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NEW ZEALAND ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION NEWSLETTER



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REGIONAL TRADITIONS AND CULTURE HISTORY

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In this paper we are looking at the overall pattern of tradition and the distribution of material culture within New Zealand. In this respect we are studying the broader aspect of culture history.

Traditions of the Northland region indicate a pattern of movement out of the area which left a gap in which the present tribes, the Ngapuhi, Rarawa, Aupouri, Ngati Whatua, developed and coalesced as groups in their own right. The Ngati Whatua, Ati-Awa and Ngati Awa groups are said to have migrated from Northland, and by Auckland tradition to have passed through Auckland on their passage south. Ngati Awa in the Bay of Plenty associate themselves with Toroa and the Mataatua canoe of about 1450. In Taranaki the Ngati Awa give Manaia and maybe the Tokomaru canoe, but have little in the way of consistent tradition linking the canoe and present-day groups to back up this story.

Raahiri, pivotal Ngapuhi ancestor of 10 to 12 generations ago, who gave his name to Maunga Raahiri in Remuera, ended up founding Ngati Raahiri of Puketapu, New Plymouth. This ancestor is also claimed by the Ngati Awa of Whakatane. There is little doubt on genealogical criteria that it is the same man whose descendants today live in the three areas.

The Ngati Kahungunu people of Hawkes Bay are also associated with Ngati Awa and the Mangonui region. Both genealogically and traditionally, there is some reason to think of the Takitimu canoe as having originated in the Mangonui area and to have landed at Mahia about 1450. Other areas were peopled by migrating canoes. The Tainui landed at Kawhia about 1300, but the origin of the various Waikato tribes dates to about 1450 when inland settlement took place. The Arawa canoe is said to have landed at Maketu about 1350. The Arawa tribes descended from Rangitihi, came into existence again with inland settlement between 1400 and 1450.

The Aotea canoe is claimed as the origin of the South Taranaki tribes at about 25 generations ago. There is little consistency in their tradition, though, following this event, but this is not surprising: according to the canoe tradition, the canoe was left at Aotea Harbour and

the people proceeded overland. Their tradition only becomes consistent with the establishment of the present tribes early in the 17th Century.

There are various other groups who have no consistent claim to any origin canoe; these include the Wanganui tribes, the East Coast tribes and some of the Taranaki tribes. The Ngati Porou of the East Coast date their division into hapu at about the time of Porourangi, who lived about 1350; by 1450 most of the present-day hapu were established. Little reliance seems to be placed on the origin canoes Nukutere and Horouta.

The South Island is dominated by the Ngai Tahu of Canterbury, who trace their origin to Turanga and Tahupotiki, son of Kahungunu. Settlement of the Canterbury region probably dates to about 1600, and of the Otago region by 1800, with the introduction of potatoes.

The Ati Awa and Ngati Awa groups are specifically associated in tradition with terraced pa and credited with agriculture. The Tainui, Te Arawa, Aotea canoe groups are said to have introduced agriculture of kumara and taro, and to have brought karaka trees with them to their areas.

In the Bay of Plenty and East Coast, and South Island, canoes are said to have gone back to Hawaiki to fetch kumara, either because none was known or because the crop had been lost. In Patea, the Aotea people still point to the garden said to have been used when the first eight surviving kumara tubers were planted and where a sacred crop was planted until recently.

Traditionally, then, there are two main types of migrations:

- (a) Those associated with the Ngati Awa groups which occurred between about 1350 to 1450.
- (b) Those associated with the Tainui, Arawa canoes about 1300 and the Takitimu and Aotea canoes who settled their present areas about 1450 A.D.

Both of these would appear to be complemented by earlier migrations which could be the basis of the formation of such groups as Ngati Porou, Rangitane, Ngati Mamoe, some of the Taranaki tribes and others who have no definite connection with either type of migration. They may, of course, just be earlier movements associated with the later Ngati Awa migrations. The late Ngati Whatua group who are the tail-end of the

Ngati Awa migration, have an interesting tradition of learning agriculture from some of their neighbours.

The Chathams would appear to have no connection with any of these.

DISTRIBUTION OF MATERIAL CULTURE

Pa

Large terraced pa are traditionally associated with the Ngati Awa movement. These pa occur in Northland around and north of Kaitaia, the Ohaeawai region, the North Kaipara, Auckland Isthmus, including Mahurangi Heads and South Manukau Heads, Bay of Plenty, East Coast, Hawkes Bay and North Taranaki. Simple terraced pa with the first stage of a ring ditch, the approach ditch and bank, are found in the South Island and central North Island. The fully developed ring ditch type of pa is found in the Far North, Kaipara, Bay of Plenty and North and South Taranaki. The distinctive double tihi pa of the Aupouri region is mainly restricted to the Far North, Kaitaia, North and South Hokianga.

Adzes

The rectangular ungripped adze with sharp lateral edges and steep bevel, is dominant from Kaitaia, Mangonui, Bay of Islands, down as far as Whangarei; it is rarer in other areas of Northland and Auckland. A related form is probably the Waikato type, but the sharp rectangular is again dominant in Rotorua, where the Waikato type is also found. Around Tauranga, the sharp edged rectangular is present, but again dominates in South Taranaki. The rounded quadrangular form is dominant in the Far North, Kaipara and Auckland. It again appears in the Bay of Plenty, North Taranaki, East Coast and the Ngai Tahu area of the South Island.

In Waikato, a special adze type develops. The same can be said of Hawkes Bay. Both areas have the sharp rectangular adzes and these types would appear to be developed from this form.

In the table, some of the material culture elements are tabulated. By just taking these items insofar as we know their distribution and comparing them rather crudely in this way, we can come up with a number of interesting speculations. For instance, ring ditch pa nearly always go with rounded quadrangular adzes. The areas where this occurs are

also those with "Ngati Awa" traditions, with serpentine carving style, and tend to have more than one tiki type. The areas of "Early" ring ditch pa tend to have sharp rectangular adzes, and so on. The general pattern which emerges is undoubtedly complicated by the lack of time control of the information but would suggest the following type of hypothetical culture history:

1. The late settlement areas can be separated into three main types in terms of their material culture.
2. These three types of settlement are distributed fairly discretely around New Zealand.
3. It is possible that the traditional pattern which can be characterized as (a) "no canoe"
(b) "Ngati Awa"
(c) "canoe"

in fact corresponds very generally to the material culture distribution. If origin is sought within New Zealand for these culture and tradition groups, then the logical place where they all occur is from the Bay of Islands to North Cape. The canoe groups can again be subdivided into two which, on this basis, would relate Tainui, Te Arawa, Aotea and Takitimu traditions to the Hokianga Mangonui area, the "Ngati Awa" and Tokomaru, Kurahaupo to the Far North, and the other "no canoe" areas of the East Coast, etc., to the Far North, but possibly earlier than the main Ngati Awa developments. Tentatively, we can suggest that there was an early, probably overland movement of people out of the Far North before 1300, who took with them terrace pa and rounded adzes; this was followed by a fully agricultural group, "the Ngati Awa", who may only have been the main body of the preceding group, who took with them the ring ditch pa and rounded adzes. This group were probably moving mainly overland between say 1250 and 1450. Not long afterwards a series of well-planned migrations of smaller, more tightly organized sea-borne groups left Mangonui and Bay of Islands to settle the Aotea Harbour, Tainui and Te Arawa areas about 1300, followed by the Takitimu to Hawkes bay, about 1450. These groups had Early ring ditch pa and sharp rectangular adzes. The final movement out of the area was the Ngati Whatua, who left the Far North about 1500 and finally conquered Auckland in 1780, bringing ring ditch pa and rounded adzes. The early Polynesian settlers in most of New Zealand had developed their own form of culture, which was

replaced. The later intrusive groups are those that share the Classic Maori culture, which became the dominant culture of New Zealand.

NOTE:

Any conclusions suggested above are purely tentative and will probably undergo radical revision as more information becomes available; the dates, of course, are pure speculation.