

# TE KŌPARAPARA

An Introduction to the Māori World

Edited by Michael Reilly, Suzanne Duncan,  
Gianna Leoni, Lachy Paterson, Lyn Carter,  
Matiu Rātima and Poia Rewi

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## Ngā Hekenga Waka: Migration and Early Settlement

*Richard Walter and Michael Reilly*

### **Introduction**

The founding ancestors of the Māori people came in a number of migration waka to these southern Polynesian shores from a homeland called Hawaiki. These migrants soon established themselves in the islands they called Te Ika-a-Māui and Te Waipounamu.<sup>1</sup> This chapter draws on both oral traditions and archaeological evidence, viewing them as complementary historical practices that provide a nuanced, multi-layered representation of the past. Where oral tradition is strong on identifying particular people and what they did or said, archaeology describes the broad historical trends over long periods of time and the mundane (but important) aspects of people's lives that escaped the attention of the tohunga.

This chapter begins in the homeland, Hawaiki, before tracing the journey of waka and crew to Aotearoa. Their arrival here, however, was only the first stage in colonising the new land. Over a period spanning decades, perhaps centuries, they had to come to understand the land and to build an economically, socially and demographically sustainable colony. The colonisation of Aotearoa must be seen as a process over time rather than a single event. Using

scientific and traditional knowledge we will explain how Aotearoa was transformed from a wild untouched landscape to the home of the Māori people.

### Māori Oral Traditions

Māori oral traditions include *kōrero* (stories, narratives), *waiata* (poetry, songs), *whakataukī* (sayings), *whakapapa* and *karakia*. Many *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* possess their own particular traditions. Typically, the richly detailed *kōrero* are organised around *whakapapa*. These stories focus on the gestures and words of the ancestors, and trace the origins of contemporary *iwi* and *hapū*, and their relationship to the land and to one other. Since many contemporary *iwi* and *hapū* descend from one *waka*'s ancestors, this means that there are multiple versions of the migration and settlement traditions, each valid for its community.

In the oral world only certain types of traditions (like chants) are remembered word for word for long stretches of time. Other forms, particularly narratives, vary with each retelling, although core elements remain fixed, such as ancestral names, gestures or sayings, and formulaic descriptions of people and places. *Tohunga* adapt the content and wording of these freer traditions for their audiences, reworking stories to suit the contemporary situation, or forgetting them if no longer of significance to people. Like any form of history-making, the key elements of a tradition are remembered differently by each expert, generation and community.

The introduction of paper and writing in the nineteenth century meant that many traditions were set down in permanent form, by *tohunga*, Māori who could write *te reo* or bilingual *Pākehā*. These particular versions of the past, frozen in time, form the basis of what is known today about the ancestral migration *waka*. Bilingual *Pākehā* took a great interest in *waka* traditions and some drew the different tribal versions together to create synthesised works like S. Percy Smith's influential *Hawaiki: The Original Home of the Maori; with a Sketch of Polynesian History* published in 1904.<sup>2</sup> This volume became the semi-official account of the discovery and settlement of Aotearoa, accepted by later generations of *Pākehā* and even many Māori. From around 1960 archaeologists began to dominate *Pākehā* academic research about early Māori settlement, and continued to rely on oral tradition to provide models for culture change. By the late 1960s, however, archaeologists started to turn away from oral history and adopted a more scientific perspective.

## Hawaiki

The atua form the oldest layer of ancestors in whakapapa. The words and deeds of these spirit beings are woven into the traditions of Māori communities. To waka descendants, Hawaiki is therefore remembered as their ancestral homeland, the source and origin of human beings, of the vital necessities of life and the place to which mortals return following death. By contrast, Pākehā scholars tend to separate the spiritual and physical domains. Some attempted to locate Hawaiki in one Pacific archipelago or another on the basis of similarities in place names, but these arguments are no longer considered compelling. Others viewed Hawaiki as part of a mythological and religious framework of thinking, arguing that it was never regarded as a physical location.<sup>3</sup>

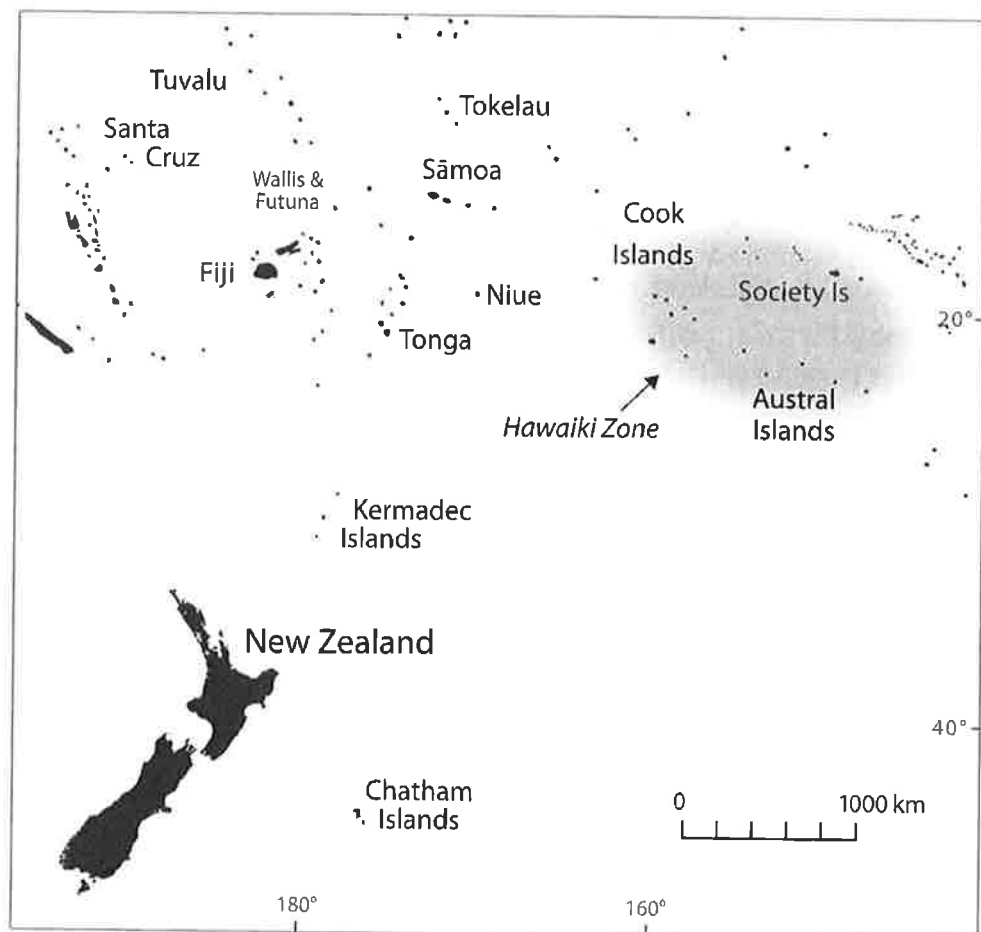
While waka traditions say little about Hawaiki itself, other lines of evidence provide some insight. Te reo Māori groups with the languages of the Cook and Society Islands and the Tuamotus into the 'Tahitic' branch of the Polynesian language tree, suggesting that Hawaiki may lie close to those places.<sup>4</sup> This is totally consistent with the archaeology (Figure 4.1). The earliest sites in this region contain highly distinctive artefact assemblages that include stone adzes in a narrow range of forms, and shell and bone fish hooks and personal ornaments. These items are nearly identical from archipelago to archipelago and yet they are quite dissimilar to anything from Fiji or West Polynesia. Archaeologists refer to this assemblage of artefacts as the 'Archaic East Polynesian' assemblage, and it was once considered evidence of a period of intense development in an 'innovation centre' prior to migration to the Polynesian fringes. It would be tempting to imagine that centre as Hawaiki.<sup>5</sup> However, when Aotearoa was settled, there was a very high level of interisland voyaging and network behaviour in tropical East Polynesia.<sup>6</sup> This means that Hawaiki was very likely not a single island or island group. Evidence for fourteenth-century mobility patterns in East Polynesia comes from the archaeological study of stone adzes (toki). Analysis of the stone from which toki were made has shown that many were imported from quite distant geological sources, proving that communities participated in a vibrant interaction network spanning the archipelagos.<sup>7</sup> This has prompted one of the authors (RW) to argue that Hawaiki must be envisaged as a *zone* rather than an island. The first settlers of Aotearoa likely included individuals with connections to many different places within that zone (Figure 4.1).<sup>8</sup>

The notion that Aotearoa's colonists came from different places within a socially connected zone of islands is supported by recent discoveries in

molecular biology. At the early Wairau Bar site in Waiharakeke (Blenheim) (see below), a collection of human burials was uncovered by Canterbury Museum teams in the early twentieth century. These have recently been returned to Rangitāne o Wairau and reburied on site.<sup>9</sup> Before reburial, and in partnership with iwi, a mitochondrial DNA study was carried out on some of the individuals who are believed (on dietary evidence) to have been born in Hawaiki (see also below).<sup>10</sup> Mitochondrial DNA provides a measure of how closely connected individuals are through a female lineage and, against all expectations, the results showed that the women in that burial cluster had no maternal connections.<sup>11</sup> This suggests that they came, not from a single village and lineage group, but from quite different genetic communities as we might expect if Hawaiki was a zone of interaction, rather than a single island.

When did the migration out of Hawaiki occur? Before the advent of radio-carbon dating, scholars estimated this through genealogical reckoning. They

Figure 4.1  
East Polynesia, including  
Hawaiki zone.



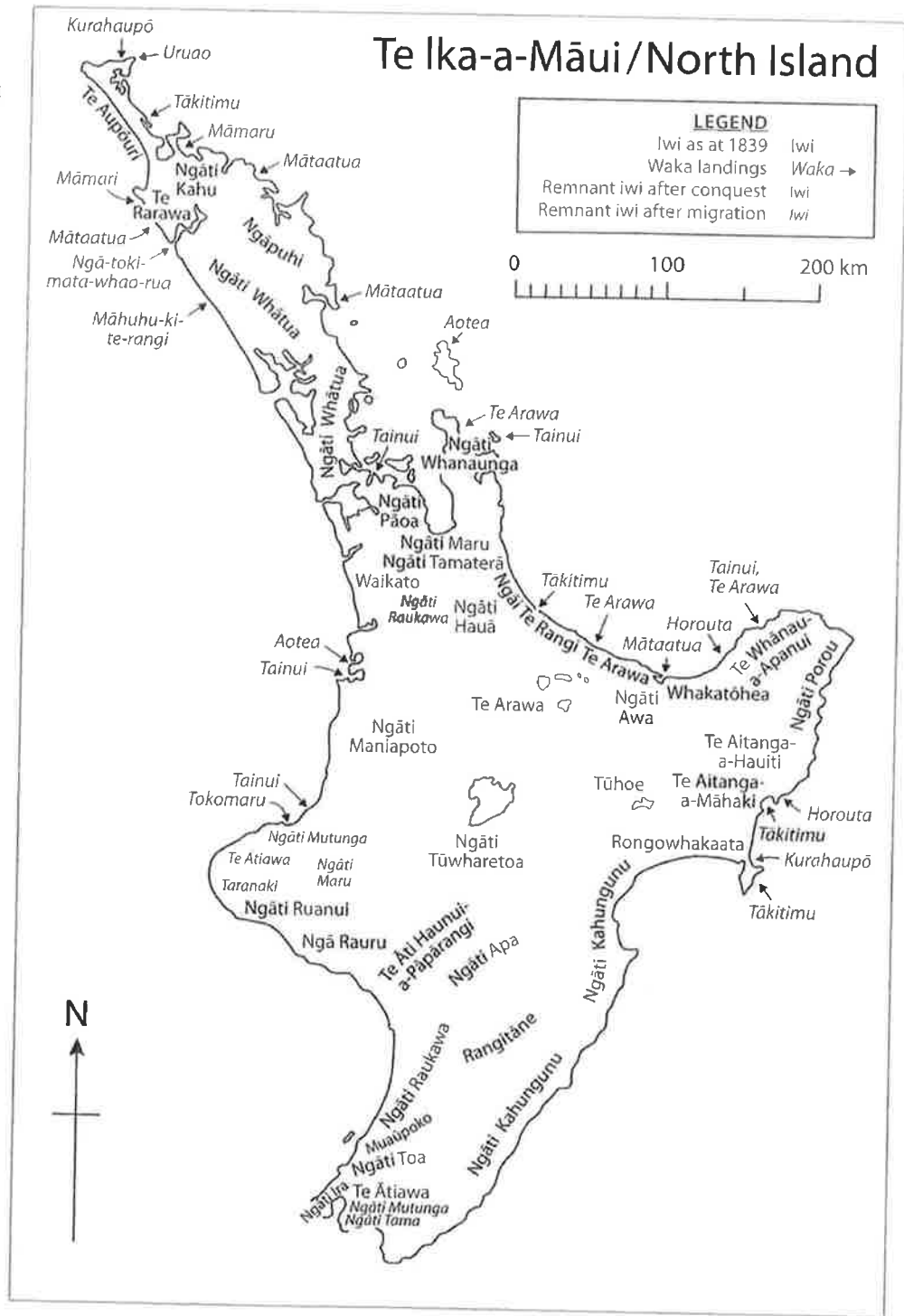
amalgamated various tribal whakapapa and assigned a certain number of years (normally 25) per generation. This gave them a rough chronology, suggesting a discovery of Aotearoa by Kupe, a Polynesian explorer, around 750 AD, followed by colonisation of these islands by a fleet of canoes around 1350 AD. This interpretation came to be widely accepted by generations of New Zealanders as our founding narrative, although more recently the authenticity of some of the traditions used has been criticised, and the whole interpretation described as 'the great New Zealand myth'.<sup>12</sup>

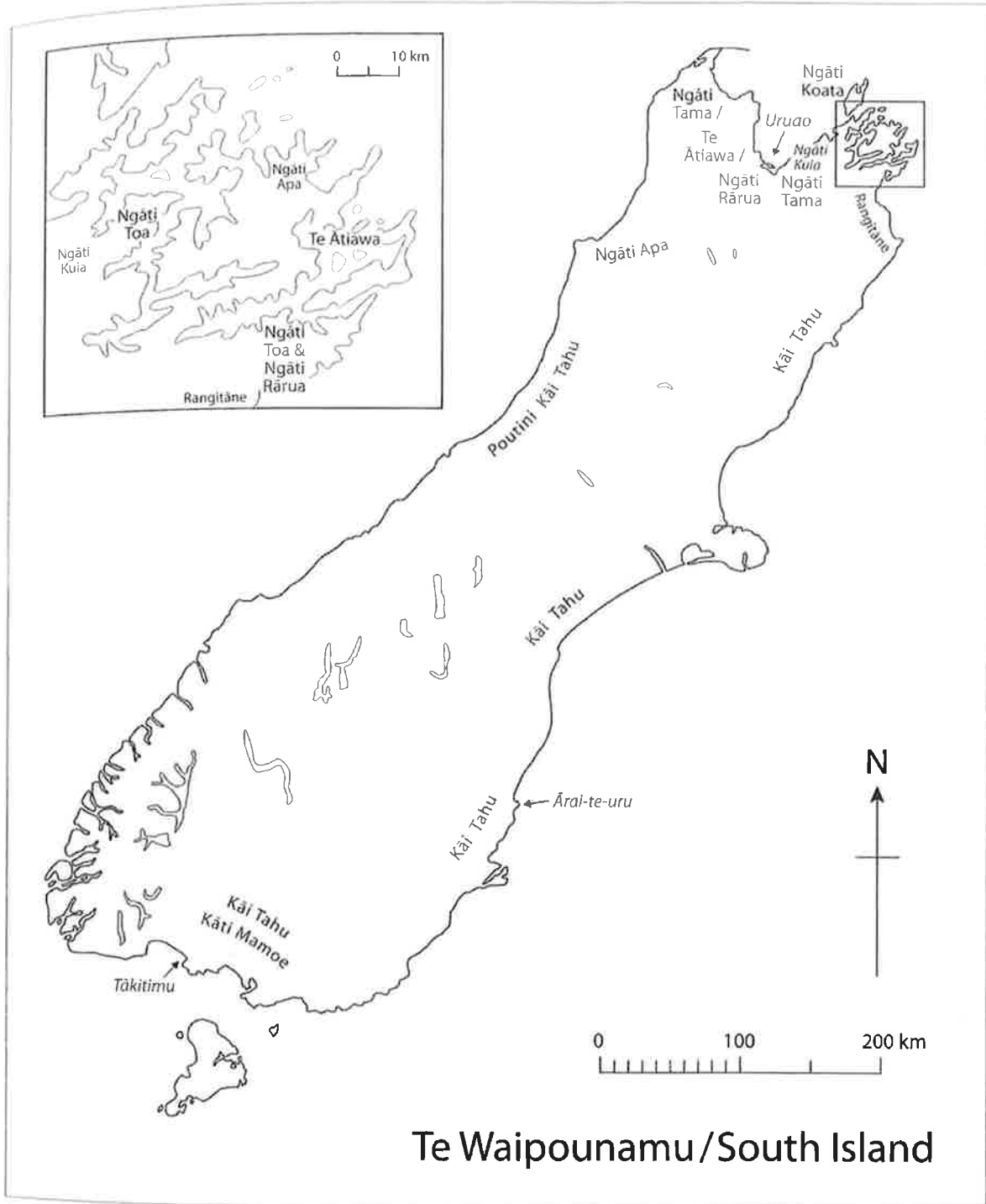
Archaeologists turned to radiocarbon dating for a more secure chronology and, after several decades of controversy over dating protocols and standards,<sup>13</sup> a consensus is emerging that the earliest securely dated sites in Aotearoa are mid-fourteenth century and that there was a major settlement event shortly after 1300 AD.<sup>14</sup> This is much later than previously thought, which has major implications for understanding how Aotearoa was settled. When Cook visited in 1769 he estimated the population at 100,000 and this is generally accepted by demographers.<sup>15</sup> If settlement occurred after 1300 AD as current evidence suggests, that gives insufficient time for the population to have grown to those levels from a small founding group. The implication is that settlement involved mass migration. The 'fleet' notion has been rightly rejected as a product of misinterpretation and manipulation of tradition by European scholars. The best interpretation that satisfies the radiocarbon dates and traditional evidence for multiple arrival is that there was a period, perhaps of a century or so, during which time a number of canoes sailed out of Hawaiki for Aotearoa bearing migrants.<sup>16</sup>

Māori traditions describe waka leaving their homeland over two or more generations. Certain ancestors visited and subsequently returned to Hawaiki, such as Kupe and Irākewa, father of Toroa, the *Mātaatua* commander. Kupe famously remarked: 'Ka hoki nei au, e kore au e hoki anganui mai' ('I now depart and I shall never return'). The proverb is remembered in the place name, Te Hokianga-a-Kupe (Hokianga), the location from which he departed. Although remaining in Hawaiki, these explorers provided later voyagers with sailing instructions, information on landmarks and settlement sites and, in Irākewa's case, guidance about leadership of the new communities.<sup>17</sup>

The multi-generational migration pattern is also confirmed by waka traditions that talk of other people already living in Aotearoa. The *Uruao* encountered people at the northern tip of Te Ika-a-Māui and sailed for Te Waipounamu where nobody lived. *Tainui's* Hoturoa visited the Tāmaki River where some relations had settled two generations before. The *Tutara-kauika's*

Figure 4.2  
 Tribal locations about 1839 and migration waka landing sites. Tribes based on concept of end-cover maps in Crosby, *The Musket Wars* and waka from McKinnon et al (eds), *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, plates 17-26

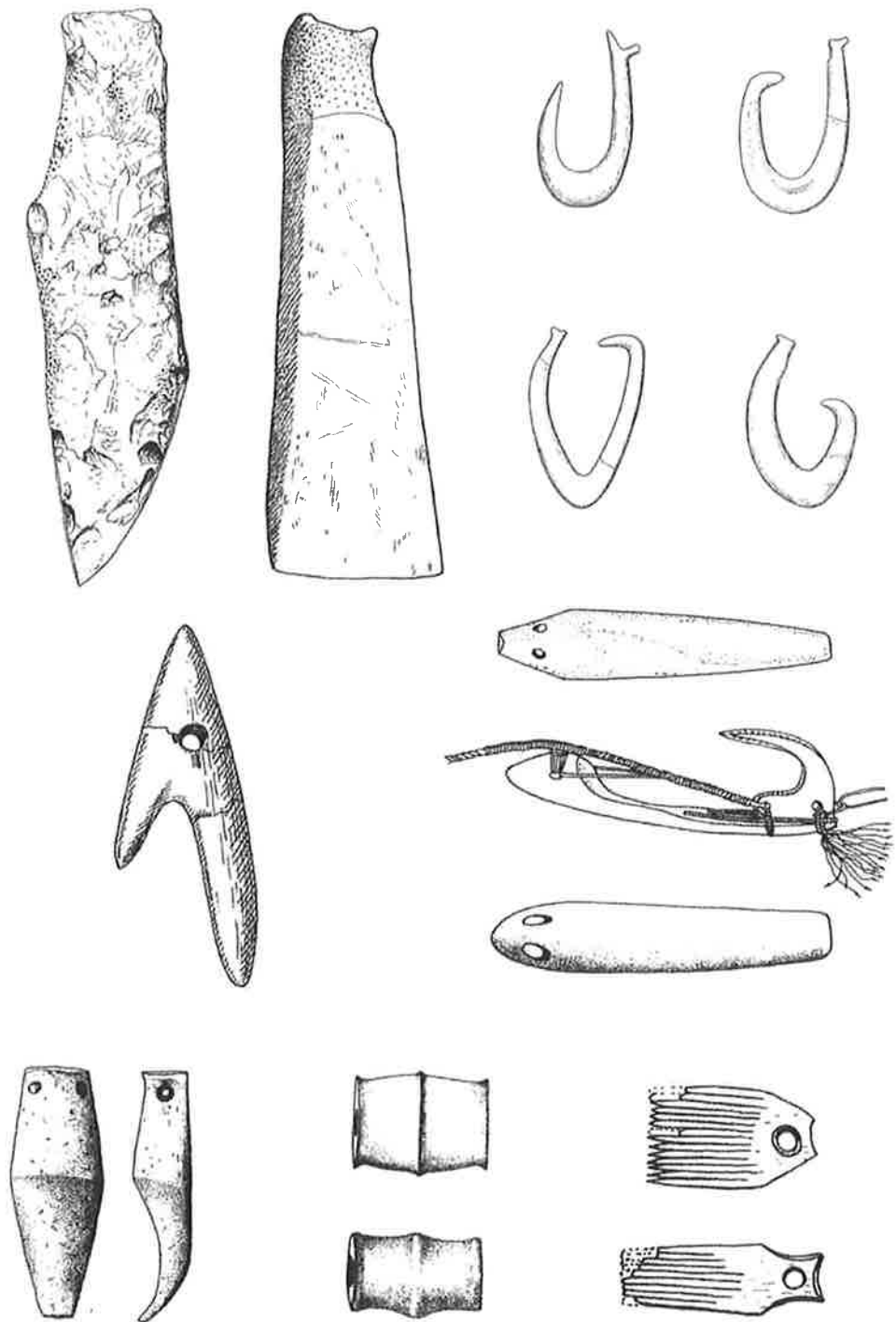




Te Waipounamu/South Island



Figure 4.3  
Archaic East Polynesian  
artefact assemblage



leaders came to find their sister who had married into the original people of Aotearoa, and encountered Tama-ki-Hikurangi and his people on landing. According to the waka traditions, such prior peoples were culturally similar to the later migrants, except for their complete ignorance of the cultivated kūmara.<sup>18</sup> In reality, the plant would not have been a significant one for any Hawaiki migrant at the time of settlement.<sup>19</sup> As the plant became more important in Aotearoa, tohunga clearly reworked their waka traditions to reflect its prominence. These tohunga most likely linked the prestigious plant to their own ancestors and not to those of other (earlier) communities. The depiction of their ignorance may reflect a later loss of authority over the land.

Earlier Pākehā scholars interpreted traditions of initial exploration and early communities to support the notion of a pre-fleet group of peoples, often painted as peaceful primitives, who were effectively displaced by the more warlike 'Māori' arrivals. These theories were disproved by the 1940s, partly as a result of the discoveries from Wairau Bar.<sup>20</sup> Traditions about earlier tangata whenua (people of the land) most likely recall migrants who arrived at the beginning of settlement after 1300 AD, or perhaps the few settlers who may have stayed on from the first explorers a generation or two before.

Traditions describe a more complex migration pattern than a single fleet. There are a number of waka, some sailing in company with other vessels, but not always, for all or part of their journey. In certain tribal traditions, *Tākitimu* accompanied five other waka for the first three days, before becoming separated from them. In other versions, it sailed with *Horouta* and *Te Kairaerae* (*Karaerae*), or just with the *Mātaatua*. Two waka sailing together was not uncommon. Solo ships, like *Aotea*, sometimes encountered other lone vessels.<sup>21</sup>

An incremental migration is supported by modern genetic studies. Mitochondrial DNA variability in modern Māori suggests that at least 190 females must have been present in the founding canoes, which would certainly make a founding population of 500 or so plausible.<sup>22</sup>

Waka traditions say little about Hawaiki itself, focusing instead on explaining the reasons for their ancestors' migration. Stories describe how migrants left to escape conflicts over boundaries, gardens and fruit trees; or between men seeking to marry the same woman.<sup>23</sup> *Aotea* waka's Turi opted to migrate after he listened to a threatening song his wife had overheard being chanted by his enemy.<sup>24</sup>

These explanations point to internal cultural imperatives being the key driver of the decisions to depart, which is again consistent with the archaeology.

Figure 4.4:

'Te Maire a Uenuku'  
(The Song of Uenuku),  
Māori text from Grev,  
*Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna*,  
pp. 90-91, translation by  
Michael Reilly

Whakataka runga nei,	Assemble above.
Whakataka raro nei,	Assemble below,
Whakataka Ngāti-Ruanui,	Assemble Ngāti Ruanui,
Ngāti-Rongotea,	Ngāti-Rongotea,
Kia huna,	To lay waste,
Kia tineia. [...]	To destroy.

Figure 4.5

Tree-felling karakia.  
Grace, *Tuwharetoa*, p. 31

Kakariki powhaitere	Chief of the parakeets,
Kotia te pu waiho i konei.	Hear my prayer!
Kotia te kauru waiho i konei. [...]	Cut away the base of this tree
Patua kuru, patua whao,	And leave it here.
Patua te toki a Taiharuru. [...]	Cut away the crown of this tree
	And leave it here. [...]
	I have struck this tree
	With mallet and chisel;
	I have struck it with the axe
	Of the Sounding Seas. [...]

There is no evidence in the archaeological record to suggest that resource depletion, demographic pressure or some environmental factor drove people from their tropical homeland. Indeed, Aotearoa was colonised only a few hundred years after first settlement of the Hawaiki zone.<sup>25</sup>

Māori oral traditions show that the ancestors made a deliberate decision to depart for Aotearoa and planned the trip carefully. The waka they intended to sail on were significant assets owned by leaders on behalf of their communities. Some waka were gifted by leaders to family members intending to go, often a son-in-law or daughter. Occasionally, leaders planning to migrate got hold of a waka through sorcery.<sup>26</sup> Most waka were specially made for the journey, suggesting that their departure from Hawaiki required a lot of preparation over a long period of time.

The tohunga responsible for building the waka surveyed the available timber before selecting a tree. When felling and preparing the tree, they were careful to observe all the correct procedures, since they were destroying part of a spirit power's domain.<sup>27</sup>

Teams of tohunga with their own special adzes would work on roughly shaping the boat where it lay. Male and female leaders of the migrating group would hire these specialists who would then recruit further help: *Tainui's* builder had seven assistants, *Tākitimu's* two tohunga hired up to four others. Once the boat had been shaped in the forest, the hull would be dragged across land, or floated down a river to the shore, where it would be finished off and undergo sea trials.<sup>28</sup>

During all this time the migrating community fed the builders. While under construction, the waka were in a tapu state within a protective enclosure. This sacred status extended to those associated with the building of the boats. Any lack of respect was treated seriously and could result in the perpetrator's death. Meanwhile, migrants prepared themselves for the arduous voyage ahead by studying star lore and appropriate rituals with experts.<sup>29</sup>

When the waka had been completed, there was an important ceremony to name and launch the vessel during which it was also dedicated to the protective powers of the sea and sky. Names of some waka remembered incidents during their sea trials: *Horouta* (Swallowed-land) described its great speed, *Tainui* (Big-in-the-sea) that it did not sit right in the water.<sup>30</sup>

Toia Te Arawa tapotu ki te moana!  
 Ma wai e to? Ma te whakaranga ake! [...]  
 Naku koe i tiki atu i te wao nui a Tane —  
 He tane miroi, he tane koakoa,  
 He tane rangahau. E patua mai ana  
 E te komuri hau na runga o Waihi.  
 Panekeneke ihu o te waka,  
 Turuki, turuki! Paneke, paneke!

Haul. Te Arawa the covered vessel to the ocean!  
 Who shall haul her? The company who stands by! [...]  
 I have taken you from the great forest of Tane —  
 An embracing husband, a husband of delight,  
 And a husband to lead me. But we are blown here and there  
 By the gentle wind of Waihi, Bow of canoe — move,  
 Move forward, move forward! Slide, slide forward!

Figure 4.6:  
 Canoe-hauling chant  
 for *Te Arawa*. Grace.  
*Tuwharetoa*, p. 34

Kowai te waka e takoto nei i,  
 Ko Takitimu, Ko Takitimu, [...] ]  
 Rurukutia te waka e takoto nei,  
 Rurukutia te kei Matapupuni,  
 Rurukutia te ihu matapupuni a Tane,  
 Rurukutia i te kowhao tapu a Tane,  
 Rurukutia i te mata tapu a Tane,  
 Rurukutia i te rauawa tapu a Tane,  
 O te waka e takotonei.

What is the canoe lying here,  
 It is *Tākitimu*, it is *Takitimu*. [...] ]  
 Bind together the canoe lying here,  
 Bind together the sacred (?) stern,  
 Bind together the sacred (?) bow of Tāne,  
 Bind together the sacred tooside iashing hole of Tāne,  
 Bind together the sacred edge (?) of Tāne,  
 Bind together the sacred topside of Tāne,  
 Of the canoe lying here.

Figure 4.7  
 Name chant of *Tākitimu*,  
 Mitchell, *Tākitimu* p. 32,  
 translation by Michael  
 Reilly

Once completed, the waka needed to be loaded for the journey and settlement. They carried a variety of cargo, notably kūmara, which chiefly women took special responsibility for. The *Mātaatua* and the *Horouta* are remembered for bringing this valued root crop back to the original people of Aotearoa.<sup>31</sup> The *Aotea* is proverbially remembered for food: 'Aotea utanga nui i te kai' ('Aotea, abundantly laden with food'). Amongst its cargo were plants, seeds and animals, intended to supply foods and raw materials for clothing.<sup>32</sup> Besides shipboard gear, migrants brought tools, weapons and protective stones or mauri: each item was named indicating its mana as a possession of someone important. The migrants also carried their guardian atua, often carefully stored and cared for. In their memories they brought their esoteric knowledge, including karakia and traditional histories.<sup>33</sup>

## The Journey to Aotearoa

The journey to Aotearoa is known exclusively from oral tradition since there is no 'site' of archaeological inquiry. These traditions describe how the waka left Hawaiki at different periods of time. For example, *Tākitimu* left in Patoki-hui-o-tau (March) and *Tainui* during the stormy days of Ō-Uenuku (December), not considered a wise time to travel.<sup>34</sup>

Migratory waka were under the leadership of a rangatira (captain) and other mission specialists, such as tohunga. The *Kurahaupō*'s leaders were positioned at the bow, the centre and stern in order to ensure the crew carried out commands diligently.<sup>35</sup> Other significant roles in some waka included the care of sacred items and firesticks, the supervision of bailing amidships and

the feeding of sacred tohunga. The principal tohunga, responsible for navigation and ritual protection against the elements, were positioned at the bow or midships. The captain stood at the stern from which the ship was steered along with other high-ranking crew, such as the captain's family.<sup>36</sup> The names for some of these roles are still used as leadership terms today; for example, *kaihautū* (person giving time to paddlers), *kaiurungi* (person steering boat).

Waka crew often comprised kin, their connections and friends, captained by their community's leaders. All the chiefly men, women and children, as well as other crew members, are named in the traditions, creating webs of connections with their descendants. The lists of names suggest crew numbers normally ranged between 22 and 70.<sup>37</sup>

The waka traditions present the journeys as hazardous, the migrants surrounding themselves with the protection of the spirit powers (Figure 4.8). The tohunga recited *karakia* and performed ritual acts with ceremonial adzes to help keep their waka on track and to ensure calm seas.<sup>38</sup>

Tohunga called on winds or recited *karakia* to the paddles in order to achieve a speedier sailing time. Waka were aided by guardian *taniwha* and other sea creatures of *mana*, such as whales, that protected the ships and escorted them across *Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa* (the Pacific Ocean). The tohunga relied on various oceanic and celestial phenomena to assist them in keeping on course by day and by night. Tohunga also kept a watch on indicators of nearby land, such as flocks of birds at sea.<sup>39</sup>

The relationship between the tohunga and the waka commander especially was not always an easy one since they represented different polarities of power. Thus the *Aotea* and *Te Arawa* commanders tricked their tohunga on board.

Turou, parea Tangaroa  
I te orooro  
I te orooro.  
I tukitukia ai koe,  
I tataia ai koe.  
O !!  
Kiri o Tangaroa  
O !!  
Tere te waka nei,  
Tere angaia,  
O !! [..]

The top-knot of Tangaroa is disturbed  
Thus you are buffeted  
And thus you are beaten down.  
But the ocean is calm!  
The skin of Tangaroa  
The water is calm!  
This canoe will float,  
So float on waters calm!

**Figure 4.8**  
Karakia to Tangaroa, the oceanic spirit power. Grace, *Tuwharetoa*, pp. 38-39

Figure 4.9  
Karakia of Ngātoro-i-rangi. Grace, *Powhāreica*,  
pp. 45–46

[...] A ko taku waka,  
Ko Te Arawa o nihopopo.  
Ngahue i te Parata,  
Eke,  
Eke Tangaroa,  
Eke panuku, [...]

It is my canoe Te Arawa  
That tears away from the Parata!  
Arise! Arise!  
Up Tangaroa!  
Up, move!

*Te Arawa's* Tama-te-kapua then had an affair with the wife of the tohunga, Ngātoro-i-rangi, who responded by driving the ship into Te Korokoro-o-te-Parata (Te Waha-o-Parata), variously described as a whirlpool, a shoal or a storm (Figure 4.9). Only when crew reminded him that his wife was on board did Ngātoro-i-rangi feel compassion and pull the boat to safety.<sup>40</sup>

During their voyage, some waka stopped off at particular islands, including Rarotonga and Rangitahua, generally identified with Raoul Island in the Kermadecs. Individual boats reprovisioned, plugged leaks or made other repairs. The *Aotea* even left some crew behind at Rarotonga. The stories suggest close relations with the local people, perhaps hinting at kinship ties.<sup>41</sup> Not every ancestor travelled by waka: some came by whale or used their spirit powers to walk, fly or jump here; one even arrived by rainbow and another on a large calabash.<sup>42</sup> These stories highlight the mana of such ancestors.

The traditions of individual waka relate a number of voyaging challenges and hazards. In some the *Kurahaupō* was wrecked, either by sorcery or due to loosened timbers, while voyaging to New Zealand. Commanders might become so exasperated with annoying crew members that they threw them overboard. The *Tākitimu* was at sea longer than planned and the crew suffered frequently from hunger. The crew of the waka called *Tūwhenua* or *Moekakara* became sick with leprosy.<sup>43</sup> As the ships got closer to New Zealand's shores, they encountered further dangers. The *Ārai-te-uru*, *Tākitimu* and *Horouta* experienced rough seas and winds; a couple lost crew overboard. The *Ārai-te-uru's* cargo washed ashore and became the Moeraki boulders, before the boat itself capsized off Matakaea (Shag Point).<sup>44</sup>

## The Arrival

The first landing by the ancestral waka remains a key historical event in the traditions retold by the peoples who trace their descent from these waka

voyagers. Not surprisingly, the waka stories concentrate on the important actions of the ancestors on their first landing and over the early years of their settlement. The first set of stories concerns what happened as they approached the land.

Lacking local knowledge the migrants made foolish mistakes. Some spotted the red flowering rātā or pōhutukawa trees, and imagining them to be suitable material to replace their weathered hutukawa or kura, throwing their valuable red-feather headwear away. The *Tainui* nearly foundered when the crew became distracted by the size of the forests and failed to notice a dangerous current. *Mātaatua*'s women under Wairaka's leadership saved the boat after all the men went off exploring, occasioning her famous call: 'E! Kia whakatane ake au i ahau' ('Let me act the part of a man').<sup>45</sup>

When the voyagers came ashore they erected tūāhu (sacred site, shrine, altar) and acknowledged the spirit powers, thanking them for safeguarding them on their difficult journey. These tūāhu were usually made from posts of wood gathered locally. Here tohunga placed the waka's protective mauri: special stones, plants or objects brought from Hawaiki. The migrants performed various ritual acts and associated karakia at their shrines that were intended to protect them from the tapu of the place and to allow them to venture on to the land (Figure 4.10). By so doing they also established their claim to it.<sup>46</sup>

Other objects brought from Hawaiki were also deposited on first landing, such as earth or sand. Pieces of the waka were left at different landing sites, perhaps to serve as historical markers of their arrival.<sup>47</sup>

In the traditions, the most important part of the voyagers' initial settlement strategy involved establishing claims to parts of the landscape. This they did while sailing around Te Ika-a-Māui and Te Waipounamu. Classically, the waka

Ka u ki Matanuku,  
Ka u ki Matarangi;  
Ka u ki tenei whenua,  
Hei whenua.  
Mau e kai te manawa o tauhou!

I arrive where unknown earth is under my feet,  
I arrive where a new sky is above me;  
I arrive at this land, a resting-place for me,  
O Spirit of the Earth: The stranger humbly offers his heart as food for thee!

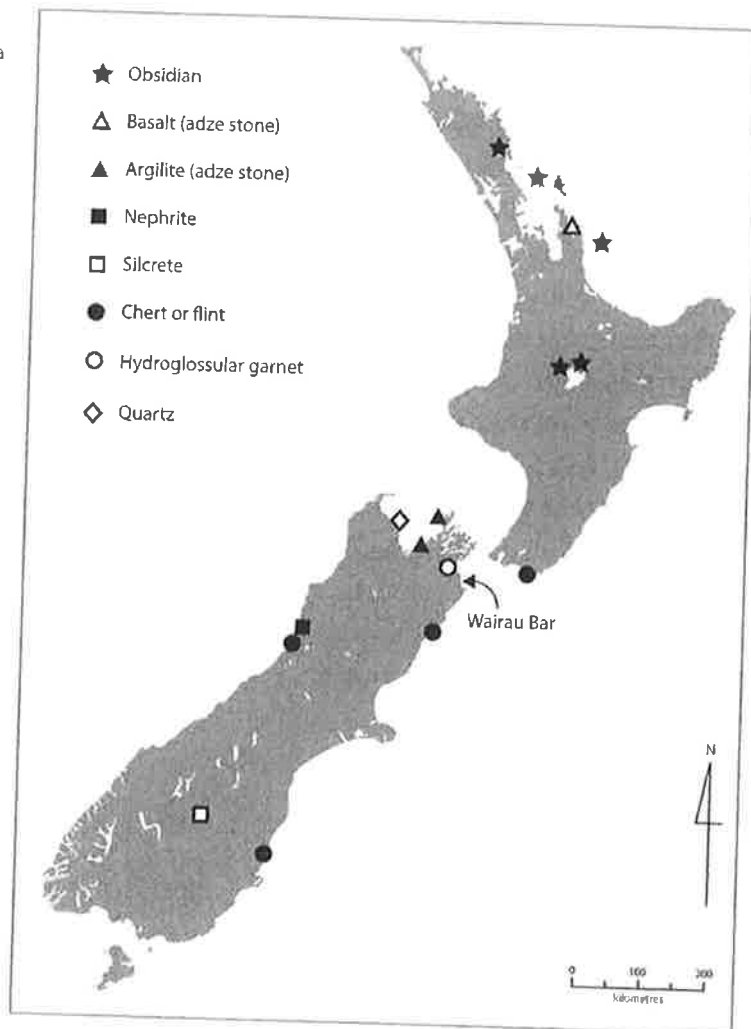
Figure 4.10  
Ngātoro-i-rangi's karakia  
to the spirits of the new  
land. Grace, *Tuwharetoa*,  
p. 48



leaders created their claims by identifying specific features with parts of their body. Migrants also named places after Hawaiki landmarks.<sup>48</sup> As waka sailed around the islands the ancestors began extensive journeys of exploration and settlement. In some cases, the ancestors went further by shaping parts of the landscape themselves and naming its features, thereby establishing their claim to these places and their resources. The *Urua* captain, Rākaihautū, created the major southern lakes with his *kō* (digging stick) and named them as he explored Te Waipounamu.<sup>49</sup>

As well as establishing ownership, this first phase also involved exploring and understanding the resource base of the new land, with a particular emphasis on industrial-grade stone resources. Aotearoa has a much more diverse geology than Hawaiki and there are literally hundreds of sources of tool-quality stone. The best adze stone, however, is located in three geological zones: in the

Figure 4.11  
Stone sources in Aotearoa  
New Zealand.



D'Urville Island/Nelson mineral belt region, Tahanga Hill on Te Tara-o-te-Ika (Coromandel Peninsula), and around Bluff Harbour and Aparima (Riverton) on Te Ara-a-Kiwa (Foveaux Strait) (Figure 4.11).<sup>50</sup> Another important industrial stone in Aotearoa is volcanic glass or obsidian used to make small cutting tools. Obsidian is located in several geological zones including Tūhua (Mayor Island) in the Bay of Plenty and Taupō-nui-a-Tia in the central North Island.<sup>51</sup>

All of these sources of stone were discovered and in use within a decade of settlement, testifying to the efficiency of the exploration phase. With access to sturdy double-hulled canoes, the settlers travelled the coastlines and explored the inland waterways and offshore islands. The earliest true village of this era, and one of the largest villages ever discovered in Polynesia, was Wairau Bar, dated to around 1320. Wairau Bar contains abundant stone from sources all over the country (Figure 4.11).

## The New World

Because some traditions were lost or forgotten, later generations of tohunga did not remember certain important elements of the early settlers' lifeways. Most notable is the absence of stories about moa and moa hunting which we know dominated life in the colony, including the selection of settlements, for at least a century after arrival. The traditions are clear, however, that the first stage of settling in involved transforming the land from a wild state to one conducive to their accustomed lifeways and economies. One of the ways this is conveyed in oral tradition is through the idea of planting and transforming – particularly in relation to food plants.

As the various waka travelled around the islands, the ancestors began dropping off the plants they had brought from Hawaiki in order to supply their preferred foods in this new land. The *Ārai-te-uru* unloaded food plants along Te Ika-a-Māui's east coast before depositing seed kūmara at Kaikōura in Te Waipounamu. The *Horouta* distributed kūmara at various east coast locations, from Ahuahu (Great Mercury Island) down to Heretaunga (Hawke's Bay): the abundance of her cargo is proverbially remembered, 'Ka mahi te tainga o te riu o Horouta' ('Behold the greatness of the output of the hold of Horouta'). The *Tainui* left kūmara at Tāmaki-makau-rau and later threw karaka plants on shore at Āwhitū, near Mānuka (or Mānukau) Heads, where they took root and grew profusely. The kūmara later became so central to the settlers' economy that *Mātaatua* descendants recalled how the ancestor,

Hoaki, instructed the people to sacrifice his teina, Taukata, upon their return to Aotearoa with this valued food, in order to ensure that the kūmara's mauri did not return to Hawaiki.<sup>52</sup>

Faced with such a large and resource-rich land, waka ancestors followed different settlement strategies. Some, like *Ārai-te-uru's* crew, explored the landscape but returned to their original landing place.<sup>53</sup> *Te Arawa's* people initially lived together at Maketū where they made landfall, before groups split off under different leaders and travelled either inland to the Rotorua, Taupō-nui-a-Tia and Whanganui regions, or to more distant coastal locations including Te Moengahau-o-Tama-te-kapua (Cape Colville). While some settled in these far-flung localities, others stayed for a while and returned to Maketū.<sup>54</sup> The *Mātaatua* community experienced serious disharmony, resulting in a significant number re-embarking under Puhi and departing north to find a new settlement, leaving a much diminished group under his brother, Toroa.<sup>55</sup> The people on *Kurahaupō* and *Tākitimu* dispersed across large parts of Te Ika-a-Māui, with each group organised around a particular waka leader.<sup>56</sup> The *Tainui* people chose to settle in the environs of Kāwhia, dispersing into a series of small settlements, each chosen by the waka commander, Hoturoa, and dotted around the harbour.<sup>57</sup> By contrast, the *Aotea* people stuck together as a group, under Turi's leadership, as they walked along the coast before settling in **Te Pāteanui-a-Turi** (Pātea). Here they set up a classic settlement containing a chief's house, stores, waste outlet, water source and gardens where they planted kūmara and karaka.<sup>58</sup>

The first settlers brought with them a tropical lifestyle and for at least a century did their best to reproduce those lifeways in the new land. The island tool kits were faithfully reproduced in new media and the East Polynesian adzes were copied in new stone types. It was not until the early sixteenth century that new forms of tool finally replaced the older kit.<sup>59</sup>

The fishing gear underwent more abrupt changes to cope with the loss of pearlshell, including the introduction of two-piece hooks that were better suited to bone, and the development of stone fishing lures that mimicked the pearlshell trolling lures of Hawaiki.

Small sharp cutting tools made of easily flaked stone such as chert, flint and obsidian assumed a major role in the tool inventory almost immediately upon arrival. These tools were better than anything available in Hawaiki. Pounamu was discovered during the first phase of exploration but was not adopted as a major stone resource until after 1500 when the exacting science of cutting pounamu was developed.

The economy of the new colony was different to that of Hawaiki. In Aotearoa most of the tropical food plants and tree crops of the homeland would not grow and kūmara became the staple plant food. Kūmara is ultimately of South American origin but was certainly present in Hawaiki at the time of Aotearoa's settlement.<sup>60</sup> It is not an important food crop anywhere else in Polynesia, however, except on the margins (Rapa Nui, Aotearoa and Hawai'i). Its significance in the new land explains why kūmara features so prominently in the traditions where ancestors tended it carefully and those without it undertook journeys to Hawaiki to fetch it.<sup>61</sup> Kūmara will not seed in Aotearoa and the tubers must be stored over the winter months for replanting. This necessitated the invention of the kūmara storage pit which appears in the archaeological record from the 1400s, implying very rapid innovation.

Of the Hawaiki food animals only dog (kuri) and rat (kiore) made it to Aotearoa, as confirmed in various oral traditions.<sup>62</sup> Other Polynesian animals, the pig and chicken, were not brought or perhaps they died en route or could not form a viable breeding population upon arrival. The vast array of wild animals in Aotearoa meant that hunting initially supplemented, or replaced in some places, a horticultural economy. Settlement tended to centre in areas where there were major resources (especially moa and seal); the east coast of Te Waipounamu, Te Ara-a-Kiwa (Foveaux Strait) and Te Tara-o-te-Ika (Coromandel Peninsula).

Wairau Bar is the largest known village of the colonisation period and contains the strongest direct evidence of a link to Hawaiki.<sup>63</sup> A small tropical-marine shell chisel found at Wairau Bar and a pearlshell trolling lure recovered at Tairua in Te Tara-o-te-Ika are the only items ever found that were brought from Hawaiki.<sup>64</sup> More recently, an analysis of stable isotopes in the bone collagen and tooth enamel of kōiwi (human bones) from one of the burial clusters at Wairau Bar has revealed evidence that these individuals probably spent their early years outside of Aotearoa – in Hawaiki.<sup>65</sup> They may well have been leaders of the migrant community who left Hawaiki for Aotearoa on one of the ancestral waka.

For the first few decades the colony in Aotearoa would have been physically and socially vulnerable. To mitigate risk an interaction network evolved rapidly that linked sites and communities on the frontier of the new colony. It is likely that this network evolved out of the exploration process as small temporary settlements were established during the first wave of exploration. As exploration was completed, coastal movement continued in order to link settlements, providing a lifeline as well as a conduit for information and raw

materials. Such network behaviour was very much a part of the social and economic environment of fourteenth-century Hawaiki, and its introduction to Aotearoa was another example of the reproduction of Hawaiki lifeways and strategies in the new land.<sup>66</sup>

Certain traditions contain hints of post-colonisation network behaviour and the social role of networks. They show that the waka communities that sprouted in both islands did not live in isolation, but soon started travelling to establish connections with each other, particularly through intermarriage; for example, a party from Taranaki visited *Mātaatua*'s settlement and one of them married into Toroa's family.<sup>67</sup> This provided an appropriate genealogical distance between the partners.<sup>68</sup> In many places later migrant groups lived side by side with the *tangata whenua* who had arrived earlier. Their cultural similarities made intermarriage quite normal and ensured the offspring of such unions had rights to land through their descent from the original occupiers.<sup>69</sup> However, not everyone settled down. A few traditions mention four waka ancestors who returned to Hawaiki, although the limited details about them suggest that if return voyaging ever did occur, it was exceptional.<sup>70</sup>

There is reason to believe that the coastal communication network may have had a political and ritual dimension. The location of Wairau Bar on Raukawa Moana (Cook Strait) gave it premier access to coastal voyaging networks. However, the community may also have served a spiritual and political role for the colony as a whole. Colonial societies often maintain a connection to the homeland, both physical and spiritual. Hawaiki was too distant for regular two-way voyaging, but Wairau Bar with its connections to Hawaiki, including leaders actually born there, may have served as a local point of connection. There is some evidence for this in the archaeology. First, a large communal cooking feature and midden was excavated in 2009 that contained the remains of hundreds of individuals across sixty different terrestrial and marine species. Recent research has demonstrated that this oven was used in a single feasting event, and a cluster of five other features (currently unexcavated) are in the same vicinity of the site. This type of ritual behaviour may have been associated with death ceremonies and this particular feature is located around 60 metres from the Group 1 burial cluster. The analysis of stable isotopes from the burials also identified a number of individuals buried at Wairau Bar who were probably born in Aotearoa, but did not live their lives around the Marlborough region.<sup>71</sup> There is a possibility that they returned late in life, or after death, for burial, from other linked settlements in the colony that recognised Wairau Bar as a central place.

## Conclusion

Māori descendants remembered the arrival and settlement of their waka ancestors in a very special way. According to southern traditions, the wrecked *Ārai-te-uru*, the waves that drove it onshore, and the cargo and crew were all turned to stone, forming local landmarks in the Otago region for which this is an important migration canoe: the coastline is known as Te Tai-o-Ārai-te-uru. Wrecked off the Waiau River in Te Ara-a-Kiwa, the *Tākitimu* became a mountain range and is considered the most important ancestral waka for Murihiku (Southland).<sup>72</sup> For the tohunga and their audiences these stories, and many others like them in Aotearoa, established the waka descendants for all time as the tangata whenua of these southern Polynesian islands.

- 39 E. Newman, 'Challenges of Identity for Māori Adoptees'; E. Newman, "'A Right to be Māori?"; E. Newman, 'Transracial Adoption'.
- 40 E. Newman, 'Challenges of Identity for Māori Adoptees'; E. Newman, "'A Right to be Māori?"; E. Newman, 'Transracial Adoption'.
- 41 Sir Hugh Kawharu, personal communication.
- 4 **Ngā Hekenga Waka: Migration and Early Settlement**
- 1 The North Island is also known as Aotearoa and the South Island as Te Waka-o-Aoraki or Te Waka-o-Māui: see McKinnon et al. (eds.), *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, plate 17. Today, Aotearoa or Aotearoa New Zealand denotes both islands, along with other offshore lands such as Rakiura (Stewart Island) and Rēkohu (Chatham Islands).
- 2 S. P. Smith, *Hawaiki*.
- 3 For an earlier view, see L. G. Kelly, 'Cook Island Origin of the Maori', p. 181; S. P. Smith, *Hawaiki*. Later critics: Orbell, 'Religious Significance of Maori Migration Traditions'; Orbell, *Hawaiki*; Sorrenson, 'The Whence of the Maori', pp. 35–37.
- 4 R. Clark, 'Language'; Marck, 'Revising Polynesian Linguistic Subgrouping and its Culture History Implications'.
- 5 Bellwood, 'Dispersal Center in East Polynesia'; Sinoto, 'An Archaeologically Based Assessment of the Marquesas Islands as a Dispersal Center in East Polynesia'; Sinoto, 'The Marquesas'.
- 6 Walter, 'What is the East Polynesian "archaic"?', pp. 515–30.
- 7 Allen and Johnson, 'Tracking Ancient Patterns of Interaction'; Rolett, 'Voyaging and Interaction in Ancient Eastern Polynesia'; Rolett et al., 'Ancient East Polynesian Voyaging Spheres'; Sheppard et al., 'Basalt Sourcing and the Development of Cook Island Exchange Systems'; Weisler, 'Prehistoric Long-Distance Interaction at the Margins of Oceania'; Weisler and Kirch, 'Interisland and Interarchipelago Transfer of Stone Tools in Prehistoric Polynesia'.
- 8 Walter, 'The Cook Islands – New Zealand Connection'.
- 9 Duff, *The Moa Hunter Period of Maori Culture*; Brooks et al., 'History of Excavations at Wairau Bar', pp. 56–58.
- 10 Kinaston et al., 'The First New Zealanders'.
- 11 Knapp et al., 'Complete Mitochondrial DNA Genome Sequences from the First New Zealanders'.
- 12 Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*; Rivers, 'The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry'; Robertson, 'The Role of Tribal Tradition in New Zealand Prehistory'; S. P. Smith, *Hawaiki*; J. White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*; Simmons and Biggs, 'The Sources of the "Lore of the Whare-Wananga"'; Sorrenson, 'The Whence of the Maori'; Sorrenson, *Maori Origins and Migrations*.
- 13 A. Anderson, 'The Chronology of Colonization in New Zealand'.
- 14 For other settlement claims, see e.g. Wilmshurst et al., 'High-Precision Radiocarbon Dating Shows Recent and Rapid Initial Human Colonization of East Polynesia'. For post-1300 AD settlement, see Holdaway et al., 'An Extremely Low-Density Human Population Exterminated New Zealand Moa'; Jacomb et al., 'High-Precision Dating and Ancient DNA Profiling of Moa (*Aves: Dinornithiformes*) Eggshell [ . . . ]'.
- 15 For pre-1000 AD settlement date, see J. M. Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*; Leach, *1,000 Years of Gardening in New Zealand*; Prickett, *The First Thousand Years*. On Cook-era population, see Pool, *Te Iwi Maori*.
- 16 A. Anderson et al., *Tangata Whenua*, p. 58.
- 17 Best, *Tuhoe*, pp. 717–18; McKinnon et al. (eds), *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, plate 18; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 160, 169, 193–94.
- 18 Best, *Tuhoe*, pp. 695–96, 702; Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, p. 186; P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 40–41; McKinnon et al. (eds), *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, plate 17.
- 19 There has been much archaeological debate about the relative importance of kūmara cultivation through time. There is now a general acceptance that kūmara was planted by some of the earliest communities, but that its significance increased radically through time so that by the late sixteenth century it had become a dominant staple across much of the country and was supporting the development of increasingly dense and complex polities. See Barber, 'Crops on the Border', pp. 169–92.
- 20 Duff, *The Moa Hunter Period of Maori Culture*; Golson, 'Culture Change in Prehistoric New Zealand'; Sorrenson, 'The Whence of the Maori'; Sorrenson, *Maori Origins and Migrations*.
- 21 Best, *Tuhoe*, pp. 706–7; Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, pp. 19, 22, 67, 73–74; Mitchell, *Takitimu*, p. 40; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 114, 195.
- 22 Whyte et al., 'Human Evolution in Polynesia'.
- 23 Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, p. 140; P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 16–17; Simmons, *The Great*

- New Zealand Myth*, pp. 116-18, 134-35; Stafford, *Te Arawa*, pp. 1-5.
- 24 Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, pp. 14-15; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 192-93, Song in G. Grey, *Nga Mahi a nga Tūpuna*, pp. 90-91, English translation by MR.
- 25 A. Anderson et al., *Tangata Whemta*; Buck, *Vikings of the Sunrise*; Wilmshurst et al., 'High-precision Radiocarbon Dating Shows Recent and Rapid Initial Human Colonization of East Polynesia'.
- 26 Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, pp. 15, 185; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 118-21, 193.
- 27 P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 16-21; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 171-72. For tree-felling karakia, see Grace, *Tuwharetoa*, p. 31.
- 28 Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, pp. 30, 40, 157; P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 16-17, 20-21; Mitchell, *Takitimu*, p. 30; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 158, 160; Stafford, *Te Arawa*, p. 5. For canoe-hauling chant, see Grace, *Tuwharetoa*, p. 34.
- 29 Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, pp. 140, 162, 186; P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 20-21, 28-29; Mitchell, *Takitimu*, p. 31.
- 30 Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, p. 57; P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 28-29. For name chant, see Mitchell, *Takitimu*, p. 32.
- 31 Best, *Tuhoe*, pp. 697, 703; Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, p. 20; Mitchell, *Takitimu*, p. 40; McKinnon et al. (eds), *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, plate 24; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 134-35, 139-41, 163, 173, 194; Stafford, *Te Arawa*, p. 15.
- 32 Aotea traditions include varieties of kūmara, taro (*Colocasia esculenta*), hue (gourd plant, *Lagenaria siceraria*), seeds of karaka tree (*Corynocarpus laevigatus*), aute (paper mulberry tree, *Broussonetia papyrifera*), kiore (Pacific rat, *Rattus exulans*) and kurī (dog). For Aotea and other waka cargo lists, see Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, p. 20; Mitchell, *Takitimu*, p. 40; McKinnon et al. (eds), *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, plate 24; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 134-35, 137, 140-41, 173, 194.
- 33 Best, *Tuhoe*, pp. 697, 703, 720; Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, pp. 20, 140, 143, 162, 165; Mitchell, *Takitimu*, pp. 30-31, 34; McKinnon et al. (eds), *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, plate 24; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 114, 121-22, 139-41, 163, 194; Stafford, *Te Arawa*, p. 15.
- 34 Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, p. 160; P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 30-31.
- 35 McEwen, *Rangitāne*, p. 12.
- 36 Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, p. 163; P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 28-29; Mitchell, *Takitimu*, p. 31; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 173, 194.
- 37 Best, *Tuhoe*, pp. 698, 709-10; Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, pp. 15-16, 57-58, 163; P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, p. 29; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 118, 172; Stafford, *Te Arawa*, p. 19.
- 38 Best, *Tuhoe*, pp. 698-99, 705; Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, pp. 16-18, 74, 160, 186; P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 30-33; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 114, 140. For Tangaroa karakia, see Grace, *Tuwharetoa*, pp. 38-39.
- 39 Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, pp. 16, 22, 73, 160, 168-69; P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 32-35.
- 40 Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, pp. 21-22, 43-44; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 158, 162, 194; Stafford, *Te Arawa*, pp. 14-17. For Ngātoro-i-rangi's karakia, see Grace, *Tuwharetoa*, pp. 45-46.
- 41 Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, pp. 43, 143; P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 32-33; Mitchell, *Takitimu*, p. 40; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 114, 194-95.
- 42 Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, p. 143; McEwen, *Rangitāne*, p. 13; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 138-39, 166-68, 201.
- 43 Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, pp. 19, 73, 75, 102, 168, 185; Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, p. 94; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 115-16, 118, 121-22, 194; Mitchell, *Takitimu*, p. 40.
- 44 A. Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers*, p. 14; Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, pp. 25, 160, 168; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 141-42, 206.
- 45 Best, *Tuhoe*, p. 721; Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, pp. 23, 45; P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 36-37; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 158, 163, 195; Stafford, *Te Arawa*, p. 17.
- 46 Best, *Tuhoe*, pp. 722, 724; Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, pp. 19, 45, 186; P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 36-39, 40-43, 48-49; Mitchell, *Takitimu*, p. 60; McKinnon et al. (eds), *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, plate 17; Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, p. 238; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand*



- Myth, pp. 134, 195; Stafford, *Te Arawa*, pp. 17, 21; H. W. Williams, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language* (17th edn), pp. 79, 464, 470. For karakia text, see Grace, *Tiuharetoa*, p. 48.
- 47 Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, pp. 148, 156; P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 38–41, 48–49; Mitchell, *Takitimu*, pp. 41, 43, 61; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 122, 159, 166; Stafford, *Te Arawa*, p. 18.
- 48 P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 40–41; Mitchell, *Takitimu*, pp. 43, 60–61; McKinnon et al. (eds), *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, plate 20; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, p. 116; Stafford, *Te Arawa*, p. 18.
- 49 A. Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers*, p. 14; Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, p. 187; McKinnon et al. (eds), *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, plate 26; Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, pp. 238–39.
- 50 Walter et al., 'Colonisation, Mobility and Exchange in New Zealand Prehistory'.
- 51 Moore, *Physical Characteristics of New Zealand Obsidians and Their Uses in Archaeological Sourcing Studies*.
- 52 A. Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers*, p. 16; Best, *Tuhoe*, pp. 697–98, 700, 703–4, 706, 708–9; Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, p. 55; P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 48–51; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 144, 166, 196.
- 53 A. Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers*, p. 16.
- 54 McKinnon et al. (eds), *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, plates 19, 20; Stafford, *Te Arawa*, pp. 18–25.
- 55 Story of *Mātaatua*: Best, *Tuhoe*, pp. 238–40 (*Tāne-atua's travels*), 725–28 (conflict); Grace, *Tiuharetoa*, pp. 97–98; McKinnon et al. (eds), *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, plate 21.
- 56 McEwen, *Rangitāne*, p. 15; Mitchell, *Takitimu*, pp. 41, 60; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, p. 118.
- 57 P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 52–57.
- 58 McEwen, *Rangitāne*, pp. 229–31; McKinnon et al. (eds), *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, plate 24; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 195–96.
- 59 The early adze kit of New Zealand was dominated by forms found in Hawaiki and is well described in Duff, 'Neolithic Adzes of Eastern Polynesia', pp. 121–47. The adze kit changed through time; the forms became less sophisticated or demanding in terms of production skills, the range of types declined and a small number of types dominated the kit. This trend is described in J. M. Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*.
- 60 Hather and Kirch, 'Prehistoric Sweet Potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) from Manguaia Island, Central Polynesia'.
- 61 Best, *Tuhoe*, pp. 697, 703; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 139–41.
- 62 Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, p. 20; Mitchell, *Takitimu*, p. 40; McKinnon et al. (eds), *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, plate 24; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 134–35, 140–41, 173, 194. Some traditions say the pūkeko was brought here.
- 63 Wairau Bar dates to the beginnings of the New Zealand sequence and is the only site of that period that can be confidently described as a large, permanent village. Brooks et al., 'History of Excavations at Wairau Bar', pp. 13–58; Jacomb et al., 'High-Precision Dating and Ancient DNA Profiling of Mōa (*Aves: Dinornithiformes*) Eggshell [...]', pp. 24–30. The connections to Hawaiki are reflected in the presence of tools manufactured in the homeland, see J. Davidson et al., 'Connections with Hawaiki', pp. 93–102. Also by stable isotope studies of skeletal remains, which suggest some individuals buried at Wairau Bar were born in Hawaiki: Kinaston et al., 'The First New Zealanders'.
- 64 J. Davidson et al., 'Connections with Hawaiki'; Green, 'Sources of New Zealand's East Polynesian Culture'.
- 65 Kinaston et al., 'The First New Zealanders', p. 2.
- 66 Weisler and Walter, 'East Polynesian Connectivity', in Hodos (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*.
- 67 Best, *The Maori Canoe*, p. 399; Best, *Tuhoe*, pp. 728–29; Stafford, *Te Arawa*, p. 47; Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, pp. 137, 160.
- 68 Walter et al., 'Colonisation, Mobility and Exchange in New Zealand Prehistory'.
- 69 Best, *The Maori Canoe*, pp. 393, 399; Best, *Tuhoe*, pp. 729–32; P. T. H. Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 38–41, 48–51; Mitchell, *Takitimu*, p. 41.
- 70 Best, *The Maori Canoe*, pp. 393, 399, 416–17; Mitchell, *Takitimu*, p. 23; Stafford, *Te Arawa*, p. 47.
- 71 Kinaston et al., 'The First New Zealanders'.
- 72 A. Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers*, pp. 14–16; Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā*, pp. 156–57, 164, 168.
- 5 **Kaitiakitanga: Land, People and Resource Management**
- 1 M. Kawharu, 'Kaitiakitanga: An Investigation', pp. 18, 21; M. Kawharu,

