

Conflict, Environment, and Social Complexity

Mark W. Allen  
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# Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand

Six Centuries of Power and Place

 Springer

# **Conflict, Environment, and Social Complexity**

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# Preface: Tohi (Dedication Rite)

## Takitimu Tohi Rite

Ka tohia atu koe,  
Ki te tohi nuku, ki te tohi rangi.  
Kia hoaia koe ki te putiki whara,  
Kia tiaia koe ki te manu rere rangi.  
Te rau o titapa kia pai ai koe,  
Te haere i runga ra.  
I rangahaua koe i te po-uriuri,  
I te po-tangotango.  
I rakaitia koe ki te piki kotuku,  
Te rau o te toroa, te huia titama.  
Whakina e tama nga kupu o te riri,  
Nga kupu o tawhiti hemea ka mau mai.  
Ka kapiti runga e, ka kapiti raro e,  
He pokanga nuku, he pokanga rangi.  
Pou hihiko, pou rarama,  
Tiaho i roto, marama i roto.  
Tena te pou, te poutokomanawa,  
Te pou o enei korero.  
Hui te marama, hui te ora e-e.

Thou wilt be anointed (tohi)  
by the blessing of earth and heavens.  
Thou wilt be decorated with top-knot,  
and be dressed as the flying bird.  
The leaf of titapa (tree) to enable thee,  
to march forward above.  
Thou wast acclaimed from the depth of darkness,  
and in the changeable nights.  
Thou has been beautified with kotuku's feather,  
and the feathers of toroa and huia.  
Display my son the action of war,  
And those far-reaching words you have learned.  
Heaven will be closed and earth be united,  
and will be at thy command.

Be ambitious and clear-minded,  
 be shining within thee and brightness upon.  
 Those the pillar, the main post of wisdom,  
 the post of protector of these saying.  
 Assembled brightness, and settled life.

For the benefit of our Pākehā (European, non-Māori) readers who have no knowledge of the custom of tohi we may here explain its purpose and the effect thereof. There were two kinds of tohi recited and performed by the Māori. Firstly, the tohi whakawahi or baptism or dedication. A form of this tohi has been used in the dedication of this book on the preceding page. The general purposes were: (1) to instill into the student insight and wisdom; (2) to fortify the student against the effect of black magic or evils brought about through trespassing on sacred places; and (3) to implant courage to face and overcome any danger brought about by man's power. Secondly, the tohi riri or tutu-ngarehu (war dance). This was performed to inspire enthusiasm and bravery and to create savagery. For these hakas there were no fixed incantations. Each party would call on its own special war god, composing their rites according to their idea of the desire of their god. The rite was performed only by the leader or priest, as the medium of the god, as is related in this book.

E mihi ana ki ngā Atua, nō rātau te mana o te whenua. Ki ngā maunga whakahī, ki ngā wai tapu, ka mutu ki tēnei tūrangawaewae o tātau. Kei te mihi atu ki te mana tangata, ki ngā tīpuna o tēnei rohe, me ngā uri whakaheke o te iwi. Tēnei te mihi mātau ki a mātau tīpuna, i ō tautoko mai i tā mātau haerenga. Mei kore ake koutou hei tohutohu i a māua. Kāore e āriarika ngā mihi ki a koutou. Nō reira, mihi atu ki te tangata, mihi at ki te ao. Mā reira e ora ake ai tēnei tikanga mō ake tonu atu. Tēnā koutou, otirā tēnā tātau.

We pay tribute to the Atua; from them comes the mana of the whenua. We acknowledge the prominent mountains, our sacred waters, and this place we call home. We acknowledge the status of the people, the ancestors of this region, and the descendants of these people of the land. Thank you to our ancestors who support us on our journey. We are fortunate to have you guide us. Our thanks to you all know no bounds. So, acknowledge each other; show gratitude to the world. By doing that, our natural practices will endure. Greeting, thank you all.

Ko Te maunga tihi Tapu o Kahuranaki  
 From the lofty peaks of Kahuranaki mountain

O Te Matau a Māui Tikitiki a Aranga e hii ai te whenua nui nei  
 Fished up by the magic hook of Māui

Ka titiro whakararo ki Tukituki, ki Ngaruroro, ki Tutaekuri  
 Gazing down on the glistening rivers that slice the plains

Ka rere nga roimata aroha o Ranginui kia Papatuanuku mai nga maunga ki te moana  
 Bearing the tears of the Sky to the Earth from the mountains to the ocean's horizons

Te mania o Heretaunga haukunui ararau haaro te kahu takoto noa.  
 Creating the fertile lands of Heretaunga of life-giving dews, arcadian pathways, the beauty  
 of which is overseen by the soaring hawk, inviting innovation, creativity with diversity.

Ko Tamatea Arikini Te tangata o Te waka Tapu Ko Takitimu  
 Tu ake I Te whareni o Waipatu  
 Tamatea the commander of the sacred waka Takitimu standing sentinel over Waipatu marae.

Ko Ngāti Kahungunu Te Iwi  
 Tihei Mauriora ki te whaiao  
 Ki Te Aomarama!  
 Kahungunu is the tribe  
 Bringing life and enlightenment to generations ahead!  
 Ko Ngahiwi Tomoana ahau.

E karanga nei a maunga Mangatiki,  
 He toka āhuru  
 Ka māroki te awa Manawarākau  
 Ko ngā waikaukau o ngā tīpuna  
 Ko Kairākau rāua ko Mangakuri ōku moana  
 He tai ūkaipo  
 Ko Kurahaupō tōku waka  
 He waka rangatira  
 Ko Hinemahanga te māreikura i aua rā  
 Ko Stella August ahau.

E tū ake nei a maunga Kahurānaki  
 He maunga kōrero  
 E rere nei ngā mihi o tōku awa, o Tukituki  
 He wai ora  
 E hoe nei i tōku waka, ko Takitimu  
 He waka tīpua, he waka Atua  
 Ko Ngāi te Oatua, Ngāi Tamatera, Ngāti Hikatoa, rātau ko Ngāti Kurukuru ōku hapū  
 Ngā uri o Te Ikaraeroa  
 He tuke mata ahau o Kahungunu  
 Tihei Kahungunu!  
 Ko Wikitoria Moore ahau.

Ko Whitney te Maunga e rū nei taku ngākau  
 Ko Missississippi te awa a mahea nei aku māharahara  
 Nō Southern Illinois  
 E mihi ana ki ngā tohu o nehe, o Heretaunga  
 Nō reirā, tēna koutou katoa  
 Ko Mark Allen ahau.

Pomona, CA  
 Hastings, New Zealand  
 Otago, New Zealand  
 Otago, New Zealand

Mark W. Allen  
 Ngahiwi Tomoana  
 Stella August  
 Wikitoria Moore

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# Chapter 1

## Whāinga (Objectives)



**Abstract** This collaboration is a Kaupapa Māori (utilizing Māori values and perspectives to obtain Māori goals) archaeological approach to Māori history in the Heretaunga area of the Hawke's Bay region of New Zealand's North Island. Our focus is on Māori leaders over the course of six centuries and places of power which embody the mana (power, spirituality) of the tangata whenua (the people of the land). It serves as a model of moving beyond indigenous archaeology towards a full research partnership that gives primacy to Māori perspectives and concerns. We also aim to make contributions to the anthropological study of social complexity and warfare. The accounts of leaders, places, and conflicts that we present are simply not obtainable in most research areas. We also examine the role of female leaders, a most understudied topic. Both issues are reviewed as is the potential of our approach to provide fresh insights and interpretations. As is appropriate in Māoritanga (Māori culture) and tikanga (custom, value, protocol) the four co-authors introduce ourselves in order to establish our identities and credentials and to pay respect to the people, places, and events discussed in the book.

**Keywords** Indigenous Archaeology · Kaupapa Māori Archaeology · Chiefdoms · Warfare and sociopolitical organization · Introductions

## Background

The first author conducted archaeological research on Māori pā (fortifications) in Hawke's Bay on the east coast of the North Island in 1989 and 1990 with staunch support from the tribal government of the iwi (tribe) Ngāti Kahungunu (Allen 1991). This took the form of a Māori Access Program to support Allen's (1994) dissertation research on the roles of warfare and economic power in the formation of Māori chiefdoms. The partnership included funding for fieldwork and radiocarbon dating as well as stipends for tribal members to participate in the fieldwork and research on traditional history. Allen has maintained the relationship with the iwi by

regular visits to Hawke’s Bay for over thirty years, conducting a study abroad program for his university embedded with a local Māori community, and especially by sharing publications and other information with members of the iwi while he continued to be tutored by kaumatua (elders) on iwi history and Māori tikanga (culture, protocol). Allen’s research has thus far yielded a detailed etic examination of the economic resources of the region (M. Allen 1996), an emic analysis of Māori perspectives on economic resources (Allen 2016), a military science approach to Māori fortifications (Allen 2008), a multidisciplinary assessment of the psychology of fortifications (Liu and Allen 1999), and a theoretical model for the development of Māori warfare from traditional Polynesian roots to the origin of fortifications (pā), to adaptations to firearms after contact brought thousands of European muskets to Aotearoa and eventually British colonization (Allen 2006).

This book will build on the previously published research in Hawke’s Bay through analyses of whakapapa (genealogy, Māori history) and details of key archaeological and historical places of power and the ariki (chiefs, leaders) that are associated with them. To fully capture the Māori perspective, Ngahiwi Tomoana, Stella August and Wikitoria Moore are co-authors. Tomoana served as Chair of Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated for 26 years. He has unsurpassed knowledge of the whenua (land), whakapapa, tikanga, and tangata whenua (people of the land) of Heretaunga and the surrounding regions. August and Moore are wahine (women), tangata whenua, and trained archaeologists. Together we provide a diverse set of complementary perspectives. We follow Moore’s (2023) and August’s (2024) new approaches to applying elements of Kaupapa Māori research to the archaeology and history of Heretaunga.

## **Beyond Indigenous Archaeology: A Kaupapa Māori Archaeology Approach**

The authors seek to reframe the archaeology and traditional history of the region through a deep commitment to Māori perspective, values, and goals. This collaboration turns the standard approach that archaeology usually takes when combining traditional history and archaeological evidence upside down. While it is usual for archaeologists to place primacy on the material evidence from archaeology and then see traditional information as supporting (and often ignoring it if it is not in agreement), we do the opposite. Unfortunately, this approach is rare in Aotearoa/New Zealand and there are still few Māori archaeologists (O’Regan 2010; Rika-Heke 2010a, b). It is hoped that this book will inspire and serve as a model for similar collaborations incorporating indigenous perspectives, values, and goals in Aotearoa and elsewhere.

Indigenous Archaeology developed as a concept twenty-five years ago out of recognition that it was time for archaeology “done with, for, and by Indigenous people” (Nicholas and Andrews 1997: 3), but as noted by Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. (2010) Native Americans and other indigenous peoples have been involved in

“mainstream” museum work and archaeology as well as establishing their own heritage programs far longer that. The same is true in New Zealand. A series of publications from the past two decades have explored the concept at length (Atalay 2006; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Nicholas 2010a, b; Smith and Martin Wobst 2005; Watkins 2000), including one edited volume by two New Zealand archaeologists (Phillips and Allen 2010). This has had a substantial impact on archaeology world-wide including more emphasis on archaeological ethics and responsibilities to indigenous communities, vastly increased communication and consultation, research that focuses on or at least includes indigenous concerns and values, and significantly greater indigenous participation in archaeological research.

Not all archaeologists are supportive of Indigenous Archaeology. McGhee (2008: 595) opines that “‘Indigenous Archaeology’ should be considered a branch of ‘Aboriginal Studies’, rather than as a component of the academic discipline of archaeology” and inferring rights to archaeological material for scholarship is more important than the rights of indigenous people “who claim ethnically based special rights... or special historical knowledge and abilities that are not available to those who practice science in the Western tradition” (McGhee 2008: 595). La Salle (2010) queries the validity of collaborative research suggesting it is just a convenient way of disguising the same old archaeology with a fancy new “buzzword.” George Nicholas (2010b: 233), one of the key founders of Indigenous Archaeology, has warned that the approach has largely remained on the “margins” and that “rather than working to develop Indigenous approaches to archaeology separate from others, we should be trying to incorporate them within the discipline ... failing to do so will limit significantly or marginalize the potential contributions of archaeology as a more representative and responsible discipline, and constrain its continued intellectual growth.” We agree with this assessment, and hope that this book will help address this problem in the archaeology of Polynesia as well as the theoretical study of social complexity and its relationship with conflict.

Until recently, New Zealand archaeology had a poor record of involving Māori people and perspectives (Rika-Heke 2010a, b), with some limited advances (Allen 2010; Phillips 2010; Pishief 1997). This can be partially explained by the avoidance of Māori history and oral tradition for decades (see discussion in Chap. 3). Allen’s (1991) partnership with Ngāti Kahungunu is a rare example of collaboration during the late twentieth century, but it is not mentioned in the most detailed synthesis (Phillips 2010) to date of the relationship between archaeologists and Māori people. Māori archaeologist Makere Rika-Heke (Tainui, Nga Puhī and Parininihi Ki Waitotara) states “it is widely acknowledged that Māori have deep misgivings and misapprehensions surrounding archaeology and the science behind it ... the memory of hurtful interpretations, used as a tool of denigration, still lingers and smarts” (2010a: 204). Davidson (1990: 16) notes that many Māori have been frightened or offended by archaeology because of its disregard of tapu and a common cavalier attitude among some practitioners or students towards kōiwi tangata (human bone). Another problem that she points to is a common disconnect between the goals of archaeology and Māori perspectives, “traditions by their nature deal with individuals and the important events and ancestors in the history of a tribe” while