

**In the Waitangi Tribunal
Mana Wahine Kaupapa Inquiry**

**Wai 2700
Wai 2419**

In the Matter of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

And

In the Matter of the Mana Wahine Kaupapa Inquiry (Wai 2700)

And

In the Matter of a claim by Stephanie Turner, Heeni Collins and Scott Porter, for and on behalf of themselves, their whānau, hapū and Ngāti Raukawa

Brief of Evidence of Heeni Meretini Collins

Dated 21 July 2022



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MAY IT PLEASE THE TRIBUNAL

I, **Heeni Collins**, writer/researcher, living in Raumati South and associating within the rohe o Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, Ngāti Toarangatira and Te Atiawa, say:

Ngā mihi ki te Poari Whakawa, ki te kaiwhakawa, mo tenei kaupapa te Mana Wahine, ki nga kaikerēme hoki - Leonie, Ani mā, ka mau te wehi! Ngā mihi ki te hau kainga, ki Te Atiawa. Ka huri aku whakaaro ki ētahi o ngā whanau - Puketapu, Love, Webber & Parata. Thank you for welcoming us to Waiwhetu this week.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1. Pepeha: Ko Tainui te waka
 Ko Whakaotirangi, Mahinaarangi, Rongorito me Te Akau ētahi o ngā tupuna kuia,
 Ko Ngāti Raukawa te iwi
 Ko Tararua te pae maunga
 Ko Ohau te awa
 Ko Waiwiri te roto
 Ko Kikopiri te whare tupuna
 Ko Ngāti Kikopiri te hapū, ko Ngāti Huia ngā hapu e whitu,
 He uri ahau hoki o Tukorehe, Kauwhata, Wehi Wehi hoki.
 Ko Te Arawa, ko Ngāti Haumia, ko Ngāti Pakeha hoki oku iwi.
 Ko Heeni Meretini Collins toku ingoa, nā Meretini Te Akau tēnā ingoa.
 He whaea ahau, kaore ano he kuia. Tokorua āku tamariki pakeke, Animarama rāua ko Rei McDougall. I acknowledge the support of my partner Te Kenehi Teira of Ngāti Ngarongo, Ngāti Takihiku, and Ngāti Hinemata (Kereru marae, Koputoroa) in relation to the matauranga shared in this presentation and his support for this kaupapa. Ngā mihi aroha.

2. The marae and hapū I have been most associated with over the last 30 years is Kikopiri, a hapū of Ngāti Huia, within the iwi of Ngāti Raukawa. Kikopiri marae is at Muhunua West, Ohau, near Levin (about an hour and a quarter drive north from here). In following our whanaunga of Ngāti Tukorehe today, I acknowledge also our whakapapa to Tukorehe, through Hinetore,

and to Ngāti Kauwhata and Wehi Wehi through Parekarewa (see whakapapa chart attached as **Appendix A**).

3. It is believed that the marriages of those wahine – Hinetore to Huitao, and Parekarewa to Haetapunui – were arranged to reconnect the descendants of the two brothers Turongo and Whatihua, who had fallen out over wahine and become estranged. Turongo was the father of Raukawa, Whatihua was the father of Uenuku-tuwhatu and Uenuku-terangihoka. There are carvings of Hinetore and Huitao in our Kikopiri tupuna whare, as each of our pou tupuna tane on the left-hand side are balanced by their wahine on the side facing. Kikopiri and Tukorehe are neighbouring hapu, with strong historical links. There are three sons of Takihiku depicted in this whare – these were the fighting chiefs of the Waikato who pushed Kahupungapunga south and east from the Maungatautari, Wharepungunga and north-west Taupo regions. The oldest was Tamatehura, whose wife Rongorito, daughter of Rereahu, was his first cousin. Her whare, Te Marae o Hine near Otorohanga, was known to be a place of peace, a refuge from the conflict between Tamatehura and her brothers. Rongorito was a healer, a tohunga, and the house named after her within our rohe was at Kereru marae, Koputoroa. The other whare there is Mahinarangi,¹ wife of Turongo and mother of Raukawa. Our whanaunga Naomi Simmonds has spoken at length about this tupuna kuia, having walked her trail.

4. There was also a re-connection between the Turongo and Whatihua descendants through the marriages of Raukawa's sisters, Rangitairi and Hinewaituhi. These sisters are depicted on the waharoa at Rawhitiroa marae, near Kihikihi, a Ngāti Takihiku marae. Rangitairi became the wife of Uenuku-tuwhatu and Hinewaituhi became the wife of Motai II, son of Uenuku-terangihoka (photographs of the pou at Rāwhitiroa representing Rangitairi & Hinewaituhi – to come). Knowing our tupuna kuia helps us to broaden our understanding of our connections. While for many of these wahine we have only glimpses into their lives, remembering their names is enough to expand our sense of identity and broaden our horizons. I

¹ T.K.Teira, 18.7.22.

appreciate this opportunity to remember the names of and celebrate some of our tupuna kuia and the whakapapa connections they represent.

5. I am a former newspaper journalist in Auckland and Wellington. I have a Masters in Philosophy (Māori Studies), from Massey University (2004). My thesis involved oral history interviews with both tane and wahine about finding identity strength as Māori, which helped me on my own identity journey. With support from Creative New Zealand (Te Waka Toi), kaumatua and historians including matua Iwi Nicholson and Charles Te Ahukaramū Royal, and publisher Roger Steele I also wrote and compiled a book about our Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa and Te Atiawa history called "*Ka Mate, Ka Ora, The Spirit of Te Rauparaha*" published by Steele Roberts Ltd, Wellington, in 2010. A second edition of this book has sold out, but it is available in libraries.
6. In 2016, Te Kenehi and I received further Creative New Zealand funding to write a book about Raukawa origins in the Waikato and the heke to the south in the 1820s and '30s. A draft has been completed, with illustrations and maps. It is yet to be published, as we wanted to learn from our Wai 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu Ngāti Raukawa hearings, before finalizing. We have referred to it often for various reports, including this brief of evidence, and have spoken about its content in several wānanga and hui.
7. For the last six years I have been a researcher and tangata pukenga for our hapū of Ngāti Kikopiri and others, for the Tū te Manawaroa research cluster in the Porirua ki Manawātū District Inquiry, for Te Runanga o Raukawa, and recently for our iwi more widely with reports on our participation in 20th century wars and the Tararua ranges. My BA was in sociology, which gives me some understanding of power relations in society, and I have a strong sense of social justice.
8. I am secretary of the Meretini Te Akau and Thomas Uppadine Cook Whānau Trust (Judge Sarah Reeves may remember us coming to the Land Court to advocate for retention of this 64 square metre section of land in Te Awahou

Foxton in about 2012-2013) and secretary also of the Ngāti Kikopiri Māori Marae Committee Society Inc. I am also a trustee on the Koputara trust, involving several hapu active in restoring a lake and wetlands at Himatangi. I attach as **Appendix B**, the list of references I have used throughout my brief.

9. What motivated me to speak today was wanting to share some korero about Whakaotirangi, known as the wife of Hoturoa, kaihautu of the Tainui waka, but also a wahine rangatira and tohunga in her own right.
10. As background to telling that story, I also want to say a few words about the wānanga or esoteric knowledge brought over on the Tainui waka, which relates to the theme laid down by Tukorehe Mana Wahine claimants today, eg our runanga tumuaki Kelly Bevan, matua Lindsay Poutama and whaea Yvonne Wehipeihana, about the balance of te ira tane me te ira wahine, and some further evidence that wahine were, and still can be, tohunga in their own right.

TE IRA TANE ME TE IRA WAHINE WITHIN THE CONCEPT OF IO

11. Through the research that Te Kenehi and I have done, we believe it was from Io-matua-kore, Io the parentless, the highest atua, that Tawhaki received the baskets of knowledge, after ascending the twelve heavens, Te Rangi-tūhāhā. We believe that knowledge of Io, who has many names (all gender-neutral, see below), was brought over from Taputapuātea, Ra'iatea on the Tainui waka, and that symbols representing Io, associated with the atua Uenuku, were brought over on that waka – e.g. the sacred carved stones, Te Papatatau o Uenuku and a form of the carved pou of Uenuku (which we saw during the Tainui exhibition and which usually stays at the Te Awamutu Museum).
12. This pou includes representation of aspects of rainbows – i.e. Uenuku-tūwhatu (the sacred eye of the atua, or circular rainbow) and Uenuku-terangihoka (the sky-piercing rainbow atua). Rainbows provide a link between the earth and the heavens, Te Ara o Tawhaki and Te Ara Tiatia, the stepped way. The written sources from within Ngāti Raukawa which refer to

lo as the start of our whakapapa include Kereama Te Ngako of Ngāti Manomano (1889) and Kipa Roera of Ngāti Kikopiri (1915)². The latter wrote:³

“Ka haere mai a Tainui i Hawaiki, ka mauria mai e Hoturoa, te oneone turanga a Rangiatea tūāhu tapu o tō rātou Atua o lo matua o ngā rangi tekau mā rua, nāna i hanga te Rangī, te Whenua me nga mea katoa o te Ao. Ko te tangata tuatahi i hanga e lo matua.”

13. Whakapapa starting with lo-matua or lo-matua-kore was confirmed at a hui of Raukawa kaumatua at Kihikihi in 1912, which was fully recorded and documented by secretary, Raureti Te Huia of Ngāti Maniapoto. Nine kaumatua of various related iwi attended this hui including Te Whiwhi Mokau of Ngāti Maniapoto (chairman) and Te Kaponga Tekowheto⁴ of Ngāti Raukawa. At that hui, it was stated that the concept of lo-matua was part of the cultural and religious heritage brought here on the Tainui waka.⁵
14. At least one Ngāti Raukawa tohunga of the lo religion never became Christian – Te Aokatoa of Ngāti Takihiku, who had travelled with Te Whatanui to Ahuriri in the attempt to settle there, and then returned to Wharepuhunga in the Waikato. Te Aokatoa is said to have had immense spiritual powers. For example, he once deflected a curse by karakia, with fatal consequences. Te Aokatoa and Tiwai Paraone of Hauraki, also a high priest of the lo religion, designed Te Paki o Matariki, the Coat of Arms for the Kingitanga, which included the sacred symbols.⁶
15. Matauranga Raukawa, evident in the traditions which have been handed down to us, includes not just knowledge of atua and the heavenly realm, but also knowledge of and a sense of connection to the wider physical universe. Our ancient cultural expressions (karakia, whaikorero, waiata and other artforms) often have several levels of understanding – the heavens (ngā

² Te Ngako, Kereama (1889), MS written for Bill Harrison, Manawatu, copy given to T.K.Teira & shared with whanau; Royal, K.M. Tribal Histories, whakapapa, MS Papers 4563-2F/03, ATL.

³ Royal, T.A.C. *Whare Tapere: towards a model for Māori performance art: a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of a Doctorate in Theatre and Film*, Victoria University of Wellington, 1998. Misc Papers, 99-049-3/18 ATL, p30.

⁴ Perhaps Te Kaponga Te Kehoto, see https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record_id=225155

⁵ Maniapoto-Anderson, R. (2001) *Tētahi hui i tū ki Kihikihi, na ngā tuhinga a Raureti Te Huia*. Te Taarere a Tawhaki, Journal of the Waikato University College, no 1, p30-36.

⁶ Jones, P, *King Potatau*, Polynesian Society, Auckland, Huia Publishers, Wellington, 1959, 2010.

rangitūhāhā), the universe (aorangi), the atua associated with the natural world (taiao), the Polynesian homeland (tuturu nō Hawaiki), and the ancestral landscape or worldview (te ao tupuna). All things physical also have a metaphysical aspect.⁷

16. All the names of Io can be seen as gender-neutral. These are taken from Te Rangihiroa, Sir Peter Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, 1949⁸: Io-matua – Io-parent of all things; Io-matua-kore – Io-parentless; Io-te-pukenga – Io-the source of thought, knowledge and reflection; Io-te-wānanga – Io-the source of all knowledge; Io-mata-ngaro – Io-of the hidden face; Io-te-waiora – Io-the source and giver of life. One of Raukawa’s grandsons, a son of Rereahu, was named Te Io-wānanga.
17. Tiwai Paraone wrote or told Colonel Gudgeon about the Io religion, and what he shared was published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in 1907. He stated how karakia invoking Io are used for “implanting a child within the barren womb”, and “for enlightening both the mind and body”. That is, Io is invoked in association with creating matter from a void, and with causing light to shine in the darkness. Hence, Io can also be invoked to give hope and strength to those facing war, or grieving for the deceased.⁹ According to Mr C. Nelson quoted in this article, Io was also known as “Io-mua, Io-moa, Io-hunga, Io-uru, Io-hawai, Io-hana,” mua relating to the east, citing the source as de Bovis from Tahiti. While whakapapa and karakia referring to Io-matua had been previously published, Pei Te Hurinui Jones was the first Tainui scholar and historian to publish a detailed explanation of the Io religion, in his book “*King Potatau*” in 1959. As a direct descendant of the high priest of the whare wānanga at Ahurei, Kawhia, and the one who carried his name (Te Hurinui), he was the appropriate person to do so.¹⁰

⁷ Teira & Collins, Raukawa origins draft, 2016.

⁸ Buck, P., *The Coming of the Maori*, Maori Purposes Fund Board, Whitcombe & Tombs, Wellington, (1949, 1970), p444.

⁹ Paraone, T. & Hongi, H. (1907), *A Māori Cosmogony*, given to Col Gudgeon by Tiwai Paraone, Maru-tuahu, translated by Hare Hongi. JPS, Vol 16, no 3.

¹⁰ Jones, P.T.H. *King Potatau*, Polynesian Society Memoir no 55, 1959, republished Huia Publishers, 2010; He Tuhi Mareikura, Book One, MP Copy-Micro-0698, p75.

18. Pei Te Hurinui wrote:¹¹

“In lifting the veil on this esoteric lore of his people, the author has been actuated by the idea that it would be befitting to uhi or clothe his account of the life of the high priest Potatau Te Wherowhero with the tapu raiment of the Polynesian religion of Io.”

19. Jones also described how:¹²

“Kahukura Uenuku was set up as a symbol to (mortal) man of the godhood of Io. Io was so intensely sacred in himself that even the utterance of his name was avoided on all ordinary occasions. This is the reason why it was laid down that only to his symbol, Uenuku (the rainbow) were the common people to sing their sacred chants. It was the prerogative of the altar priests to recite the sacred chants to Io.”

20. The secret nature of this knowledge may explain why neither Te Rangihaeata or Te Ahukaramu included Io in their whakapapa, as told to Matene Te Whiwhi (1851) and Donald McLean, respectively (1856).¹³ They begin with Te Po – Te Rangihaeata: *“Te pō tuatahi, te po tuarua, ko te ata, ko te aoturoa, ko te aomarama”*. As Ani Mikaere stated in her Mana Wahine Brief of Evidence that was presented in January 2021:¹⁴

“Rangi and Papa are conceived within Te Pō and themselves conceive many children, who are eventually born into Te Ao Mārama, the world of light.”

21. However, what I am leading us to is describing a clear and striking drawn representation of a takarangi spiral by Pei Te Hurinui Jones showing the balance of te ira tane me te ira wahine within the concept of Io. The takarangi spiral is often represented in our traditional carving, which is related to the origin of the universe (where Io resides), a swirling nebulae, the whirlwinds (Toi-huarewa) which carried Tāwhaki to the heavens, and other meanings. In the words of a well-known waiata:

¹¹ Jones, 2010, p 238.

¹² Jones, 2010, p 238, p 246.

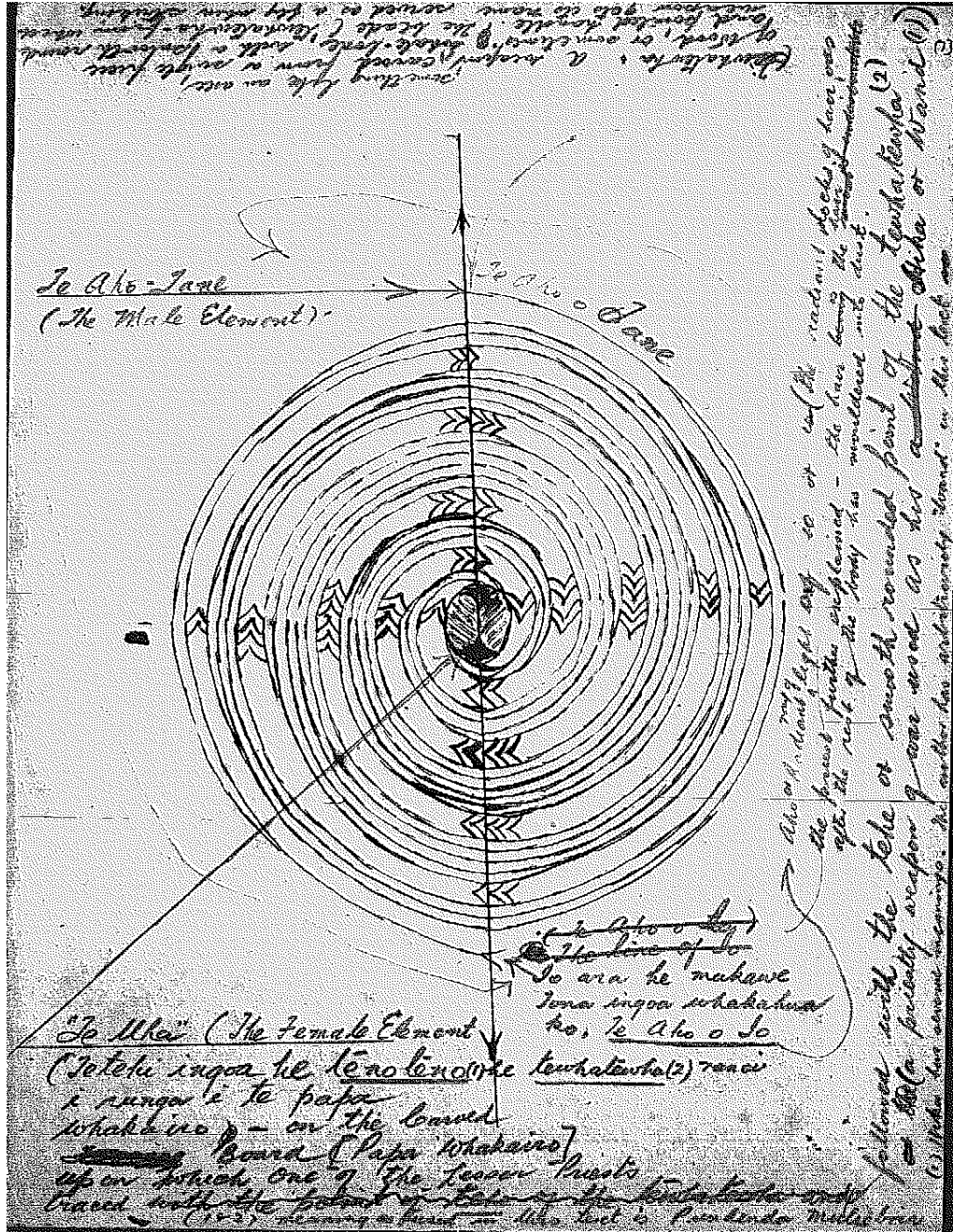
¹³ Te Rangihaeata, dictated to Matene Te Whiwhi, *Genealogy and an account of the migration to, and early movement in New Zealand*, GNZ MMSS 77, Auckland Public Library, Copy ATL – MSY-2115; Te Ahukaramu, H., *Native Traditions* by Hukiki Te Ahu Karamu of Otaki January 1st 1856. Written down by D. McLean. MS McLean, D. Notebooks, ATL, compiled by C.T.A.Royal, published by Te Wananga o Raukawa, 2008.

¹⁴ Mikaere, A., *Brief of Evidence*, Mana Wahine Kaupapa Inquiry, Wai 2872, Wai 2700, January 2021.

“Piki ake, kake ake i te toi huarewa, Te Ara o Tāwhaki i piki ai ki runga.” “Climb up, ascend the lofty way, the pathway of Tāwhaki...”

22. The takarangi spiral represents the coming together and the balance and inter-complementarity of male and female. Stars are the beginning of life, and also the end, as we use the term “kua wheturangitia” for those who have passed away. As light (te ao) is balanced by darkness (te pō), the tension and dynamic energy which occurs when the two genders are united is also a consistent theme throughout our korero o neherā, our traditions.
23. Scholar and cultural expert Pei Te Hurinui Jones describes the male and female elements merging in lo and remaining in balance down the generations. This drawing of the takarangi spiral by Jones and the kupu or wording written on that drawing expresses that balance clearly. I was delighted to see this drawing¹⁵ because it seemed to me to be strong evidence that te ira wahine was central, and of equal mana, in our traditions. The writing is difficult to decipher, but we can share what we see.

¹⁵ This image can be seen in a collection of Pei Jones’ writings in the Alexander Turnbull Library, (1898-1976). He Tuhi Mareikura – ngā ohaoha tapu, a treasury of sacred writing. Book One, a Maori account of creation based on the priestly lore of the Tainui people, MS-Group-0358, Micro-0698-16, Alexander Turnbull Library. Now held at Waikato University, <https://onehera.waikato.ac.nz/nodes/view/5217>



(He Tuhi Marekura – ngā ohaoha tapu, a treasury of sacred writing, MS-Group-0358, Micro-0698-16, Alexander Turnbull Library. Originals now at Waikato University. Consent for use given by Wairangi Jones, 20.7.22)

24. The central element is clearly shown as the 'uha' or 'uwha', the female element, represented by the female genitals. Confirming this is the writing below: "Tetahi ingoa he tenoteno (1), he tewhawha (2) i runga i te papa whakairo." Genitalia were often depicted in ancestral carvings, as our tupuna reflected the rich reality of life, in an open and down-to-earth manner, in a way which celebrated the sexuality, reproductivity and divinity of both tane and wahine. The arrival of Victorian attitudes and judgments brought over from England led to the destruction of many of these carvings.

25. Balancing the female element, te ira wahine in this drawing, is ‘Te Aho o Tane’, the male strand, with the two wrapping around each other from the centre of the spiral and outwards. While the male element is associated with the solid wooden structure of the spiral in carvings, the female element is associated with the gaps between the wood, through which the light shines.¹⁶ The drawing also includes the words, “*lo ara he makawe tona ingoa whakahua, ko Te Aho o lo*”. Our pronoun ‘ia’ is gender neutral, and much of the commentary about Io since the arrival of Europeans has incorrectly given this highest traditional god a male pronoun. In English, pronouns have historically been ‘he’ or ‘she’, as choosing a gender sounds more personal than ‘it’, (though now ‘they’ is used as gender neutral), and most of our speakers will use male as the default gender. This model, in which both male and female elements combine in the concept of Io, fits with a concept understood today as gender fluidity. Many species, including eels, change gender during their lifetimes. Io could also be seen as transcending gender.¹⁷
26. We believe that the perception of the Christian God as male, in comparison to Io being both male and female,¹⁸ was part of the patriarchal belief system brought over from England which was oppressive to our wahine and others. The Christian churches and the British government and legal system were (and largely still are) patriarchal institutions, and both were implicated in the huge loss of land in Aotearoa in the later 19th century which impacted on our wahine, whānau, hapū and iwi. As Ani Mikaere wrote:¹⁹

“The church regarded women as being ‘of man’, and associated them with original sin; Pakeha law regarded them as being the property of men, whether as wives or daughters. These values infiltrated and distorted all aspects of Maori life.”

¹⁶ T.K.Teira, 17.7.22

¹⁷ R.Robson, 20.7.22,

¹⁸ Another tradition is that Io had a female partner named Whaea Rikoriko, which means ‘dazzling’. T. K. Teira stated, 20.7.22, that he was taught this at a wananga with kaumatua at Okahukura, near Taumaranui, in the 1980s. We note also, from our own family history, that the Christian Science denomination led by Mary Baker Eddy refers to ‘Father God, Mother God’.

¹⁹ Mikaere, 2017, p 137

27. However, there were commonalities and echoes of familiarity which attracted our ancestors to the new religion eg the word Io being similar to Ihowa (Jehovah), and in some of the early writings there was a fusion of both.
28. Other contemporary researchers from Ngāti Raukawa in the south have also expressed an open mind on Io being part of our traditional religious belief, and called for more analysis. Charles Royal in his 1998 thesis on Whare Tapere (houses of entertainment) noted Kipa Roera's reference to Io-matua-kore, but also found that Kipa mixed pre-Christian and post-Christian concepts at times:²⁰

“There needs to be some considerable analysis of the Io tradition. Whether it is found to be pre-Christian or not, it is a Māori tradition which has influenced the Māori view of the world.”

Charles himself placed emphasis on Te Ao Marama as a concept common across iwi, on which to base a revival of the Whare Tapere tradition.

29. Piripi Walker, in his report on Ngāti Raukawa institutions (2017), noted that Sean Ogden of Tukorehe stated that the Io traditions were handed down from his tupuna.²¹ Our whanaunga Tipi Wehipeihana has also begun his whakapapa from Io, as provided to the Tribunal under the Wai 1913 Ngāti Tukorehe claim.²²
30. The Tainui traditions as related by Pei Te Hurinui Jones, describe a gender balance in the whakapapa down from Io. During the first strand of creation, Te Aho Tuatahi, while Io was still evolving, there were male and female elements, whose pathways merged at the altar of Io. Korero about Hani and Puna, Rangi and Papa, Tane and Hineahuone has surely been shared by other speakers. The origins of sexual desire are in these whakapapa stories.

²⁰ Royal, T.A.C. (1998) Whare Tapere: towards a model for Māori performance art: a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of a Doctorate in Theatre and Film. Victoria University of Wellington. 99-049-3/18 ATL.

²¹ Walker, P., The Establishment of the Social and Cultural Institutions of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga in the 19th to 21st centuries. Te Hono ki Raukawa, Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2017.

²² K.Bevan, pers. com, 20.7.22. Note – Te Kenehi and I have written a further paper on historical evidence relating to Io which we can file if requested.

31. All the male atua off-spring of Ranginui and Papatūānuku are said to also have female equivalents²³ - two I can name are Hinemoana alongside Tangaroa, and Hine-tūparimaunga alongside Tane-mahuta. During the second strand of creation, Te Aho Tuarua, according to Jones, there was further balancing of male and female elements. From Io came Te Whetu (the world of stars), from whom came Te Rā (the world of suns - male) and Tau Ana te Marama (floating moons - female).
32. Another example of the male/female balance in the whakapapa of the atua relates to the flowing of the water from the maunga (mountains) to the sea, recorded by Elson Best, as follows:²⁴
- a. Tane-mahuta is usually known as the god of the forest, but as well as producing trees he also produced water, rock, stones, hail etc.
 - b. From Tanemahuta and Hine-tū-pari-maunga (atua of mountains and ranges) came Tuamatua, who took to wife Takotowai²⁵, and from this union sprang all forms of rock, stone, gravel and sand.
 - c. Their son was Rakahore, the origin and personified form of all rock. Rock is important for water to flow. ‘E kore a Parawhenuamea e haere ki te kore a Rakahore - without rock we would not have fresh water.’
 - d. Parawhenuamea, daughter of Tanemahuta and Hine-tū-pari-maunga, and sister of Tuamatua, is the origin of all waters, including the ocean.
 - e. Parawhenuamea gave rise to Oneparahua (silt deposits) and Onepu (beaches). The husband of Parawhenuamea is Kiwa, guardian of the sea.
 - f. Also associated are Parawhenuamea’s daughter Hine-waipipi (atua of fresh water) and grand-daughters Hine-i-te-ripo (atua of flowing wetlands), and Hine-i-te-huhi (atua of still-water swamps).²⁶

²³ T.K.Teira, 19.7.22.

²⁴ Elsdon Best, *Māori religion and mythology*: Part 1 / Bulletin no 10, Dominion Museum Wellington, 1976, p. 166.

²⁵ The name Takoto-wai is well-known in our iwi, particularly the hapu of Ngāti Turanga.

²⁶ Best, 1976, p166; Tangatai, T. *Cost Benefit Analysis of Riparian planting*, Masters thesis, Massey University, 2014, p. vii.

33. Briefly, as others will have also talked about this, Hine-ahuone was the wahine formed by Tane from the earth. Her life-force came not only from Tane-mahuta, his breath (te hā) followed by his sexual desire, but also from Rehua and ultimately from Io. There are references to the awakening power of female sexuality during this first earthly union of male and female.²⁷
34. As we know, Tane and Hine-ahuone had Hine-titama. With Tane, Hine-titama and had many children, but when she found out that her husband was her father, she descended to the underworld and became Hine-nui-i-te-po, associated with birth into Te Ao Marama and also with receiving people at death – an important role associated with transitions. As Ani Mikaere stated:

“A central feature of Māori cosmogony is whakapapa, which binds humanity to the spiritual forces from which the world was created. Vital to the continuation of whakapapa are both male and female elements.”²⁸

35. The esoteric knowledge brought over on the Tainui, including Io and the whakapapa of the atua, was taught in Whare Wānanga, initially at Kawhia and later also at Rangiatea, near Waikeria, the kainga established by Tawhao, father of Turongo, where Raukawa grew up, and elsewhere. While these were predominantly for the sons of rangatira, the daughters of rangatira also attended at times or had their own wānanga.
36. Maui’s grandmother Muri-rangawhenua who gave him her jaw-bone “of enchantment and knowledge” was known as one of the first wahine tohunga.²⁹ We know that two forms of whare wānanga associated with wahine were the whare pora (weaving, plants), and the whare kohanga (midwifery, birthing, birds).³⁰ We note that the atua Hineteiwaiwa was associated not only with weaving, but also with pregnancy and birth, navigation, fishing and food cultivation, all guided by the phases of the

²⁴ Te Rangihiroa, 1949, p 510; Mikaere, 1999, p 37; Mikaere, 2017, p 28.

²⁵ Mikaere, 2017, p 25

²⁹ Kahukiwa & Grace, 1984, p 52.

³⁰ T.K.Teira, 16.7.22.

marama, the moon.³¹ This suggests that wahine as well as tane had celestial knowledge, not just the moon but also the stars. Many stars are thought to be female – e.g Matariki, Pohutukawa and Tipuānuku.

37. The Kihikihi kaumatua hui in 1912, referenced above at paragraph 12, discussed four whare wānanga – at Kawhia (Ahurei), Titirapenga (Te Aomarama), Patea (Matangirei), and at Mohaka (Marae-rotuhia). A tupuna of ours, Mawake, wife of Haumia, was noted as associated with the Mohaka whare wānanga, which later shifted west. All of Ngāti Raukawa descend from Haumia and Mawake, through the marriage of their grandson Wharerere to Raukawa’s daughter Kurawari.³² Jones also notes a whare wānanga, Te Papa a Rotu at Waikarakia, and later beside the Waipa river, attended by Te Wherowhero and at which Te Rauangaanga was High Priest.
38. A carved representation in our Kikopiri whare tupuna of Rakumia, wife of Kikopiri’s older brother Korouaputa, has a star on her forehead, indicative of celestial knowledge (see below). Rakumia was the daughter of Te Autuioro and sister of Turanga (see whakapapa, Appendix A).³³ Te Rauparaha has a takarangi spiral on his forehead, indicating he was also wānanga-trained. The house was carved by our great-great uncle Piwiki Te Horohau, a tohunga hakairo, who also carved whare for Ngāti Toarangatira and Tukorehe (assisting Patuaka).



Rakumia, Kikopiri marae, Muhunua West Rd, Ohau.

³¹ Bishop, G. *Atua, Maori Gods and Heroes*, Penguin Random House, 2021; Mikaere, A., Brief of Evidence, Mana Wahine hearing, Jan 2021.

³² T.K.Teira, 17.7.22

³³ Another sister was Hapaimamao, tupuna kuia of the Parata whanau. T.K. Teira, 21.7.22.

WHAKAOTIRANGI

39. Whakaotirangi and her sister Whakaotinuku and cousin Rakataura descended from Tawhaki, Wahieroa and Rata.³⁴ Rata was told that his father had been killed by people who lived across the ocean, and built a waka to travel there to obtain utu. The purakau about the birds restoring the tree (using the power of Io), because the correct karakia had not been said, relating to Rata felling a tree for this waka. Rata acknowledged Rangī, Papa and Tane in his karakia, and was finally able to proceed with constructing the waka and cross the ocean to obtain vengeance.
40. Whakaotirangi's whakapapa from Rata, builder of waka, and being a niece of the carver Whakataupotiki may help explain why she had the important role of obtaining the mauri for the Tainui waka. Her husband Hoturoa also descended from Tawhaki (Hapai), Wahieroa and Rata and through the mother of his tupuna Ohomairangi and was himself a tohunga.³⁵ Ngāti Ohomairangi was his hapu name at the time they left Ra'iatea in the Society Islands. Ohomairangi's father Pūhaorangi, was said to be a celestial being who descended from the heavens to sleep with the beautiful maiden Te Kuraimonoa, his mother. Fighting had developed between the chief Uenuku at Ra'iatea and Tamatekapua, who was to become the captain of the Te Arawa waka. Hoturoa was a whanaunga to Tamatekapua, all from Ngāti Ohomairangi.
41. After Hoturoa and the people had decided that a waka should be made, Whakaotirangi went to Memeha-o-te-rangi to get a mauri named Puranga (or Puanga), associated with the fastenings of Uenuku's whare, for the canoe, wrote Aoterangi of Ngāti Tahinga (Aotea harbour).³⁶

“Ka tonoa e Whakaotirangi te mauri o Puanga arā, te rōri o te whare o Uenuku ki tana matua ki a te Memeha-o-te-rangi. Ka whakaaetia ka ngarea e ia te tohunga tarai waka a Rata o Wahieroa.”

³⁴ Kelly, 1949, Table One.

³⁵ Jones, 2010, p32

³⁶ Aoterangi, 1907: 1-3. The star Puanga (Rigel in Orion) is used in navigation and heralds the coming of Matariki and the New Year; see also Jones & Biggs, 1995, p18-19, re the mauri 'Puranga'.

42. Whakaotirangi was said to be guided by her tohunga kuia Māhurangi or Maru-a-nuku, described in Kelly as ‘an aged priestly woman’.³⁷ Her name indicates the importance of this wahine – māhu is a ceremony for lifting tapu from kumara or other crops before harvest. As Puanga (Rigel) was a star associated with tohunga, this indicates that Whakaotirangi was also a tohunga.³⁸ While Uenuku was known as a powerful chief in Ra’iatea, his name suggests that he carried knowledge of the Uenuku traditions, linking to Io-matua-kore and the whare wānanga. A binding from his house, of harakeke perhaps, would represent the mana of that lineage. As the ‘sacred emblems’ or mauri stones brought over on the Tainui waka were also known as Te Papatatau o Uenuku, there must surely be a close association between those stones and the mauri obtained and provided by Whakaotirangi from the house of Uenuku.
43. While George Graham’s translation (1923) of Aoterangi states that Whakaotirangi asked for the mauri from her father Memeha-o-te-rangi, we have found no evidence of that as her father’s name. Kelly (1949, Table 1, attached as **Appendix C**) shows her father as Tainui, brother of Whakataupotiki. So in reading Aoterangi (above), it could have been either Memeha-o-te-rangi or Whakaotirangi herself who then engaged the waka-builder, Rata of Wahieroa, otherwise known as Rakataura, her cousin.
44. According to Te Tahuna Herangi, the tohunga kuia Māhurangi also advised Rakataura on how to make the waka:³⁹
- “Me titiro e koe ki te aranga o te marama hou, kia ara a mua, kia ara ki muri. (Look at the rising of the new moon, with a rising at the front and a rising at the back).”*
45. Rore Eruera names five people involved with cutting the tree – Hoturoa, Taikehu, Rakaiuru (Rakataura), Whakatau-pōtiki and Rotu. Their initial attempts were unsuccessful as they had not chanted the necessary karakia. It was Whakatau-pōtiki, father of Rakataura, who then recited the karakia which acknowledged Tane-mahuta, Papatuanuku and the child Tainui who

³⁷ibid; see also Kelly, 1949, p34; Maniapoto-Anderson, 2001, p36.

³⁸ Maniapoto-Anderson, 2001, p33; Williams, 1985, p165

³⁹ Kelly, 1949, p34; Jones & Biggs, 1995, p18.

was buried beneath the tree. After that was done, the tree stayed on the ground, and the work of shaping it with adzes was able to proceed.⁴⁰ Thus it was the uncle and cousin of Whakaotirangi who carved the waka, and her husband Hoturoa. Whakaotirangi was of tohunga lineage and later become known for her powerful karakia. The tohunga Ngatoroirangi may also have been involved with Hoturoa in the selection of a tree for the hull, and in reciting karakia.

46. Kelly lists thirty two people known to be the crew of the waka – twenty two men and ten women.⁴¹ Included amongst them was Tauninihi, who carried the kura, the highly valued symbolic red feather relating back to the maro'ura, the beliefs and rituals associated with Taputapuatea. Taikehu held the sacred paddle Hahauterangi. Hoturoa's son Hotuope was also on board.
47. The women included two wives of Hoturoa (Whakaotirangi and Marama), a daughter of Hoturoa (Kahu-keke), two wives of Poutukeka (oldest son of Whakaotirangi), and three sisters of Rakataura, i.e. cousins of Whakaotirangi.⁴² Whakaotirangi had with her a small, but very important kete (te kete rukuruku a Whakaotirangi), as it carried within it the kumara tubers which would help feed her people in the new land.⁴³
48. Whakaotirangi's twin sister Whakaotinuku went on *Te Arawa* waka, and is said to have also carried the kumara to Aotearoa. The *Tainui* and *Te Arawa* waka were closely associated, built by related leaders around the same time, and left soon after each other. The *Te Arawa* is said to have left first, and both were searching for the land described by Kupe as plentiful in pounamu, moa and other kai.⁴⁴

⁴⁰Kelly, 1949, p35; R.Rikihana, Interview, Waka Wairua project - 27.2.2014. King Tawhiao said the central pou at Te Pou o Tainui (Otaki) should be Whakataupotiki, carver of the Tainui waka.

⁴¹ Kelly, 1949, p40

⁴² Jones & Biggs, 1994, p29

⁴³ Tainui exhibition, Te Papa, 2011-4.

⁴⁴ Jones & Biggs, 1994, 54

Whakaotirangi and her Powerful Karakia Which Shifted the Tainui Waka

49. After the *Tainui* and *Te Arawa* waka arrived at the Bay of Plenty, and gained some local knowledge from earlier arrivals, Hoturoa decided to take the *Tainui* waka north and heard there was a place where it could be easily carried from an eastern harbour to the west, from Tamaki to Manukau harbour. His junior wife Marama and a taurekareka (Te Okaroa) had left the waka at Wharekawa to travel overland to Otahuhu. Her intimate relationship with this man was soon well known.
50. The distance between the Tamaki river and the Manukau harbour here is only about 200 metres. Rakatāura laid the skids, and the crew attempted to drag the waka across land. But the canoe would not budge.⁴⁵ Rakataura advised they should wait for Marama. While waiting, he is said to have had a dream of a manumea (a red sacred bird) clasped in contest with a ngārara (lizard), and thought it related to a raruraru and Marama.
51. Marama and Te Okaroa (either her mōkai who had travelled with her, or an earlier arrival) rejoined her husband and relations, and she asked why the waka would not move. Rakatāura then knew that their trouble was due to her affair with Te Okaroa, which had weakened the men, and prevented them from moving the waka. She then confessed (ka whākina tōna hē). Ceremonies of purenga and whakahoronga were then performed to restore her mana tapu.⁴⁶
52. When Rakataura tried to help move the waka with karakia, his sister Heara (or Hiaroa) said to him, “*Tōu pōhēhe noa ki te mahi i te waka o Hoturoa, i a ia e kino nā ki a koe!*” (*You’re foolish to work for the waka of Hoturoa, when he dislikes you!*) When he heard his sister say this, he changed the words of the karakia to cause the waka to slip off its skids, and remain stuck.
53. Te Rangihaeata says it was Whaka-otirangi who then corrected the situation and recited the karakia which helped shift the waka. She called on Tane-

⁴⁵ Te Rangihaeata, 1851, p11.

⁴⁶ Graham, G., quoting Te Hinaki of Ngāti Paoa and Ngāti Whatua (Kaipara), 1894, JPS, Vol 60, no 1, 1951.

mahuta who had provided the waka, but also referring to 'te wai o te hika a Marama', the wetness of Marama's genitals. The karakia was a version of that sung on hauling the Tainui waka to the ocean for the first time, with the name of Marama instead of Māhurangi.⁴⁷

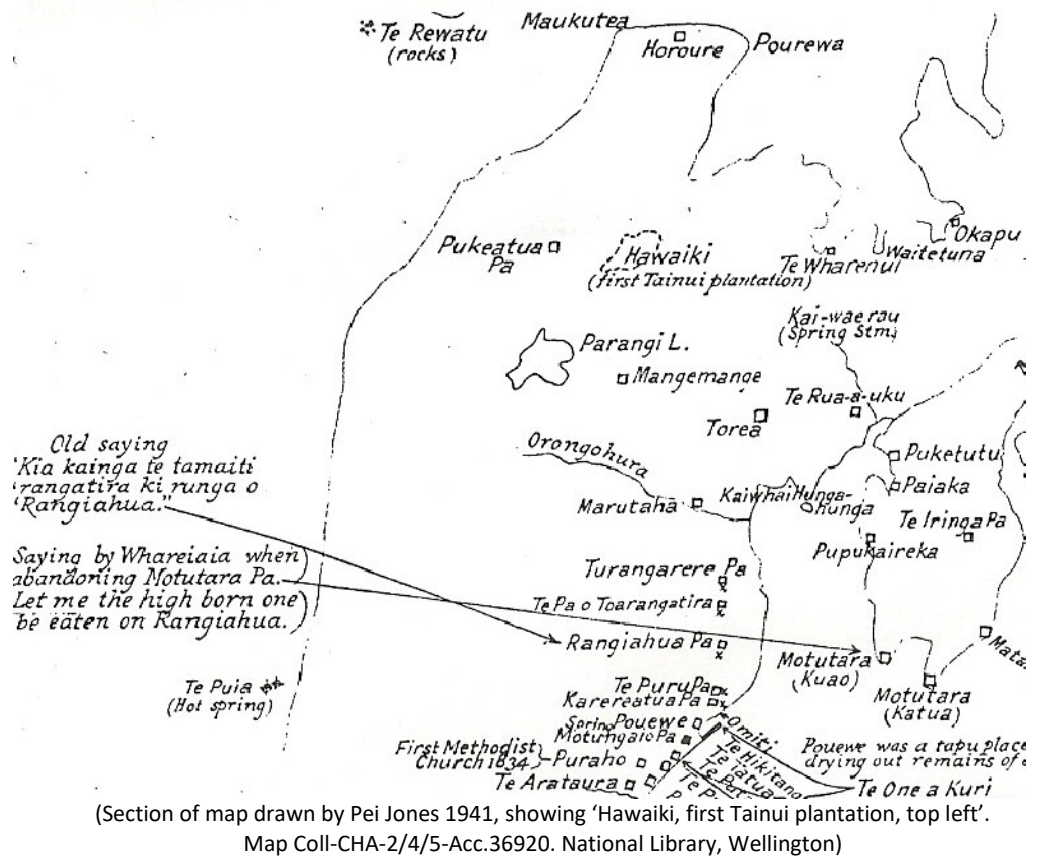
54. Te Okaroa was hung in a karaka tree for his transgression. Marama was allowed to live, though the names used to refer to her after this event indicated her vulnerability - Marama-hahake (Marama the naked) and Marama-kiko-hura (Marama of the exposed flesh). She took off her maro-purua (superior apron) and put on a more humble garment (maro-hukahuka), indicating that her status as Hoturoa's wife was in doubt. She again left the waka, and travelled overland to the south-west.

Whakaotirangi and the Kūmara

55. As well as obtaining the mauri for the Tainui waka, and the power of her karakia in shifting the Tainui waka at Tauoma, Otahuhu, Whakaotirangi is also strongly remembered for protecting and nurturing the mauri of the kūmara. When settling at Kāwhia (living at various places including Maketu, Paringatai and Motungaio), Hoturoa chose to live with his junior wife Marama, despite her transgression. Whakaotirangi, with her youngest son (or grandson) Hotu-āwhio, decided to seek a place to live which would be best for growing the precious kūmara she had carried over from Hawaiki. The place she chose was Pākarikari near Aotea harbour north of Lake Parangi and east of Pukeatua pā.⁴⁸

⁴⁷Te Rangihaeata, 1851, p11; a recording of this Tainui hauling chant or karakia can be heard on Te Ara website, performed by Te Whanau a Apanui in 1943: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/canoe-traditions/page-3>.

⁴⁸NZ Department of Internal Affairs Central Publications branch: Kawhia harbour; story and significant places (copy of ms map). Copied by RJ Crawford from the original by P.H Jones, June 1941. Map Coll-CHA-2/4/5-Acc.36920 National Library, Wellington.



56. Whakaotirangi now had a very important role in nurturing and growing the kūmara (*Ipomoea batatas*), so that its survival in Aotearoa would be assured. The saying “te kete rukuruku a Whakaotirangi” suggests that small things can also be important.⁴⁹ Food preservation is important in caring for people, often the mother’s role. According to Nahe, Whakaotirangi also brought a hue plant, but this is not mentioned further.⁵⁰ She or others on the waka may also have brought taro, uwhi (yam), and aute (mulberry).⁵¹
57. Whakaotirangi was aging - she and Hoturoa were already grandparents when they left Hawaiki - but she was an influential leader with her own mana, a sense of responsibility for her people, and considerable strength and expertise in horticulture.

⁴⁹ Te Ara, www.teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/17357/whakaotirangi

⁵⁰ Nahe, H. (c1830-1901), Account of the emigration of the Maori from Hawaiki, MSY-1868, ATL. (also in White 1888).

⁵¹ Grey collection, vol 8, GNZMSS 19, pp120-124. Notes made from Te Rauparaha’s dictation in 1847 regarding the discovery of NZ by the Maori.

58. There is detailed description of her mahi in growing the kumara, by Aoterangi (1907):⁵²

“Ka wehea ano ngā puke tuatahi, ka oti ka puehu. Ka whakatumu rarauhe. Ka whakawaetorea, ka Haratau. Ka whaka angapihi. Ka whakarau mapau ka tuke, ara ka whakaraurekau, ka Potaka.”

Translation (Graham): “She first made the division between the mounds, which being done, she made the soil friable and rooted up the ferns, then burnt off the vegetation, then she cleared it all over to make it ready for use, and made it sheltered with the branches of trees. Then she sloped the ground to distances apart.”

59. After a time Whakaotirangi asked her son Hotu-āwhio to fetch Hoturoa, to perform appropriate rituals for the fruitfulness of the garden. Hoturoa’s pā at Kāwhia was said to be Rangiahua, north of Motungaio. Hotu-āwhio told Hoturoa that his mother wanted to see him as she was close to dying. *“Ka aroha a Hoturoa haere ana”*, he came because of his love for her. He stood above the kūmara plantation and was moved to tears at the sight of the plants, reminding him of the plentiful foods in Hawaiki. His son explained, *“ko te take tēnei i tikina atu ai koe”* (that is the reason you were fetched). He went to the kainga and wept with his whāerere (his wife, the mother of his children).⁵³
60. Whakaotirangi asked him to perform the ceremony to remove the tapu from the garden so the crop could be harvested: *“Tamaahutia te mara nei. Tēnei ano te puke tuatahi me te tuarua; te mea ma te tane, me ta te wahine.”*⁵⁴
61. As part of the *pure* ceremony, a fire was lit and food cooked. Kūmara was seen as a sacred food, with associated atua, karakia and rituals. In one tradition, only ten kūmara were planted, and from these, “with the blessing of the gods”, Hoturoa harvests 200 basketfuls of kumara. Hence the saying, *“Kareanui, ka kai i roto.”*⁵⁵

⁵² Aoterangi, 1907, p21

⁵³ Ibid

⁵⁴ Ibid; Williams, 1985, p375.

⁵⁵ Pomare, M. ed J. Cowan. *Legends of the Maori*, vols 1 & 2. Wellington, Harry H Tombs 1933; Southern Reprints, Papakura, 1930, 1933, 1987, p21. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz>

62. Whakaotirangi's large plantation of kūmara and its significance clearly inspired her husband Hoturoa, who returned to her side, his earlier affection for her restored. Her plantation at Pākarikari was called Hawaiki, and its location can be seen on the map informed by Pei Jones in 1941 (above). It is beside the Hawaiki stream, which runs down to the south-western inlet of the Aotea harbour. Taro plants can still be seen growing there.⁵⁶
63. According to Raureti Te Huia, the sacred earth brought from Hawaiki was deposited here, and remained here for about 100 years.⁵⁷ Again, this is an indication of the wānanga knowledge of Whakaotirangi, and the status with which she was regarded.
64. Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa are closely related by common ancestry (Tawhao and Tuhianga were both sons of Kākati, descendant of Hoturoa)⁵⁸ and many later marriages – e.g. Waitohi and Te Rauparaha's father was Werawera of Ngāti Kimihia (Ngāti Toa) and their mother was Parekohatu of Ngāti Huia (Ngāti Raukawa). Waitohi had wānanga knowledge which is likely to have included whakapapa, te tatai arorangi (star lore) and other cultural traditions, which our whanaunga and uri of Waitohi, Heni Wilson has spoken about in this hearing under Wai 2925.⁵⁹
65. Further significant marriages linked Ngāti Raukawa to neighbouring iwi who became military allies – e.g. Raukawa's wife Turongoihi was a descendant of Tia (Te Arawa); Hapekituarangi's wife Te Akau was from Ngāti Tuara/Ngāti Kearoa, also of Te Arawa waka.
66. Our tupuna kuia Te Akau was a large, imposing wahine and was known to have been involved in battles at Taharoa (south of Kawhia), as well as near Mokau, north of Taranaki, where she helped defend Te Rauparaha and others from a group of Ngāti Maniapoto attackers. Wearing a kahu-waero, huru kuri or dog-skin cloak, she and Te Peehi Kupe's wife Tiaia carried patu, and supported the initial attack with such force and confidence that the

⁵⁶ Dr D.Kahotea, pers. com. 22.1.2014

⁵⁷ Te Huia, R. As published in Te Awamutu Courier 5/6/46 (Arc 3462). He says it was taken about 100 years later by the 'Maungatautari party,' who "brought it away with them wherever they went."

⁵⁸ Collins, 2010, p242

⁵⁹ Heni Wilson, 1.7.22

attackers fled. After settling at Kapiti and Otaki with Te Rauparaha, on his direction she also called on her Ngāti Tuara relatives to come south to make waka for Te Rauparaha and his war parties to travel to Te Wai Pounamu and obtain utu. Whanaunga and co-claimant Stephanie Turner will say more about Te Akau in her korero following this one.

CONCLUSION

67. The main themes I aim to have covered in this korero are the importance of marriages in connecting or re-connecting branches of whakapapa, and in building alliances with neighbours; the balance of te ira tane me te ira wahine in our religious traditions, including Io, and in the whakapapa of atua; and as an example, some aspects of the life story of Whakaotirangi, wahine rangatira and tohunga. To quote Ani Mikaere again:⁶⁰

“the blueprint for Maori life is to be found in Maori cosmogeny, which established the interrelationship of all living things and was founded upon the principle of balance, including balance between men and women. Maori cosmogenic accounts also reveal the key role played by the female sexual and reproductive organs in the creation of the world...women fulfilled leadership roles of all types and became recognized in a range of fields.”

68. While I do not profess or pretend to have anything like the depth of knowledge and understanding to be a tohunga myself, I do believe that when we have faith in ourselves and our spiritual strength combined with ‘pu-aroha noa’ (compassion) for others, wahine can be and often are a powerful force for good in our whānau, hapū and iwi. We can look to our tupuna kuia for inspiration, strength and guidance.

Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

Dated at Raumati South this 21st day of July 2022



Heeni Meretini Collins
Witness and Named Claimant of Wai 2419

⁶⁰ Mikaere, 2017, p137