

: WAIPOUA/TA-ADIT-DOC

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WAIPOUA ARCHAEOLOGICAL
SITES AND
TE ROROA HISTORY

TE ROROA CLAIM WAI-38

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1. INTRODUCTION

On 18 October 1989 the Tribunal asked me to comment about the relationship between archaeological discoveries at Waipoua and Te Roroa traditions and history. I made comment orally about the relationship but did not discuss it in any detail within my written evidence (see Lawlor Oct 1989:41-45; refer Wai-38 Doc.#C8). The following statement details in written form those matters discussed orally before the Tribunal.

I would ask the Tribunal to treat the information that is contained within this statement as confidential. The permission of Te Roroa must be obtained before it is copied or distributed.

2. A WORD OF CAUTION

Before proceeding with this discussion I would like to emphasise that the nature of archaeological evidence limits the statements that can be made about the groups being studied, their occupations and their technology. As Fung and Allen have stated:

"Finds generally preclude identification with individuals, particular groups, tribes or specific events allowing...(archaeologists) to comment on the more general aspects of cultural development of entire areas and the way people lived in them." (1984:213; also refer to Green 1977:7)

Drawing comparisons between the archaeological record and traditions is fraught with difficulties. (1) On the one hand archaeologists relate to isolated points in a landscape which have particular physical characteristics, and on the other, tangata whenua view a continuous interconnected landscape with both physical and spiritual dimensions. There are two sets of values and different world views which are being examined and it is difficult to measure one against the other.

Archaeologists work with the material objects left in the ground, the structures and features, midden, artefacts and koiwi, and tangata whenua work with their ancestors, whakapapa, and associated traditions and histories, which tie them to the land and particular places of significance. This relationship between history, traditional knowledge and archaeological evidence, has been emphasised in a study of archaeological sites recorded on the Kaiua coast (Firth of Thames):

1. See Sullivan 1979 for a review of 'theories about the first settlement and occupation of New Zealand' including traditions and archaeology.

"The archaeologist can not hope to uncover all the ideational relationships that exist in a tribes history but the importance of these relationships in defining the bond between a tribe and the tribal land should not be ignored in favour of a purely materialistic interpretation of prehistory.

In this study it has been shown that interpretations of an archaeological landscape based upon settlement pattern analysis complement but can never replace an interpretation based upon the knowledge of the people that lived there. With this in mind it is hoped that future studies will accept that concepts such as whakapapa play an enormous role in defining choices and options in prehistory, and that evidence of these concepts should be looked for in the archaeological evidence if we are to come to understand the prehistoric Maori in similar terms to which they understood themselves." (Walters 1984:65)

At Waipoua some good parallels exist between our archaeological discoveries and the traditional histories of Te Roroa. The strength of these parallels relate to the continuous occupation of the land and the close association between the people and their ancestral places.

3. SITES AND TRADITION

The relationship between Waipoua archaeological research and Te Roroa traditional history was referred to within my statement to the Tribunal (Lawlor 1989:26; refer Wai-38 Doc.#C8; also see A. Nathan Sep 1988:6-7 and 1989, and other Te Roroa Claim Wai-38 statements of evidence).

During discussions with Te Roroa kaumatua Mr Edward Nathan, Mrs Raiha Paniora and Mr Barney Paniora, some areas of special significance were identified to Forest Service archaeologists because they were located within pine forest Compartments where logging was to proceed (see E.Nathan 24 Jan 1985 and Oct 1985). Other places were spoken of or identified but they have not been described in reports at the specific request of kaumatua. Some knowledge imparted to the archaeologists was private and not to be repeated to others, especially departmental staff and the general public (cf. A. Nathan 1988:2).

Generally, the Waipoua archaeological evidence indicates that there were extensive areas of a variety of gardens and numerous rua kumara associated with pa and papakainga. Some of these places particularly relate to Te Roroa ancestors Tuohu and Tiro who were renowned for their gardening and engineering skills (see E. Nathan

1985:4 for whakapapa). Some older places relate to Ngaengae and other papakianga are associated with two brothers, Te Maunga and Te Waiata.

The earliest traditions at Waipoua relate to coastal locations, many of which are still identified and visited by Te Roroa. Some places particularly relate to Te Roroa ancestors Rongomai, Ikataora and Whakatau. The history of these places and the whakapapa which ties the people to them are recited on the marae at appropriate occasions. In addition there are sites related to more 'recent' occupation including pa known as Owetenga and Pakiri which have strong traditional associations.

Little archaeological work has been done on the coast beyond the initial surveys for Forestry development (pine afforestation and coastal shelter-belt planting). A bulldozed midden site (N18/219) at Panahe was retrieved and analysed (Taylor and Nichol 21 Sep 1988) and samples of shell have been dated to 620 + 50 years B.P. (new half life) indicating early coastal settlement (Taylor 21 Sep 1988).

One of the more interesting aspects of the archaeological site distributions is that only three shell midden deposits have been recorded within the Waipoua River Valley (see Pierce Aug 1981, and Taylor and Sutton 1988:50-51; cf. Coster 1983:12). This is very unusual as one would expect there to be many midden with the sea and coastal reefs being located so close. In most archaeological landscapes, especially coastal ones, midden features usually predominate. For a comparative example see the Forest Service 'Brier's Block' investigation results (Furey Oct 1982, 1983 and 1986) which show many midden sites located up to 2.5 kilometres from the Coromandel coast; I have recorded midden up to 26 kilometres from coastal shellfish beds in the Bay of Plenty (Lawlor Dec 1984:243).

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Waipoua traditions suggest that this pattern may be a result of Te Roroa practice of leaving the shells on the coast, or alternatively, the 'law' that prescribed hangi were to be covered over when finished with (see A.Nathan 1989:18; refer Wai-38 Doc.#C7). Specific stories record how 'strangers' were identified through their not covering over midden, fires and hangi (pers. comm. E. Nathan 1985).

4. PARTICULAR PLACES

Some stonework and earthwork complexes recorded by archaeologists have been identified by Te Roroa as having particular significance. Reference to Map 1 may be helpful in the following discussion.

4.1 Site N18/85 stonework/earth mound

This is an unusual earth mound on the alluvial flats by the Waipoua River (see Lawlor 1984 for a plan; refer Wai-38 Doc.#B18). Across its surface are approximately 26 small stonework ruins some of which have intact remnants of faced sides and constructed corners indicating care and some formality in construction. The size of the features and the rocky character of the surface suggests that the mound was not a normal habitation site nor gardening site. The adjacent stone-free river flats have deep deposits of loam soil and excavations have identified a modified soil indicating gardening in some areas (Taylor and Sutton Feb 1988:31).

Mr Edward Nathan identified this as a tuahu or ceremonial site (pers. comm. 1985). The Reverend Maori Marsden led the whakanoa ceremony from here prior to the commencement of the Waipoua Archaeology Project in 1985 (see Lawlor 1989:21; refer Wai-38 Doc.#C8).

4.2 Papatia - Site N18/87 stonework and N18/90 pits

This is an extensive area of stonework, terraces and pits. The Stonework, although in a ruined condition, includes walls, rows, heaps, platforms and C and L-shaped enclosures. Together the features and the cleared spaces between them have been identified by archaeologists as areas of occupation (whare or houses), gardening and kumara storage. Although the site has yet to be comprehensively mapped it is possible to suggest from the surface remains that the structures and features together represent a large habitation complex. I understand from Mr Joe Kereopa that he has recently completed mapping within Papatia (pers. comm. Oct 1989).

This area is known to Te Roroa as the 'Place of Divinity' and is said to contain tuahu where ritual ceremonies were performed (E. Nathan Oct 1985:7; also see H. Paniora Wai-38 Doc.#C2p.2 para. 10 and A. Nathan 1989:21; refer Wai-38 Doc.#C7). Te Maunga was the tupuna identified with the control of this papakainga although chants indicate that it was a more ancient site of (tuahu tuaarangi). Te Maunga is the brother of Te Waiata who occupied papakianga further up the river (see Te Kopae discussion below). During conversations with Mrs Raiha Paniora she emphasised that access was restricted to this site in recent times because of the tapu associated with it. She also spoke about stonework dwellings or 'round-houses' made and roofed with stone. These structures are remembered by Mrs Paniora's daughters, Kaiwhatu (Freda) Sowter and Te Mamae (Mere) Tane, and according to them were only destroyed in recent times.

4.3 Pawherowai - Site N18/178 terraces/stonework,
N18/179 pits and N18/186 stone heaps/gardens

A portion of this site was investigated by Dr Ian Smith (1986b). The area comprises approximately 12 hectares of moderately steep north-facing hillside 60 to 80m above the Waipoua River. At least one third of the site is within bush and was not investigated. Stonework includes heaps or mounds, faced scarps and several possible walls or alignments. Excavations recovered evidence for three discrete phases of human activity including pre-European gardening, late nineteenth century gum-digging and recent exotic forestry establishment. Regarding Maori occupation Smith states:

"excavations have provided some indications of the nature of settlement and land use in the upper valley. Variations in the form of the small garden plots identified...suggest that a range of different crops were grown. If some or all of these plots were contemporary then a large, diversified gardening system would seem to be in evidence. With no indications of habitation within the immediate confines of the gardens this site must be viewed as but one component of a broader settlement system."
(1986b:9)

Taoho and Te Waiata are associated with this place but it is also considered to be of greater antiquity (see E. Nathan 1985:4 for whakapapa). Pawherowai is a name Te Roroa associate with a locality around Opatonga Road. It relates to a massacre where so many people were killed that streams ran with blood (pers. comm. Raiha Paniora). The houses that were part of the massacre traditions were not investigated by the archaeologists and suggestions have been made that they may lie within the bush area not excavated (pers. comm. E. Nathan).

The traditional history of more recent occupation at this site is supported by charcoal identifications from excavations in pines (pers. comm. Michael Taylor). These show that the surrounding vegetation was dominated by shrubs, kanuka and tree fern (ie. secondary species) indicating that the primary bush had been cleared earlier. This evidence is in striking contrast to charcoals identified from within excavated house and rua sites located further up the valley which show associations with primary forest species indicating the initial clearance of forest. Both areas were covered in secondary scrub when they were first cleared for pine planting by Europeans.

Michael Taylor's investigations broadly show that the sites in bush associated with the 'older traditions' usually have a more mature cover of regenerating vegetation. Conversely at those areas with 'recent' traditional associations a younger stage of the

regeneration cycle is apparent.

4.4 Te Kopae - Site N18/106 terraces, N18/109 stone structures, terraces, pits and spring, N18/187 stone-faced terraces and heaps

Two of these sites were mapped by Dr Ian Smith (Jan 1987) and more extensive recording and small test excavations have been completed by Michael Taylor and others (Taylor and Sutton Oct 1985:15 and Feb 1988:14 and Taylor Oct 1986:33). The recorded features are spread over a wide area and comprise approximately 400 stone structures including heaps and platforms (some with faced remnants), alignments and a stone lined drain. The earthworks include drains, terraces and pits. The area also contains the 'mega heaps', which are some of the largest constructions recorded in the valley, and a freshwater spring. The spring is surrounded by stonework which includes a ruined platform, numerous collapsed stone piles, alignments and stone-faced scarps. The limited test excavations focused on determining the function of a 'channel' feature and an adjacent area of stonework which were likely to be damaged through pine logging operations. These features were on the periphery of N18/109 and located some distance from the spring and its associated structures.

Te Roroa traditions associated with these sites were related to the Waipoua archaeologists by Mr Edward Nathan after our first field visit together to the area in 1985 (also see H. Paniora Wai-38 Doc.#C2p.2 para.13). (2) We were told about the significance of the springs as a tapu place of 'exorcism' and particular features were identified as house sites (N18/106) and fighting terraces (N18/187) associated with Te Roroa ancestor Te Waiata who was also responsible for this papakainga (see E.Nathan 1985:7). He was the brother of Te Maunga (see Papatia discussion above). Later during discussion on marae and at the homes of Mrs Raiha Paniora and Mr Edward Nathan some of the histories associated with the Te Kopae spring were related to me. Kaumatua said that the tapu of this site is great because the springs were used to purify or 'cleanse' those who had been involved in battle or transgressed tapu. The pools that were involved with the ceremonies allowed the tohunga to be isolated within the water medium that was also used by those seeking purification.

During the whakanoa ceremony, which was completed prior to the start of our archaeological investigations in the valley, Te Kopae was the last place we visited (see

2. Traditions relate the presence of two springs, only one of which has been identified by archaeologists. However, a stone-lined drain, dry under the pine vegetation, indicates the likely location of a second source of water.

Lawlor Oct 1989:21). This event affirmed the importance of Te Kopae as a place of cleansing and blessing.

The archaeological evidence does not contradict Te Roroa traditions. The exceptional nature of the stonework, by far the largest and some of the better constructed in the valley, together with the freshwater spring, indicate that the area has unique features. The three closely positioned earthwork terraces (N18/106) are of exceptional size, and together with their prominent location on the ridge overlooking the river valley and adjacent stonework complexes, and stone-faced terraces, support the traditional contention that they relate to an important person.

Evidence for the clearing of forest (ie. extensive areas of large kanuka bush) on the opposite side of the river from Te Kopae (Compartment 58) has been noted during surveying and subsequent examinations of aerial photographs. Michael Taylor has suggested that the numerous stone and earthwork features recorded there, together with the vegetation patterns, indicate that this occupation was probably contemporary with that of Te Kopae (pers. comm.).

4.4 Other Sites

Te Roroa traditions relate to many other places only a portion of which have been recorded by archaeologists. For example there are numerous traditional pa including Kaitieke [N18/82]*, Kiwinui [N18/88]*, Owetenga [N18/14]*, Pahinui [N18/11], Pakiri [N18/73]*, Pananawe [N18/153]*, Paremata, Patata, Piritaha *, Pukenuiorongo *, Puketurehu, Takaputiraha [N18/2]*, Te Kauri, Te Morunga, Te Paekoraha, Te Wiroa *, Tirikohua [N18/12]* and Wairarapa [N18/241-3]. (3) The latter site was recorded by archaeologists after its location was pointed out by Mr Howard Paniora during the traditional research programme (see site record forms and evidence of H. Paniora Wai-38 Doc.#C7p.3). Other sites include kiwi 'hunting landings' deep in the forest, known as Huaki, Kohuroa *, Ngaruku, Omaia *, Tarahoka *, Tuhuna * and Wharekiri *, and look-outs named Tekateka *, Tuhirangi * and Matatuahu (see Collins 1953; refer to Wai-38 Doc.#B18pp.57-69).

3. The symbol * identifies places identified to Forest Service staff by Te Roroa kaumatua in 1953 (see Collins 1953 and Lawn 1970; refer to Wai-38 Doc.#B18pp.57-69; also see Atwell et al 1972). Also see evidence of Alex Nathan Wai-38 Doc.#C7.

5. DISCUSSION

In the valley directly north of Matatina marae and south of Pahinui marae there is a drain known as Takapu Tohora (see A. Nathan Wai-38 Doc.#C7p.23). The drain has not yet been recorded as an archaeological site but it is known to have formed part of the old land survey boundaries and was re-excavated by the Forest Service prior to the recent planting of eucalyptus. Traditions record that it was dug under the direction of Te Roroa ancestor Tuohu and the work was paid for with whale oil. Today this tradition is graphically recorded on the carved maihi of the whareniui at Matatina marae. As a structure the drain stands as testimony to the engineering and horticultural skills of Te Roroa ancestors and it provides evidence in support of the traditional histories.

In 1952 William Phillips of the Wellington Dominion Museum visited Waipoua and recorded at least four pataka and a large ('20 feet long and relatively wide') totara whata associated with the settlement (1952:208-9; refer Wai-38 Doc.#B18p.225). He was told by Mrs Patuawa Nathan (incorrectly named as Patuoa by Phillips) that the whata had been an important building in its day originally belonging to Tuohu (incorrectly identified ~~by~~ as Tuahu) who lived over one hundred years ago. X

This historic record identifies another substantial structure which existed into very recent times at Waipoua emphasising the close relationship between the past and the present.

As yet there are few radiocarbon age estimates but the results to hand indicate coastal occupation in the fourteenth century and inland settlement in the fifteenth century (pers.comm. Michael Taylor). The early date received for the coastal midden located just north of Kawerua is the second oldest available from Tai Tokerua. Taylor has suggested that the dates for inland settlement roughly coincide with Te Roroa (ie. Manumanu I) expansion into Waipoua (see E. Nathan 1985:4).

Many Te Roroa traditions record events or people who lived at Waipoua 200 to 300 years ago. Reference is also made to ancestors and places which have greater antiquity (ie. 600 years) and these are sometimes located on sites with more recent associations.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

At Waipoua we have investigated the earthworks and stoneworks of some sites which are also known to Te Roroa through history and traditions. The traditions identify living and gardening areas (pa and papakianga), massacre and battle sites, particular natural features associated

with specific events or activities (eg. caves, springs, streams, trees and rocks) and structures (living and community houses, tuahu or ceremonial alters, fighting terraces, gardens and drains). We have accepted Te Roroa traditions which associate ancestors with particular places but we have not been able, as was expected, to provide the evidential proof for these specific associations. The archaeological evidence does not contradict Te Roroa oral histories and some archaeological ruins parallel what might be predicted from the traditions (eg. stonework structures associated with a freshwater spring).

Of the archaeological investigations Alex Nathan has stated:

"When one compares the maps...indicating on the one hand wahitapu, wahi rahui and wahi kai, and on the other recorded archaeological sites, it becomes obvious that science has encroached onto some of our wahitapu and is beginning to see "features" of some of our sacred places...If archaeological work continues further instances of site location and identification arising from traditional information will no doubt occur. We see this aspect of the original kaupapa of the Waipoua Archaeological Project; that of a true partnership between traditional knowledge and the scientific approach." (Sep 1988:6-7)

In the future it may be possible^{to} relate a particular structure or feature with an ancestor through locating taonga known from traditions to be associated with them. X

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