

He Kupu Whakataki - *Preface*

Tena koutou katoa. The Rongowhakaata Trust, for and on behalf of the iwi, hapu and whanau who are the descendants of the illustrious ancestor Rongowhakaata are pleased to present this report to the Waitangi Tribunal for the purposes of the Gisborne District Inquiry. From the outset, it must be emphasised that this report is not the last word on Rongowhakaata traditional history. The report has been limited in its scope and content. It is not and does not purport to be a comprehensive research report on all aspects of Rongowhakaata traditional history. Time did not permit a full and comprehensive treatment of this important subject. Lack of funding, researchers and historians for the time-frames necessary also limited the parameters of the report. It has been completed by the iwi using their own resources and in their own time. While the work of David Young has been of assistance to Rongowhakaata in preparing this traditional history report, it must also be emphasised that the bulk of the material contained in this report has been compiled by Rongowhakaata. In the context of funding, at the time of writing, Rongowhakaata had received very little by way of resources from external agencies to assist the preparation of their research. Indeed, a decision taken by the iwi some five years ago to retain income earned from fishing has proved to be fortuitous: without the use of iwi funds saved from fishing activities, Rongowhakaata would not have had this report completed and would have been unable to participate in the Waitangi Tribunal hearing programme. As well as committing financial resources, much time and effort has been expended by the iwi for well over five years. The Rongowhakaata kaumatua research group has been an anchor rock standing solid in a sea that is sometimes clouded by uncertainty. The efforts of our volunteer rangatahi research group have complimented the work of the kaumatua and together they have laboured to produce this report. In this way, it is the people's work.

As a people, like all tribes, we have had a chequered history. Historical research may open many doors but some actions by ancestors were not pleasant and the re opening of what were often sad events may cause unease within some whanau and hapu. Another important point to stress is that history will always have interpretations and variations, depending on who is telling the story and for what purpose. Many of the versions we have relied on have been transmitted to Rongowhakaata through oral tradition. Those traditions can vary with the histories that others may recall. There is nothing new in that. What might be gospel to one iwi may be anathema to another. Native Land Court evidence has also been heavily relied on despite its inherent shortcomings. It remains a treasure house of history for all iwi and hapu. However, despite the inter-hapu and inter-iwi disputes of the past and more importantly, despite the actions of the Crown and its agents, Rongowhakaata have survived as a people. Throughout our history, Rongowhakaata have withstood many onslaughts. Today is no different. As the research for our wider claim will demonstrate, Rongowhakaata have suffered many great wrongs at the hands of the Crown and therein lies the key to the ultimate success of our claim: the claims of Rongowhakaata are against the Crown. They are not against other iwi or ourselves. While our traditional history and broader claim research will highlight the role of other iwi during the tumultuous era of the New Zealand wars, this must always be secondary to the central role played by the Crown in these unfortunate events. In any case, the point must be underscored that

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further research into aspects of our traditions will be necessary for a comprehensive and complete view of the rich historical legacy that is the history of Rongowhakaata.

The extremely short time-frame for the completion of this report has also meant that consultation with hapu and whanau within Rongowhakaata has been similarly limited. It was simply not possible to confer with a much wider Rongowhakaata group within the time-frame available. This is regrettable. However, now that the report has been filed with the Waitangi Tribunal, Rongowhakaata themselves will have a better opportunity to comment and contribute towards a more complete recording of our history as a people. Rongowhakaata therefore reserve the right to add to this report in due course as and when further research is undertaken and completed.

The purpose of this report is to provide the Waitangi Tribunal and the Crown with a snapshot view of the tribe known as Rongowhakaata. It outlines the beginnings of the iwi and its establishment under the ancestor Rongowhakaata and his descendants. It sets out in general terms the Rongowhakaata rohe, sacred sites and claim area. The report then sets out briefly the hapu of Rongowhakaata, their sites, their pa and marae. The report includes a short section on significant Rongowhakaata personalities who flourished during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This material has been taken from the authoritative *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* with additional details provided by hapu and whanau members. The report is therefore intended to give the Tribunal and the Crown a glimpse into the iwi of Rongowhakaata as it existed in pre-European times. Internal hapu relationships are referred to along with examples of inter-iwi co-operation and conflict. The report concludes with passing reference to the arrival of the first Europeans and their impacts on Rongowhakaata.

In conclusion, as Chairman of the Rongowhakaata Trust, may I take this opportunity to thank all of those members of the iwi and their whanau for the invaluable contribution that they have all made to this report. Without such input, we would never have been able to produce any report for the purposes of the Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry into our outstanding historical claims.

Stanley Pardoe
Chairman
Rongowhakaata Trust
15 January 2001

Te Wahanga Tuatahi: Chapter 1

Te timatatanga o Rongowhakaata - *The Beginnings of Rongowhakaata*

Kia hoki nei au ki runga i te mauri o to tatou tipuna a Ru-au-moko,
Kia papatu-i-te-onekura, kia papatu-i-te-ahurewa,
Ki nga tuahu o te Rangi-tu-Roua, o Ruamatua-mai-Hawaiki....

Tu a te Kahukura, ka tutu mai te Heihei,
Tu a te Kahukura, ka tutu mai te Roki,
He Kahukura a uta, he Kahukura a tai,
Ka pu, ka rea kai waho e....

Kai to ariki tapu, kai to mana whakatiketike,
Kai a hukahunui kai a hukuhukaroa,
Tupore kau nuku, tupore kaukau e takoto ake nei e....
I... e...Maranga mai!

Tenei ka hapai ake i te kawa nui,
I te kawa roa, i te kawa tapu,
I te kawa whakatiketike a Rongowhakaata ki te aio o te rangi,
Koia kai Tikitiki-o-nga-Rangi ngahuru ma rua,
Kia tu haha!

Homai ra ko te ihi, ko te wana, ko te mana a nga Atua
I whakaurikatia ai ki teneki whenua taurikura,
Hai pou-tuhiri mou e Rongo, hai pou-whakaata mou e Rongo,
Hai poutu-atamai e Rongo e ...
Kia tiramarama a nuku, kia tiramarama a rangi,
Uhi – wero – tau mai te Mauri!
O Hauma – ui e – Taiki e!

Io

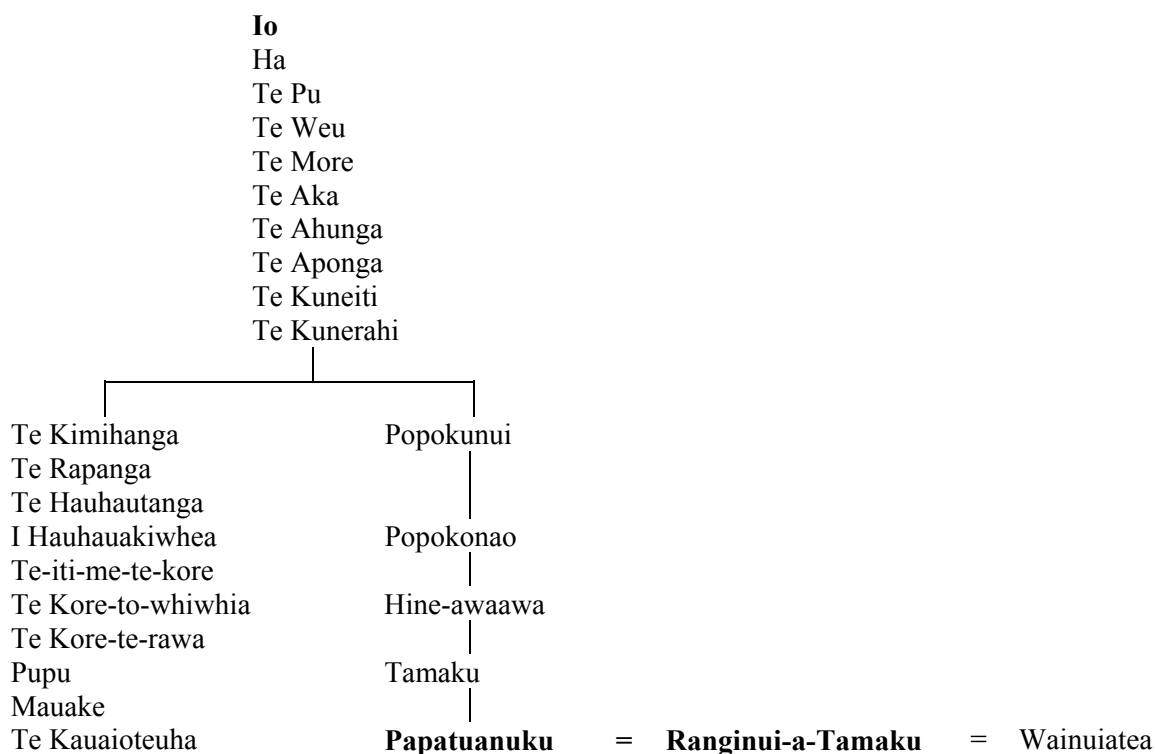
In the beginning there was nothing, Te Kore, and from that nothing came Io. Io is the primal god, the original god who existed at the very beginning of time. Everything descends from Io, all gods, all demi-gods and all of the issue of Io's descendants Ranginui and Papatuanuku. Rongowhakaata traditions, like those of other iwi and hapu, recognise Io as the core of all gods. As Io-nui he is greater than all other gods. As Io-roa his life is everlasting, he knows no death and as Io-matua kore he is the parentless parent of all gods and of all the heavens.

In Maori tradition, there is not one heaven, but twelve. The greatest and most important is Te-Toi-o-nga-Rangi, the dwelling place of Io. Then in descending order are the heavens Tiri-Tiri-o-Matangi, Ranginaoariki, Ranginui-ka-tika, Rangi-mataura, Rangi-tauru-nui, Rangi-matawai, Rangi-marei-kuri, Rangi-parauri, Rangi-tamaku,

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Ranginui a-tamaku and Rangi-te-wawana. These are the twelve heavens which are sometimes alluded to as Nga-rangi-I-roherohea-a-Tane (the heavens separated by Tane), Nga-rangi-tokerau-a-Tane (the inaccessible heavens of Tane) and Rangi-tokerau-a-Tane (the distant heavens of Tane). Within each of the twelve heavens in an eternal time and space, resides Io in his innumerable forms, the supreme god, the primal god, the god that was before there were gods. Io, in Maori mythology and tradition including that of Rongowhakaata, represents the beginning of all things.

Then in the night regions of soft light Io then established Hawaiki, the great Hawaiki (Hawaiki-nui), the extensive Hawaiki (Hawaiki-roa), the far distant Hawaiki (Hawaiki-pamamao) and the sacred Hawaiki (Hawaiki-tapu) where Io himself in his eternal now elected to dwell with his divine assistants created by him. Hawaiki then became the abode of the gods with the exception of Hawaiki-tapu. No one, not even the other gods, could enter the sacred realm of Hawaiki-tapu - this was reserved for Io alone. After he created the nights and Hawaiki, Io then deigned to create the first parents, Ranginui and Papatuanuku:¹



¹ See p.93, Appendix A, Whakapapa 1: Io-matua-kore - Rongowhakaata.

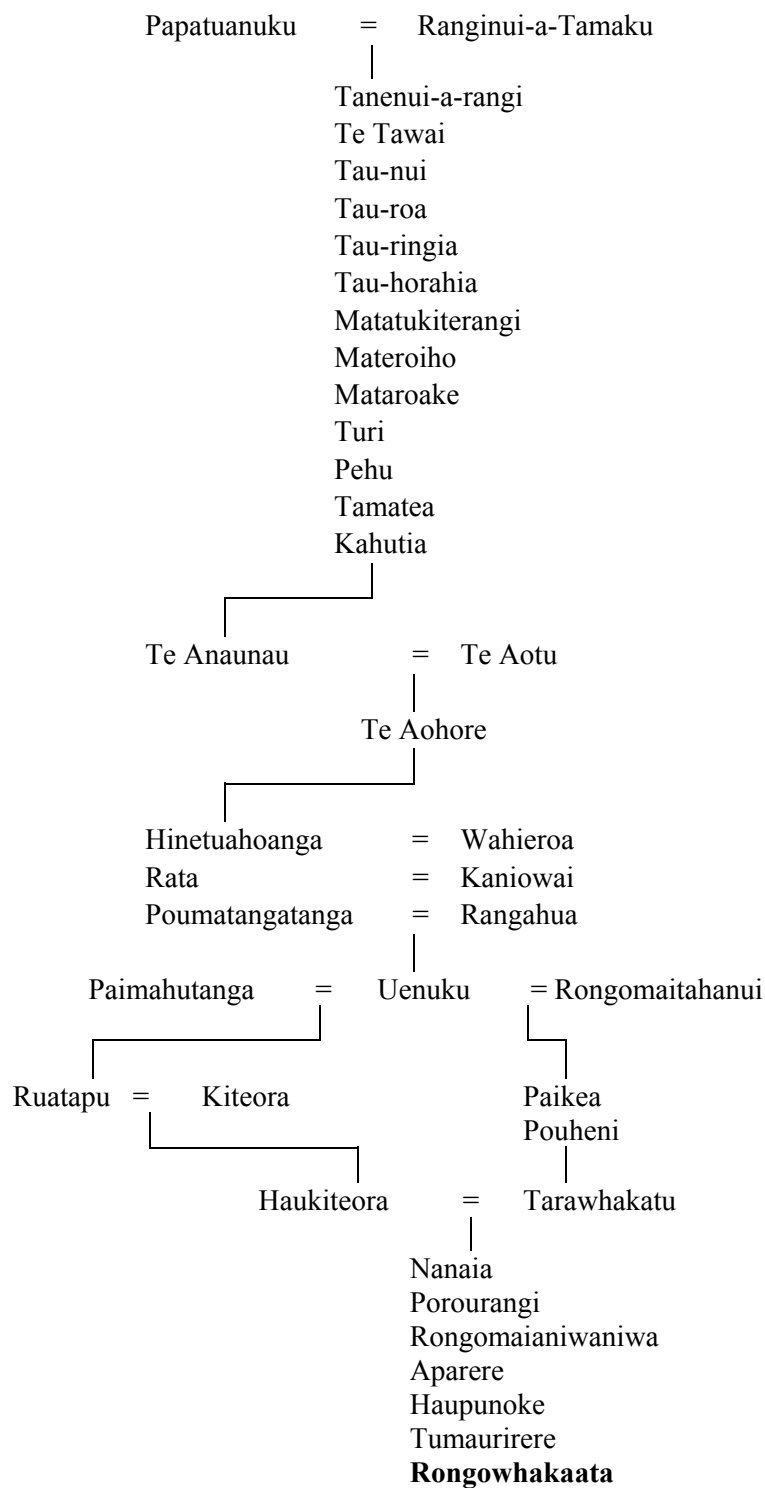
Ranginui Papatuanuku me o raua tamariki - *Ranginui, Papatuanuku and their children*

The traditions relating to Ranginui and Papatuanuku are well known and will not be traversed here in detail. Rongowhakaata, like all tribes, descend from the union of Ranginui the skyfather and Papatuanuku the earth mother. Equally important from this union are the many offspring, the gods of Maori tradition and mythology that permeate every element and aspect of existence in the Maori world. Uru-te-te-nga-na was the origin of heavenly bodies and with Roiho and Roake gave light to the forefront and back of Rangi. Then came Haepuru and Haematua, the guardians of the stars and heavenly lights respectively. Whiro te tipua the personification of disease, darkness, evil and death followed by Tawhirimatea the god of all earthly winds and storms. Across the oceans came Tangaroa, god of fisheries who with Kiwa the lord of the oceans and Rona controller of the tides exercised authority over the vast and plentiful oceans surrounding Aotearoa. Tumatauenga, the well known god of war followed by Te Ikaroa, guardian of the milky way.

Rakamaomao personified the guardian of sacred birds while Rongomaraeroa personified kumara and was the deity of cultivated foods and of peace. Tawhirirangi personified heavenly winds. Other gods descending from Ranginui and Papatuanuku included Tangaiwaho the guardian to life in the world. Rauru-matua and Rongowhakaata were the guardians of wananga. Uruao was the guardian of the female element assisted by Ruataumata and Rongomaituwaho. Takatua was the guardian of occult knowledge while Ruaumoko was the guardian of earthquakes, volcanoes and tidal waves. There are many other issue of Ranginui and Papatuanuku responsible for other celestial and earthly realms.

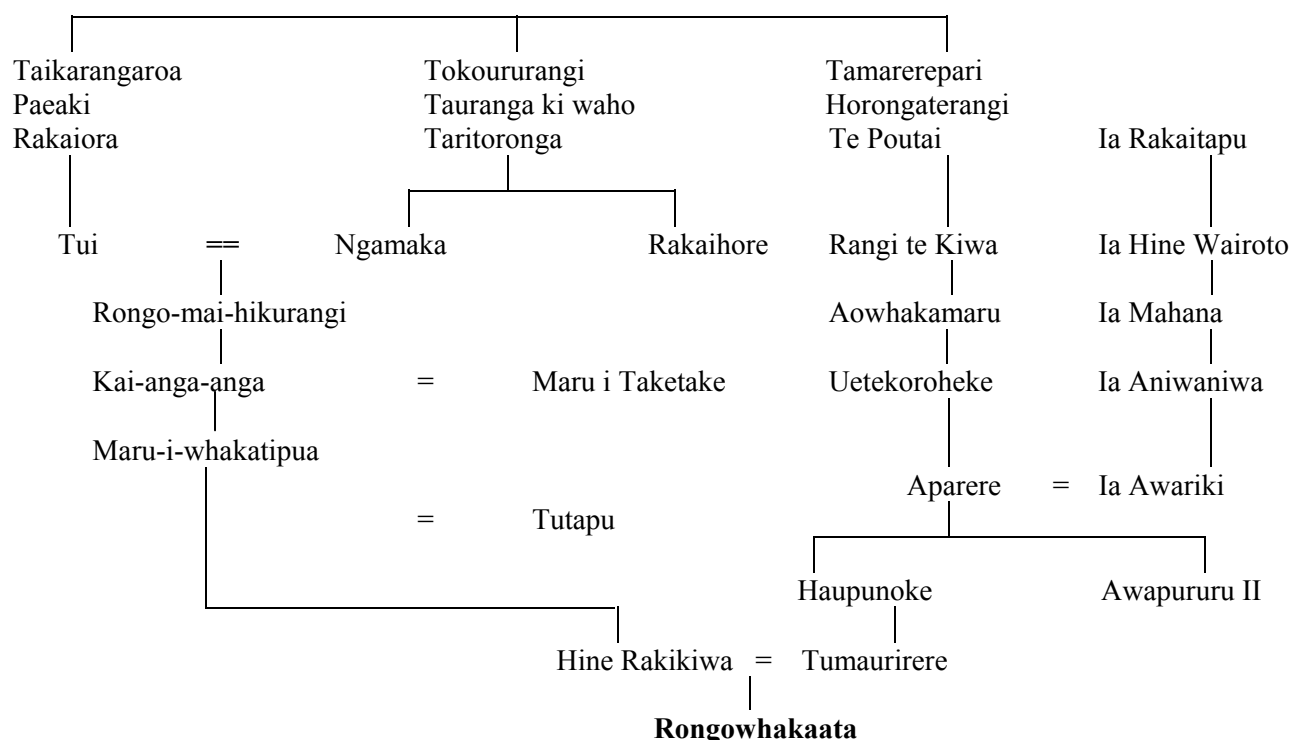
However, as foreshadowed previously, Rongowhakaata, like other tribal ancestors, is himself a descendant of the union of Ranginui and Papatuanuku as set out in the following whakapapa:²

² See p. 93, Appendix A, Whakapapa 1: Io-matua-kore Rongowhakaata.

Whakapapa: Mai i a Rangi raua ko Papa ki a Rongowhakaata

Te hekenga mai o Horouta i Hawaiki - *The Migration of Horouta*

As with the traditions surrounding Ranginui and Papatuanuku, the migration of the Horouta and Takitimu waka are well known events in the history to this region. Therefore, it is not proposed to traverse those traditions in significant detail other than to provide a brief outline of the migration to link Toi, the ancestors on the two waka and the flourishing of their descendants in subsequent centuries leading to the emergence of Rongowhakaata in Turanganui-a-Kiwa. According to historical traditions, the Horouta canoe called in at various places along the Tairawhiti coast until it was beached at Turanganui-a-Kiwa. Some traditions acknowledge Kiwa as the first person to set foot on the land and thereafter the area became known as Turanganui-a-Kiwa, the standing place of Kiwa. According to Halbert, the migration of the Horouta canoe took place in the early part of the fourteenth century under the leadership of Paoa. Horouta traveled around the Tairawhiti coastal region stopping at several locations and exploring the areas where the canoe landed.⁵ Halbert recounts how Horouta originally landed in the Gisborne region at Muriwai, south of the present day township. He recounts how Paoa's sister Hinehakirangi was the first person to step ashore, and as detailed later, planted the first kumara in the region.⁶ Rongowhakaata traditions acknowledge Horouta as the principal waka on which the ancestors of the tribe journeyed to Aotearoa. While there are certainly strong genealogical connections to the ancestors and descendants of those on board Takitimu, it is the Horouta waka that is definitive for Rongowhakaata. Rongowhakaata descends from the following ancestors on board the Horouta waka:⁷



⁵ Halbert, R. *Horouta* (Reed Publishing Limited, Auckland, 1999), pp.26-28

⁶ Ibid

⁷ However, there are alternative versions to this whakapapa.

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The travels of Paoa and the waka Horouta have been immortalised in the famous waiata *Haramai a Paoa* set out below. It recounts the arrival of the waka into the area and the journey of Paoa into the wider region. Reference is also made to the Motu and Waipaoa Rivers.

Haramai a Paoa

Haramai a Paoa i runga i tona waka ia a Horouta	Paoa came on his canoe called Horouta
Ka pakaru ki Tuaranui a Kanawa	The canoe split in half at Tuaranui o Kanawa
Ka haramai ki uta	He came ashore
Ki te rapa Haumi	To search for the right materials to repair their canoe
Ki te rapa Punaki	He saw what he was looking for
Ka kitea te Haumi	He was elated
Ka kitea te Punaki	So he urinated
E kaikamakama	Hence the Motu river
Ka mua tona mimi	Hence the Waipaoa river
Rere ana Motu	At Kopututea the mouth of the river
Rere ana Waipaoa	His dog went for a drink and got lost
Ko Kopututea te putanga ki waho	By the waves of the sea
Kia unu mai tona kuri e pakia mai ra	Hence Paoa's journey to the Tairawhiti
E nga ngaru o te moana e takato nei huri te haere a Paoa ki te Tairawhiti	

Haka Taparahi

Ko tona tawhiti mo Rongokako	Paoa challenges Rongokako
Ko tona whakaori kei Whanga-o-kena	He sets a trap at Tokomaru Bay
Tona whai kei Matakaoa	Then went on to Whanga-o-Kena at Matakaoa
Ka huri tona haere raro ki Hauraki	He left an imprint of a stingray in a rock
Ko Ngati Paoa	Then continued on to Hauraki
Hi au e	Hence the sub-tribe called Ngati Paoa

Tairawhiti traditions record that the passengers on *Horouta* waka included:⁸

Tane

Awapaka	Tahukarangi	Tute Pakihirangi
Hiwara	Taikehu	Tunurangi
Houtaketake	Takiwhenua	Tangitoronga
Hounuku	Takirangi	Rongotopea
Houatea	Tane Herepi	Rourouatea
Hikitapua	Te Amaru	Whakapuku
Hourangi	Te Hatoitoi	Mahu
Hauararo	Te Manawaroa	Mawhakeururangi
Ira Kaiputahi	Rangitarona	Nenewha
Koneke	Whioroa	Pouheni
Kahutore	Kura	Te Paki
Karotaha	Mahaututea	Tamatahaia
Manurewa	Makawa	Toki Puanga
Matangiairaranga	Parutu	Te Ikirangi
Ngarangikaihia	Tapoto	Tararoti
Taiaroa	Te Hirea	Tapuke
Wahapaka	Tarana	Tahore
		Rerepari

Wahine

Hine Mataotao	Hinekapuarangi	Hine Huhunurangi
Te Poutama	Haukiterangi	Hine Kauirangi
Hinehakirirangi	Tamawhiro	Koia
Hineraukura	Mapuhiarangi	Oi Piria
Kiterangi	Tangaroakaitahi	Te Roka
Tangihia Waitutu	Waitaramea	Whakite
Tangi Torona	Tari Toronga	Tawawana
Witiauaunau	Hine Hakirirangi	Mawaka
Te Rakau Pango	Hiki Tapua	Te Kahu Takiri
Pairangi	Iri-a-rangi	Taoroa
Tai Pupuni	Hine Akua	Tamakiterangi
Te Hekenga	Te Kotore-o-hua	
Rangituroua		

⁸ Halbert, (supra n 5) pp. 34-36

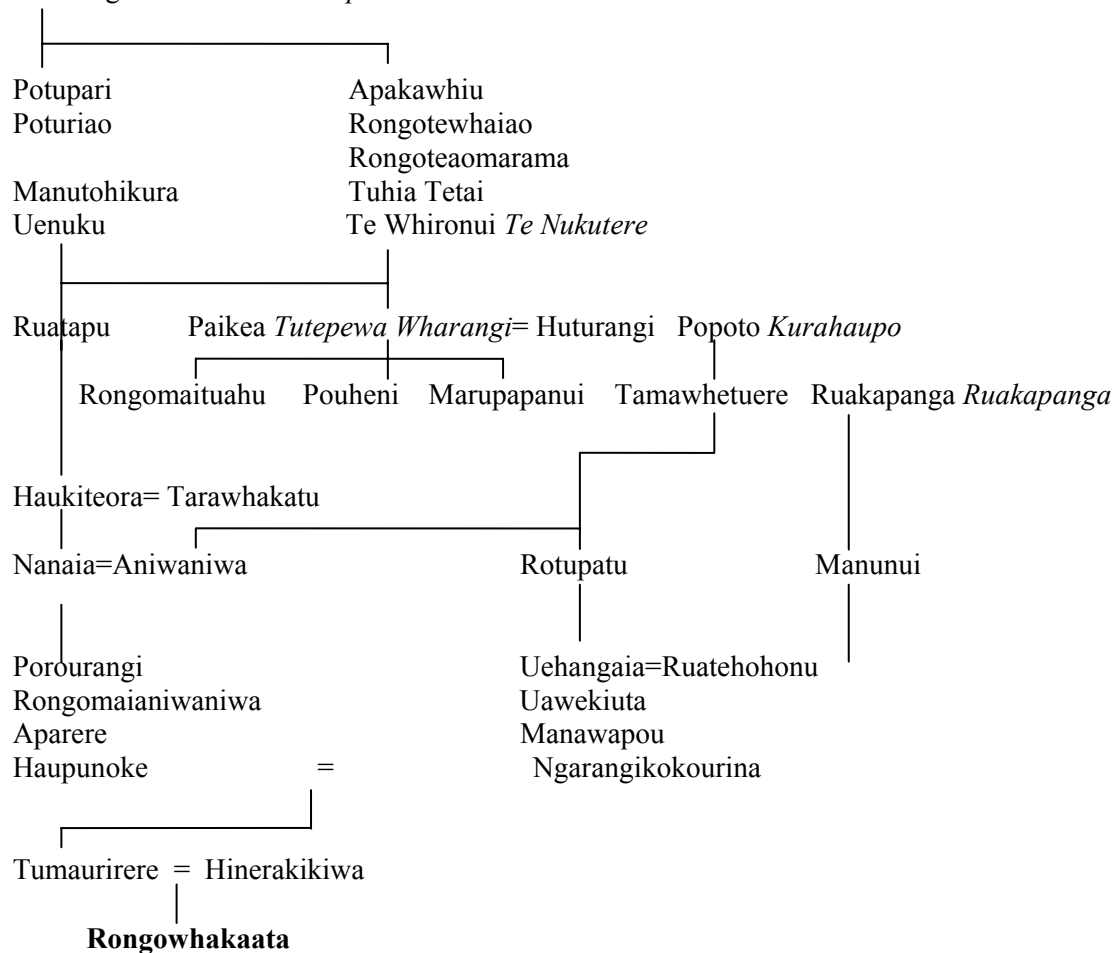
Whakapapa to other waka

Rongowhakaata the tipuna also connects to other waka from the various migrations including Paepae ki Rarotonga, Te Ikanui, Te Ikaroa a Rauru, Hawaii, Te Nukutere, Tutepewa Wharangi, Ruakapanga Te Arawa, Kurahaupo and Rereaniani:⁹

Toi Te Huatahi *Paepae ki Rarotonga*

Rauru ki Tahī *Te Ikanui, Te Ikaroa a Rauru*

Whatonga *Hawai - Kurahaupo*



⁹ See p.97, Appendix A, Whakapapa 4: Ngatoroirangi (Te Arawa waka)

Nga tipuna tuatahi o Turanganui-a-Kiwa - *The first ancestors of Turanganui a Kiwa*

The saga of Turanganui-a-Kiwa and its settlement is intriguingly full of rich historical and genealogical overlays. Through five principal eponymous ancestors of this region an intricate inter-iwi and inter-hapu web of whakapapa created a distinctive political environment around the overlapping areas of interest that make up the Rongowhakaata tribal rohe.

Ruapani

Ruapani was the son of Tuwairua and Ruatēpupuke and lived, in approximate terms, in about 1480. This highly esteemed ancestor held considerable mana over the whole Turanganui-a-Kiwa area. He had three wives, Wairau, Uenukukoihu (Koihe) and Rongomaipapa. These three provided Ruapani with many children who in turn, married and inter-married with members of other iwi and hapu from Turanganui-a-Kiwa and the surrounding regions. Later in life, in the face of the rising prestige of the younger Rongowhakaata, Ruapani relinquished his authority over Turanganui-a-Kiwa and retired to Te Reinga and re-established himself in the Waikaremoana region. He also journeyed into the Kahungunu area. The iwi and hapu of Turanganui-a-Kiwa can all trace their genealogical links to or through the ancestor Ruapani and today the Ohako Marae stands in tribute to this esteemed founding ancestor of the Turanganui-a-Kiwa iwi.

Kahungunu

Early in the sixteenth century, the ancestor Kahungunu, the son of Tamateapokaiwhenua and Iwipupu arrived in Turanganui-a-Kiwa, making an immediate impact on the area. He married two daughters of Ruapani living in Popoia pa, Ruarauhanga and Ruareretai. The issue of these two unions produced descendants in the Waihirere and Waerenga a Hika regions. In time, the descendants of Kahungunu would inter-marry with the descendants of Ruapani, Rongowhakaata, Mahaki and Tamanuhiri to produce the iwi and hapu of Turanganui-a-Kiwa today.

In time Kahungunu, for various reasons, moved on from Turanganui-a-Kiwa to Whareongaonga. There he married two daughters of Panui, Kahukurawaiaraia and Hinepuariari. These two unions also produced issue. Kahungunu again moved on and after leaving Whareongaonga he journeyed to Te Mahanga, Nukutaurua and the Mahia Peninsula region where yet another chapter of Kahungunu history unfolded. At Mahia, Kahungunu within a short space of time, married his most famous wife, Rongomaiwahine of the Kurahaupo and Nukutere descent lines. Five surviving children were born to this union, three sons and two daughters.

Pouwharekura of Te Mahia was his eighth and, according to Rongowhakaata traditions, final spouse with whom he had two children. Today, the descendants of Kahungunu can be found in Kaitaia, Opotiki, Turanganui-a-Kiwa, Mahia, Wairoa and

the Heretaunga all the way down to Wairarapa. The issue of Kahungunu permeate many lines of descent for the principal iwi of Turanganui-a-Kiwa.

Mahaki

To the north and northwest, Maunga Haumi and Arowhana beckon Mahaki. The second son of Tauheikuri, potiki of Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine, and Tamataipunua of Toroa and Mataatua waka descent. Mahaki spent the earlier years of his life in the Maraetaha area in the company of his tuakana, Tawhiwhi and their whanaunga.

Mahaki left to live in the Toi o Te Kainga village in Manutuke. While there, he met and fell in love with Hinetauarau who was betrothed to Hinganga. The young woman responded to the overtures of Mahaki. They eventually eloped. Hinganga then discovered the identity of Mahaki but was too late however to take action. The elopers had already been made welcome by Hinganga's relations Tamateakuku, Ruakopito, Tutaunga and Rakaihakeke. Mahaki and his spouse then resided at Werawera Pa. There they fostered their whanau, five daughters and three sons. The whanau soon established their own local history and genealogy, the sons stamping authority throughout the area. Mahaki became the eponymous founder of the Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki tribe of Turanganui-a-Kiwa.

Mahaki maintained dominance over his domain, his descendants adding to the rich culture and history of his grandfather Kahungunu, and the Takitimu waka, Toroa and the Mataatua waka, Rongomaiwahine and the Kurahaupo waka and the Horouta and Paikea waka.

Tamanuhiri

Ngai Tamanuhiri borders Rongowhakaata from the south by land and mountain range and meets on the eastern coast line with Rongowhakaata to the north and Ruapani to the west. The fertile flats and surrounding regions bordered by the plentiful coastline, with Te Kuri a Pawa dominating that coastline, are intimately intertwined with the history of Tamanuhiri and his people. There are connections with Te Rakato, Ngai Tu, Rongomaiwahine, Hikairo and Rakaipaaka, all overlapping from the south and providing inter iwi ties with generations to come.

The Wharerata, Te Puninga and Maraetaha blocks contain many interesting histories relating to Tamanuhiri and his descendants. Tamanuhiri, son of Rakaitotorewa and Ruakahutia, back to Rakaroa and Tahu Potiki, Paikea and Toi kai rakau provides genealogy and history that touches many iwi and hapu of the area. Tamanuhiri had four wives being Rongomaiawhia, Hinenui, Hinemaurea and Rongomaiiau. All unions produced over 15 children, the founding ancestors for Ngai Tamanuhiri tribe. A fitting proverbial conclusion "*No muri ke, te hua a uri.*"

Te nohanga o Turanganui-a-Kiwa - The settlement of Turanganui-a-Kiwa

Settlement patterns within Aotearoa were always in a state of flux. Turanganui-a-Kiwa was no exception. The various migrations, intermarriages and alliances meant that the patterns of settlement were constantly changing until such time as the principal eponymous ancestors of the Turanganui-a-Kiwa iwi established themselves and their descendants within what became the traditional rohe of each tribe. Daly in her *Rangahaua Whanui* report on Poverty Bay acknowledges this reality.¹⁰

“The period is marked by migrations of groups from the area as a result of fighting, exile, overcrowding, and the struggles for power typically involved in the development of the society. In these early times, such changes occurred within hapu groups. Through these migrations and movements, the larger and more modern tribal groupings evolved, and the iwi of Poverty Bay at 1840 established their hegemony over the area. It was primarily the events of the seventeenth century (inter and intra-hapu struggles in the migration of the Ngati Kahungunu peoples from the area) that led to the establishment of the present tribes as tangata whenua of Poverty Bay.”

According to Mitchell, one of the first significant disputes of this era was precipitated by the killing of Rironga, the son of Moeahu, by Tuaiti.¹¹ Tuaiti was a brother-in-law to Rironga on account of the former's marriage to the latter's sister, Moetai. Documentary sources do not disclose the reason for the death of Rironga at the hands of Tuaiti and he denied responsibility to his wife Moetai when questioned. Unconvinced by Tuaiti's explanations, Moetai became suspicious and as a consequence, warned another of her siblings, Tuwhakaoma who, as a result of such warning, organised a taua (war party) to secure retribution. On his return to Turanganui-a-Kiwa, Tuwhakaoma organised a powerful taua which was led by Rongowhakaata. In the ensuing battle, Tuaiti was killed and his widow Moetai was taken as a wife by the victor Rongowhakaata when they returned to Turanganui-a-Kiwa.¹²

The simmering hostilities between the Rongowhakaata led group and those with allegiance to Kahungunu would eventually lead to the migration of the latter from Turanganui-a-Kiwa to Mahia, Wairoa and the Ahuriri and Heretaunga regions. The migrations of the Kahungunu groups from Turanganui-a-Kiwa were usually precipitated by various incidents. One such incident was the murder of the twins, Tara-ki-uta and Tara-ki-tai, great-great-grandsons of Kahungunu and Ruapani at the hands of their uncle Tupurupuru. Tupurupuru, himself a great-grandson of Kahungunu was a principal chief of Turanganui-a-Kiwa during his era. He became jealous of and threatened by the mana of the twin sons of his cousin, Kahutapere. Tupurupuru arranged for the murder of the twins in an effort to secure their mana and strengthen his position within Turanganui-a-Kiwa. In one account, the twins are given spinning tops by their uncle and they fall into a pit. When Kahutapere first questioned

¹⁰ Daly, S. *Rangahaua Whanui District 5B - Poverty Bay*, (Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, February, 1997) p.9

¹¹ Mitchell, J.H. *Takitimu, A History of Ngati Kahungunu* (A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1949) (Te Rau Press Reprint 1990) p. 86

¹² *Ibid*, p. 84. In reprisal for the death of Tuaiti, Kahungunu joined the taua of Ngati Rutanga led by Wekanui. A battle was fought on the Muhunga Block near Ormond where on that occasion Kahungunu's party were the victors taking two pa.

his uncle Rakaihikuroa, the result was a violent confrontation and the death of two more of Kahutapere's sons. Enraged, Kahutapere then sought the assistance of his cousin Mahaki. In the battle that ensued, Tupurupuru was killed by Whakarau, the son of Mahaki. Whakarau then married the sister of the dead twins, Huruhuru. Following this tumultuous incident, Rakaihikuroa led the remainder of his group to Mahia and then down to Hawkes Bay. In Mitchell's account, Rakaipaaka, the brother of Rakaihikuroa, declined to join the migration but within a short time, he too would be exiled from Turanganui-a-Kiwa.¹³ The two twins were later immortalised in the wharenui Mataatua completed by Ngati Awa in 1878. The house is distinctive in that the amo are two sets of twins. Wahahama and Taitimurea on the right and Tara-ki-uta and Tara-ki-tai on the left, complete with spinning tops.

Daly states that the next migration of Kahungunu descendants out of Turanganui-a-Kiwa occurred in the early seventeenth century and was precipitated by an incident involving Rakaipaaka and Tutekohi.¹⁴ At this time, Rakaipaaka lived at Waerenga-a-hika along with his sister Hine-Manuhiri. Tutekohi had a dog named *Kauari-hua-nui*. During a feast held at Tutekohi's pa near Turanganui-a-Kiwa, an exchange of insults occurred between Tutekohi and Rakaipaaka. As a consequence, one of Rakaipaaka's warriors, Whakaruru-a-nuku then killed Tutekohi's dog and ate it to avenge the abuse of Rakaipaaka. Unsurprisingly, Tutekohi then sought to repay this insult. He enlisted the assistance of his relation Mahaki who had his own grievance as one of Rakaipaaka's party had slept with his wife. Tutekohi and Mahaki then formed a taua with the assistance of kin from Uawa. The subsequent battle became known as Whenua-nui where Rakaipaaka and his sister were defeated. However, given Rakaipaaka's rank as a grandson of Kahungunu, he and his sister were spared but were exiled from Turanganui-a-Kiwa permanently. His sister, Hine-Manuhiri then retired inland to Wairoa and built a pa called Te Mania. Her brother Rakaipaaka travelled to Mahia before finally establishing himself at Nuhaka.¹⁵

Therefore, in this way, Turanganui-a-Kiwa was eventually secured under the mana of the three principal iwi of the region, Te Aitanga a Mahaki, Rongowhakaata and Ngai Tamanuhiri. However, it would take several generations before the ancestor Rongowhakaata and his descendants firmly stamped their imprint over their tribal region through inter-marriage, settlement and conquest.

¹³ Ibid, p.109. See also Tairawhiti Maori Association, "*Echoes of the Pa, Proceedings of the Tairawhiti Maori Association for the Year 1932, Gisborne*" (Tairawhiti Maori Association, Gisborne, 1932) pp 32 - 33.

¹⁴ Daly, (supra n 10) p.11

¹⁵ Mitchell, (supra n 11) pp. 98 - 99

Te tipuna Rongowhakaata - Rongowhakaata the Ancestor

Many lines of important descent from the Tairāwhiti region converge in the person of Rongowhakaata. The iwi and hapu of Rongowhakaata can today, connect through the tipuna back to Toi Te Huatahi, Paieka, Porourangi and many others including Ranginui and Papatuanuku. According to Halbert, Rongowhakaata was descended from the three sons of the ancestor, Paieka: Rongomaituahu, Marupapanui and Pouheni.¹⁶ The parents of Rongowhakaata were Tumaurirere and Haupunake themselves descending from ancestors on board Horouta waka. Rongowhakaata traditions acknowledge that the tipuna was born at Uawa (Tolaga Bay) and Puatai. Uawa thus remains a place of great historical significance to the iwi as it is the birth place of their founding ancestor. Ngata in his series of lectures given in 1944, also acknowledged that Rongowhakaata came from Uawa and migrated to Turanga where he married the daughters of Moeahu, a descendant of Kiwa, from Te Huia Pa, located near Ngatapa.¹⁷ Gudgeon refers to the several genealogies of Rongowhakaata who he said was descended from an ancient people. Gudgeon also refers to the strong whakapapa connections to Ngati Ruapani from Te Reinga and notes the extensive intermarriage between the descendants of Rongowhakaata and Ruapani.¹⁸

Rongowhakaata first married Turahiri, the second daughter of Moeahu, who at the time resided at Te Huia Pa. There they lived for some time where their only child, a son, was born, nurtured and named Rongomairatahi. After the death of Turahiri, Rongowhakaata married her sister Uetupuke and then Moetai. The iwi of Rongowhakaata thus primarily descend from Turahiri, along with her two sisters - the three illustrious daughters of Moeahu.

¹⁶ Halbert, (supra n 2) p.77

¹⁷ Ngata, A.T. *Nga Rauru nui a Toi - Porourangi Maori Cultural School Lecture Course, Lecture 4* (1944) p.9

¹⁸ Gudgeon, W.E. *"The Maori Tribes of the East Coast of New Zealand"* JPS, Vols. 3 & 5 (Victoria University, Department of Anthropology, Wellington, 1896) pp.2-8

Nga wahine rangatira o Rongowhakaata me o ratou uri - *The wives of Rongowhakaata and their children*

As time passed the developing kin group resided at Turanganui-a-Kiwa under Rongowhakaata, who strengthened his ties with the region through issue from his three wives, Turahiri, Uetupuke, and Moetai.

Turahiri

Soon after his marriage to Turahiri, Rongowhakaata then shifted to Patutahi and later came to live at a pa called Pewhairangi on what became the Paokahu Block. Rongowhakaata and Turahiri had one child, a son Rongomairatahi. As the first born, it was apparent that much mana was bestowed upon him as he would be the leading ancestor of Rongowhakaata of the Arai Te Uru area of which Manutuke is the tribal centre. Upon him, the whakatauaki was pronounced "*Te kotahi a Turahiri, ripo ana te moana*" - from the one of Turahiri, his descendants would be so numerous and likened unto shoals of fish, causing the sea to ripple. He lived for some time in Maihitukua house at Te Puia Pa, which was on a low circular mound at the north side of the intersection of the Ngatapa and Kirkpatrick Roads.¹⁹ A similar proverb exists for the Rongowhakaata hapu Ngati Maru. Nona Haronga wrote that the Turahiri proverb came into vogue about the end of the seventeenth century after the formation of three Rongowhakaata hapu: Ngai Tawhiri, Ngati Maru and Ngati Kaipoho.²⁰ Turahiri died on the Paokahu block further securing the land as an important waahi tapu site for Rongowhakaata.

Uetupuke

Rongowhakaata then married Uetupuke. However, her sister Moetai, then a widow also wanted Rongowhakaata for her husband. Uetupuke took umbrage at this. She was with child to Rongowhakaata and made it clear that she was not willing to share her husband with her sister and decided on separation. Rongowhakaata attempted to convince her to remain until the child was born but failed to dissuade her. She then left with a group on their way to Opotiki. Rongowhakaata and Uetupuke arrived at Ohiwa simultaneously. She would not change her mind, but promised if a son was born, she would name him Rongopopoia after nga popoia o aku taringa - the lullaby of my ears.

Tanemoeahi, brother of Tuhoe-potiki and Ueimua, took Uetupuke by the hand, inviting her to be his wife. His pa Onekawa was on the eastern side of the entrance of Ohiwa River. Here her son was born, nurtured and named Rongopopoia as she promised. Well fostered by his new father, Rongopopoia grew up amid hostility and trial. He married the two daughters of Pane Kaha, a chief of Ohiwa, Rangiparoro and Maruwakaene. To Rangiparoro was born a son named Kahuki who later was to

¹⁹ OS Kaumaatua Group *Pipiwharauoa* (March 8 - 9, 2000) p.7

²⁰ Haronga, N. Informal paper on "*Who was Rongowhakaata?*" (Gisborne, 1990) p.2

figure largely in the preservation of the local iwi and also avenged the treacherous slaying of his father, Rongopopoia.²¹

Maruwakaene bore four children, Te Ahikaroa, Hawea Poia, Hako Purakau and Rua Arai. Through these five mokopuna, the children of Rongopopoia, Rongowhakaata today has many descendants connecting to the iwi of the Bay of Plenty region including Tuhoe, Whakatohea and Te Whanau a Apanui.

Moetai

Moetai the eldest of the three sister spouses of Rongowhakaata soon settled down and concentrated on consolidating the developing iwi. She had four daughters, Rongokauwai (Rongokauae) who married Tamateakota, a son of Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine, then Rongomoeawa and Tawakerahui both whom were married to Tautangiao of Whangara. Once again, the connection of Rongowhakaata and his descendants to the Uawa region cannot be emphasised enough.

Kahukuraiti, the fourth daughter, married Hauiti younger brother to Taua and Mahaki Ewe Karoro, becoming eponymous ancestor to Te Aitanga a Hauiti of Tolaga Bay. There is a difference of opinion among earlier historians as to the only son of Rongowhakaata and Moetai. Some record his name as Tuwhakaoma and others Tu Taunga. Many taura here have been the feature of the Moetai contribution to Rongowhakaata. The marriage of Kahukuraiti to Hauiti further strengthened the whakapapa connections between the two tribes.

Thus from Turahiri and Rongomairatahi, to Uetupuke and Rongopopoia at Onekawa Pa and Te Hapuoneone of Opotiki, to Hauiti at Uawa (Tolaga Bay) and Whangara Mai Tawhiti (Tautangiao) to Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine through Tamateakota, the descendants of Rongowhakaata stretch across an expansive genealogical and geographic area. The son Tuwhakaoma is claimed to be grandfather to Hinetapuarau who was married to Mahaki eponymous ancestor of Te Aitanga a Mahaki. The direct connections of Rongowhakaata through his grandchildren and descending lines have entitled his issue to join with those iwi adding further dimensions of kinship ties and connection to the rohe of Turanganui-a-Kiwa.

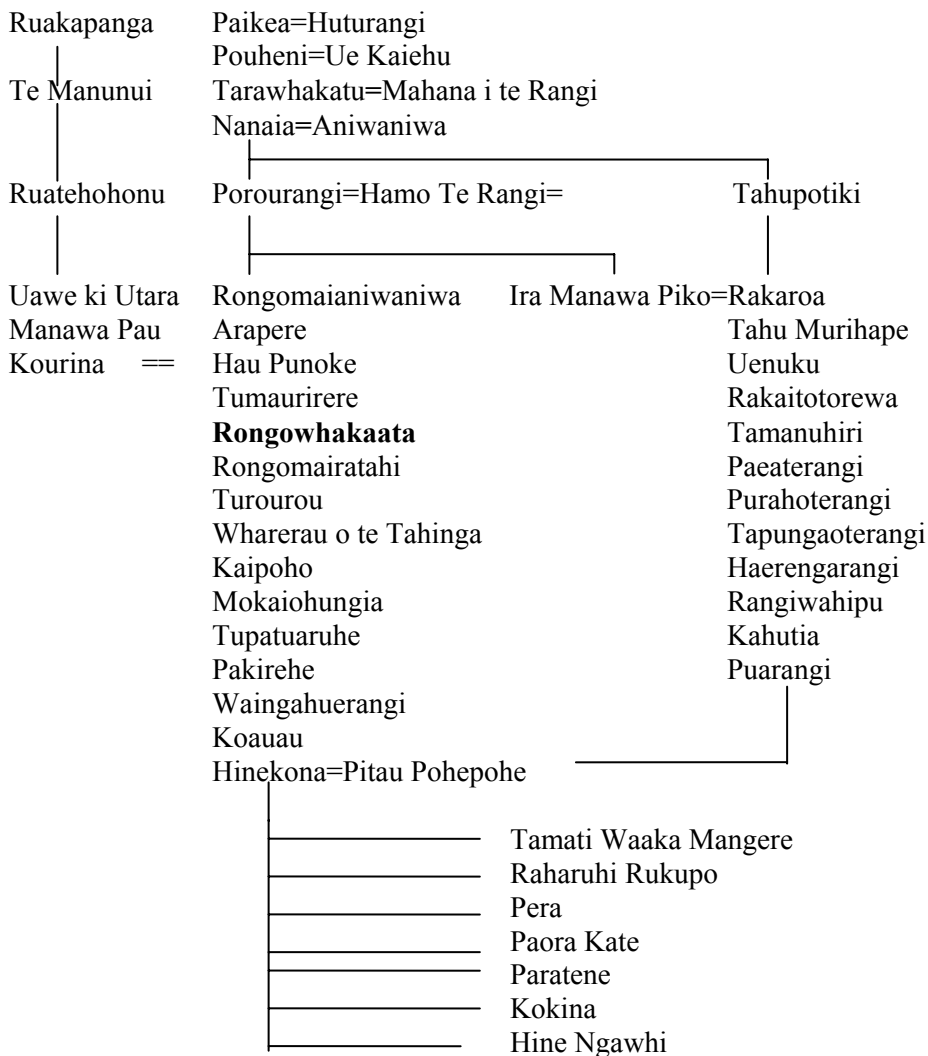
After establishing himself in Turanganui-a-Kiwa, Rongowhakaata and his descendants consolidated themselves in the region encompassing the lands that would become Manutuke, Te Arai, Patutahi, Ngatapa, Matawhero, Paokahu, Whataupoko, Kaiti, Awapuni, Pakowhai and Turanganui-a-Kiwa proper itself. He and his descendants maintained the mana of the tribe and its hapu despite the incursions of other iwi including Ngai Tamanuhiri, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki, Te Aitanga a Hauiti, Ngati Rakaipaaka, Tuhoe, Whakatohea and Ngati Porou.

Rongowhakaata lived at Maihitukua House in Te Huia pa and toward the end of his life, lived at Pewhairangi pa at the coast where he died and was subsequently buried.

²¹ Halbert, (supra n 5) p.79 See also Lyall, A.C. *Whakatohea of Opotiki* (Reed Publishing Limited, Auckland, 1979) pp.71-72

Tribal traditions record that a flood early in the nineteenth century overran the burial ground of Rongowhakaata. This was in spite of the efforts of Raharuhi Rukupo and other Rongowhakaata chiefs to divert the waters. In this way, both Awapuni and Paokahu have become important sacred sites for the tribe of Rongowhakaata.

Ancestors and issue of Rongowhakaata



Taniwha and kaitiaki of Rongowhakaata

According to Rongowhakaata traditions, Hinekorako was a leading guardian dwelling under Te Reinga Waterfall. Hinekorako had a contest with her brother Tane Kino as to which of them would reach Te Reinga falls first. They commenced their race at Wairoa and then travelled through the various gorges. Tane Kino took the lead and then rested. However, he under-estimated his sister who had the ability to make herself invisible and to travel underground. She reached Te Reinga before Tane Kino and he could hear the sound of her long hair slapping the rocks, which was her way of drying it. As a consequence, she took the superior position at the falls, while he was confined to occupy the base. From here, Hine Korako extended her spiritual influence

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over Te Arai and Waipaoa Rivers as well as the seas and air above. To this day, the influence of Hinekorako in Rongowhakaata traditions is widespread. She has a particular affinity and connection with water. The histories of Rongowhakaata provide that when one of her uri are in difficulty in water, they should call out to their kaitiaki Hinekorako for assistance.

Pipitaiari is one of the most enduring and powerful taniwha of Rongowhakaata. The influence of Pipitaiari extends from the mouth of the Turanganui River across Turanganui Bay. Rongowhakaata traditions maintain that her powers were such that tohunga could not cross Te Arai River where she was located. Such persons would risk losing their powers if they passed Pipitaiari at one of her river dwelling sites.