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## The Revival of a Tradition? Traditional Māori Musical Instruments Today and the Aspect of Authenticity

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### **Authorship**

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, which is not explicitly defined in the references, nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institutions of higher learning.

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## **Abstract**

The traditional culture of the Māori, the indigenous population of New Zealand, has been intensively repressed due to the impacts of colonial and especially Christian missionary interference in social, economic and cultural and self-evidently religious life. In respect of music and the traditional musical instruments this implied the replacement by Western styles and genres, such as hymns and march music as well as the introduction of European instruments. With the prohibition of all (heathen) ceremonial rituals also the contexts for musical performances got lost, with the consequence that knowledge about musical instruments and the practical aspects in particular, has no longer been orally transmitted from generation to generation.

Fortunately a great number of old beautiful specimens could be preserved in museums and private collections and a significant amount of information about shape, material, manufacturing methods, descriptions of the sounds and sometimes even of the contexts were recorded as well as illustrations had been made. Nevertheless detailed and reliable knowledge about playing techniques and performance practices is virtually non-existent today.

From about the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century onwards within the academy and among musicians a new consciousness for the musical tradition emerged and the need or the desire for the preservation and documentation of the last remnants of knowledge and material was recognisable. Within this a movement had its beginnings – it might be called a “revival” – with the purpose of re-integrating the reconstructed and revitalised instrumental tradition in social life and of attracting the people’s attention for the forgotten art.

This thesis argues with the legitimacy of applying the term “revival” in the case of the recent developments of *taonga pūoro*, the traditional Māori musical instruments, in regard to authenticity and traditionality. On closer consideration it becomes apparent that the designation “revival” is inappropriate, for the musical instrumental tradition has never been entirely obliterated, but rather dormant. Instead another crucial issue arises, namely the eligibility of using evaluation criteria, like authenticity and traditionality, in the context of analysing historic traditional culture in the present age. As a matter of fact historical continuity cannot be maintained, as the mutual exchange of ideas, attitudes and behaviours is an inherent facet of social life. Thus an alteration of cultural tradition to a certain extent is inevitable, that is why the terms “tradition” and “authenticity”, in their conventional sense, are not applicable anymore and why their definition should be reconsidered.

Die traditionelle Kultur der Māori, der indigenen Bevölkerung Neuseelands, wurde aufgrund der Auswirkungen des Kolonialismus und speziell durch die Einflussnahme der Missionare in das soziale, wirtschaftliche, kulturelle und religiöse Leben, weitgehend verdrängt. In Hinblick auf Musik und Instrumententradition bedeutete dies die Ersetzung durch westliche Stile und Genres, wie etwa Hymnen und Marschmusik, sowie die Einführung von Europäischen Instrumenten. Mit dem Verbot von sämtlichen (heidnischen) Zeremonien und Ritualen gingen die Kontexte für musikalische Aufführungen verloren. Ohne die praktische Anwendung des Wissens wurde dessen mündliche Überlieferung an die nächste Generation obsolet. Glücklicherweise blieb eine relativ große Anzahl von kunstvoll gestalteten alten Exemplaren erhalten, welche sich heute in Museen oder Privatsammlungen befinden. Zusätzlich existiert eine Vielzahl an Berichten und Illustrationen bezüglich Form, Material, Herstellungsmethoden, Klang und hin und wieder Kontext. Dennoch sind detaillierte und verlässliche Quellen zu den Spieltechniken und der Aufführungspraxis heute rar.

Um Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts regte sich in akademischen und Musikkreisen ein neues Interesse für die Musiktradition und ein Bedürfnis nach Erhaltung der letzten noch existierenden Reste von Wissen machte sich bemerkbar. In diesem Rahmen nahm eine Bewegung ihren Lauf, welche möglicherweise als “Revival” bezeichnet werden kann und die das Ziel verfolgte die rekonstruierte, wiederbelebte Tradition wieder in den Alltag der Menschen zu integrieren bzw. das Bewusstsein für die traditionelle Kunst wiederzuerwecken.

In dieser Arbeit wird die Legitimität der Anwendung des Begriffs “Revival” im Falle der jüngsten Entwicklungen von *taonga pūoro*, der traditionellen Musikinstrumente der Māori in Hinblick auf Authentizität und Traditionalität diskutiert. Bei genauerer Betrachtung wird deutlich, dass sich die Bezeichnung “Revival” nicht eignet, da die Musikinstrumententradition nie gänzlich ausgelöscht war, sondern nur geruht hat. Vielmehr stellt sich die andere wesentliche Frage nach der Berechtigung des Heranziehens von Kriterien wie Authentizität und Traditionalität zur Beurteilung, im Rahmen der Analyse von historisch traditioneller Kultur in der Gegenwart. Tatsächlich ist die Aufrechterhaltung von historischer Kontinuität nicht möglich, da der gegenseitige Austausch von Ideen, Gesinnungen und Verhaltensweisen ein inhärenter Aspekt von sozialem Leben ist. Demnach kann die Veränderung von kultureller Tradition bis zu einem gewissen Ausmaß nicht vermieden werden, weshalb auch Begriffe wie “Tradition” und “Authentizität” in ihrem konventionellem Sinn, keine Anwendung mehr finden und weshalb deren Definition neu überdacht werden sollte.

# INTRODUCTION

## Choice of Topic

My interest in this topic emerged already at the very beginning of my study, as I attended a lecture on Music of Oceania. After a few years of study I remembered clearly one thing mentioned about the traditional music of the Māori, the indigenous people of New Zealand.

The fact that the traditional musical culture of the Māori, that was assumed to be nearly extinct at the time, experienced a renaissance in the 20<sup>th</sup> century aroused my interest, which persisted to his day and eventually led to the decision to examine this topic more precisely.

In the course of my studies my focus predominantly shifted to ethnomusicology, therefore the possibility of doing some research on a newly revived but ancient culture and on the perception of the old tradition in the modern world was compelling. In search of literature and while framing the field of the thesis increasingly the insufficiency of available sources at the University of Vienna became obvious, which had a rather discouraging effect. It seemed reasonable to find an academic supervisor or a person to discuss my intentions with. And as there was no habilitated Oceania expert among the university staff it proved to be rather difficult at first. By a fortunate coincidence Dr. Raymond Ammann, a specialist for traditional Melanesian music, gave a few lectures in Vienna that semester and he agreed to supervise my thesis. Though he was no expert for the indigenous New Zealand itself, his experience and his judgement influenced the progress of the master thesis overly positive. He investigates traditional music of Melanesia for more than twenty years now. For this purpose he did field work in New Caledonia and Vanuatu for a decade and longer. Therefore his suggestions and his help are appreciated from every point of view. Additionally it was a great benefit he helped me to socialise in New Zealand.

After presenting my idea to him he recommended to focus on musical instruments – especially on flutes, since the topic was too broad to investigate and to obtain meaningful results. Admittedly the actual aim of this thesis was rather vague until the end of the fieldwork, when sufficient knowledge was accumulated and an approximate picture of the cultural situation, the consciousness and the people's perception in New Zealand was recognisable. To be exact decisive was the (short) telephone conversation with Mervyn McLean in December 2011, when a little disagreement in regard to the approach to knowledge and information within the “revival” (“renaissance”) movement or the developments in the last few decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century became noticeable.



Mervyn McLean's advice to view the topic from a critical perspective and to question behaviours and attitudes finally provided the missing core of this thesis.

### **Questions & Ambition**

Therefore the main issue of the research work was not clear during most of the time of the stay in New Zealand and some insecurity on my part arose. A mere description of instruments could probably turn out to be rather superficial in the end, but moreover it would have been redundant, for the simple reason that there are already sufficient excellent publications on this topic, although mainly available in New Zealand.

Apart from that "revival" aspect seemed to be an interesting and exciting field to explore. Inevitably many questions emerged, like: What was the particular reason for this movement to evolve? Could we even call it a "revival" or movement? When did it happen and who initialised it? Why at this point in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. What does the "revival" mean to the New Zealanders (whether Māori or *pākehā*<sup>1</sup>) and for the national identity? How is the perception of "tradition" today?

And those were also the questions, which formed the initial basis of my research. They still constitute the core of this thesis, although some alterations and amendments are expectable throughout respectively other issues have been raised during research and writing the thesis that appeared to be more important to answer. Finally a more defined and focused frame for the key question(s) crystallised.

One main problem is to examine – if possible – whether "revival" is an appropriate term for the developments of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century or is it advisable to use expressions like reinterpretation and recontextualisation? What were the intentions of the responsible actors in that particular development? What aroused the desire to remind people of a precious, ancient tradition and to reinforce people's awareness of the native's (once) inherent culture, which gradually has been forgotten over time or simply ignored. To which extent are economic and commercial benefits crucial factors? And above all: Is the cultural picture – in this special case of the portrayal of musical instruments – presented today a reliable reconstruction of the past?

Thoughts like this emerged because of a statement Richard Nunns', who is a founding member of *Hau manu*, a group of people who dedicated their life to the "revivalism" of Māori musical instruments.

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<sup>1</sup> „New Zealander of European descent“ (Moorfield 2012)

In an interview in December 2011 he emphasised very strongly that most of the knowledge Richard and his companions gathered due to their research findings, which they pass on to the audience, is solely based upon assumptions. Especially concerning the playing practice (Nunns 2011). As records about the performing aspect of the instruments are tenuous and those few which claim to have had observed Māori while playing instruments are often rather unreliable, there is no real evidence that the playing methods practised today depict exactly (or even merely approximately) the original tradition.

An elucidative example is the myth of the New Zealand nose flute, which Mervyn McLean, a musicologist and a pioneer researcher in regard to traditional Māori music, discussed elaborately, assessing it rather as a fallacy than a fact. An attitude not shared by Richard Nunns, who refers to the physical possibility to sound it with the nose – maybe disregarding the aesthetic component. Hence in his view there must have been once the purpose to do so. The debate will be examined in a following chapter in a more detailed way. This and other examples might illustrate why particularly in case of the musical instruments of the Māori the designation “revival” may be suitable only conditionally and why the term shall therefore be used with reservation.

Questioning the genuineness of a revitalised culture is a delicate issue. Even though the notion of the reawakening and the consequent successful reintegration of a nearly forgotten tradition, only due to a handful of passionate people, is very fascinating the critical consideration is unavoidable. People incline to romanticise and idealise, when a desire for self-definition emerges, a natural implication of the fast moving and seemingly merging world. Thus people prefer to refrain from scrutinising attitudes and behaviour. Hence besides the “revival” issues like “authenticity” and “traditionality” become the focus of attention.

Nevertheless the movement and achievements are of inestimable value, as precious information and data is preserved for the future and accessible to general public. The effort to maintain a tradition opens up many other possibilities for different domains of a society to turn the cultural “renaissance” into advantage. In our modern world the commercial use is often of great importance, which may be seen in a rather negative light by some critics, probably predominantly from academic circles. Though sometimes the commercial benefit is a consequence of the attempt to get closer to the audience or to familiarise them with the cultural ideas, as marketing is often the only way to address people.

Resumed on the one hand the main issue of this master thesis is the examination of the “revival” process, the intentions and the possible consideration of the process as a reinterpretation and recontextualisation of an ancient tradition in modern times. In this respect the authenticity and traditionality of (this) culture shall be reviewed.

Additionally the perception of cultural tradition in general and of musical instruments in particular must be elucidated as well as the cultural, social and commercial use. The utilisation of cultural heritage for profitable aims might be doubted on some parts in New Zealand, that is why this aspect needs to be considered when analysing the national value of the tradition. A further disagreement exists concerning method and approach applied for the preservation and dissemination of the musical art, when in some respect a notion of a tradition is created that might not necessarily coincide with the actual conditions of the past.

The purpose of thesis is to analyse as many aspects of this topic as possible and to show different perspectives and approaches to it. What were the achievements, the positive effects of the newly discovered but ancient culture for the society, for the economy and the national identity? What were the points of criticism, regarding to which aspects did disagreements and discussions emerge? Thus the socio-cultural, socio-political and socio-economic aspects of an “revival”, namely the perception of an (alleged) ancient culture, the effect, intentions and the application of the revitalised ideas and objects as well as the role of those traditional instruments in a progressed and globalised modern world shall be illustrated.

Elucidating those important issues is the main task within the scope of this work. But before it is necessary to clarify and to define the key terms and in which context they will be used.

### **Determination of Terms**

The thesis title *The Revival of a Tradition? – Traditional Māori Musical Instruments and the Aspect of Authenticity* contains the key terms of this thesis. The questionmark refers to the term “revival” as well as to the term “tradition”. By analysing the “revival” in a sceptical manner, similarly the question must be raised, if the application of the designation is appropriate in the case of the recent development in regard to Māori musical instruments. Literally “revival” means the act to bring something back to life, this in turn presupposes the preceding extinction or “dead” of the revived idea or object. To be fair “revival” can’t be regarded as *the* term universally, commonly used for describing the recent developments and hence not explicitly determined to denote the particular processes happening in New Zealand.

But it was mentioned by some of the actors who contributed to the vitalisation of Māori instruments in the last few decades or those who were involved in the movement itself (e.g. Brian Flintoff 2011) or by the media reporting on exactly those persons. Thus it provided an interesting base for discussion and the inclusion in the thesis was indispensable. This one word expresses everything that could be attributed to this development and it simplifies to write about this topic. However, as the application of the term is the questioned issue it will be in quotation marks when mentioned in regard to Māori musical instruments.

Its meaning seems to be quite easy to determine, as it denotes simply the event or process of bringing and historical and by this time dead or extinct cultural object or idea back to life.

“Tradition” could be regarded as a very broad term and is therefore difficult to define exactly as it depends on in which field it is applied and from which perspective it is regarded. In the literal sense it denotes all knowledge and every story that has been handed down from one person to another or one generation to another. In the conventional or common sense it implies everything that is inherent to a society’s culture, moreover everything that is supposed to be historic original and consistent with the past. But what is the historic original state? Where is the point in a society’s history to mark the beginning of the era of “traditionality” and where to mark the end? According to Handler and Linnekin (1984) the western anthropological concept of tradition assumes an “unchanging core of ideas and customs ... always handed down ... from the past” (273).

In this case, as the Māori culture is regarded as rather young – by referring to the timespan since the human habitation of New Zealand by Polynesians only about 1000 years ago – the pre-European time will define the “traditional time” for this thesis. Thus the “traditional Māori”, as it might occur, denotes in this work the Māori of New Zealand before the advent of Europeans.

Debating about Tradition sooner or later involves the analyses of the authenticity and historical fidelity of the supposedly ancient culture performed in the present. And again the persistent issue might arouse, where and how to set the marker in history for determining the genuineness to which we refer when we speak about “authentic” culture? In the common understanding it is more or less an arbitrary determined period in the past which is characterised by certain traits and values that might be worth to revert to, depending on the particular needs and desires in the present. But needs and values alter according to living conditions, they follow trends. And trends might be generated and controlled by the economy, politics and so forth. Thus authenticity is equally volatile.

If authenticity and historical fidelity are no fixed parameters for reference, wouldn't designations like reinterpretation of an ancient culture of the past, or recontextualisation be more appropriate? The term "reinterpretation" connotes in this thesis the present and assumed accurate interpretation of contexts, items, customs, rituals etc., as well as the sources referring to those cultural traits, associated with a past culture. Recontextualisation implies the placement of a cultural item, which supposedly once was connected to certain contexts of the past, into a new environment in the present, to use it for new purposes and maybe to attribute new values to it.

The introduced terms occurred frequently during my research work and therefore are regarded as the key words. The coherence of all those concepts and definitions in regard to Māori musical instruments will be elucidated later in this thesis.

## **Structure**

To structure the thesis into the right order was a difficult task, as state of research, literature, revival, history – every topic is inextricably connected and it wields influence on each other. Admittedly it was very challenging to convey profound knowledge of all the fields involved in the scope of this thesis without causing confusion. The source situation and the state of research constitute the actual base of this topic and the deciding factor for the revival of a culture. If the knowledge and performance of the particular culture is vital to the present and further if old records and descriptions of instruments were clear, without contradictions, there would be no urge or less a need to revitalise this culture or to learn more about it. Though that would require that ancient customs and traditions have been practised down to the present day and the knowledge handed down from one generation to the other. A state or situation that is virtually impossible in the case of the encounter of two (or more) different cultures and the high probability of suppression by and adaptation, assimilation or even acculturation of the superior culture. Hence the available as well as the non-existent sources define without question a crucial part of the "revival".

Before illuminating core of my master thesis explicitly, namely the "revival" itself, the recent developments and the approach to knowledge about Māori musical instruments as well as the people's perception of it nowadays and likewise the use of it, it appears to be reasonable to give a first brief overview of the objects of study and to provide historical basics. In describing the instruments and quoting early contemporary witnesses' accounts, already a lot of disagreements, inconsistencies and different ideas emerge.

Therefore it is necessary to devote a certain part to the introduction of instruments and to historical events, decisive for special developments and grave transformations in the Māori culture. However, this thesis is no systematic examination of musical instruments in the sense of organology. Also it is not an introduction or detailed description of every existing ancient Māori musical instrument, mentioned in the literature, in regard to shape, size, sound, scale and so forth, unless it is noteworthy because of special and interesting features.

## STATE OF RESEARCH & METHODOLOGY

### **State of Research & Sources**

Because of the interaction of the various fields that are crucial for the occurrence of a revival it is not possible to distinguish exactly the “theoretical” approach in this thesis, namely the state of research and the source situation from the analytical and interpretive part. The state of research and the sources actually depict the foundation on which the process of the revival is based and which serves as the base of my research.

The source situation regarding traditional musical instruments is due to early documentation of sailors or the participants on the first expeditions basically satisfactory, in respect to theoretical knowledge. It consists of extensive travel books, logs, letters, illustrations and of course collections of diverse art objects and instruments, designated for European museums and private collectors.

From a present-day perspective the records of James Cook, who accomplished three voyages in the Pacific Ocean and who was the first European to go on shore in New Zealand, were utterly important for the research on this field. Further crucial sources are the reports of some of his companions on his expeditions, e.g. Sir Joseph Banks (first expedition, see Banks 1896) or Georg Forster (second expedition, see Forster 1777). Additionally George F. Angas (Angas 1847a+b) must be mentioned, whose illustrations and sketches from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century are today generally acknowledged as relevant iconographical sources. But there are even earlier sources: already Abel Tasman wrote his impressions of Māori sounds down, as he discovered New Zealand in 1642 – more than 120 years prior to Cook – whereas he never set foot on land. “They also blew several times on an instrument of which the sound was like that of a Moorish trumpet” (Tasman qtd. by Best 2005: 215). This record is considered to be the first document about Māori musical instruments.

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century ethnographers, ethnologists, ethnomusicologists and other scientists like Elsdon Best, Johannes C. Andersen or Augustus Hamilton began to examine and interpret those valuable writings. In the course of their research they investigated the instruments on their own in undertaking measurements and tests of specimens in museums and private collections, as well as recording interviews and sound samples from the “last” traditional musicians.

I quoted the word “last” for the reason, that already back then those people were more or less believed the last few having obtained the traditional knowledge of their ancestors in the traditional way – orally transmitted from generation to generation. Anyway within a few decades later from this research works emerged some of the most important publications dedicated to the preservation of the traditional Māori musical instruments (Hamilton 1896, Best 1976, Andersen 2002). Researchers from the mid or late 20<sup>th</sup> century like Mervyn McLean in turn based their studies on the comprehensive writings of Augustus Hamilton, Elsdon Best etc. as well as on the records of James Cook and contemporaries.

In this thesis a fundamental descriptive literature regarding musical instruments, from Elsdon Best and Johannes C. Andersen to more recent publications from Mervyn McLean and Brian Flintoff, should give a solid overview. These are some of the most extensive publications in this field and further they combine very different points of view in their work, as almost every early record is quoted, if important, interesting and reliable. I believe it is necessary to provide some biographical data as well when introducing the sources I used to reveal the author’s access to this particular field.

For example Elsdon Best (1976: 285 f) was no musicologist, according to his own statements – also confirmed by Johannes C. Andersen (2002: 231 ff) – he apparently didn’t have any musical sense at all. But as ethnographer he devoted himself to every single aspect of Māori culture and life, like house building, agriculture or warfare, and he therefore preserved much knowledge about Māori tradition in general, also including cultural objects like musical instruments (Sissons 2012). Though it must be kept in mind that he had no comprehension in musical issues when estimating his writings, especially in regard to possibly doubtful and unconfirmed information he might have quoted. In all fairness, source criticism is an indispensable aspect of research and literature review.

Elsdon Best’s *Games and Pastimes of the Māori* (Best 1976, 2005), first published in 1925, contains detailed descriptions of everything that served as a pastime, starting from children’s games, dances and performance through to musical instruments<sup>2</sup> and their application.

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<sup>2</sup> When recapitulating all the sources the instruments appear to have served as anything but a pastime. It were rather special functions and contexts essential for the maintenance of the order of everyday life, to which the particular instruments had been bound. For example the trumpets had been used for signalling (in war times). The bullroarers, humming discs as well as (some of) the flutes are believed to have been applied in sacred contexts, like rites and ceremonies. Detailed descriptions will be presented in the following chapters.



Eldson Best has done some fieldwork in this respect, visiting different *iwi*<sup>3</sup>, interviewing people and recording music, measuring, illustrating and testing instruments collected in museums - among others together with Johannes C. Andersen.

Johannes Carl Andersen published his book *Māori Music – with its Polynesian Background* in 1934 (Andersen 2002), but with previous publications separated into parts in the section “Memoirs” of the *Journal of Polynesian Society* from 1933 to 1934, which is also available online (see Andersen 1933, 1934). Musical instruments were not his sole focus in this writing, as it is dedicated to Māori music in general. However he also reported on their experiences in the field, searching for Māori who were able to sound instruments, particularly flutes, and who were aware of the original playing and manufacturing methods.

Above all he tried to exhibit conformities of the New Zealand instruments to instruments of other parts of the Polynesian South Pacific. On the basis of their similarities or diversities he attempted to raise a discussion or rather to raise a sceptic view towards the implicit assumptions of a continuation of Polynesian heritage. While studying this writing the impression is created that he aimed at encouraging the reader for a critical evaluation of all the previous accounts. For example concerning the nose flute, which is a very common and definitely confirmed instrument and playing method in Tahiti and elsewhere in the Pacific, but this does not necessarily connote that the New Zealand nose flute is an incontestable historical fact.

Some authorities may suggest Johannes C. Andersen merely theorised about the written sources instead of examining the instruments in a practical manner and therefore supposedly have not contributed much to the work, which seems to have paved the way for the upcoming “revival” about half a century later (Moyle 2011). Andersens’ own statements disagree, as he was apparently searching for some last apt musicians or at least some few persons who had little knowledge about traditional instruments. For this purpose he brought ancient flutes from museums with him: “Not only have I never met a Māori who could sound the *koauau*, but I have never seen a *koauau* in the possession of Māori [...]” (Andersen 2002: 231). Obviously already back then the search for orally transmitted and hereby saved information was not satisfying. This fact opens an interesting perspective to the “revival” fieldwork undertaken about half a century later.

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<sup>3</sup> „extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race - often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor“ (Moorfield 2012)

According to the *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand* the ethnologist Andersen possessed profound knowledge of “native flora and fauna, Māori culture, New Zealand history, Māori and Pakeha placenames, and Polynesian myths and legends“, more or less acquired autodidactically. Certainly this were decisive factors for him to qualify for the job as the first librarian of the *Alexander Turnbull Library*, today part of the *National Archive of New Zealand* and probably the most important “collection of manuscript and printed material” (Gibbons 2012). Beside Elsdon Best he also was co-editor of the *Journal of Polynesian Society*. Altogether Andersen published about thirty books and papers.

Although it is said that he was “defending the orthodox view of Polynesian traditional history established by Best and S. Percy Smith [...]“ his works seem to examine older records in a more sceptical light, not deeming them fundamentally unreliable, but deploying reasonable source criticism. He gives some examples of illustrations that seemingly were entirely or partly copied and then fitted into a new background, e.g. sketches of the wooden gong *pahū*. There are several drawings showing the same village, the same watchtower from which the instrument is suspended and even perhaps the same persons on the tower, but the instruments differ in shape or size. Such discoveries diminish the reliability of sources to a certain extent, respectively lead to confusion. In this regard he also mentions Best’s imprecision in copying some illustrations for his “bulletin”. Besides Andersen (2002) once questioned Best’s account of the encounter with Kiwi Amohau, a Māori from the Rotorua district, who they photographed with a *kōauau*, but only for “ethnological purposes”, as the interviewee didn’t know how to sound the flute. And Best remarked in his writings just the opposite, whereupon Andersen guessed, that “[...] his memory must have played him false” (p. 201 ff).

Such discrepancies unfortunately occurred not seldom. For example more than one writer doubted the reliability of writer and linguist John White, who published many manuscripts in Māori. It is commonly believed he translated his notes and research results of Māori culture into Māori, as if it has been told to him in Māori. This caused a little discontent among other scientists, as the translation may have caused deviations from the original (Andersen 2002: 235). Nevertheless he obviously contributed much to (improve) the relationship between Māori and Europeans or *pākehā*. As secretary and translator of Governor Sir George Grey he played a significant role in crucial negotiations regarding land rights (Reilly 2012).

Then, in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the ethnomusicologist Mervyn McLean (for further biographical details see p. 67) investigated traditional Māori music and critically commented on many of the previous sources. Especially concerning the information Andersen and Best received from Māori within the scope of their fieldwork.

To be exact, Andersen himself already questioned the authenticity of the gathered knowledge about the Māori traditions and if their method was the right approach. This is more or less what McLean criticised decades later. With a state of research and a source situation like in New Zealand, when the ancient tradition and the people's consciousness of it is believed to be almost extinct, and nevertheless surviving (and suddenly appearing) remnants can be saved, the genuineness of the obtained material and above all the informants' aims need to be scrutinised. Facts might be amplified just for the reason to satisfy the researcher's expectations or maybe because of the own enthusiasm. It always depends on the way the interviewer asks the questions, which will even be aggravated by a language barrier (McLean 1974: 79–85, Andersen 2002: 235).

McLeans' work *Māori Music*, first published in 1996 gives simultaneously a very good overview of Māori music in general, special aspects of Māori culture, historical facts from the habitation of New Zealand to the missionary work, important personalities and additionally the musical instruments. Besides using early sources like those mentioned above he did his own practical research work: he measured many instruments, which are preserved in museums, noting every feature, every peculiarity and trying to sound them himself. Mervyn McLean can be regarded as an important authority in respect of preserving traditional Māori music.

Concerning revivals I found several substantial works, which supply a fundamental view on the measures of the process in general and subsequently explaining it more detailed by means of concrete examples. On the one hand I introduce the article *Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory* by Tamara E. Livingston (Livingston 1999) who initially focussed on the revival of the Brazilian *choro*, a traditional instrumental style and genre characterised by an ensemble consisting of certain instruments. But Livingston tries to create a theoretical construct of a "revival model", proposing a table of inherent features of a social movement like this. She doesn't mean to generalise or to claim every revival to be the same, but listed "basic ingredients" as she calls it, which might appear in the process (p. 69).

Further I refer to Georgina Boyes and her *The Imagined Village. Culture, Ideology and the English Folk Revival* from 1993, which in my opinion is a very interesting and crucial source concerning questions of tradition, cultural fidelity, authenticity, ethnical ideology and also identity. Even if it is addressed to the “English Folk Revival”, apart from giving suggestions for further valuable perspectives, she also contributes great ideas and raises interesting issues, analysing them critically. Questions like “What do revivals have in common? Is there a special frame that could be attributed to every movement, concerning aims, purposes and motivation? Are there special features embedded in this procedure? Is there something intrinsic to all music revivals whether in regard to the reasons, which were decisive or the process they are going through, the participating actors or maybe in the goal they aim at? All of this could equally be applied to any revival, or at least should be considered.

Similar issues are discussed in Jean-François Bayart (2005) and his *The Illusion of Cultural Identity* as well as in Erich Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.) and their volume *The Invention of Tradition* (1983). All of those publications serve as a reference to compare (music) revivals and aspects of traditionality, authenticity and national (cultural) identity, in order to analyse them.

The research in respect of the Māori music “revival” seems to be quite a young discipline, as this development only began at the earliest in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century and it is still taking place, for the dissemination of the newly awakened tradition and also the educational work as a part of the “revival”, namely in terms of workshops, presentations, etc. is an incessant process

Among others Hirini Melbourne<sup>4</sup>, Richard Nunns and Brian Flintoff undertake since the 1980s the task to educate people in this respect. They congregated to an informal association called *Haumanu*, to search together for the sounds of *taonga pūoro*<sup>5</sup>, which were dormant for a very long time (Nunns Documentary Māori TV).

Richard Nunns’ long-awaited book about his journey of rediscovering the old tradition and his research work, was supposed to be at the printers in December 2011 (Moyle 2011), but obviously it will be published at the earliest sometime in 2013. Unfortunately it was not possible to incorporate his detailed description of his experiences in this thesis, it might have been a crucial source for this thesis. It seems no other fundamental writings on the instrumental “revival” are existent, except for a few short writings, like articles in journals.

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<sup>4</sup> Hirini Melbourne 2003 (Flintoff 2004: 7)

<sup>5</sup> English translation: “singing treasures”; *taonga* = “treasure”, *pūoro* = “to sing” (Moorfield 2012).

Therefore the only reasonable approach was the comparison with and the analyses by means of writings on other revival phenomenon or analytical works about cultural traditionality.

The lack of writings or knowledge in general is a problem in regard to the “revival” of the musical instruments. Anne Salmond (1983) stated in her article *The Study of Traditional Māori Society: The State of Art*, published in the *Journal of Polynesian Society*, that there exist two different approaches to investigate the indigenous culture of New Zealand and of interpreting Māori culture: The European scientific way with all the written sources, analysing and comparing them. And experiencing the culture in Māori ways through oral tradition, learning more about their religion and trying to understand the messages in their mythology (p. 309).

But seen from a present-day perspective both ways of preservation did not achieve to save sufficient information, not even in combination. There are plenty of sources from the European side lacking knowledge concerning playing methods, performance contexts and often even manufacturing techniques. And more than a few of the accounts describing any of these facts, found scarcely confirmation or are unlikely to be genuine.

The oral tradition had no chance to survive with the Europeans interfering in the everyday life and social behaviour, banning nearly every cultural practice intrinsic to Māori culture, which resulted in the loss of contexts and consequently of opportunities to perform.

## **Methods**

The main concern of this thesis is to interpret and analyse the developments of the recent past regarding musical instruments. Hermeneutic<sup>6</sup> interpretation of the important written sources as well as of already existing analyses of those sources is more or less inevitable for this work. But also the interpretation of actions and motives of the in this movement involved actors, whether the “revivalists” or the audience, or maybe even those who benefit from the development, ideologically, identificatory or commercially. The hermeneutic, interpretive approach (Bühler 2003: 4ff) is necessary for the introduction of the instruments and also for the examination of (musical) revivals in general, the question of cultural identity and the authenticity of tradition. Thereby other revivals and examples of reconstructed cultural images on international level shall be compared or opposed and consequently they might give some indication of the procedure, the perception and the consciousness in New Zealand.

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<sup>6</sup> In short Hermeneutic is the science of interpreting text as well as speech (Bühler 2003: 4ff).

Nevertheless the personal experience within the scope of research work in New Zealand is invaluable and the qualitative research methods like interrogation and participatory observation supplied additional important data and new insights.

### **Fieldwork in New Zealand**

The lack of information in Vienna or Austria, even without sufficient historical facts, reinforced the decision to do personal research work in New Zealand and to apply for a scholarship for funding of academic research trips, a *KWA – Kurzfristiges Auslandsstipendium*. One of a limited number of those scholarships granted by the University of Vienna for short-term visits abroad for students finishing their Master or PhD had been awarded for my research plans in New Zealand.

This research trip seemed to be necessary and inevitable to get appropriate and useful information about both historical facts as well as more recent events like the developments in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. But however, but it was rather unlikely to find many scientific sources concerning the “revival”, not even in New Zealand because of the recency of events.

Therefore the only option to receive information was through interviews with contemporary actors, who were more or less involved in or even responsible for, but at least well informed about this “revival” movement. Additionally observations, for example of touristic musical performances and other illusory representations of culture gave crucial impressions about the portrayal of the cultural consciousness. The first confirmed interviewee was Richard Moyle, one of Dr. Ammann’s contacts in New Zealand. He was the former director of the Archive of Māori and Pacific Music in Auckland and hence contributed important information or perspectives for my research.

In sum it were four interviews, which appeared to be not sufficient at first and during the visit this caused some worries about the quality of my research, the preparation in advance and the manner of how the interviews proceeded. But soon it was obvious that not the quantity of interviews was decisive. In the course of the improvised interview situation a very casual interview situation developed, which permitted the conversation to evolve in any arbitrary direction and thus plenty of valuable material, new perspectives and new insights were provided. According to methodological vocabulary the interviews can be defined as receptive and another form of interview, also known as “ero-episches Gespräch” in German.

The term has been coined by Roland Girtler, an Austrian sociologist and anthropologist, in his book *Methoden der Feldforschung* (2001)<sup>7</sup>, and denotes conversations (this designation might be more appropriate than interview) of very casual character. The gathering of knowledge is based on mutual exchange of information between interviewer and interviewee. The person, who is supposed to give insights to the research subject, is encouraged to ask questions. The openness and honesty on part of the interviewer should serve as stimuli, reveal the researcher's intentions and engender trust. The main purpose of this type of qualitative collection of data is to generate the feeling of equality and an intimate atmosphere of comfort and respect (p. 147ff). Both interviews with Richard Moyle developed an autonomous dynamic towards this direction. Initially this situation caused a lot of scepticism, insecurity and confusion about my research work on my part, but it turned out to be helpful eventually. He asked certain questions that inspired to rethink my approach and revealed overlooked or ignored perspectives and facts.

The interviewed persons range from an academic to a professional musician and composer and an instrument maker/carver who both participated significantly in the “revival” process. The musician and composer Richard Nunns and the instrument maker Brian Flintoff are both founding members of the group *Haumanu*, an association founded with the aim of revitalising the forgotten sounds of *taonga pūoro* (Māori musical instruments). The interview took place in Brian Flintoff's carving studio in Nelson in November 2011. By coincidence and because of a misunderstanding Richard Nunns decided to join my appointment with Brian Flintoff. It was a revealing and stimulating experience and another point of view presented itself. Already short after my arrival in New Zealand I could experience the first performance of traditional Māori musical instruments, even by the authority Richard Nunns at the Christchurch Arts Festival, when he introduce and demonstrated *taonga pūoro*.

In addition a musician and *Master of Arts* student Robert Thorne agreed to meet for a conversation in his hometown Palmerston North. He, as Māori descendant (his grandmother was Māori) and experimental artist, reflects the contemporary perception and the implementation of tradition in the modern world, when he tries to combine traditional Māori tunes with modern sounds. It was refreshing to experience another than a scientific perspective, although he is a student of *Master of Arts*.

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<sup>7</sup> A general writing about methods of field research.

And of course it was essential to learn about a Māori view on this topic, all the other actors mentioned above are New Zealanders of European descent. Rob Thorne also demonstrated some of the self-made instruments – mainly *kōauau* – to which he dedicated his master thesis. In retrospect every interviewed person represents a different stance and perspective in regard to the “revival” of traditional Māori musical instruments and therefore constitute a good combination of information.

Apart from the few interviews most of my research work happened in libraries, archives and museums. For example in the *Library of Auckland University* and the associated *Archive of Māori in Pacific Music*, where due to the great help of the responsible Archive Resources Coordinator Christina Muaiava – much precious information could be collection, written sources as well as audio files. Besides this the *National Archive of New Zealand* in Wellington, especially the *Alexander Turnbull Library* was also a main workplace, where it is possible to photograph documents for free, e.g. manuscripts of Elsdon Best. Among them were also letters from Gilbert Mair addressed to Augustus Hamilton. Unfortunately it is almost impossible to comprehend his handwriting that is why this source had not been taken into account for the thesis.

Visiting the most important museums of New Zealand and thus the significantly responsible institutions in the process of the “revival” and the creation of a cultural image was absolutely necessary, even more than once, as there were several interesting exhibitions about Māori culture. First of all the *Auckland Museum* where they offer a musical show for extra charge, presenting (allegedly) indigenous New Zealand, which is a perfect example of the touristic value of “traditionality”. It was allowed to take photos and to film, therefore a few interesting scenes of the show and many photos of instruments in the *Auckland Museum* served as source in my research. The photos will partly be presented as illustrations in this thesis.

*The Museum of New Zealand – Te Papa Tongarewa* in Wellington (short *Te Papa*), which is the former Dominion Museum (may occur at some of the old illustrations), offered also elaborate exhibitions of Māori culture. Unfortunately it was not allowed to take photos in the Te Papa Museum. And the third Museum was the rather small *Canterbury Museum* in Christchurch, which admittedly didn’t provide as much interesting material as the preceding ones.



All together I spent three months in New Zealand, from September to December in 2011. In this timespan I collected information and ideas. The explicit issue of my master thesis evolved during further research and while eventually writing the thesis. Due to final courses at university the actual beginning of the work with the master thesis shifted to the summer of 2012, initially evaluating all the gathered material and then gradually starting to write the thesis in autumn.

## INTRODUCTION OF INSTRUMENTS

The belief in nature deities, expressed in mythology constitutes the centre of the Māori being. Natural phenomena explain the cosmology, the genesis and existence of things and the happenings in the spiritual ancestral world, which is inextricably related to life on earth.

All human beings as well as flora and fauna spring from the Sky Father Ranginui (Rangi) and Earth Mother Papatūānuku (Papa) and their several children. Among the children are for instance *Tānemahuta*, the father of forests and birds or *Tangaroa* the god of the Oceans and all their inhabitants and *Tāwhirimātea* the god of the wind and they play in an important role in cultural respects, also regarding to musical instruments. Thus these gods are responsible for the natural resources, which provide the material for the instruments.

Brian Flintoff (2004) categorised the instruments by the material from which they are made of and also takes account of the deities associated with the natural resources, e.g. the shell trumpet *Pūtātara* refers to *Tangaroa*, or the bullroarer *Pūrerehua* to *Tāwhirimātea* (48 ff, 56 ff). In some other recent writings the instruments or rather their sounds are represented as the “voices of gods” (Nunns qtd. by Beatson 2003: 25).

Corresponding to that there exist specified deities in Māori mythology such as *Hine Raukatauri*, the daughter of *Tāne(mahuta)* and goddess of flutes, who adored her flute so much, so she decided to live in it forever. This flute is said to resemble the shape of the cocoon of the New Zealand case moth (see Fig. 1). And the myth reminds of the behaviour of the female moth, which withdraws itself back into the hanging cocoon, when the male already emerged from it and mourns (or rather sings) for the lost “partner” at night. This call is supposed to sound so lovely and beautiful that one tried to



Fig. 1: Casemoth (Flintoff 2004:64)

reproduce it with materials delivered by nature, namely flutes. And I don't think the similarity of the shape of most *kōauaus* and also *pūtōrinos* (see p. 41 ff) is a mere coincidence.

There is no evidence that Māori do or did classify their musical instruments, e.g. according to the material they were manufactured of. But Māori certainly regarded the deities as the source of life and as the origin of all things. All occurrences of nature were explained as actions of the gods and the resources available in nature as God-given. Therefore a classification by taking account to the deities and the resources they provide would be a logic consequence but it is no fact. However as some instruments were either made from wood, stone and also bone, in my view this type of systematisation could not be clearly defined and applicable to everything anyway (Flintoff 2004: 65).

When listening to the sounds of the different instruments, inevitably the impression of the imitation of nature emerges. Flutes may sound like birds singing, and the bullroarers and whizzers – which are in fact called wind voices – are frequently associated with the voices of ancestral spirits or at least the wind (McLean 1996: 17, Flintoff 2004).

In New Zealand yet today birdsong is omnipresent, whether you're in the city or in the countryside. You can hear it at all times of the day. Thus it becomes clear why New Zealand is designated as "The Land of the Birds". In the pre-colonial era or rather before the advent of humans at all no mammals and consequently no natural predators existed on the island. Hence it was a paradise for birds, even of diverse flightless species. Thus it is not surprising the sounds of certain instruments are reminiscent of noises people always were (and still are) surrounded by.

In his book "Māori Music" Mervyn Mclean classified the traditional instruments following the "Systematik der Musikinstrumente" by Hornbostel and Sachs from 1961<sup>8</sup>. According to that he concluded that Māori only possessed idiophones and aerophones. In contrast to many other regions in the Pacific Ocean no membranophones (drums), no panpipes and no instruments made of bamboo in general were detectable. And only one single (and uncertain) source reported on a chordophone, the musical bow *kuu* (*kū*) (McLean 1996: 166, Andersen 2002: 213). Elsdon Best (1976) wrote there were „[...] practically no stringed instruments“ and the reason for this might be that Māori were "[...] no bow using peoples" (p. 214). Others emphasised the insensibility of "savages, in general" for string music and instanced the negative response of some Māori from the north to the play of the violin.

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<sup>8</sup> See Hornbostel, Sachs 1961 – This is the English Translation of the German Original from 1914, made by Anthony Baines and Klaus Peter Wachsmann.

Notwithstanding he came to the result that the traditional instruments repertoire of indigenous New Zealand consisted mainly of wind instruments and percussion instruments. Latter were rather simple in kind and function and therefore believed to have had existed before the wind instruments.

Following short overview is supposed to convey a vague notion of the traditional musical instruments in general: of their shape, material and what they sound like. And as far as known their meaning, the myths they come along with and maybe the context, in which they occurred. A choice of the instruments mentioned in the literature most, and which were most frequently discussed will be presented. Almost every single specimen has been elaborately carved and richly ornamented.



Fig. 2: gourd instrument *hue* (personal photo Auckland Museum 2011)

Besides the below quoted instruments made of wood, stone or bone also gourds had served as material for instruments. Those instruments, with names like *kōauau ponga ihu* or *hue rarā*, or simply *hue*<sup>9</sup>, were either blown or used as percussion instruments (Flintoff 2004: 32 ff, 68 ff). Andersen talks about a “calabash-trumpet” (Andersen 1934: 195) as well as Best, although the latter also mentions very small gourds, which were used as nose flutes sometimes and maybe only in certain areas. As we will discuss later, this small flute made of gourd may have been the “predecessor” of the *nguru* (see p. 48) as is quite similar in a lot of aspects (Best 2005: 285). Seemingly the gourds did not attract to much attention in the past, in fact the flutes were of the greatest interest in academic research.

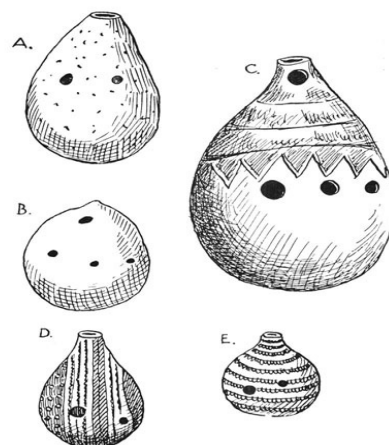


FIG. 72.

CALABASH-TRUMPETS.

- A—Small gourd musical instrument 5.6 cm. (21 ins.) high, 3 holes; played with the nose.  
 B—Small nut musical instrument 4.4 cm. (1½ ins.) high, 4 holes; played with the nose. Both from Hawaii, now in British Museum. (Edge-Partington, *Album of Weapons* . . . , ser. 2, sheet 19, nos. 4, 5).  
 C—Gourd musical instrument 13 cm. (5¼ ins.) high. From New Zealand, now in British Museum (Edge-Partington, *Album of Weapons* . . . , ser. 1, sheet 386, no. 7).  
 D, E—“A lover’s whistle.” Small gourds, 7.5 cm. (3 ins.) and 5.6 cm. (21 ins.) respectively, pierced with three holes (*ipuhohiohio*); burnt ornamentation. Both from Hawaii, now in Bishop Museum, Honolulu (Edge-Partington, *Album of Weapons* . . . , ser. 2, sheet 32, nos. 7, 8).

Fig. 3: “calabash-trumpets” from Hawaii & New Zealand (Andersen 1934: 295)

<sup>9</sup> “calabash, gourd, gourd plant” (Moorfield, 2012).

## Idiophones<sup>10</sup>

McLean mentions the *pahū*, the wooden gong, as most important idiophone in pre-colonial time. It was mainly used for giving alarm (in wartime) or sending signals and could therefore often be found hanging from a watchtower. It had the shape a flat piece of wood with or without a shallow slot (or groove according to Angas qtd. by Andersen) in the middle of the mostly oval form. To sound the gong it had been struck with a mallet in this immersion (McLean 1996:166, Andersen 2002: 197 f).

As it had to be relatively loud and powerful for signalling, some of the *pahū*'s must have been enormous. Sources refer to instruments of up to 9 m in length, with an audibility of to 32 km distance. Further informants reported on wooden gongs in the shape of a slit gong or tree gong (Flintoff 2004: 82, Best qtd. by McLean 1996: 166f).

Angas described the sound of the *pahū* as mournful but very intense (Angas qtd. by Andersen 2002: 197). And Andersen denoted it as the only of the Māori instruments, which is just to some extent similar to the drum. Maybe because of the Polynesian drum *pahū*, with which the New Zealand type has nothing in common but the name. The drumhead of the *pahū* is usually covered with shark skin and obviously it took (or takes) on an important role in the Polynesian culture as it occurs in many myths. In several Polynesian myths overlaps with and similarities to some Māori stories become evident, but in the latter no *pahū* is mentioned (Andersen 2002)19 f).

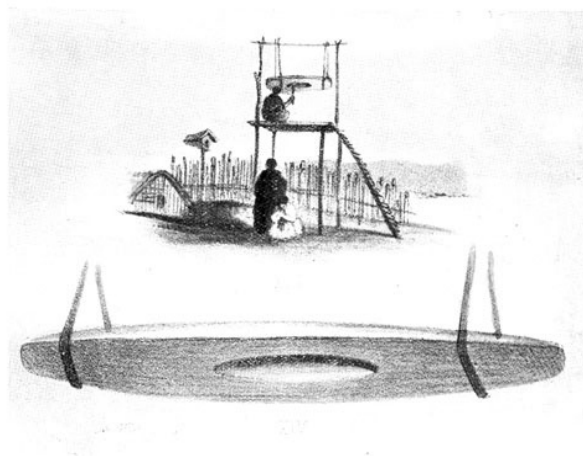


FIG. 31.

PAHU.

(Pl. 58, figs. 13, 14, from Angas, *The New Zealanders Illustrated*.)  
Fig. 13, striking the war-bell; fig. 14, *pahu*, the war-bell.

Fig. 4: *pahū* (Angas qtd. by Andersen 1933: 196)



FIG. 36.

TREE-GONG AT TE WHAITI.

(From Best, *Games and Pastimes of the Maori*, p. 167. After a sketch by Capt. G. Mair in 1869.)

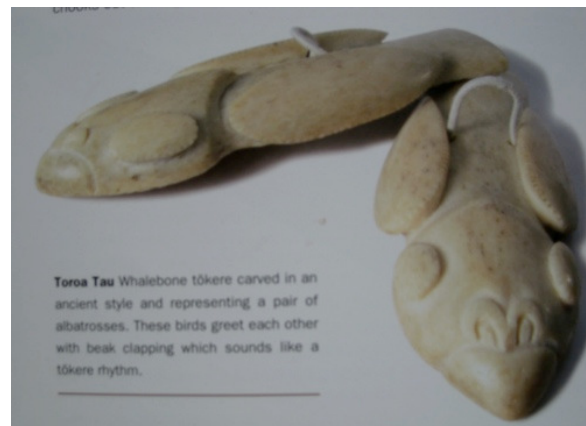
Fig. 5: tree-gong (Mair qtd. by Andersen 1933: 202)

<sup>10</sup> Definition of an idiophone according to Hornbostel and Sachs (1961): "The substance of the instrument itself, owing to its solidity and elasticity, yields the sounds, without requiring stretched membranes or strings" (p. 14).

Richard Moyle (2011) stressed in the interview that the wooden gong served as mere signalling device, not even as rhythm or percussion instrument. But this should by no means condemn the gong as expendable. Captain Gilbert Mair observed more than once the necessity of an instrument capable of producing sounds audible at great distance, of course especially in wartime. With peaceful times setting in - gradually permanent – the context for the use of the “war gong” got lost, although it was also useful for signalling in general. But it seems it disappeared because it lacked its original role.

Even though the *pahū* was not used as musical instrument from the western point of view, it has obviously been regarded as significant enough to describe it in a detailed manner (Andersen 2002: 204 ff).

Further idiophones used by Māori were *tōkere* and *pākuru*. *Tōkere* are castanets or clappers made from shells or stone, as well as bones. Also wooden ones may be used before the European arrival, but there is no certain evidence for that (McLean 1996: 171).



After Best there is no proof that clappers existed in New Zealand in pre-colonial time, for the wooden ones might have been one of the things inherited from the Europeans and those made of shell perhaps confused with Tahitian clappers. The former also applies to the jew's harp *rōria*, which is said to have attracted the Māori like few other western musical instruments because their own version of it was “primitive” and made of “supplejack<sup>11</sup> bark” (Best 2005: 310 f).

A *pākuru* is a wooden rod either beaten by another wooden rod or e.g. a piece of braided flax. Andersen termed it “resonant tapped rod”. One rod is frequently longer than the other and thus the one, which is tapped by the smaller.

The longer one is usually twice as big as the other or more and can be up to 45 cm. As illustrated in Fig. 7 the small “mallet” was sometimes attached by a string (Andersen 2002: 207 f).

<sup>11</sup> Special kind of “[...] climbing woody plants or lianes” (Poole 1966).



Mostly the mouth was/is used as resonator, holding the longer rod between the teeth or maybe pressing it against the cheek. (Flintoff 2004:84–88) Some observer recorded on musicians breathing words of a chant while playing the *pākuru* and resonating and modulating the sounds with the mouth. Those were described as very smooth and pleasant sounds.

Many Māori myths deal with secret messages transmitted from lover to lover by sounding an instrument in a skilful method, as I will also show

in the case of the flutes. A performer, who was able to do so, has been regarded as an expert player and his art as outstanding (Andersen 2002: 208, 210). Elsdon Best on the other hand labelled (and somehow denounced) the instrument as a simple “time beater” (Best 2005: 308). Nevertheless, most of the tapping rods were beautifully carved, representing again elaborate Māori handicraft.

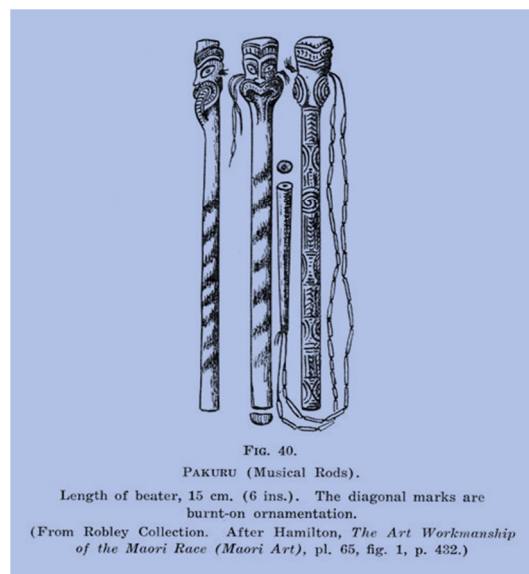


Fig. 7: *pākuru* (Hamilton qtd. by Andersen 1933: 209)

There is also another – much longer – type of resonant rod used in a totally different way. It is a combination of song, artistic and instrumental performance. Two people are opposing each other, changing sticks by throwing it in the air, where they are supposed to hit one another to produce a sound (Andersen 2002: 210f). This spectacle can be viewed even today as a part of the musical show for tourists in the Auckland Museum.

## Aerophones<sup>12</sup>

In primal New Zealand two main groups of aerophones were known. Like already mentioned above there are instruments called “wind voices”. These consist of free aerophones, like bullroarers and humming discs or whizzers, varying in length from about 6 or 7 cm to 45 cm. The traditional Māori had different appellations for the bullroarer, dependent on region: e.g. *huhu*, *purorohu*, *turorohu*, *rangorango*, *wheorōro*, or *purerehue* (Best 2005: 294) respectively *pūrerehua*, the most familiar name. Besides wood (see Fig. 8), bone (esp. whale bone) or stone could also be use as material, although wood was probably the most common in the past (Flintoff 2004: 58 ff).

<sup>12</sup> Definition of an aerophone (general) according to Hornbostel and Sachs (1961): “The air itself is the vibrator in the primary sense”. A distinction is made between “free aerophones”: “The vibrating air is not confined by the instruments” (p. 24) and “wind instruments proper”: “The vibrating air is confined withing the instrument itself” (p. 25).

In the case of the *pūrerehua* the cord is attached to one side of the most elliptical instrument to spin it above the head. There might have been a small rod (or as in the figure to the right a ring) on the other end of the cord for an easier handling (Best 2005: 294). Shape and carvings may contribute more or less significantly to the sound of the bullroarer (Flintoff 2004: 61).



Fig. 8: *porotiti* & *pūrerehua* (Carving 2012)

Best quoted in his “Games and Pastimes of the Māori” the British anthropologist and ethnologist Alfred C.

Haddon, who addressed in his “Study of Man”<sup>13</sup> from 1898 the bullroarer and its wide diffusion, its significance and its existence since ancient times. He listed some contexts and occasions in which the bullroarer had been used – in different parts of the world and in different eras:

“[...] [I]n the most cultured period of Greek civilisation during the performance of sacred mysteries, even as it is employed by Australian savages in initiation ceremonies.” Others were “to summon spirits”, to frighten away spirits”, “the voice of a god”, “for producing wind, or rain, or thunder, or lightning”, and others (as qtd. by Best 2005: 293 f).

Another kind of “wind voice” is the *porotiti*, which is more of a whizzer or humming disc than a bullroarer. The difference is that the cord is pulled through two holes in the middle of it and thereby it is played not the usual way. By holding the instrument with both hands in front of the body and steadily pulling and letting it loose again it starts to rotate. To generate a modulation effect the performer could blow or breathe on the *porotiti* while spinning.

Most New Zealanders would consider or remember the instrument to be a simple children’s toy. Indeed it is due to the whirring, buzzing and therefore soothing sound highly suitable for accompanying lovely flute tunes or chants in supplying a mystical atmosphere.

Some myths tell about the healing and calming influence of this humming disc. According to that it is supposed to ease pain caused by arthritis or it has a soporific effect on children or babies. But the “relief” from the pain may rather come from or be benefited by the actual movement and thereby by the strengthening of the joints (Flintoff 2011).

<sup>13</sup> Haddon, Alfred C. (1898): *The Study of Man*. G.P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, New York.



Because of the special haunting sound of both, the *pūrerehua* and the *porotiti* an association with spirits is quite obvious and playing the “wind voices” may – in a certain context - have had the aim to approach ancestors or deities.

Brian Flintoff mentioned an incident as his friend Hirini Melbourne was sounding the bullroarer at Farewell Spit, the northernmost point of the southern island, and how they felt the presence of *Tāwhirimātea* (the god of the wind – or the wind itself), who actually “played” the instrument. There are also stories about how the player’s soul (his “words and dreams”) floats over the cord to produce the tones, from where it is carried away by the wind to those who are receptive to it. Others say the *pūrerehua* was used as a rainmaker or in the case of death to “sing” goodbye. In another region there’s once again a linkage to the sound of nature, namely to the noise of a blowfly flying. There the bullroarer has obviously been used to lure lizzards out of their lair as the Māori name *haumumu ira ngārara* implies it, meaning “the sound the stirs the lizzards to life” (Flintoff 2004: 57 f, 61).

On the other hand we have different types of “wind instruments proper”, like it has been categorised by Hornbostel and Sachs in their Classification of Musical Instruments (1961). This category includes all the aerophones, where “the vibrating air is confined within the instrument itself” (p. 25). Above all Māori used (natural) trumpets, without any devices for altering the pitch and primarily end-blown flutes, some of which may have also been side-blown in certain circumstances.

Over time and with a growing amount of accounts and records on Māori instruments also the number of names assigned to the particular instrument increased, what of course caused some confusion in the past. Perhaps the names of the trumpets and flutes differed from region to region, as with the bullroarer (Andersen 1934: 271). For this reason in this thesis the most familiar names will be employed, just like they are quoted in the essential literature.



Fig. 9: *pūkāea* (Te papa, 2012)

## Trumpets

The trumpets were – like the *pahū* – usually used for signalling or warning intentions, hence often called war trumpet or war horn and normally made from wood (e.g. hardwood *mataī*, *kaiwhiria* or *totara*) or a big Triton shell (or “conch shell” like E. Best stated) with a wooden mouthpiece (Best 2005: 216, 277).

### Pūkāea

The entirely wooden *pūkāea* is due to its (sometimes tremendous) length up to 2,50 m capable of performing the sufficient loudness for its purpose and could further be very rich in harmonics (McLean 1996:178, Flintoff 2004:78). Although early accounts – like Forster’s – claimed the trumpet to generate merely a “uncouth kind of braying”, being only capable of sounding one note. This turned out to be untrue when expert players succeeded to sound about four notes altogether (tonic and overtones) by overblowing the instrument, similar to a bugle (Forster qtd. by Andersen 1934: 287, 288f).

But also smaller specimens from 50 to 90 cm were found. The mouthpiece is often very ornate and the tube may widen bell-like from one end to the other, up to a width of 12 cm (McLean 1996:178, Flintoff 2004:78).

Captain Gilbert Mair and others were stressing the very complex construction of the instrument, when it consisted of two or more pieces of hollowed wood bound together strongly with roots or vines, neatly hiding the joints (Andersen 1934: 287).

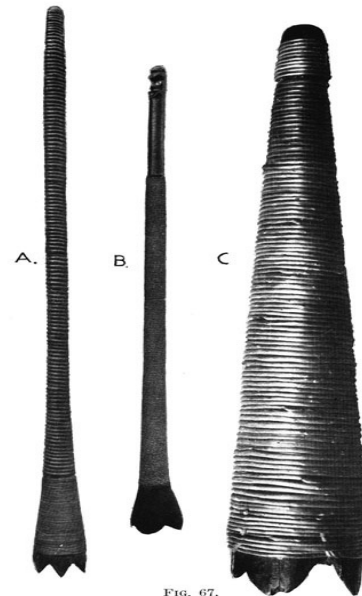


FIG. 67.  
PUKAEA (long wooden trumpet).  
A—A well-bound *pūkāea*, 141.5 cm. (4ft. 9ins.) long. Diameter at small end, 3.125 cm. (1¼ ins.); at bell end, 10 cm. (4 ins.). Greater part bound with split stem of climbing vine, but 18.75 cm. (7½ ins.) of belled end with small unsplit vine .3125 cm. (¼ in.) thick. For end-view of mouthpiece see fig. 11.  
B—A smaller specimen than A. Both in Dominion Museum, Wellington, New Zealand.  
C—*Pūkāea* (long wooden trumpet). A comparatively short *pūkāea*, 56.25 cm. (22½ ins.) long, bound with *aka*-vine. In Whanganui Museum, New Zealand.

Fig. 10: ancient *pūkāea* (Andersen 1934: 288)

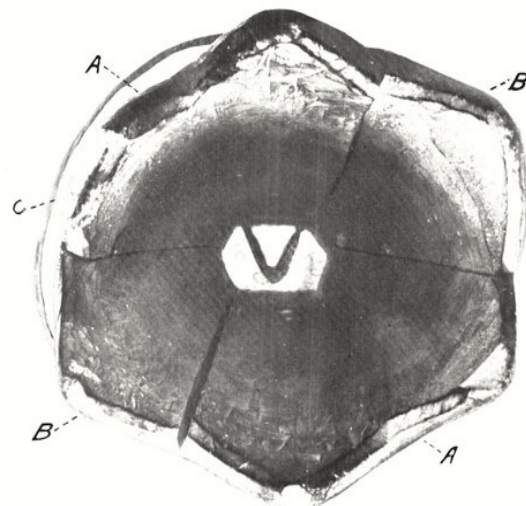


FIG. 68.  
Belled mouth of *pūkāea* (long wooden trumpet) showing uvula-arrangement inserted. A, the ends of the two pieces of wood which form the body of the trumpet; B, two pieces, each about a foot long, inserted flare-fashion to form the bell; C, a coil of the binding-vine that has worked loose. (The uvula- or tonsil-arrangement was chalked for purposes of photography.)

Fig. 11: *pūkāea* - front view (Hamilton qtd. by Andersen 1934: 290)

Some have special features like a hole in the middle for modifying the sound with the hand (unfortunately none of this type survived), or maybe a piece resembling the human tonsil on the inside of the bell-shaped end for the assumed aim of producing a kind of vibration and/or a better resonance effect, but above all a more powerful tone (Andersen 1934: 287 f). Best termed it also “[...] a singular (if not unique) central piece, larynx, or diaphragm, set a long way (12 – 14 inches) within its mouth” (Best 2005: 277 f).

Compared to other Māori instruments, which might display resemblances with Polynesian equivalents, the *pūkāea* appears to be authentically Māori. Not least because of the particularities demonstrated above (Andersen 1934: 260).

### *Pūtātara*

One might think the shell trumpet *pūtātara* (“pu tara or pu moana” after Best 2005: 216) must have been a rare instrument, as the giant Triton is not native to New Zealand and discoveries of shells washed ashore were presumably rather accidental. But despite that or maybe even because of this fact, the *pūtātara* is mentioned in every (early) account. Like the *pūkāea* also the shell trumpets are for the most



Fig. 12: *pūtātara* (personal foto Auckland Museum)

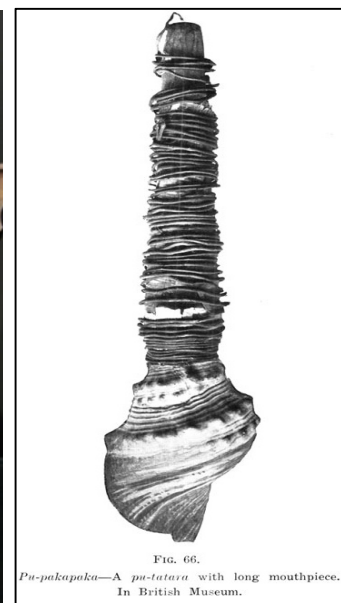


Fig. 14: *pūtātara* with long mouthpiece (Andersen 1934: 288)

part equipped with a beautifully carved wooden piece for the mouth, which has been ingeniously attached to the previously removed apex, e.g. by tying it with roots (Flintoff 2004: 48). For this seemingly only one kind of wood has been used, the “very sonorous” *kaiwhiria* (Best 2005: 288).



Fig. 13: *pūtātara* (personal foto Auckland Museum)

Also this trumpet was able to create a powerful, loud noise and in ancient times Māori apparently knew a procedure through which the volume of sound of the *pūtātara* could be varied and modified.

It was simply a piece of elliptical hard wood placed in the shell to fill up a gap, which caused that effect (Best 2005: 288 f). Besides the carvings on the wooden mouthpiece, feathers and the skin of birds (or even dogs) were frequently added and the shell itself is mostly very sleek, like it had been polished.

Nearly every source points out the fact that the *pūtātara* was actually no musical instrument but at the same time they agree it must have been a highly esteemed item, as it was obviously handed over from generation to generation. Presumably attributed to the difficulty of procuring the material (Best 2005: 288 ff).

On the following pages flutes will be illuminated more precisely, as they were by former authors often considered to be the only melodic instruments – in some critic's eyes maybe even the only musical instruments, even though the trumpets proved to be capable of playing more than one tone. However, trumpets had been (or are still) regarded as signal devices and flutes had always been the main focus of musicologists and other researchers. Particularly the playing methods aroused discussions and the opinions are divided. Of all the flutes the *pūtōrino*, the *kōauau* and the *nguru* were of special concern.

## Flutes

### *Pūtōrino*

The *pūtōrino* is a very unique instrument since it is commonly regarded as a combination of flute and trumpet. Although some experts tend to define it either as trumpet or flute. Most *pūtōrino* range from a size of 30 to 60 cm, wider in the middle part than at the ends. „Andersen refers to it as ‚torpedo shaped‘“. (Andersen qtd. by McLean 1996: 182) But actually it is often compared – as already stated above – with the shape of the cocoon of the New Zealand casemoth (Flintoff 2004: 74). Some rare specimens consist of a double-chambered body or two tubes tied together (see Fig. 15), enabling possibly a greater range of modulation effects.

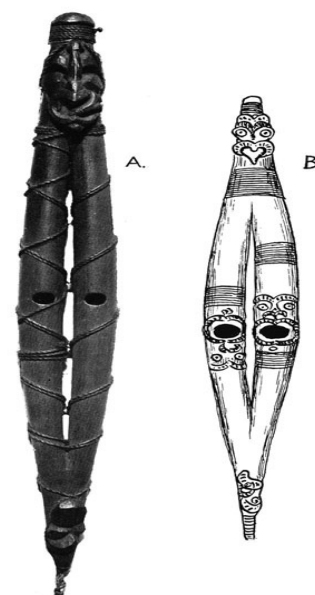


FIG. 60.

#### DOUBLE PUTORINO.

A—Instrument from the Lord St. Oswald Collection; 56.9 cm. (22½ ins.) long, nearly 7.5 cm. (3 ins.) across the middle at the holes. Supposed to have been taken from New Zealand by Captain Cook: an unfinished instrument, no proper lashing has been laid. In Dominion Museum, Wellington, New Zealand.

B—Instrument 45 cm. (18 ins.) long. In British Museum; cast in Dominion Museum, Wellington, New Zealand (From Edge-Partington, *Album of the Weapons* . . . , ser. 1, sheet 388, no. 2).

Fig. 15: double-chambered *pūtōrino* (Andersen 1934: 276)

Besides the typical mouthpiece and maybe another aperture on the lower end, there is only one other in the middle of the item, mostly in the shape of an eight, which could also be blown. Sometimes this depicts the mouth of a carved human body or face. It is made from a split piece of hardwood, hollowed out, shaped and then tied back together with roots or other binding material, a similar procedure as with the wooden trumpet.

Johannes C. Andersen (1934) was apparently the first to name the instrument “bugle flute”, because of the two voices it is capable of producing: a female (flute) and a male voice (trumpet), depending on how the mouthpiece at the end is blown (p. 275). For obtaining the female voice (the flute sound) the instrument is sounded by overblowing it when holding it straight or slanted to one. Additionally one could alter the pitch with the hand on the hole in the centre or at the lower end, if existent (McLean 1996: 182 ff, Flintoff 2004: 74 ff). But admittedly the people from Waikato stated, that although it was possible to modulate the sound in this way, one couldn’t really talk about a “scale” the instrument is capable of playing (Best 2005: 231).

McLean (1996) noticed in some self-experiments: the smaller the instrument and the tighter bound, the more it is suitable to be played as a flute. Bigger ones would serve best as trumpets. Similarly he emphasises the fact that the upper mouthpiece is externally rounded, like it is the case with most *kōauau* and *nguru* (see next chapters). The thereby arising difficulty of playing it as a trumpet implies the initial intention of manufacturing a flute.

Blowing the middle aperture is no confirmed traditional practice, but it is possible – at least in some cases (p. 183).

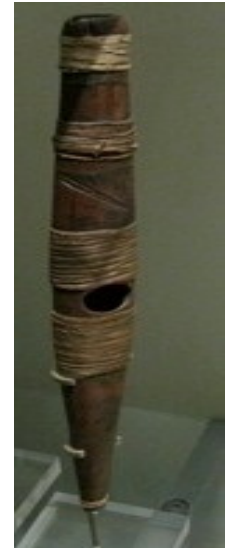


Fig. 16: *pūtōrino* (personal photo Auckland Museum, 2011)



FIG. 56.  
PUTORINO.

Series of *putorino* (bugle-flutes); A, B, C in the Copenhagen Museum, D, E in the Dominion Museum, Wellington, New Zealand. E is a modern instrument, clumsy and roughly made, and bound with twine. The Copenhagen instruments are good, and show diversity in carving and shape of central openings.

Fig. 17: *pūtōrino* (Andersen 1934: 276)



From McLean's (1996) point of view the genuine traditional playing practice of this instrument is by no means clear:

„It is apparent that the puutoorino was a compromise instrument, perhaps explaining its early obsolescence. It was evidently not very effective in any of its applications“ (p. 184).

Eldson Best (2005) pictures the *pūtōrino* as “an instrument somewhat resembling a flageolet or piccolo [...]” (p. 217). Andersen (2002) on the contrary absolutely rejects this comparison. In his view those instruments have nothing in common with the Māori instrument, with the exception of being blown.

“It differs in three respects – in shape and construction, in quality and range of tone, and in the manner in which the tone is produced; alto bugle-flute would best describe it if other name than *putorino* were needed” (p. 273).

The accounts describing the sound of the *pūtōrino* differ in some respects, but most of them include a comparison with a gourd. Best's informant, Iehu Nukunuku, characterised the the sound like “[...] a gourd being poured from a vessel” (Iehu Nukunuku qtd by Best 2005: 223). It was also likened with the sound generated by water running into a vessel made from gourd or calabash while dipping it into a waters. And early records tend to descriptions in a more negative manner, e.g. like a “shrill hoarse sound” (Best 2005: 221, Andersen 1934: 275).

Also with the *pūtōrino* there are myths about breathing words through it while playing and in so doing sending secret messages. As I mentioned already above it particularly refers to communication between lovers. Thus if the player was skilled it might have been attractive to women as well.

The Māori of the Waiapu district pointed out that the instrument could be heard from some distance away and that is why it was rather sounded from afar (Best 2005: 223).



Fig. 18: typical Māori carving Auckland Museum (Auckland Museum: He Taonga Maori 2012)

It is quite obvious that most *pūtōrino* were beautifully carved and elaborately decorated. Of course the flutes *kōauau* and *nguru* were also richly ornamented, but apparently not to the extent of the embellishment of the *pūtōrino*. Maybe the greater size benefits the artistic possibilities (Best 2005: 233). Although Andersen (1934) determined the *pūtōrino* AND the *kōauau* as the most valued items among the instruments, which is seemingly also expressed by their outer appearance (p. 278). Nevertheless does Māori handicraft or art plays an important role, also concerning musical instruments. Very common are the typical Māori figures with the well-known facial expression (outstretched tongue or just an opened mouth) pictured on it.



FIG. 61.

Carved slab in Auckland Museum, showing a performer about to play on the *pūtōrino*. On either side of the head appear the curious bird-headed *manaia* common in Maori carvings. These are reminiscent of the ravens sitting on either shoulder of Odin telling him of all they have seen on their flight round the world.

Fig. 19: Slab with Maori carving (Andersen 1934: 276)

Conversely we find many carvings, e.g. on or in houses etc., showing human or spiritual (ancestral) sculptures playing or just holding a *pūtōrino*.

Another interesting aspect concerning the names of the instruments has to be mentioned. One might have noticed, that often the term “*pu*” is prefixed and as Elsdon Best recognised, every item in the form of a “hollow cylinder” might have called by this name or at least the two letters “*pu*” in it’s name included. This does apply to flutes as well as trumpets, even to such things as firearms. Obviously it is the second word, that determines or rather signifies what kind of object we are actually dealing with (Best 2005: 217, 233).

There’s one contradictory aspect: If it is only used for “tubular” items, why also in the case of the *pūrerehua*, however not for the flutes I’m going to introduce on the next pages? Admittedly the Māori know many other terms for the bullroarer, so it may only be a peculiar coincidence in this instance.

A record from the 1920’s (W. Baucke qtd. by Andersen 2002: 254 ff) exemplified a long flute, which supposedly has been called *pu*. Though the description resembles an end-blown flute commonly known as *porutu*.

### Porutu

The *porutu* is a long wooden flute with a usual length from 30 to 40 cm, sometimes even to 60 or 65 cm. The method of manufacture required as much time and patience as that of the *pūkāea* and the *pūtōrino*. A block of wood – once more predominantly *mataī* – has been separated into two halves, hollowed out, shaped and jointed again at the ends and the middle

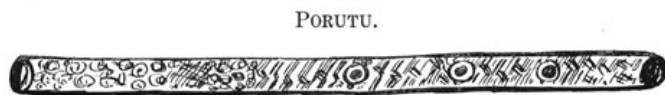


Fig. 20: *porutu* (G. Mair qtd. by Andersen 1934: 254)

of the item with a braided fibre or the like, in a sometimes very ornate manner. This flute is said to be equipped with three finger holes and with two open ends. Baucke's writings depicted the fashion of

how the flute has been sounded. According to this the performer sat while playing, so he could close the aperture at the lower end with his foot, if necessary. It was sounded with the mouth, by overblowing the instrument.

Also the *porutu* occurs in a story of the Māori in which it is used for submitting encoded messages from a male master flautist to his adored female. This served as evidence for Andersen that it must have been a well-known flute in ancient times and he stressed the fact that it was played with the mouth, not with the nose, as it was definitely the case with the following two flutes as well (Andersen 2002: 254 ff).

### Whio

A similar instrument, differing in the type of sound, was the *whio*. It has even been named after the characteristic noise it creates, resembling the whistling with the lips (whistle = *whio*). Besides the three on the one side, the *whio* had a drilled finger hole on the underside, which is supposed to be stopped by the thumb and it was sounded by cross blowing one end. It must have also been made from wood split into two pieces. Elsdon Best commented on a *whio* made of human bone, with three finger holes on one side, but no fourth hole on the opposite side. Fashioning flutes from human arm or leg bones was quite common, as we will see in the subsequent description of the *kōauau* and *nguru* (Andersen 2002: 255 f).

According to Best apparently no *whio* could be saved and preserved in museums or other collections, as he had never seen any of the instruments described. Hence it is possible that instruments and names had been confused, although that might be true only partly and in fact depending on the region. However, Best seemed quite confident about the reliability of the sources describing the *whio* (for example White qtd. by Best 1976: 253 f).



### Rehu

Another long end-blown flute was the *rehu*. One specimen could be saved, distinguishing itself from the other flutes in having only three finger holes above and the bottom end was plugged. Apart from that the actual mouthpiece was not the upper end but another finger hole at the front. A further model had no finger holes at all and was therefore presumably again blown from the end, while closing the lower – in this instance opened – end with the fingers and in this way altering the tune.

All those flutes must have also been considered as appreciated instruments, attracting women when played by an adept (Andersen 2002: 257f, Best 1976: 251ff).

Of all the flutes mentioned in this thesis there are two flutes, which always seem to be of special concern. Considering the available sources dealing with instruments, the *kōauau* and *nguru* appear to be well investigated, partly due to the large number of preserved items, most of them in very good condition.

### Kōauau

The *kōauau*, again an end-blown flute, is generally shorter than the flutes mentioned above and concerning the form and shape quite ordinary. With an average length of 15 cm and a diameter of 1 to 2 cm, it mostly features three finger holes (sometimes varying from two to five) – normally not equidistant – and two open ends. Frequently you may find another drilled hole for suspension, since chiefs or other important persons, like a *tohunga*<sup>14</sup> wore it around the neck as a symbolic, precious pendant, when not played. The flute must have allegorised some kind of *mojo*<sup>15</sup> for the Māori and had therefore been handed down from generation to generation (Mclean 1996: 185, Best 2005: 237).

Among the surviving flutes the manufacture material ranges from wood to stone and – most interesting – bone, preferred human bone. It is said that those flutes made of the dead enemy's arm or thigh bone (or not uncommonly from a beloved relative) create the most dulcet sound (Flintoff 2004:66). This and the drive to humiliate the enemy (or to honour the family member) beyond death may contribute to the fact that one third of the specimens today located in museums were manufactured of human bone. But above all it was of great value to possess a flute made of such rare material, so that it became an honoured heirloom and that in turn made it highly esteemed (Mclean 1996:184f).

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<sup>14</sup> “a skilled person, chosen person, priest” (Moorfield 2012)

<sup>15</sup> An object that is supposed to bring luck or avert misery and evil.

The rest of the bone flutes consist of whalebone or an albatross' wing bone. The wood usually used was not only *mataī*, but also a softer type, for it had to be hollowed out without splitting in advance, usually by employing embers to burn it through (Best 2005: 235 ff).



Fig. 21: *kōauau* made of bone (personal photo Auckland Museum 2011)



Fig. 22: *kōauau* (personal photo Auckland Museum 2011)

Many accounts tell about a simple method of measurement for manufacturing a *kōauau*. The piece of wood (or bone or stone) has to be as long as the distance from the thumb – when it forms an angle of 90 degrees to your forefinger – to the tip of the latter. And the three finger holes are supposed to be at the same level as the finger joints (Andersen 2002: 232, Flintoff 2004: 95 f).

This description evokes the notion of every single specimen as very unique, given the individuality of a human hand.

Andersen (2002) writes: “Moreover, there is great diversity in the size and shape of the *koauau* – so great that is difficult to see how any uniformity of sound could be obtained from the various kinds” (p. 232).



FIG. 41.

KOAUAU (flutes) of wood.

A and B (two *paua* discs inlaid, one missing) in Dominion Museum, Wellington, N.Z.

C, *tutu* wood (*Coriaria*) with *rauponga* ornamentation and *paua* discs. (Hamilton (20), pl. 58, fig. 6, p. 418.)

Fig. 23: *kōauau* (Andersen 1933: 234)

On several old specimens in the museums plugs in the finger holes are slightly visible. Hence it is assumable that the instrument maker simply plugged the drilled holes again if the sounds were not satisfying. The pitch might have also been varied by changing the angle of blowing onto the instrument (p. 243 f).

No matter what kind of material had been employed, almost every specimen has been ingeniously carved. And as Fig. 21 to Fig. 23 might illustrate, the shape of the *kōauau* often arouses the impression of embodying a phallic symbol.

It is uncertain if the Māori instruments – like the flute – were a symbolic marker for the relationship between the sexes and social behaviour, like it is custom in other indigenous Pacific societies (e.g. sacred flutes in Papua New Guinea<sup>16</sup>). It is commonly believed that in ancient times Māori attributed a symbolical meaning to bone flutes and other items. And in the expert's view symbolism and ceremonial activities were ubiquitous and crucial for the way of life. But this is not enough evidence for a practised dichotomy of female/male and the involvement in ritual contexts (Best 1976: 249 f). On the other hand the “two voices” (trumpet/flute) of the *pūtorino* would suggest a form of categorisation in sexes.

The mouthpiece at the end of the *kōauau* is often rounded externally, what facilitates to sound it by cross blowing this upper aperture with the mouth. As exemplified in Fig. 24 the player holds the instrument vertically but transverse to his right, preventing the lips to encompass the mouthpiece completely. It is



Fig. 24: Richard Nunns playing a *kōauau* (Pixeltransfer 2012)

essential to leave some space between lips and instrument to obtain the effect of the air impinging on the rim on the left side, as this is the general way of sounding that flute.

Mervyn McLean (1996) has been taught by Mrs. Paeroa Wineera to play the *kōauau* in exactly this manner, by two persons independently of each other. He examined and tested a lot of different specimens and succeeded every time to sound it this way

„A peculiarity of this blowing technique is that notes can be varied not only by fingering but also by manner of blowing“ (p. 186 f).

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<sup>16</sup> For further details see for example: Feld, Steven (1990). *Sound and Sentiment: Birds, Weeping, Poetics and Song in Kaluli Expression*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia. Or more general: Kaeppler, Adrienne L. and Love, J.W. (eds.) (1998). *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Vol. 9 – Australia and the Pacific Islands*. Garland Publishing, Inc. New York and London.

Henare Toka, the other person he interviewed in this respect, assured that this playing method was the original, traditional one: „[...] It was used where a slur or portamento was required between notes and it could also be used to compensate for non-uniformities between instruments when they were played together“ (McLean 1996: 186).

The question if it once had been sounded with the mouth or with the nose evoked excited controversies in the past. Until the recent day experts achieved no agreement on this field, but the majority inclined/inclines to accept the mouth variant as traditional practice. (For further details see p. 48)

Based on his experiences McLean states that the possibilities for musical variation increase the smaller the size of the instrument is. Good examples are the albatross wing bone flutes, found on the south island. They have no finger holes but allow modulations within a range of one octave.

According to the persons he interviewed in this matter the *kōauau* primarily served as an accompanying instrument to *waiata* (songs and chant) in unison and this presupposes the feasibility of playing the same tunes on flute as occurring in the *waiata*. Applying the “simple finger positions” (see Fig. 25) one is supposed to generate the “most common kooauau scale”, sounding 4 pitches (without portamento), which are sufficient to accompany singing (McLean 1996: 189). Many Māori emphasised that “[a]ll tunes had words; there were no tunes without” (Andersen 2002: 233), thus implying that usually no instrumentals were played without singing to it. It also could refer to the famous narratives of the expert players who were able to send encoded messages while playing one of the flutes, but the former interpretation may be more likely.

The Māori from Rotorua district told Elsdon Best about the gatherings on the *marae*<sup>17</sup> in the evening, only for the purpose of listening to the music of the flute and what pleasure it gave to the people. It could be played by one or more performer(s), maybe on a lifted platform (Best 2005: 241).

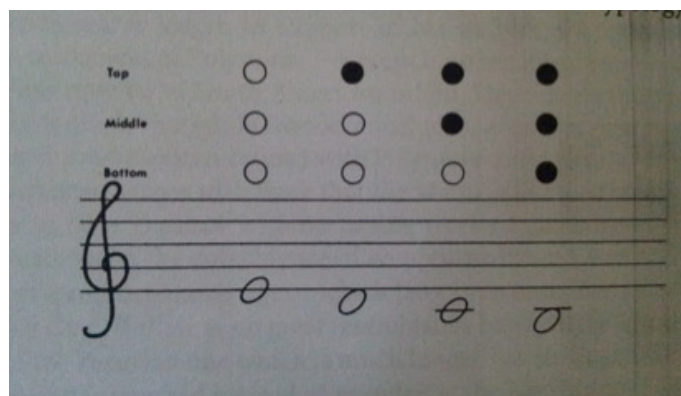


Fig. 25: "most common kooauau scale" (McLean 1996: 189)

<sup>17</sup> „courtyard - the open area in front of the *wharenui* (meeting house, large house), where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the *marae*“. (Moorfield, 2012)

Myths about breathing words or rather secret messages hidden in lovely songs, conveyed by an expert flautist to an adored woman, have also been narrated in a version focussing the *kōauau* (McLean 1996:186–89). One story of those is even the famous (and supposedly true) one of Tutanekai and his adored Hinemoa, two lovers who were not supposed to be together. The incident is said to have happened on Mokoia, an island in the lake Rotorua on the north island. Both *iwis* didn't approve of their liaison, so they decided to defy them and made a plan for Hinemoa to escape from their *pā*<sup>18</sup> in swimming across the lake to Mokoia in the middle of the night, where Tutanekai was waiting. The sound of the *kōauau*, played by the adept flautist *Tutanekai*, (and the *pūtōrino*, which was allegedly sounded by his good friend Tiki) was meant to signalise her when to leave and to guide the way through the lake. Some Māori from this district rectified the story and claimed that both of the instruments were played by Tiki, since Tutanekai was by no means able to do so (Andersen 2002: 233 f, 237 ff). Nevertheless, this prominent flute is supposed to be in the Auckland Museum (or it was at the time as Andersen researched on this topic), after it has been handed over to Cpt. Gilbert Mair by Ngahuruhuru Pango (Tutanekai's lineal descendant) in 1870 (Mair qtd. by Andersen 2002: 249). Though this appellation applies to many other ancient flutes which could be saved.

### Nguru

The *nguru* is a very special end-blown flute with a unique form. Many of the early accounts<sup>19</sup> devalued it in calling it a “shrill sounding whistle”, not capable of producing more than one tone and consequently not deserving the label “musical instrument”. Yet those sources were wrong, when the scale of the *nguru* proved to be comparable to that of the *kōauau*, if played in the appropriate manner.

Before I go on in my description of the flute I need to comment on the name “*nguru*”. This word in association with a or this flute occurred only very late, approximately around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Augustus Hamilton<sup>20</sup> (as qtd. by Andersen 2002) is supposed to have been the first to link the name to the instrument and actually he was the first to exclusively refer to this kind of flute when talking about the New Zealand nose flute. “It is used by inserting the small end in the nostril, and, as its name implies, snoring or snorting through it” (p. 262). McLean assumes that Hamilton adopted this information from Cpt. Gilbert Mair without having made any experience of his own (McLean 1974: 90f).

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<sup>18</sup> „fortified village, fort, stockade, screen, blockade, city (especially a fortified one)“ (Moorfield, 2012)

<sup>19</sup> for example Colenso qtd. by Anderson 1934: 263 and Best 2005: 256.

<sup>20</sup> Hamilton, Augustus (1896): *The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race (or simply Maori Art)*. Dunedin/ NZ.

Whereas Best refers to John White, when he mentioning the term *nguru* and nose flute in one sentence and thus describing an ivory flute (Best 2005: 266f).

John White's writings were published in several volumes from 1887 to 1890<sup>21</sup>, at least six years earlier than Hamilton's publication. All previous records either didn't name it at all or ascribed another name to it and more than a few termed it a "mouth flute".

Apart from that there is evidence to suggest that Hamilton or rather Mair confused the words "*nguru*"<sup>22</sup>, which means "to murmur" and "*ngoro*"<sup>23</sup>, which has been translated as "to snore" (McLean 1974: 90f ). In revealing this confusion the McLean assumingly wants to express that he is inclined to associate a nose flute with a "snoring" sound rather than a "murmuring" and that he rejects the depiction of the "*nguru*" as a nose flute. He discussion of the "New Zealand nose flute" will be expanded later in this thesis, also raising the questions of how such myths and inconsistencies could emerge.

The rather atypical shape, which is definitely very complex in manufacturing, has according to McLean no certain aim. With a size of 7 to 10 cm in average it is much smaller than the other ancient Māori flutes and it can be made of stone, clay, wood or rather seldom of whale tooth, which therefore has been considered as highly esteemed. One end resembles the mouthpiece of the *kōauau*, with its rounded rim. There is an aperture on the other side, which is very small and usually located in the middle of the end piece that looks like a curved up snout (see Fig. 26 to Fig. 28) (McLean 1996:189f).

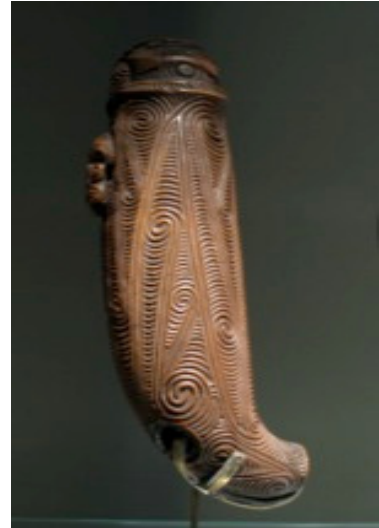


Fig. 26: *nguru* made of wood (personal photo Auckland Museum 2011)



Fig. 27: *nguru* made of stone (personal photo Auckland Museum 2011)

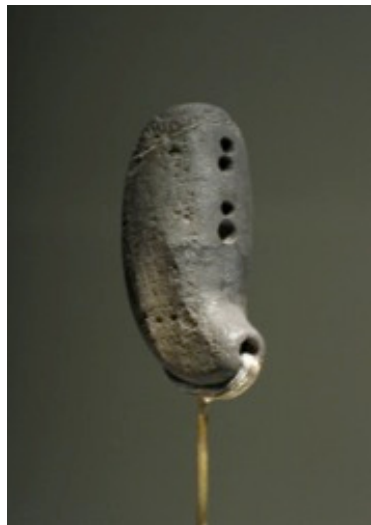


Fig. 28: *nguru* - presumably stone (personal photo Auckland Museum 2011)

<sup>21</sup> White, John (1887–1890): *The Ancient History of the Maori*, 6 vols., n.p.

<sup>22</sup> after *Māori Dictionary* online: „to groan, sigh, grunt“ (Moorfield 2012)

<sup>23</sup> no results in *Māori Dictionary* online (Moorfield 2012)



Furthermore the *nguru* has two to four drilled holes as finger holes in the same or similar distances as the *kōauau* and maybe another one for a cord to wear it around the neck. (McLean 1996:189f, 194, Best 1976: 256) Also regarding the ornamentation the *nguru* was in no way inferior to it. Best quoted John White<sup>24</sup> (1976):

“Only persons of importance ever possessed such a flute, such as a tohunga or chief (p. 262). And if sounded with the mouth, the *nguru* might likewise be played by holding it transverse, overblowing the flute from the bigger aperture, which is the mouthpiece and

therefore producing a scale more or less alike the *kōauau*, depending on the number and position of the finger holes. Sometimes there may also be 1 or 2 finger holes underside (McLean 1996: 189f, 193f). Though the possibilities for variation concerning the range of tones are limited unless there are additional holes underneath the snout. The very few exceptions featuring those finger holes „[...] duplicate the portamento ability of the *kōauau* by extending the range of notes downwards by a major 2nd or minor 3rd, overcoming the liability” (McLean 1996: 193).

Considering all the above listed facts, it is very interesting that an instrument of such a peculiar appearance – at times compared to a tobacco-pipe or a “short thick tongue” – came into existence, if it just as well could have had the straight form of the *kōauau*, meeting almost the same requirements. There are some theories trying to explain the odd shape, but the one about the small gourd is as far as I can see the most likely one, proved by an incredible discovery in the 1980’s in the Bay of Plenty. Besides countless remnants of flutes and other artefacts, dated back to pre-European time, a *nguru* made of gourd was found. All parts of it were still existent and well-preserved, so it could be entirely reconstructed. Thinking of the fast decomposition of organic matter, such a finding is almost a miracle (McLean 1996: 189–193).

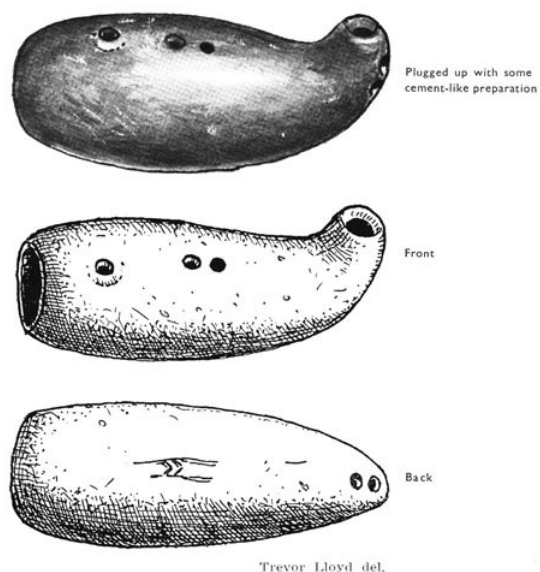


FIG. 51.

Three views of stone pipe or whistle found at Karekare, New Zealand, in a fortified rock-shelter on the west coast about 25 miles from Auckland.

(Length, 6.875 cm. (2 $\frac{3}{4}$  ins.); width, 2.5 cm. (1 in.))

Fig. 29: *nguru* (Andersen 1934: 264)

<sup>24</sup> John White: „Scholar, writer, linguist, public servant“ (Reilly 2012)

Nevertheless, according to this discovery, the *nguru* made of a gourd might have been the prototype (McLean 1996: 189–193, Andersen 2002: 263). Though Elsdon Best (1976) on the other hand remarked, that the gourd was used rather seldom, since playing it demanded quite a lot of effort (p. 263). But the *nguru* caused probably the most speculations when it comes to the question of the traditional playing method.

### **The New Zealand nose flute – still unsolved mystery**

Not seldom early records reported on a nose flute of indigenous New Zealand and most of them indicated the *nguru* to be this flute. But some sources also claimed that the *kōauau* or even the *pūtōrino* originally have been played in this manner.

Mervyn McLean investigated on this subject and analysed and compared all the writings relating to this in his article “*The New Zealand Nose Flute: Fact or Fallacy?*” (McLean 1974). He came to the conclusion, that many sources are rather doubtful. Some verifiably either simply adopted from previous accounts or merely based their statements on rumours and speculations. Crozet and Duclesmeur were in 1772 the first to mention a nose flute of New Zealand or rather two or three different types of flutes played with the nostrils. The two explorers were part of the expedition of marine officer Marion de Fresne, who landed in the Bay of Islands. Although they actually have been to New Zealand they apparently haven’t seen any of the instruments while being played. In their report they stated that they had heard the sound of the flute in the night, when the Māori were “locked up in the villages” (Roth qtd. by McLean 1974: 79, Crozet qtd. by Best 1976: 262).

Concerning the *kōauau* early accounts like Edward Treagear (as qtd. by McLean 1974: 80) claimed the flute to have been inserted into the nose for the purpose of being playing. Regarding the majority of *kōauau* this is rather unlikely, for most of the flutes have an average diameter of two to three centimetres, which is definitely too big for an average human nostril. Even if the flute were thinner so that it would fit into the nostril, it would be almost impossible to sound a tone. The only reasonable way of playing the *kōauau* with the nose would in this case be the one described above, by holding the flute respectively the “mouthpiece” close to the nose and blowing the air onto the free edge to impinge on it.

Another possibility is to use the first finger hole as aperture to blow on while putting the lip at the open end to close it – if close enough. There are only few specimens conforming to the requirements, even though the produced sound may not approach the quality obtained by playing the flute with the mouth (p. 82 f).



Moreover, in McLean's (1974) view one of the ends of the *kōauau* would – if it were designed for the aim of playing with the nostril – remain closed when manufacturing it. Additionally it would be unnecessary to shape the one aperture (which might be supposed to function as mouthpiece) round on the edges, which might predominantly serve to simplify the play with the mouth (p. 82 ff).

McLean has tested 72 old specimens in different museums, only 11 of them were appropriate to be played with the nose. According to him it is thus obvious, that (most of the) *kōauau* are not made for this purpose. Although this doesn't imply, that it has never been a used technique before, especially because it is fundamentally possible in some cases (McLean 1974:79–86).

Johannes C. Andersen (2002), for instance, suggests that the nose playing method perhaps once might have been a common way of playing the flute, but Māori relatively soon recognised the inefficiency of the technique and hence developed the mouth playing method. He believes that, although the Māori perpetuated the Polynesian heritage in so many respects, they developed “a finer music sense” after coming to New Zealand. That means that the “nose technique” has still been used but only rather seldom, after they had discovered a new and “better” way (p. 259 f). Mervyn McLean (1974) comes to the conclusion that the playing the *kōauau* with the nose “[...] was a freak use, probably limited to the East Coast, where it may well have been confined to a small local area or even to Williams' own instrument” (p. 85). He refers to Bishop Herbert Williams<sup>25</sup>, who compiled a Māori dictionary and who possessed some flutes, among them one that was capable of being played with the nose – but onto the upper finger hole, while closing the supposed “mouth piece” with the lip (p. 82).

The notion of the *pūtōrino* as nose flute is rather odd, particularly because of the size. Further one has to remember that it has often been termed a trumpet in the past. The deciding reason for this discussion was an illustration by George F. Angas in his *The New Zealanders Illustrated* (Angas 1847b), showing a Māori playing a *pūtōrino* with the nose. But Andersen figured out that the depicted person holds the flute upside down. Obviously the drawing was only a copy, originally portraying a Tahitian nose flute player (Andersen 1934: 275). The original illustration has been made by Sydney Parkinson. He participated at the first of James Cook's journeys to the South Pacific (McLean 1974: 86 f).

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<sup>25</sup> Biggs, Bruce (2013). “Williams, Herbert William – Biography”. In: *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 01.09.2010. URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3w20/1> (accessed 22.01.2013).

Sidney Parkinson also illustrated Māori culture and it is very interesting to analyse his version of a Māori playing a *pūtōrino*, as it totally different to Angas' copy of the "Māori musician", which actually represented the Tahitian boy Taiota. Parkinson's portray showed a Māori on a boat sounding the *pūtōrino* with the mouth! Mervyn McLean (1974) estimated Parkinson's drawing and description as a very authentic source (p. 86 f).

During his research McLean got the impression, that not many sources about the New Zealand nose flute were reliable enough, especially because those of Hamilton, Mair, White and contemporaries have never been confirmed by any other independent source. That means, that on the one hand there were a lot of incompatible reports, on the other hand they often seemed to be only adaptations of earlier statements.

Admittedly, the peculiar shape of the *nguru* with the upturned snout could suggest that it is made especially for inserting it into the nose, even though the mouthpiece is actually situated on the other end. Although McLean (1974) points out that in the case of the *nguru*, just as with the *kōauau*, the problem with the air emerges when the rim is encircled by the nostril (p. 86 f, 90 ff).

Thus it is obvious that Mervyn McLean basically rejects the notion of a New Zealand nose flute, since he considers the presented evidence as untenable. He takes it into consideration that certain explorers simply assumed there must be also nose flutes in New Zealand after they found nose flutes in many other parts of Polynesia. Also the *kōauau* or *nguru* are relatively small flutes and from a little distance and hidden within the hands it might have been difficult to interpret correctly how it was played (p. 84 f).

Johannes C. Andersen (2002) investigated Polynesian nose flutes extensively and he analysed all the sources, like the records of Hamilton or Mair and contemporaries, in which a Māori nose flute has been quoted. Regarding the *kōauau* he equally states that it is sometimes feasible to sound it with the nose, as it worked well when he tried to play one of those special specimens, by blowing into the first finger hole instead of into one of the ends. Nevertheless he also emphasises the fact that only a small number of *kōauau* are manufactured in a certain way to be played as a nose flute, namely when the distance of the end to the first finger hole admits it (p. 218 f). In this context he lists a few specimens, among them one with an "extra large hole for the nostril just below the top" (p. 233).

But Andersen (2002) continues in expressing strong doubts that the *kōauau* generally served as a nose flute. Other flutes could probably be sounded by blowing directly into one of the end apertures, but not so the *kōauau* – mostly (p. 262f). In the case of the *nguru* he wouldn't deem it as absolutely impossible to play it by inserting the smaller end into the nostril, but as he said: "Yet no one has been known to play it with the nose; and whilst it may be so played, I can do so only in the same way as the *kōauau*, and then it neither snores nor grunts, but whistles [...]" (p. 262). Assumingly he refers to the "mouth playing method", where the player overblows the instrument with the nose. Though I imagine it to be rather difficult to produce enough wind pressure with the nose, definitely not without closing the other nostril, e.g. with the thumb (p. 262f).

Some early writers suggested that the "mouth flutes" differed from the "nose flutes" in shape and features, i.e. they were special makings, just for the aim of being played by the nose (Colenso qtd. by Best 1976: 247 f). If this has been no common technique this would explain why only a few preserved specimens match the description.

Also Elsdon Best questioned the sense of playing with the nose, thinking that playing with the mouth seems to be the much more effective and aesthetic method. Concerning Polynesian nose flutes in general, Andersen (2002) stated: "None of this, of course, explains why nose-playing was adopted, or in what lay its special appeal – a question that puzzled Elsdon Best's unmusical soul [...]" (p. 217). Despite that he takes the *nguru* as alleged nose flute for a given fact, however he seldom criticised any records from his predecessors. Even the chapter about the *nguru* in his book *Games and Pastimes of the Māori* (Best 1976, 2005) has the additional title "nose flutes" (p. 261). But he doubts, that the small snout of the *nguru* has been inserted into the nose, like it has been claimed by many writers - to whom he refers. To him it seems more reasonable to hold the flute underneath the nostril and blow into it or onto the edge. Again it needs to be remarked, that Elsdon Best was no musicologist and he personally admitted to be no expert in this field (p. 286 ff).

In the 1920s Elsdon Best and Johannes C. Andersen talked among others to a Māori named Iehu Nukunuku. He explained them how to make a nose flute and showed how to play another flute. It was no *kōauau*, indeed the assumption arose that it was not even a traditional Māori flute, but a metal flute, resembling European instruments (see Fig. 30). And he sounded it with the mouth (Best 2005: 285, Anderson 1933: 231)

Iehu Nukunuku also raised the subject of the small gourd nose flutes (see p. 28). “This recalls the nguru nose flute, which has a similar hole very close to the end from which the instrument was sounded, as also some of the small bone instruments described above” (Best 2005: 285).

Apart from him they interviewed other Māori and nearly every of them knew the manufacture methods or the

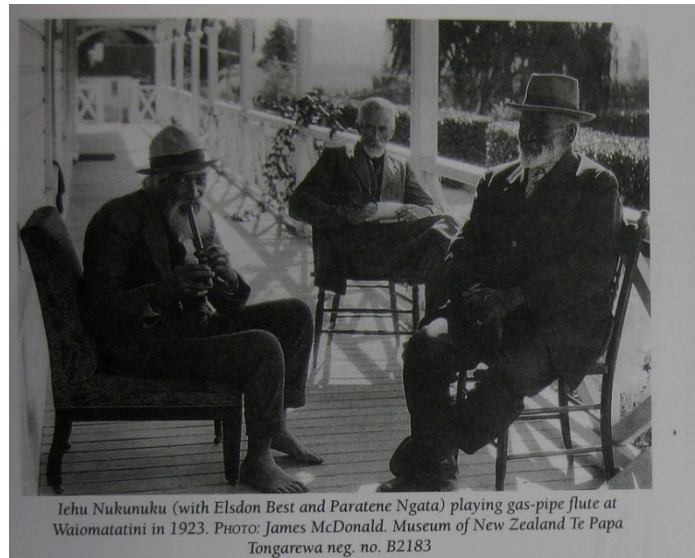


Fig. 30: Iehu Nukunuku with Elsdon Best (McLean 1996: 81)

playing methods, as they also claimed that nose playing was a definite tradition. But only very few of them could sound it themselves, neither by mouth nor by nose (Best 2005: 237 ff, Andersen 2002: 231 ff). Already Anderson in reference to Best, and later on also McLean in regard to Best as well as Nunns, seemed to be rather sceptical concerning the approach of obtaining the information from the interviewed persons and consequently concerning the reliability of the statements, because of the perhaps doubtful integrity of both interviewer and interviewee.

Richard Nunns takes a different point of view, as he doesn't agree with McLean or Andersen in regard to the nose playing method. This he illustrates in his article, which he published together with Allan Thomas in the Yearbook of Traditional Music: *The Search for the Sound of the Pūtōrino* (Nunns/Thomas 2005).

Nunns and Thomas believe that the nose playing method has to be taken seriously into account for the Māori as Polynesian descendant, as it is a conventional playing technique in great parts of Polynesia. Further they underline the importance of the breath coming from the nose, with its symbolical character in Māori culture. It is esteemed as „[...] pure breath, a manifestation of life force“. In this context they point to the traditional greeting ritual among Māori called *hongi*, during which two people press their noses together, so that they can inhale the “breath of life” and to internalise the energy and power of each other (p. 75).

Indeed the article approaches merely the *pūtōrino* in a detailed manner. But a very interesting aspect is that Nunns and Thomas go back to other sources than McLean, Best or Andersen had quoted.

Nunns and Thomas refer to Alfred K. Newmans “On the musical notes and other features of the long Māori trumpet”<sup>26</sup>, in which it is the *pūtōrino* that is supposed to be played with the nose (Newman qtd. by Nunns/Thomas 2005: 76).

Nunns speaks also from personal experience about the possibility of playing with the nose and about the enthusiastic reactions of the audience when he plays a flute (whichever) in this manner in workshops, presentations and concerts. He also demonstrated the playing method during his performance at the Christchurch Arts Festival in September 2011, short after my arrival in New Zealand. Therefore it was possible to observe the “nose performance” on my own and admittedly it work very well. Although Nunns managed to sound different flutes with the nose and hence does not ascribe the term “nose flute” to a particular flute.

Apparently he regards the high appreciation of Māori listeners while the act of nose playing, as a proof that it must once have been a common practice. Why would this playing method otherwise arouse so much enthusiasm among the audience, members of Māori in particular. Thus this special playing technique must have only been reserved for very skilled musicians (p. 75f).

After opposing the different opinions the question if a “New Zealand nose flute” actually existed in pre-European time or as well in times of early European encounters, still cannot be answered definitely. The only conclusion that could be drawn is that few of the old specimens are theoretically designed for nose playing, but most experts would deem the mouth playing method as more efficient and the sound produced more aesthetic. The latter is moreover supposed to be the most commonly used technique (McLean 1974: 85). Therefore one is inclined to regard the “New Zealand nose flute” rather as a fallacy than a fact.

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<sup>26</sup> Newman, Alfred K. (1905): “On the musical notes and other features of the long Maori trumpet”, In: *Transactions of the New Zealand Insititute* 38, S. 134–139.

## **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: EUROPEANS & MĀORI CULTURE**

For a better understanding of the meaning of traditional musical instruments to Māori and of the necessity of their “revival” respectively their reconstruction or revitalisation it is essential to give an historical overview of crucial events and impacts, which led to a change in culture and society. Further a vague notion of the Māori ways in pre-European times shall be conveyed.

### **Human habitation of New Zealand**

New Zealand – in Māori *Aotearoa*<sup>27</sup> – is considered to be the youngest country in the world in regard to human settlement. This is assumed to have happened about 800 to 1000 years ago. The first human settlers are believed to have come from the east of Polynesia. It is uncertain whether they departed from the Cook Islands, Society Islands or Marquesas Islands. But the conditions the Polynesians found in New Zealand were in fact very different to that of their previous homeland. Nature and climate were rough compared to the tropical weather in other Polynesian parts of Oceania. Therefore they had to assimilate to the new environment to survive. They developed special systems of subsistence agriculture, to grow Potatoes as well as *kumaras* (sweet potato) and Yams for example. And they hunted a particular species of giant bird, called *Moa* until its extinction – long before European arrival (McLean 1996: 10). The sea was an equally important food source, further the oceans and its inhabitants had special status in Māori life. The act of fishing embodied a sacred rite in some places and involved a lot of *tapus* (see p. 59). The Māori also developed an ingenious food storage system to guarantee sufficient food supply for the winter.

As already illustrated in the instance of the musical instruments the Māori was an adept in the masterful art of carving and beyond that very skilled in weaving clothes and mats.

In Māori worldview every action and every custom should have its concrete task and purpose in a well-organised system as well its symbolical meaning, whether in concern of obtaining food or a ceremonial war dance. And all of the rituals were of greatest utility to preserve the order, as the indigenous people didn't separate culture from nature, or culture from everyday social life. Unlike with the European high culture and the western classical music, Māori music was not only reserved for elites or for the aim of entertainment (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 3).

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<sup>27</sup> Maori name for New Zealand, translated in English „Land of the long white cloud“.

The performance of a particular *waiata* (song), as well as the instrumental accompaniment to it, might in certain occasions have been indispensable, to possibly ensure the success of the act or perhaps to reinforce the effect (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 9 ff).

According to the consensus the Māori's "[...] pattern of life did not change very much over long periods". Nevertheless it is a fact, that Polynesians in general were excellent navigators and hence not averse of exploring the sea and travelling far distances, where they assumingly discovered other lands and encountered other people and different cultures (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 3 f).

### **Early encounters**

Although the Dutch sailor Abel Tasman, who served for the Dutch East India Company, discovered New Zealand in 1642 the first real contact to Europeans happened only more that 120 years later in 1769 when James Cook arrived on the ship *Endeavour* in *Aotearoa* for the first time. Abel Tasman sailed along the west coast but never went ashore as he already got in touch with the Māori's martial temper at sea. It were the Dutch to name the island "New Zealand", but not Abel Tasman himself.

James Cook did experience a more peaceful welcoming, due to the support of a chief from Tahiti who accompanied him and who was able to understand Māori. He mediated between the two contrary societies. Admittedly the first contact did not proceed completely conflict-free and even resulted in killing, caused by the Europeans who had heard of the alleged 'ferocity' and 'barbarism' of the indigenous population before (Dutch's respectively Tasman's records). Incidents like this were mainly attributable to the diversity of cultures as well as the inability to comprehend the other's behaviour or attitude (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 14 ff).

Cook's and also Sir Joseph Banks'<sup>28</sup> notes on this journey are regarded as very precious, as those might be the last descriptions of Māori life and culture unaffected by European influence. On their second and third return to the Pacific and New Zealand, Cook and his European companions solved most conflicts by finding a common denominator: trade. The actual trading process started with the coming of whalers, sealers and the first settlers (p. 10 f).

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<sup>28</sup> A scientist who accompanied Captain James Cook on his first expedition (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 17), see also Gilbert 2012.

Above all weapons and other war objects were of great interest for the Māori. Like in other Polynesian areas metal was an alien material and had only been introduced by Europeans, who in turn immediately sensed the possibility of a profitable business, unaware of the effects caused by acquainting the Māori with firearms. The natives were fascinated of the efficiency and the power they gained in possessing such material which led partly to brutal massacres between different hostile Māori societies in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 10 f, 31 f).

On his second voyage Cook “[...] planted seeds, as he did in many places, and liberated a pair of geese” – from today’s perspective a grave mistake to import alien species, since this resulted in extensive displacement of and damage on the native flora and fauna (p. 17).

Europeans on the other hand purchased goods like flax, yams, potatoes as well as elaborately tattooed, mummified human heads, called *mokomokai*.<sup>29</sup> Latter took on a dramatic scale when the fascination of *mokomokaī*<sup>30</sup> in Europe caused a downright manhunt among Māori. The mummified heads were sold to private collectors or with the aim to be exhibited in museums. A rapidly increasing and insatiable demand on European side for *mokomokaī* evolved, hence Māori offered (living) Māori slaves, often even still untattooed, with the only purpose of selling their (afterwards tattooed) head after they had been killed (Terence Barrow 1965: 10, Wilson 2012: 12). Apart from this after decades of European settlement and trade Māori also became dependent on the imported goods, as their own original subsistence agriculture had gradually been replaced.

Besides this it was the trade with timber, presumably all the native wood like *mataī* (black pine<sup>31</sup>) or the giant *kauri*<sup>32</sup> tree that particularly attracted many traders. Already Cook mentioned “magnificent trees” in his notes (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 16). Like many other European interventions, also the trade with timber had a strong impact on the natural balance. Large areas had been deforested entirely and it was impossible to re-afforest in the relatively short time (p. 16 f).

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<sup>29</sup> See Schifko 2012.

<sup>30</sup> *moko* = “Māori tattooing designs on the face or body“ And *mokaī* = “servant, captive, slave, pet“ ( Moorfield 2012).

<sup>31</sup> “mataī, black pine, *Prumnopitys taxifolia* - a coniferous, long-lived native tree of lowland forest with small, narrow leaves arranged in two rows, hammer-marked trunk and pale timber. Ripe seed is a deep blue-black with a pale purplish bloom” (Moorfield 2012).

<sup>32</sup> “kauri, *Agathis australis* - largest forest tree but found only in the northern North Island, it has a large trunk and small, oblong, leathery leaves, kauri resin, soot from burnt kauri gum used for tattooing” (Moorfield 2012).



But long before that time another kind of trade dominated the economy of New Zealand. As early as 1792 the first whalers and sealers settled, especially in the very south of the south island, where large seal colonies were located. Shortly afterwards crowds of hunters diminished the colonies until they were seriously endangered. Having extremely reduced the seal herds the business became unprofitable and therefore unappealing (McLean 1996: 269ff). In the case of the whaling already in 1798 the British government imposed a prohibition for British whalers, as the British East India Company tried to maintain its alleged monopoly of this trading area. But then the Spanish came and in the following decade the whaling business flourished (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 22).

Obviously the impact of the first sailors, settlers (only from about the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century), whalers or sealers was already enormous. Due to their interference flora and fauna changed in so many ways which also affected the everyday life of the Māori, as well as their warfare and thereby their general social behaviour.

“This close knitting of life to a loved environment and the fitting of each individual into a working society must be remembered when we consider the effect on Māori life of European pressure” (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 12).

The early years of contact were of no serious consequence in musical respects, as the sailors’ repertoire did not change the cultural aspects of Māori life, at least not permanently. Whereas the indigenous society was excited because of the western melodies, their richness in range and harmony, their culture and music only went through a significant transition with the advent and intervention of missionaries (McLean 1996: 269 ff).

### **Conflict of Cultures – European interference**

The colonisation of New Zealand proceeded somewhat different from that of other countries under British administration. At first the British asserted no claim to the title of the sole colonial authority in New Zealand and the British government made no attempts to interfere in New Zealand policies, which had positive and negative effects.

One reason for the reticent behaviour was that the colonised lands gradually lost their former value in economical respect compared to the state of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, since the industrial revolution of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in England induced political and social changes. And the English people were struggling with the aftermaths of hard years of war against France around the turn of the century, so other matters than trade overseas dominated life back then. Also the calls of critics in regard to the (negative) impacts of colonisation on the natives’ life became louder and louder (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 7, 39 ff).

Although the resulting financial crisis and the fast-growing industry with the factories and their new technologies forced a great part of the population to seek for a better life somewhere else. Whereupon a clear expansion of many of the earlier British colonies, like Canada, South Africa and Australia was noticeable. Stretched to their limits after a while and facing a high unemployment rate due to the rapidly increasing number of migrants, those colonial administrations led the emigrant's attention to New Zealand (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 7, 39 ff).

In the dark times around in 1830s and 1840s England colonial reformers, like Edward Gibbon Wakefield, pursued the idea of satisfied and happy English colonial societies. This was supposed to be achieved by settling a part of the English people far away from the disastrous conditions in England, and thereby preventing the nation to collapse from the imminent overpopulation. They developed the notion of a reformed society, following old conservative values but similarly establishing a new system of rules. And since New Zealand as a relatively young and unsullied colony appeared to be perfect for this purpose, he also reinforced the migration to this island. But at this time nobody considered the impact on the natives of the colonised countries. On the contrary, reformers like Wakefield downright ignored the Māoris' demands and needs, unless the natives served his purposes, for example in questions of land ownership. This bargains then mainly affected chiefs and other descendants of indigenous aristocratic lineages (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 39 ff).

But earlier – already in the first years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – the antipodes were primarily of interest for the missionary society of England.

### **Missionary impact, land rights and wars**

The missionary work began in 1814 when Samuel Marsden arrived in New Zealand. He was a member of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), sent by the Evangelical Church of England. Before he was responsible for the criminals of the Australian convict colony, but he felt to be destined to care for the indigenous people of New Zealand after he heard stories about emerging conflicts between European settlers and natives. Marsden – and missions in general – tried to help the Māori to adapt to the European way of life, to become a 'civilised' society and by this means to facilitate the cooperation and the common life of natives and Europeans. In the 1840's there were already 29 missionary stations only on the north island, among which more than the half were administrated by the CMS (McLean 1996: 270).

But also the Wesleyan, the Roman Catholic and the Anglicans succeeded to establish missionary societies in New Zealand. Nowadays it is the latter church which finds the most approval among Māori (McLean 1996: 270).

Converting almost the entire population to Christianity, which was a main focus, implied the simultaneous transformation of the Māori culture. Traditional dances, songs, rituals and ceremonies had been prohibited, as they were believed to be heathen customs. Moreover the missionaries abandoned every – from western point of view – criminal action, such as murder, theft, prostitution, cannibalism, infanticide, polygamy, slavery or warfare. And any further beliefs or practices linked to those actions or other ritual and ceremonial symbols, like *mana* und *tapu*<sup>33</sup>, or tattoos. The resulting gaps were supposed to be filled with conventions of western culture, for example western church music like hymns or even march music replaced the singing of *waiata*. The former shaped today's chants to such a great extent, that it is frequently believed to be traditional Māori chant style. Equally the instruments lost their role as they were out of context and displaced by organs, violins or harmonica and after a certain time also by the piano and the guitar. Admittedly the replacement of instruments did not occur (only) because of coercion, but undoubtedly due to curiosity on the part of Māori (McLean 1996: 269 ff). Anyway, with the loss of dances, ceremonies, rituals etc. also the knowledge of performance and playing practice disappeared as well as partly of the instrument manufacture methods.

The European missions were eager to institute European lifestyle in New Zealand, also by establishing new communities. In the missionary period European agriculture has been introduced, first only for the purpose of subsistence for the gradually growing villages of new settlers. But later on more and more land has been acquired for farming, with non-native crop and plants in order to export the goods. Simultaneously the Europeans imported non-native livestock, like cattle, horses, sheep and so on. The interventions in subsistence agriculture also upset the natural balance to a great extent. The emerging communities were well-organised. Members of Missionary societies often qualified as skilled workers in different sectors like housebuilding, in teaching and of course the clerics were responsible for religious education and Christian conversion (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 24 ff).

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<sup>33</sup> *mana* and *tapu* are beliefs, it can be regarded as supernatural powers – often in correspondence with ancestral spirits. Those sacred powers may lead to respect and prestige and determined the everyday life and the behaviour in Maori society. Based upon that rules for social relationships were established and even authority and chieftaincy legitimised (McLean 1996: 16f).

Not all of the actions on the European part had been taken because of self-serving intentions. In the prevalent European view at colonial times Europeans considered their lifestyle to be more developed, civilised and were convinced of ‘rescuing’ the indigenes from their savage and heathen ways in showing them how to live an honourable, virtuous ‘civilised’ life. The missionaries’ intention was it to improve the natives’ economical understanding and to form the Māori to a society just after European model, to be prepared for a civilised form of trade with European countries, also to guarantee an equally situated base for the business. And in the beginning the missions rejected the idea of colonisation at all.

Many other Europeans did not share this attitude, but were only seeking for a conflict-free, good business relationship, with the focus on new and cheap land. However, two absolutely opposite worlds clashed, unable to imagine and comprehend the other’s ideology, motives and activities. Conflicts were predictable, often just because of misunderstandings and overestimation of authority and power on the European part.

When Māori felt treated disrespectful they responded in a manner intrinsic to their lifestyle, which has ever been dominated by warfare. “Reprisals by the Māori looked like wanton cruelty and led to further treachery and vengeance by Europeans” (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 29).

Especially in the first decades of European contact also deserters and escaped convicted criminals, who were on their way to the convict colony in Australia settled in New Zealand. Those social outcasts might also have influenced Māori life rather negatively, whether in respect to how they treated the indigenes or even what lifestyle they practised in their homeland and thus upset their ways. The missions overtly disapproved developments like this or demanded from the British government to take action for the prevention. Until then the government of New Zealand had virtually free reign, as the British government didn’t claim sovereignty and therefore made no attempts to intervene in their policies or rather to feel responsible for any events or abuses (p. 24 ff, 29 ff, 49 ff). The growing interest of the French and their increasing settlements “made the British annexation almost inevitable” (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 57).

Additionally to the fatal impacts on Māori life in their own homeland it was not uncommonly that many of them were ripped out of their familiar environment and shipped to Europe or to other colonial islands in the Pacific, among other things because of their knowledge of how to manufacture flax for clothing or as navigators or workers on the ships, mostly not voluntary or by false pretences (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 30 ff).

But besides this and the introduction of firearms and other weapons, the Europeans caused the most grave damage by the import of several diseases, which were foreign to New Zealand and therefore not opposable by their immune systems, so that this gradually eradicated a large part of the Māori community. Fortunately they recovered eventually, before the native population of New Zealand was entirely annihilated (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 30 ff).

All of the above mentioned changes also exerted influence on the musical life of the Māori. In previous days music and the everyday life were closely intertwined. Like in other Polynesian societies there was no attempt or no need to separate culture and nature. Nature was ubiquitous and therefore the guiding force in Māori worldview. It defined all their acting, all decisions and their beliefs and formed the base of the musical world. So if only one little piece changes the entire construct needs to be adapted. But in the in the case of the Māori it were large parts that changed seriously in a relatively short time, evoking a collapse.

For example the flutes made of (human) bone: Because of the peculiarity of the material and their uniqueness it has been regarded as a highly esteemed object. For the expression of the estimation and for the overt exhibition of its particularity it has often been worn around the neck, especially by authorities like chiefs. Similarly it might have served as a mojo or the like. Abandoning the belief in nature deities and in spirits of ancestors all symbols like those lost their value and their special task in the framework of life (Best 2005:219, 236).

In all fairness it was not the case that the Europeans strived for the total extinction of Māori culture. Samuel Marsden even sought after preserving the language in writing it down (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 27). And in regard to land rights in 1840 the British Government – represented by Captain William Hobson, the later (first) governor of New Zealand, imposed not to buy “any territory, the retention of which by them [the Māori] would be essential or highly conducive to their own comfort, safety, or subsistence” and that “they [Māori] must be carefully defended in the observance of their own customs, so far as these are compatible with the universal maxims of humanity and morals [...]” (p. 60 f). From then on land could have only been purchased from the Government, but that didn’t necessarily imply that the deals were fair.

The *Treaty of Waitangi*, which was signed in 1840, was the next step to the British sovereignty over New Zealand (p. 62).

It contained the declaration of the more or less British monopoly in land and trading rights, but also the “Government’s benevolent intentions” towards the native population, like those mentioned above. That included the “cession by the Māori chiefs of their sovereignty over their respective territories to Queen Victoria [...]”, but also the “guarantee to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand of undisturbed possession of their lands, forests, fisheries, and other properties, with the proviso that they may sell only to the Queen [...]” (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 62).

Many Māori expressed their rejection of such a treaty, arguing that the situation regarding the contemptuous and disrespectful behaviour of some settlers and traders wouldn’t change thus. Rather that despite the promises the Government would not be able to control all the occurrences, but on the contrary the Māori would be bound to the British by contract and obedience would be expected. More than a few strived for the situation to remain like it was, with the missions as mediators, which undertook a kind of administrative function. And at this stage the majority of Māori were still keen on selling their land to whomsoever, preferably to the highest bidder, therefore not the Government with its’ limited budget.

Others were convinced that exactly this treaty would help to preserve their traditions and to protect the Māori of such injustice. Eventually over 500 chiefs of New Zealand signed the treaty and paved the way for British sovereignty (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 62 f).

The following years were dominated by discontent and riots. The Treaty of Waitangi and the new developments caused displeasure among the Company of New Zealand, whose members were more or less disregarding the agreements and demanding for self-government by the European settlers. The Māori, whose notions of the European’s task according to the treaty still dispersed intertribal, felt also deceived and tried to claim their rights and to preserve their culture and traditions.

Members of the government like Sir George Grey tried to conform to the *Treaty of Waitangi*, not only because of protection of Māori interests, but also due to reason, since the European settlers still were in minority (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 75). Others like the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Earl Grey, sympathised with the interests of the Company of New Zealand (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 75 ff).

Consequently in second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century permanent issues and struggles arose, partly attributable to the rising numbers of settlements and the increasing confidence and impertinence of the Europeans, who were getting more and more their own way and suppressing the Māori. “[T]hey [Māori] look with apprehension to the annihilation of their nationality as race” (Browne qtd. by Condliffe/Airey 1954: 92).

“Their old way of life had been largely disrupted, the authority of their chiefs undermined, and, in spite of the occasional reminders from England, nothing had been done to organize native districts where the Māori could live under their own laws.” (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 93).

Moreover the economical ups and downs contributed significantly to the threatening annihilations of the Māori population. The sudden advantageous progresses and improvements during the economic boom just as rapidly turned into depression, with disastrous effects on the Māori life, who were still inexperienced European courses of economy. These irregularities again caused an abrupt change of lifestyle for the (alleged) formerly very consistent natives (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 93 ff, 122 f).

The strains, additionally reinforced through confiscation of Māori land, finally culminated in cruel wars in the 1860s lasting until the 1872, where Māori were fighting for their rights, partly even within Māori community, but mainly against British troops. This period went down in history as the *King Movement*. During this time many natives seemed to remember their old warfare customs and did not hesitate to apply them in traditional manner in the treatment of their enemies. But more than a few Māori sided in this wars with the Europeans, even in the battles (p. 89ff, 94ff, 104ff).

The Māori wars had been succeeded by a further economical depression, which presumably also contributed to the lowest population number of Māori society of history, recorded in 1896 with 42.000. But the 1890's somehow denoted a landmark in New Zealand history.

### **(New) Consciousness of identity?**

At the turn of the century changes were noticeable, among others induced by the political alterations when in 1891 the Liberal-Labour Party came to power.

The Land and Tax Income Act from 1891 was assigned for putting a stop to the expansion of big landowners, especially if the lands were not properly and sufficiently used.

The Liberal-Labour Party espoused the fragmentation of big estates and the lease of smaller properties to less wealthier settlers and small farmers, whereas the government still owed the majority of land and also the great businesses. Nevertheless they were eager to avoid monopolies and ensured fair prices. Richard John Seddon, who was New Zealand Premier from 1893 to 1906 felt also responsible for the 'ordinary man'. He strived for a governmentally regulated industry, e.g. a state coal mine, the State Fire Insurance Office, and therefore guaranteed decent conditions for labourers. This government had its focus on social affairs, like the 'care of mothers and children'.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century a Reform Party emerged, which were convinced that the leased properties should belong to those who spend their time, money and energy on cultivating the land (Condcliffe/Airey 1954: 90, 112, 165, 170 f). A further incisive change came with the Title of the Dominion, which New Zealand obtained in 1907. This meant the concession of self-government to a certain extent, as New Zealand still belonged to the British Empire or little time later to the Commonwealth of Nations (p. 169, 255f). At the 1926 Imperial Conference the relationship has been clearly determined:

"They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations" (Balfour Report qtd. by Condcliffe/Airey 1954: 256).

New Zealand was not demanding for absolute independence. Perhaps for the reason that it was a very young and unconfident country, which did not have enough time to develop a strong, individual character, detached from the British conservatism. In this respect New Zealand differed a lot from other Dominions, which were eager for more autonomy. Apart from that the New Zealanders were considered to "be 'more British than the British'" (Condcliffe/Airey 1954: 257). That might have been a decisive factor why New Zealand accepted the Dominion status only in 1947 effectively. (ib., p. 244, 257f).

In the years around the turn of the century also other than political changes were noticeable:

„In social terms it [colonial era] ended earlier, merging imperceptibly into what may be called the modern era during which the Māori population overcame the 'dying race' appellation and came more fully to terms with the European culture" (McLean 1996:274).

After a century of 'cultural contact' the Māori eventually had adapted the European way of life to such an extent, so that they could take advantage of the situation and the opportunities that arose from the absorption of the alien culture.



The Māori decided not to play the secondary role in their homeland anymore and to take an active part, socially as well as economically. For instance education was an important factor: It was mainly due to several young and well-educated Māori, who gave hope to the native inhabitants and their culture and contributed to the “Māori renaissance” (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 114). Personalities like Sir Apirana Ngata (1874–1950), Sir Maui Pomare (1876–1930) and Sir Peter Buck (1880–1951), who were the first Māori to graduate from university or college, achieved to convey a new consciousness for the old identity, whether in respect to art or other customs and traditions. But as this was the new generation of Māori, already born in a world under British administration and grown up with the normality of British presence, they attempted to connect both worlds and profit from it.

All of the three above mentioned young Māori were involved in the Young Māori Party, “[...] an association mostly of Old Boys of Te Aute Māori College, which aimed at improving the condition of the Māori people” (McLean 1996: 339). Besides his political (he was a Member of Parliament from 1905–1943) and social ambitions Apirana Ngata was very anxious in promoting the arts, including music. For this purpose he managed to record events he had organised, with chants and dances and so on, which were broadcasted from the late 1930s on. His name is especially associated with the action song or *waiata kori* or *waita-a-ringā* (‘father of action song’), a fusion of European melodies, frequently adapted from hymns, and traits of Māori musical tradition, hence a rather modern form of Māori music (p. 309, 337 f).

In economical regards it was necessary to adjust to the European efficiency in production, e.g. with agricultural products and equally in questions of land ownership and cultivation, in disassociating themselves from the “communal system of the Māori past” (Condliffe/Airey 1954: 115). On the other hand the appreciation of community life has been strengthened in cultural concerns, in encouraging activities on the *marae* and the sense for the traditional past. The *pākehā* supported the natives willingly, as they felt the need to indemnify in a way for the decades of British dominance and the certain suppression caused by this. This and the resulting newly attained social confidence, as well as the improvements in healthcare prevented the Māori population to disappear entirely (p. 113 ff).

“Hold fast to your Māoritanga – to your sense of being a Māori.” According to Condliffe and Airey (1954: 117) this “was the necessary policy in the process of the revival”. Obviously already at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a movement within the Māori community began to save a culture, which was threatened to become extinct.

Thus already in the 1950s the word “revival” has been used. Now the question arises if it is justified to use this term in general and also in the special case of the efforts made by the new generation, when the old culture had been modified to be compatible for the modern world, for example in the case of the action dance? Or was it a process that might have been inevitable to prevent the total loss of the tradition, an inevitable result because of the alteration the Māori society had already been passed through, to an internalisation of the formerly alien culture?

In the following chapter the development of the Māori culture in the 20<sup>th</sup> century – mainly with the focus on music, and especially musical instruments – will be illustrated. It is rather an introduction of key figures and their investigation of traditional music and other achievements in reawakening memories of Māori past.

## RECONSTRUCTION OF A MUSICAL CULTURE

On the subsequent pages some crucial events and important characters of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in respect to the research of traditional Māori music and their reawakening will be described. Certainly it were many more who influenced the developments, but the persons discussed in this thesis, as well as institutions and associations constitute – according to a widespread expert opinion - an important part in the current body of knowledge regarding tradition. Above all it were measures taken to preserve the ancient culture in terms of archiving and recording and the resulting accessibility and availability of sources and material, which contributed a major share to today's consciousness.

### Mervyn McLean

One of the pioneers, who achieved extraordinary successes in this field – not only regarding Māori, but also Pacific music and dance – is **Mervyn McLean**, a highly esteemed New Zealand ethnomusicologist. His research started in his student days, within the scope of his Master of Arts in music at the University of Otago (South Island). With the help of a man named Arapeta Awatere, he in 1958 set out for field work on the North Island, more precisely in the Bay of Plenty in the Rotorua district, with the purpose to record old *waiata* on his tape recorder. The documentation and preservation of the songs were supposed to be a part of his master thesis but developed virtually to his life work. He continued the task of preserving a piece of tradition over the next 21 years and it resulted in about 1.300 recorded *waiata*. In order to use the audio material in a meaningful way, namely to make them available as sources for knowledge for everybody who is interested, the Archive of Māori and Pacific Music in Auckland had been founded.

In 1965, after or during his PhD, Mervyn McLean proposed his idea to some institutions in hopes of obtaining support, like the former Department of Māori Affairs, the New Zealand Broadcasting Service and different Universities, among which was also the University of Auckland. After he acquired the special knowledge in respect to archiving (cataloguing and curation) and after a year at the University of Hawaii he in 1970 finally established the archive within the Anthropology Department of the preferred University of Auckland. It was the University of Auckland who approved a Research Fellowship in Māori and Pacific Ethnomusicology to McLean, where he gave New Zealand's first lectures on world music and Māori music.

It was due to McLean's precision and fidelity in documentation concerning origin, performer, date and place of the recording, region and *iwi* etc., and his conscience in and dedication for the preservation, that it became possible to provide a solid and authentic foundation of knowledge for this and coming generations.

His engagement saved a great part of a cultural tradition for the future and for countless members of the different Māori *iwi*'s, who are now able to (re-) discover memories from their past, songs they were perhaps taught to them by their grandparents and which faded gradually into obscurity over time. Or a special song, a special tune they never heard before and otherwise never would have become acquainted with. (Moyle 2007: ix)

The archive holdings, respectively Mervyn McLean's own recordings, were among others supplemented by copies of Māori records from the Radio New Zealand, after McLean agreed to document and organise their collection of files.

Altogether he compiled four extensive catalogues of the following collections:

- Catalogue of Māori Purposes Fund Board Recordings (1983);
- Catalogue of Radio New Zealand Recordings of Māori Evens 1938-1950 RNZ 1-60 (1991);
- Catalogue of McLean Collection of Recordings of Traditional Māori Songs 1958-1979 McL 1-1283 (1992, reprinted 1998);
- Catalogue of National Museum Cylinder Collection (1993).

The archive fulfilled its original purpose since the greater deal of copies of audio files, catalogues etc., were and are still requested by Māori. Nevertheless a body of source material, like it is offered by the archive, is also very significant and indispensable for academic research in general (Moyle 2007: ix-xii).

One very important aspect is the free access to copies. It was a principle on which Mervyn McLean and his successors always placed much value – not to commercialise the knowledge and to provide an equal right for everyone. It is a “major contributing factor to the on-going high level of trust which Māori place in the integrity of Archive operations” as well as an assurance that the cultural heritage is not being exploited for commercial purposes. Māori interests are additionally protected through a “formal contract specifying who may have access [to the archived material] and for what reasons” (Moyle 2007: xi).

The archive and the *waiata* recordings are regarded as the main work in Mervyn McLean's career – doubtlessly an invaluable achievement for the Māori society as well as Pacific islanders and science in general. But his “commitment to Māoridom” (Moyle 2007: x) is also expressed by research and subsequent publications in other fields, for example on traditional Māori musical instruments. His interest in this topic aroused during the fieldwork for his master thesis, while recording *waiata* on the North Island. He accidentally encountered – by his own accounts – the last two Māori, who were able to play the open-tube flute *kōauau*. One of them was Mrs. Paeroa Wineera, whom he recorded while sounding the instrument and who taught him how to play the flute, assuring that the *kōauau* has never been used as nose flute. Moreover Paeroa Wineera confirmed what he already knew from Elsdon Best's statements, that “the instrument did not play tunes of its own, but accompanied *waiata* singing, playing the same tune as the singers” (McLean 2004: 88) McLean was very anxious for exploring every aspect of Māori chant, hence he started to learn how to play the *kōauau*, and subsequently discovering the scales of traditional *waiata*. Mrs. Wineera was not a virtuoso, indeed she did not like to play the flute at all, despite that she gave instructions for the playing technique, which he documented with photos and diagrams. Former unfortunately disappeared.

The other player was Hēnare Toka, whom Mervyn McLean interviewed some time later. Unlike Wineera, who inherited the flute and the knowledge from her uncle Hēmi Hohaea, he did not own a flute (McLean 1966: 183, 2004: 88 f).

The investigation of traditional instruments from the Pacific and of the Māori in particular, focussing on the flutes *kōauau* and also the *nguru*, was an issue of great significance for Mervyn McLean. Within this scope he tested every single flute – it were about 140 specimens – of that particular types held in the museums, national and international. He again was considerate of all details, which could give indication of origin and age, scales and the fundamental Māori music system (Moyle 2007: xi f; McLean 2004: 89).

McLean published his research findings on Māori flutes in different articles in journals (e.g. McLean 1968; 1974; 1982) as well as in entries for the *New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*. And he dedicated a great deal of space to musical instruments in his most comprehensive work *Māori Music* (1996).

Further crucial publications of Mervyn McLean are

- *Traditional Songs of the Māori*, 1975 - with Margaret Orbell;
- *An Annotated Bibliography of Oceanic Music and Dance*, 1995;
- *Weavers of Song: Polynesian Music and Dance*, 1999;
- *Tō Tatau Waka: In Search of Māori Music 1958-1979*, 2004 (autobiography);
- *Pioneers of Ethnomusicology*, 2006.

Mervyn McLean – with his extraordinary achievements in research and documentation and above all his efforts in supplying the gained information to the public for free, instead of restricting the knowledge to an elitist group of scientists – contributed considerably to the development of a new consciousness of identity for the native people of this country (Moyle 2007: ix-xii). From this the desire to express the newly constructed feeling for identity to the world developed. A movement that had its approximate beginning in the 1970s or 80s and which was often named “the Māori renaissance” by the media. The efforts of this era lay in the national self-dramatisation and it has been characterised by the revitalisation of the arts and the Māori handicraft, like weaving, carving and Māori literature (Beatson 2003: 17), whether in practical manufacturing or in pathetically “museumising” (Benedict Anderson qtd. by Bayart 2005: 60) it. The keyword since this period is *Māoritanga* or *Mana Māori* – Māori Power (see p. 65 and Hanson 1989: 896) and the international display of it respectively of the redeveloped traditional culture is a crucial aspect of it.

### **Haumanu**

Today the revitalisation of traditional Māori musical instruments is often associated with a movement initiated by an association named ***Haumanu***, or rather to the founding members **Hirini Melbourne, Richard Nunns and Brian Flintoff**. Those personalities, quite different in their professional background, dedicated their selves “to the search of the sounds of *taonga pūoro*” (Nunns Documentary Māori TV, Flintoff 2011). The term *Haumanu* (“breath of birds”) was chosen because of the meaning of birds and their singing in Māori culture, but “[t]he word also means revival and this is the aim of the group (Flintoff 2004: 7)”.

Richard Nunns’ fascination of the traditional objects and his motivation for investigation began in his childhood with a newspaper article in the 1950s, showing some specimens from the Auckland Museum – alleged musical instruments, whose “sound has been lost and forgotten” (Nunns Documentary, Māori TV).

In a Documentary for the series *Kete Aronui* on Māori TV about Richard Nunns, he is introduced as a *taonga pūoro* musician, who has “undertaken a journey to revive an ancient Māori tradition”. Popular media often refers to him as THE ‘living authority’ on *taonga pūoro*. He started as jazz musician and began together with the musician, composer and teacher of Māori culture Hirini Melbourne, who shared his passion for the beautiful art objects, to do research on Māori musical instruments.<sup>34</sup>

According to Richard’s statement in the documentary on Māori TV *Haumanu* gathered the knowledge by field research, studying the literature, interviewing people, playing instruments in the museums and making replicas of the instruments. Latter has been realised by Brian Flintoff, a carver and instrument maker. Nunns admitted that at the early stage of his efforts the “connection to Māori community was non-existent”. After decades of learning about the culture in experiencing the interpretation of tradition personally among Māori and receiving knowledge directly from Māori, he received credit on the side of Māori community. The task of obtaining information however appeared for *Haumanu* to be difficult, as according to Nunns’ accounts often “the rank and file of the traditional community” was in former times excluded from the intimate, private or secret ritual ceremonies, respectively the use of the instruments in ceremonial contexts was mostly reserved for the *tohunga*.

In this respect he solely refers to flutes and the bullroarers/whizzers, which often occurred in healing rituals, for pain relief, e.g. during birth, or a sort of prayer to save the unborn or a baby from misery. A frequently told and supposedly applied ritual tradition was the play of a (long) flute upon the fontanel of a new-born. What kind of flute had been used and the desired effect is not very clear, although it was presumably the acceleration of the healing process, as this is the most vulnerable part of a baby’s body and additionally the preservation from evil.

“They [instruments] were employed to provide the sacre dimension to activities like aiding conception, easing labour, promoting the growth of plants, smoothing the passage from life to death and passing knowledge down to generations” (Nunns qtd. by Beatson 2003: 25).

Thus the ‘ordinary’ members of the community were obviously not destined to play a part in the oral tradition, which constrains from a today’s perspective the possibilities of gathering preserved and saved knowledge. A further aggravating circumstance was the high social status of ancestral knowledge.

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<sup>34</sup> Any attempts on my part to ascertain from the sources used in this thesis the year in which Melbourne and Nunns met and when the actual “journey” started remained fruitless. I seem to remember to have heard it were sometime in the late 1970s, but cannot assure.

Receiving or handing down information has always been associated with *tapu* and only chosen people were destined to obtain the mental and spiritual treasures. The act itself was bound to many restrictions and requirements. In some regions Māori believed that giving away certain knowledge randomly, above all to non-members of the own community – whether Māori or not – would bring disaster or death (see McLean 2004). Even today the investigator might have to prove that he/she is worth to know.

Nunns' statement of the *tohunga*'s exclusive accessibility to the one or other musical instrument and the '*tapu*-ness' of the knowledge about it somehow implies the mere former deployment of instruments in sacred or more generally in functional contexts. It is quite likely the different instruments were assigned to different contexts, like the trumpets, which were mainly used for signalling.

According to Nunns, it was his or Melbourne's playing at a *marae* that often attracted the people's attention and after a certain time of gaining trust perhaps motivated the Māori to talk about customs or to learn their selves more about their own tradition, e.g. how to play an instrument (Beatson 2003: 24). On the other hand some of the native people, who have been taught by Nunns & Co. in workshops and such, after a while supposedly remembered things they must have learned once but forgotten over time.

While Nunns & Co. acknowledge all the gathered information as given and passing on all their knowledge and (mostly) demonstrating this as the definite formerly practised tradition, they utterly emphasise the uncertainty concerning the correctness and accuracy of the methods, techniques and performances they apply and even the stories they have been told. But similarly Nunns argues that, considering the dimension of their research in museums and in the field with the estimated 300 to 400 interviewed people transferring their knowledge to them, their general musical experience and the experience in replicating the instruments, he and his fellow 'revivers' are moving approximate to the truth. He also stresses that their work should rather be viewed as a "template or roadmap" (Nunns 2011).

In this connection one important aspect must be discussed, as this disagrees in every respect with McLeans viewpoint: Nunns and Melbourne are (were) able to play almost every Māori flute with the nose and they presented the technique to their students, giving the impression of this playing method as an incontestable historical fact. Regarding the above mentioned uncertainty about the true tradition, admitted by Nunns himself, and the possibly emerging impression of unreliability of some sources and information one rather tends to scrutinise the measures and actions and also the outcome and development of the 'revival'.



### **Taonga Pūoro Today and Its Role as a Symbol for National Identity?**

The actual process of the ‘revival’ followed the research work, namely the publication and manifestation of gathered information. After decades on their so-called “journey” Richard Nunns and Brian Flintoff (also Hirini Melbourne until his death due to cancer in 2003) were active down to the present day in organising workshops, presentations and playing concerts. Besides the teaching in workshops, Nunns in 2001 became Research Associate at the University of Waikato.

The work of the group had been preserved in studio recordings of their compositions<sup>35</sup>, documentaries and books (see Flintoff 2004, Nunns’ book is in progress). The compositions range from the imitation of the New Zealand sound- and landscape to the fusion of traditional tunes with other genres, like jazz, popular or classical music. Nunns and Melbourne used the instruments in collaborations with different musicians and in orchestras or chamber ensembles, on stage and in the studio.

The emergence of new ways of usage and the adoption of those sounds to other genres initiated the ‘popularisation’ of the ancient tradition. The music suddenly addressed a wider audience. Nunns calls it a “modern reconstruction” of ancient *taonga pūoro*.

Thus the act of “reviving” traditional Māori musical instruments was partly defined through modernising the tradition, in adapting old sounds to the new world.

Hence traditional musical instruments became (again) a natural part of the everyday life, whether in the radio, on TV, in films and commercials, and also at sportive events, like the Rugby Worldcup hosted by New Zealand in 2011. Rugby is the national sport in New Zealand and therefore a crucial factor for the national identity. Already since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Māori heritage has been ubiquitous in this sport and for the *All Blacks*, the national Rugby team, it was the performance of the war dance *haka* prior to every game to express their consciousness of (native) identity.

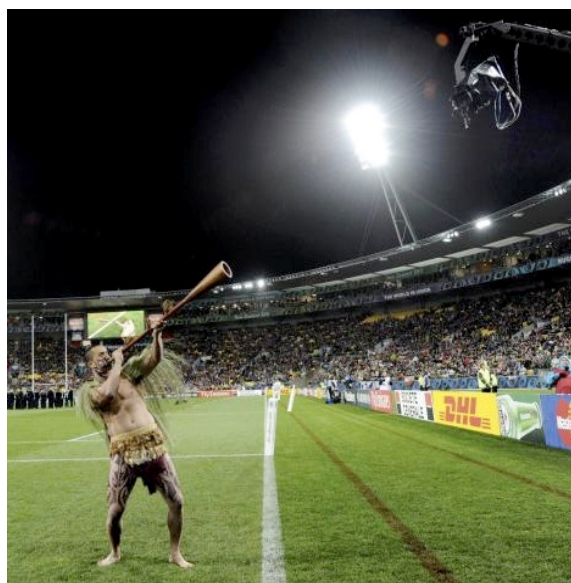


Fig. 31: Rugby World Cup 2011 - Match South Africa/Wales on September 11, 2011 (Reuters 2011b)

<sup>35</sup> See Melbourne, H. and Nunns, R. (1994): *Te Ku Te Whe*. Rattle Records, Auckland/New Zealand. Or Melbourne, H. and Nunns, R. (2003): *The Hekenga-a-rangi – with Aroha Yates-Smith*. Rattle Records, New Zealand.

In 2011, during the World Cup staged in New Zealand, also musical instruments contributed to the self-dramatisation for the international perspective, when Māori “warriors” in historically faithful clothes were performing in the middle of the rugby field and sounding one of the trumpets, either the *pūkāea* or the *pūtātara*.



Fig. 33: Rugby World Cup 2011 - Opening Ceremony (Reuters 2011a)



Fig. 32: Rugby World Cup 2011 (Reuters 2011c)

According to former (war) times this act presumably was meant call to or to motivate for the ‘fight’ as well as to announce the arrival of the players (“warriors”). Although today the Māori community only constitutes a minority in multi-cultural New Zealand, those dramatic performances were supposed to convey a notion of the original New Zealand culture. And above all it has been used to give the impression of a harmonic coexistence of the two “native cultures” (*pākehā* and Māori) and to express the country’s estimation and its pride for the ancient tradition as well a to present a healthy self-confidence about the legacy.

The national and international representation of traditional (indigenous) identity and the clearly recognised touristic value certainly influenced the revitalisation process of Māori tradition in a very significant way. Meanwhile *Māori Tourism*, like it is often termed, can be regarded as a specific department within the tourism industry.

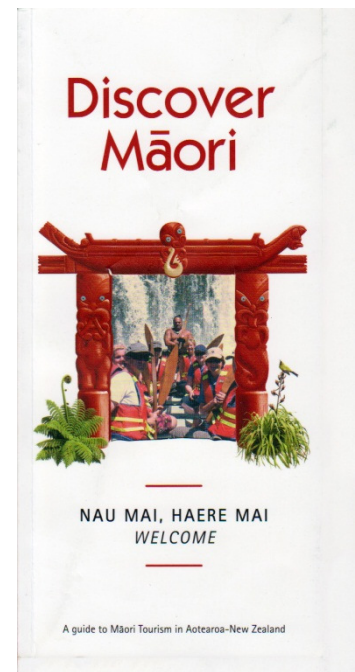


Fig. 34: brochure for tourists "Discover Maori" with informations about Maori sites and activities on the North Island (i-SITE Visitor Information NZ)



Culture tourism, with its Māori villages in the different regions (almost exclusively on the North Island) or even extensive Māori Day Trips, is besides nature and the linked adventure tourism – which still is the main reason for travellers to come to New Zealand – reinforced the external exposition of the indigenous tradition.

This phenomenon of economical use of the “rediscovered” culture is not unique and can be observed in colonised countries all over the world, for example Africa, which has been well examined in this respect.<sup>36</sup>

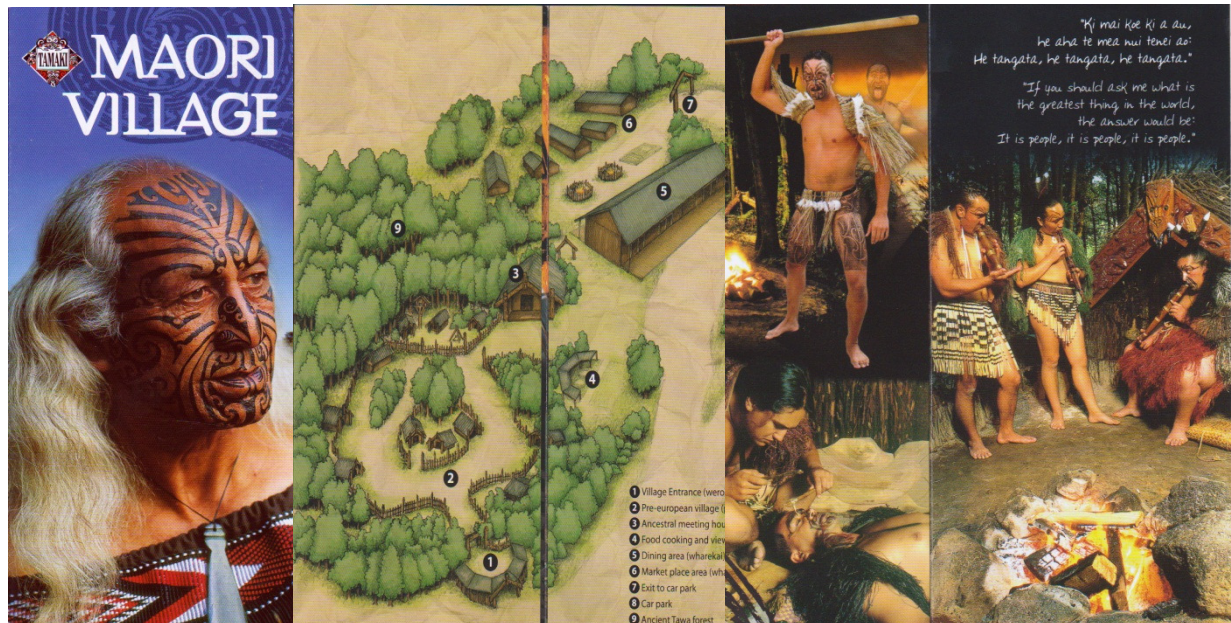


Fig. 35: tourist brochure of an Maori Village, with an illustration of the infrastructure and the cultural activities, like tattooing and the musical instruments ensemble on the right (i-SITE Visitor Information NZ)

Arts play an extraordinary role in culture tourism, especially music. In almost every of the (mostly) artificially maintained villages, in the museums or distinct art centres a cultural and mostly musical show is performed, whether it is a *haka*, the singing of *waiata*, or a theatrical play portraying a fight with long rods or similar – sounding the obligatory trumpet call as appeal before. Additionally workshops, e.g. for instrument making and other courses (weaving, carving) are offered to experience the ancient way of manufacturing on your own – with modern technical equipment, self-evidently.

While initially the presentation of native culture in the museum or old Māori villages once seemed to have its purpose rather in the preservation of knowledge about customs and beliefs, it contributes today also to a significant part to the economy.

<sup>36</sup> See Comaroff, J. L. a. J. (2009).

The act of “museumising” the tradition, like it was named by Benedict Anderson (qtd. by Bayart 2005: 60) became an equally important aspect of tourism. The most illustrative example, the *Museum of New Zealand – Te Papa Tongarewa* in its modern way of introducing the culture of Aotearoa, and with its interactive installations, the visual and sound effects, it partially rather conveys the impression of a mystical fantasy world, than the information about historical facts. This doesn’t necessarily have a negative connotation, like the exploitation of the tradition for economical purposes or the derision of culture in order to popularise it. In the case of the musical instruments exhibited in *Te Papa* sound samples<sup>37</sup> for a listening experience are provided, which serves the attempt to give an understanding to people unfamiliar with Māori culture, though in a brief and perhaps shallow way. But it supplies a notion of how these ancient specimens may have sounded.

Clearly, the more popular the performance the more attractive is the show for tourists, who are satisfied to explore the destination’s native culture only superficially to pass on their impressions back at home. Presumably the aspect of the “revival” of an almost forgotten musical art, like it is also represented by the Museum (see Fig. 35) definitely enhanced the attraction for visitors and generates the emotion of experiencing something special, namely the reawakening of a (part of a) society’s consciousness of its intrinsic identity.

Whereas the exhibition of the artefacts in the Auckland Museum is organised in an old-fashioned manner, it stages a show apparently displaying the traditional musical culture of the Māori, although the guitar, which is played through the entire show and the hymn-like chant could not be attributed to the pre-European era.

The popularisation of Māori culture in museum environment not only evolved on national level. Already in the 1980s Māori exhibitions were hosted by museums abroad, for example the very successful *Te Māori: Māori Art from New Zealand Collections*, shown in New York, St. Louis, San Francisco and Chicago from 1984–86.

“In each city the exhibition opened with a dramatic dawn ceremony in which Māori elders (brought from New Zealand specifically for the purpose) ritually lifted the *tapu* (“taboo”) from the objects and entrusted them to the care of the host museum” (Hanson 1989: 896).

The spectacular opening show aroused attention and a very effective media presence.

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<sup>37</sup> The sound samples for the recordings had predominantly been played by Hirini Melbourne and Richard Nunns. Therefore a specific information board about *Haumanu* (here *Hau Manu*) was attached next to the old and replicated new specimens.

New Zealand also attempts to create a picture of a certain national identity (or to remind of it) also in films on international level, e.g. *Once Were Warriors* (1994), *Whale Rider* (2002) or also quite recently *Boy* (2010). But especially in the former two films the music is ever-present, all over expressive and deliberately, precisely applied in order to transmit certain emotions and the different scenes.

In *Once Were Warriors* (Tamahori 1994) the use of the bullroarers and humming discs is very striking, especially as it seems that they are applied in a particular context to generate or reinforce certain feelings. The sounds of these instruments, which might resemble the voices of spirits (ancestors) or supernatural beings, as well as the sound of the wind, mostly appear in violent scenes or to express the looming menace. Perhaps it is an indication of the Māori warrior past, and the character trait which still lies deep down in their soul, perhaps the instruments have only been used because of its haunting sound. One of the

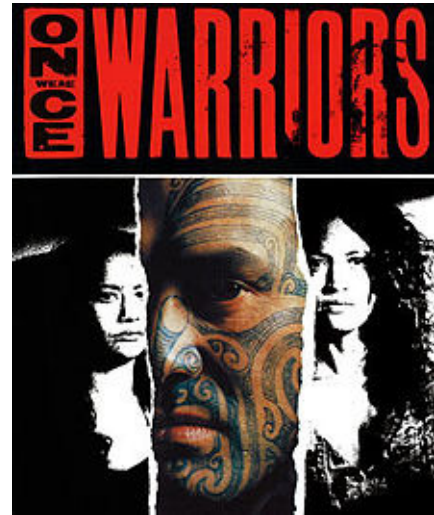


Fig. 36: Film poster *Once Were Warriors* (Wikipedia 2012a)

*wind voices* (presumably the *porotiti*) is the first sound to hear in the beginning of the film when an advertisement panel of an idyllic Pacific island is shown, and it blends over to aggressive electric guitar sounds as the camera abrupt pans over to the motorway of Auckland and the slums next to it, where the story of the film takes place. Contrasting to this are the beautiful scenes in which often the sound of a flute (*kōauau* or *nguru*) occurs.

The film attempts to reflect the harsh reality of Māori life in the modern urban world of the 1990's and to demonstrate the social injustice, with a high percentage of Māori population living in the outskirts or rather slums of the city, having no prospects for a better life. The inevitable consequence was the escape into alcoholism and drug addiction. The extreme contrasts of the two worlds, namely the beautiful (rural) landscapes of New Zealand and the tragically circumstances of unemployment, violence and hopelessness on the other hand had been perfectly underpinned with pictures of indigenous culture and native music. In the end, when the female main actor returns to her family (*iwi*) in the old village, where customs and tradition were still vital (ritual funeral scene), a tradition she left behind her to marry and to live in the city, the core statement of the film appears to be to always remain faithful to your past, tradition and identity.

Therefore the film is an equal means to draw the world's attention to the effects of the changes of modern ways in New Zealand's native life and though a demonstration of how resistant traditional culture – or at least its essential values – is, despite the impacts of progress.

The film *Whale Rider* (Caro 2002) is more or the less the screening of a Māori myth about an Māori ancestor named *Paikea*, who supposedly once migrated to New Zealand on the back of a whale. The story takes places in modern times and the chieftaincy of Whangara, a village on the east coast of New Zealand, has always been legitimated by the descent of *Paikea*. The film approaches many topics, like the relationship of a grandfather to his granddaughter and to his son or the prejudices because of gender and the dichotomy of tradition and modernity. More explicitly it is the concern about the disappearance of the customs, myths, prophecies and other traits of traditional culture due to the modern ways

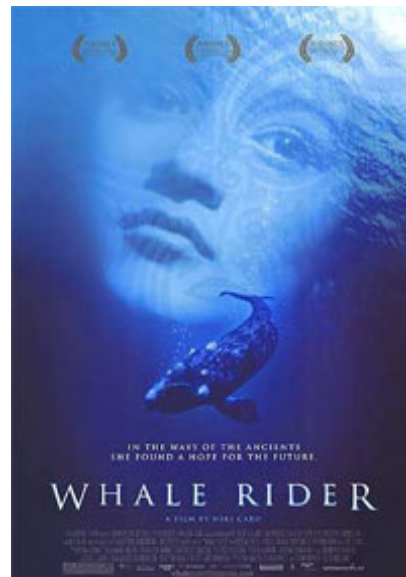


Fig. 37: Film poster *Whale Rider* (Wikipedia 2012b)

of life and the effort of one Māori elder to preserve the knowledge and passing it on to the next generations. But his eager adherence to traditional rules and regulations is regarded critically. Unlike *Once Were Warriors* this film wants to encourage tolerance for new possibilities, the rejection intolerance and the acceptance of the changes that automatically came along with modern life and thus create a new sense of identity. Nevertheless *Whale Rider* is a representation of Māori culture, and this is also supported by the film music. According to the theme of the film – where the relationship to the nature of Māori community plays an important role – the music tries to catch the voices of the land and sea. And as the whale is one of the key figures many song passages could be associated with whale song. The tunes resemble the sound of trumpet-like instruments, like the *pūkāea*, *pūtātara* or also *pūtōrino*.

All the yet displayed means of application of musical instruments as traditional art had economical character, however the pure social and ideological value for a great part of the Māori population should not be disregarded. Robert Thorne, the experimental musician and Mater of Arts student from Palmerston North, illustrated in a personal conversation in November 2011 (Thorne 2011) his motivation to experience *taonga pūoro*, in his own peculiar ways.

Rob Thorne explained that his curiosity was conditioned through his paternal Māori descent (his grandmother was Māori), a heritage to which he never felt a direct connection until the recent days. His father grew up in a time, when Māori customs and beliefs had to be subordinated in favour of assimilation to the British culture. Even Māori language had been rejected of many community members. Robert Thorne therefore regarded the dedication to traditional Māori musical instruments as a part of self-discovery, the discovery of his ancestral roots. At the moment of interview he was writing his master thesis on the flute *kōauau*. Within this scope he manufactured several *kōauau* flutes, mostly from material he found sometime somewhere in nature. For he belongs to the new (modern) generation of Māori descent he doesn't perceive the conjunction of ancient and innovative features, styles and technologies as distortion of the tradition. Whereas the employment of the later is unavoidable in recent times and especially in his case as he primarily performs on his own and he plays many different instruments, looping it with an effect pedal and thus creating a beautiful body of sound<sup>38</sup>. His notion of traditional culture doesn't appear to depend on the question of authenticity (see the discussion of tradition and authenticity below).

A different approach to traditional musical instruments had one of Richard Nunns former students Horomona, a young Māori who tells the story of his previous life, with drug addiction and crime already in teenager years, having lost all the hope for a bright future and how the devotion to the musical instruments and to music in general changed his ways and his prospects for a better life. The manufacturing and playing of Māori traditional art has symbolical and metaphorical meaning for him, as they seem to have "saved" his live. He expressed this in a poetical manner: "A person who has carved a *pūoro* sends his thoughts, needs and aspirations from that person to god" (Nunns Documentary, Māori TV). Horomona views the redevelopment of the native tradition of New Zealand as a symbol for unification and also as a sort of reconciliation in times of multi-cultural co-existence. "My main goal and aim for *taonga pūoro* in New Zealand is to teach people no matter who they are and where they are from" (Nunns Documentary, Māori TV).

Those two examples of young Māori might reflect the perception of "tradition" in modern times, with a lot of different cultural influences, technical innovations and trends, which certainly effect the notion of traditional culture in one way or another.

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<sup>38</sup> Thorne, Robert (Artist) (2010). *Manawatu River Concert*. YouTube Video, updated 02.06.2010. URL: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C8ddCevzyoE> (accessed 08.01.2013)

In all of this ways of representing confidently the native tradition to the world, culture, music and especially the most interesting aspect for this thesis – the musical instruments (among and in combination with other things) serve as symbol for the national identity. With this measure New Zealand issues a statement, namely that the country is proud of its indigenous tradition, which is seen as the inherent (original) character of the island and therefore highly esteemed and also supported by the *Pākehā*. The eager efforts of some individuals and institutions and the achievements of the so-called “revival”-movement contribute essentially to the national confidence and the desired international picture of New Zealand. This picture clearly attempts to state on *Pākehā*-side: “Admittedly we made many mistakes in the past, but we are anxious for redemption and honestly value the heritage of this land.” And on Māori-side: “We struggled hard and almost lost the fight, but we finally overcame our losses, rediscovered our roots and we are eager to preserve the knowledge for the next generations.” Above all it is a demonstration of the peaceful co-existence of the two different cultures<sup>39</sup> and the mutual estimation of each other’s needs, beliefs and customs.

The fact that this advertised indigenous image only affects a minority of the population doesn’t seem to interfere with the displayed (native) national identity. Just as little as the circumstance that in respect to the Māori musical instruments the “revived” tradition must rather be viewed as a modern reconstruction of the indigenous culture, or as Richard Nunns said “a template” (Nunns 2011). Are the terms “tradition” and “revival” as well as “national identity” in this case applied correctly then?

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<sup>39</sup> As a matter of fact today, due to (work) migration from other parts of the Pacific and Asia to New Zealand in the past decades, there are far more than “only” two different cultures living in co-existence, especially in the urban centres, especially in New Zealand’s largest city Auckland, which is “[...] popularly dubbed ‘the multicultural capital’” (McLean, et al. 2013)



## **CULTURAL IDENTITY, DEFINED BY TRADITION & AUTHENTICITY?**

Within the discussions about a reawakened national consciousness for ancient culture often the word “revival” or “renaissance” occurred. But is “revival” the appropriate expression in the case of the instrumental tradition, when – how it has more than once been stressed in this movement – the measures and actions taken are often based on mere assumptions? Further the act of a “revival” would presuppose the culture to have been extinct or dead, which could not necessarily be claimed with Māori musical instruments or Māori music in general. Jean-François Bayart (2005) suggests to preferably use the word “recalling” instead of “revival”, as latter term would only be appropriate if the knowledge of the reconstructed tradition was “completely lost in the past 200 years” (p. 7).

Even proponents of Richard Nunns’ work like Peter Beatson, who portrays the career of the musician in his article (Beatson 2003), point out to this fact. “It is the story of an instrumental tradition that had been extinct (or, as it turned out, dormant) for over a century, but which against the odds has been brought back to life within the last 20 years” (p. 17). Admittedly his explanations and descriptions of the developments enabled by Richard Nunns and his fellow “revivalists” might appear a little too pathetic, but it is actually exactly the desired notion to be conveyed to the people, by the popular music industry as well as by the tourism industry. The traditional instruments of the Māori were sleeping for a long period and were in danger of being forgotten, until a few ambitious people dedicated their self to bring them back into people’s consciousness. Their efforts ingeniously drew attention to the musical art, made them omni-present (music industry, tourism, film, sports) and raised the fascination about it.

The achievements made in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century due to a handful of individuals shall by no means be underestimated or discounted, for it contributed significantly to preserve, record and document knowledge for the future, or rather to incorporate the ancient culture to and amalgamate it with the modern world. Nevertheless the phenomenon of this music revival must be investigated more precisely, moreover be viewed from a critical perspective. The process itself, the purposes and approaches of the involved parties and above all the results could not remain unquestioned. The result of the movements and measures is reflected by the people’s perception of the traditional culture and musical instruments in particular and the contexts they are placed in today as well as how they are represented.

### **Analysing the “Revival”**

The revitalisation of the Māori musical instruments is a relatively recent event and the writings on this topic, especially concerning the critical discussion of the procedure itself, the outcome and the today’s perception and presentation of the tradition is rather unsatisfactory. Therefore the “revival” phenomenon in New Zealand shall be analysed by means of a theoretical *model of a musical revival* that allegedly features certain traits that could be attributed to nearly every movement. Further studies of other musical or cultural revivals are supposed to give additional indication of aims and motives, ideology and value.

According to this it might perhaps be clarified if the term “revival” is justified in regard to the developments in *Aotearoa* and it will be discussed if the general definition of “tradition” and the legitimisation through “authenticity” is applicable at all.

Tamara E. Livingston made an attempt for a theoretical approach in her article “Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory” (1999), in which she instanced the revival of the Brazilian *choro*, a traditional instrumental style and genre characterised by an ensemble consisting of certain instruments. She defines music revivals “[...] as social movements which strive to ‘restore’ a musical system believed to be disappearing or completely relegated to the past for the benefit of contemporary society” (p. 66). In order to underpin the justification for the construction of a general theory of music revivals, she states that in the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was quite a frequent occurrence in Western and East Europe, in East and South Asia as well as in Latin America. Revivals of “folk music” or “native music” specially gained in importance with the emergence of the modern nation-state and the “desire to identify national characteristics of cultures” (p. 75). For this purpose (ethno-)musicologists searched eagerly for the last remnants of traditional musical culture in the peasant, rural areas, where they were supposed to have remained vital and authentic, to save them from being ultimately lost. But also the peasant societies in villages could not screen their self completely from every innovation, progress and change.

By examining some of these revival processes many possibilities for comparison were offered, from which – according to Livingston – conspicuous similarities are apparent. And from which she compiled a theoretical pattern.

On the one hand there are some characteristics, which she describes as “basic ingredients” and which are listed below.

- “an individual or small group of ‘core revivalists’
- revival informants and/or original sources (e.g. historical sound recordings)
- a revivalist ideology and discourse
- a group of followers which form the basis of a revivalist community
- revivalist activities (organizations, festivals, competitions)
- non-profit and/or commercial enterprises catering to the revivalist market” (p. 69).

Additionally two different possible motives or intentions for initiating a revival movement are mentioned: (1) “to serve as cultural opposition and as an alternative to mainstream culture, and (2) to improve existing culture through the values based on historical value and authenticity expressed by revivalists” (p. 68).

Livingston does not claim indisputable validity of her theoretical theory and model in every case of music revival, she rather intended to provide reference points, as literature about the theoretical investigation of the phenomenon – so she points out – is scarce, or was at the time of writing (1999, p. 68).

Amongst all the last point concerning the non-profit and/or commercial market is a very interesting point, as well as the oppositional stance to mainstream culture. All the other “ingredients” are more or less obvious and self-explanatory. But the discussion about the commercial use of cultural heritage is a precarious one. Without entering the commercial and even the mainstream market it is hardly feasible to be successful in promoting a culture. How to attract attention if not by marketing? And how to “revive” a culture, if nobody is informed and interested?

Compared to the measures taken by Richard Nunns, Hirini Melbourne, Brian Flintoff, who are considered to be the (core) “revivalists” of the musical instrumental tradition it was exactly this *popularisation* of the instrumental art, which draw the national and international attention on it. Although here the term popularisation must be viewed in a broader sense. It doesn’t indicate the mere trivialisation of Māori musical instruments, as the traditional, ancient value of the knowledge and of old specimens etc. is still cherished universally. Rather it is the context in which the traditional art appears nowadays and above all the story of their “revival”, which has popular character. The need for commercial marketing in (musical) revivals is therefore undeniable, nevertheless revivalists themselves frequently discard this kind of approach overtly as unethical and inauthentic (Livingston 1999: 80).

Critics – often from academic circles – do anyway, *just because* of this aspect. In many cases a difference between “revivalist ideology” and “revivalist practice” must be made, as the social and economical circumstances sometimes might not allow implementing the ideas of a movement according to the ideological notion of it (Livingston 1999: 80).

Livingston emphasises the fact that writings on music revivals were mainly *not* of academic origin, mostly “[...] by revivalists for other revivalists or fans of the music, including performer/composer biographies and anecdotal essays, first-hands accounts of festivals, gatherings or concerts, and practical guides to performing” (p. 67 f). This statement also holds true for certain articles about the Māori musical instruments “revival” or writings on the career of participating actors. Interestingly here the designation “revival” only occurs in popular accounts, both in written and audio-visual material. In the conversation in December 2011 the academic Richard Moyle asked explicitly, if the word “revival” was Richard Nunns’ personal expression for their work, rather unconvinced of the eligibility of use of this term in the case of Māori musical instruments (Moyle 2011). It seemed as had never heard the word in this context before.

Presumably in every society, where cultural tradition has been re-integrated always the issue of authenticity arouses, ahead the discussion of the fidelity of the revived culture, and if this traditional customs and arts must be completely isolated of any innovation, or a certain mutual incorporation of traits is admitted. Then the consequent question is inevitable, whether the preservation of the revived culture is only feasible through amalgamation with popular features, as this induces an increased attention and interest in the old tradition by addressing a broader audience. Or whether the only possible way of preserving the tradition is to maintain the “purity” or “national essence”, which is equated with authenticity (Livingston 1999: 74).

Livingston is inclined to agree to the former, respectively she argues that it is unavoidable in this respect and further states that the often – deemed necessary – strict separation of “traditional” and “modern” culture and the perpetual controversy about authenticity, frequently leads to the “break down of the revival” (p. 71, 73).

The status of authenticity obviously only could be awarded if historical continuity (respectively isolation) is ensured. In colonial and post-colonial times, with the effects of migration, and in times of industrialisation and modernity, with increased mobility and advanced communication technologies this is a merely impossible act. In years, decades or centuries of co-existence of different cultures people inevitably and imperceptibly integrate the once alien attitudes, beliefs and aesthetics as well as behaviour (p. 77).

Often there is no other choice if the dominant culture determines the economy and the labour market for example, as is was the case in New Zealand. In special circumstances an entire acculturation of the superior culture is the consequence.

Therefore neither in the revival, the revitalisation nor re-interpretation of a traditional culture full authenticity or fidelity could be guaranteed. Of course every “revival” is based on (certain) historical facts of culture, they define the core of the ideology and form the basic ideas of the movement. But the extent of reference to the past presumably depends on how much traditional knowledge could have been preserved until the point of reawakening it.

According to Livingston music revivals are a combination of “both specific historical circumstances as well as general intellectual and social trends” (p. 81). And as trends are contemporary appearances and they are mostly bound to innovative products, they might be volatile and variable. “In actuality the commodification of the revivalist tradition [...] begins with the initial objectification of a musical tradition which transforms it into a ‘thing’, which can be ‘restored’ [...]” (p. 79). A revival with its relation to the (idealised) past, but developed in modernity, implemented in the processes of our time, using modern tools, might serve as stimulator of new (hybrid) forms, including the past and the present culture and thereby promote innovation.

Exactly this view is necessary for analysing the ubiquitous discussion concerning the legitimacy of applying the word “tradition” and in further consequence or in relation to this again the claim of “authenticity” in certain cases.

### **Tradition, the Question of Authenticity and Identity**

From a culturalist view society defines its identity through culture. Culture is generally a construct of meanings and symbols, created by the society itself, on which every aspect of life is oriented, whether socially, economically, politically or in religious respects. To distinguish themselves from other cultures, people refer to peculiar characteristics of their own “pure” culture and legitimate them by the claim of authenticity. Authenticity in turn is automatically associated with traditional legacy (customs, beliefs, attitudes, behaviour) that preferably has survived hundreds of years of culture contact completely untouched and isolated from strange impacts. But as Jean-François Bayart (2005) said in his *The Illusion of Cultural Identity*: “Tradition [...] is neither static nor unanimous” and “[i]t adapts more or less to change and gives rise to contradictory interpretations on the part of autochthonous actors themselves” (p. 2, 9, 33).

Those adaptation/interpretation processes create new (hybrid) forms and promote innovation, which over time might be internalised (in and by new generations), so that once strange features become the own “authentic” tradition. Bayart (2005) hence questions the sense of using the word “culture” as a marker for the identity of a society, as every culture is a construct of meanings and symbols emerging through social life, and this implies exchange and interaction inside and outside of the particular society (p. 59). Every person unconsciously and inevitably incorporates ideas and passes on her/his own interpretations of them, a life long.

Nevertheless the determination of culture and tradition is a crucial aspect for defining the own identity, and this not only in social respects. A nation might instrumentalise tradition for political or economic purposes, as it has been illustrated with Māori musical instruments or Māori culture and the tourism industry. In this sense culture and tradition serve to strengthen the national identity and the international perception of it.

Livingston (1999) for instance suggests that a musical revival by itself contains a political and likewise social and economic attitude expressed by the (alleged) rejection of mainstream and profit-oriented commerce and certain sympathy on part of the revivalists for an ideological socio-political movement might be noticeable (p. 81).

The process of globalisation and modernisation, which also impinges on political and economic sector, seems to wipe away borders, and with the borders the painstakingly maintained differences between societies. Due to greater mobility, advanced technology and the subsequent exchange of ideas the distinguishing characteristics and peculiarities of cultures disappear. The world being about to become “uniform”<sup>40</sup> unconsciously generates worries of losing the ability to define who we are, without having special attributes that distinguishes us from the other. It is the fear of a cultural crisis, emerging through the apparent disappearance of cultural differences, which reinforces even more the urge in us to seek intensively for our inherent, true identity and to present it to the world (Bayart 2005: 7; Boyes 1993: 1).

The reconstruction of traditional culture and the presentation of it as authentic has frequently been viewed critically in the recent past and by many authors even been labelled as “invented tradition”.

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<sup>40</sup> Jean-François Bayart (2005) emphasises: „Globalisation is not synonymous with increasing cultural uniformity.” Cultural traits have changed perpetually over time and globalisation is not only a phenomenon of modernity. Therefore we should “stop seeing the encounter of ‘civilisations’ as an inevitable clash” (p. 4f).

Among them were Erich Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.) with their volume *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), to which different authors contributed writings on topics like the British monarchy and its public ceremonial manifestations or tradition in colonial India and Africa. Hobsbawm defines the expression “invented tradition” as follows:

“It [the term] includes both ‘traditions’ actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period – a matter of a few years perhaps – and establishing themselves with great rapidity” (p. 1).

He does not suggest that all maintained traditions are fictitious, but he points out that often when there is “reference to a historic past”, which is supposed to be the essence of every tradition, the generated “continuity with it is largely fictitious” (p. 2). Bayart (2005) agrees with Hobsbawm that the “invention of tradition” was particularly noticeable in Europe at the time of the “building and the formation of the modern state” and the aim was the stabilisation of the nation as unity and the construction of nationalism (p. 35). This and the coming of the industrial era are considered as the main triggers, intensifying the desire for regeneration and maintenance of old values (Boyes 1993; Bayart 2005; Hobsbawm 1983; etc.).

The “English ‘folk’ revival”, which had its beginnings at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and further matured during the course of next fifty or sixty years, had been subject of many studies in the past few decades. In 1993 Georgina Boyes published her investigation outcomes in *The Imagined Village – Culture, Ideology and the English Folk Revival*<sup>41</sup>. A special focus in the revival had been laid on the music<sup>42</sup>:

“The songs and dances of the ‘folk’ were, it was believed, in a literal sense the voice of the people, a distillation of that authentic English culture which was on the verge of extinction; the revitalisation of the nation could only come about through the rescue of this musical heritage and its systematic dissemination through the schools” (p. xi).

The revival created a fallacious illusion of a “folk” practising its “tradition”, its old and precious customs in everyday life, at a time when the imagined consistent community did not exist anymore in a long time. Although there were still remnants in rural areas among the “country people”, which have been preserved by the movement (eds. preface).

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<sup>41</sup> Publication is part of the series *Music and Society* by Pete Martin (ed.).

<sup>42</sup> Boyes mentions Cecil Sharp and Mary Neal as the main reformers of culture in musical respects at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Boyes 1993: xi).

But even those remaining songs and dances may have already been ripped out of their original contexts and did hence not “[express] the spirit and the soul of the people” (eds. preface), not in the sense of the idea the revival process should arouse in the society’s mind.

Many authors referred to the event of generating such a notion as ‘romanticising’ (e.g. Bayart 2005: 46; Handler/Linnekin 1984: 288). Boyes (1993) furthermore described it as a “[...] complex of images and concepts associated with historicism, anti-industrialism and the innate superiority of the primitive” (p. 27). Also in this respect a tradition might be regarded as “invented” if the image propagated is not correct. It is a matter of fact that revivals frequently were initiated by people from outside (often an elite, maybe from academic circles) of the traditional community, people who did not regard the cultural components as everyday objects and everyday occurrences and had rather less connection or were totally unrelated to the traditional background (p. 1, 9). Human abilities like the fast repression of events, ignorance, forgetfulness, historical error and the relative quick adaptation of habits on the part of both the particular traditional society and the other side of the society enable or facilitate the process of reconstructing a (“invented”) tradition, just as the illusion of a national identity (Boyes 1993: 11; Bayart 2005: 36).

At the same time the “revivalists” would admit no changes or creativity in their “revived” culture. Everything that could be considered as “untraditional”, for example the shift of gender related tasks in ritual dances, was to be neglected and by no means recorded. Especially at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the English folk revival and also in further stages throughout the century the “authenticity” of the reconstructed and newly performed traditions was of highest priority and in any cases to be privileged over all the other aspects of contemporary culture. But the strict adherence to this policy caused even more restraints to an already limited field of work with limited access to material, and it therefore rather impedes that contributes to the preservation of the culture (Boyes 1993: 11f, 14). To be exact the aspect of authenticity refers in this case only to the cultural objects themselves, like music, songs and dances, as no focus had been laid on the (contemporary) background of the traditional society or the contexts. For Josef Jacobs noted already in 1893 that the folk is a “fraud, a delusion, a myth”, “[i]n short, in dealing with Folk-lore, much was said of the Lore, almost nothing was said of the Folk ...” (as qtd. by Boyes 1993: 15). Ignoring the environment around the traditional objects is the inevitable consequence of the rejection of “untraditional” features and implies the neglect of the “folk” itself, which could not be screened from alterations.



An illustrative example of privileging “source and item” over “activity and context”, stated by Boyes (1993: 16), is the lullaby. The act of singing a lullaby, whether it is within an indigenous community somewhere in the South Pacific or among England’s “traditional folk” is probably not regarded as a traditional custom anymore, when the “folksongs” originally used are replaced by newer songs. But the manifested function of singing a lullaby, namely lulling a baby or child into sleep, and the old context, which is still personal, intimate and not characterised by commercial purposes, is existent and crucial for the custom to this day.

By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the academy and the research trend deviated – if only slightly – from the obstinate sole focus on aspects like source, item and authenticity and embraced the importance of other influencing contextual factors, even contemporary impacts and innovations. Nevertheless the illusion of antiquity and consistency is part of a revival and has to be conveyed to create the illusion of authenticity (ib., p. 29). The continuity with the past, which is actually not existent, is artificially generated by the act of repetition, the repetition of ritualised and symbolised behaviour. Whereas segregation of tradition and custom has to be made, as the former – reflecting the theoretical concept of a culture – is characterised by consistency (or continuity with the past), while customs as the practical execution of the concept, may be adapted to innovative changes to a certain extent and with the precondition of compatibility. Hobsbawm paraphrased the act of reconstructing traditional knowledge and ideas as the application of historical material in the present, but for new aims and in new ways (Hobsbawm 1983: p. 2f, 6).

The invention of tradition may happen because of different reasons, whereby Hobsbawm categorised the motives into three types of possible occurrences. On the one hand the social attachment and group affiliation aspect is decisive. Quite the contrary of traditions, whose only aim is the establishment or justification of “institutions, status or relations of authority” (p. 9). And the third purpose might be the distribution of certain beliefs and values and as a consequence the accustoming of people to attitudes and behaviours. The first is the most common appearance. Hobsbawm ascribes the today’s enhanced demand of dedicating oneself to ideologies shared by a group, which in turn should contrast from others though, to the fast moving and volatile way of life of modern age.

Georgina Boyes (1993) experienced besides the socio-cultural factors some less ideological reasons, like the alteration or consolidation of status and the commercial profit, that served as motivation for the participation of people in the renaissance of cultural customs (p. 10). But this includes all the actors who may take part in the process of reconstructing a tradition, not only the revivalist's aims.

The claim of traditions to be “invented” not seldom engendered an outrage among natives, and circles supporting nationalist causes, including academics. In misunderstanding or ignoring the core statement of writings on this special topic natives automatically assume their culture to be presented as inauthentic or rather “made up”. The writers in turn were consequently accused to be “politically revisionist and anti-native” (Linnekin 1991: 446). Media inclines to promote such a notion, accomplishing thereby to intensify prejudices and ignorance. Without doubt it is a delicate subject to question historical fidelity, but the fact of infinite alteration processes and their impacts can't be neglected or denied.

Allan Hanson evoked an exited controversy in New Zealand with his article *The Making of the Māori: Culture Invention and Its Logic* (1989). Indignant natives and also anthropologists accused him of claiming that Māori culture has been invented all through. Hanson's intent was to analyse the Māori myths of *Io* (god and creator of the world and the universe) and of the *Great Fleet* (the migration of Māori ancestors to New Zealand) for their origin and he indicates on the one hand to similarities between the *Io* cult and the Genesis, the story of the creation of the world after Christianity. On the other hand he suggests that Western influences may have formed and complemented the myths to a significant extent, as European scholars played an important role in establishing and disseminating the myths and thus the Māori belief system. But as Jocelyn Linnekin stresses in her short article *Cultural Invention and the Dilemma of Authenticity* (1991) it was not the purpose of Hanson's article to condemn Māori culture to be artificial, but to reveal that symbolic construction is an incessant process and therefore “culture is an on-going human creation” (p. 447), not as “naturally given” as many studies of traditional culture implies. Moreover the invention of symbols is a necessary procedure in the human's social behaviour to stay authentic. Thus there is no tradition that is *not* invented, as all symbolic structures are present products, for the old ones can't be valid anymore (Handler/Linnekin 1984: 273ff). In short, the culture that we imagine to be traditional equally has been invented/constructed once, just as we invent our own new traditions everyday.

Richard Handler even describes authenticity as “a cultural construct of the modern Western world” (as qtd. by Linnekin 1991: 446). Grant Underwood (2002) agrees in the concern, that it was rather on the part of the Europeans to tend to the reification, idealisation and attribution of culture (p. 133).

In this respect there is one further important aspect to emphasise: at the times of colonisation and with increasing culture contact the Western societies inclined to represent traditional societies, like the indigenous Māori from New Zealand (or even the English “folk”), as steady or rather stagnant communities, isolated from the changing and modern world and without significant alterations in their life for centuries. But having no contact to European industrialised people, whose lifestyle certainly had another, far grave and aggressive impact on those people in close touch with the nature, doesn’t mean their culture didn’t pass through developments before the European arrival. By conveying this notion somehow the image is created that the indigenous societies’ “history” began at the moment they had been “discovered” and with the recording of the stories and the documentation of their culture (Underwood 2000: 134).

Grant Underwood (2002) attempted to analyse and (newly) define “cultural authenticity” by the example of the adaptation processes of Mormonism by Māori in New Zealand. He again points out to the constantly continuing absorptions of innovations in cultures, which is not a phenomenon of modern time, but had also been a perpetual event in pre-colonial native societies, inside and outside of Europe and America. Further he states: “[A]t some point in time every aspect of any culture is a new incorporation [...]”(p.136). Because of this fact the most crucial factor for valuing the traditionality and authenticity of a cultural item is the compatibility with already existing – but not necessarily old and historic – foundational objects bound to the culture.

Underwood portrays how the compatibility aspect simplified the incorporation of an alien religion for the Māori, when a part of the native population converted to Mormonism about the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Māori prophecies and mythical stories were interpreted as the announcement of envoys or bearers of the only true belief and instruction to join the only “true church of the God of Heaven” (p. 143) – the church of the Latter-day Saints. The Māori perceived the coming of the American missionaries and bringing the Book of Mormon as a verification of the prophecies of their ancestors. The message transmitted from the book and by the missionaries had been embraced like “forgotten but traditionally compatible details in their collective consciousness of the past” (p. 139f).

Seemingly the prophecy traditions have served as a justification to admit foreign traditions to replace or rather complement the previous ones, so to speak to accept it as an “authentic” enrichment in their culture. Māori could feel reassured not to betray their cultural past, moreover thereby the legacy of the ancestors had been honoured in a way (Underwood 2000: 144). Underwood (2000) terms this process as “narrative self-formation” (p. 140).

Thus the construction of a cultural tradition and the creation of an individual as well as the common identity of a group is based on the (self-)ascription of traits, characteristics, symbols and attitudes, basically formed by the exchange of ideas and often composed of historic objects and values and also innovative incorporations. As consistency and historical fidelity cannot be maintained the only indicator for authenticity, the only legitimisation for us to acknowledge culture to be a steady progress of alteration, is the justification through compatibility.

## CONCLUSION

Given the fact that the knowledge about Māori musical instruments or the objects itself entirely forgotten and extinct the word “revival” might not be the correct term in the literal sense for the development of the tradition during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Mervyn Mclean obtained a certain part of the information from the supposedly last two people aware of the musical instrumental art (theoretical and practical). And so did apparently Richard Nunns. In this connection a contradictory facet has to be illuminated. McLean’s research took place in the late 1950s, when he accidentally met the last two surviving flute players, or rather members of Māori community having knowledge orally transmitted from the grandparents. At this time Mrs. Paeroa Wineera must have been approximately 75 years old<sup>43</sup>. McLean regarded this encounter as a very lucky coincidence, as obviously this was the last chance to gather knowledge at first hand from a “traditional source” and therefore immediately embraced the opportunity to save the last remnants of the instrumental tradition. Inevitably confusion concerning Richard Nunns’ sources and the reliability of the two parties emerge. Is it possible that during McLean’s research period were still more than two informed persons and he unfortunately misjudged the situation? Or should we rather trust his estimation as he dedicated his life to the preservation of the musical culture in adherence to absolute integrity, whereby he paved the way for ethnomusicology and Māori studies in New Zealand. Unfortunately Mervyn McLean was not available for a personal interview but he strongly recommended during a telephone conversation to critically scrutinise the so-called “revival movement” (McLean 2011).

Admittedly the revival cannot be deemed as such for the simple reason that the culture was not “dead”, and also because of the fact that the only original traditional remnants of the musical instrumental culture are the ancient instruments preserved in museums and other collections. Everything else – the playing techniques, the performance practice, the contexts – are assumed circumstances. Mrs. Wineera may have learned to play a few tunes from her uncle, but at a time when the Māori instrumental art was not a vital facet of culture in a long time and when a big part of the knowledge might have been already lost. The traditional object and idea separated and unconnected of all once linked contexts, purposes and functions could not be regarded as ‘traditional’ anymore, in the sense of authenticity.

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<sup>43</sup> According to McLean it was at about 1895 when she was 12 years old, as she has been taught how to play the flute by her uncle (McLean 2004: 89)

In the case of the Māori traditional instruments reconstruction, reinterpretation and recontextualisation of the culture is a more appropriate expression. According to many authors (Bayart 2005, Boyes 1993, Handler/Linnekin (1984) Linnekin 1991, Livingston 1999) this process of reconstructing a tradition is an inevitable aspect and perpetual event of social life. Traditionality has no natural origin but emerges from the invention of symbols and meanings, which are not immune to changes and trends.

One illustrative example of how to integrate tradition into modernity is Robert Thorne. For he belongs to the new (modern) generation of Māori descent he does by no means perceive the conjunction of ancient and innovative features, styles and technologies as distortion of the tradition. He cherishes old values, but equally recognises the importance of having an open mind for present trends and attitudes, without questioning the authenticity of his work.

As Handler and Linnekin (1984) realised, the “conventional understanding of tradition” conveys “a false dichotomy between tradition and modernity as fixed and mutually exclusive states” (p. 273). But tradition experienced in the present reflects our current interpretation and implementation of the past.

Hence a revival simultaneously is an act of revolution and historical reflection. And – against the prevailing academic opinion of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – it *requires* aesthetic creativity to incorporate innovative components and to make thereby tradition and modernity compatible. The dichotomy of these two states needs to be seen as complementary not as exclusive (Boyes 1993: 3).

Though even if authenticity, purity or historical fidelity of the internalised culture are rather romanticised notions of an untouched legacy of values, the imagination of a repertoire of symbols, attitudes and beliefs, shared by a community or a nation is overly significant for the definition of identity. A cultural identity generates the feeling of belonging to a unity, which in turn is absolutely essential for our self-consciousness. The awareness of identity may be also expressed in socio-economic or socio-political actions, perhaps with the pleasant side effect of profit. But the manifestation on national or international level is thus not less important for the country’s self-confidence. Provided the cultural heritage is not being exploited for the commercial purpose and it is not a totally wrong, preposterous or derogative image of culture that is being disseminated.

The image constructed in New Zealand should depict a country being aware of its natural as well as saved native cultural heritage. It portrays the Māori population as survivors of the colonial era, who almost collapsed due to the grave impacts of the European industrial world, but who overcame all misery and moreover achieved to maintain a piece of their original tradition, what aroused the desire to proudly present the cultural remnants to the world.

In the personal conversation in December 2011 Richard Moyle told about a Music conference hold in Wellington short time before, where Richard Nunns was performing with musical instruments together with a man, who said he has been taught how to play “by the last player Wineera”<sup>44</sup>. Richard Moyle asked Richard Nunns a few questions afterwards and one of them was: “A couple of weeks ago I heard on a Māori music programme your name and ‘Māori Music’ in the same sentence. Do you consider what you are playing to be Māori Music?”

My first impression was that in some way a wrong image of authenticity and traditionality has been created by this “revival”. This is only partly correct, for it was not the revivalist’s intention of conveying the notion of incontestable historical fidelity. Rather the image has been generated in the people’s perception and imagination. The belief in consistency and stability in this fast-moving world connotes safety and again self-confidence. Often people tend to idealise old values and ways, especially if the feeling of belonging or conscious of identity is missing.

I am not sure whether it was criticism on the part of Richard Moyle or he conversely intended to prevail on Richard Nunns to reflect this issue by himself. But Richard Nunns answered his question with the following phrase: “Well, that's where I draw my inspiration [from]” (Moyle 2011). This statement expresses – in my opinion – exactly the ideology of the “revival”, which is neither controlled by the claim of authenticity or historical fidelity. The only aim is to reconstruct a cultural treasure by means of the available knowledge and experience, with the inspiration of achieving the approximate truth.

Nevertheless, the authenticity and traditionality of cultures is not the most important issue as the general question of legitimacy of the application of terms such as tradition and authenticity and their commonly accepted definitions in many respects of the discipline ethnomusicology must be raised. Further it must be questioned if it is justified to value cultural symbols and ideas because of their authenticity.

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<sup>44</sup> This was the exact wording of Richard Moyle. He presumably meant Mrs. Paeroa Wineera, who had also been interviewed by Mervyn McLean.

To some extent every culture is an amalgamation of two or rather more cultures or as Underwood (2000) stated at some time “[...] every aspect of any culture is a new incorporation [...]” (p. 136).

Thus every culture is inauthentic and this doesn’t connote artificiality or spuriousness of our existence. In this sense, and in referring to the common perception of authenticity, Western cultures seem actually to be the least authentic ones, as culture contacts happened incessantly, already at very early stages of civilisation. Globalisation is not a phenomenon of modern times.

Eventually the only reasonable conclusion of this master thesis can be that simply every facet of life is just a question of individual (or communal) interpretation; interpretation of customs, beliefs, symbols and their value for our identity. In asking for authenticity and consequently using this concept for evaluating object and ideas we act spurious. Authenticity should only be of concern when questioning the integrity and genuineness of human behaviour and intentions.



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## APPENDIX

### Interview with Richard Moyle 9.12.2011 in Auckland/ Ellerslie Event Centre (extracts)

**Kerstin Koppi:** Thank you for taking your time, I really appreciate it.

**Richard Moyle:** No problem! So, tell me what made you interested in Māori music? What approach will you be taking in your thesis? What have you managed to achieve so far?

**K.K.:** Well, I have been to libraries and archives, gathered some information and I had interviews with Brian Flintoff and Richard Nunns.

**R.M.:** Did you talk to a man named Joe Malcom? I don't know whether he is alive, but there's a video clip in the Archive at the University. He organised an instrument making workshop, I think it was the very first one. And Brian Flintoff was there, looking very young. And I have a memory Richard Nunns was there. Brian is actually making them with a driller, an electrical tool. And there are some beautiful ones there. That was Television New Zealand. And as it finishes and the credits are rolling up you have the best footage of all. All the words are going up... Yes, it was Television New Zealand Programme, an Māori musical instrument workshop, I have a memory it's a 20-minute film. Keep that in mind. What about Mervyn Mclean, have you talked to him?

**K.K.:** No, unfortunately not, but I heard he's not in best health.

**R.M.:** Well, he's blind by now. But apart from that I don't know much about his health. But you should give him a call. He will have information about musical instruments themselves, not necessarily about the revival of them. He and Richard Nunns do not share the same views, it might be diplomatic to remember that.

I emailed you last week about a Music conference in Wellington... And one of the two people performing on these instruments - well one was Richard Nunns and the other was someone else, who said he was a pupil of the last traditional player Wineera, who appears in one track of an old LP. You remember LP's? (laughing).

**K.K.:** Of course, I'm not that young.

**R.M.:** That was very interesting, I asked Richard Nunns - I asked him lots of questions, he's very patient, you know I asked him publically. One of the questions I said was: "A couple of weeks ago I heard on a Māori music programme your name and 'Māori Music' in the same sentence. Do you consider what you are playing to be Māori Music"? And he stopped and put his head down and he was silent for quite a while. And then he said: "Well, that's where I draw my inspiration from". And I didn't want to press him, cause I didn't know how sensitive it was for him. But he was doing some interesting things. He played - he now sits most of the time - and on a table next to him were four, five instruments. And on another table were more, and he'd just picking up instruments, one at a time, and blowing them. And the other person on the other side was - there was a cello, and a saxophone and a drum kit as well. And they were improvising. And it was quite unlike anything I'd ever heard, but there was nothing 'Māori' about it. There was novelty value in it. And I wondered how much for him it went beyond that, but I didn't asked him. But what I asked was: "How do you know when to stop"? And the follow up was: "How do you know how to stop"? And he said there are clues, there are points every minute or so, and if the others think this is the time to stop, then they will stop. And if they keep playing, well then we go on again. We give them another opportunity.

**R.M.:** Have you tried making any? (assumption: instruments)

**K.K.:** No, but I'm planning to do so when I'm back in Austria, following the instructions in Brian Flintoff's book.

**R.M.:** Oh from his book? You know Richard Nunns' book is being printed now?

**K.K.:** He told me it's going to be only in May or maybe September!

**R.M.:** September? He told me it's already at the printers.

**K.K.:** Maybe I got that wrong, but I'm quite sure that's what he told me.

**R.M.:** Hm well, we have been waiting for that book for — oh, 15 years?! Richard got a grant from an organisation called 'Created New Zealand' to write it. Something no one else on the planet is able to do. But he doesn't know how to write a semi-academic kind of English. So a mutual friend called Alan Thomas - he was Ethnomusicologist at Victoria University.

**K.K.:** Yes, I've heard of him. I read an article he wrote together with Richard.

**R.M.:** Yes. Richard just put his thoughts down and Alan then just flashed them out, so that they were in acceptable academic English. I'm sorry to say Alan died last year, unfortunately. But in his Festschrift there's one contribution from Richard Nunns, which is nice. But we're really waiting for the book. What have you discovered so far?

**K.K.:** A lot of things, I gathered so much information, I have to sort them out first and then see which direction I will take. I've also been to the National Archive of NZ in Wellington.

**R.M.:** Ah, what do they have?

**K.K.:** For example the letters of Gilbert Mair, which are really interesting, about his discoveries.

**R.M.:** Yes, especially the one about supposedly Tutanekai's flute?! I edited a book, which is called "Sounds of Oceania", which is an illustrated and annotated catalogue of all the Oceanic musical instruments in the Auckland Museum. And I recorded something from the museum's old hand register by Gilbert Mair and how he saved that flute. The man who had it was dying and it was round his neck before they buried him. And the widow saw someone who was a rival, getting closer and closer and she thought he's going to pull the flute away. So she reached over and got it and pushed it into the dead man's mouth. And he can't touch the body. So she saved it, that's the story.

**K.K.:** Nice story. Tell me a little bit about the archive. You have been the director for how long?

**R.M.:** From 1993 to 2007, 17 years all together. We have easily the largest collection of traditional audio music from the Pacific, of anywhere in the world. But in the archive we don't have many recordings of Māori instruments. We have Ms. Wineera's.

**K.K.:** Yes, Nigel already told me, that there's not too much material.

**R.M.:** I have a memory there might be two others, but I have to think really hard. Mervyn (McLean) could tell you more.

**K.K.:** There was one Cd with recordings made by Mervyn McLean. Christina (Muiava) gave it to me already.

**R.M.:** Yeh, well that's it actually. And then we have the revival, there's nothing inbetween. There are no cylinder recordings. I think Elsdon Best actually did record somebody. I've seen a photograph of Best and this person play.

**K.K.:** The one with the metal flute?

**R.M.:** Was it a metal flute?

**K.K.:** I remember reading something about it, supposedly it was made of metal. But they pretended it to be made out of wood or bone or whatever.

**R.M.:** I haven't seen it for several years... really a metal flute? A traditional metal flute? (laughing)

**K.K.:** Yes, I think so. With Andersen on the photo as well.

**R.M.:** Johannes C. Anderson? You've read his "Māori Music"?

**K.K.:** Yeh, I have.

**R.M.:** I have a copy and it's even signed.... Johannes C. Andersen didn't really contribute much. He looked at Museum specimens and theorised about it a bit. That was the way people were thinking and it was a time when it was believed that Māori culture was dying and nothing could save it.

**K.K.:** You mean the 20s and 30s of the 20th century?

**R.M.:** Yeh, when you and I were very young!

**K.K.:** But when did the revival on instruments actually start? Traditional songs were well known at that time. Well, well known again I guess.

**R.M.:** You've got a bit of a dilemma. You've got the physical evidence of these flutes, because there are museums. And Mervyn (McLean) I think once did a tour, a world tour. And he personally blew and recorded every known Māori flute.

**K.K.:** Yes, I heard the recording of the scales.

**R.M.:** Yeh, he was interested in scales. People and ethnomusicology, of course were interested in scales. I did one with Tongan flutes, I went and blew all the flutes in the world I could find or got people to do it for me and they sent me recordings. And again it was scales, because you don't know what the instruments are capable of. But I think it's probably the case that Nunns and Melbourne (Hirini Melbourne) started off the revival and it somehow touched a note of sympathy among Māori, presumably starting with the elderly ones who did remember from their childhood what these things look like and perhaps what they sounded like.

**K.K.:** And perhaps how they were played?

**R.M.:** Yes, with the nose or mouth... that is contentious. I'll reserve that until I see what Richard is saying in his book. Because it's perfectly possible to play it with the nose, but what does that prove?

**K.K.:** They're actually pointing out that there is no evidence this was a playing practice. On the other hand they think, they're very close to the traditional playing practice.

**R.M.:** What makes them think that?

**K.K.:** I don't know, they're guessing that they're pretty close to how it was back then!

**R.M.:** Hm, but even if it was, you can be cynical to ask the question so hard. I would like to have asked him: "Why are you doing that all"? I think it's a personal crusade for him. It is an interest grew into a passion and then it became an almost life long commitment. And there's no doubt in his sincerity and there's no doubt in his influence. And he is invited around the world to perform. And people are composing things for orchestra and flute. But is it novelty value? Is it just because it certainly looks different and sounds a little bit different. Is it? Who can tell. But he will say it's the haunting sound. Why is it haunting? I'm sceptically personally, about this. Is it a purely emotional reaction? Or is the brain engaged with that all when people listen? What is your crystal ball saying, in what direction it is going now?

**K.K.:** I don't know, I guess it will develop further. There are already many hybrid forms, a mixture of modern music and traditional music.



**R.M.:** And it becomes a kind of 'musac'.

**K.K.:** 'Musac'?

**R.M.:** Yes, ethnic 'musac'. And to the extent that, if there is a Māori production on Māori television for instance and you'll hear Richard's performances in the background, when they want to generate a Māori feel to the scenes they're showing. This is one way of doing it. It's becoming almost a Māori ethnic identifier and there's nothing to matter with that. I just wonder where it's going now. Richard would probably say he hasn't the faintest idea, because it's out of his hands now. But I think perhaps it's greatest use would be as a stimulus for people to look at their own ethnicity in a general sense, maybe. Instruments are small, they are portable, they're not too difficult to make and it's not that impossible to generate a sound from them. And the interest in that may lead to an interest in their own culture in a way, that is all too easy to ignore, particular when you're living in the city. And if that's the case, if people two generations from now say: "Well I wasn't really interested in my Māori myths until I heard this and that started it". Then I think that's where its lasting value will be rather than being a musical contribution to Māori music. I don't know. How many instruments are included in your survey, in your study? How many kinds of instruments?

**K.K.:** I'm considering flutes, trumpets and I'm also interested in this *pahū*, the wooden gong. But nobody knows much about it.

**R.M.:** Well it's a noise-generating device, I wouldn't call it an instrument. Just like the bird decoys. And this tapping sticks, are they musical instruments? No, not really. They are sound producing devices.

**K.K.:** But there is this description of the huge wooden gong in all the extensive writings. I'd be interested in how it sounded like.

**R.M.:** Hm, you can get an idea, Samoa had the biggest slit drums in Polynesia. They were 3 m long. Some of them are so big, Kerstin. You can actually feel the sound more than you can hear it.

**K.K.:** Ok, more of a vibration than a sound.

**R.M.:** Yeh, it's very low. And there are documented instances of Samoa of hearing it over and over the sea, where sound travels very well, of more than 10 miles. It's just a dull thump. And the *pahū*, I saw one made on Māori TV, somebody I thought who was from Coromandel, had decided to make one. And they're not difficult to make when you see an illustration and you use the chainsaw to cut the slot in the middle. And yes as a loud, as a warning signal, inside a *pa* it may have been effective. So, are you saying there has been a Revival in that as well?

**K.K.:** No, it doesn't appear so, because nobody seems to be interested in that. Everyone I talked to was talking about the flutes and the trumpets actually.

**R.M.:** Yeh, the melodic instruments. But the trumpet's... I think I can remember a conversation with Mervyn (McLean). He was unaware of any historical description of the *pūkāea* being blown using anything other than fundamental. And Richard goes up to take the first - I've even heard someone doing the second harmonic - and then he puts vibrato into it and he gets a raspy sound like (Richard was imitating the voice) and growling into it as he plays. Well, all fascinating and certainly within the sonic capability of the instrument. But was that how it was used? Maybe! But there's nothing in the literature about it.

**K.K.:** What do you think about this "healing" aspect of certain Māori musical instruments?

**R.M.:** What do you think?

**K.K.:** I don't know. Brian (Flintoff) pointed out some interesting view. If you think about the *porotiti* and the myths about healing arthritis by sounding it, you need to bear in mind the way

you make it sound. You move your arms and you automatically exercise your fingers by doing that. Probably it's more like a physiotherapy, where the healing comes from the movements and not - how it is believed - from the magical spirit of the sounds.

**R.M.:** There is a thing that is similar to the didgeridoo, in the aboriginal Australian culture. In Germany there is a Didgeridoo Healing Clinic, I take it you sit cross-legged and somebody stands behind you and blows the didgeridoo across your back. And it is supposed to set up sympathetic vibrations within you and you become one with the universe. And then you are pure and healed. My own candid opinion: it's a load of crap. Officially I remain to be convinced, but I'd like to see the evidence, the scientific evidence for that. As for the healing influence of Māori instruments: I think if you have some disability and then you recover, you can believe that the cause of your recovery is in anyone to believe in.

Myself I sometimes think there's a deliberate attempt among some Māori to mystify their culture and to say things like: "You can never really understand it unless you're a Māori"! Ok, what happens to Māori born and raised in Australia? Among the 140.000 of them living there and have never been here? Does the composition of their DNA have something vital towards that? I think there's a range of responses and a range of levels of believe or otherwise for something like that. But there is certainly a movement, it may have a name, you may know it already, using music for healing. Not so much music therapy, but just use of music vibrations, of sound vibrations of ethnic instruments, which are claimed to have unusual and powerful healing qualities. It is interesting that people believe that and certainly when you're interviewing people you need to be careful. Be diplomatic and respect what they believe.

**K.K.:** I think the healing aspect is plausible when you think about the movements you have to make to sound the instrument. Somebody told me he believes in the *porotiti* healing power in regard of the special breathing he thinks is necessary when sounding it. He had a cracked rib and he believes this helped him to recover.

**R.M.:** Really? What happens if you don't, if you don't do the right breathing and if you don't believe?

**K.K.:** I don't know. I didn't even realise there is a special breathing technique to be used while playing the *porotiti*.

**R.M.:** I think it's a state of mind, as much as anything else... And the psychosomatic healing, self-healing is a global phenomenon now.

**K.K.:** Back to the revival. The founding of the archive was kind of the beginning of the revival?

**R.M.:** The Archive in Auckland? No. The head of department in anthropology was a Māori scholar called Bruce Biggs, and he persuaded Mervyn McLean to do research on Māori music. Now Bruce had a lot of field recordings and didn't know what to do with them. Mervyn had a free year fellowship there and at the end of that he was looking for a job. And Bruce was able to secure the money to make Mervyn a halftime lecturer and a halftime curator of these recordings. And other people in anthropology also had field recordings. So it grew from Bruce Biggs' collection and the collection of a few others. It just grew and grew and grew. And it was shifted from this place to that place. Bruce also got money for a halftime technician and then that was fulltime. And Mervyn, it started in 1970, so for what 33 years he developed that, he had that time finished his own recordings and he recorded something like 3000 *waiata* – a huge number – and he put them in and he annotated them – his annotations are very very detailed – and had them published. He got money for have them published. And he put a free copy into every public library in New Zealand.

Māori themselves were not widely interested in these recordings. But when it came to the

grandchildren of the people who made the original recordings, they were the people who suddenly realised, that what their grandparents had was different, was unique.

**K.K.:** And they really used the archive as facility to get to know their own tradition?

**R.M.:** Yes. And most of the material borrowed or copied from the archive is Māori. But what Mervyn (McLean) wanted and what Bruce Biggs wanted really, was the archive to be a ethnomusicology resource. And when I took over, something like 12% of the recordings, of the music copied was going beyond the university. And the 82% or whatever it was, stayed with people on the staff. I wanted to make it a national resource. So I turned that around, and after about 10 years only 5 or 8 % of the copying was for academic use, for students and stuff. And the rest was going out, to Māori organisations. It seemed to me that it was a more useful way to go about it.

Zur Person:

## Kerstin Koppi

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