're standing in front of the Te Papa whare as you listen to this, the pataka is behind you, to the right of the large ornate building that is likely garnering much more attention than most of the stuff you can see.

That gives a nice segue into our next building cause that building is a marae, a meeting house. Marae were a central part of Maori life as they were the place for gatherings such as feasts, legal proceedings, tangihanga, funerals and all sorts of other events. They were houses of diplomacy, law and oration but the word marae doesn't exactly refer to that exact building. Marae have been labelled as anything from open areas to clusters of houses and apparently early explorers of New Zealand didn't mention marae, perhaps because they are often not much different to the other buildings they saw. The building that most people today would call the marae is the whare nui, great house, it is largest and most important part of the marae area as it is where most of the action happens. The other buildings are usually used for cooking as bringing food into a marae is a big no no. The reason for that is because food is noa, which is the opposite of tapu and marae were very very tapu. The relationship between tapu and noa is extremely complex and really something that needs to be explained by someone with a much deeper understanding than me but one reason that marae may have been so tapu is due to the carvings, as suggested in Adrian John Te Piki Kotuku Bennett's thesis for the University of Canterbury. Marae typically had carvings representing ancestors and their feats, some marae were a bit more minimalistic with their carvings, only having basic ones on the doorway and others would be lavish with carvings, inside and out and are called whare whakairo, carved houses. As you should be well aware by now, whakapapa was of the utmost

importance to Maori and so it should come as no surprise that representations of their ancestors were heavy with tapu. In fact, marae were often named after important ancestors and were considered as physical representations of that ancestor or even the marae is an ancestor in its own right. This meant carving was mahi tane, men's work as women were noa and not allowed to be involved, although it is possible women weaved the tukutuku patterns, which are the ones you see on the walls inside a marae. This intense tapu on carvings meant you couldn't mess around, you had to do it properly and illustrate my point, here is another quick story about a marae called Rauru.

Te Waru was a great carver, a tohunga of his art and had begun making carvings for a whare nui in the 1850s called Rauru in honour of his wife. As we have talked about, this was a very tapu job and you weren't allowed to bring food near the marae as food was noa. Tobacco was included in this restriction as well, which led to misfortune when he entered the unfinished marae smoking a pipe. Te Waru was advised by another that he should cease construction, breaking tapu and ignoring it will surely piss off the gods and ancestors. Te Waru ignored the warnings though and continued until shortly after his wife died, forcing him to put down his tools. Some time later, he married again and restarted his work again with renewed vigour, hoping the tapu had diminished. It had not and came down upon him again in the form of the death of his second wife. After even longer, Te Waru married for a third time, a marriage that bore him sons. This spurred him on to finish the house in his old age. His hard work and dedication paid off, after many years he finished the amazing whare nui with intricate carvings and it gave him and his family much mana. (away from mic) What? What do you mean? It can't happen for a third time! (back to mic) Apologies, apparently his third wife and both sons died as a result of his attempt. So the whare nui remained unfinished until a bloke called Charles Nelson of Rotorua came along and convinced Te Waru to part with the carvings, which I can only hope was not too difficult and that Te Waru had learned his lesson. Nelson employed three carvers to work on the marae and this time it was actually completed and erected in the village Whakarewarewa near Rotorua. When it was opened in 1900, Nelson had two priests perform a variety of ceremonies to remove the tapu. Unfortunately, within about a week both of them died and the building was shunned by the local community, only really there as a tourist attraction for people who had heard the story. The carvings were sold in 1904 and Rauru now sits in the Museum für Völkerkunde or the Museum for Ethnology in Hamburg, Germany. So if any of you live there or are up that way for a holiday, pop in, have a look and let us know what it's like! Just remember to be respectful and take your shoes off before entering! Alternatively, if you live in Wellington, again, you can go see the marae they have at Te Papa, you can guess where I went a few weeks ago, can't you? If you get the chance to be on a marae, in a museum or otherwise I would highly recommend it. Just standing inside the Te Papa marae, despite the fact that museum marae are what Bennett calls "sleeping houses" on account of them being conserved and not actively used, you can still feel the presence of the ancestors. I'd compare it to walking into a church, regardless of whether you are religious or not I think most people would agree that when you walk into a church it feels holy, it feels like something is there. In a whare whakairo, which the Te Papa marae very much is, you get that same sense with the carvings. To bring it all back, tapu was extremely important and these buildings were just dripping in it with the consequences of breaking and ignoring tapu being dire.

So what was actually involved in building a whare nui? Well, put on your PPE, we are going to run through how to build a marae! I have put a diagram up on the website that you can follow along with. Pre-European marae were built on four posts called pou, that were thrust into the ground as the foundation with larger support posts, called the pou tahuhu and pou tuarongo, set up at the front and back of the marae. Between these larger posts a long ridge board, a tahuhu was added which would form the centre of the roof. At each end, two logs that were joined to form a peak were attached to the larger centre support near where the tahuhu was connected and supported by

the other two smaller posts in each corner. These logs over hanged at their lowest point to form eaves with the two logs at the front called maihi, which were often decorated with carvings. Foundations for the walls would be added next with pou matua posts added on each side to aid in bearing the load of the structure. With the basis of the structure completed, thatching and reeds were added to fill in the gaps and any other internal carvings were added. The earth of the floor was compressed with woven mats being laid on top to aid with insulation. The important thing to remember with all this is that it was all done without nails or pegs. Any joins were bound together with fibre ropes or using notches in the wood. At the end of construction, rituals were conducted to remove any tapu to make the whare nui safe for use. It is also possible that human sacrifice was a part of this ritual although I haven't found much to back that up.

So, assuming you followed those instructions, you should now have a functional Great House! But what should you do with it? Find out next time where we will talk about what to do in a marae, such as hui and powhiri. We will also talk about cannibalism, sex and focus a bit more on Maori women and their roles in traditional Maori society. That sounds a lot more exciting than the end of the last episode, doesn't it?

If you want to send me feedback, ask a question, suggest a topic or just have a chinwag you can reach me through email at [historyaotearoa@gmail.com](mailto:historyaotearoa@gmail.com) or Twitter at History Aotearoa or Facebook at History of Aotearoa New Zealand Podcast. Don't forget to rate us on iTunes to help us grow and teach more people about the history of our island nation! As always, haere tu atu, hoki tu mai. See you next time!