

*This essay is submitted to*  
The Global Undergraduate Awards

*For their*

2022 Programme

*In the category of*

Art History & Theory

*By*

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***A Renaissance of Māoritanga: whare whakairo as novel 'traditional' identity.***

*What influence did Sir Āpirana Ngata's early 20<sup>th</sup> century traditionalisation reforms have on Māoritanga? – and how is that influence personified within Waitangi's Whare Rūnanga?*

**ABSTRACT:**

The whareniui and whare whakairo are viewed by external observers as longstanding 'traditional' typologies of Māori architecture. An analysis of the structure's whakapapa (ancestry) and a case study of perhaps the most well-known example in Aotearoa New Zealand explores further that notion.

Through a review of texts by leading scholars on the topic – Deirdre Brown, Jeffrey Sissons, Bill McKay, the paper explores the natural evolution of the building – its roots and ancestors and the reasons Western society so readily accepts it as 'traditional'

It then explores famed Māori scholar and MP Sir Āpirana Ngata's impacts on the revitalisation of the typology throughout the 1950s, and the impacts his work have had on modern day perceptions of Māori building methods and typologies, including closer looks at specific historical precedent.

Culminating in a case study of perhaps the most famous whare whakairo in the nation, Te Whare Rūnanga at Waitangi Treaty Grounds, the paper looks to the future, pondering new expressions of architectural identity by and for Aotearoa New Zealand's Indigenous peoples.

***A Renaissance of Māoritanga: whare whakairo as novel ‘traditional’ identity.***

*What influence did Sir Āpirana Ngata’s early 20<sup>th</sup> century traditionalisation reforms have on Māoritanga? – and how is that influence personified within Waitangi’s Whare Rūnanga?*

In pursuit of tino rangatiratanga, the search for a pan-iwi unity was – and remains – a defining aspect of one’s existence within Māoridom. Where issues of identity are found, searches for architectural identifiers follow without fail, and the parallel movements for indigenous self-determination around Aotearoa are no exception. For example, throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Kīngitanga, Ringatū, Rātana, and Kauhanganui movements all strove to create distinctive architectures within which to seat themselves. Renowned Māori statesman, Sir Āpirana Ngata (Ngāti Porou) spearheaded a movement which arguably was the most successful in the creation of a unified Māori architectonic. Via the foundation of the School of Māori Arts and Crafts, Ngata (1926, during his tenure as MP for Eastern Māori<sup>1</sup>) ensured the ‘traditionalisation’ of the marae – specifically the whare whakairo (carved meeting house) – and consequently cemented its position as a central architectural identifier of Māoridom. Te Whare Rūnanga, at the Waitangi Treaty Grounds in Ipipiri, Te Tai Tokerau is an unrivalled embodiment of the search for that all-encompassing architectonic, driven by Ngata and representing a thriving culture during an era of attempted subjugation and forced assimilation.



Figure 1. Sir Āpirana Ngata. From the collections of Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira.

***Genealogical traditionalisation: the conception and ancestry of the whare whakairo***



Figure 2. A chief’s wharepuni in Taupō, the architectonic ancestor to the wharenui, and thus the whare whakairo. From Brown, *Māori Architecture*, 34.

The whare whakairo is not, as one would expect, a typology reaching back centuries to pre-contact tikanga and tradition.<sup>2</sup> Jeffrey Sissons posits that the structure and the whakairo themselves have become ‘traditionalised’ – ‘contemporary’ (at time of construction) arts and processes that have come to be regarded as the survival of older values, traditions, and practices.<sup>3</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the wharenui evolved from the fusion of the chief’s house, the elaborately carved pātaka, and the wharepuni to satisfy tribal need for areas to meet, discuss, and drive responses to colonial actions – a novel typology that rapidly filled a niche in post-contact society.

One could go so far as to suggest that ‘tradition’ in this context does not stem from a chronological relationship, but rather a genealogical

<sup>1</sup> Brown, “The Architecture of the School of Māori Arts and Crafts,” 242.

<sup>2</sup> Sissons, “The Traditionalisation of the Māori Meeting House,” 37.

<sup>3</sup> Sissons, 37.

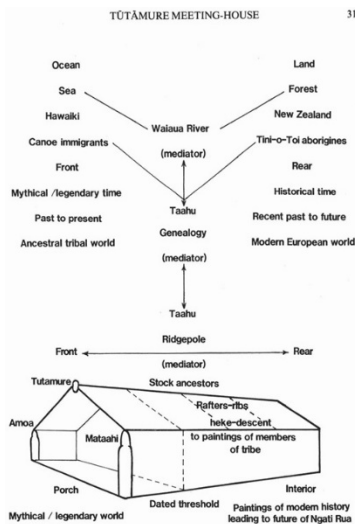


Figure 3. Diagram of Tūtāmure meeting house, showing how the whareniui both embodies and contains whakapapa through form and whakairo. While this example is specific to Ngāti Rua, the principle can be applied to whareniui of iwi across Aotearoa. From Amoamo, Tupene, and Neich, “Complementarity in history and

one: whareniui, while relatively new as a typology on western timescales (post-contact), are whakapapa, recording and embodying through structure and art the history of their people (reaching right back to celestial creation mythos and the arrival of migratory waka in Aotearoa). This satisfies the prescriptivist western idea that tradition requires the generational passing down of knowledge: architectonically on a linear timescale the typology was brand new, yet the buildings themselves embody whakapapa and history on a Māori timescale<sup>4</sup> – holding and passing on mātauranga Māori from generations past to generations present and future. This idea also defies Sissons’ (likely unintentional) implication that pre-contact, Māori culture was ‘static’<sup>5</sup> – only being so through that prescriptivist, Eurocentric lens of western chronology.

Although Sissons’ position here references the 19<sup>th</sup> century emergence of the whareniui,<sup>6</sup> it rings true regarding Ngata’s parliamentary machinations surrounding its development into the whare whakairo in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Ngata’s actions via the systems of a settler government ‘traditionalised’ the whare whakairo and worked to ‘legitimise’ it in that government’s eyes, working to both revitalise and cement Māori architecture, toi whakairo, and thus identity, as alive and well under colonial subjugation.

### ***Renaissance: not just for Europeans – Sir Āpirana Ngata’s School of Māori Arts and Crafts***

It is impossible to discuss the genealogy of the whare whakairo without first having a discussion regarding Ngata’s School of Māori Arts and Crafts. As part of his swathe of political pursuits, Ngata sought to revitalise rural Māori culture through his sweeping land reforms. He also foresaw a necessity for Māori to reconnect to their ‘tribal identity;’ the argument being that the development of rural marae would best satisfy this need.<sup>7</sup> Simultaneously, Ngata was realising that traditional Māori arts were at risk of extinction, as their practitioners became far and few between.<sup>8</sup> With this, the foundation for the formation of the school was laid – to create “assembly houses for the rural Māori proletariat,”<sup>9</sup> and to ensure the survival of Māori artistic and architectural tradition.



Figure 4. Front of Mahinarangi meeting house at Tūrangawaewae. Commissioned by Te Puea Heranga as the seat of the Kīngitanga movement, and originally intended as a hospital, the school of Māori Arts and Crafts provided whakairo and other toi Māoritanga for its construction. From Brown, *Māori Architecture*, 101.

<sup>4</sup> McKay, “Maori Architecture,” 8.

<sup>5</sup> Fitzgerald, “Te Whare Runanga,” 25.

<sup>6</sup> Sissons, “The Traditionalisation of the Māori Meeting House,” 37.

<sup>7</sup> Sissons, 42.

<sup>8</sup> Brown, “The Architecture of the School of Māori Arts and Crafts,” 243.

<sup>9</sup> Brown, 242.



Figure 5. Poupou, tukutuku, and kōwhaiwhai in Porourangi (Ngāti Porou) meeting house, restored by the school in 1938, demonstrate the extent and diversity of skill within Ngata's revitalisation. From Skinner, *The Māori Meeting House*, 55.



Figure 6. Poupou, tukutuku, and kōwhaiwhai in Te Whare Rūnanga, Waitangi. Author's own photograph.

Initially focusing on what Ngata believed to be the most important element of Māori art, *toi whakairo*,<sup>10</sup> the school diversified into tukutuku, kōwhaiwhai, korowai, and kete, rebirth on a magnified scale.<sup>11</sup> Tohunga whakairo included Harold Hamilton, Eramiha Kapua, and Pine and Hone Taiapa (all of whom worked on the whakairo at the Whare Rūnanga at the Waitangi Treaty Grounds).<sup>12</sup> Kapua's (of Ngāti Tarāwhai) style of carving in particular was taught to students, resulting in Ngāti Tarāwhai becoming the school's dominant style.<sup>13</sup> Starting at Tūrangawaewae with Mahinarangi<sup>14</sup> Fig.4 (within the sphere of the Kīngitanga movement), the school's influence quickly expanded to "Waikato, the Bay of Islands, Hokianga, Taranaki, Lower Wanganui, Otaki, Wairoa, Gisborne, the East Coast, and the Eastern Bay of Plenty."<sup>15</sup> While the school itself closed in 1937,<sup>16</sup> Ngata's renaissance was well and truly in full swing.

Ngata himself did not direct the school, however played a major part in steering its course (to the point where he was selecting projects, floor plans, and styles of art.<sup>17</sup>). In the 1930s, Ngata led the school in a project restoring Raharuhi Rukupo's Fig. 8 masterpiece: Te Hau Ki Turanga,<sup>18</sup> helming a full restoration as a whare whakairo – to be a national icon and 'the most famous Maori house in the whole world.'<sup>19</sup> In fact, Te Hau Ki Turanga became the prototype for Ngata's traditionalisation movement,<sup>20</sup> which appears to have come at the expense of parallel and developing movements in Māori architecture. When one thinks of Māori architecture, it is a whare whakairo in the style of Ngata that comes to mind, as opposed to a Rātana church or a Kīngitanga Pātaka or a Kauhanganui chamber. A major factor that played into this was Ngata's realisation of the Pākehā appreciation for pre-colonial Māori 'tradition'<sup>21</sup> – that (Euro-chronologically) static, ordered society the west loves so much. Through his selection of traditionalist architectonics, Ngata ensured government funding and support for his initiatives, in direct opposition to concomitant, experimental, religio-political Māori architecture movements. This streamlining of typology and architectonics can certainly describe a unifying identity (though it resulted in the end of the search for a completely *novel* Māori architectonic), that crucial steppingstone from whence indigeneity discovered a place to resist the intergenerational impacts of British imperialism.

<sup>10</sup> Brown, 245.

<sup>11</sup> Mead, *Te Toi Whakairo*, 197.

<sup>12</sup> Brown, "Mōrehu Architecture," 358.

<sup>13</sup> Brown, "The Architecture of the School of Māori Arts and Crafts," 246.

<sup>14</sup> Mead, *Te Toi Whakairo* 197.

<sup>15</sup> Mead, 197.

<sup>16</sup> Brown, "The Architecture of the School of Māori Arts and Crafts," 252.

<sup>17</sup> Brown, 244.

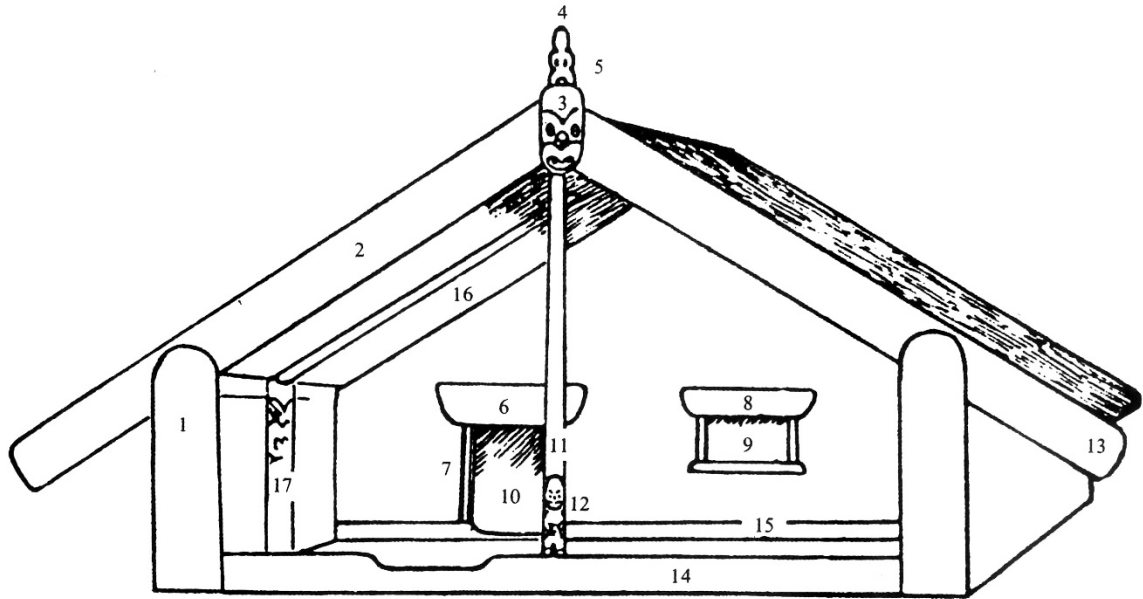
<sup>18</sup> Brown, "Te Hau Ki Turanga," 7.

<sup>19</sup> Waigh, "Stolen from its people and wrenched from its roots?" 86.

<sup>20</sup> Brown, "Te Hau Ki Turanga," 7.

<sup>21</sup> Brown, "The Architecture of the School of Māori Arts and Crafts," 254.

The general form of a traditionalised whare whakairo



190 Parts of a meeting house:

- 1 amo, ama
- 2 maihi, maihihi
- 3 koruru
- 4 tekoteko
- 5 parata, maui
- 6 pare
- 7 whakawae, waewae
- 8 korupe
- 9 matapihi, pihanga
- 10 tatau
- 11 pou-koukou-aro, pou-tou-aroaro
- 12 tekoteko-aro
- 13 raparapa
- 14 paepae-kai-awa
- 15 paepae
- 16 heke
- 17 poupou
- 18 position of poupou inside house
- 19 position of epa (inside meeting house, outside storehouse)
- 20 supporting poles

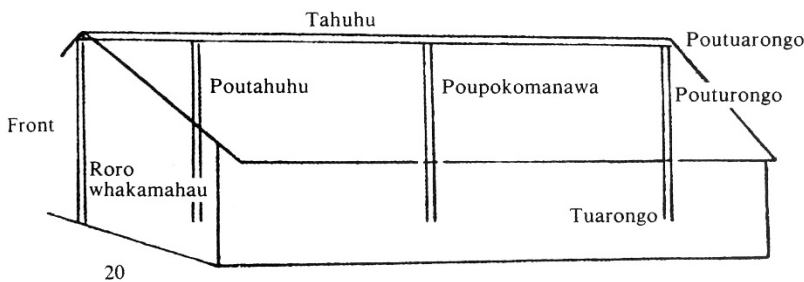
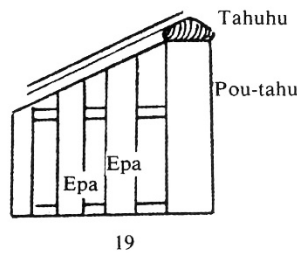
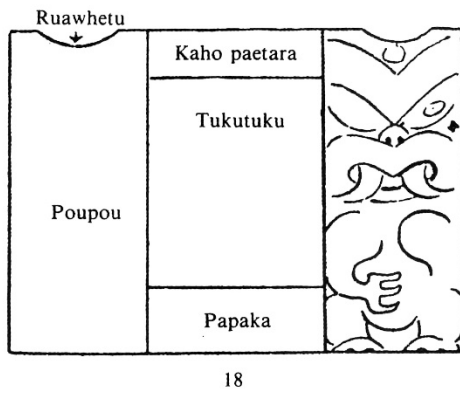


Figure 7. Sidney Moko Mead's diagram shows the layout of whakairo and structures within the whare whakairo. Mead specifically mentions the typology as being influenced by Ngata's school. From Mead, *Te Toi Whakairo*, fig. 190, 167.

### ***The whakapapa of traditionalisation: Te Hau Ki Turanga***

Deirdre Brown speculates there are three primary reasons for Ngata's interest in Te Hau Ki Turanga: he believed *toi whakairo* was at its peak in 1843, the chronological positioning of Te Hau Ki Turanga (pre the wars of the 1860s) ensured it was politically neutral enough to avoid undermining the Pākehā government's agendas (in direct opposition to Te Kooti's figurative painting and Ringatū meeting houses, political to the core), and lastly because of its physical disenfranchisement by the government, he was free to manipulate the structure as he wished with no discrete (surviving<sup>22</sup>) links to a particular *whenua* or *tangata*.<sup>23</sup> He did so during the 1930s – extensive restorations and modifications are detailed by Skinner and Waighth.<sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> 'Apolitical', pre-contact *whakairo* struck a balance between the desire for a rallying Māori art form and palatability for the Pākehā government. Te Hau Ki Turanga was literally transformed at Ngata's behest into a template for the *whare whakairo* he envisioned as part of his political reform for rural Māori.

This transformation included, but was not limited to, the modification of carvings that existed within the house, new *tukutuku* in styles that Ngata deemed 'appropriate,' the repainting of *kōwhaiwhai* and the commissioning of new *heke* and *kōwhaiwhai* for the *mahau*.<sup>26</sup> Unofficially, Ngata was the helmsman of this restoration, even though the work was technically being carried out by the School. His renovations were careful and considered, going so far as selecting specified dyes and pigments to harken to that idealised, pre-war past – a supposedly apolitical Māoridom, so as to intentionally and directly oppose Ringatū and other anti-loyalist architectural movements.<sup>27</sup> While doing so, Ngata reinterpreted the various styles of carving and art within the house through a Pākehā lens of classical definition, outlining Rukupo's work as a 'style' of architecture.<sup>28</sup> This ensured that his reform program wouldn't find itself at odds with the intentions of the settler government, and also bestowed the typology with a distinct, 'traditional,' style both artistically and architectonically.



Figure 8. Self portrait of Rāharuhi Rukupo, in Te Hau Ki Turanga. From Waighth, "Stolen from its people and wrenched from its roots?" ii.



Figure 9. Façade of Te Hau Ki Turanga, kept within Te Papa Tongarewa. From Te Papa Tongarewa collections.

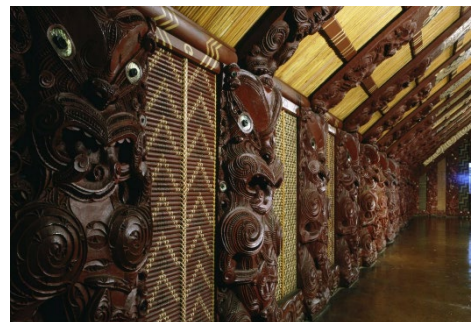


Figure 10. Whakairo pupou, tukutuku, heke, kōwhaiwhai within Te Hau Ki Turanga, Ngata's perfect examples of pre-contact Māoritanga. From Waighth, "Stolen from its people and wrenched from its roots?" fig. 1, 3.

<sup>22</sup> Note that in recent history, calls to reunite Te Hau Ki Turanga with its descendants have become amplified.

<sup>23</sup> Skinner, *The Māori Meeting House*, 75.

<sup>24</sup> Skinner, 78.

<sup>25</sup> Waighth, "Stolen from its people and wrenched from its roots?" 67-70.

<sup>26</sup> Skinner, *The Māori Meeting House*, 78.

<sup>27</sup> Brown, "Te Hau Ki Turanga," 19.

<sup>28</sup> Brown, 21.

### ***Ultimate synthesis: the pan-iwi identity realised (Te Whare Rūnanga, Waitangi)***

As the 1940 centenary of Te Tiriti o Waitangi approached, the government of the day found a revived interest in building meeting houses.<sup>29</sup> By this time, there were already calls for a whare on the land at Waitangi, gifted by the Bledisloes. Indeed, in 1934, Ngata (at this time in cabinet as Minister for Native Affairs) led a massive gathering at Te Tii marae to have a carved whare rūnanga constructed at the grounds to honour the occasion.<sup>30</sup>

Waitangi's Whare Rūnanga (opened on the centenary – 6<sup>th</sup> February 1940) is an interesting example of whare whakairo typologically. The primary use of the Ngata whare, as previously established, was to provide a centre or hub for rural Māori communities – usually part of a marae complex complete with wharekai and other essential structures. Te Whare Rūnanga, on the other hand, is a pan-tribal structure – the ultimate architectural realisation of a pan-tribal movement. Ngata viewed it as purely symbolic, a “museum ... and a picture gallery.”<sup>31</sup> The toi whakairo within, for example, represent 28 different tribal confederations,<sup>32</sup> but note that the head carvers on the project (the aforementioned Taiapa brothers) were of Ngata's school, and it was Ngata who approved the final plans for the structure and whakairo.<sup>33</sup> Carvers, under Kapua's supervision, studied examples from across Aotearoa at Auckland Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira. and practiced by creating small copies of the whakairo in that institution's collection.<sup>34</sup> Ngata's influence on the whare whakairo is clear and evident; the call for construction was headed by Ngata, the carvers were selected by Ngata, the plans approved by Ngata, in a socio-political context manipulated by Ngata's own efforts.

Although his School and movement were predicated on preserving the past for the future, Ngata was not afraid of, nor a stranger to, modern construction techniques. Building codes of the time forced his whare whakairo to appropriate Pākehā building methodologies – multiple exits, opening windows, electric lights, fire resistant construction etc.<sup>35</sup> At Takitimu <sup>Fig. 12</sup> for example, the pou supporting the tahuhu



Figure 11. Sir Āpirana Ngata leads a haka on the marae ātea at Te Whare Rūnanga at Waitangi Centennial celebrations in 1940. From Brown, *Māori Architecture*, 90.

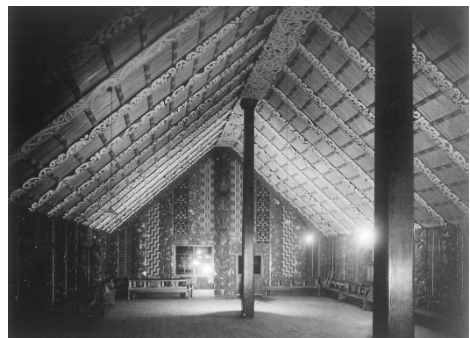


Figure 12. Interior of Takitimu meeting house, where the steel nature of the pou-tahu is visibly present. Still a Ngata-esque whare, it demonstrates his readiness to adopt Pākehā building practices and deploy them alongside tikanga Māori ones. From Brown, *Māori Architecture*, 94.

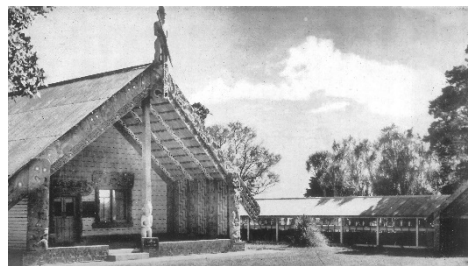


Figure 13. This view of Te Whare Rūnanga before the growth of surrounding vegetation reveals the iron roof and weatherboard sidings. The full depth of the mahau and pou pou within is also on display. From Phillipps, *Carved Māori house*, fig. 151, 94.

<sup>29</sup> McKay, *Maori Architecture*, 5.

<sup>30</sup> McGill, *Landmarks*, 15.

<sup>31</sup> Brown, “Mōrehu Architecture,” 359.

<sup>32</sup> McGill, 15.

<sup>33</sup> Phillipps, *Carved Maori Houses*, 261.

<sup>34</sup> Brown, “Mōrehu Architecture,” 358.

<sup>35</sup> Brown, *Māori Architecture: from fale to wharenui and beyond*, 89.

are unashamedly honest about their steel construction.<sup>36</sup> At Waitangi, a different approach was taken: this apex of Māori art and identity takes great care to hide its architectonic innovation behind “an interior of natural materials and subdued colours.”<sup>37</sup> The whare included weatherboards, iron roofing, <sup>Fig. 13</sup> electric lighting, and windows in every wall.<sup>38</sup> Each of these aspects is not immediately obvious or celebrated in the house’s adornments. The plan is based on the whare at Ruatepukepuke, but does away with (at Ngata’s behest) the deep porches and recesses that turn that whare into a communal building.<sup>39</sup> Harkening to the past of a thriving Māoritanga takes precedent here, and Ngata’s reasoning for concealing appropriated Pākehā construction methods in this whare is self-evident.

The front elevation (mahau) of the whare serves both to hide the modern construction and to display some of the carving styles prevalent across New Zealand. The maihi are decorated in a pattern used by Wero Taroi (of Arawa descent) and are supported by amo in the Bay of Plenty style.<sup>40</sup> The lintel of the door is in the Hauraki style, the window in Napier.<sup>41</sup> This variety in styles serves as a ‘taster’ of the whare’s interior. The steeply gabled roof is reminiscent of Te Hau Ki Turanga and the wharenuī of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – architectonic traditionalisation on full display. <sup>Fig. 15</sup> Already one can read Te Whare Rūnanga as an ultimate meeting point of nationwide tribal tradition. The façade of Te Whare Rūnanga is both a microcosm of the whakairo within (themselves the ultimate artistic synthesis of Ngata’s movement) and an expression of the architectonic features Ngata aimed to centre a Māori architectural identity around.

Buttressing that identity is the arrangement of whakairo poupou within the whare: starting with the tekoteko (which represents a universal migratory and celestial ancestor<sup>42</sup> <sup>Fig. 17</sup>), whakapapa flows down the tahuhu, and directs the visitor into the whare. Within the whare, 14 pairs<sup>43</sup> (the 28 identities) find their ancestral connection to the tahuhu via heke, each with distinct kōwhaiwhai that connect each iwi to a single, celestial, migratory ancestor. <sup>Fig. 14</sup> While these whakairo poupou may not have been carved by tohunga



Figure 14. Photomontage of the interior of Te Whare Rūnanga. This wide angle allows one to see the relationship of paired poupou, and how their whakapapa flows via heke and kōwhaiwhai to the tahuhu and the celestial genealogy. From McGill, *The Māori Meeting House*, 78.



Figure 15. Mahau, Te Whare Rūnanga, Waitangi. Note the vegetation that has grown around the whare, and the gabled roof with maihi reaching – the arms of the universal ancestor beckoning – from the tekoteko to the amo to the whenua. Author’s own photograph.

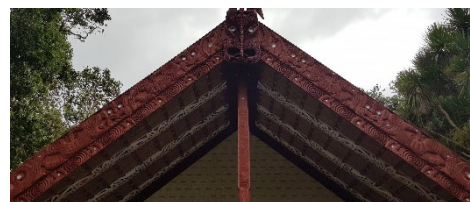


Figure 16. Close-up of maihi and heke, kōwhaiwhai within mahau, Te Whare Rūnanga. Author’s own photograph.



Figure 17. Close-up of tekoteko standing guard atop the gable at Te Whare Rūnanga. Author’s own photograph.

<sup>36</sup> Brown, 94.

<sup>37</sup> Skinner, *The Māori Meeting House*, 78.

<sup>38</sup> Brown, “Mōrehu Architecture,” 359.

<sup>39</sup> Brown, 359.

<sup>40</sup> Waitangi National Trust, *Waitangi Carved Meeting House*, 2.

<sup>41</sup> Waitangi National Trust, 2.

<sup>42</sup> Waitangi National Trust, 2.

<sup>43</sup> Brown, Ellis, *Te Puna*, 31.



whakairo of their iwi (ostensibly because of a loss of that mātauranga, and because of the influence Ngata exerted upon selecting artisans for the project), the care taken by those working on the project when studying different whakairo ensures the representations achieved were as pure and respectful as possible. The tukutuku panels between the whakairo poupou visualise universal concepts – such as the open armpits of a warrior in battle, or the prestigious patterns found at the edges of korowai, or the growth of man.<sup>44</sup> These references, not tied to any one identity or confederation, further espouse the universal nature of the house. Also notable is the variety of tribal identities visible in whakairo on the poutahu (Kaipara, Ngāti Whatua), the poutokomanawa (Ngāpuhi), and the poupou found within the mahou (Whanau-a-Apanui).<sup>45</sup>

Outside of the pan-tribal context, Te Whare Rūnanga also represents the strive for a successfully bicultural Aotearoa. It stands as a symbol of hope for the manifestation of a utopia wherein Tiriti promises are honoured, where Māoridom achieves tino rangatiratanga in co-governance. Its very existence holds at bay outdated thoughts of monoculture and Māori assimilation. Next to Busby's Treaty House, the whare sings centre stage as the star of pan-iwi architecture and 'apolitically' reminds a Pākehā government of its obligations under Te Tiriti o Waitangi. While a more typical Ngata influenced whare whakairo embodies pan-iwi identity through form and structure (allowing whakairo to tell tribe-specific histories and whakapapa), Te Whare Rūnanga certainly stands as a shining example of Ngata's Māoritanga Renaissance.



Figure 18. Poutahu, tahuu, heke, kōwhaiwhai, and whakairo all meet at the rear of Te Whare Rūnanga. Author's own photograph.

### ***Looking to the future – a new exploration of architectural identity?***

Māoridom should have been granted the freedom to explore architectural identities – one need only look to parallel movements that flourished in western nations, like the push-pull of postmodern classicism and deconstructivism or a divided Germany's struggle between the neoclassical and the modern, to know that coexistence is possible. The presence of imperial Britain however, led to the near destruction of Māoritanga in its genealogical form, and thus drove Ngata to a drastic response. He worked within the Westminster government structure to bring Māori back together and fight disenfranchisement within an imposed capitalist system – both through developing the novel yet 'traditional' architectural typology of the whare whakairo and through his other work as a statesman and leader. Certainly, examples of parallel styles exist and house their religio-political movements

<sup>44</sup> Waitangi National Trust, 4.

<sup>45</sup> Waitangi National Trust, 2-3.

today (one need only look to the Kīngitanga movement as an exemplar), but Ngata's influence indubitably occupies the most space in that theatre, and exerts influence today.

Had it not been for the New Zealand wars, and colonial subjugation of indigeneity in general, one could almost imagine a future where these movements all flourished; a world where Ngata's idealised whare whakairo developing alongside the Ringatū or Rātana styles rather than emerging at their expense. On an uneven playing field, Ngata saw a need to unify Māoridom and approach Pākehā at the table as a single people, to ground, restore, and revitalise Māoritanga. Te Whare Rūnanga at Waitangi stands as a testament to that intention – the ultimate expression of a pan-tribal typology, it represents te ao Māori standing as one alongside te ao Pākehā. The question today then becomes: did Ngata succeed in his attempts to preserve Māoritanga for the future with respect to the past to the point where Māoridom has the freedom to explore new architectural languages?

It is of course, only the place (and the right) of tangata whenua to answer those question.

## ***Glossary of Te Reo terms***

- Amo* – carved vertical posts, appearing below maihi on the mahau of a whare
- Aotearoa* – Te Rea name for New Zealand
- Heke* – the ceiling rafters within a whare
- Iwi* – Māori tribal groups, separated by region or whakapapa to migratory waka, further broken down into hāpū (subtribes) and whānau (extended family)
- Kauhanganui* – a Māori parliament movement
- Kete* – baskets woven from *harakeke* (native flax)
- Kīngitanga* – the Māori king movement
- Kōwhaiwhai* – scroll paintings within whare
- Korowai* – ceremonial Māori cloaks
- Mahau* – the porch or verandah of a whare
- Maihi* – barge boards on the front of a whare whakairo
- Māori* – the indigenous people of Aotearoa
- Māoritanga* – Māori culture, traditions, and way of life. Not to be confused with *tikanga* (the application of mātauranga Māori)
- Marae* – a collection of structures that form the centre of Māori communities – for eating, sleeping, convening, etc. Also used interchangeably with wharenui
- Marae ātea* – the open, grassed area in front of a whare on a marae complex
- Mātauranga Māori* – indigenous knowledge, passed down through oral histories, art, etc.
- Moana* – the sea, both as the physical and as whakapapa
- Pātaka* – Māori storehouse, often raised above ground to protect from water/pest ingress. Also often decorated with whakairo
- Pākehā* – European New Zealanders
- Pou* – Structural posts within a whare
- Poupou* – carved panels on the walls of a whare, either on the mahau or within the whare itself
- Poutahu* – a pou in the wall of a whare, supporting the tahuhu
- Poutokomanawa* – freestanding pou within the whare, supporting the tahuhu
- Rātana* – a church and pan-iwi political movement founded by Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana
- Ringatū* – a religio-political movement founded by anti-crown Māori leader Te Kooti
- Tahuu* – the ridgepole, or spine, of a whare, usually laid second after structural pou

*Tangata* – people

*Te ao Māori* – the Māori world, encompassing mātauranga Māori, tikanga, whakapapa, whenua, moana etc.

*Te ao Pākehā* – the Pākehā world

*Tekoteko* – the carved figure who stands at the peak of the mahau, where the tahuhi meets the maihi

*Tikanga* – practicing values from mātauranga Māori

*Tino Rangatiratanga* – absolute sovereignty by Māori people over Māori affairs, as per Te Tiriti o Waitangi

*Tohunga Whakairo* – carving teachers

*Toi Whakairo* – the art of Māori carving

*Tukutuku* – a distinctly Māori art form involving weaved lattice panels

*Waka* – Māori canoes used for migration, war, fishing, etc.

*Whakapapa* – Māori genealogy or ancestry, intertwined with their ancestral relationships to whenua, moana, celestial bodies, and migratory waka

*Whare* – Te Reo for house

*Whareniui* – a Māori meeting house

*Wharepuni* – a Māori sleeping house

*Whare Whakairo* – a Māori meeting house exhibiting toi whakairo, manipulated by Ngata in the early 20th century

*Whenua* – land, both as the physical and as the whakapapa

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