Collaborative Heritage Management



Regenerating Practices in Archaeology and Heritage

2

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Regenerating Practices in Archaeology and Heritage is a new interdisciplinary series, exploring emerging debates in Archaeology and Heritage studies. Shaping future directions for research through contemporary theory and practice, the volumes in this series are intended to build on and complement each other, developing perspectives and positions taken by other authors in the series, showing connectivity between diverse scales of discourse and between different subfields in Archaeology and Heritage. The series encompasses methodological, scientific and theoretical themes in both edited volumes and monographs and will encompass: collaborative archaeology; museum practice; digital humanities; archaeological fieldwork methodologies; and the intersection between scientific techniques and new understandings of the past.

Collaborative Heritage Management

Edited by
Gemma Tully
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INTRODUCTION

GEMMA TULLY MAL RIDGES

In June 2012, the inaugural conference of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS) was held at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. The theme of the conference was 'Re/theorising heritage' and the event was used as a platform to launch the Association of Critical Heritage Studies, which, in association with the International Journal of Heritage Studies, aims to develop an extensive network of heritage scholars across the globe in order to debate and discuss cutting-edge research in the field of heritage studies. The Association's manifesto asks all those working across the diverse spectrum of 'heritage' to:

...question the received wisdom of what heritage is, energise heritage studies by drawing on wider intellectual sources, vigorously question the conservative cultural and economic power relations that outdated understandings of heritage seem to underpin and invite the active participation of people and communities who to date have been marginalised in the creation and management of 'heritage'.¹

This book is the result of ACHS's provocation and aims to take up this challenge across the social, scientific, political, technological and ethical dimensions of heritage studies.²

¹ Gary Campbell and Laurajane Smith, Asociation of Critical CManifesto, 2012, http://criticalheritagestudies.org/site-admin/site-content/about-achs

² Please note, this is not an official ACHS affiliated publication.

The discourse surrounding 'Collaborative Heritage Management' was selected as the theme for the volume as the intercultural and interdisciplinary dialogues concerned with the use, practice and management of both tangible and intangible heritage by diverse stakeholders are the 'glue' that holds heritage work together in the real world, beyond pure theorisation. Thus, the chapters to follow were drawn largely from the papers presented in a session of the ACHS conference titled 'Community heritage'. Bringing together scholars from across the globe, from a range of disciplines including archaeology, anthropology, urban planning, human geography, cultural resource management (CRM) and museology, what was immediately apparent about the contributions, and the other works selected, however, was the extent to which the case studies, methodologies and outcomes presented moved beyond the limitations of traditional 'community archaeology' from which much collaborative heritage practice finds it roots. While exploring the organic, evolving and unpredictable nature of working with communities, the volume therefore focuses on emerging discourse which represents a shifting balance of power as once marginalised stakeholders are taking control of the constitution, representation and management of heritage as they experience it, both with or without 'professional facilitation'.

The heritage dialogues presented here range from personal responses to individual/local/tribal heritage to complex international cross-cultural partnerships. They reflect a range of 'world views' and include: discussions between people, landscapes and nature (Stoffle et al., Ridges et al., Hakopa); conversations surrounding human relationships with the built environment (Taguchi, Dubinsky, Landorf et al.); 21st century responses to the colonial/hegemonic control of heritage and identity (Tully, Frank et al); re-enfranchising marginalised heritage users (Walters and Taylor) and the exploration of the integrated cultural, socio-economic and personal implications of 'heritagisation processes' (Sanchez). To help the reader process this range of themes, the papers are presented in terms of scale. Hakopa and Dubinsky offer two highly

³ The session took place from 9:00 to 11:00am on 7 June 2012 in the Nils Wedel Room of Gothenburg University.

personal and yet extremely different approaches, from opposite sides of the globe, in the exploration of the heritage narratives of the place they call 'home'. Ridges et al., Frank et al., Landorf et al., Stoffle et al., Sanchez et al. and Taguchi all present case studies from specific sites or regions where collaboration with local/indigenous/resident groups has led to new working practices and epistemologies. Tully's work represents a national case study, highlighting the empowerment of citizens in heritage management in Egypt, while Walters and Taylor reveal the possibilities for international collaboration across countries once part of the former Yugoslavia.

There is no single adequate definition of what heritage is and what it means, but a common theme that emerged from the ACHS conference was that heritage is increasingly being re-theorised in terms of experience. By its very nature, heritage, both tangible and intangible, is personal. As a consequence, things/places/traditions that were once considered part of a person's/culture's heritage can shift over time and space. For this reason, this introduction has not set out to define 'heritage' or 'collaboration', instead, through the different perspectives, methodologies and examples outlined by the contributors to this volume, who are looking for ways to integrate the diverse discourse surrounding heritage at different scales, we ask you to join the conversation about how communities experience heritage, critically engage with heritage studies and continue the debate. In the words of the ACHS's manifesto, 'heritage studies needs to be rebuilt from the ground up'.4 This volume aims to make a start in this process, but it is only when more diverse voices are involved and respected within heritage studies that this rebuilding can really begin and seemingly disparate epistemologies can sit side-by-side or even be reconciled.

⁴ See footnote 1.

WAEWAE TAPU: (RE)CONNECTING WITH THE FOOTPRINTS OF ANCESTRAL LANDSCAPES

Нашті Накора

INTRODUCTION

When Ngātoroirangi, the famous tohunga ancestor and navigator of the Arawa canoe, first landed at Maketū some 28 generations ago he erected a tūāhu (altar) and offered up a special karakia (incantation) known as an uruuru whenua. The purpose was to greet the spirit and guardians of the earth, of this new land, to receive the hearts of the strangers who had just arrived on their shores. This act established a pattern of behavior and observance of how we connect with the earth and how the earth recognises who we are and receives us into her presence.

Ngātoroirangi then navigated inland across unfamiliar territory erecting tūāhu and offering up karakia at these special places; constantly connecting with the spirit of the land; weaving footprints into the land for his offspring to follow and performing memorable deeds in his search for whenua (land) for his descendants to occupy. Ngātoroirangi stopped briefly at the Lake at the centre of the Fish¹ of Māui before continuing south along the eastern shores of Tāuponui-a-Tia. He eventually arrived at Tongariro and on breaching the summit he cast his eyes over the region and claimed the land for his descendants; he also began the process of understanding the spirit and mauri (life force) of the environs giving appropriate

¹ The North Island of New Zealand is known by Māori as *Te Ika a Māui* – The Fish of Māui.

names to many significant sites and waterways to further cement his occupation of this territory. However his claim to those lands lay dormant for eight generations.

Tūnharetoa, moved by a sense of knowing that he needed to reclaim those lands vacated by his ancestor, sent his sons to reclaim those lands; to do so they had to re-establish their connection to the land in the same way that Ngātoroirangi did. Rakeipoho rededicated some of the tūāhu of Ngātoroirangi then he began the process of subduing Ngāti Hotu who now occupied the territory. In the process, he left names on the landscape. He was followed by Rereao who went about his task in a similar fashion. A few generations later, Turangitukua breached the final Ngāti Hotu stronghold thus establishing the descendants of Tūnharetoa and Ngātoroirangi firmly in their lands.

These ancestors reconnected with the landscape in the same way their ancestor *Ngātoroirangi* did. It is this (re)connection with the ancestral footsteps that will imbue us of this generation with the *mana* (prestige), *tapu* (sacredness) and *wairua* (spirit) necessary to reclaim the cultural heritage bestowed on us by *Ngātoroirangi* and to maintain the *mauri* of those footsteps.

BACKGROUND

We of the Ngāti Tūwharetoa Tribe, who occupy the land surrounding Taupōnui-a-Tia in Te Ika a Māui of Aotearoa (New Zealand), derive our whakapapa (genealogy), our mana, our identity, our right to occupy our ancestral territories and our connection to the ancient homelands of Hawaiki nui, Hawaiki roa and Hawaiki pamamao and to the heavenly hosts/deities through our great ancestors who navigated across Te-Moana-Nui-a-Kiwa, the great ocean of Kiwa (Pacific Ocean) to settle in Aotearoa. In particular, we of Tūwharetoa descent derive these privileges from one known as Ngātoroirangi; this is his story.

This is the story of a very influential and prominent ancestor who travelled on one of the canoes that left the ancient homelands of *Hawaiki* to journey down to *Aotearoa*, the land of the long white cloud. The journey, however, began with *Kupe* an explorer of great renown who, along with his contemporary $Ng\bar{a}hue$, found themselves in pursuit of *Te Wheke a Muturangi* (the pet octopus of *Muturangi*), who had interfered with several fishing expeditions in and around their islands, and ended up discovering *Aotearoa*.

The incident with the *wheke* contains two important discoveries: one was the discovery of a new land and the second was the discovery of *pounamu* (greenstone). The discovery of *Aotearoa* by *Kupe* and *Ngāhue* was important to the eventual migration of our ancestors from their existing homelands. The discovery of *pounamu* was important to the creation of two *toki* (adze) used to build our ancestral *waka* (canoe) *Te Arawa*.

After slaying the wheke both waka headed down the west coast of Te Waipounamu (South Island) where Ngāhue retrieved a great slab of pounamu at Arahura which became known as Te Ika a Ngāhue (the fish of Ngāhue). This piece of pounamu was taken back to Hawaiki where two toki (adze) and a taringa whakakai (ear pendant) were made. The names of the toki were Tutauru and Hauhauterangi; these toki were used to carve the ancestral waka known as Te Arawa which conveyed Ngātoroirangi, his wife Kearoa and many other ancestors to Aotearoa. The whakakai, known as kaukaumatua, was passed down to Mananui Te Heuheu who died with it in 1846.

The preceding account is but one variation of the well-known story surrounding the great navigator and explorer *Kupe* and his discovery of *Aotearoa*; but it contains the *ngako*, that is to say, the essence of the story that led our ancestors to this land.

THE CULTURAL FOOTPRINT(S) OF NGĀTOROIRANGI

The Arawa canoe had two puka or anchors: one called Te Toka Parore and the other called $T\bar{u}$ -Te-Rangi-Haruru. Te Toka Parore was the anchor for the Tauihu or bow of the canoe, while $T\bar{u}$ -Te-Rangi- $Haruru^2$ was the anchor for the Taurapa or stern. 3 Ngatoroirangi occupied his esteemed position at the Taurapa of the canoe because he was the principal navigator who was well versed in the knowledge of the heavens, earth and oceans, and was sufficiently skilled to guide the expedition to its destination.

The *puka* were used to stabilise the canoe when moored to keep it from drifting. Today we use other cultural devices to keep

² Grace, *Tūwharetoa: The history of the Māori people of the Taupō District*, p. 40 (comments that Tū-te-Rangi-Haruru is the bow anchor).

³ Stafford, Te Arawa: a history of the Arawa people, p. 11 & p. 18.

us from drifting away from our moorings, our cultural roots; one such device is called $p\bar{e}peha$. The following is what we, who derive descent from $T\bar{u}wharetoa$ of the $Taup\bar{o}$ region, use:

Ko Tongariro te maunga Ko Taupō-nui-a-Tia te moana Ko Te Heuheu tonu te tangata Ko Ngāti Tūwharetoa te iwi Tongariro is the mountain Taupō-nui-a-Tia is the lake Te Heuheu is the chief Tūwharetoa are the people

This simple cultural device is a glimpse into our worldview; within this pēpeha reside the cultural footprints that define who we are as a tribe (Tūwharetoa), where our principal anchor is (Tongariro); one of the most significant areas of our ancestral landscape (Taupō-nui-a-Tia which is known by Tūwharetoa as: Te Manawa o Te Ika a Māui, the heart of the fish of Māui); and who our Ariki (principal chief) is: he who upholds the mana of our people (Te Henheu). Although the tribal region is not explicitly articulated in this pēpeha, it will become apparent in the text that follows that the region our ancestral canoe occupies geographically stretches from Maketū (the bow of the canoe), where the canoe landed, to Tongariro (representing the stern of the canoe occupied by Ngātoroirangi) in the central plateau of Te Ika a Māui. This pēpeha defines who we are culturally, it defines our geographical location, it defines how we connect to our ancestral landscape and it defines the geographical location that the tribes of the Arawa canoe inhabit from Maketū to Tongariro.

Each line of this *pēpeha* contains essential building blocks that locate and anchor each member of the tribe to their *Wāhi Kura* (significant landmarks or places) within their ancestral landscapes. Each place and name is a link to a body of tribal lore consisting of *whakapapa* (describing the genealogical connections to the deities of the Heavens, to Mother Earth and her bounty, to their ancestors across the Pacific Islands, and to the unborn generations), *karakia* (complex incantations), *mōteatea* (traditional songs and chants), *whakataukī* (proverbial utterances), *pēpeha*, and *kōrero pūrākau* (stories) and is underpinned by the concept of *mana*. Furthermore, each placename:

...describe(s) the deeds of the ancestors, imbue the land with character and shape the identity of the local *ini* or tribe as a separate and unique people of Aotearoa, New Zealand; behind each name is a story.⁴

For us of $T\bar{u}mharetoa$ in the $Taup\bar{o}$ region it all began with $Ng\bar{a}toroirangi$; he is the central character whose ritual practices from the time he left the ancient homeland of Hawaiki to when he scaled the heights of Tongariro mountain set in place the cultural footprints which established our tribal rights to occupy the $Taup\bar{o}$ region and claim Tongariro as our principal anchor akin to the anchor $T\bar{u}$ -Te-Rangi-Haruru which held the taurapa of the canoe in place. This is his story; this is our tribal legacy.

TAPUNUI O ATUANUI

Kupe found his way to Aotearoa by following the wheke. When he returned to the islands, he gave instructions to his kin how to find the new land. Similar instructions were given to those of the Arawa canoe by those who had already made that journey.

kia whakatau koutou ki a Atutahi ma Rehua; ko Atutahi e whakatata nei ki te Mangoroa!

Direct your course to Canopus by *Rehua* (Antares); Canopus that is by the side of the Milky Way!⁵

Ngātoroirangi, whose name has been translated as "To Grasp the Heavens" or "Frequent Visitor of the Heavens", perhaps in reference to his esoteric knowledge of the Heavens and the Earth, was known among our people as an Ariki Ahorei Kaipupuri, a Tohunga of the highest order of learning. Another term for his status was Tohunga Tūāhuroa, the highest grade of expert in traditional lore. The title, Tohunga Tūāhuroa denotes He Who Uses The World As His

⁴ Hakopa, Spatial Information Technologies and the Geography of Narratives, p. 4.

⁵ Grace, Tūwharetoa: The history of the Māori people of the Taupō District, p. 36.

⁶ Crown Forestry Rental Trust, *Te Taumarumarutanga O Ngāti Tūwha-retoa*, p. 18.

Altar, or He Of The Endless Altar.⁷ He was the first born of the first born and thus was the keeper of esoteric knowledge that was handed down from father to son. His father was *Rakauri*, a first born male, whose father was *Atuamatua* (*Tuamatua*), another first born male of an ancient bloodline of High Priests. It was because of his knowledge and status that he was sought after as a passenger on two of the migration *waka*: *Tainui* and *Te Arawa*.

Both he and his wife were subtly "kidnapped" by his close kin, *Tama-te-kapua*, who was the captain of the *Arawa* canoe, to perform the rituals (karakia) to release the canoe from its mooring to begin the journey to *Aotearoa*. In the midst of the recitation of the departing *karakia*, *Tama-te-kapua* uplifted the anchors and let the canoe drift ever so quietly out to the open sea thus denying *Tainui* their right to the High Priest. This act ensured that the *Arawa* had on board an important *tohunga* who knew the ancient *Ara Moana* (pathways of the ocean), and who held great *mana* among his peers. Grace puts it this way:⁸

He understood the language of the stars, the children of the lord of light, Tane nui a Rangi: he conversed with the moon, Hineauri; and he kept the prow of the Te Arawa pointed in a direction that was a little to the left of the setting sun.

Ka ū ki Matanuku

The Arawa first landed at a place called Whangaparaoa and after a brief rest headed in a northerly direction stopping at a small Island off Moehau, which they called Te Pito o te Kupenga a Taramainuku (The extremities of the net of Taramainuku). It was there that Ngātoroirangi deposited the first of the Ara stones that he had brought with him. The purpose was to keep at bay any unknown evil spirits of the new land from the people of their canoe. From here they headed in a southerly direction making landfall at Maketū.

⁷ Ngāti Tūwharetoa WAI 575; Briefs of Evidence, p. 5.

⁸ Grace, Tūwharetoa: The History of the Māori people of the Taupō District, p. 41.

⁹ Davis, He Körero Pūrākau Mö Ngā Taunahanahatanga ā Ngā Tūpuna, p. 35.

Three of the Ara stones were deposited at Whakatāne, Whangarā and Kawhia; the fourth was on Tongariro.

When the Arawa canoe landed at Maketū, Ngātoroirangi erected a tūāhu known as Koaretaia and then offered up a special karakia known as an Uruuru Whenua.¹⁰

Ka ū ki MatanukuI arrive where unknown earth is under myKa ū ki Matarangifeet.Ka ū ki tēnei whenuaI arrive where a new sky is above me;Hei whenuaI arrive at this land, a resting-place for me,Māu e kai te manawa oO Spirit of the Earth! The stranger humblytauhouoffers his heart as food for thee!

The *tūāhu* was the physical symbol of occupation and connection to that part of the land; the *karakia* was the spiritual invocation to the guardians of that land expressing their (*Ngātoroirangi*) presence in the new land. Furthermore, the recitation of this *karakia* served to placate the spirits and guardians of the earth, of this new land, to receive the hearts of the strangers who had just arrived on their shores. Furthermore, he was establishing his right and his descendants' rights to be there. This act established a pattern of behavior and observance of how we can connect with the earth and how the earth recognises who we are and receives us into her domain; thus giving rise to the expression: *ko tātou te whenua, ko te whenua ko tātou*. We are the land, and the land is us.

My cultural lens, shaped by my worldview discussed in the preceding sections, tells me that he followed the course of rivers for sustenance and moved from Mountain to Mountain: first, to get the lay of the land and to set his course forward; second, to communicate his presence to the guardians of the land; third, to bespeak the lands for his descendants. Furthermore, he cemented his claims by naming places. In other words, he was leaving footprints for his descendants and declaring his presence and occupation to the lands and to other *tohunga*.

¹⁰ Grace, Tūwharetoa: The History of the Māori people of the Taupō District, p. 48.

These footprints are in the form of a collection of names depicting his exploration and search for land; they are also expressed in the form of *tūāhu* where, again, *karakia* were recited. Each name is packed with a story which, when they are all linked together, form what has been called, by Sir Tipene O'Regan, Oral Maps.¹¹

WAEWAE TAPU: THE BEGINNING OF ORAL MAPPING

There are several names in and around the landing site of the Arawa that tell part of the story. *Taumatatungoungou* and *TeAkeake a Ngātoroirangi* are two places that *Ngātoroirangi* occupied. *Te Awa o Ngātoroirangi* is so named as the place where the bow of the Arawa canoe came to shore, while *Te Awakari a Ngātoroirangi* is given to represent a new channel for the river that he and his kinfolk dug. Other accounts give the landing place of the Arawa as *Te Awahou*, near *Te Tumu*.¹²

From *Maketū*, *Ngātoroirangi* headed in a southerly direction along the coast until he reached what is now known as the *Tarawera River*. It was once known as *Te Awa o te Atua* (The River of the God) in reference to the great influence and priestly knowledge that *Ngātoroirangi* wielded. He then followed the river inland across unfamiliar territory towards the centre of the Island, to a place known as *Ruawāhia* near *Tarawera* Mountain. From here he headed in a southerly direction to the *Paeroa* range across the *Kaingaroa* plains arriving at *Tauhara* Mountain nestled to the east of Lake Taupō. He proceeded to climb *Tauhara* where he erected a *tūāhu* known as *Te Pou o Ngātoroirangi* at the top and established *Te Ikatere* as *kaitiaki* or guardian over the surrounding land. Here, on the summit, he also claimed the land for his descendants. On the northern shores of Lake Taupō (possibly at *Tapuaeharuru*) he erect-

¹¹ Davis, He Körero Pūrākau Mō Ngā Taunahanahatanga ā Ngā Tūpuna, p. xiii.

 $^{^{12}}$ Davis, He Kōrero Pūrākau Mō Ngā Taunahanahatanga ā Ngā Tūpuna, p. 35.

ed another *tūāhu* known as *Te Tūāhu a Ngātoroirangi*. ¹³ He offered *karaķia* at both *tūāhu*.

From Tapuaeharuru, he travelled south along the eastern shores of Taupō-nui-a-Tia, to Wharewaka, Te Māngungu, Rotongaio, Te Hātepe, Hāmāria and Motutere, before passing Pihanga on his way to Tongariro. All these places have a story. At Wharewaka is a tree in the water representing Kuwha the spear he threw from the summit of Tauhara to leave his mark on the whenua. 14 Te Māngungu is a very large rock in Waitahanui where he stopped to rest. 15 At Rotongaio, Ngātoroirangi erected another tūāhu called Hawaiki and another at Te Hatepe which he called Ihuporo. At Hāmāria he encountered his kin Tia who had placed a Pou (staff) in the ground and attached his cloak and gave it the name Taupō-nui-a-Tia. At Motutere, Ngātoroirangi spotted a range of mountains in the south and decided to head for those mountains.

THE SACRED MOUNTAINS OF TONGARIRO

The journey from *Motutere* into the shadow of the *Tongariro* began at *Haututanga o Ngātoroirangi*. It was here that he lost sight of the mountains because of low cloud and *karakia* of other *tohunga* in the region. So he tilted his head up towards the heavens and sniffed the air thus sensing the direction he needed to head. He arrived at *Ohuanga* on the slopes of *Pihanga*. *Ohuanga* refers to the abundance of food in the region. Here he placed his staff in the ground and called upon one of his gods, *Rongomai*, to come. The place became known as *Te Pou o Rongomai* or *Pou o Rongo* meaning The Staff of *Rongomai*, To *Pihanga*, Te *Karika o Ngātoroirangi*, Te *Poutūtanga o*

¹³ Grace, Tūwharetoa: The History of the Māori people of the Taupō District, p. 61.

¹⁴ Grace, Tūwharetoa: The History of the Māori people of the Taupō District, p. 61.

¹⁵ Personal comments from Kaumatua of Tuwharetoa.

¹⁶ Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Te Taumarumarutanga O Ngāti Tūwha-retoa, p. 19.

¹⁷ Crown Forestry Rental Trust, *Te Taumarumarutanga O Ngāti Tūwha-retoa*, p. 21.

Ngātoroirangi, Te Ara o Tawhaki and Te Moana o Rotoaira are all places leading up to his ascent of Tongariro. 18

It was at *Te Ara o Tamhaki* on the southern slopes of Pihanga that he sought out the ancestors known as the *Patupaiarehe Urukehu*. These were the ancient guardians of the surrounding area who knew the pathway to the summit of *Tongariro*. Once he received counsel he headed across *Rotoaira* to begin his ascent. *Rotoaira* is a lake nestled between *Pihanga* and *Tongariro*; the full name *Te Moana o Rotoaira* was gifted by *Ranginui* (Sky Father) to the sacred mountain *Tongariro*. ¹⁹

On his ascent he was challenged by other *tohunga* including Hape ki Tuarangi, Tamatea pokaiwhenua and Kauika. He managed to delay their attempts to climb the mountains with a Ruruku (type of karakia). The land responded to his karakia in the following manner: the heavens darkened turning the day into night, and the sleet, snow and bitter cold descended threatening to engulf Ngātoroirangi. This event is immortalized with the naming of three places in the area: Rangipō (to turn the Day Dark), Onetapu (Sacred Earth – meaning the place where this incident occurred and became sacred) and Tongariro (to be seized by the cold). 21

TE AHI TAMOU

Despite the biting cold *Ngātoroirangi* continued to climb the mountain to breach the summit. He sought temporary shelter at *Pare Te Tai Tonga* (Protection from the Cold South Wind) before continuing on to the summit. He encountered the guardian *Patupaiarehe* again challenging him to reach the peak. Despite the intense cold he forged ahead finally breaching the summit. Once there, the sa-

¹⁸ Crown Forestry Rental Trust, *Te Taumarumarutanga O Ngāti Tūwha- retoa*, pp. 21–23.

 $^{^{19}}$ Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Te Taumarumarutanga O Ngāti Tūwharetoa, p. 22.

 $^{^{20}}$ Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Te Taumarumarutanga O Ngāti Tūwharetoa, p. 22.

²¹ Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Te Taumarumarutanga O Ngāti Tūwharetoa, p. 22 & Grace, Tūwharetoa: The History of the Māori people of the Taupō District, p. 61.

cred mountains acknowledged his ascent; but he was weakened by the effort. He petitioned his sisters *Kuiwai* and *Haungaroa* to send the *Ahi Tipua* (sacred fire) from the ancient homelands of Hawaiki to warm his failing body.

Kuiwai e! Haungaroa e! Ka riro au i te tonga, tukuna mai te ahi!

O Kuiwai! O Haungaroa! I am seized by the cold wind from the south. Send me fire!²²

This plea gave rise to the name of the mountain *Tongariro*, to be seized (*Riro*) by the cold southerly wind (*Tonga*).

Then he uttered this karakia:23

E Para e para
E titoko o te ao mārama
Tukua au ki ngaa
taawhangawhanga nui
No Rangi, no Papa hei aio
Tu ake te makariri
Haeremai te wera wera
E Hika ra taku ahi ki a Kautetetu
E Hika ra taku ahi ki a Te Pupu
E Hika rā taku ahi ki a Te Hoata
Ki a Te Moremore O te Rangi eee

O Para! Support post of the world of light
Let me come forth to the presence of Rangi, the (Sky Father), and Papa, the (Earth Mother)
In safety!
The cold is upon me, bring forth the fire
Kindle my fire, the fire of Kautetetu
Kindle my fire, the fire of Te
Hoata

Hoata Kindle my fire, the fire of Te Pupū The fire of Te Moremore o te Rangi

It is in this part of the story that *Ngātoroirangi's* presence is widely felt within the region and acknowledged around the country; the legacy of the *Ahi Tamou* (geothermal fires) is permanently etched into the landscape connecting us back to the ancient homelands of

²² Grace, Tūwharetoa: The History of the Māori people of the Taupō District, pp. 63–64.

²³ Crown Forestry Rental Trust, *Te Taumarumarutanga O Ngāti Tūwha- retoa*, p. 116.

Hawaiki Pāmamao right through the corridor of land held intact by the anchors of the Arawa Waka and up to Tongariro.

On hearing their brother's plea, *Kuiwai* and *Haungaroa* (*Kui* and *Hau* above) appealed to *Hine-Tapeka*, the guardian of the *Ahi Tipua*, who resided in *Hawaiiki Pāmamao*, for the sacred fire to send to their brother. *Hine-Tapeka* consented giving the *Ahi Tipua* to *Te Hoata* and *Te Pupū* in three *kete* (containers).

Te Hoata and Te Pupū left Hawaiki and came burrowing under Te Moana nui a Kiwa towards Aotearoa, surfacing at Whakaari where they came up for a breath thus leaving behind an active volcano. They burrowed underground and headed inland towards Tongariro. Wherever they surfaced to get their bearings, today you can see, smell and feel the mark of the Ahi Tipua in the form of Ngāwhā (boiling springs), Puia (hot geysers) and Waiariki (hot thermal pools for bathing). When they finally surfaced at Tongariro they only had one Kete of the AhiTipua with them as they had deposited two along their journey. Ngātoroirangi exclaimed, "Kotahi anō te kete" — "there is only one kit"; 24 Ketetahi, meaning one kit, is the name given to the healing pool of geothermal water on the northern slopes of Tongariro where Ngātoroirangi revived himself.

There are many places within the Arawa region that felt the presence of the Ahi Tipua as it burrowed towards Tongariro including: Whakaari, Moutohora, Awakeri, Pukaahu, Onepu, Rotoitepaku, Okākaru, Rotoehu, Putauaki, Rotoma, Tikorangi, Waitangi, Ngarongoiri, Rotoehu, Matawhaura, Manapirua, the environs of Te Rotorua o Kahunatamomoe, Tikitere, Maraeroa, Te Rei, Tokorua ana Tuahine, Whakapoungakau, Mourea Paehinahina, Te Waihunuhunu, Maraeroa, Ohinemutu, Papaiouru, Whakarewarewa o Ngā Ope Taua o Tuhourangi, Te Pohutu, Tarawera, Te Waiotapu o Ngātoroirangi, Te Korokoro o Te Purewa, Rahurahu, Te Waiwhakaatua, Papakohatu, Orakeikorako, Te Ohaaki o Ngātoroirangi, Te Pua o Parariki, Rotokawa, Wairakei, Te Karapiti, Ngā Mahanga, Pirorerore, matarakutia, Wairakei te Kiri o Hinekai, Waipahihi o Tia, Onekeneke, Waitetoko, Te Puna Whakaata, Toretiti, Huru Kareao, Te Puia Nui, Te Korokoro o Poinga, Teretere, Atakokore, Te Korokoro, Porori, Te Tuki, Paraki Tuarua, Whakatara, Hipana, Tihia, Rotokuri,

²⁴ Crown Forestry Rental Trust, *Te Taumarumarutanga O Ngāti Tūwha- retoa*, p. 25.

and up to *Ketetahi* on the northern slopes of *Tongariro*, *Ngā Puna o Tamatea*, *Ngauruhoe*, and *Ruapehu*.²⁵

NGĀ WAITAPU O NGĀTOROIRANGI (THE SACRED WATERS OF NGĀTOROIRANGI)

Ngātoroirangi took great care in naming the waterways around the mountain; all of them without exception tell a story, for example: the chanting of karakia (Ohapane, Whangaehu, Te Unuunukapua Te Ariki) ritual was performed (Rahuituki); whakapapa was recited (Whakapapanui and Whakapapaiti, and Whakapapa); occupation rights were acknowledged or challenged (Omarae, Mangaehuehu, Makotuku, Manaturuturu, Mangateitei), representing a description of what he saw (Waihohonu, Te Pakiraki, Mangahouhounui, Puketerata, Waitakotorua, Mangahouhouiti, Mangatawai, Manatipua, One poto, Waimarino); or to describe an event that took place(Te Piripiri, Oturere, Paetutu). 26 All these waterways are known as Ngā Waitapu o Ngātoroirangi, The Sacred Waters of Ngātoroirangi.

The real legacy of these waterways is described in the *Tūwharetoa* tribal lore revealing the interconnectedness of the tribe to *Ranginui* (Sky Father) and *Papatūānuku* (Earth Mother) and their offspring; in this instance the waterways. To understand this part of the Tribal lore we need to look back at the stories associated with *Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga* who is credited with describing *Aotearoa* as a Fish known as *Te-Ika-a-Māui*. At the centre of the Fish is the Lake *Taupō-nui-a-Tia* and *Tongariro*. Tribal lore tells us that the lands surrounding the Lake and Mountains are known as *Te-Puku o Te-Ika*, the belly of the Fish; the Lake itself is *Te Manawa o te-Ika a Māui* or the Heart of the Fish, the Mountain Range consisting of the peaks of *Tongariro*, *Ngāuruhoe* and *Ruapehu* is *Te-Pito o Te-Ika a Māui*, or Umbilical Cord of the Fish. Further, *Te Manawa* is called by our

²⁵ Crown Forestry Rental Trust, *Te Taumarumarutanga O Ngāti Tūwha-retoa*, pp. 28–29.

²⁶ Crown Forestry Rental Trust, *Te Taumarumarutanga O Ngāti Tūwha-retoa*, pp. 32–36.

tribe *Te Kopua Kanapanapa o Taupō-nui-a-Tia* (The sparkling pool of water known as Taupō-nui-a-Tia).²⁷

The rain that falls upon *Te Pito o Te Ika* flows from *Ranginui* and feeds the rivers and streams; they make up the arteries of the Fish. There are two major arteries that flow from *Te Pito*: one known as the *Whanganui* and the other is known as the *Waikato*; both rivers play a major part in sustaining the Fish. The *Whanganui* river flows in a westerly direction before dropping south flowing out at *Whanganui*, while the *Waikato* flows east from *Te Pito* eventually turning north to flow into *Te Manawa o te Ika*. The *Waikato* exits at *Te Hikuwai o Te Manawa o Te Ika a Māui*, a northern part of the Lake, and flows north through the Fish to its exit into the Tasman Sea.²⁸

With respect to our ancestral landscapes and within our worldview, the rivers, streams and creeks are all connected by *Whakapapa* or genealogy. These waters represent the arteries, veins and capillaries that convey blood and thus sustenance to the Fish of Māui. Each waterway has a specific function; each has its own *Mauri* or Life-Force. The *Mauri* is what keeps the water alive. All these waterways provided sustenance for the Fish (the land), the living creatures that inhabited the region, and the Tribe.

The wealth of names draped across the landscape under the shadow of *Tongariro* is a testament to the observant nature of the ancestors and their ability to listen to the voice(s) of the land. The place names and stories underpinning the names are some of the methods they used to store, retrieve and communicate this information; it was also how they created oral maps of their territories. The naming of place, and by extension the land, is a form of *whakapapa*, or genealogy, where we as humans establish our connections with the (heavens and) land. The names by themselves only tell part of the story and in some cases may not even make sense until they are put into context (who was involved, where it occurred and what events transpired) and connected to other names

²⁷ Crown Forestry Rental Trust, *Te Taumarumarutanga O Ngāti Tūwha-retoa*, p. 48.

²⁸ Crown Forestry Rental Trust, *Te Taumarumarutanga O Ngāti Tūwha-retoa*, p. 48.

which form part of that series of stories. If we want to understand the land in the same manner as the ancestors then we must stand in those same places; sniff the air, feel the surroundings, visualize and listen to the voices of the land and its environs with your *wairna* (spirit), get a sense of what occurred there and match the story up to the name(s). This is how we develop the ability to listen to the voice of the land. For example, if I think about *Tongariro*: every name, event and deed associated with *Ngātoroirangi* is connected with *Tongariro* and the spiritual nature of our (*Tūwharetoa* tribe's) connection to the mountain and to the spirit of the land. The legacy of *Ngātoroirangi's* footprints is still felt some 28 generations later.

This is an important point. Cultural heritage is not defined by our worldview, rather we understand cultural heritage based on (or despite) our worldview; and in the case described above, it is the worldview described by the practices of our ancestors. Thus, if we (today) are able to recite the names left by Ngātoroirangi we will be able to demonstrate the knowledge retained of the boundaries of his occupation, the environmental knowledge he had gathered of the area and the intimate connection he had established with the land and with its guardian spirits. Our heritage is to grasp the heavens, as his name (Ngātoroirangi) suggests, and remember those names and, more importantly, everything about them. In other words, what did their meaning convey to him? And more importantly for me today: what does it now convey to me? How do I connect with the land?

THE RECLAMATION BY THE SONS OF TŪWHARETOA

While Ngātoroirangi named many places and became intimate with the land and its guardian spirits, he did not remain in the area. He met his close relative Tamatea-pokaiwhenua at Te Poutūtanga o Ngātoroirangi who urged him to return to the coast. Ngātoroirangi had delayed Tamatea-pokaiwhenua for eight nights at a place called Pōwaru, meaning 8 nights, near Te Moana o Rotoaira while he continued to name the waterways and the sites surrounding the mountain. Eventually, Ngātoroirangi found his way back to Te Awa o te Atua and then headed north towards Tauranga where he settled on Motūtō

Island. There he set up his $p\bar{a}$ (fortification), *Matarehua*, his dwelling, *Taumaihiorongo*, and built his *waka*, *Totarakaria*, never again to set foot in $Taup\bar{o}$.²⁹

Nine generations later, the sons of *Tūwharetoa* marched on *Taupō* to reclaim the legacy of *Ngātoroirangi*. Our tribal history tells us that *Tūwharetoa* (the man) sensed there would come a time when he would need to reclaim the heritage left to him by *Ngātoroirangi*. However, it was his sons, grandsons and others, in particular *Rakeipoho*, *Rereao*, and later *Turangitukua*, who led the reclamation of the *Taupō* lands, the legacy of *Ngātoroirangi*.

While the reclamation of the lands dedicated by Ngātoroirangi in and around the Lake and Mountain required force of conquest in a number of battles, another important ritual took place; the retracing of the footprints of Ngātoroirangi's original journey and the rededication of the original tūāhu established by him. 30 This task was completed by Rakeipoho and Taringa. Again, in the tradition established by their ancestor, the naming of events and places in commemoration of those events that took place during all the campaigns to reclaim Taupō added to the legacy left by Ngātoroirangi.

The following names are attributed to the campaign led by Rakeipoho and form part of Tūwharetoa Tribal Lore: Te Umukuri a Rakeipoho, Tupatomatua, Okaturere, Matapupuni, Te Puna o Rotokuri, Mangamutu, Ngongoro, Otara, Oraukura, Mangaparuparu, Te Arakaipatangata a Rakeipoho, Te Ruahoata, Te Umu Taonui a Rakeipoho, Te Pukekaikiore o Rakeipoho, and Te Hokowhitu a Tū o Rakeipoho. All these names are distinguished by what occurred at these places and who was involved: retribution for insulting curses, battle sites, the heaping up of the dead, the cooking of dogs, battle cleansing rites, killing rites, the depiction of courage in battle, feasting on flesh, and the construction of tūāhu.³¹

²⁹ Crown Forestry Rental Trust, *Te Taumarumarutanga O Ngāti Tūwha- retoa*, pp. 39–40.

 $^{^{30}}$ Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Te Taumarumarutanga O Ngāti Tūwharetoa, p. 61.

³¹ Crown Forestry Rental Trust, *Te Taumarumarutanga O Ngāti Tūwha-retoa*, pp. 61–63.