

Rongowhakaata Statement of Association

Te Kuri a Paoa mai Te Toka Ahuru - Coastal Space

Mihi

The traditions of Rongowhakaata iwi confirm the cultural, historical and spiritual importance of the Moana Turanganui a Kiwa, which extends from Te Kuri a Paoa mai i Te Toka Ahuru. These traditions represent the links between the world of the Atua and present generations. The histories of Rongowhakaata reinforce this tribal identity and the connection to the moana of Turanganui a Kiwa, and are continually expressed in Whakapapa, Waiata, Korero and Mahi Toi.

Mana, Mauri, Whakapapa, and Tapu are all-important spiritual elements and traditional values central to the relationship of Rongowhakaata with the Moana Turanganui a Kiwa. The Mana of Turanganui a Kiwa lies in the power and importance of the Moana to Rongowhakaata. Mana also in turn defines the Kaitiekitanga responsibilities of Rongowhakaata to the Moana.

All forms of life have Mauri and all are related. The Mauri of the Moana, Turanganui a Kiwa, resides in the life force of its waters. One of the essential roles of Rongowhakaata is to protect the Mauri of the Moana. Whakapapa defines the genealogical relationship of Rongowhakaata to the Moana, and Tapu describes the sacred nature of the relationship between Rongowhakaata and the Moana. All these values remain important to the people of Rongowhakaata today.

It is the historic Whakapapa traditions of Rongowhakaata Iwi that demonstrate the depth of relationship of Rongowhakaata to the Moana o Turanganui a Kiwa. Rongowhakaata Tipuna had considerable knowledge of places for gathering kai, places for healing, places for gathering rongoa, and other uses of the resources of their Moana. This knowledge was aligned with proper Rongowhakaata Tikanga and Kawa in the sustainable management of the resources.

The following histories document the lives, times, and tragedies of Rongowhakaata Iwi in relation to Te Moana o Turanganui a Kiwa.

Waka

Rongowhakaata whakapapa to various pre-migration iwi including Te Hapuoneone, Maruiwi, Nga Marama, Nga Maihi, Nga Potiki, Te Marangaranga and Te Tini o Toi, the multitude of Toi te Huatahi or Toi Kairakau as he is commonly known. From time to time, these groups also traversed the lands, rivers, mountains and forests of the Turanganui a Kiwa region. Rongowhakaata also trace descent from the ancestors of waka; Horouta, Takitimu, Ika nui a Rauru and Ruapani, from whom many important whakapapa lines of descent converge. Prior to the arrival of tauiwi (European settlers), the tipuna of Rongowhakaata established important communities all along the banks of the principal rivers of the region, including the moana from Te Kowhai to Te Toka Ahuru.

Of utmost importance to the history of Rongowhakaata is 'Te Uinga Mai', the arrival of the great explorers. These included Paoa, Kiwa, Matuatonga, Tamatea, Maia, Hinehikirangi and the many others who followed. The waka tipuna are recalled in order of arrival as Horouta, Te Ikanui a Rauru and Takitimu, and all are ascribed to have settled the lands of Turanganui a Kiwa. Many names were given and Mauri lain, all of which exist today.

On arrival in Turanganui a Kiwa, the Horouta first landed at the mouth of a stream at Te Muriwai mai Tawhiti. Hinehikirangi, who was the waka captain Paoa's sister, was the first person to step ashore. At Muriwai, she named her drinking water Umurau, and a latrine named Wherowhero was placed at the site of the present Muriwai settlement.

As the winter closed in, Hinehikirangi sent for her brothers who were by then at Turanganui, and requested that they build her house. From the length of time it took for her brothers to respond to her request, she gave the name Oneroa (Long Beach) to the sandy shore which stretches from Muriwai to Turanganui.

On completion, her house was given the name Papatewhai. A stone called Matapaia was cast, her kete [known as Kowhai that] held the precious kumara tubers was poured, and her pae pae, Ko Whero Kai Te Hamuti, was erected. Another house named Papaka Nui was built for Paoa at Muriwai, while the [prominent Maunga at the south of the moana] was given the name of his dog, Te Kuri a Paoa. Hangi stones were [then] gathered for Hinehikirangi from the bank of the once Te Arai Te Uru river course, at the base of Puketapu Maunga.

From Muriwai, Hinehikirangi searched for, and found, a place to plant the precious kumara tubers brought from Hawaiki. Such was her elation at the discovery of a suitable location with its rich, well drained soil, that she named the nearby maunga 'Manawaru': expressed as 'my delight' and giving rise to 'kai Manawaru', 'I am delighted'. The time for planting is referred to within the Popo Oriori, Enoka Te Pakarau, as having occurred when the kowhai tree was in full bloom.

Popo

Ko Hinehikirangi ka u kei uta, Te Kowhai ka nga ora ka ringitia te kete, Ko Manawaru, Ko Arai te Uru

Upon the settlement of Paoa, Kiwa, Hinehikirangi and those waka peoples, the Horouta was laid to rest in the Wherowhero Lagoon.

Te Kuri a Paoa

The associations of Rongowhakaata iwi with the whenua and moana surrounding the Te Kuri a Paoa, has been through generations of interwoven whakapapa, marriage, and alliance between the people of Ngai Tamanuhiri and those of Rongowhakaata. Over the generations, Ngai Tamanuhiri has generously given access to Rongowhakaata uri to gather kaimoana from their coastal reefs, without incident, from Te Kuri a Paoa mai Te Paritu.

A significant strengthening of relationships between these iwi came in the time of Kahutiaterangi, son of Te Rangiwahipu of Ngati Paea from Ngai Tamanuhiri. Kahutiaterangi was given the following advice **“Tonokia to whare I a Te Ikawhaingata, I a Turehe, kia whai taunga a remu ai”** – *Cement alliances with the houses of Te Ikawhaingata and Turehe for reasons of future security.*

The brothers Te Ikawhaingata and Turehe were of the Ngati Kaipoho hapu in the early 17th century. Kahutiaterangi went on to take as wives: Rangikaungaiwaho, daughter of Te Ika; and also Rangihikaiaora and Moaengawaitohu, the daughters of Turehe. Thus the prophecy was embodied in a strong foundation of whakapapa whanau between Ngai Tamanuhiri and Rongowhakaata.

Te Ikawhaingata’s son, Te Ratu, on a fishing expedition caught only one fish, a tihakona, while his whanaunga, Poumatara, who was within a stones throw of him, caught an atirere and many others. Te Ratu thought he was the victim of some magic, and demanded some of Poumatara’s harvest. Poumatara declined, saying; **“He pewa I hiia ki te aho, he waka I hauamatia.”** Te Ratu was so angry he killed Poumatara and his people, and appropriated their fishing rights over the sea along Oneroa Beach from Muriwai to the Turanganui River.

Te Wherowhero Lagoon

It is from Te Kowhai, on the north east side of Te Wherowhero Lagoon that Ngati Kaipoho of Rongowhakaata firmly established themselves as kaitieki of the whenua and moana, benefiting from the abundance of kaimoana there such as shark, tuna, kahawai, patiki, inanga and kanae. At low tide, pipi, and whetiko were gathered, and along the swampy edges of the lagoon water-fowl were snared. Much of the kai was dried and stored for sustenance during the off-season, as well as for sharing with whanaunga and for trading purposes.

The Te Wherowhero Lagoon provided raupo, harakeke, kouka and kakaho from the swamps which were used as building materials for whare and for clothing. Paru – the precious mordent - was carefully nurtured in selected and protected areas within Te Wherowhero to be used in the dying process of korowai, kakahu, piupiu and whariki. Transportation and communication was by canoe along the navigable waterways from Te Wherowhero to the open sea, while internal travel was through the rivers Te Arai te Uru, Kopotutea and Waipaoa which gave opportunity to more kainga and resources.

By the 18th century, Ngai Tamanuhiri on the north side and Rongowhakaata hapu Ngati Kaipoho and Ngati Maru, on the southern side of Te Wherowhero, hosted the first trading stations in the Turanganui region. Ngati Kaipoho made arrangements with certain Traders, with a view firstly to engage in, and then eventually control the new economy. Whales, seals and harakeke were the first commodities traded, followed later by kumara, wheat, corn, pig’s, taro, flax and Totara. The trading was centralised in Te Wherowhero, the produce then moved to the open sea vessels, seven of which were owned by hapu of Rongowhakaata, namely Ngai Tawhiri, Ngati Maru and Ngati Kaipoho.

Coastal trading extended further than the borders of the Te Tairāwhiti, including to Auckland and Australia. The original exchanges of muskets, blankets, clothes, gold coin, tobacco and powder, shifted to the supply of primary commodities by Rongowhakaata, including totara, potatoes, pigs, corn, wheat, and considerably more. Taking advantage of the new economy Rongowhakaata owned and operated several trading ships, including *Te Raaka* (*The Lark*), *Whitipaea*, *Adah*, *Te Kuini* and *Ruawhetuki*, by the 1850's as part of the Turanga tribes had become among the richest in the country.

Te Kowhai

Te Kowhai, known also as Te Kowhai Ka Nga Ora, is said to be the name given to the place Hinehakirangi emptied her kete of precious kumara tubers.

Tradition states that upon the arrival of Horouta waka into Turanganui a Kiwa, the sun was rising, and before them, the sea and lands were bathed in bright glory, particularly the lands of 'Te Kowhai' and 'Pakowahi' where the many stands of kowhai trees were blooming. Te Kowhai has always been an important fishing kaenga of Rongowhakaata, and many ancestors have occupied the lands, the main waterway the Karaua Stream, and the immediately adjacent coastal fishing grounds.

In the 16th century, Rongomairatahi, the only son of Turahiri and Rongowhakaata, had his Pa and kainga atop Puketapu Maunga which adjoined the old Te Arai Te Uru river, and later the Karaua Stream. From his pa, Rongomairatahi had a panoramic view of Turanga, and thus a strategic position to monitor the comings and goings within his tribal domain. From here he established a sophisticated series of markers to identify access and protect his fishing grounds. Maunga, islands, the currents, coastal troughs and reefs were aligned at various points as references, and this knowledge helped sustain the numerous kainga and pa, and facilitate the guardianship of their precious resources.

Kaipoho, the great grandson of Rongomairatahi also maintained residence at Te Kowhai. He had built Te Tapui Pa on the west bank of the old Te Arai river, close to Puketapu Maunga, whilst his fishing resort by the sea was situated at Te Kowhai. One incident took place where his younger brother took the shark he had caught. So disgusted was Kaipoho that he gave his fishing gear and rights to his nephew, Rongoteuruora, the only child of Materoa and Rongomaihiakao, who resided at Okirau. Thus the mana of Rongoteuruora was known to be from Okirau to Te Kowhai.

Ngati Kaipoho and Ngati Maru were the predominant Rongowhakaata hapu of these areas, with many kainga and pa established over the generations. With the Karaua stream flowing through Te Kowhai, and its proximity to Te Wherowhero Lagoon, the area was also part of the greater inter-locaratory highway of waterways, where canoe and waka were the main form of transport, communication and trade.

Pakirikiri

Pakirikiri takes its name from the sounds made by the moving shingle in the waterways and is located to the north of Te Kowhai and Te Wherowhero Lagoon.

There was a period when Rongowhakaata concentrated their activities near the sea on the Pakirikiri block. The advantage of this site was the proximity to the sea, with access also to the Kopututea, Waipaoa, and Te Arai Rivers and the Karaua stream. Utilising the raupo, harakeke and kouka resources for whare, traditional transient kainga were established around Te Kowhai and Pakirikiri while the hapu were at work nearby gathering kaimoana.

This work was all performed according to the Maramataka Maori - seasons of the Maori calendar – and often using climatic indicators, such as for example, ‘whence the kowhai is flowering it is the time for gathering kaimoana, the kina roe are at their richest’.

Pakirikiri became a principal pa and kainga of Ngati Kaipoho and Rongowhakaata in the late 1860’s, when the Rangatira, Raharuhi Rukupo, moved the people from Orakaiapu Pa. This move was necessary in the aftermath of the combined Crown and Ngati Porou invasion in Turanga; the subsequent Ngatapa executions of approximately 200 Rongowhakaata men; the Te Whakarau imprisonment of an estimated 300 men, women and children (who were subsequently exiled to Chatham Islands, Wharekauri); and the Raupatu land confiscations visited upon Rongowhakaata.

In the thick of the Turanga political strife and Rongowhakaata’s struggle for survival, Pakirikiri became the centre of Turanga Iwi Runanga Hui. Thousands would gather at the Pakirikiri Pa for days, debating the challenges to their eroding Mana Motuhake - ‘Maori Society’ - as legislation upon legislation was introduced to alienate land and subjugate the Turanga tribes.

Sustaining manuhiri in these kaupapa was dependent on the abundance of the resources of the adjacent moana, surrounding lands, and Te Wherowhero lagoon. Alan Ward refers to one important occasion where, before an estimated crowd of over 4,000, Wi Pere and Carroll publicly debated yet another change to legislation affecting Maori land.

Transportation within the rohe of Rongowhakaata relied on the waterways, the rivers and the sea, with later, the main trunk Gisborne to Wairoa road linking Pakirikiri and Muriwai. Pakirikiri was thus not only a functional Marae of Ngati Kaipoho, with its traditional raupo whare, but it had also become a focal point in the affairs of regional politics and economy.

The whare Te Poho o Hinehou was built and commemorated to the mother of Raharuhi Rukupo and his brothers. Pera Tawhiti, the younger brother of Rukupo, led the building of the memorial whare Te Poho o Rukupo that followed the passing of the Rangatira Raharuhi in 1873, and which opened in 1878.

Major flooding that occurred in the late 1800’s, and the effects of typhoid, influenza and the other rampant diseases afflicting Ngati Kaipoho, coupled with the relocation of the main Napier – Gisborne coach road, led to the decision by Otene Pitau, whangai son of Rukupo and leader of Ngati Kaipoho, to relocate their Pa from Pakirikiri to the main settlement of Rongowhakaata at Manutuke.

On the Manutuke Block stood the third Toko Toru Tapu church, a testimony to Raharuhi Rukupo and his belief that Rongowhakaata would be able to sustain their wairua in the new world through aligning with the Anglican faith. Both Te Poho o Rukupo and Te Poho

o Hinehou were relocated adjacent to Te Toko Toru Tapu Church, and were soon to be joined by the Ngai Te Aweawe whare Te Poho o Epeha.

Another example of the significance of Pakirikiri to Rongowhakaata was the placement here of a Kou Kou Ariki. These Kou Kou Ariki were specially excavated, round bathing ponds used for ceremonial purposes by only those considered worthy of their use. Rongowhakaata had Kou Kou Ariki located at four different locations within their tribal rohe including Pakirikiri, Wahieroa and Makaraka.

Oneroa

The place known as Oneroa comprises the sandy shores that stretch from Muriwai to Turanganui, and encompasses the lands and waterways of Pakirikiri, Kopututea, Paokahu, Awapuni Moana, Te Wai o Hiharore and Waikanae to the Turanganui River. As mentioned in previous Horouta waka korero, Hinehakirangi gave the name Oneroa to this area from the length of time it took for her brothers to respond to the request to build her house at Muriwai, another version refers to the length of time it took to walk the Oneroa from Turanganui to Muriwai.

Many Rongowhakaata hapu were kaitieki of the Oneroa shores. These included Ngati Kaipoho at Te Kowhai, Ngati Maru within the courses of the Waipaoa and Kopututea Rivers, Ngati Ruawairau (Rua) along Kopututea Awapuni, to Ngai Tawhiri at Te Wai o Hiharore. All of these people were inherently committed to the protection of the taonga tuku iho – the treasures of the world around them.

Each respective hapu had particular responsibility for the individual fishing areas over which they had guardianship, and which they protected with much rigour. All gains, however, were of benefit to the collective hapu, and the drying, storage, trade and exchange were all exercised with particular tikanga, or customary practice employed to maintain the mauri of the taonga.

These hapu and whanau were renowned for the complex collaborative fish netting systems they developed. Individual sections of the nets were maintained when off the sea by their respective whanau. When [due to return to] the water however, the nets were then re-connected to each other in a series, and drawn forward between two waka. Some of these netting arrangements were said to have been one mile long.

The Oneroa beach has sustained many generations of Rongowhakaata, for over a period of more than 7 centuries. Respected Rongowhakaata Kaumatua Darcy Rapiata Ria, who was born at the Awapuni Marae, Te Kuri a Tuatai, and raised in Turanga on Ngai Tawhiri lands, recounts the kaimoana gathered from Te Oneroa, particularly the range of succulent pipi, some of which are not in existence today.

“On the Muriwai side of the Oneroa; kuarere was the white pipi, matatoki the brown pipi shaped like an axe head and the kurekure another white pipi which came to shore on certain easterlies, north easterlies winds to the delight of whanau who knowingly read the signs and gathered the bounty with their families for other families.

“From the Waikanae Stream, Te Wai o Hiharore to the mouth of the Waipaoa the fat thick shelled white pipi famed for it’s abundance and a much cherished delicacy of Rongowhakaata fresh but also dried and stored for future purposes. This pipi was the kai

of the Tamure, snapper; shoals of them would come in for feeding on the pipi with their powerful jaws breaking shells, hapu would mobilise to eat, gather, dry and store the tamure. Gathering the pipi was a simple task of feeling with your feet and filling your kete as the stock were plentiful, according to Uncle Darcy these times were enjoyable for whanau, with clean waters in the bay of Turanganui a Kiwa, but once the Gisborne City sewerage scheme piped the raw waste from Kaiti into the moana, from Oneroa to Te Wai o Hiharore the pipi disappeared in disgust.”

Darcy Rapiata Ria, 8th November 2009, Rongowhakaata Kaumatua

Pewhairangi and the Waipaoa River

Pewhairangi is the name given to the present outlet of the Kopututea/Waipaoa Awa, and the place where Rongowhakaata established his pa, which was named Pewhairangi also.

Rongowhakaata had fallen in love with Turahiri who lived with her family at their pa Te Huia, near Ngatapa, where the Whakaahu and Waikakariki streams meet. From there Rongowhakaata erected the Te Puia pa on the Whenuakura lands near Patutahi. Wanting to be close to the sea, he built the Pewhairangi Pa at Wai o Tamarereao, on the southern end of the Paokahu block. This area was then still joined by land to what is now the opposite side of the Waipaoa River, while the Kopututea stream flowed into the Awapuni Lagoon.

Early in the 19th century, the Waipaoa River broke through at Pewhairangi and swept away the burial ground of Rongowhakaata, despite the efforts of Raharuhi Rukupo and his brothers and other relatives, to divert the raging waters. Since then the Kopututea has bypassed the Awapuni lagoon.

WAIPAOA

Within the regions of the Waipaoa River, Ngati Maru, the great fisher hapu of Rongowhakaata, exercised their rights and obligations.

***Ngati Maru, tini whetu ki te rangi, ko Ngati Maru ki te whenua,
He tini kahawai ki te moana, ko Ngati Maru ki uta***

The pa and kainga of Ngati Maru continue to exist on the lands known as Matakakaa and Toietekainga, verging the Waipaoa River. Matakakaa whenua takes its name from the taniwha who resided in the Poukokonga lake right beside the present day Te Pahou Marae. The Poukokonga Lake had two outlets to the sea: one that drained into the Otiere Creek, and another into the Tawhao Stream heading into the Waipaoa River and thence to the sea.

The presence of Ngati Maru on the sea and lands of Rongowhakaata was unquestionable up to the 18th century. This changed over one incident when Ngati Maru were fishing in their waka, Umu o Tapuhere and Umu o Maui. The trouble developed when they moved on to the fishing grounds of their neighbours, Ngati Kaipoho. An argument ensued between the chiefs Tarake (Ngati Maru) and Te Hukaipu (Ngati Kaipoho) which resulted in the latter being slain on the ground below Tauranga Pa, Manutuke.

As a result, the Ngati Maru were evicted from Te Raeotekapu Pa, (adjoining the Orakaiapu Pa on the Te Arai River) by Te Ikawhaingata (the son of Te Hukaipu) with support from Konohi, their whanaunga and ally from Ngai Tawiri, Whangara.

Ngati Maru then gathered at Umukapua Pa, waiting for the response of their allies from Ngati Porou for assistance. Hunaara's (Te Whanau o Hunaara, Te Araroa) son Te Whaita came, and the combined forces attacked Ngati Kaipoho at Orakaiapu Pa. Ngati Kaipoho were subsequently defeated by Te Whaita and Tarake.

Te Whaita persuaded Ngati Maru to return with him, anticipating that the hapu would be eventually driven from their homes by Ngati Kaipoho and their allies. After setting fire to the Umukapua, Orakaiapu, and Te Raeotekapu Pa, Ngati Maru left with Te Whaita by canoe for Reporua. Their stay was short lived after Tarake lost his life to Te Whaita. The remnants of Ngati Maru, with the diplomatic assistance of Konohi, the Ngai Tawiri whanaunga of Whangara, eventually returned to Rongowhakaata. It was a sad return for the once powerful and numerous Ngati Maru, who were received by Te Ikawhaingata, Rangatira of Ngati Kaipoho at Kaupapa Pa.

“Haere e hoki ki te kainga. Ko nga tihī kei te iwi kainga, ko nga tumaru kei a koe”

Later in 1820, at the Waipaoa River, Tukorehu and Te Wera (Ngapuhi) clashed with Te Kani-a-Takirau and the combined force of Te Aitanga Hauiti, Rongowhakaata and Ngai Tamanuhiri. During the battle, many toa from both sides were killed, including one of Tukorehu's sons, Paiaka, who was dispatched during the struggle for a valuable greenstone mere. The mere was finally captured by Waitaro, who named it after the slain Paiaka.

In the end, though, the Rongowhakaata could not withstand the Nga Puhi weapons any more than Te Aitanga Hauiti. Te Kani himself was fortunate to escape, leaping into a canoe with some of his men who paddled furiously down to the security of a pa near the Waipaoa river mouth.

Kopututea

The Kopututea Awa is the tidal or ocean-influenced reach or salt water estuary of the Waipaoa River, which originally flowed into the Awapuni Lagoon and out to sea at Ohikarongo. Early in the 19th century a big flood broke through, and the Kopututea bypassed Awapuni Lagoon.

In the time of the ancestor Tarake of Ngati Maru, a new mouth was cut for the Kopututea River, and called Te Awahou. This was to fill again and become known by the name of Whatarau. Just inland from this place was the Puna - fresh water well called Te Mimiotaupuhara.

Te Awahou was central to the Ngati Hinewhanga, Ngati Pouwhakaika, and Ngai Timata, all of Ngati Maru hapu, this area was utilised when fishing, establishing kainga, and during the making of waka. The Ngati Maru canoe, Te Umu o Tapuhere, was made from a log taken out of the Kopututea River, and drawn to the land at Te Awahou for preparation and carving.

In the time of Ruawairau, in the early 16th century, a large house was built on Kopututea called Te Arai Te Uru. Ruawairau's descendants became Ngati Rua, with strong connections to the moana of Rongowhakaata and the lands Rakaukaka, Pipiwhakao, Awapuni and Kopututea.

In 1843, Paratene Turangi (who belonged to Ngati Rua), with his brother Hori Karaka, led the Te Aomate expedition of three war canoes north to Ngati Porou in search of a tohunga suspected of foul play. Te Aomate was the waka of Paratene and Hori, whilst Te Waaka Perohuka and Raharuhi Rukupo were in the waka Te Toka a Tapiri, and Tamati Tuawaru directed the Ahiatupari canoe. At Purehua in Waipiro Bay, Eruera Kawhia, a Christian preacher, persuaded these Rangatira to forget their mission and, after feasting with their hosts, they returned home to Rongowhakaata.

Paokahu

Paokahu was formed from the build up of sediment deposited by the waters of the Kopututea and Waipaoa Rivers. The principal hapu of this area were Ngati Ruawairau, Ngai Tawhiri, Ngai te Ika and Ngati Maru, all of whom fiercely protected their fishing rights.

Rongowhakaata traditions note several versions in the naming of Paokahu, including the; the Pa which was built by Te Ruaaranui in honour of his brother Te Kahurangi; and the Pa of Kahunoke of descendant of Ruapani and lastly the Pa of the legendary Kahungunu. – 'Pa o Kahu', which was situated close to the outlet to the sea

Ruawairau was the mokopuna of Kahunoke (who in turn was the mokopuna of Ruapani) and the older half brother of Tutekohi. Ruawairau lived at Paokahu next to the Awapuni Lagoon, in the house Araiteuru at a place called Te Kiri o Tamatekuku.

The mouth of Paokahu was an ideal location to take advantage of the kahawai, kanae (mullet), inanga (white bait), patiki (flounder) and tuna heke (migratory freshwater eels) as they passed through the river outlet. The adjacent waterways were rich in kaimoana, with the backwaters being the much favoured grounds for catching patiki.

Hinekitahawai was a guarded netting place and the recognised boundary of Rongoteuruora, the only son of Materoa and Rongomaihiakao, and mokopuna of Rongomairatahi. Cultivations in this area were rich and wide, with crops of kumara and taro, and the growing of melons at Pepeke.

Paokahu also became a place of strategic importance in defence against the warring Waikato Tribes. Rongowhakaata and other tribes from the Turanganui area collected at the pa in fear of the armed enemy. Paea te Rangi (Wiremu Kingi), Te Apaapa o te Rangi and Tamihana Ruatapu of Ngati Maru were the ones to organise the refurbishment of Paokahu into a fighting Pa.

Because of its location, Paokahu was a favoured place for waka. Niho Tunga had a landing place for his waka, Tuawiwio; Kahuku Tangaru for his waka Puhakaipo; Ruawairau and the waka Rakau Wahakamataku; whilst Whakawhititira was the famed waka made from driftwood, and also the name given to the fishing place and lands verging the Waipaoa.

Ancestors named places and laid mauri within the whenua and moana of Kopututea. Te Ika Whaingata, for instance, named his netting place, Hinekino, after his daughter. Timata had particular flax, which was left to his descendant Te Whatarau. Te Pikimaitai is one of the urupa located on the block.

Awapuni Lagoon

The name Awapuni is derived from 'the continuing outlet being blocked up' with sand. The Awapuni Moana at one time was a large coastal lagoon and, like Te Wherowhero Lagoon, another important tribal site and resource base for all Rongowhakaata hapu.

The Awapuni Lagoon was subject to tidal flows, with fish having an open passage to and from the sea, while the Awapuni Moana lands provided a ready supply of flax and raupo for building materials and immediate access to the moana. Similarly, the surrounding environment was a perfect habitat for birds, rats and eel, and a bountiful supply of other kaimoana.

The Awapuni lagoon was navigable as the tide ebbed and flowed through the opening to the Waipaoa River and out to sea. Pa and kainga were also sited around the lagoon and the lands surrounding Awapuni were divided amongst all of the hapu of Rongowhakaata, with each hapu having their particular access to these abundant resources. The ancestral customary rights to Awapuni Moana derived from various tipuna, including Kahunoke, a descendant of Ruapani. His son Tamateakuku married Ruakopito, the grand-daughter of Rongowhakaata and Moetai.

Specially built eel weirs were made and strategically placed in the lagoon's waters. These were rigorously guarded and defended by the hapu of Rongowhakaata. Nets were made by family groups contributing a section each and which, when completed, were joined together. Afterwards, the net would be slowly hauled in and the catch would be suitably shared to all the owners of the net, and to the tribe.

Although, Rongowhakaata valued the Awapuni due to the large and valuable fishing resource the land gave access to, in addition to this however, was a bountiful supply of driftwood for fires; and the stocks of totara logs which had been buried in the land by natural processes providing an endless supply of building and carving materials, and which in later years would become a tradeable commodity for Rongowhakaata.

The contemporary pa, Te Kuri a Tuatai, belongs to the Rongowhakaata hapu Ngai Tawhiri. The whareni Te Poho o Materoa is sited on the original Awapuni Pa site. Respected Kaumatua of Rongowhakaata Darcy Rapiata Ria talks of the whanau who were born and raised at the Marae into the early 20th century. In matua Darcy's time, ten families were living at Te Kuri a Tuatai, and children were born at the Marae. Indeed of his immediate family, nine of ten siblings were born there. Whanau at this time still lived off the land, sea, lagoon and swamp. Wood was available from the forested verges of the Waipaoa, and hinaki were set in the streams and drains. Herrings, dogfish, patiki, were all a plenty, and the rich white pipi referred to earlier were still along the Oneroa attracting the tamure (snapper) to the inshore area.

There are many wahi tapu of significance to Rongowhakaata in the area. Te Urimaitai is an ancient burial ground that many Rangatira gave specific instruction as being the place

where they were to rest, including Te Apaapa o Te Rangi, Tuhura and the many descendants of Timata.

In the late 1800's, Awapuni Moana was drained, developed and farmed for many years by the Cook County. Only after lengthy and costly legal action was the Awapuni lagoon formally returned in 1998 to the descendants of Rongowhakaata hapu groups. Until this time, the owners had been deprived of any opportunity to maintain a livelihood and develop an economic base from their rich ancestral lands.

Te Wai o Hii Harore.

Hii Harore was the grandmother of Ruapani, who was to become the paramount chief of the Turanganui Tribes. Hii Harore's pa, Heipipi, verged the Waikanae Stream, and the naming of the lands and fresh water spring, Te Wai o Hii Harore, reflects the mana and respect given her by the peoples of Turanganui. The puna, Te Wai o Hii Harore, is located at the mouth of the Waikanae Stream.

On the bank of the Waikanae stream was the footprint of the tipuna Rongokako – the 'great strider', of the Horouta contingent. It is said that Paoa was very upset with Rongokako, the official messenger who had not reported to him that the Horouta had arrived at its destination Turanganui; and further more, that Rongokako had gone off elsewhere.

In frustration, Paoa sought him out. At Te Papa, on the Mahia peninsula, Paoa saw the imprint of Rongokako's feet, and was told that 'Rongokako the strider' had stepped across to Matau a Maui (Cape Kidnappers) in one great stride. Paoa traced Rongokako to the Wairarapa, across Raukawa (Cook Strait), and then to Te Waipounamu.

On his return, Rongokako left the imprint of one foot near where the Waikanae Stream joins the Turanganui River, where Paoa had waited for him. Another footprint in the region was left at the Te Tapuwae o Rongokako, on the reef near the mouth of the Pouawa River.

Those of the Horouta waka established the pa, Heipipi, which [was to] sustain many hapu and generations of Rongowhakaata. In 1830 it is recorded that Heipipi was a fortified pa, and in 1841 Captain A Campbell recalled "it was occupied by some of Rawiri's (Rawiri Te Eke) people, about 100 all told."

This area was re known for rich stocks of kaimoana. This included an endless supply of pipi and kuku varieties along the foreshore, while the close proximity to Te Toka Taiao, he mauri, attracted many species of fish to feed, and traverse the awa from the fresh water puna Te Wai o Hii Harore at the mouth of the Waikanae Stream, along the midstream reaches and all the way back to the headwaters of the lagoons surrounding the Te Kuri a Tuatai Marae on the Awapuni Lands.

In the mid 18th century, Te Maanga (mokopuna of Rongoteuruora) was chief of the Ngai Te Kete clan of the Ngai Tawhiri Hapu of Rongowhakaata. Te Maanga had a boundary post set at Waiohiorore to identify his ownership to this part of the coast and its resources, their land and cultivations, and their eel weirs along the Waikanae Stream.

Turanganui

Within the confines of the Turanganui River and Papawhariki lands the taniwha known as Pipitaiari resides, her domain extending across the bay of the Turanganui a Kiwa and all its waterways to the mouth of Te Arai River. Such is the mana of Pipitaiari that it is said: ***"Koke mcii koe i nga o Pipitaiari parera to hua."***

Within the Turanganui were numerous rock formations which, combined with [the ocean's] tidal flows provided habitat for a variety of resource species including: tuna, inanga, kahawai, kina, paua, koura, pipi, kanae, patiki and kutae, all flourishing abundantly in the river's estuarine-like environment.

Nga Wai Wehe Rua, the 'river of two estuaries' was the original name given to the Turanganui River and is at the confluence of the Waimata and Taruheru rivers. These watery corridors provided the Tangata Whenua with an ideal transport route along and into the fertile plains of Turanganui a Kiwa.

Near the mouth of Nga Wai Wehe Rua stood Te Toka a Taiao, with nearby tributaries: the Waikanae River from the south, and Kopuawhakapata Stream from the north. The tipuna wahine, Te Toka a Taiao, sat sentinel near the river mouth and she would receive the many waka as they berthed, also enabling a place from which to launch as many waka again.

Nga Wai Wehe Ruha, the Turanganui River, was also a main gateway into the fertile Turanga plains. The river was thus pivotal in the transportation of people, resources and materials. In more recent times, its importance as a food resource grew, when it was relied upon for the sustenance it provided for a growing urban population.

It was the sacred waters from Nga Wai Wehe Rua that were used to bless the whare Matatuahu, which was erected for Hinehakirangi on the western side of the Turanganui River. This whare then became the house of Matuatonga and Hamokiterangi. A puna wai was dug where the breast water of Hamo was sprinkled, the area around the low water was littered with pipi, and the name, Heipipi, was given to the kainga.

Te Toka a Taiao

The sacred mauri, Te Toka a Taiao, is the personification of Taiao, who was summoned by Maia at the Turanganui River, to bring her waka to convey him. Naturally cautious of this cantankerous man, Taiao hesitated, but eventually complied with his demands. In a rage, Maia killed Taiao, who was then changed into a large papa rock formation in the middle of the river. The people were deeply saddened by the tragedy, and the rock formation which resulted was given the name Te Toka a Taiao. ***'Mo Te Toka a Taiao, he wahine.'***

For Rongowhakaata, Te Toka a Taiao was the mauri for attracting the kanae (grey mullet) to the Turanganui River and its environs, hence the name Waikanae for the tributary adjacent. The constantly flowing freshwater of the stream, combined with the tidal flows, provided habitat for a variety of fish including tuna, inanga, kahawai, kanae and patiki; as well as kina, paua, koura, pipi, and kutae that flourished abundantly in its reef and estuarine environments.

Rongowhakaata respected the mana and mauri of Te Toka a Taioa, as did their neighbouring whanaunga Ngati Oneone, Ngati Kanohi and Te Aitanga Hauiti.

Tragedy came, however, with Captain Cook and the Endeavour. On the beach near the outlet of the Turanganui River, the first contact between Rongowhakaata and a new tribe they had never seen before took place. It is believed that Te Toka a Taiao, the sacred rock, was the actual meeting place of Cook and the iwi of Turanganui-a-Kiwa. For Rongowhakaata, the encounter with the strangers was brief and violent, in all nine local Maori were left dead or wounded after his two and a half day stay, including Te Rakau and several others of Rongowhakaata.

Kaiti

Rongowhakaata connections to and relationships with the peoples to the north of Turanganui: Ngati Oneone, Ngati Konohi and Te Aitanga Hauiti have remained strong since the Te Uinga Mai (the arrival of the waka). Maia, of Te Ikanui a Rauru waka, landed at Papawhariki, erected the house Puhikaiiti, and obtained his drinking water from a hillside stream which he named Murimuri mai Hawaiki.

The Kaiti area was famous for its crayfish, caught from the reefs below the maunga Titirangi, or further north all along the coast. The [other] nearby reefs and tidal flats harboured quantities of shellfish, and paua were plentiful off Onepoto (now Kaiti Beach).

Access to kaimoana has never been denied or limited by Ngati Oneone or Ngati Rakai to the hapu of Rongowhakaata. The relationship was reciprocated by Ngai Tawhiri, who when heading for the rich reefs of Kaiti, Tuamotu, Papawhariki and Tuahine, walked along the beach side, not on the whenua – this practice was known affectionately by hapu as ‘the Maori gate’. Such behaviour exhibited the understanding of, and respect for, the territorial and customary rights between hapu.

Ngai Tawhiri Kaumatua Rapiata Darcy Ria recounts *“For the whanau at Te Kuri a Tuatai Marae when I was growing up there was a regular exchange of kaimoana from our whanau living over in Kaiti near the Papawhariki lands. Those old people Mahurangi ma, would come to Te Kuri a Tuatai for Church at the whare karakia, after karakia there would be a big Hakari, and old Mahurangi was the one who always brought the kaimoana; be it koura, paua, kina, bubu’s, those were good day’s but then they put the sewerage pipe out there and things changed.”*

Wharekorero

East Coast history is adorned with the names of Uenuku Whakarongo and his son Ruatapu; and of Irakaiputahi, Paikea and Ruawharo, who belonged to the Ngapunaariki and Rakaumai branches of the Tini o Toi.

Uenuku Whakarongo presided in the Wharekorero Wanaanga – the house of learning that overlooked Wainui Beach. It is said that Uenuku drowned himself because he was ashamed of having failed to grow a crop of kumara in the maara called Taingarue, close to Rakau a Ue (a tree withered by his powers) where lies the contemporary urupa of Ngati Oneone.

Uenuku Whakarongo's remains were placed in the Kohurau cave, next to the Wharekorero Wanaanga, and alongside the mauri of the Atua and other sacred property of the Horouta and Takitimu waka. The significance of Wharekorero to Rongowhakaata is 'he tino wahi tapu': the absolute sacred resting place of Ariki. Histories recount the Rangatira Tamatea Pokai Whenua, Ruapani, Kahungunu and Ranginui.

Te Toka Ahuru

Rongowhakaata have for many generations recognised the mauri of Te Toka Ahuru. Te Toka sustained Rongowhakaata hapu as the rich fishing reef only attainable by waka, in what has been described as "the Tangaroa days". Kaumatua of Rongowhakaata talk of how those times in the Maori calendar deemed most suitable for fishing were utilised; and how the skills of hapu were exercised, particularly by Ngati Maru whanau, in mastering the art and science of fishing.

Fred Jones [of Ngati Maru] explained that "Maori made a study of the sea, stars, sky, the earth and everything. They always said that if you go out at midnight and if there was dew, you'd always get a fine day with a sea breeze and a breeze always comes in about 7 o'clock. So you had eight to 11 hours to come in and when that breeze started you hoist the sail and come back in. They used to go fishing across the bay, a good five miles across to Toka a Ahuru (Ariel Reef off Sponge Bay). " Whero Patau" was the pet name for this excursion as you it was guaranteed from paddling for hours we would have a sore backsides.

In the wharenuī, Te Mana o Turanga, Whakato Marae, external and interior carvings record the story of Pourangahua and the bird of Ruakapanga. It is said that Pourangahua brought replacement tubers of kumara from Parinuitera in Hawaiki for his son Kahukura. Pourangahua told his uncle Ruakapanga about his desire to obtain the replacement tubers and needing to return urgently for the upcoming planting season, he asked Ruakapanga for one of his birds to assist with the journey home.

Pourangahua's Uncle agreed on certain conditions. One was that Pourangahua must not fly near Mount Hikurangi as the taniwha who resided on the maunga loved to eat such birds. The nephew was also warned not to pull the feathers off the bird.

On his return trip Pourangahua disregarded his uncle's instructions and flew close to Mount Hikurangi. The taniwha attacked as his Uncle had warned. However, with difficulty Pourangahua was able to avert disaster. Eventually he reached Turanga where, to hasten the descent of the bird, he plucked some feathers from its wings. The feathers fell into the sea, sank and formed Te Toka a Huru (rock of the feather).

Ruakapanga decided to punish his nephew for his disrespectful behaviour by sending grubs to plague him and his people for loss of the bird. These were the Aruhe (a yellow grub about an inch long), the Mokura (a round red grub appearing in December), and the Mokowhiti (a green grub about one third of an inch in circumference). These grubs are depicted in the whare Te Mana o Turanga also.

Some generations later, Mahakirau's pet shark brought a branch from the feather tree (Kahikatea) to shore in a most unusual way. His tame shark named Ikahoea was famed for fetching him fish in its mouth when he went out fishing. He decided to test the

legend of the kahikatea tree which grew in the Te Toka Ahuru (the story of Paoa's trap for Rongokako) by asking his shark to bring him a branch which it duly did. Mahakirau then planted the branch on shore, thus it became the ancestor of the great Makauri forest, extending from Makaraka north to Kaiteratahi. This story is commemorated also in Te Mana o Turanga. Traditions note that it is told that many Rongowhakaata have seen the spirit of this tree while diving for food there.

Tikanga

Rongowhakaata traditions acknowledge that all fishing be carried out according to Tikanga – that is, according to the strict rules for customary practice maintained by whanau, hapu and iwi. Whanau and tribal groups were [thus] careful to confine their activities within their own designated territories, knowing that transgression would be guarantee conflict. Kaimoana was fiercely protected.

Generations of trading and exchange between whanaunga tribes living on the sea coast and those living inland, maintained the whakapapa and manaakitanga obligations amongst the people. Kaimoana was gathered, processed and prepared for transportation. This was often dried hapuka, shark, snapper and moki, as noted by Ngati Maru leaders. *"I Wiremu Kingi and my Father Te Apaapa o te Rangi netted fish at the place Rongowhakaata. The netting place Te Hinetehauru belonged to Timata and I have prepared fish there for transportation inland to other hapu."*

The management of fishing nets was the responsibility of both women and men. Rahui - prohibitions on the use of resources - were established for a range of purposes. These included the cleansing of mate or 'contamination' when someone has died; protecting food resources when the species were breeding or to ensure a constant supply; or when mau moko (tattooing) was occurring or marking boundaries etc.

When Rahui were set, there followed a process by the hapu to give mana and mauri to the rahui. Many were given names, and then communicated widely as an indication to other hapu: 'do not transgress!'

To the northeast of the Te Awahou there stood a rahui called Panawa which belonged to Ngati Maru. Rongoteuruora had a rahui on his lands called Hine Te Ahuru, asserting his rights to the use of the area and warning the uninvited not to trespass.

Wai Tai (sea water) was used for healing and whakanoa (the removal of tapu), as it still is today.

Whale

Waka traditions are that from the Takitimu, Ruawharo the tohunga deposited the mauri sands which attracted the Whale, this is also depicted in Te Mana o Turanga.

When Tahora (whale/s) were beached on the shores of Rongowhakaata, the hapu saw this as a tohu or blessing. Resources from the Tahora would sustain the hapu for long periods, and also provide a prized commodity for trade and exchange. The Tahora was thus very seriously guarded by the relevant kaitiaki. Te Apaapa o te Rangi killed Te Mataki

over the control of a whale driven ashore within the area of Ngati Maru. Ngai Tawhiri and Ngai te Kete were hapu who also took the whales.

Waka

Canoe were made, carved and fiercely protected by the hapu of Rongowhakaata. The tohunga whakairo (carvers) were regarded with great mana within the hapu and were supported in many ways, including with specific cultivations established to sustain the carving purpose. This all lay within the sphere of the Whare Wanaanga of carving which the hapu of Rongowhakaata had fostered for many generations to the time of Raharuhi Rukupo and the Turanga Carving School of the 19th Century.

Rongowhakaata histories recount the 1843 event when Paratene Turangi and his brother Hori Karaka led the Aomate expedition, comprising three war canoes, in search of a tohunga who had left Te Arai suddenly, just before the death of one of their relatives. Te Aomate was the name of their canoe; Te Waaka Perohuka and Raharuhi Rukupo led in the waka Te Toka a Tapiri; and Tamati Te Rangi Te Tuawaru directed the Ahiatupari canoe. At Purehua in Waipiro Bay, Eruera Kawhia, a Maori preacher, persuaded them to forget their mission, and after feasting with their hosts, the Rongowhakaata-led taua returned to Turanganui a Kiwa.

Mokiterangi and Te Apaapa o te Rangi, both mokopuna of Te Ratu, became leaders in Rongowhakaata affairs. One issue that they dealt with arose when Ngati Kuranui of Uawa failed to return the waka Te Wherowhero which they had borrowed. Te Apaapa attacked Maramtawhana Pa, on the bend of Uawa River, but immediately stopped when offered the cloak Ruataraongaonga by the Hauti chief Tawaputa. In the meantime, Mokiterangi had launched an all out offensive against Hikatu Pa close by, and had stopped only as those of Hauti were dispatched, either by being killed or escaping by canoe.

In contemporary times, early 20th century, Rongowhakaata Kaumatua Rapiata Darcy Ria and the late Kate Te Nahu recount how in the early 20th century whanau and hapu lived from the sea, river and lagoons to sustain themselves. Matua Darcy, of Ngai Tawhiri, was born and raised firstly at Te Kuri a Tuatai Marae, adjacent to the Awapuni Moana and Waikanae Stream and then Lowe Street, Gisborne, on the Wai o Hiharore block. Their whanau had their own waka to fish [from], and set hinaki and nets in the Waikanae Stream, and across the Turanganui River to the cut (where the breakwater is now in the Gisborne Port). These waka were also available for the use of the wider whanau when they came from Manutuke and Muriwai.

Aunty Kate Te Nahu was raised in Manutuke close to Whakato Marae, and recalled herself and others having waka and fishing in the Poukokokanga Lagoon, and down from the mouth of the Waipaoa River and Pakirikiri to Wherowhero Lagoon. There they would catch morehana, patiki, kahawai, mullet and herrings, and set their hinaki for eels and other fish. Most importantly for them, however, was being taught to always clean the fishing nets and traps, and tie them well when the fishing was over.

The moana and whenua of Turanganui a Kiwa from Te Kuri a Paoa to Te Toka Ahuru is the repository of many koiwi tangata. These urupa are the resting places of Rongowhakaata

tipuna and, as such, are the focus of significant whanau traditions. Along with other wahi tapu, they are places holding the memories and traditions, the victories and defeats of Rongowhakaata tipuna, and are frequently protected as secret locations.

Rongowhakaata tipuna had considerable knowledge of whakapapa, traditional trials [not sure of the meaning of this or where it fits?] and Tauranga waka, and places for gathering kai, rongoa Maori and other taonga. This knowledge included ways of using the resources of the whenua me te moana o Turanganui a Kiwa, and the overall relationship of the people with the area and their dependence on it. Of utmost importance, thus, was the development and maintenance of tikanga for the proper and sustainable utilisation of resources. All of these values remain important to the people of Rongowhakaata today.

The whenua and moana of Turanganui a Kiwa is of the greatest cultural, historical and contemporary significance to Rongowhakaata. The mauri of Turanganui a Kiwa represents the essence that binds the physical and spiritual elements of all things here together, generating and upholding all life. All elements of the natural environment possess a life force and all forms of life are related. The mauri of the area is thus a critical element of the spiritual relationship of Rongowhakaata whanui to the whenua, me te moana o Turanganui a Kiwa.

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