

# **Towards Some Foundations of a Systematic Māori Theology**

***He tirohanga anganui ki ētahi  
kaupapa hōhonu mō te  
whakapono Māori***

by

Henare Arekatera Tate

**A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**Melbourne College of Divinity**

**2010**

## ABSTRACT

This thesis is an exercise in foundational theology written by an indigenous Māori theologian of Aotearoa New Zealand. In the first chapter, the writer engages in dialogue with other theologians about the nature of contextual theology, particularly when viewed from an indigenous viewpoint. The thesis proposes that indigenous Māori theology is theology developed by Māori for Māori in the first instance. In the second instance it is for all those who share the same land and context, and thirdly for all others. The writer then seeks to create some systematic foundations based on a series of concepts deeply rooted in Māori culture and history, namely: *tapu*, *mana*, *pono*, *tika*, *aroha*, *tūranga* and *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*, *whakanoa*, *hohou rongo* and *te wā*. A chapter is dedicated to each of the above concepts, with the exceptions of *pono*, *tika*, *aroha*, which are treated in a single chapter. Each concept is linked to form a foundational systematic theology. The writer addresses both *kaupapa* (principles) and *tikanga* (process, method) as foundations whereby such a theology can proceed. The writer intends this work to provide a resource for himself and for other indigenous theologians, to articulate more specifically theological works that are culturally relevant to Māori, and that contribute to wider theological discussion.

## STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

I affirm that this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution. To the best of my knowledge, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed: *H. A. Tate*      HENARE AREKATERA TATE  
Date: 29.01.2010

## ***HE KUPU WHAKAMIHI, HE KUPU WHAKAPAI***

*He korōria ki te Atua i runga rawa, he maungārongo ki runga i te whenua, ki ngā tāngata hiahia pai. Ka kake ngā mihi whakapai ki te Atua, ko ia hoki te tīmatanga me te whakatutukitanga o ngā mea katoa. Ko ia te mātāpuna o te ora, o te tapu, te kaihōmai i ngā mea pai katoa, te kaihanga o te ao, te kaiwhakaora me te kaiwhakatapu i te tangata me ngā mea katoa kua hangā e ia. He korōria ki te Atua i ngā wā katoa.*

*Ka huri ngā mihi ki a koutou ki ngā tūpuna, ki ngā mātua me ngā tini mate o te wā. Whiti atu koutou i te mate ki te ora. Hoki atu ki te kāinga e kiia nei ko Hawaiki-nui, kei te Ao Tua-ātea, arā, kia tae atu koutou ki te aroaro o te Matua-nui-i-te-rangi. Noho mai i roto i te aroha nui me te aroha noa o te Atua Matua ekore nei e taea te whakaaro, ekore e taea te kōrero. E au tō koutou okiokinga.*

*Ka hoki mai ki a tātou ki te hunga ora, tēnā koutou e noho mai nā i ngā marae maha o te motu, i ngā taumata nohoanga o kāinga tahi, o kāinga rua.*

*Ko ahau tēnei ko Pā Henare Tate, he uri nō Te Rarawa, he kōkopu nō Hokiangā, e mihi atu ana ki a koutou i runga i te kaupapa o te wā, arā, i te whakaotinga o tēnei mahi tuhituhi kōrero pā ki ētahi taonga whakawairua o tātou o te Iwi Māori. Ehara i te mea koia rawa ēnei ko ngā kōrero, kāhore kē atu. Heoi anō, he whakamānu waka kau tēnei, he mahi wāwāhi ngaru. Tukua kia piki mai ōna kaihoe hei hoe i te waka nei ki runga i ō tātou moana ariki—kia ora rā tātou katoa.*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*Ka mihi ahau, i te tuatahi, ki tōku kaiarataki.* I first acknowledge my supervisor, Dr. John Dunn, of the School of Theology, University of Auckland, whom I thank for his constant encouragement, support, inspiration, insightful comments, and patience beyond measure.

I wish to thank and acknowledge The Melbourne College of Divinity, Australia, for the opportunity to begin and complete this work with them, and for their patience. I also wish to thank and acknowledge the Catholic Institute of Theology, Auckland, for their generous support and positive encouragement and, likewise, the School of Theology, The University of Auckland.

I acknowledge Theresa Paparoa, Mark Hangartner, Fay Robertson, Albert Robertson for their secretarial and technological assistance, Joan Parker (RNDM) and Susan Healy for final proof-reading. Very special thanks to Magdalen Sheahan (DOLC) for her tireless efforts of painstaking editing.

I also thank the following: members of my immediate and wider *whānau*, close associates and friends from around the country and from abroad; all those from Taitokerau, Auckland and elsewhere who have been on various courses I have facilitated, and who, through their evaluations, have helped develop and sharpen the material that is now contained in this work.

Finally, how can one recognise, let alone assess, the inspiration and gifting roles of *tūpuna* (ancestors) and *mātua* (parents, elders), and *taonga tuku iho* (gifts handed down) from them? Some of these *tūpuna* and *mātua* were alive at various stages of my journey, while others had already passed on. *Ko wai o rātou kāhore i whakatikatika haere i te ara* (who of them did not help clear and arrange the pathway)? *I runga i te pono, i te tika me te aroha* (on the basis of the principles) of integrity, rightness and love, I acknowledge all who have contributed in small or great ways. *Kia tau ki runga i a koutou ngā whakapai a te Atua* (may the blessings of God envelop you).

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Title Page</b>	i
<b>Abstract</b>	ii
<b>Statement of Originality</b>	iii
<i>He Kupu Whakamihi, He Kupu Whakapai</i>	iv
<b>Acknowledgement</b>	v
<b>Table of Contents</b>	vi
 <b>CHAPTER ONE—TOWARDS AN ENCOUNTER BETWEEN MĀORI AND CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY</b>	 1
1.1.0 Introduction	1
1.2.0 Introducing Māori	2
1.2.1 Brief history of foreign evangelisation of Māori	3
1.2.2 The Māori people now	5
1.3.0 The writer	6
1.4.0 The purpose of the thesis	6
1.5.0 Indigenous theology and contextual theology	7
1.5.1 Indigenous theology	8
1.5.1.2 Inculturation and the Gospel	10
1.5.2 Māori indigenous theology	12
1.5.2.1 Current discussion	13
1.5.2.2 Definition of Māori indigenous theology	14
1.5.2.3 Criteria for Māori indigenous theology	16
1.5.2.4 <i>Kaupapa</i>	16
1.5.3 Māori theology and contextual theology	18
1.5.3.1 Frank Rees	18
1.5.3.2 Robert Schreiter and Stephen Bevans	22
1.5.3.2.1 The translation model	23
1.5.3.2.2 The anthropological model	25
1.5.3.2.3 The praxis model	26
1.5.3.2.4 The synthetic model	27
1.5.3.2.5 The transcendental model	28
1.5.3.2.6 The countercultural model	30
1.5.3.4 Conclusion	32
1.6.0 <i>Tikanga</i> —methodology	33
1.6.1 <i>Tikanga</i> applied to individual chapters	36
1.7.0 The foundational concepts of the thesis and their relationships	36
1.7.1 <i>Atua, Tangata, and Whenua</i>	36
1.7.1.1 <i>Atua</i>	37
1.7.1.2 <i>Tangata</i>	37
1.7.1.3 <i>Whenua</i>	38
1.7.2 Ten further foundational concepts	38
1.7.3 Diagram of the foundational concepts of the thesis, and their relationships	39
1.8.0 The structure of the thesis	40

<b>CHAPTER TWO—TAPU</b>	<b>42</b>
2.1.0 Introduction	42
2.2.0 Word usage	42
2.3.0 Definition of <i>tapu</i>	44
2.4.0 Section One: <i>Tapu</i> restrictions	45
2.4.1 Definition of <i>tapu</i> restrictions	45
2.4.1.1 The purpose of <i>tapu</i> restrictions	46
2.4.1.2 The source of <i>tapu</i> restrictions	46
2.4.1.3 <i>Tapu</i> restrictions in relation to <i>Atua</i>	46
2.4.1.4 <i>Tapu</i> restrictions in relation to <i>tangata</i>	47
2.4.1.5 <i>Tapu</i> restrictions in relation to <i>whenua</i>	47
2.4.2 Conclusion	48
2.5.0 Section Two: <i>Te tapu o</i> — <i>tapu</i> as relationship of being	49
2.5.1 Definition of <i>te tapu o</i>	49
2.5.1.1 <i>Te tapu o</i> is the <i>tapu</i> of being in relationship	49
2.5.1.2 Beings in relationship are manifested, addressed, enhanced, sustained and restored	49
2.5.2 <i>Te tapu o te Atua</i>	50
2.5.3 <i>Te tapu o te tangata</i>	52
2.5.3.1 <i>Te tapu o te tangata</i> considered in his or her links	52
2.5.3.2 <i>Te tapu o te tangata</i> considered in his or her links with other <i>tāngata</i> , and thus with <i>whānau</i> , <i>hapū</i> and <i>iwi</i>	53
2.5.3.2.1 <i>Whanaungatanga</i> relationship structure	54
2.5.3.2.1.1 <i>Heke Tika</i> relationship	54
2.5.3.2.1.2 <i>Tuakana-Teina</i> relationship	54
2.5.3.2.1.3 <i>Karanga</i> or named relationship	55
2.5.3.2.1.4 <i>Hunaonga-Hungawai</i> (in-law) relationship	55
2.5.3.2.1.5 Implications and applications of the four relationship models	56
2.5.3.2.2 <i>Whānau</i> , <i>hapū</i> and <i>iwi</i> relationship groups	57
2.5.3.2.2.1 <i>Whānau</i>	57
2.5.3.2.2.2 <i>Hapū</i>	57
2.5.3.2.2.3 <i>Iwi</i>	58
2.5.3.3 <i>Te tapu o te tangata</i> considered in his or her links with <i>whenua</i>	58
2.5.3.3.1 <i>Tangata whenua</i>	59
2.5.3.3.2 <i>Hunga kāinga</i> or <i>iwi kāinga</i>	59
2.5.4 <i>Te tapu o te whenua</i>	60
2.5.4.1 The relationship of <i>whenua</i> with <i>Atua</i> in terms of creation	60
2.5.4.2 The relationship of <i>whenua</i> with <i>Atua</i> in terms of providence	60
2.5.4.3 The relationship of <i>whenua</i> with <i>tangata</i>	62
2.6.0 Section Three: <i>Te tapu i</i> — <i>tapu</i> as being-in-itself	64
2.6.1 Justification for the use of the term ‘ <i>te tapu i</i> ’	64
2.6.2 Definition of <i>te tapu i</i>	67
2.6.2.1 <i>Te tapu i</i> is primarily being-in-itself	68
2.6.2.2 <i>Te tapu i</i> encompasses <i>existence</i>	68
2.6.2.3 This <i>existence</i> is <i>intrinsic</i> to <i>te tapu i</i>	68
2.6.2.4 <i>Te tapu i</i> is dynamically ordered towards <i>totality and fullness</i>	68
2.6.2.5 <i>Te tapu i</i> is understood as <i>source and fulfilment</i> of all other <i>tapu</i>	69
2.6.2.6 From <i>te tapu i</i> emanate <i>extensions of tapu</i>	69

2.6.3	<i>Te tapu i te Atua</i>	70
2.6.4	<i>Te tapu i te tangata</i>	72
2.6.4.1	<i>Te tapu i te tangata</i> in relation to <i>Atua</i>	72
2.6.4.2	<i>Te tapu i te tangata</i> with regard to <i>tāngata</i>	73
2.6.5	<i>Te tapu i te whenua</i>	76
2.6.5.1	<i>Te tapu i te whenua</i> in relation to <i>te tapu i te Atua</i>	78
2.6.5.2	<i>Te tapu i te whenua</i> in relation to <i>tāngata</i>	78
2.7.0	Conclusion	79
	<b>CHAPTER THREE—MANA</b>	80
3.1.0	Introduction	80
3.2.0	Word usage	80
3.3.0	Definition of <i>mana</i>	84
3.3.1	<i>Mana</i> is spiritual power	84
3.3.2	<i>Mana</i> is authority	85
3.3.3	<i>Mana</i> is prestige and status	86
3.3.4	<i>Mana</i> derives from <i>tapu</i> as its source	86
3.3.5	<i>Mana</i> is either power in potentiality or power in operation	89
3.3.6	<i>Mana</i> is <i>tapu</i> centred	89
3.4.0	Section One: <i>Te mana o</i> — <i>mana</i> as power in operation	90
3.4.1	Definition of <i>te mana o</i>	90
3.4.2	<i>Te mana o te Atua</i>	90
3.4.3	<i>Te mana o te tangata</i>	91
3.4.3.1	Expressions of <i>te mana o te tangata</i>	91
3.4.3.1.1	<i>Mana kawē i te rangatiratanga o te Iwi Māori</i> (mana to carry the chieftainship of the Māori People)	92
3.4.3.1.2	<i>Mana whakahaere</i>	92
3.4.3.1.3	<i>Mana kawē kaupapa</i>	93
3.4.3.1.4	<i>Mana kawē i te riri</i>	93
3.4.3.1.5	<i>Mana tuku iho</i>	93
3.4.3.1.6	<i>Mana tuku</i>	94
3.4.3.1.7	<i>Manaaki</i>	94
3.4.3.1.8	<i>Mana kupu</i>	94
3.4.3.2	The relation of <i>te mana o te tangata</i> to individuals and groups	95
3.4.3.2.1	<i>He mana tō tēnā, tō tēnā</i> (each individual has <i>mana</i> )	95
3.4.3.2.2	The exercise of <i>tōna mana</i> by the individual	97
3.4.3.2.3	<i>Te mana o te whānau, te mana o te hapū</i> and <i>te mana o te iwi</i>	98
3.4.3.2.4	<i>Te mana o te whānau</i>	99
3.4.3.2.5	<i>Te mana o te hapū</i>	101
3.4.3.2.6	<i>Te mana o te iwi</i>	103
3.4.3.2.7	Applications of <i>te mana o te whānau, o te hapū, o te iwi</i>	104
3.4.4	<i>Te mana o te whenua</i>	105
3.4.4.1	<i>Te mana o te whenua</i> in relation to <i>Atua</i>	106
3.4.4.2	<i>Te mana o te whenua</i> in relation to <i>tangata</i>	107
3.5.0	Section Two: <i>Te mana i</i> — <i>mana</i> as inherent or intrinsic power	109
3.5.1	Definition of <i>te mana i</i>	109
3.5.2	<i>Te mana i te Atua</i>	109
3.5.3	<i>Te mana i te tangata</i>	110
3.5.4	<i>Te mana i te whenua</i>	113
3.6.0	Conclusion	113



	<b>CHAPTER FOUR—<i>PONO</i> (Truth, Integrity), <i>TIKA</i> (Right Order and Right Response), <i>AROHA</i> (Love, Affection, Compassion)</b>	114
4.1.0	Introduction	114
4.2.0	Section One: <i>Pono</i>	115
4.2.1	Word usage	115
4.2.2	Definition of <i>pono</i>	116
4.2.2.1	<i>Pono</i> is a principle of perception of truth by which we address, <i>tapu</i> and <i>mana</i>	117
4.2.2.2	<i>Pono</i> is an ethical principle of action in that it qualifies <u>how</u> we manifest, address, enhance, sustain and restore <i>tapu</i> , and <u>how</u> we exercise <i>mana</i>	119
4.2.2.3	<i>Pono</i> consists in truly and fully acknowledging <i>tapu</i> , in all its relationships with <i>Atua</i> , <i>tangata</i> and <i>whenua</i>	121
4.2.2.4	<i>Pono</i> consists in responding with integrity to <i>tapu</i> by the full exercise of <i>mana</i>	123
4.2.2.5	<i>Pono</i> is the basis of our other two principles, <i>tika</i> and <i>aroha</i>	124
4.3.0	Section Two: <i>Tika</i>	125
4.3.1	Introduction	125
4.3.2	Word usage	125
4.3.3	Definition of <i>tika</i>	126
4.3.3.1	<i>Tika</i> is the second of three principles by which we manifest, address, enhance, sustain and restore <i>tapu</i>	127
4.3.3.2	<i>Tika</i> consists in right acknowledgement of <i>tapu</i>	128
4.3.3.3	<i>Tika</i> consists in right ordering of relationships among <i>Atua</i> , <i>tangata</i> and <i>whenua</i>	128
4.3.3.4	<i>Tika</i> consists in appropriate response to <i>tapu</i> by the right exercise of <i>mana</i>	131
4.3.3.5	<i>Tika</i> presupposes <i>pono</i> and is, in its turn, the presupposition for <i>aroha</i>	132
4.4.0	Section Three: <i>Aroha</i>	133
4.4.1	Introduction	133
4.4.2	Word usage	133
4.4.3	Definition of <i>aroha</i>	137
4.4.3.1	<i>Aroha</i> is one of three principles governing the relationships among <i>Atua</i> , <i>tangata</i> and <i>whenua</i>	137
4.4.3.2	<i>Aroha</i> is one of three principles by which we manifest, address, enhance, sustain and restore <i>tapu</i> , and exercise <i>mana</i>	137
4.4.3.3	<i>Aroha</i> is love, namely, a principle of communion	139
4.4.3.4	<i>Aroha</i> is love, namely, a principle of action	140
4.4.3.5	<i>Aroha</i> is the principle of communion and action by which the fullness of <i>tapu</i> of some (and, implicitly, all) beings is manifested, addressed, enhanced, sustained and restored	141
4.4.3.6	<i>Aroha</i> is the principle by which the fullness of <i>tapu</i> is addressed, acknowledged and restored in affection, compassion, sacrifice and generosity	144
4.4.3.7	<i>Aroha</i> consists in the right and gratuitous exercise of <i>mana</i>	145
4.5.0	The relationship between <i>pono</i> , <i>tika</i> and <i>aroha</i>	146

<b>CHAPTER FIVE—TŪRANGA (Roles) and KAIWHAKAKAPI TŪRANGA (Role Players)</b>	<b>148</b>
5.1.0 Introduction	148
5.2.0 Word usage	148
5.3.0 Definition of <i>tūranga</i> (roles) and <i>kaiwhakakapi tūranga</i> (role players)	149
5.3.1 <i>Tūranga</i> are roles or functions performed, or stances adopted, by persons in encounter	149
5.3.2 <i>Kaiwhakakapi tūranga</i> are the persons who <i>whakakapi</i> (fill) or perform such <i>tūranga</i>	152
5.3.3 The principal <i>kaiwhakakapi tūranga</i> are <i>kaikōkiri</i> , <i>kaitautoko</i> and <i>kaiwhakatara</i>	152
5.3.3.1 <i>Atua te tino kaiwhakakapi tūranga</i>	154
5.3.3.2 <i>Tangata</i> as <i>kaiwhakakapi tūranga</i>	154
5.3.4 The purpose of <i>tūranga</i> is to address, maintain, enhance, sustain and restore the <i>tapu</i> and <i>mana</i> of <i>Atua</i> , <i>tangata</i> and <i>whenua</i>	154
5.3.4.1 <i>Kaiwhakakapi tūranga</i> and their roles in relation to <i>te tapu i te Atua</i> and <i>te tapu o te Atua</i>	155
5.3.4.2 <i>Kaiwhakakapi tūranga</i> and their roles in relation to <i>te tapu i te tangata</i> and <i>te tapu o te tangata</i>	157
5.3.4.2.1 Roles exercised by individual <i>kaiwhakakapi tūranga</i>	158
5.3.4.2.2 Roles exercised by groups on behalf of their members	160
5.3.4.3 <i>Kaiwhakakapi tūranga</i> and their roles in relation to <i>te tapu i te whenua</i> and <i>te tapu o te whenua</i>	161
5.3.5 ... through the right and gratuitous exercise of <i>mana</i>	162
5.3.6 ... in accordance with the principles of <i>pono</i> , <i>tika</i> and <i>aroaha</i>	164
5.3.6.1 <i>Kaiwhakakapi tūranga</i> and the principle of <i>pono</i>	164
5.3.6.2 <i>Kaiwhakakapi tūranga</i> and the principle of <i>tika</i>	166
5.3.6.3 <i>Kaiwhakakapi tūranga</i> and the principle of <i>aroaha</i>	167
5.4.0 <i>Kaiwhakakapi-tūranga</i> in relation to <i>hohou rongo</i> and <i>te wā</i>	168
<b>CHAPTER SIX—WHAKANOA (The Act of Violation)</b>	<b>169</b>
6.1.0 Introduction	169
6.2.0 Word usage	169
6.3.0 Definition of <i>whakanoa</i>	172
6.3.1 <i>Whakanoa</i> is the act of violation by which the <i>tapu</i> of <i>Atua</i> , <i>tangata</i> and <i>whenua</i> is diminished	173
6.3.1.1 <i>Whakanoa i te tapu i te Atua</i> and <i>whakanoa i te tapu o te Atua</i>	173
6.3.1.2 <i>Whakanoa i te tapu i te tangata</i> and <i>whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata</i>	175
6.3.1.2.1 <i>Whakanoa i te tapu i te tangata</i> is the diminishing of any element, or all of the elements, that constitute the person's <i>tapu</i> or the totality of the person's <i>tapu</i>	175
6.3.1.2.2 <i>Whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata</i> in the relationship of <i>tangata</i> with <i>Atua</i>	178
6.3.1.2.3 <i>Whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata</i> in the relationship of <i>tangata</i> with other <i>tāngata</i>	178
6.3.1.2.4 <i>Whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata</i> in the relationship of <i>tangata</i> with <i>whenua</i>	180
6.3.1.3 <i>Whakanoa i te tapu i te whenua</i> and <i>whakanoa i te tapu o te whenua</i>	181

6.3.1.3.1	<i>Whakanoa i te tapu i te whenua</i>	181
6.3.1.3.2	<i>Whakanoa i te tapu o te whenua</i> in its relationship with <i>Atua</i>	183
6.3.1.3.3	<i>Whakanoa i te tapu o te whenua</i> in relation to <i>tangata</i>	183
6.3.2	As a result of <i>whakanoa</i> , the exercise of the <i>mana</i> of <i>Atua</i> , <i>tangata</i> and <i>whenua</i> is obstructed or impaired	185
6.3.2.1	<i>Whakanoa i te mana i te Atua</i> and <i>te mana o te Atua</i>	186
6.3.2.2	<i>Whakanoa i te mana i te tangata</i> and <i>te mana o te tangata</i>	186
6.3.2.3	<i>Whakanoa i te mana i te whenua</i> and <i>te mana o te whenua</i>	188
6.4.0	<i>Te noho noa</i> —the continuing state of <i>noa</i>	189
6.4.1	<i>Te noho noa</i> and its effects	189
6.4.2	<i>Te noho noa</i> and its effects upon <i>Atua</i> , <i>tangata</i> and <i>whenua</i>	190
6.4.3	<i>Te noho noa</i> is a state of diminished <i>tapu</i>	190
6.4.4	<i>Te noho noa</i> is a state of limited <i>mana</i>	192
6.4.5	<i>Te noho noa</i> is a state of ongoing restriction	193
6.5.0	<i>Whakanoa</i> and the principles of <i>pono</i> , <i>tika</i> and <i>aroa</i>	194
6.5.1	<i>Whakanoa</i> and the principle of <i>pono</i>	194
6.5.2	<i>Whakanoa</i> and the principle of <i>tika</i>	195
6.5.3	<i>Whakanoa</i> and the principle of <i>aroa</i>	196
6.6.0	<i>Whakanoa</i> and the roles of <i>kaiwhakakapi tūranga</i>	197
6.7.0	<i>Whakanoa</i> and <i>hohou rongo</i>	198
6.8.0	<i>Whakanoa</i> and <i>te wā</i>	198
	<b>CHAPTER SEVEN—HOHOU RONGO</b> <b>(Restoring Tapu and Mana, Reconciliation)</b>	199
7.1.0	Introduction	199
7.2.0	Word usage	200
7.3.0	Definition of <i>hohou rongo</i>	203
7.3.1	<i>Hohou rongo</i> consists in the restoration of <i>tapu</i> and <i>mana</i> of <i>Atua</i> , <i>tangata</i> and <i>whenua</i> diminished or impaired by <i>whakanoa</i>	204
7.3.1.1	<i>Hohou rongo</i> consists in the restoration of <i>te tapu i te Atua</i> and <i>te tapu o te Atua</i>	205
7.3.1.2	<i>Hohou rongo</i> consists in the restoration of <i>te tapu i te tangata</i> and <i>te tapu o te tangata</i>	206
7.3.1.2.1	<i>Hohou rongo</i> consists in the restoration of <i>te tapu i te tangata</i>	206
7.3.1.2.2	<i>Hohou rongo</i> consists in the restoration of <i>te tapu o te tangata</i>	208
7.3.1.2.3	<i>Hohou rongo</i> consists in the restoration of right relationships between <i>tangata</i> and <i>Atua</i>	208
7.3.1.2.4	<i>Hohou rongo</i> consists in the restoration of right relationships between <i>tangata</i> and <i>tangata</i>	209
7.3.1.2.5	<i>Hohou rongo</i> consists in the restoration of right relationships between <i>tangata</i> and <i>whenua</i>	211
7.3.1.3	<i>Hohou rongo</i> consists in the restoration of <i>te tapu i te whenua</i> and <i>te tapu o te whenua</i>	212
7.3.1.3.1	<i>Hohou rongo</i> consists in the restoration of <i>te tapu o te whenua</i> with <i>Atua</i>	213

7.3.1.3.2	<i>Hohou rongo</i> consists in the restoration of right relationships between <i>whenua and tangata</i>	213
7.3.1.4	<i>Hohou rongo</i> consists in the restoring of <i>te mana i te Atua</i> and <i>te mana o te Atua</i>	214
7.3.1.5	<i>Hohou rongo</i> consists in the restoring of <i>te mana i te tangata</i> and <i>te mana o te tangata</i>	215
7.3.1.6	<i>Hohou rongo</i> consists in the restoring of <i>te mana i te whenua</i> and <i>te mana o te whenua</i>	216
7.3.2	<i>Hohou rongo</i> consists in the peaceful enjoyment of right relationships restored	217
7.3.3	<i>Hohou rongo</i> consists in the corresponding freedom from the state of negative <i>noa</i>	219
7.3.4	<i>Hohou rongo</i> is achieved by the exercise of <i>pono</i> , <i>tika</i> and <i>aroaha</i>	221
7.3.4.1	<i>Hohou rongo</i> is achieved by the exercise of <i>pono</i>	221
7.3.4.2	<i>Hohou rongo</i> is achieved by the exercise of <i>tika</i>	222
7.3.4.3	<i>Hohou rongo</i> is achieved by the exercise of <i>aroaha</i>	223
7.4.0	<i>Te tikanga o te hohou rongo</i> (the process of conducting and achieving <i>hohou rongo</i> )	225
7.4.1	The roles of <i>kaiwhakakapi tūranga</i> in conducting <i>te tikanga o te hohou rongo</i>	225
7.4.2	The format for conducting <i>te tikanga o te hohou rongo</i>	227
7.4.3	The venue for conducting <i>te tikanga o te hohou rongo</i>	228
7.4.4	The elements of <i>te tikanga o te hohou rongo</i>	229
7.4.4.1	<i>Te whāki</i>	229
7.4.4.2	<i>Te pōuri</i>	230
7.4.4.3	<i>Te utu</i>	231
7.4.4.4	<i>Te whakawātea</i>	233
7.4.4.5	<i>Te rongomau</i>	234
7.4.4.6	<i>Te kai tahi</i>	234
7.5.0	<i>Hohou rongo</i> and <i>te wā</i>	235
	<b>CHAPTER EIGHT—TE WĀ</b> (The Māori Notion of Time, Stages, Goal and Fulfilment)	236
8.1.0	Introduction	236
8.2.0	Word Usage	236
8.3.0	<i>Te wā</i> as a temporal framework of understanding	238
8.3.1	<i>Te wā</i> and chronological time	238
8.3.2	<i>Te wā</i> and cyclical time	238
8.3.3	<i>Te wā</i> and graced moments in time	239
8.3.4	<i>Te wā</i> and the imagery of <i>hīkoi</i> (journey)	240
8.4.0	Definition of <i>Te Wā</i>	241
8.4.1	<i>Te wā</i> is the culmination ( <i>tūtakitanga</i> ) and fulfilment ( <i>tutukitanga</i> ) of a stage, and of a series of stages, put in place at specific moments in time	241
8.4.1.1	<i>Te wā</i> is a stage	241
8.4.1.2	<i>Te wā</i> is a series of stages with a goal	242
8.4.1.3	Stages are put in place by <i>kaiwhakakapi tūranga</i> ( <i>Atua</i> or <i>tangata</i> )	242
8.4.1.4	<i>Te wā</i> is the culmination of a stage, or of a series of stages	244
8.4.1.5	<i>Te wā</i> is the fulfilment of a stage, or of a series of stages	244

8.4.1.6	At specific moments in time	244
8.4.2	<i>Te wā</i> is achieved by <i>kaiwhakakapi-tūranga</i> enlightened and guided in their roles and decision-making by the principles of <i>pono</i> , <i>tika</i> and <i>aroha</i>	244
8.4.3	<i>Te wā</i> is achieved by <i>kaiwhakakapi-tūranga</i> exercising their <i>mana</i>	246
8.4.4	<i>Te wā</i> is the goal achieved of addressing, enhancing and restoring <i>tapu</i> and <i>mana</i>	247
8.4.4.1	<i>Te wā</i> is the goal achieved of <i>tapu</i> addressed, enhanced and restored	247
8.4.4.2	<i>Te wā</i> is the goal achieved of <i>mana</i> addressed, enhanced and restored	248
8.5.0	The eschatological fulfilment of <i>te wā</i>	249
8.5.1	The experience of <i>te wā</i> achieved	249
8.5.2	The eschatological fulfilment of <i>te wā</i>	250
8.6.0	The place of <i>te wā</i> in the overall systematics of the thesis	251
	<b>CONCLUSION</b>	252
	The potential for future development	255
	Bibliography	257
Appendix A	Māori Naming of God	269
Appendix B	Glossary	280

# CHAPTER ONE

## TOWARDS AN ENCOUNTER BETWEEN MĀORI AND CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

### 1.1.0 Introduction

This thesis is an attempt to develop the foundations of an indigenous Māori theology. Why is an indigenous Māori theology necessary at this time? The first reason is that the traditional Christian message that Māori have received has always fallen short of speaking intimately and powerfully to Māori experience in Aotearoa New Zealand. Many Māori experience it as irrelevant to their lives. The received theology is not couched in terms of concept, imagery, language, theology and liturgy that speak to them as to who they are in this land, in this contemporary society, and in terms of their relationships. For many people, it has failed or is failing to touch them, challenge them, and elevate them above the attraction of the materialism and individualism of the dominant society. It offers them little effective spiritual direction to address their situation. We would observe from our experience that Māori people are crying out for a form of Christianity which is ‘theirs’ and which is relevant to their concerns in their context. This thesis attempts to address that need.

In this chapter we will first present the subjects of this theology, namely, the Māori people. Secondly, we will introduce the writer of the thesis. Thirdly, we will outline the purpose of the thesis. Fourthly, we will introduce the notions of indigenous theology and of Māori indigenous theology. We will define Māori indigenous theology and offer some criteria. Then we will use these to dialogue with some current understandings of contextual theology. Fifthly, we will introduce the *tikanga*—methodology of the thesis. Sixthly, we will introduce *Atua* (God),<sup>1</sup> *Tangata* (people) and *Whenua* (land) which are central to the thesis, and examine the relationships between them. Then we will introduce ten further foundational concepts and outline the relationships amongst them. As a seventh step, we will introduce and outline the structure of the thesis before moving on to Chapter Two.

---

<sup>1</sup> We refer the reader to an extended discussion of the Māori naming of God in Appendix A.

## 1.2.0 Introducing Māori

Māori<sup>2</sup> are the *Tangata Whenua* (people of the land, indigenous people) of Aotearoa New Zealand.<sup>3</sup> This section will introduce Māori, look at the history of their evangelization by foreign missionaries, and then look at Māori now.

Most traditions, though the details may vary, accredit the Polynesian navigator, Kupe, for the discovery of this land around 925 A.D.<sup>4</sup> Tradition has it that there were waves of migration to these shores.<sup>5</sup> Some interpretations of tradition speak of the “Great Migration” (*Te Hekenga Mai*) to Aotearoa as having occurred during the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup> Now seriously contested are the arrival date of Kupe, the theory of a single migration and the period of arrival.

Beyond question is the fact that the descendants from these canoes settled in different parts of Aotearoa, and established themselves in their particular areas.<sup>7</sup> In the intervening centuries, Māori developed their own cultural world which then

---

<sup>2</sup> Most Māori terms in the thesis will be explained by an English translation in parentheses on their first appearing. For others, see Glossary, (Appendix B). Macrons are not always used in written Māori. In this thesis, macrons will be used to indicate lengthening of vowels for purposes of pronunciation. Titles and quotations will be treated according to their appearance in original texts, while Māori terms used in accompanying translations will follow contemporary macron usage.

<sup>3</sup> This land is known as Aotearoa, Aotearoa New Zealand or New Zealand (N.Z.)

<sup>4</sup> Sir Peter (Te Rangi Hiroa) Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, 7th ed. (Wellington, N.Z.: Maori Purposes Fund Board, 1970), 5. Hereafter cited as Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*. Buck acknowledges Percy Smith, who settled on the approximate date of 925 A.D for the arrival of Kupe, basing his figures on an average of thirty-nine generations of *whakapapa* (genealogies), gathered from *iwi* (the tribe or the collective of *whānau* (family) and *hapū* (extended family) sources, from Kupe to the year 1900. He assigned each generation an arbitrary figure of twenty-five years.

<sup>5</sup> Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, 9-36. Buck speaks of Three Settlement Periods—the discovery period, a second period associated with the arrival of Toi, and the period of *te Hekenga Mai* (the Great Migration). Citing the Kupe tradition held by Te Matorohanga, he places Kupe in the First Settlement Period.

<sup>6</sup> Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, 36. Buck claims that the Third Period of Settlement, the great migration from a mythical place of origin called Hawaiki, is the most important event in Māori history. He gives this an approximate date of 1350 A.D. (again, as estimated by Percy Smith’s figures of an average of twenty-two generations from the arrival of the canoes to 1900). This has been generally accepted, though some canoes could have come earlier or later. However, K. R. Howe has more recently challenged this “Great Fleet” understanding.

See K. R. Howe, “Ideas of Māori Origins,” *Te Ara—Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MāoriNewZealanders/IdeasOfMāoriOrigins/en>. (accessed September 2, 2007). He claims that the migration of the Māori from East Polynesia to Aotearoa New Zealand was deliberately planned. They set out in many *waka* (canoes)—not just seven—at various times, arriving towards the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. See also D. R. Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth: A Study of the Discovery and Origin Traditions of the Māori* (Wellington, N.Z.: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1976), 315-321.

<sup>7</sup> Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, 36. “All the tribes trace their aristocratic lineages back to the chiefs of the voyaging canoes which took part in conveying the third and last wave of settlers to New Zealand.”

encountered that of the first European explorers: Abel Tasman in 1642,<sup>8</sup> and Captain James Cook in 1769.<sup>9</sup> After Cook, there began the first European migrations. There followed a history of colonisation and also of evangelization. Europeans arrived in large numbers. European diseases decimated the Māori population, which reached a low point at the beginning of the 1900s, and is only now beginning to recover.

Māori were not subjugated. They were never a conquered people. They continue to take pride in this fact. They were deeply affected by their English colonisers and their traditions. Of major note for Māori is the Treaty of Waitangi<sup>10</sup> signed between Māori chiefs and the English Crown in 1840,<sup>11</sup> a living and still controversial document which lays claim to being the foundation of our present nation.<sup>12</sup> Despite these beginnings, contemporary Māori see in the years following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi large-scale dispossession of their land and an undermining of their culture. Today, Aotearoa is largely seen as bicultural: the Māori people are the *Tangata Whenua*, whilst *Pākehā* ('white people') and all other nationalities, are *Tangata Tiriti* (People of the Treaty).<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> M. King, *Penguin History of New Zealand* (Albany, N.Z.: Penguin, 2003), 102. Hereafter cited as King, *Penguin History of N.Z.*

<sup>9</sup> King, *Penguin History of N.Z.*, 102-103.

<sup>10</sup> The Treaty of Waitangi was a covenant between the Crown and Māori and was signed at Waitangi in 1840. The texts we refer to are from A. R. Shearer, *Facsimiles of the Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington, N.Z.: Govt. Printer, 1976). Hereafter cited as Shearer, *Facsimiles of the Treaty of Waitangi*. The Māori version was signed by approximately 473 of the chiefs whilst only thirty-nine are recorded as having signed the English version. However, it was this particular English text that "became the 'official' version." See C. Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington, N.Z.: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 62, see also 259.

<sup>11</sup> King, *Penguin History of N.Z.*, 156.

<sup>12</sup> Some Northern Iwi look to *He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni* (Declaration of Independence), signed on October 28<sup>th</sup> 1835 at Waitangi, as the foundational document of this country, and have lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal—"Te Paparahi o Te Raki (Northland) District Inquiry." See <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/inquiries/genericinquiries/northland/> (accessed December 27, 2009). Hearings to commence March 2010. See Tahana, Yvonne. "Northland Iwi Happy to Defer Sovereignty Challenge." [http://www.nzherald.co.nz/treaty-of-waitangi/news/article.cfm?c\\_id=350&objectid=10595638](http://www.nzherald.co.nz/treaty-of-waitangi/news/article.cfm?c_id=350&objectid=10595638) (accessed November 11, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> Edward Durie, Chief Judge of the Māori Land Court and Chairman of the Waitangi Tribunal, used the term '*Tangata Tiriti*' in his Address at Waitangi on Waitangi Day February 6, 1989. The writer was present, and conducted the *karakia* (prayer-service) on the day.



### 1.2.1 Brief history of foreign evangelisation of Māori

European missionaries closely followed the first migrations of European traders. Michael King says, “the first Christian mission to New Zealand and specifically to Maori was launched by Samuel Marsden on behalf of the Church of England’s Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1814.”<sup>14</sup> Next to arrive were the Wesleyans in 1822.<sup>15</sup> The Roman Catholic Bishop Jean Baptiste François Pompallier arrived in 1838.<sup>16</sup>

On the whole, Māori response was very receptive to the teachings of Christianity. Some First Testament themes such as the tribal structure of the people of Israel, liberation of a people in exile, and the role of prophets, dreams and visions, struck immediate chords with Māori. Indeed, some areas wholeheartedly embraced Catholicism, while others embraced Anglicanism or Methodism or other forms of Christianity.<sup>17</sup> The preaching and evangelising endeavours of the missionaries also contributed to the rise of Māori spiritual movements, and of healers and prophets who sought to attend to the spiritual needs of the people caused by the social problems of the times.<sup>18</sup>

Not all responses to the missionary efforts were favourable. Elsmore notes that “the main motives in the cases of opposition appear to have been disillusionment with the missions themselves, and a determination to hold on to the traditions and values of the past.”<sup>19</sup> Some of these Māori movements, such as that founded by Papahurihia, had adherents who showed a growing resistance to the Christian message. Others actively set themselves apart as unbelievers.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, the European form of evangelisation meant for the Māori people that it was they themselves who had to relate the Christian message to their own culture.

---

<sup>14</sup> King, *Penguin History of N.Z.*, 140. See also B. Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven: A Century of Maori Prophets in New Zealand*, 2nd ed. (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 1999), 3. Hereafter cited as Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven*. See also A. K. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa: A History of Church and Society in New Zealand*, 3rd rev. ed. (Wellington, N.Z.: The N.Z. Education of Ministry Board, 2004), 8. Hereafter cited as Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*.

<sup>15</sup> King, *Penguin History of N.Z.*, 144.

<sup>16</sup> E. R. Simmons, *Pompallier, Prince of Bishops* (Auckland, N.Z.: CPC, 1984), 28.

<sup>17</sup> Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven*, 17, gives a wider picture. “Most of the [Māori spiritual] movements of the period included allegiance to the new god and were mainly positive responses to the Christian message.... Along with this overall positive response there were occasional instances of the rejection of Christian doctrines and practices even within the movements ... reactions to the missions rather than to the Christian teachings themselves. In only one case was a rival deity set up for alternative worship.”

<sup>18</sup> Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven*, xiii.

<sup>19</sup> Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven*, 18.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

A few specific attempts were made to make the Christian message more culturally relevant,<sup>21</sup> as we see in Māori religious movements such as Pai Mārire or Hauhau,<sup>22</sup> Ringatū<sup>23</sup> and Rātana.<sup>24</sup>

From all these antecedents we can understand the desire, if not the cry, today, for an indigenous form of Christianity for Māori to be developed.<sup>25</sup> It is here that this thesis hopes to make its contribution.

### 1.2.2 The Māori people now

One hundred years ago, in the 1901 census, the Māori population stood at 45,549. According to the Government census of 2006, the Māori population was 565,329, an increase of 30.0 percent in the past 15 years.<sup>26</sup> More than one in seven people living in New Zealand are of Māori ethnicity, i.e. 14.6 percent of the total population of 4.17 million. Europeans remain the largest major ethnic group, with 2,609,592 people (67.6 percent). The Māori ethnic group is the second largest followed by the Asian peoples, and then the Pacific peoples. A substantial number of Māori live abroad, especially in Australia and in England.

In 2006, one in three Māori (35.4 percent) was aged less than 15 years. The median age was 22.7 years. One in twenty (4.1 percent) was aged 65 years and over, of whom nearly half could speak *te reo Māori* (the Māori language). *Te reo Māori*, together

---

<sup>21</sup> Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven*, 17.

<sup>22</sup> Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, 45-46. *Paimārire* is the name given to a semi-religious movement started by Te Ua, of Taranaki, in 1862. H. W. Williams, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 7th ed. (Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printing Office, 1988), 250. Hereafter cited as Williams, *Dictionary*.

<sup>23</sup> Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki founded the Maori faith known as Ringatū, which means “upraised hand.” See J. Binney, *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press with Bridget Williams Books, 1995), 1. Binney states that “it is the oldest of the surviving, indigenous, scripturally based religions in Aotearoa” (1). It was originally known as “*Te Wairua Tapu*, the Holy Spirit. It was born out of a time of conflict between Maori and Pakeha.” Te Kooti died in 1893 (1).

<sup>24</sup> J. M. Henderson, *Ratana: The Man, the Church, the Political Movement*, 2nd ed. (Wellington, N.Z.: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1972), 46-47. Tahupotiki Wiremu Rātana of Whangāehu, near Whanganui, rose to fame as a faith-healer around 1918 and became the founder of the Rātana Church. Not only did he found a church, he also created a political association. Adherents of the Rātana Church are referred to as “Morehu” or remnants of once bold tribes. Rātana himself is referred to as the “Mangai,” the Mouth-piece of God. “On May 31<sup>st</sup>, 1925, on the feast of Pentecost, the existence of the Ratana Church was proclaimed by the Mangai.... On July 21<sup>st</sup>, the Ratana Church constitution was accepted by the Registrar-General.” See also Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven*, 349.

<sup>25</sup> See Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven*, 349-351.

<sup>26</sup> For the figures in this section, see Statistics New Zealand—Te Tari Tatau, “Quickstats About Māori: Census 2006/ Tātauranga 2006,” Statistics N.Z., <http://www.stats.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/095030F8-BD62-4745-836D-0EF185619C37/0/2006censusquickstatsaboutmaorirevised.pdf>. (accessed June 5, 2007).

with English, is an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand.<sup>27</sup> It is gaining ground among young Māori, of whom one in six under fifteen years of age can hold a conversation in *te reo Māori*. In 2006, Māori was spoken by 4.1 percent of the overall population (157,110 people).

### **1.3.0 The writer**

The writer of this thesis is a member of the *hapū* (extended *whānau* or family groups) of *Ngāti Tamatea* and *Ngāti Manawa* of North Hokianga (Northland, N.Z.), and a tribal member of *Te Iwi o Te Rarawa* (the tribe of *Te Rarawa*). He is also a Catholic priest raised and educated within a Catholic tradition,<sup>28</sup> who has spent over 47 years in the service of the Māori people. The thesis reflects some of this background, which is both its strength and its weakness.

### **1.4.0 The purpose of the thesis**

Why a Māori Theology? It comes from the desire of the Māori people for Christian faith, and thus theology, to be more culturally relevant for Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. This desire may be described as the desire to rekindle and reclaim their own culture while at the same time embracing their own forms of Christian faith and life. It is a second stage of evangelisation. For this to happen, the Māori people must become the subjects, the doers, of their own theology. Theology cannot simply be received “from elsewhere,”<sup>29</sup> as if there simply existed a monocultural theology having universal claims to truth and relevance to Māori and indeed to all cultures. Māori experience has shown that this is not the case. Rather, it must be theology by Māori, for Māori and others.

Māori must reflect on their faith on their own terms and in their own cultural forms. Only in this way will Māori culture be evangelized from ‘within’ and not from ‘without.’ Likewise, Māori culture has much to contribute to the wider Church. Thus, this thesis is a first step towards the twofold goal of developing an indigenous Māori

---

<sup>27</sup> N.Z. Sign Language is also an official language of our nation.

<sup>28</sup> Bishop Pompallier arrived in Hokianga on January 10<sup>th</sup> 1838 from France. He had been appointed Vicar Apostolic for Western Oceania. Accordingly, Hokianga became known as “The Cradle of the Catholic Church in Aotearoa New Zealand.” The chiefs, and their communities of North Hokianga, were early converts to Catholicism.

<sup>29</sup> For this concept, see N Darragh, *Doing Theology Ourselves: A Guide to Research and Action* (Auckland, N.Z.: Accent, 1995), 18. Hereafter cited as Darragh, *Doing Theology Ourselves*. Darragh distinguishes between “theology from here” and “theology from elsewhere.”

theology, and of contributing to the discussion concerning indigenous contextual theology in Aotearoa New Zealand, and then in the worldwide community. The material in this thesis will hopefully strike chords with other indigenous peoples.<sup>30</sup>

### **1.5.0 Indigenous theology and contextual theology**

The insight that context affects theology has become widespread in recent years. It follows from a growing awareness by ‘Western’<sup>31</sup> theologians that their theology has been, and is conditioned by their own context, and from the similarly growing awareness of ‘non-Western’ people that the theology they have received from the ‘West’ is sometimes not appropriate to their context. Neil Darragh draws a distinction between “theology from here” and “theology from elsewhere.”<sup>32</sup> The distinction he makes reflects this awareness.

Virginia Fabella, a Filipina Maryknoll Sister, uses the term “contextualization.” She defines it as “designating ways of expressing theology in a non-Western context, utilizing the native culture and thought expressions as the basis of theological formulation.”<sup>33</sup>

What does ‘indigenous’ mean? There is difficulty in defining the term. Indigenous peoples tend to be people of a particular place who understand themselves as the first people or nation of that place, and who strive for existence in the face of newer and dominant cultures which have circumscribed and altered their traditional way of life.

---

<sup>30</sup> The writer represented the Māori people at a Colloquium called by the Pontifical Commission for Inter-religious Dialogue and held in Rome, January 12-15, 2005. The topic was “Resources for Peace in Traditional Religions.” Indigenous people from ten countries of the world gathered for this four-day Colloquium. A striking feature of the presentations and discussion was the realisation of the indigenous people present that they possessed so many concepts and values in common. Expressions from the different cultures resonated with the understanding that the others also had of the subject. It suggested that indigenous peoples have much to share with the whole Church. See Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, ed., *Resources for Peace in Traditional Religions: Acts of the Colloquium, Rome: 12-15 Jan 2005* (Vatican City: The Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, 2006).

<sup>31</sup> We use the term ‘Western’ loosely to include the Churches of North America and Europe, among whom the theological enterprise has been developed and brought to other parts of the world in missionary endeavour.

<sup>32</sup> Darragh, *Doing Theology Ourselves*, 16-20.

<sup>33</sup> V. Fabella, “Contextualization,” in *Dictionary of Third World Theologies*, ed. Virginia Fabella and R. S. Sugirtharajah (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 2000), 58-59.

They may, or may not, be the majority of the population in the land. They tend to be socially, economically and politically, but not spiritually, marginalised.<sup>34</sup>

One description is as follows:

Indigenous communities, people and nations, are those which, having an historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system.<sup>35</sup>

These remarks serve to provide a basis upon which we can now describe indigenous theology.

### 1.5.1 Indigenous theology

Drawing on St Anselm, we define indigenous theology as indigenous faith seeking indigenous understanding.<sup>36</sup> Indigenous theology is a recent formal category in theology, which is emerging in different contexts.<sup>37</sup> A survey of recent dictionaries of

---

<sup>34</sup> See United Nations: Centre for Human Rights, "Who Are the World's Indigenous Peoples?," *International Year For the World's Indigenous People—1993* (1993), [http://www.ciesin.org/docs/010-000a/Year\\_Worlds\\_Indig.html](http://www.ciesin.org/docs/010-000a/Year_Worlds_Indig.html). (accessed November 7, 2007). This paper estimates that there are more than 300 million indigenous people in over seventy countries.

<sup>35</sup> Working definition used by the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. Cited in W. Longchar, "Doing Contextual Theologies from Ecumenical Perspective—Tribal/Indigenous People's Theology," *The Pacific Journal of Theology* 28 (2002): 54-72, here 58. Hereafter cited as Longchar, "Doing Contextual Theologies." See also United Nations, "Draft: United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," (Geneva: United Nations, 1994).

<sup>36</sup> Anselm defined theology as 'faith seeking understanding.' See Anselm, "Proslogium," in *St Anselm: Basic Writings* (Illinois: Open Court, 1962), 53.

<sup>37</sup> The term 'indigenous theology' seems first to be used in 1949 by V. E. Devadutt, "What Is Indigenous Theology?," *Ecumenical Review* 2, no. 1 (1949): 40-51. (With special reference to India). See W. Longchar, "Doing Contextual Theologies." Indigenous theology in India seems to be done by Tribals and by Dalit theologians, 55, 57. See J. Parratt, "Recent Writing on Dalit Theology: A Bibliographical Essay," *International Review of Mission* 83, April (1984): 329-337. In Africa, the term 'indigenous,' by contrast, describes peoples who form the majority of the population. See K. A. Dickson, P. A. Kalilombe, and T. Presler, "Development of African Theologies," *Mission Studies: Journal of the International Association of Mission Studies* 2, no. 1 (1985): 93-96. In an African context these authors wrote that the following characteristics may be used to describe African theology. It is theology "done in Africa ... to a significant degree it arises out of the identity of African people, draws on African categories of thought and speaks to the historical situation of African people." The authors immediately qualify the quotation by noting that there are many African contexts and therefore many African theologies. See also T. Tienou, "Indigenous African Christian Theologies: The Uphill Road," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 14, no. 2 (1990): 73-77, here 74. In the Australian context, aboriginal peoples and nations are minorities within the population of Australia. See A. Pattel-Gray and G. W. Trompf, "Styles of Australian Aboriginal and Melanesian Theology," *International Review of Mission* 82, no. April (1993): 137-188. Pattel-Gray describes Aboriginal theology as "a radical movement in theology, towards the creation of an indigenous theology, leaning heavily towards biblical justice. It is autonomous (post-western, post-denominational), and emphasises liberation, prophetic obedience, and action. It treasures traditional Aboriginal religion as the divine

theology shows that the specific entry 'Indigenous Theology' seems first to appear in 2000.<sup>38</sup> Two earlier sources are to be found in the collection, *Discovering an Australian Theology*, which has a section entitled "Indigenous Theology" (1988),<sup>39</sup> and in "Indigenous Theology: An EATWOT<sup>40</sup> Response" (1998). In the latter article, they summarized the emerging characteristics of indigenous theologies as follows:

- There are as many indigenous theologies as there are indigenous peoples and communities.
- These theologies are communitarian rather than focused on the individual.
- They are oriented toward spatial rather than temporal categories.
- The land is the beginning—and the ending point for indigenous theologies and is central to the resistance of every indigenous people.
- Indigenous theologies thus reflect the interrelatedness of all creation—trees, rocks, birds, animals and all other living beings, as well as people's cultures, histories, and experiences. To this extent they are creative, and celebrative of life and all these relationships.
- Indigenous theologies emerge out of their own cultures, histories, and experiences.
- Indigenous theologies are necessarily theologies of resistance to ecclesial hegemony and cultural imposition, to political and economic marginalization, and the noxious effects of colonisation and globalisation. To this extent they see themselves as forms of liberation theology.
- Indigenous theologies privilege the oral traditions of their peoples, such that they emerge from the categories of native indigenous languages and use them in their theological thinking.
- The task of doing indigenous theology is rendered difficult by many factors, including their necessary particularity, and the fact that colonial factors such as overwhelming cultural dominance exercise great power over indigenous life and access to resources.<sup>41</sup>

---

grounding for contemporary faith and identity. It keeps traditional practices as potent reminders of important cosmic and temporal truths" (176). In the Pacific context, where indigenous peoples form the majority, there seem to be conflicting directions. One is a movement towards what may be termed 'Pacific Theology.' See Ma'afu 'o' Tu'itonga Palu, "Pacific Theology," *The Pacific Journal of Theology*, Series II, no. 28 (2002): 21-53. This movement sees contextualisation as a category prior in importance to indigenisation (22). The varieties of context in the Pacific make it difficult to speak generally. By contrast, I. S. Tuwere speaks of the "Oceania" context, in an attempt to define his place over against a European naming of it as "Pacific." He questions the term "indigenization," which for him, "tends to relate the gospel to past traditions and does not treat as serious present forces in society which are bringing about changes" (8). The point of difference for him seems to be whether one can describe indigenous culture as contemporary, as well as if it existed only in the past. See I. S. Tuwere, "What Is Contextual Theology: A View from Oceania," *The Pacific Journal of Theology* 27, no. 2 (2002): 7-20, here 12-13. On the other hand, the interest these theologians show in 'contextualization' is evidence of their desire to do their own theology for their own people, in their own place or context.

<sup>38</sup> See E. L. Hernández, "Indigenous Theologies," in *Dictionary of Third World Theologies*, ed. M. M. Virginia Fabella and R. S. Sugirtharajah (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 2000), 108-109. Hereafter cited as Hernández, "Indigenous Theologies."

<sup>39</sup> See P. Malone, ed., *Discovering an Australian Theology* (Homebush, N.S.W.: St Paul, 1988). However, one of the articles therein is by a European Australian. See D. Edwards, "Sin and Salvation in the South Land of the Holy Spirit," in *Discovering an Australian Theology*, ed. P. Malone (Homebush, N.S.W.: St Paul, 1988), 89-102. The other, by Patrick Dodson, an indigenous Australian, discussing "dreaming" and "sacred sites," asserts that "Aboriginal religions have a beautifully worked out spirituality, complete with a full and coherent sacramental theology." See P. Dodson, "The Land Our Mother, the Church Our Mother," in *Discovering an Australian Theology*, ed. P. Malone (Homebush, N.S.W.: St Paul, 1998), 83-88, here 84.

<sup>40</sup> The acronym stands for 'Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians.' Indigenous members of EATWOT, with representatives from Africa, Asia and the Americas, met in Bolivia in August 1997.

<sup>41</sup> These points are made by R. Battung, Z. Samita, and G. Tinker, "Indigenous Theologies: An EATWOT Response," *Voices from the Third World* 21, no. 1, June (1998): 108-109. Some, but not all, of these points are summarised by Hernández, "Indigenous Theologies," 108-109.

We accept these descriptions. They all presuppose that the subjects of indigenous theology are the indigenous peoples themselves, and that the context of their theology is their own context. Implicit is the notion that such indigenous theology is contemporary, and it arises in every case where the introduction of Christianity and colonial occupation has come first. As such, there is no ‘pure’ indigenous theology, as if the missionaries and colonisers had never intruded upon indigenous peoples.

This means that indigenous theologians have complicated sets of issues to deal with, both in the past—before and after the arrival of the colonisers—and also in the present. They must articulate their indigenous theology for their own people, while also being in some sense, held to account by Christians not of their own context.<sup>42</sup> Thus one major issue is the relationship between inculturation and the Gospel.

#### 1.5.1.2 **Inculturation and the Gospel**

A full consideration of inculturation, which is a major issue, is beyond the scope of this thesis.<sup>43</sup> Discussion and resulting terminologies have gone through various phases.<sup>44</sup> There has been, to our knowledge, just one attempt explicitly to ‘inculturate’ the Gospel in Aotearoa New Zealand. Here we must acknowledge the work of *Pākehā* theologian Michael Shirres, who has attempted, by his scholarship and work,

---

<sup>42</sup> This can be a positive holding to account. For example, Raymond Canning observes that in the context of Australia, “a way needs to be found of overturning the European’s basic stance towards Aboriginal people and of coming before them as apprentices in faith.” See R. Canning, “Sharpening the Questions,” in *Discovering an Australian Theology*, ed. P. Malone (Homebush, N.S.W.: St Paul, 1988), 24-45, here 39.

<sup>43</sup> See A. Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1988). Hereafter cited as Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*.

<sup>44</sup> Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*. Shorter offers some descriptions of terms. “*Enculturation* is a sociological concept” and “refers to the cultural learning process of the individual, the process by which a person is inserted into his or her culture” (5). *Inculturation* is a theological notion and has to do with the interaction of what, for the present, may be referred to as faith, on the one hand, and culture, on the other (11-13). “*Acculturation* is a sociological concept” and refers to “the encounter between one culture and another, or the encounter between cultures” (7). Shorter credits Bishop J. Blomjous with having coined, in 1980, the term ‘*Interculturation*’ (13). It expresses that the process of “inculturation must be lived in partnership and mutuality” (13). However, the discussion has moved forward in a number of ways. There are no longer any “pure” cultures in a global world for “pure” inculturation to take place. See Pui-Lan Kwok, *Postcolonial Imagination and Feminist Theology* (Westminster: John Knox, 2005), 68-70. For her, there will be an “increasing demand from formerly colonized ... peoples to participate in shaping and expanding the Christian tradition” (69). Thus, for her, theology can be named in some parts of the world as “post-colonial.” However, from our viewpoint, the very presence of the word “colonial” in the term “post-colonial” is an indication that these parts of the world are still “colonial” and thus, in their people’s conceptual understanding, still colonised. We note that the category of ‘indigenous theology’ is not to be found in her index, although listening to indigenous theologians is certainly part of her programme (viii). For the purpose of this thesis, we consider that the better way to go is to try to construct a contextual Māori Theology which, while taking note of the colonial past and its influences upon Māori, treats theology in Māori terms according to Māori categories.

to “inculturate Jesus into Maori society and Maori Religion.”<sup>45</sup> It was he who introduced this writer to the task of developing an indigenous Māori theology.

A few brief remarks of our own must suffice. There is no culture without the subjects of that culture. When the missionaries and colonisers came to Aotearoa, they brought the Christian faith already inculturated in their own cultures and thought forms. The encounter with Māori was a mixed blessing, to say the least. Māori lost most of their land, and endured a form of deculturation<sup>46</sup> in favour of the newly dominant culture. The damage to the ‘target’ culture was great. Moreover, much that was lost in the early days of this encounter cannot now be retrieved. Nevertheless, the question arises: why did Māori respond so readily to the Gospel message?

We have to say, as Christians, that there is an inner harmony between the Gospel and any culture in this sense: the potential for a culture to receive the Gospel and express it in its own form has always been there. The coming of the Gospel message did not nullify indigenous thought forms and forms of life, but rather challenged them to extend themselves. For example, the concepts of *Atua*<sup>47</sup> (Supreme Being), and *aroha* (love) were present in Māori culture, but the Christian message challenged Maori to develop and link them in new ways. Some insights, such as Trinity, could only have been introduced. Further, the life, death and resurrection of Jesus the Christ as the central content of the Gospel is both information ‘from without’ and also the very content of any cultural appropriation of that Gospel whereby the indigenous people embrace the person of Jesus Christ and make the Gospel message their own.

---

<sup>45</sup> See Michael P. Shirres, “Tapu,” *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 91, no. 1 (1982): 29-50. See also Shirres, “An Introduction to Karakia” (Thesis, University of Auckland, 1986). Idem, *Tapu: Te Mana O Nga Atua, ‘the Mana of the Spiritual Powers’: A Maori Theological Understanding of Tapu* (Auckland, N.Z.: Te Runanga Hahi Katorika ki Aotearoa, 1994). Hereafter cited as Shirres, *Tapu: Te Mana O Nga Atua*. See also Shirres, “A Māori Theological Response to Violence,” *Colloquium* 26, no. 2 (1994): 94-103. Idem, *Te Tangata: The Human Person* (Auckland, N.Z.: Accent, 1997). Hereafter cited as Shirres, *Te Tangata*. Finally, see Shirres, unpublished work, “*Ko Tou Manawa, Ko Taku Manawa*—Your Heart, My Heart.” <http://homepages.ihug.co.nz/~dominic/manawa.html>. (accessed September 15, 2009). Shirres was a Dominican priest who was involved in pastoral care of Māori for much of his life. He was deeply formed in the Thomistic tradition, and this influenced his attempt to develop a theology which was at once both Māori and Christian. For a positive appraisal combined with strong critique of his work, see John Charlot, “The Maori-Christian Theology of Michael Shirres,” *The Journal of Intercultural Studies*, no. 33 (2006): 18-27.

<sup>46</sup> As for example, when the Auckland City Council burnt the meeting house of *Ngāti Whatua* as recently as 1954, as an incentive to force them to vacate their land.

<sup>47</sup> See section 1.7.1.1.



There thus comes a time for indigenous theology, for indigenous faith to seek its own indigenous understanding. Here questions arise. Why did it not happen in the first generation of the encounter? Why has it taken until now for Maori to undertake the kind of investigation that forms the subject of this thesis?

### 1.5.2 Māori indigenous theology

After the arrival of the European, it is to be assumed that Māori leaders within the various Whare Wānanga<sup>48</sup> throughout the country discussed the new religion, but their reflection has been lost. Thus, there is to date very little published Māori indigenous theological reflection by Māori which could be described as “Explicit.”<sup>49</sup> Written evidence of early theological reflection is sparse, flowering only after 1960.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *Whare Wānanga* were houses of learning from pre-European times in which Māori *tohunga* (spiritual teachers in this sense) passed on to chosen students knowledge of the spiritual world and of tribal tradition restricted to members of the *Whare Wānanga*. Such knowledge included tribal *whakapapa* (genealogy), and ancient *karakia* (ritual chants). We will treat of *Whare Wānanga* in more detail in footnote 62 of this chapter.

<sup>49</sup> Darragh, in his assessment of books that would qualify as works of Christian contextual theology, identifies three criteria. “The first criterion is that an item be *written*. A second criterion is that the work be one of *Christian theology*.” Here he looks at three elements: “a) *Explicit* (or critical or formal) reflections with some degree of self-criticism on God, human living, or created being, b) in the light of the *Christian Scriptures* or subsequent Church traditions, and c) are intended in some manner to be *persuasive with an element of self-criticism* rather than simply descriptive. A third criterion is that the work be *contextual* to Aotearoa New Zealand.” See Darragh, N. “Theology in Aotearoa New Zealand: An Annotated Bibliography under Subject Headings.” (2005), <http://hdl.handle.net/2292/447>, 1. (accessed May 27, 2009).

<sup>50</sup> Reflections of early Māori, especially on Scripture and interpretation of scripture passages, have been recorded by others. Such people recorded include Te Atua Wera (1830-1875), Te Ua Haumene (founder of the Pai Mārire religious movement circa 1862), Te Kooti Rikirangi (1830?-1893); Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana (1873-1939) and Rua Kēnana (1869-1937). Two early Māori offer some writings which are extant. One is Wiremu Te Rangikaheke, “GNZMMSS: 43,” in *Grey, Māori Manuscripts* (Auckland N.Z. Central City Library, 1849). Te Rangikaheke, Wiremu. “Tupuna.” In *GNZMMSS: 44*, *Grey, Māori Manuscripts*, ed. Sir George Grey. Auckland N.Z.: Auckland Central City Library, 1849. Te Rangikaheke, Wiremu. *GNZMMSS 81* Grey, Māori Manuscripts: Auckland, N.Z. Central City Library, 1849. Hereafter cited as Te Rangikaheke, *GNZMMSS*. The other is Ngākuru Pene Haare of Matihetihe, Hokiangā. See Ngakuru Pene Haare, “He Powhiri Na Ngapuhi Ki Aotearoa Me Te Waipounamu,” *Wharekura* VI, no. 2 (1926): 13-18. From the 1960’s, explicit theological reflection began. Some Māori writers who have contributed include Maori Marsden, “God, Man and Universe: A Maori View,” in *Te Ao Hurihuri, Aspects of Maoritanga*, ed. M. King (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 1992), 117-137. See also Te Ahukaramū C. Royal, ed., *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden* (Masterton, N.Z.: The Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden, 2003). Ruka Broughton recorded some tapes for radio broadcast, containing his theological reflections. See Ruka Broughton, “Ngā Pūkōrero O Te Wā 17,” Learning Media Ltd, <http://www.learningmedia.co.nz>. (accessed October 15, 2009). Other writers include: Ruawai D Rakena, *The Maori Response to the Gospel: A Study of Maori-Pakeha Relations in the Methodist Maori Mission from Its Beginnings to the Present Day*, 2nd ed. (Auckland: Wesley Historical Society, 1971). See also Manuka Henare, “Nga Tikanga Me Nga Ritenga O Te Ao Maori: Standards and Foundations of Maori Society,” in *Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy III: Part One: Future Directions* (Wellington, N.Z.: 1988); Idem, “Hope and Maori Self-Determination” (paper presented at the Theological Symposium on Hope, Palmerston North, N.Z., 1998). See also Henare, “*Tapu. Mana, Mauri, Hau, Wairua*: A Maori Philosophy of Vitalism and Cosmos,” in *Indigenous Traditions and Ecology: The Interbeing of Cosmology and Community*, ed. John A Grim (Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 197-221. Finally, see Manuka Henare and Bernie Kernot, “Maori Religion: The Spiritual Landscape,” in *Can Humanity Survive? The World’s Religions and the Environment*, ed. James Veitch (Auckland: Awareness Book Co., 1996), 205-215.

We leave this historical aspect to discussion elsewhere, and move on to current discussion.

#### 1.5.2.1 **Current discussion**

Most recently, Pākehā New Zealander Neil Darragh has made some helpful remarks on Māori theological writing to date.<sup>51</sup> Using a framework of four sources for theology (experience, tradition, Scripture and reason),<sup>52</sup> he categorises Māori writing under three principal forms.

The first is that of the “*recovery* of key Māori concepts that have not been considered in the Christian theology of the past.” These are drawn from two sources: a recovery that appears in Māori liturgical texts and in traditional Māori religious and social concepts. Darragh characterises this form as “Māori theology, not explicitly Christian, but yet not thereby pre-Christian or non-Christian.” He attributes this to his view that these writings “do not yet explicitly set up an interaction between this Māori theology and overseas Christian traditions nor the Christian Scriptures.”<sup>53</sup>

The second form he sees as “*critique*, rather than a recovery of Māori tradition, based on Scripture and Christian tradition or feminist theology.”<sup>54</sup> This article critiques some culturally and politically important Māori practices and understandings.

A third form of Māori theology “occurs mainly in the area of ecclesiology and may be described as *reformist*.”<sup>55</sup> It is so because “it critiques and seeks to reform, not Māori traditions, but the traditions and current practices of the (European) Christian churches as they have been implemented in Aotearoa New Zealand.”<sup>56</sup>

Underlying these three forms is Darragh’s categorisation of Māori experience as working at the confluence of both traditional Māori theology and inherited theologies from overseas. It is already evident from his article that indigenous theology registers

---

<sup>51</sup> Refer to the preceding note. See N. Darragh, “Contextual Method in Theology: Learnings from the Case of Aotearoa New Zealand,” *Pacifica* 16, no. 1 (2003): 45-66. Hereafter cited as Darragh, “Contextual Method.”

<sup>52</sup> Darragh, “Contextual Method,” 49-55.

<sup>53</sup> Darragh, “Contextual Method,” 55.

<sup>54</sup> Darragh, “Contextual Method,” 56.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

more on the theological horizon in Aotearoa New Zealand than in the writings of Australian writers such as Kelly, Lilburne and Rees.<sup>57</sup>

#### 1.5.2.2 **Definition of Māori indigenous theology**

We now turn to an attempt to define Māori indigenous theology. It is Māori faith seeking Māori understanding. It is a theology developed by Māori for Māori in the first instance, and in the second instance for all those who share the same land and context, and thirdly for all others.

The starting point is rooted in the faith-filled contemporary experience and culture of the Māori people, taking into account their own analysis of their culture, language, symbol systems, stories, myths, values, that were a part of their culture in the past and that continue to have significance in the present.

The method operates through respectful encounter with Māori themselves, with the Bible and its diverse peoples and contexts, with Christians of past times and contexts, and with all those of the present.

The goal is to be able to express the Gospel in a Māori cultural form, such that Māori will be able to recognise it as theirs, as a theology “from here” and not “from elsewhere.” Given that Māori were never subjugated, indigenous Māori theology is first concerned with the addressing, enhancing and restoring of the *tapu* and *mana*<sup>58</sup> of Māori and others. Secondly, it is concerned with ‘resistance’ to what threatens that same *tapu* and *mana*.

From an indigenous Māori viewpoint we can accept Darragh’s description of the three forms above—recovery, critique and reform—and we would say that this thesis will take account of, and integrate all three. To that extent, the major descriptor of this

---

<sup>57</sup> See T. Kelly, *A New Imagining: Towards an Australian Theology: An Inquiry into Method* (Melbourne: Collins Dove, 1990). Hereafter cited as Kelly, *A New Imagining*. See also Kelly, "Whither 'Australian Theology'? A Response to Geoffrey Lilburne," *Pacifica* 12, no. 2 (1999): 192-208. Hereafter cited as Kelly, "Whither 'Australian Theology'?" G. Lilburne, "Contextualising Australian Theology: An Inquiry into Method," *Pacifica* 10, no. 3 (1997): 350-364. Hereafter cited as Lilburne, "Contextualising Australian Theology." Frank Rees, "Beating around the Bush: Methodological Directions for Australian Theology," *Pacifica* 15, no. 3 (2002): 266-293. Hereafter cited as Rees, "Beating around the Bush." Finally, see Rees article, "Teaching Theology with Due Regard to Experience and Context," *Theological Education* 40, no. Supplement (2005): 101-113.

<sup>58</sup> These are two of the foundational concepts of this thesis. For *tapu*, see Chapter 2 and for *mana*, see Chapter 3. For now we can translate *tapu* as the ‘being and relationships’ of Māori, and *mana* as spiritual power.

thesis is one of *constructive* indigenous theology, which hopes to take Māori aspirations to a new level.

Unless Māori theology develops its own tools and foundations with which to make an analysis of Māori experience which is adequate in the eyes of Māori, then recovery, critique and reform will be fragmentary, and limited. They will be fragmentary in that there will be no adequate overall structure of interpretation of Māori experience. They will be limited in the sense that a Māori theology without its own tools and foundations will fall short of an adequate analysis of Māori experience and aspirations.

A hermeneutics of recovery and a hermeneutics of suspicion both need a *constructive* element for making sense of the present and the future. Māori theology needs this *constructive, systematic element* if it is to open up future paths for Māori aspirations for liberation, and shape the faith-filled exercise of their *mana*. It is through the exercise of *mana kawē i te rangatiratanga o te Iwi Māori*<sup>59</sup> that Māori recover their past, critique their traditions, seek to reform present structures and *construct* their own theology that will open up the future. What guides that exercise of *mana* is a major point of concern in this thesis.

Darragh is surprised that “there is very little interaction between Māori experience and Christian Scripture in any explicit way in the theological literature.”<sup>60</sup> This thesis is focused on the first element of this critique. We would argue that priority must be given to indigenous faith experience and tradition in order to avoid premature interaction with Scripture and Christian tradition. For a full encounter with these, Māori must be enabled to do so from the depth of *te tapu i a rātou* (their own being). Darragh himself notes

the difficulties of a critical interaction between an indigenous theological tradition and a foreign-originated Christian tradition when both traditions are powerful ingredients of contemporary experience. It still leaves open the issue of how Māori theology will eventually make its own mark on the interpretation of the Scripture or how Scripture will be seen to critique Māori experience.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup> This phrase describes *mana* as the spiritual power and authority of Māori people to conduct all matters that concern their *rangatiratanga* (identity, dignity, well-being, independence and uniqueness). Further perspectives on *mana* will be discussed in Chapter 3.

<sup>60</sup> Darragh, "Contextual Method," 56-57.

<sup>61</sup> Darragh, "Contextual Method," 57.

The issue in this thesis is what priority to be given to the elements of Darragh's 'recovery, critique, reform' method. In fact, while all three elements will be evident, they will appear as secondary moments in this theology. We would situate this thesis as a contemporary attempt to *construct* an adequate and systematic Māori theology for the present.

#### 1.5.2.3 Criteria for Māori indigenous theology

We now turn to the task of offering some criteria for Māori indigenous theology. We can consider this task from the perspective of *kaupapa* (principle) and *tikanga* (process, method). A Māori theology must follow its own *kaupapa* and *tikanga*. The former expresses *what* Māori theology is about, and thereby the criteria for Māori theology; the latter expresses *how* it is to proceed, *how* its criteria are to be implemented, and *how* the goal is to be achieved. We deal with *tikanga* in 1.6.0.

#### 1.5.2.4 Kaupapa

The *kaupapa* or principle to be followed is that the development of a Māori Christian theology must be by Māori for Māori in the first instance. It must be sourced in Māori religious and cultural experience.

To this end, this thesis has opted to choose Māori concepts and conceptual frameworks, which, as far as can be determined, pre-date the arrival of the European missionaries (1814).<sup>62</sup> This approach safeguards against a theology overly dependent

---

<sup>62</sup> We acknowledge that there is enormous difficulty in achieving this aim. Pre-European Māori culture and language are not directly accessible in any major way. The first issue here becomes the relationship—within Māori culture—between oral culture and the handing on of tradition. The primary vehicle for the handing on of tradition was the living, spoken language of the day, together with the other vehicles of culture such as speeches, chants, *karakia* (prayer), *waiata* (songs), and generally inherited wisdom, whereby *iwi* both lived and handed on their tradition. Within this traditioning process were also the *whare wānanga*—literally, houses of learning. Here *tohunga* (skilled persons, priests) instructed *tauirā* (aspirants) in the higher knowledge reserved to such as them. One principal task of the *whare wānanga* was to attend to the integrity of the knowledge learnt and handed down to them for future generations. Thirdly, the *iwi* also carried the knowledge of their *tūpuna* (ancestors) in their lived experience, and to that extent helped to transmit it. For example, Heremia Te Wake, among twelve others, is recorded in his recitation of local history as referring to words and events in the lives of *tūpuna* who lived many generations before him. See H. A. Tate and T. Paparoa, eds., *Karanga Hokianga* (Kohukohu, Hokianga, N.Z.: Motuti Community Trust, 1986), 1-32. Hereafter cited as Tate & Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*. His recorded words contain the clear implication that he was using—repeating—the very words of his *tūpuna* who had preceded him by many generations. In this thesis we assume the integrity of the oral tradition implicit in this claim. We have access to these Māori speakers in two ways. Firstly some speeches are recorded in Sir George Grey's collection GNZMMS, dating from 1849. Secondly, Māori speeches were recorded in Native Land Court Minutes dating from 1865. Further, some Māori quickly developed the ability to write in their own language. For example, the earliest account of the Māori Creation story was "written down in 1849 by the Arawa chief Wiremu Te Rangikaheke." See Shirres, *Te Tangata*, 25. In some few cases, the criterion of multiple attestation is possible, in speeches coming from different tribal areas. In this thesis we will attempt to pay due respect to such sources when they use concepts important to this thesis.

upon European thought forms. It also safeguards, as far as possible, against other colonial influences. However, it is important to note that the words expressing these concepts are also current in contemporary Māori experience and thus accessible to contemporary Māori. It is through the interaction of past and present that a contemporary framework is developed.

The *kaupapa* also requires that this interaction will give rise to the *construction* of systematic interrelationships among these concepts and thought forms so that they meet these criteria:

- a. They are authentically Māori.
- b. They can be expressed in their totality in *te reo Māori* and thus appeal immediately to Māori experience, thought forms, liturgy and general culture.
- c. They are drawn from, and refer back to, an essentially communitarian Māori context.

---

The second issue relates to the fact that the earliest writers of the language—from James Cook (1768-71) onwards—were all European. We need to analyse the issues hidden within their role in the transition from oral tradition to written language. One set of issues revolves around the understanding of the European writers who recorded what they heard. Did they hear accurately? Did they record accurately? Did they understand what they heard? Did what they record convey the full nuance of meaning within the Māori culture? On the other hand, did Māori share fully with them—or did they hold back some of their more precious information? Dependence on Māori is also an issue. For example, in 1807, John Savage wrote a small account written “by the help of the native I brought to England with me.” See John Savage, *Some Account of New Zealand; Particularly the Bay of Islands, and Surrounding Country; with a Description of the Religion and Government, Language Arts, Manufactures, Manners and Customs of the Natives Etc. Etc.* (London, Fleet Street: J. Murray; also A. Constable and Co (Edinburgh), 1807; reprint, Capper Press: Christchurch N.Z. 1973), 73. Savage names this person ‘Moyhanger’ (38). Savage also provides a small dictionary of basic Māori terms with English translations (74-78).

In terms of this thesis, in the absence of any critically established alternative sources, we presume the ability of these early written documents to record accurately language that both preceded them and was current in their day. On that basis, we must make some major assumptions here. The first is that Māori language and vocabulary used and recorded by Europeans from 1773 on continued to be current among Māori. Thomas Kendall’s 1815 work lists the following words which have a major place in our synthesis: ‘Átua nue (The Supreme Being)’ (*sic*); ‘Aroha’; ‘Noa’; ‘Tunguta’; ‘Tappoo,’ ‘wenua.’ See Thomas Kendall, *A Korao No New Zealand; or the New Zealander’s First Book; Being an Attempt to Compose Some Lessons for the Instruction of the Natives* (Sydney: G. Howe, 1815; reprint, Facsimile Edition published by Auckland Institute and Museum, June 1957). In 1820 Kendall wrote a further work with the assistance of Dr Samuel Lee, of Hongi Hika and of Waikato. In this work all the above words are listed, together with the following: ‘Iwi’; ‘Ora’; ‘Pono’; ‘Rahui’; ‘Rangimadie’; ‘Rongo’; ‘Tika’; ‘Unga wai’; ‘Utu’; ‘Waka iti’; ‘Wanaunga’; ‘Watea.’ See Thomas Kendall and Dr. Samuel Lee, *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1820). Thus we can claim that, with two exceptions (*mana* and *wā*) all the words or concepts we have used in this thesis are documented from 1820. Bishop Pompallier uses the term ‘mana’ in a letter to Hone Heke in 1845. See Bishop Jean Baptiste Pompallier, “Letter to Hone Heke, 1 January 1845,” *Wharekura* VI, no. 5 (1926): 8-10. He uses the term ‘hohounga rongo’ in the same year. See his “Letter to Kapene Home, Dated 1 April 1845,” *Wharekura* VI, no. 7 (1926). Thus practically every concept in our systematics is attested by 1845. To this extent we can claim some limited basis for pre-contact currency of these words. A second assumption is that this currency continues when W. Williams wrote the first edition of *Dictionary of the Maori Language*, Paihia, 1844. A third assumption is that the current edition of this Dictionary refers both to ancient and current usage. Williams’ Dictionary thus gives us a working ‘baseline’ against which to measure both the antiquity and the present currency of the concepts we have chosen for our systematics.

- d. They are coherent in their own right, such that they provide a theological foundation that has genuine systematic power.
- e. They give rise to action. Action is essential, and needs to be informed by, and guided by, Māori perceptions of what is founded on *pono* (truth), *tika* (right order, right response) and *aroha*.
- f. They engage, in a second stage, with the biblical and theological tradition.<sup>63</sup>
- g. They express the Christian mystery in a way that is fruitful for Māori, Pākehā and people of other places and cultures beyond Aotearoa New Zealand.
- h. They offer perspectives of critique and of reform that are sourced in Māori experience, and which contain within these perspectives some elements that open up the future.
- i. They enable participation in the theological process by Māori people themselves, such that through their experience of empowerment or otherwise, the theologians are held accountable to them.

### 1.5.3 Māori theology and contextual theology

We have begun the task of developing some criteria about what constitutes an indigenous Māori theology. How, then, do these criteria relate to the wider category of contextual theology, since indigenous theology is a subset of contextual theology? To explore this question, it is helpful to engage with theologians Frank Rees, Robert Schreiter and Stephen Bevans.

#### 1.5.3.1 Frank Rees

Frank Rees writes from an Australian context. He proposes nine criteria for a contextual theology.<sup>64</sup> He states that “the question of how we derive critical criteria for contextual theologies is itself shaped by the way we see the context.”<sup>65</sup> We present his criteria and engage with each of them in turn.

Firstly, Rees proposes that the work of contextual theology must have “*clarity* in its purpose and in its expression.”<sup>66</sup> Conversation partners must have “self-conscious awareness and transparency in the process.”<sup>67</sup> Māori indigenous theology agrees with this criterion.

---

<sup>63</sup> For the purposes of this thesis, this second stage is omitted. Hints will be given at appropriate places as to the potential of this engagement.

<sup>64</sup> Rees, “Beating around the Bush.” For these criteria, see 288-293.

<sup>65</sup> Rees, “Beating around the Bush,” 270. Rees argues for a revised “method of correlation” (281), which accepts that, “epistemologically, [God’s] word comes to us in culturally mediated forms” (280). He invites others into a “correlative conversational contextual theology” (288), in which we are pleased to join.

<sup>66</sup> Rees, “Beating around the Bush,” 288.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

Secondly, it should “*attend respectfully to its context.*”<sup>68</sup> We need to acknowledge “our contextual situatedness,”<sup>69</sup> and our corresponding “selectivity in focus.”<sup>70</sup> The work should be sufficiently accurate in its description and analysis so that others may recognise in it both themselves and their community. Māori indigenous theology adds a further qualification from its criterion (c) above. It needs to be truly dialogical in its genesis and process with this community, because respect for the people means full acknowledgement of their *tapu* and *mana* at every stage of the work.

Thirdly, Rees proposes that it must provide “*a recognisable presentation of the Christian witness.*”<sup>71</sup> It is here that he sees a connection with the content of Christian faith, with corresponding issues of authority, orthodoxy and the judgement about what are sources for this theology. Yet, he acknowledges that “whether a specific formulation of Christian theology is to be judged ‘orthodox’ or in some other sense ‘appropriate’ to the Christian faith ... is itself a contextual judgement.”<sup>72</sup> He thus sees a process of discernment by the community, under the guidance of the Spirit, of what constitutes God’s Word as necessary at this stage.

Māori indigenous theology would affirm this criterion. However, we have placed it *after* other criteria (a-d, above). This raises the question: *Recognisable to whom?* This in turn raises questions about who are these conversation partners who will do the recognising and the judging. What we can affirm is that indigenous people must be the *first* judges of this criterion, if the theology is truly to be *theirs*. We note what we have already affirmed, that the indigenous Māori people are, to a greater or lesser extent, *Christian* Māori who have already appropriated the Christian witness and who therefore have a more or less adequate basis for this first judgement.

Which non-Māori has an adequate basis for judging the orthodoxy of a Māori understanding of *tapu*? This is not to exclude the wider Christian community. Subsequent to this first expression and judgement, the wider Church *must* be involved as a dialogue partner and a wider discernment carried out. Without this dialogue, there is a danger of premature judgement of orthodoxy that would cripple any further development of indigenous theology. Behind this criterion is a belief in the guidance

---

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Rees, "Beating around the Bush," 288-289.

<sup>70</sup> Rees, "Beating around the Bush," 289.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.



of *te Wairua Tapu* (the Holy Spirit) and the *sensus fidei* (sense of the faith) present in indigenous people.

Fourthly, Rees argues that a contextual theology will be more “beneficial if it offers a *comprehensive* account of the Christian witness of faith, and does not focus only on one aspect, doctrine or element in the people’s experience.”<sup>73</sup> Rees has in mind a ‘checklist’ that a conversation partner might ask of a contextual theology. We agree, but with the proviso that the indigenous priority be maintained. Who decides what constitutes *comprehensive* in the first instance? Some things, (for example, land) may be judged by Māori as essential to any comprehensive Māori account of Christian faith, whereas they are not seen as essential in the great Christian tradition. There is great danger that one imports with the ‘checklist’ a whole non-indigenous theology that is ultimately destructive of indigenous aspirations, imagination and even indigenous relations with God.<sup>74</sup> It is for this reason that we have set about the task of evolving our own set of categories which are indisputably Māori, and which will be tested by Māori as regards their ability to offer a comprehensive account of their experience. These points reflect our criteria b, c, d, h and i.

Fifthly, “a contextual theology needs to be *reasonable*.”<sup>75</sup> By this Rees means it must have its own “logical consistency” and that its arguments should be credible. We agree fully with this. We would suggest that this criterion and the former one come under the further criterion that the whole theology needs to be systematic in a manner recognisable to Māori or other indigenous people.

Sixthly, contextual theology needs to be *humble* and point “away from itself to the divine life to which it responds.”<sup>76</sup> It may “draw upon local cultural elements which, understood through a correlative conversation, mediate the presence and life of God.”<sup>77</sup> But it should also point out that the cultural elements themselves are not God.

---

<sup>73</sup> Rees, "Beating around the Bush," 290.

<sup>74</sup> Rees, "Beating around the Bush," 285. Rees says, “This liberating task [of contextual theology] calls for imaginative proposals and thus for conceptual risk-taking.” We see this as standing in some tension with his call for a pre-defined checklist.

<sup>75</sup> Rees, "Beating around the Bush," 291.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

We agree with this criterion, although the first part of Rees' article points to conflicting value judgements about the goodness or otherwise of a culture and of the human capacity to experience it as such.<sup>78</sup>

Indigenous peoples and their theology must not be subject to such imported concerns in the first instance of any conversation. This thesis holds that the truthfulness or otherwise of Māori experience of God must first be articulated on their own terms.<sup>79</sup> For Māori, this requires not the virtue of humility but that of *pono*, a Māori term which stresses less the virtue of humility (with its attendant dangers) and more the reality and integrity of their relationship with God.

Rees' last three criteria relate to the impact or outcomes of a contextual theology.

Seventhly, "a contextual theology should be judged more adequate if it is *integrative* for the people and cultural situation where it is developed."<sup>80</sup> For Rees, if the theology is integrative, it will also be liberative and inclusive for them and their lifestyle and help them to discover appropriate forms and means of freedom. "This does not preclude introduction of elements into their culture and situation. Rather, it requires appropriate contextual work to explain and relate these matters into their situation."<sup>81</sup>

We agree with the intention of this criterion, particularly in terms of the first introduction of the Gospel into a culture, but again we ask: Who judges what is *integrative*? Our question again makes evident the presumption that something needs to be introduced into an indigenous situation, rather than the indigenous theologian finding the meanings that will be integrative and liberating for them in their own culture.

Eighthly, it "*enables further conversation* with other contextual theologies and other communities of faith, including people of other religious traditions."<sup>82</sup> It should be liveable, practicable. It aims to be "a living process, *a communal life in and with God*,

---

<sup>78</sup> Rees, "Beating around the Bush," 278-80.

<sup>79</sup> See C. Pearson, ed., *Doing Theology in Oceania: Partners in Conversation: Hanga Mahi Karaipiture i Te Moana Nui-a-Kiwa: Tūtaki Ā Kanohi, Kia Whakawhitiwhiti Kōrero*, Theology in Oceania Conference (Dunedin, N.Z.: Centre for Contextual Theology, School of Ministry, Knox College, 1996), 8. Pearson uses the term "intercultural hermeneutics" for the process whereby truth emerges in conversation and which resonates with both partners in conversation.

<sup>80</sup> Rees, "Beating around the Bush," 291.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid. Underlining added. Rees' use—twice—of the preposition 'into' is instructive.

<sup>82</sup> Rees, "Beating around the Bush," 292.

in the situation.”<sup>83</sup> It places “as much value on lived experience and discipleship as it does upon the ‘correctness’ of its doctrine.”<sup>84</sup> Māori indigenous theology agrees with these points.

Finally, Rees offers the criterion of *fruitfulness* “in the lives of the people, evoking from them creative worship, prayer and further insights into the character of God and their life of faith with God and with one another.”<sup>85</sup>

As always, we would add that the issue of who judges the fruitfulness is paramount, and note that further criteria of what constitutes fruitfulness in an indigenous community may differ from Rees’ list.<sup>86</sup>

### 1.5.3.2 Robert Schreiter and Stephen Bevans

We now turn to test our criteria for indigenous theology in conversation with Robert Schreiter and Stephen Bevans. Both work out of the framework of ‘models’ of theology for the purpose of mission in cultures other than their own.

Robert Schreiter is a North American. He proposes three models of, or approaches to, doing local theology—the translation, adaptation and contextual models. In the first two, the doers of the theology are of one context. They attempt to ‘translate’ or ‘adapt’ the theology of their own context to that of another context.<sup>87</sup> Schreiter further

---

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Rees, “Beating around the Bush,” 293.

<sup>86</sup> We note in closing that Rees’ article follows an exchange between Tony Kelly and Geoffrey Lilburne. Neither writer contemplates the possibility of an indigenous Australian theology, although Kelly, speaking of himself as theologian, accepts the imperative of making ‘the effort ... to register something of their experience, past and present.’ See Kelly, *A New Imagining*. See Lilburne, “Contextualising Australian Theology: An Inquiry into Method,” 350-364. Lilburne, “Contextualising Australian Theology.” Finally, see Kelly, “Whither ‘Australian Theology’?” 192-208, here 195.

<sup>87</sup> R. J. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1985), 11. Hereafter cited as Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*. Schreiter refers to three kinds of adaptation approach. In a first approach, expatriates work together with the local leaders to try to develop an explicit philosophy or picture of the world-view of the culture. But the picture that develops will run parallel to philosophical and to cultural anthropological models used in Western theologies as a basis for developing a local theology. The “adaptation” is seen in the redevelopment of these models in equivalent categories of the new culture. This approach bypasses the real contribution of the local—here, indigenous—faith community. It was further refined. In some places, local leaders were trained to use Western categories to give expression to factors shaping the world-view of their people. Here, local leaders were seeking to develop, with some authenticity, a theology with the categories, names, imagery and language of the local culture that would also be quite readily recognisable to, and understood by, Western theologians. In a third adaptation approach, he draws on the work of V. J. Donovan, *Christianity Rediscovered: An Epistle from the Masai* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1982). Here the method espoused is one of “planting the seed of faith and allowing it to interact with the native soil, leading to a new flowering of Christianity, faithful both to the local culture and to the apostolic faith.” Schreiter *op. cit.* 11. We would say that in each case the indigenous interest is secondary, and thus falls short of our criteria.

distinguishes the contextual models into ethnographic and liberation approaches. All these approaches concentrate “more directly on the cultural context in which Christianity takes root and receives expression.”<sup>88</sup>

Indigenous theology with its own contexts enters the discussion here. Schreiter is critical of the term ‘indigenous theology.’ For him it has a distinctively ‘colonialist’ ring that is “unsuited to the new perspective in theology.”<sup>89</sup> He thus prefers the term ‘contextual.’ Theologians from different third world contexts are now doing their own theology. Examples include “*feminist theology, black theology, Filipino theology, liberation theology, Asian-American theology, African theology,*” and others.<sup>90</sup>

When we subject Schreiter’s models to our criteria, we can affirm that indigenous theology is not so easily dismissed or related to colonial influence. Indigenous experience and issues in their own context bring a sharp edge to the debate about context, and call for indigenous people to develop their own theology appropriate to their unique context—and often precisely in order to transcend their colonial past. The translation and adaptation models do not meet our first criterion, for they presuppose the subjects of their theology are not Māori, in short, not indigenous. The contextual model offers space for indigenous people to do their own theology.

Stephen Bevans is a North American who writes from a largely American context with an interest in mission. He has carried the conversation further by expanding Schreiter’s three models into six. Without repeating what we have said of Schreiter, we will look more closely at the presuppositions at work in these forms of theology, and offer our own critique from our criteria for indigenous Māori theology.

#### 1.5.3.2.1                      **The translation model**

The first of Bevans’ six models is the translation model. Bevans notes that this model presupposes “that the essential message of Christianity is supracultural or supracontextual,”<sup>91</sup> and that an “essential supracultural message *can* be separated from a culturally bound model of expression.”<sup>92</sup> A second presupposition is that context, defined by experience, culture, social location and social change, is always ‘ancillary.’

---

<sup>88</sup> Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 12.

<sup>89</sup> Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 5.

<sup>90</sup> S. B. Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology: Faith and Cultures (Revised and Expanded Ed.)* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 2002), 3. Hereafter cited as Bevans, *Contextual Theology*.

<sup>91</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 40.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

It is always ‘subordinate’ to—and in the end it merely provides a vehicle for—the Gospel message. It provides the Gospel message with cultural clothing familiar to the ‘target’ people. Finally, in this model all cultures seem to be attributed the same basic structure, so that the unchanging Gospel message can, in principle, be translated equivalently ‘into’ every culture.

Bevans makes three critiques of the model. Firstly, he questions the idea that every culture is roughly similar to every other culture, as in “what is important in one culture will be important in another.”<sup>93</sup> Secondly, Bevans questions whether the key idea of the translation model—a supracultural “naked gospel”<sup>94</sup>—can ever exist in reality. It implies a naive and positivistic understanding of culture, which is inadequate in the face of a more complex description of culture as “all embracing, the matrix of every human attitude and linguistic expression.”<sup>95</sup> Thirdly, the propositional notion of revelation implicit in the model is likewise inadequate in the face of God’s presence in human cultural life and society.<sup>96</sup>

We accept these three critiques. We would also say that it meets none of our criteria. Māori ask the question: can we stay Māori in this model? The answer has to be “no,” because the cultural point of view in which the message is presented is not ours. The Māori culture remains always the object of translation and to that extent is not rightly recognised or acknowledged. In fact it is a violation. It belittles, if not despises, Māori culture.

Under our criterion (f)<sup>97</sup> Māori will ask, is the model reversible? Is it possible for Māori to be the host culture, and another culture the ‘target culture’? The answer has to be ‘no’ for the same reason: Māori would consider it unacceptable to belittle or to despise the culture of any other.

---

<sup>93</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 43.

<sup>94</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 43.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 44. In terms of a Māori viewpoint, the translation model was a start. We acknowledge the work of the early missionaries. It is clear that they operated with a translation model at a time when it was the only one available. It was a point of primary evangelisation. From the early 1800s, missionaries in the Bay of Islands and Hokianga made it their immediate task to learn the language in order to dialogue with Māori, the *tangata whenua* (indigenous people) of this land. Their priority was to grasp the language so they could preach, and translate into Māori the Bible, their various doctrines of faith, and their own *karakia* (prayers) and hymns. The setting up of printing presses became a priority: for the Church of England (1835, Paihia), for the Wesleyans (1836, Mangungu), and for the Catholics (1839, Kororāreka-Russell). See P. Parkinson and P. Griffith, eds., *Books in Māori 1815-1900: Ngā Tānga Reo Māori: An Annotated Bibliography* (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 2004), 33-78.

<sup>97</sup> That Māori theology “express the Christian mystery in a way that is fruitful for Māori, Pākehā and people of other places and cultures beyond Aotearoa New Zealand.”

### 1.5.3.2.2      **The anthropological model**

Bevans' second model is similar to Schreiter's adaptation model.<sup>98</sup> It focuses on the local cultural identity of Christians<sup>99</sup> and their unique way of articulating faith.<sup>100</sup> Bevans notes five presuppositions in this model. Human nature, and thus culture, is good, holy, and valuable. The practitioner looks for God's self-revelation in the values, patterns and concerns of the culture: it is creation-centred. This presupposes that revelation challenges but does not radically change the culture. It is the ordinary person to whom one must look for manifestation of the culture. Social sciences can help uncover the cultural reality in ordinary people's lives. Finally, it "uses the wisdom gleaned from inter-religious dialogue" (and thus other cultures) "as material for articulating a culturally sensitive theology."<sup>101</sup> Bevans values this model for its starting point in the human reality of the person in the culture, with their real questions and interests. The model, however, can run the risk of cultural romanticism. A culture is never static, and this model can romanticise the present culture without opening it up to needed change drawn from interaction with other cultures. It can close itself off from interdependence and global realities.<sup>102</sup>

This does not meet our first criterion, that the practitioner be Māori. That said, this model poses significant challenges to an indigenous theology, because it has the potential to meet nearly all our other criteria. In particular, it offers challenges with respect to the methods indigenous theology uses to study and name the indigenous culture. When Māori have the tools and ability to practice their own forms of anthropological analysis as Māori, then a dialogue among Māori can take place. The model also warns of the danger of romanticising 'the good old days' of the culture of pre-European times, or of a present romanticism which fails to acknowledge the limitations of present-day culture. Social scientific study methods may help to surface many of the realities of present-day Māori life, but we must ask: will it fulfil our criteria (b-e) and give us the categories we need to express a Māori sense of identity, and a constructive and practicable Māori theology? To this extent it may be judged helpful, and a necessary part of Māori theological methodology, but as a model on its own, it falls short of Māori needs.

---

<sup>98</sup> Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 9-12.

<sup>99</sup> Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 9.

<sup>100</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 55.

<sup>101</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 59.

<sup>102</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 60.

### 1.5.3.2.3 The praxis model

Bevans describes the praxis model as an action-reflection model focusing on the identity of Christians within a culture “that is understood in terms of social change.”<sup>103</sup> The praxis model of contextual theology envisages a theology that is done not simply by providing relevant expressions of Christian faith, but also by commitment to Christian action. This theology is the product of continual dialogue between these two aspects of Christian life.<sup>104</sup> Though the theology of liberation is closely associated with the praxis model, Bevans maintains that this approach does not necessarily have to take on liberation themes.<sup>105</sup>

Bevans notes six presuppositions. The model presupposes the importance and goodness of culture, understood in the wider terms as embracing political, social and cultural change. Its key presupposition is “that the highest level of knowing is intelligent and responsible doing.”<sup>106</sup> Theology is seen more as process in history than a way of thinking, and all members of a culture are called to this form of theologising. The practitioners value the importance of culture in the developing and understanding of faith but within a context of change. God’s revelation is seen as the liberating presence of God in history—particularly God’s solidarity in the events of life, “in social and economic structures” and “in situations of oppression.”<sup>107</sup>

Bevans values the model for “its method and its undergirding epistemology”<sup>108</sup> and its starting point in the life of the people who do the reflecting. It is “by nature wedded to a particular context.”<sup>109</sup> Bevans notes that this “model has come under some criticism, in its concrete form of liberation theology.”<sup>110</sup>

We give an initially positive response to this model. However, we do not use it as the primary model in this thesis, because of criterion (e) in our criteria for an indigenous Māori theology. To the extent that action grows out of theory, action is implicit in the thesis. This is particularly because appropriate analysis of lack of freedom (*noa*) as experienced by Māori<sup>111</sup> is offered in this thesis as a prior framework so that action can

---

<sup>103</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 70.

<sup>104</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 71.

<sup>105</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 73.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 75.

<sup>108</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 77.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 78.

<sup>111</sup> See Chapters 6 and 7.

be more specifically applied. Action which does not address this aspect of *noa* will otherwise itself be a cause of further violation of Māori people.

#### 1.5.3.2.4      **The synthetic model**

Bevans describes his synthetic model as the synthesis of the prior models as well as of the countercultural model yet to be presented. It creates a new synthesis that tries to preserve the importance of the gospel message and the heritage of traditional doctrinal formulations while at the same time acknowledging the vital role that culture has played and can play in theology, even to the setting of the theological agenda.<sup>112</sup>

Bevans sees five presuppositions. Cultures are composite, equal, and both unique and complementary. “Every culture can thus borrow and learn from every other culture and still remain unique.”<sup>113</sup> Culture is ambivalent: many features are good or bad depending on how they are used. For Bevans, only when cultures are in dialogue is there true human growth. Finally, revelation is culturally conditioned but also operative in each culture.<sup>114</sup>

For Bevans, dialogue is at the heart of this model with emphasis on the ongoing nature of contextualizing theology. It bears witness “to the true universality of the Christian faith.”<sup>115</sup> Every culture can learn from every other.<sup>116</sup> However, there are weaknesses. One culture “is always in danger of ‘selling out’ to another.”<sup>117</sup> The question arises: Who decides which culture gives way? The criticism can be levelled at the model that it is “too weak, too wishy-washy.”<sup>118</sup> What can emerge is a theology that is neither faithful to traditional concerns of Christianity nor to traditional cultural concerns and contemporary problems, but rather “a mere juxtaposition of ideas that really do not enhance one another.”<sup>119</sup>

Who should construct the theology? Can the ‘outsider’ play some part “in constructing a local theology, even though it may be quite limited and auxiliary?”<sup>120</sup> What is certain is that it is the primary role of cultural subjects to carry out the work of

---

<sup>112</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 89.

<sup>113</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 90.

<sup>114</sup> Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 247. “Missionaries cannot carry out inculturation. They are merely at the start of the process. They listen, stimulate and canalize.” For these presuppositions, see Bevans, *op. cit.*, 92.

<sup>115</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 94.

<sup>116</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 94-95.

<sup>117</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 94.

<sup>118</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 95.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 92.



inculturation.<sup>121</sup> Shorter agrees and strongly emphasises that “inculturation is essentially a community process.”<sup>122</sup> However, there is also the need for the presence of experts, “even sometimes missionaries from overseas, to give the community encouragement and to help it make the necessary discernment and the necessary critique of its own culture, and to promote the discovery of the seeds of the Word.”<sup>123</sup>

Indigenous persons raise further critiques. There is a danger when a proposed synthesis takes place between a dominant culture and a minority indigenous culture. In particular, our first criterion (a)—‘authentically Māori’—cannot stand here. Under this synthetic model, indigenous culture never stands in its own right but stands always in a synthesis of another or other cultures. Secondly, it must be asked: whose ‘synthesis’? If an indigenous person is to do theology for his or her own people, it will necessarily be a synthesis from an indigenous viewpoint, and the answer will be ‘ours.’ However, if at the outset we introduce dialogue into the encounter, then the answer raises further difficulties.

For right encounter and true dialogue there cannot be a place for a ‘barter theology’ whereby ‘you’ give up this particular point and ‘we’ give up our particular point in the name of a synthesis that is neither ‘ours’ nor ‘yours.’ This is what is meant under our criteria (b) and (c).<sup>124</sup> This is not to rule out dialogue, but it is to strengthen Bevans’ point that cultures are unique, and that mutual conversation is a presupposition of this model.

#### 1.5.3.2.5      **The transcendental model**

Bevans describes this model as seeking to construct a contextual theology, not by “producing a particular body of any kind of texts”<sup>125</sup> but rather by “attending to [the professedly ‘transcendental’] affective and cognitive operations in the self-transcending human subject.”<sup>126</sup> It switches the starting point “from beginning with a world of objects to beginning with the world of the subject, the interior world of the

---

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 92. Bevans quotes from Shorter, *Towards A Theology of Inculturation*, 254.

<sup>124</sup> Criterion (b): they must appeal immediately to Māori experience, thought forms, liturgy and general culture. Criterion (c): they must be drawn from, and refer back to, an essentially communitarian Māori context.

<sup>125</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 103.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

knowing subject,” who begins by attending to the dynamic of his or her own consciousness and desire to know.<sup>127</sup>

Bevans notes four presuppositions. Firstly, the starting point for theologising contextually begins “with one’s own religious experience and one’s own experience of oneself,”<sup>128</sup> and not by focusing on the gospel message, or tradition, or culture. Secondly, that which might seem private and personal is ‘transcendental’: it can articulate the experience of others who share one’s basic context—members of one’s generation, of one’s culture, of one’s nation. Thirdly, “God’s revelation is not ‘out there,’”<sup>129</sup> but within human experience. Finally, “while every person is truly historically and culturally conditioned in terms of the content of thought, the human mind nevertheless operates in identical ways in all cultures and at all periods of history.”<sup>130</sup>

The universal claim is the great presupposition of this model. On the other hand, for Bevans this universality “is not really universal at all.”<sup>131</sup> Rather, it “is the product of western, male-dominated cultural thought forms. Do people really come to understand in the same way?”<sup>132</sup> Bevans further asks: “if *subjective authenticity* is the criterion for authentic theology, what or who provides the criterion of subjective authenticity?”<sup>133</sup>

There is a danger of subjectivity in the sense of relativity or of individualism without genuine dialogue. This model may be better described as an ideal, or “a ‘metamodel’ that lays down the condition of possibility of any contextual theological thinking.”<sup>134</sup>

From an indigenous point of view, we agree with Bevans’ critique. But while the appeal to authenticity is attractive, on the other hand, the appeal to subjectivity is less so. Criteria (a), (b) and especially (c) apply. In the face of Māori communal consciousness, the model is reductive in its starting point.

---

<sup>127</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 103-04. Bevans quotes B. Lonergan, *Method in Theology*, 2nd ed. (New York: Herder & Herder, 1973), 292. Hereafter cited as Lonergan, *Method in Theology*. “Genuine objectivity is the fruit of authentic subjectivity.” (Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 104). He could also have noted as an example of this model, Karl Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith: An Introduction to the Idea of Christianity*, trans. William V. Dych, 1st ed. (London: Darton, Longman, Todd, 1978), 14-19. Hereafter cited as Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith*.

<sup>128</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 104.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 105.

<sup>131</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 108.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

The appeal to our indigenous ‘structures of knowing’ and to our indigenous authenticity subverts our experience of ourselves and of reality. We are not first knowers and then indigenous knowers. ‘We’ are ‘we’ only in a wide network of relationships, which are not prior to our knowing, but which are, indeed, a condition of possibility for our knowing. When we think or speak it is always as Māori. Our subjectivity is our culture.

In his revised and expanded edition, Bevans has added a sixth model which he calls the countercultural model.<sup>135</sup>

#### 1.5.3.2.6      **The countercultural model**

Bevans describes this model as one which takes culture and context seriously while exercising a strong critical function over against it. Not everything in a culture is necessarily good.<sup>136</sup> The key is to allow “the gospel to take the lead in the process so that the context is shaped and formed by the reality of the gospel and not vice versa.”<sup>137</sup> Context is thus taken seriously and affirmed, but the model radically distrusts its sanctity and revelational power. Context needs to be challenged by the gospel’s liberating and healing power.<sup>138</sup> An illuminating analogy used is one where “the ‘native soil’ of a particular” culture “needs to be weeded and fertilized in order that the seeds can be planted”<sup>139</sup> and enabled to grow. This model claims “that the gospel represents an all-encompassing, radically alternative worldview that differs profoundly from human experiences of the world and the cultures that humans create.”<sup>140</sup>

---

<sup>135</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 117-37.

<sup>136</sup> Bevans, 118 and passim. Bevans notes that a number of practitioners of this model originate in the West, and are strongly critical of their own ‘Western’ culture, recognizing that some aspects of it are deeply anti-Christian. For example, Pope John Paul II has described the “culture of death” rampant in contemporary society that needs to be confronted and healed by the “Gospel of life.” Pope John Paul II, *Evangelium Vitae: The Gospel of Life* (Homebush, N.S.W.: St Paul, 1995), see no’s. 28, 95, 100.

<sup>137</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 119.

<sup>138</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 118.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

Bevans notes four presuppositions. The first “is the radical ambiguity and insufficiency of human context.”<sup>141</sup> The second is the ability of the gospel “to penetrate every culture and to speak”<sup>142</sup> critically to it. The gospel “calls into question all cultures, including the one in which it was originally embodied.”<sup>143</sup>

Christians “encounter” or “engage with” the human context in order to communicate the gospel with “faithfulness and relevance.”<sup>144</sup> Third, the model is deeply critical of contemporary western culture as particularly resistant to the gospel message.<sup>145</sup> A fourth presupposition is that “the gospel encounters or engages the human context by its concretization in the Christian community, the church.”<sup>146</sup> The church community is itself a “contrast community,” where the gospel is lived counterculturally, “over against the surrounding context of materialism, individualism, consumerism, militarism, and quick gratification.”<sup>147</sup> Its members, as “formed and transformed Christians, live and work in the world”<sup>148</sup> and witness to these contrasting Gospel values.

While much of this model is attractive, our criteria (a), (b) and (c) would reply that it reflects a dominant cultural stance. An indigenous culture, struggling for survival in the midst of an already noxious dominant culture, hears the rhetoric of this model with deep suspicion. The rhetoric of generalising cultures as ‘insufficient’ or even deficient (“the human context is never enough”)<sup>149</sup>—even by contrast with ‘The Gospel’—is perceived with alarm by someone whose very culture is in danger of extinction by a dominant culture. Thus the critique is: Who decides? Who operates the encounter? Whose Church is the countercultural one? Another presupposition of the model is that it seems to be context-specific to the West, in which the Western European culture is

---

<sup>141</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 120.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 121. He quotes from L Newbigin, *Foolishness to the Greeks: The Gospel and Western Culture* (London: SPCK, 1986), 4. Bevans refers often in this model to the “thought of Newbigin” whom he acknowledges as an emerging and major spokesperson for the kind of theological dynamic that this model has developed.

<sup>144</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 119-120.

<sup>145</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 122.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid. Bevans acknowledges that the term “contrast community” is used by Gerhard Lohfink. Lohfink seems rather to use the term “contrast-society.” See G. Lohfink, *Jesus and Community: The Social Dimension of Christian Faith* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 122.

<sup>148</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 123.

<sup>149</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 120-124.

indeed the dominant one, even if Christians there see themselves as ‘over against’ this dominant culture.<sup>150</sup>

In Māori terms, if this model is used as a function of the dominant culture, then it espouses a *takahi* (trampling) of the *tapu* and *mana*<sup>151</sup> of an indigenous people. If, on the other hand, it is used of indigenous culture and satisfies our criteria (a-c), then it is a strong affirmation of the need for indigenous persons to develop their own indigenous theology, and thereby, *as* indigenous, to analyse with integrity their own context and, *as* indigenous, to ‘encounter’ and ‘engage with’ the Gospel within their indigenous context and *thence* to make their own countercultural critique.

In conclusion, though this model proposes “to be *countercultural*” and not “*anticultural*,” yet the danger of being anticultural does persist.<sup>152</sup> There will always be accusations by indigenous people against early missionaries of destroying cultures in their efforts to preach the gospel.

#### 1.5.3.4 Conclusion

We have brought our criteria for indigenous Māori theology into dialogue with the thought of Darragh, Rees, Schreiter and Bevans, with a view to examining contemporary discussion for insights about what constitutes precisely an indigenous theology.

Our conclusion has been both negative and positive. By our criteria, we have found the contemporary discussion not yet adequate for a fully indigenous contextual theology. On the positive side, the discussion opens up perspectives for Māori which stimulate them—and other indigenous peoples—to develop criteria for indigenous theology appropriate to their context. For the present, we will continue with the criteria which we have developed, and we will attempt to develop a constructive Māori theology based upon Māori terms and concepts that are sourced with Māori culture and tradition, and upon their systematic interrelationship.

---

<sup>150</sup> See Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 127-137. This is evident in Bevans’ account of the critiques of Newbigin in regard to British culture (see Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 121-122), and those of the Gospel of Our Culture Network (GOCN), and of Michael J. Baxter. An indigenous reader notes with suspicion that there is not a single reference by these writers to any of the indigenous Indian Nations of North America. In fact, in Bevans’ whole work, there is similarly no mention of them.

<sup>151</sup> Here, we relate *tapu* to being, dignity and worth, and *mana* to spiritual power and authority. We will see the fuller explanation of the concepts of ‘*tapu*’ and ‘*mana*’ in their respective Chapters, Two and Three.

<sup>152</sup> Bevans, *Contextual Theology*, 125.

This concludes our *kaupapa*, which must always be kept closely linked with *tikanga*. We will now proceed to expound another aspect of our *kaupapa*, namely, the methodology that we will use in this thesis.

### 1.6.0 *Tikanga*—methodology

We now turn to the *tikanga* or method that this thesis will follow.

The *tikanga* we follow must first acknowledge that this thesis has grown from long personal involvement with Māori people. The starting point has been a sharing of their life and context together with a continuous dialogue with many groups about issues important to them. It is out of this context that the present writer has then chosen and researched the concepts which are to be found in this thesis, and integrated them into the systematic framework presented. As we have said, the criteria for this choice are twofold: firstly, the concepts must ideally pre-date the European settlement and the missionary Church that followed.<sup>153</sup> Secondly, they must be current in contemporary Māori language and usage.<sup>154</sup>

Then, as a second step, once the systematic beginnings were in place, there followed a further period of dialogue with all sorts of groups.<sup>155</sup> In these circumstances, effort was made to apply the principles in the search for contemporary solutions and understandings. Feedback from those involved then led to further refinement of the systematics.

The third element of the *tikanga* is that the entire project has been done by a Christian with the intention that the systematics be Christian, or at least Christian-inspired. *Karakia* and *ritenga* (ritual) have been part of every encounter and thereby of the context. This is important to note, because Darragh has characterised theology of this type as “not explicitly Christian, but yet, not thereby, pre-Christian, or non-Christian.”<sup>156</sup> Part of our response will emerge in what follows.

---

<sup>153</sup> See our discussion under 1.5.2.3 above.

<sup>154</sup> Against the possible critique of a Romantic retrieval of an idealised past, this criterion insists that the concepts and thought forms must be dynamic enough to address today’s situations.

<sup>155</sup> For example, over the years we have dialogued not only with various tribal groups and church groups, but with a variety of government departments (Justice, Social Services, Prisons, Health, Education) and other interest groups on a wide range of issues, including land claims, social policy, education, mental health, prison chaplaincy, and *whānau* development programmes, to name a few. Dialogue—and the sharing of history—has also been part of our role in opening many Māori meeting houses, and conducting initiatives and programmes. We estimate the number of participants in this process to have been at least 3,100 in the last fourteen years.

<sup>156</sup> See Darragh, *Contextual Method*, 55.

The fourth element of this *tikanga* is that it aims to be foundational, in the sense of laying foundations upon which further work, explicitly Christian and explicitly theological, may be carried out.

To this extent this thesis is, from a classical Western Christian theological point of view, pre-theological. But it is not pre-theological from a Māori point of view, because it presupposes Māori experience of God and leads Māori to God. As Rees notes:

Cultural forms have a “different priority and integrity” which precedes theology, in the sense that we must use these elements in order to apprehend the Word of God. This presupposition, however, is never allowed a theological priority.<sup>157</sup>

What is of crucial importance to note is that, in our case, the writer and many of those who contributed are *Christian* Māori. If the Word of God is not to be “imported from elsewhere” then the argument has to be that revelation in Māori cultural forms must be listened to and brought to expression. To repeat, it is a case of *indigenous* faith seeking *indigenous* understanding. In this respect, part of the methodology is to try and construct what is possible from within the Māori tradition. This is the first step. Only after it makes sense to Māori from within, should it be brought into dialogue with the Christian tradition.

Others to whom we may refer are the Canadian Bernard Lonergan<sup>158</sup> and the German Karl Rahner,<sup>159</sup> both of whom sought to provide a transcendental analysis of the knowing subject that may be described as pre-theological, but that then provided the foundation for a greater and explicitly Christian theological project.<sup>160</sup>

Lonergan makes a helpful distinction in his chapter on ‘Foundations’ in his *Method in Theology*. He distinguishes between general and special theological categories. The former can be derived not from revelation but from analysis of human transcendental operations; the latter presuppose the general categories that may be shared with other disciplines, but they are drawn strictly from “grace” and “must refer to supernatural

---

<sup>157</sup> Rees, “Beating around the Bush,” 275-276. The quote contained is from Lilburne, “Contextualising Australian Theology,” 358.

<sup>158</sup> See Lonergan, *Method in Theology*, 292. Tony Kelly draws from Lonergan’s method in his search for an ‘Australian Theology.’ See T. Kelly, *A New Imagining*, 352ff.

<sup>159</sup> Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith*, 14-19.

<sup>160</sup> We have critiqued these authors in the transcendental model above. A further significant difference is that their ‘turn to the subject’ was to the individual knowing subject, whereas Māori theology is intrinsically communitarian. Māori know themselves, and their knowing as knowing, is intrinsically connected with their *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi* in their multiple relationships with *Atua* and *whenua*.

entities, for grace is tied up with God's loving gift of himself to us."<sup>161</sup> The former presuppose the human subject; the latter the Christian subject "genuinely in love with God."<sup>162</sup> In that sense, this thesis is working at the level of general theological categories, with the proviso that we have criticised Lonergan's overall framework as too reductive for Māori.<sup>163</sup>

Another analogy may come from the Roman Catholic traditions of seminary formation and of fundamental theology. In the former, the study of philosophy precedes the study of theology and subsequently provides many of the categories within the teaching of theology; in the latter, fundamental issues are thought through in dialogue with a wide variety of disciplines, but from a perspective of faith.<sup>164</sup> For us, the notion of 'theological foundations' most adequately describes our work.

At a later stage it is hoped that the framework offered here can be tested as to its potential fruitfulness by being employed in constructing some of the traditional theological subjects—in Lonergan's terms, using special theological categories—such as Christology, Christian Anthropology and so on. The testing will have two criteria. One will be its fruitfulness<sup>165</sup> for Māori, to help them enter into the Christian mystery on their own terms.<sup>166</sup> The other will be its fruitfulness for dialogue with other, non-Māori forms of Christian theology in the interests of developing new frameworks that encompass our common past and our ecumenical and bicultural hopes.<sup>167</sup> We now turn to the methodology used in individual chapters.

---

<sup>161</sup> Lonergan, *Method in Theology*, 290.

<sup>162</sup> Op. Cit., 292.

<sup>163</sup> See note 157.

<sup>164</sup> See R. Latourelle, "Fundamental Theologian," in *Dictionary of Fundamental Theology*, ed. R. Fisichella and R. Latourelle (New York: Crossroad, 2000), 320-323. As we have noted, this whole thesis has been developed as an act of Christian faith.

<sup>165</sup> See also Rees' criterion of fruitfulness in *Beating around the Bush*, 299. Rees adds that some expressions of fruitfulness will be seen in the local people writing songs, developing new forms of community gathering, engaging in political struggles, and initiating local forms of leadership, worship and witness.

<sup>166</sup> See D. A. Mihesuah and A. C. Wilson, "Indigenous Scholars Versus the Status Quo," *American Indian Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (2002): 145-148. They insist that indigenous scholars be accountable to their own tribes for how they portray their histories and culture, even when this is in tension with the 'gatekeeping' of the classical Academy.

<sup>167</sup> Schreiter speaks of the criteria of mutual challenge, from other churches (the tradition) to the local form of theology and vice versa. It is essential that a local church not "close itself off from both communion and judgement." See Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 119-120.



### 1.6.1 *Tikanga applied to individual chapters*

We can summarise our mode of proceeding as follows. Firstly, we will introduce the concept that is the subject of the chapter in question. Secondly, we will examine word usage pertaining to the concept, attempting (insofar as is possible) to ground it critically in early sources. Then we will examine contemporary usage. Thirdly, we will provide our own systematic definition of the concept within the framework of the thesis. Fourthly, we will offer an analysis of the constituent parts of the definition. Lastly, we will develop some systematic relationship between the concept in question and the other concepts proposed in the general framework of the thesis.

## 1.7.0 **The foundational concepts of the thesis and their relationships**

We will introduce the foundational concepts of the thesis in two related ways. Firstly, we will introduce three concepts that underlie all the others in the thesis. Secondly, we will introduce the other ten concepts of the thesis.

### 1.7.1 *Atua, Tangata and Whenua*

Throughout the thesis, in every chapter these three concepts form our major framework for analysis of every individual concept. Their relationship can be set out in a diagram as follows:

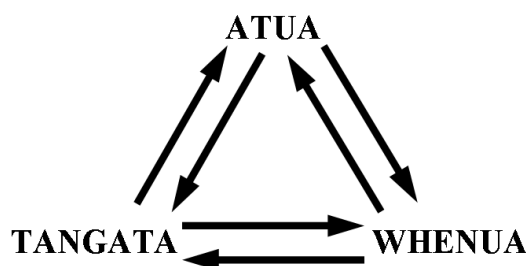


Diagram 1

In Māori consciousness, these three sets of relationships constitute who we are. They are not reducible to one or two sets, and they are dynamically interrelated in the following sense: if one enhances one's relationship with *Atua*, one's relationship with *tangata*, and with *whenua*, is thereby also enhanced. If one's relationship with *Atua* is diminished, one's relationship with the other two (*tangata* and *whenua*) is likewise negatively affected. The same applies if we make *tangata* or *whenua* the starting point. We now offer a brief definition of each.

### 1.7.1.1 *Atua*

This thesis affirms the existence of a Supreme Being. The issue about whether Māori always believed in a supreme being above any lesser pantheon of gods, and issues about the naming of God are outside the primary focus of this thesis. They are, however, discussed in some detail in Appendix A.

Early Christian missionaries encountered creation stories among Māori when they arrived—stories which explained the origins of land, of human beings, and of various guardians of different realms of creation such as the sea, the forests, and the like.

These guardians—named *atua*—were clearly not supreme beings. If we follow the logic of the creation stories, then the Supreme Being is supreme precisely because it created everything else. The *atua* then become expressions of what in Christian theology is providence, but in spheres specific to each. The relationship of these spheres of creation to one another appears to be grounded only in the unity of the Creator who brought them into being. The *atua* relate back to their creator and thence to one another. This is expressed in the creation stories by the notion that they are children, and indeed siblings.

The missionaries seized upon this pre-existent term ‘*atua*’ to name the Christian God. In written language they used the capitalised form—*Atua*—to distinguish it from lesser *atua*.

This choice of naming is not without controversy. One disputed alternative name for God is *Io*, which may have been used by some Māori tribes to name the Supreme Being before the arrival of the European.<sup>168</sup> For the purposes of this thesis, we use the term *Atua* in naming God.

### 1.7.1.2 *Tangata*

In a generic sense, *tangata* is the human being, the human race, a race of people, as distinct from other existing realities in creation.<sup>169</sup> *Tangata* is an individual person, and simultaneously a member of the *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi*<sup>170</sup> (the tribe or the collective of the *whānau* and *hapū*). The term applies to the individual, irrespective of age or gender, or nationality. In the plural form, *tāngata* refers to two or more individuals.

---

<sup>168</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>169</sup> The topic of *tangata* is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two, Sections Two and Three, dealing with *te tapu o te tangata* and *te tapu i te tangata*, respectively.

<sup>170</sup> The term “*iwi*” also means “bones.”

### 1.7.1.3 **Whenua**

*Whenua* is the land in all its physical and geographical features. It is land as country. *Ko te whenua tēnei o Aotearoa* (This is the country of Aotearoa). It is land as territory. *Ko te rohe whenua tēnā o Ngai Tahu* (That is the territory of *Ngai Tahu*). It is the ground on which we tread. *Whenua* provides sustenance for *tangata* and all other living creatures. It gives *tangata* a sense of identity and belonging.<sup>171</sup> Created realities such as *rangi* (the sky and the heavens), *whetū* (the stars), *rā* (the sun), *marama* (moon), *hau* (the winds), and the like are here understood as aspects of the creation that have an influence upon the *whenua*.

The creation stories referred to above describe the *atua kaitiaki* (guardian spirits, spiritual powers), as having responsibility for various spheres of creation which live upon the land or in the *moana* (sea).<sup>172</sup>

In this view, plants, trees, birds, animals, sea creatures, fish, and all living organisms find their place within a providential ordering of creation. In this thesis, when we refer to *whenua* we include all these realities—in their own complex relationships with *Atua* and *tangata* and with one another. To further specify them is beyond the scope of this thesis.

These three sets of relationships—*Atua*, *Tangata* and *Whenua*—will be held together throughout the thesis.

### 1.7.2 **Ten further foundational concepts**

We have looked firstly at *Atua*, *Tangata* and *Whenua*. The remaining ten concepts of our thesis which form the the subject of the following seven chapters are:

<i>Tapu</i>	(being and its relationships)
<i>Mana</i>	(spiritual power and authority)
<i>Pono</i>	(truth, integrity)
<i>Tika</i>	(right order, right response)

<sup>171</sup> *Whenua* is discussed in greater detail in sections 2.5.4 and 2.6.5 dealing with *te tapu o te whenua* and *te tapu i te whenua*, respectively.

<sup>172</sup> While *moana* can be considered in itself, and thus in its own relationship to *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*, for the purposes of this thesis, we choose to include it within the category of *whenua*. *Moana* laps the *whenua* and is nourished in turn by the *whenua*. The fruits of *moana* are for the well-being of *tangata*. Ancient claims for *mana* over the *whenua* always included a claim to *mana* over the surrounding *moana*, and specifically its *tauranga ika* (fishing grounds), shellfish beds, and other resources. Contemporary claims to fishing rights follow the same argument. Ecological issues such as the run-down of fishing stocks and pollution of the sea and waterways now invite Māori to revisit the principles of *te tapu i te moana* and *te tapu o te moana*. But that is beyond the scope of this thesis.

<i>Aroha</i>	(love, affection and compassion)
<i>Tūranga</i>	(roles)
<i>Kaiwhakakapi tūranga</i>	(role players)
<i>Whakanoa</i>	(the act of violation of <i>tapu</i> and <i>mana</i> )
<i>Hohou rongo</i>	(principle and process whereby <i>tapu</i> and <i>mana</i> are restored)
<i>Te Wā</i>	(time, stages, goal, fulfilment)

At this point we simply name these concepts with their general meanings.

### 1.7.3 **Diagram of the foundational concepts of the thesis, and their relationships**

The circle in Diagram 2 below provides a visual overview of the systematic content and outline of the thesis. A circle is chosen because all of the topics are dynamically interconnected and all relate to the goal at the centre of the circle. The arrows make this clear. Situated around the outside of the circle are the topics or concepts to be addressed.

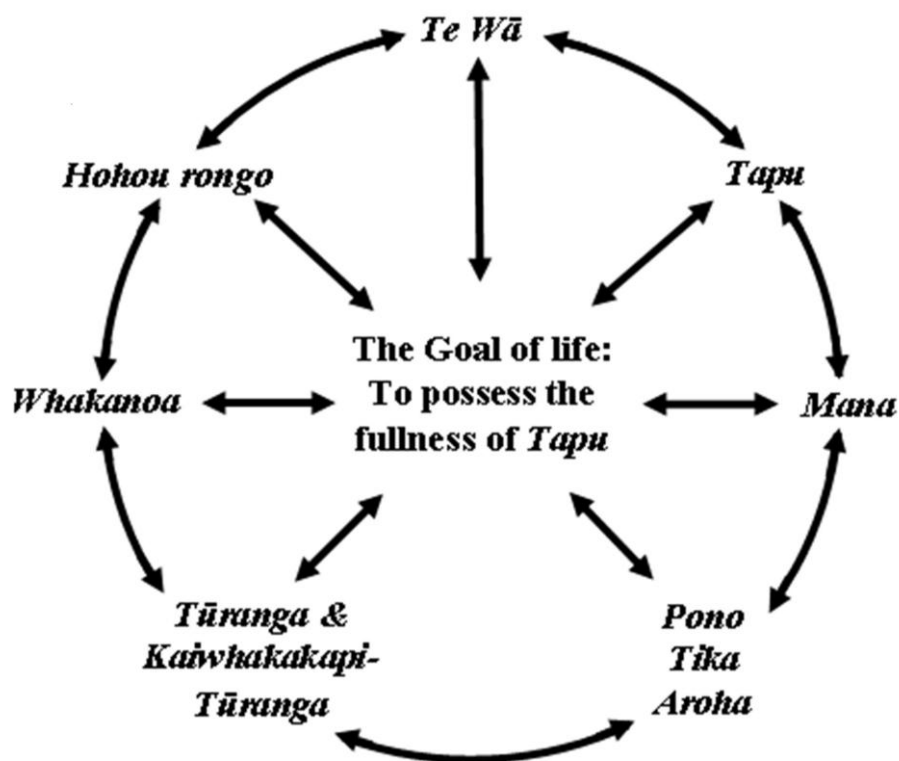


Diagram 2

It is immediately clear that the goal of life—the possession of the fullness of *tapu*—is at the centre of the circle as its goal. Around the circle are ten concepts grouped under seven items or clusters. They will form the basis of the following chapters.

### 1.8.0 The structure of the thesis

As will now be clear, Chapter One has introduced the purpose and content of the thesis and the method that will be used towards developing an authentic indigenous Māori Theology.

Chapter Two addresses the topic of *Tapu*.<sup>173</sup> *Tapu* is the foundational principle of the systematics: without it none of the other elements would exist. Each other principle then presupposes *tapu* and addresses it either in itself or in its links.

From *tapu*, proceeds *mana*. Chapter Three presents *Mana* as a second foundational concept in the thesis. The nature of *mana* and its relationship with *tapu* is elaborated in some detail. As with *tapu*, it will then underlie all the other chapters.

Chapter Four presents *Pono*, *Tika*, and *Aroha* as three principles directing the proper exercise of *mana*, whereby it addresses, enhances and restores *tapu*.

Chapter Five shows that *Tūranga*, and *Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* form an essential part of Māori society. This chapter considers their place in our systematics, namely the manner in which they exercise *mana* in appropriate times and places with a view to the addressing, enhancing and restoring of *tapu* and *mana*.

Chapter Six presents the concept of *Whakanoa* as violation of *tapu* and of *mana*, and *Noa* as the state of diminishment and disempowerment that is the result of violation. It is the presupposition upon which Chapter Seven is based.

Chapter Seven treats *Hohou rongo*, considered as the principle of restoring *tapu* and *mana* that has been violated and diminished. It will also consider the process whereby *hohou rongo* is achieved.

---

<sup>173</sup> At this point, a brief translation is given for the Māori words in these chapter summaries. All Terms will be analysed in detail in the thesis.

Chapter Eight presents *Te Wā* as a Māori understanding of time, stages, goal and fulfilment. The concept is examined and analysed in reference to those moments in life where *tapu* is addressed and *mana* is exercised. These moments are set in relation to their ultimate goal in people's lives, and to the fulfilment of *te wā*—the total possession of *tapu*. The negative consequences of failure to act at appropriate moments of *te wā* are also analysed.

Finally, a brief conclusion summarises the argument of the thesis and points to its possible applications in theological, social, legal, educational and cultural fields.

We now turn to Chapter Two, and the topic of *Tapu*.

## CHAPTER TWO

### *TAPU*

#### 2.1.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we will look at the concept of *Tapu*. Firstly, we will survey the word usage surrounding the term. Secondly, we offer a definition of *Tapu*. Then we will reflect on three perspectives of *tapu*; namely, *tapu* restrictions, *te tapu o*, and *te tapu i*. A section will be devoted to each of these perspectives.

In Section One, we will look at the more traditional understanding of *tapu*, in the sense of *tapu* restrictions.

In Section Two, we will propose an equally traditional understanding of *tapu*, which is captured in the phrase ‘*te tapu o*.’<sup>1</sup> We will define this term and relate it to *Atua*, *Tangata* and *Whenua*. We will then relate it to *tapu* restrictions.

In Section Three we will present a third systematic understanding of *tapu*, which is captured in the phrase ‘*te tapu i*.’<sup>2</sup> This is a relatively new understanding which we propose in this thesis. We will define this term and relate it to *Atua*, *Tangata* and *Whenua*. We will then relate it to ‘*te tapu o*’ and to *tapu* restrictions. In the conclusion to this chapter, we will relate *Tapu* to the overall structure of the thesis.

#### 2.2.0 Word usage

*Tapu* is a word which has a broad range of meanings for Māori. H. W. Williams records four meanings for *tapu*:

1. Under religious or superstitious restriction—a condition affecting persons, places, and things, and arising from innumerable causes; 2. Beyond one’s power, inaccessible; 3. Sacred (mod.); 4. Ceremonial restriction, quality or condition of being subject to such restriction.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> In Māori language, the phrase ‘*te tapu o*’ is not complete on its own. It needs to be tied in a sentence to existing realities, as in *te tapu o te Atua*, *te tapu o te Tangata* and *te tapu o te Whenua*. However, we use the phrase on its own because, by doing it this way, we are able to identify and reflect systematically on elements of *tapu* that are common to *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

<sup>2</sup> The same comment applies to ‘*te tapu i*’ as to ‘*te tapu o*’ in footnote 1.

<sup>3</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 385. “Mod.” is an abbreviation of “Modern.”

Buck relates *tapu* in a general sense to “sanctity.”

The *tapu* of a chief is difficult to define, but it is probably best regarded as a form of personal sanctity. The *ariki* (chief) inherited it ... and he inherited the *tapu* observances which his family had created in previous generations.<sup>4</sup>

For Māori Marsden, *tapu* is close to the Jewish idea of the “sacred” and the “holy.” He defines *tapu* in the primary sense as:

the sacred state or condition of a person or things placed under the patronage of the gods. The person or object is thus removed from the sphere of the profane and put into the sphere of the sacred. It is untouchable. No longer to be put to common use.<sup>5</sup>

“This untouchable quality... is the main element in the concept of *tapu*. In other words, the object is sacred and any profane use is sacrilege, breaking the law of *tapu*.”<sup>6</sup> Marsden goes on to say that “in a secondary sense, a *tapu* object may be classified as an accursed or unclean (*poke*) thing. The condition of *tapu* is transmitted by contact or association and a person can be contaminated and polluted by it.”<sup>7</sup> Cleve Barlow also links *tapu* with being sacred and set apart, but in the sense of being under the power and influence of the gods.<sup>8</sup>

Michael Shirres maintains that, according to the evidence of Māori writings of the 1840s and 1850s, ‘forbidden’ or ‘restricted’ is not the only meaning of *tapu*, nor even its primary meaning. From his studies of this early material, Shirres puts forward one view that describes *tapu* as “being with potentiality for power.”

The secondary meaning sees *tapu* as the “*mana* of the spiritual powers,” of *Tāne*, *Tū*, *Rongo* and so on. Shirres makes a further, contemporary, distinction between intrinsic *tapu* and extensions of *tapu*.

---

<sup>4</sup> Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, 346.

<sup>5</sup> Maori Marsden, “God, Man and Universe: A Maori View,” in *Te Ao Hurihuri, Aspects of Maoritanga*, ed. M. King (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 1992), 117-37. Here 121. Hereafter cited as Marsden, *God, Man and Universe*.

<sup>6</sup> Marsden, *God, Man and Universe*, 119

<sup>7</sup> Marsden, *God, Man and Universe*, 121

<sup>8</sup> See C. Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro: Key Concepts in Māori Culture* (Victoria, Aus.: Oxford University Press, 2004), 128. Hereafter cited as Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*. “First and foremost, *tapu* is the power and influence of the gods. Everything has inherent *tapu* because everything was created by Io (Supreme God) ... The land has *tapu* as well as the oceans, rivers and forests, and all living things that are upon the earth. Likewise, mankind has *tapu*. In the first instance, man is *tapu* because he is created by the gods. Secondly, he becomes *tapu* in accordance with his desire to remain under the influence and protective powers of the gods.” The exclusive language is Barlow’s.



The intrinsic *tapu* are those that are *tapu* in themselves. These are the primary *tapu*. The extensions of *tapu* are the restrictions.<sup>9</sup>

### 2.3.0 Definition of *tapu*

We are now in a position to draw on this word usage and offer our own definition of *tapu*.

***Tapu* is one concept that has three related perspectives. Firstly, *tapu* is the restricted or controlled access to other beings—*Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. Secondly, *tapu* is ‘being,’ understood as ‘being-in-itself.’ Thirdly, *tapu* is being-in-relationships with primary being or with other beings, such that the relationships enhance, sustain, restore, and empower those in relationship.**

It is sufficient for now to accept this definition without further analysis. The first part of the definition—restricted or controlled access to other beings—will be studied in Section One of this Chapter, immediately following this definition. The second part, *tapu* as ‘being-in-relationship’ will be studied in Section Two; and the third part, *tapu* as ‘being-in-itself’ will be studied in Section Three. It needs to be noted that the latter two parts are developments that this writer is proposing.

---

<sup>9</sup> Michael P. Shirres, *Te Tangata: The Human Person* (Auckland, N.Z.: Accent, 1997), 33. Hereafter cited as Shirres, *Te Tangata*. For *Tāne*, *Tū*, *Rongo*, see Appendix A: footnote 1.

## 2.4.0 Section One: *Tapu* restrictions

In this section, we will reflect on the nature of *tapu* restrictions. We will show that the purpose of *tapu* restrictions is, firstly, to restrict access so as to protect against violation of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*, and secondly, to ensure the continued existence, and enhancement of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

### 2.4.1 Definition of *tapu* restrictions

We now offer the following definition and some points that further qualify the definition.

***Tapu* restrictions, in general, form a system of restrictions or prohibitions. They restrict the encounters of *tangata* with other *tāngata*, with *whenua*, and with *Atua*. They restrict the access of *tangata* to objects and *taonga* (special possessions).**

*Tapu* restrictions are commonly expressed in negative forms such as: Do not approach those people. Do not have contact with the deceased person. Do not collect seafood from that area. Do not go on to the *marae* (area of land on which the whare hui<sup>10</sup> stands). Do not enter that *wāhi tapu* (forbidden or sacred place). Do not chop down that tree. Do not touch that *taonga* (treasured object). Some *tapu* restrictions bind some people and not others. During a *tangi* (bereavement), for example, the *tūpoupou* (woman beside the casket) is forbidden to leave her place to go to the kitchen to cook. The same restriction applies to the *kaikaranga* (the caller) and the *kaimihi* (the speaker). There are other *tapu* restrictions that apply to particular activities at particular times, such as fishing during the spawning season. Sometimes, restrictions are in place for the duration of a particular operation. A *tapu* restriction is often placed on people, other than the builders, to restrict access to a *whare hui* whilst it is being built. If restrictions are put in place to regulate certain *mahi* (actions of encounter), then they should also apply to other forms of encounter such as *whakaaro* (thoughts), *wairua* (attitude), and *kōrero* (speech).

*Tapu* restrictions and the rituals of acknowledging, imposing and lifting restrictions are set within the protocols of *tikanga Māori* (the norms of right and proper conduct), established and proven over time. Most common of all *tikanga* is the *pōwhiri* (welcome ceremony). Here it is made quite clear that *tapu* restrictions are in place to deter *manuhiri* (visitors) from proceeding unannounced on to the *marae*.

---

<sup>10</sup> Meeting house.

#### 2.4.1.1 **The purpose of *tapu* restrictions**

A study of the examples provided shows that the primary purpose of *tapu* restrictions is to restrict the access of *tangata* to *Atua*, to other *tāngata* and to *whenua*. The reason for the restriction is to ensure there is no *whakanoa* (violation) in the encounter, and hence the negative command forbidding access is given. Underlying the negative command there is a positive aspect requiring that *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* are properly addressed and acknowledged.

#### 2.4.1.2 **The source of *tapu* restrictions**

*Tapu* restrictions arise from the intrinsic nature of being, whether considered in itself, or in relationship with other intrinsic being. Consequently, the existence of *tapu* restrictions does not depend on the knowledge of *tangata*. They exist whether people know about them or not. However, at times, there may be a need to promulgate the existence of *tapu* restrictions for those who may not be aware of links, such as a drowning accident and restricted access to that particular beach. Ultimately, the source and fulfilment of all *tapu* restrictions is *Atua*.

#### 2.4.1.3 ***Tapu* restrictions in relation to *Atua***

The primary purpose of *tapu* restrictions in relation to *Atua* is, firstly, to ensure restricted access of *tangata* to *Atua*, whether by *whakaaro*, *wairua*, *kōrero* or by *mahi* (work), so that there is no *whakanoa* (violation) of *Atua*.<sup>11</sup> Though the command is expressed in a negative way by restricting access to *Atua*, and forbidding violation of *Atua*, there is a positive aspect that demands acknowledgement of and respect for the intrinsic being of *Atua*. Secondly, *tapu* restrictions restrict access to *te tapu o te Atua*, the creative presence of *Atua* in creation, so that there may be no violation of created beings. Thirdly, respect for *Atua* demands acknowledgement of and respect for the very being that is *Atua*. It also demands acknowledgement of and respect for the relationship of *Atua* with other intrinsic beings, which includes the whole of creation. The purpose of *tapu* restrictions is to help prevent *whakanoa* of *Atua* and all things in relationship with *Atua*. We now turn to examine *tapu* restrictions in relation to *tangata* and *whenua*.

---

<sup>11</sup> In reality, *tangata* cannot violate *Atua*. Violation is just in the perception and attitude of *tangata*. However, such violation does affect *tangata*. It places *tangata* in a state of *noa*. The topics of *Noa* and *Whakanoa* will be discussed in Chapter Six.

#### 2.4.1.4 ***Tapu restrictions in relation to tangata***

When *tapu* restrictions restrict access and forbid the violation of *tangata*, whether living or deceased, the positive aspect is the demand for *tangata* to show respect for *tangata*. Here, the primary purpose of *tapu* restrictions is to protect the very existence of *tangata*. At times, the spiritual or physical existence of *tangata* can be under threat from defilement. Yet it is not sufficient just to acknowledge *tangata*. It is also essential to acknowledge and respect *tangata* in all his or her relationships, and thus everything associated with *tangata*.

*Tangata* is not merely an individual. *Tangata* is, by virtue of his or her relationships with *Atua*, with other *tāngata* and with *whenua*. To violate *tangata* is to violate those in relationship with *tangata*. To observe the *tapu* restrictions protecting *tangata*, is to ensure not just the continued existence of *tangata* but also the enhancement of *tangata* in the threefold relationships that surround *tangata*.

One of the examples at the beginning of this section referred to *taonga*. *Taonga* have their own *tapu* in terms of their own existence and also in their relationships with *tāngata* and *whenua*. Aspects of the *tapu* of *taonga* include the relationship of *taonga* with *Atua*, such as the *rīpeka* (crucifix), or with *tangata*, such as a *tokotoko* (walking stick), or with *whenua*, such as a special *kōhatu* (rock). Each of the *taonga* is surrounded by *tapu* restrictions to safeguard against *whakanoa* of whatsoever kind.

#### 2.4.1.5 ***Tapu restrictions in relation to whenua***

According to the same principle, *tapu* restrictions restrict access to *whenua* to ensure *whenua* is respected and not violated by *tangata*.

*Whenua* can be understood from the perspective of its intrinsic being and existence. Respect for *whenua* is expressed when this is acknowledged and respected. *Tapu* restrictions are measures put in place to ensure that *whenua* is not violated by pollution or exploitation.

For example, a ban placed on gathering shell fish for some reason should be lifted to provide access to the resource as soon as the resource has been replenished or deemed free from disease. The restriction has served its purpose. Access may now proceed. If, by the act of continuing access, *whakanoa* would occur, then that particular *tapu* restriction cannot be lifted.

*Whenua* can also be understood from the perspective of its relationships. Respect for *whenua* includes the acknowledgement of the relationship of *whenua* with *Atua* and with *tangata*. *Whenua* is enhanced as a consequence of these relationships. *Tapu* restrictions here apply to prevent any form of access that will violate or diminish either or both perspectives of *whenua*. For example, “Do not cut down that tree.” Access to a *wāhi tapu* (burial ground) can be granted only after acknowledgement in ritual and *karakia* of its relationship with *Atua* and with *tangata*. Otherwise it is out of bounds.

#### 2.4.2 Conclusion

The following story brings together our understanding of *tapu* restrictions and their relationship with the *tapu* of other things:

*Ko Motutoa, he rahui poaka, e tapu ana. Ko te take i tapu ai, i tae nga poaka ki te wahi tapu i Te Ramaroa, koia i rahuitia ai.*<sup>12</sup>  
[Motutoa is a reserved place that has been set aside on account of the pigs there. Motutoa is *tapu* or reserved because the pigs had entered the *tapu* areas on Te Ramaroa. That is why Motutoa is now declared “out of bounds.”]

Here we see all three dimensions of *tapu* restrictions at work. On Te Ramaroa are burial caves (*wāhi tapu*) which contain the *kōiwi o ngā tūpuna* (the bones of the ancestors). *Tūpuna* have their own *tapu*, which restricts access. Subsequently, because of the *tapu* of the *tūpuna*, the *tapu* restrictions are extended to apply to their *kōiwi*, to the burial caves, to the pigs who had wandered into the burial caves and, lastly, to Motutoa. As a result, the pigs that live on Motutoa are now considered *tapu*, and cannot be killed or eaten as food. They, and Motutoa itself, are “out of bounds.”

Behind this story lies an understanding of *Atua* as *tīmatanga* (beginning) and *mātāpuna* (source) of all *tapu*. *Tapu* restrictions thus arise from the threefold relationships of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. Restrictions restrict access to *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* in order to safeguard against *whakanoa* and to effect greater acknowledgement, enhancement and empowerment for all.

---

<sup>12</sup> See Tate & Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 13. H. A. Tate and T. Paparoa, eds., *Karanga Hokianga* (Kohukohu, Hokianga, N.Z.: Motuti Community Trust, 1986), 13. The writer’s translation.

## 2.5.0 Section Two: *Te tapu o*—*tapu* as relationship of being

In this section, we shift the emphasis from *tapu* restrictions to consider *tapu* as the relationship of ‘being with others.’ This perspective of *tapu* is encapsulated in the phrase, *te tapu o*.<sup>13</sup> We will also look at the consequences of the relationship. Thus, the topics of this section concern the relationship between existing realities, created and uncreated, and the effect of the relationship upon those in relationship.

First we offer our definition of ‘*te tapu o*,’ which we will explain, and then go on to examine *te tapu o te Atua*, *te tapu o te tangata*, and *te tapu o te whenua*.

### 2.5.1 Definition of *te tapu o*

***Te tapu o* is the *tapu* of being-in-relationship. As a consequence of this relationship between existing realities, created and uncreated, those beings in relationship are manifested, addressed, enhanced, sustained and restored.**

We look at each part of this definition.

#### 2.5.1.1 *Te tapu o* is the *tapu* of being in relationship.

This first affirmation is self-explanatory. All beings—created or uncreated—are by definition, in relationship one with another.

#### 2.5.1.2 **Beings in relationship are manifested, addressed, enhanced, sustained and restored.**

When beings come into relationship, this comes about by an encounter of one being with another. Māori give particular attention to the encounter itself, and to the way the encounter comes about, and thus to the quality of the encounter and to its consequences.

In encounter, the relationship imparts some aspect or quality of being that is creative or productive, enhancing and empowering, from one to another. The process is two-way. One imparts whilst the other participates. One shares of whilst the other shares

---

<sup>13</sup> ‘*O*’ is a preposition meaning ‘outside of’ as in *kei waho o te whare* (outside of the house). It is also the possessive particle meaning ‘of,’ ‘belonging to,’ or ‘about.’ We have interpreted the phrase ‘*te tapu o*’ to mean *tapu* is something outside of, but a part of. Māori would not use *te tapu o* on its own, but only in relation to something else in a sentence. According to the structure of the sentence, the phrase *te tapu o* may at times be more correctly expressed as *te tapu ōna* or *tōna tapu*, (his/her or its *tapu*). We stress the point that the phrase, *te tapu o*, is incomplete without reference to some existing reality.

in. One gives, while the other receives. Thus there is an “outward” or “downward” procession or movement from the one imparting, and an “inward” or “upward” procession towards the source from the one participating. All that one imparts and gives, and all that the other receives and participates in, is captured in the phrase *te tapu o*.

*Te tapu o* means that *tapu* is seen here as an aspect or quality of someone or something. It is not about an existing reality, considered absolutely, but rather it is something of or about an existing reality. We make the point again that *te tapu o* is the relationship that one being has with other beings, created and uncreated. The relationship is mutually enhancing, restorative and empowering.

We turn now to the three categories of relationship already mentioned, namely, relationships among *Atua*, *tangata*, and *whenua*.

### 2.5.2 *Te tapu o te Atua*

*Te tapu o te Atua* focuses on the relationship of *Atua* with *tangata* and *whenua*. When we speak about *te tapu o te Atua* we are speaking about aspects or qualities of *Atua*. We can identify something of these aspects or qualities in the attributes that we can call intrinsic to *Atua*.<sup>14</sup> For this purpose, let us look at some of the Māori attributes of *Atua*. These qualities reflect life, totality, inviolability, *mana*, goodness, dignity, sacredness and being ‘set apart.’

*Atua Matua*, the attribute of *matua*,<sup>15</sup> reveals that *Atua* is the source of life and parenthood. In sharing in *te tapu o te Atua*, human parenthood shares in the parenthood of *Atua*. *Matua-kore* is the parentless and uncreated *Atua*. *Atua-taketake* is the *pūtake*, the very root, source and cause of the existence of all created beings. To share in *te tapu o te Atua* is to have a share in the source and fulfilment of all life. *Atua-nui* describes *Atua* as infinite, *Atua-mana* as omnipotent God, *Atua-uru* as omnipresent, and *Atua-wānanga* as the omniscient *Atua*.

In revealing something of the intrinsic being of *Atua*, these attributes also indicate qualities of *Atua* that *Atua* shares, to some degree, with all created beings. *Atua* is the creator and we, and all created beings, are the created extensions of *Atua*. We thereby

---

<sup>14</sup> Though these attributes are predicated more properly of the intrinsic being of *Atua* they can also apply to *te tapu o te Atua* because they indicate both the qualities that are proper to *Atua* and the qualities that *Atua* shares in the relationship between *Atua* and created beings.

<sup>15</sup> *Matua* means ‘parent,’ male or female, rather than just ‘Father.’

share in *te tapu o te Atua*. These attributes set *Atua* apart from other created beings even to the extent of being ‘untouchable.’ They are proper to *Atua*, beyond human understanding or reach. Yet these are the very qualities that *Atua* shares, in a limited way, with other created beings.

These qualities are often referred to under a general heading of the sacredness of *Atua*, which is commonly understood as *te tapu o te Atua*. The term “sacredness,” however, does not convey all that is meant by *te tapu o te Atua*. We also consider the creative presence of *Atua* in all creation. Where *Atua* creates, there is *te tapu o te Atua*.

To put it in terms of Darragh’s first image of Earth, *te tapu o te Atua* is capable of links “downwards,” “inwards,” of “issuing forth” into creation while *Atua* remains ever transcendent, “above,” “beyond” all creation.<sup>16</sup>

There is, as it were, a “downward” and an “upward” (or “outward” and “inward,” or “transcendent” and “immanent”) procession or movement in creation from and to *te tapu o te Atua*. There is a “downward” procession, whereby something of *Atua* (*te tapu o te Atua*) has to proceed into creation, so that *Atua* is known in the things *Atua* has made.<sup>17</sup> There is an “upward” procession, whereby created beings look ultimately to *Atua* as the source of their being. In looking “upward,” created beings first acknowledge their relationship to *Atua* as source of their *tapu*.

Second, created beings acknowledge their participation in *Atua* by virtue of their participation in *te tapu o te Atua*.

Third, they offer worship to *Atua* from the depths of their very being. The same process could be described in terms of the mutual reciprocity of transcendence and immanence. We can say then, that *te tapu o te Atua* is the very being of *Atua* present and discerned in creation. All created beings share in the being of *Atua*. What is perceptible in them is *te tapu o te Atua*.

---

<sup>16</sup> See N. Darragh, *At Home in the Earth: Seeking an Earth-Centred Spirituality*. (Auckland, N.Z.: Accent, 2000), 17-19. Hereafter cited as Darragh, *At Home in the Earth*.

<sup>17</sup> See Rom 1:19-20: “For what can be known about God is plain to them, because God has shown it to them. Ever since the creation of the world his eternal power and divine nature, invisible though they are, have been understood and seen through the things he has made.” (NRSV). See also Vatican I, *Dogmatic Constitution Dei Filius on the Catholic Faith* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1870).



Before departing from the topic of *te tapu o te Atua* it is important to adhere with integrity to the tenet, “where there is *tapu* there is *mana*.” In this case where there is *te tapu o te Atua* there is *te mana o te Atua*. From the creative presence of *te tapu o te Atua* proceeds *te mana o te Atua*, which is the power of *Atua* creating all created realities and endowing them with their own intrinsic being and *te tapu o rātou* (their *tapu*, or, literally, the *tapu* of them). Now we can turn to the second part of our treatment of *te tapu o*, namely, *te tapu o te tangata*.

### 2.5.3 *Te tapu o te tangata*

In the view of this writer, there is no such entity as an isolated individual. *Tangata* is *tangata* with *tapu* and *mana* only by reason of relationship with *Atua*, *tangata*, and with *whenua*.<sup>18</sup> For Māori today, these relationships continue to be real and constitutive both of themselves and of their relationship with *te tapu o te Atua*. *Te tapu o te tangata* is constituted by the sharing of *tangata* in *te tapu o te Atua*, and such *tapu* is mediated in and through all created things by reason of their own links with *Atua*. It is part of *te tapu o te tangata* to be able to perceive such links, and to give *Atua* praise and worship for these links embracing themselves and all creation. This aspect, drawing *tangata* into prayer, is very important for Māori.

#### 2.5.3.1 *Te tapu o te tangata considered in his or her links*

Firstly, the links between *tangata* and *Atua* are acknowledged and celebrated with every act of dedication of *tangata* to *Atua* throughout the stages of life from conception to death. Secondly, relationship with *Atua* is established and maintained in a vital and personal way through *karakia*.

---

<sup>18</sup> This is far removed from the classical view of person, which privileged what was incommunicable. “A person is an individual substance of a rational nature.” Boethius, “De Persona et Duabus Naturis,” c, ii,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. R. Appleton. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911, vol. XI, 726. See St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1947ff.), Part. 1, Q. 29: Art. 1. This Māori view is also far removed from any Cartesian individualism. For a more relational understanding of person, see J. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church* (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985). 27-65, and, Edward Schillebeeckx, who writes: “Everything about a person, including his or her inwardness, is social.” E Schillebeeckx, *Church, the Human Story of God* (New York: Crossroad, 1990), 48-49. What is specific to Māori is that links with *whenua*, as well as social links with *tangata*, and theological links with *Atua*, are all constitutive of the human person.

For the Christian, *karakia* is a “covenant relationship between God and man in Christ.”<sup>19</sup> It is also “the living relationship of the children of God with their Father ... with his Son Jesus Christ and with the Holy Spirit.”<sup>20</sup>

We have considered *te tapu o te Atua* and referred to it as the creative presence of *Atua* in all creation. *Tangata* is also an integral part of creation and shares in the creative presence of *Atua*, and thereby in *te tapu o te Atua*. To this extent, *tangata* is ‘in the image of God,’ and all created realities are sacramental, in that they are the immanence of *Atua* and “a resource for knowing the Creator.”<sup>21</sup>

We turn now from considering *tangata* in relation to *Atua*, to consider *te tapu o te tangata* in his or her relationship links with other *tāngata*.

#### 2.5.3.2 ***Te tapu o te tangata* considered in his or her links with other *tāngata*, and thus with *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi***

*I te whānautanga mai o te tangata kua uru kē ia ki roto i te whanaungatanga o tētahi ki tētahi.*<sup>22</sup> [Already, prior to birth, a child has entered a relationship with others.]

Māori have a complex social structure extended vertically across the generations and horizontally across *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.<sup>23</sup> It is called *whanaungatanga* (relationship structure). This social structure is more than just a relationship structure for Māori.

On the one hand, *whanaungatanga* applies to both vertical and horizontal dimensions and determines who people are. On the other hand, the concrete conditions of belonging to this *whānau*, to this *hapū*, and to these *iwi* groups, or bodies, directly affect a person, shape them, constitute their being and determine what they are.

In the first part of this section, we will deal with *whanaungatanga*, because it relates to *te tapu o te tangata*. For the same reason we will also refer, in the second part, to the *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* relationship groups.

<sup>19</sup> The Roman Catholic Church, *The Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Vatican City: CEPAC/Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1995), 684, no. 2564. Hereafter cited as *Catechism*. The exclusive language is in the text cited. For Māori, ‘*tangata*’ means *the human person, male or female*, in all his or her links.

<sup>20</sup> *Catechism*, 685, no. 2565.

<sup>21</sup> “The *sacramental* approach sees all created realities as embodiment of the divine and as a resource for knowing the Creator.” See Darragh, *At Home in the Earth*, 4.

<sup>22</sup> These words were spoken by Dame Whina Cooper. She was a national leader of great renown, who died in 1994, aged 98.

<sup>23</sup> *Whānau* is the extended family; *hapū* is the sub-tribe; *iwi* is the tribe, race or a group of people. See “Glossary of Maori Terms,” in P. W. Hohepa, *A Maori Community in Northland* (Wellington, N.Z.: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1974), 132-136.

### 2.5.3.2.1 **Whanaungatanga relationship structure**

There are various ways in which *whanaungatanga*<sup>24</sup> of the individual to others is established, identified and acknowledged. In what follows, we propose four models of relationship and include their relationship terms. We will set out the dynamics of *whanaungatanga*, which manifest, address, enhance, sustain and restore *te tapu o te tangata*.

The four models of *whanaungatanga* are: *Heke Tika*; *Tuakana-Teina*; *Karanga* and *Hunaonga-Hungawai*. Each is significant inasmuch as every Māori locates him/herself with great accuracy, and has his or her *tapu* by reason of these *whanaungatanga* links. The *whanaungatanga* links also determine particular roles of response in the encounter between *whānau* members.

#### 2.5.3.2.1.1 **Heke Tika relationship**

The first model of relationship is called **Heke Tika** (direct line of descent). Relationship terms for people within this model are: *tūpuna* (ancestors), *mātua* (parents), *tamariki* (children) and *mokopuna* (grandchildren). The *Heke Tika* line can follow either the male or female line depending on the *whanaungatanga* that is being identified and acknowledged. At times, the major *Heke Tika* line to be identified and acknowledged is determined by the link with *whenua*.

#### 2.5.3.2.1.2 **Tuakana-Teina relationship**

The second model of relationship structure is **Tuakana-Teina** (sibling line, brothers and sisters). Here, the relationship terms are: *tuakana* (older sibling of the same gender), *teina* (younger sibling of the same gender), *tuahine* (sister of male sibling) and *tungāne* (brother of female sibling).

---

<sup>24</sup> The links of *whanaungatanga* are contained in the *whakapapa* (genealogy) of people. *Whakapapa* links them with their more immediate *tūpuna* (ancestors), but may even go as far back as their original *tupuna* who first arrived in Aotearoa from Hawaiki. Formerly, this knowledge was reserved to the *tohunga* of the *Whare Wānanga*. These days all this information is available to *whānau* from various sources e.g. *whānau whakapapa* books, Māori Land Court Minutes, some museum and library records, Birth and Death Registers. In this technological age, most people can access their *whakapapa* on their respective *iwi* websites.

In this model, there are two other terms: *mātāmua*<sup>25</sup> (the first-born, either male or female),<sup>26</sup> and *pōtiki*<sup>27</sup> (the last-born, either male or female).

#### 2.5.3.2.1.3 ***Karanga* or named relationship**<sup>28</sup>

Relationship terms for those within this third model of relationship are: *karanga tupuna* (in the *tupuna* line, grand-uncle or grand-aunt), *karanga matua* (in the *matua* line, uncle or aunt), *karanga tuakana* (older/younger cousin, same gender, on a *tuakana* line), *karanga teina* (older/younger cousin, same gender, on a *teina* line), *karanga tuahine* (female cousin of male), *karanga tungāne* (male cousin of female), *karanga tamaiti* (nephew), *karanga tamāhine* (niece) and *karanga mokopuna* (grand-niece or grand-nephew).

A person in this model shares with the other in the relationship a common, proximate *tupuna*, but he/she descends on a different *Heke Tika* line from the other. The person is not of the *Heke Tika* line, nor of the *Tuakana-Teina* line to the other, but is situated in one or other of the generation levels of those of the *Heke Tika* and *Tuakana-Teina* lines, and hence has a corresponding relationship link with the other.

This model determines to which generation level a person belongs in relation to others, rather than the consideration of age.

#### 2.5.3.2.1.4 ***Hunaonga-Hungawai* (in-law) relationship**

The fourth model of *whanaungatanga* can be called ***Hunaonga-Hungawai*** (in-laws). Relationship terms are: *hunaonga* (son-in-law or daughter-in-law), *hungawai* (father-in-law or mother-in-law), *taokete* (brother-in-law to a male or sister-in-law to a female), *autāne* (brother-in-law to a female), and *auwahine* (sister-in-law to a male).

These people become attached to a *Heke Tika* line through marriage or partnership. This fourth model has different dynamics and implications because the people concerned are from other *Heke Tika*, *Tuakana-Teina* and *Karanga* lines.

<sup>25</sup> See Api Mahuika, "Leadership: Inherited and Achieved," in *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga*, ed. M. King (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 1993), 42-63, here 43-44.

<sup>26</sup> People in Taitokerau use the terms, *mātāmua* and *pōtiki*, for either male or female. Monica Toko of Kaihu, now deceased, spoke of her eldest brother as "*tōku tungāne mātāmua*" (my brother, the firstborn).

<sup>27</sup> See Ranginui Walker, "The Relevance of Maori Myth and Tradition," in *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga*, ed. M. King (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 1993), 170-182. Here 172.

<sup>28</sup> Here, *Karanga* means Named or Called.

### 2.5.3.2.1.5 Implications and applications of the four relationship models

Every individual within the four models of relationship imparts *tapu* and *mana* to the others, or shares in the *tapu* and *mana* of the others. The dynamics of *whanaungatanga* in all these relationships are possible and effective only when all members play their rightful roles in taking initiatives, supporting initiatives or providing options for manifesting, addressing, enhancing, sustaining and restoring the *tapu* and *mana* of the *whānau* and its members. The goal must be to rekindle, establish and maintain as many *whanaungatanga* links as possible because in this way *whānau* are enhanced, restored and empowered by so many more people whilst at the same time contributing to others as well.

We cannot leave this section without drawing attention to the further reality that we can be manifested, addressed, enhanced, sustained and restored by other *tāngata* outside of these models of *whanaungatanga* such as *iwi kē* (people of other tribes and nationalities). We can share in *te tapu o rātou* (their *tapu*) just as they can share in ours.

Concluding this section, let us, by way of illustration, offer a possible Christian application. It is part of the development of Māori Theology to acknowledge *Atua* as *tupuna* and *matua*, in the *Heke Tika* line, as the source of our *tapu* and *mana*. Being the common *tupuna*, *Atua* establishes the relationship between people, and gives to them Christ as *mātāmua*, the firstborn.<sup>29</sup>

With Christ all share the inheritance<sup>30</sup> of *Atua*. As adopted children all cry out, *Matua*, Abba, Father.<sup>31</sup> Further, Christ, the *mātāmua*, addresses, enhances and restores our *tapu*. He is the head of the *whānau*.<sup>32</sup> We become members of his *whānau* through baptism, and so enter the salvific structure that is *whanaungatanga* based on Christ. Because of him, the whole *whānau* is essentially related to who he is and what he does, in clearly defined *whānau* lines.

This understanding offers us the opportunity to move beyond the limitations of a human *whakapapa* line of descent which restricts *whanaungatanga* only to those who descend from a particular human *tupuna*, and which excludes all others outside that line of descent. By contrast, *hapū* and *iwi*, and indeed, all races and cultures of the

---

<sup>29</sup> See Rom 8:29, Col 1:15.

<sup>30</sup> See Rom 8:17.

<sup>31</sup> See Rom 8:15.

<sup>32</sup> See Col 1:18.

world can link themselves together in *whanaungatanga* by accepting and acknowledging *Atua* as the common *tupuna* and *matua*, and, in the case of Christians, by accepting and acknowledging Christ as their *mātāmua*. Not only will *te tapu o te katoa* (the *tapu* of all) be greatly enhanced, but also more effective will be *te mana o te katoa* (the *mana* of all) to work together for the common good of the world-wide *whānau o te Atua* (family of God).

Now that we have explored and understood the importance of *whanaungatanga* links in terms of these four models, we move on to expand our analysis in another direction and explore the relationship links of the individual with his/her *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

#### 2.5.3.2.2 ***Whānau, hapū and iwi relationship groups***

Every individual is, firstly, part of a *whānau*. Every *whānau* has a common *tupuna* from whom they all directly descend on a number of *Heke Tika* lines. This *tupuna* will be five or more generations back from the youngest living member. As we have seen in the models of *whanaungatanga* the descendants share in *te tapu o ngā tūpuna*.

##### 2.5.3.2.2.1 ***Whānau***

Every *whānau* has a name and is part of the wider group called the *hapū*. Every *whānau* has links with *whenua*.<sup>33</sup>

When the individual acknowledges his or her links with *whānau*, the *tapu* of the individual is enhanced by *whānau* members, as is all that contributes towards the *tapu* of the *whānau* in its links with *hapū* and *iwi*, with *whenua* and with *Atua*.

##### 2.5.3.2.2.2 ***Hapū***

Secondly, every individual, through his or her *whānau*, is a member of *hapū*. Many *whānau* groups together constitute a *hapū*. Like the *whānau*, the *hapū* has a common *tupuna*, but the *tupuna* of the *hapū* will be further back in *whakapapa* than the *tupuna* of the individual *whānau*. Each *hapū* has a name that is derived from a *tupuna*, or from an event associated with *tupuna*. Like the *whānau*, the *hapū* is linked with *whenua*. When the individual acknowledges links through *whānau* with *hapū*, the *tapu* of the individual is enhanced by all that contributes towards the *tapu* of the *hapū* in its links with *iwi*, with *whenua* and with *Atua*.

---

<sup>33</sup> I will deal with this topic in the next section on *te tapu o te tangata* in relationship with *whenua*.

### 2.5.3.2.2.3 *Iwi*

Thirdly, every individual, through his or her *whānau* and *hapū* links, is a member of an *iwi*. The various *hapū* or wider *whānau* groups together constitute an *iwi* or tribe. Like the *whānau* and *hapū*, *iwi* also identifies with a common *tupuna* but the *tupuna* of an *iwi* is still further back in *whakapapa* than the *tupuna* of a *hapū*.

The *iwi* has a name that may have its origin with a *tupuna*, or with a *waka* from the various migrations from the Pacific. The *iwi* is also linked with *whenua* within a geographical territory.

Every Māori person identifies with, at least, one *iwi*. In doing so he/she is enhanced by *iwi* in its links with all its *hapū* and *whānau* members, with *whenua* and with *Atua*. The *iwi* enhances its members by supporting the initiatives of *hapū* and *whānau*, or by taking initiatives on behalf of *hapū* and *whānau* for the total present and future well-being—physical, spiritual, cultural, educational, social and economic—of all its *hapū* and *whānau* members. *Iwi* links enhance the *tapu* and *mana* of the *hapū*, *whānau* and their members.

In sum, the identity of each individual *tangata* is constituted by a whole network of *whanaungatanga* relationships that define the individual with great accuracy within his/her generation, assigning roles, and linking him/her with earlier generations through *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* links.

These relationships are no mere “add-ons,” but constitute the individual in his/her very being. He or she is a social being through and through.

In this section we have considered the complex issue of *whanaungatanga* which identifies and links *ia tangata* (the individual) within relationship structures and relationship groups. We now move to the third relational element associated with *te tapu o te tangata*, that of *whenua*.

### 2.5.3.3 *Te tapu o te tangata considered in his or her links with whenua*

The links of people with *rohe whenua* (geographical territory) and all the physical features within the territory such as *marae*, *urupā* (ancestral burial grounds), *maunga*<sup>34</sup> (mountains), *pā* (fortified villages sites), *awa* (rivers), *moana* (sea), *papakāinga* (home dwellings), greatly enhance the *tapu* and *mana* of people. There are two very

---

<sup>34</sup> See M. King, *Whina* (Auckland, N.Z.: Hodder & Stoughton, 1983), 18-20.

important relationship terms that apply to people in their links with *whenua* in which the key factor is the *whenua*.

#### 2.5.3.3.1 *Tangata whenua*

The first is *Tangata Whenua*, 'people of the land,' and this term is used specifically by Māori to speak of themselves as the original, or descendants of the original *iwi* of Aotearoa. *Tangata Whenua* expresses the special relationship between the original people and the land. All Māori in Aotearoa, with their *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, are *tangata whenua*. In the use of the term *tangata whenua*, a distinction is being made between *tangata whenua* and *iwi kē*, (another people from another land). *Te tapu o te whenua* enhances and empowers *tangata whenua*. *Te tapu o te tangata whenua* is by virtue of the relationship with this *whenua* of Aotearoa.

#### 2.5.3.3.2 *Hunga kāinga or iwi kāinga*

The second relationship term is *Hunga Kāinga* or *Iwi Kāinga*, 'the home people,' and it applies to people in relationship to the land on which their home stands. It can apply to an individual or to a *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi* within their respective territory. It makes a distinction between *hunga kāinga* and *manuhiri* (visitors).

The term *kāinga* (home) is synonymous with *whenua*, which is the key factor. The *kāinga* enhances *te tapu o te tangata*. Thus, all Māori are *tangata whenua* in Aotearoa, but only those who have links with a specific home area, *marae* or tribal territory are *hunga kāinga* of that home, *marae* or tribal area.<sup>35</sup>

Now that we have explored briefly the relationship of *tangata* with *whenua* we are in a position to examine the third perspective of *te tapu o*, namely, *te tapu o te whenua*.

---

<sup>35</sup> The following example drawn from Hokianga illustrates these links and shows how *whenua* enhances the *tapu* and *mana* of the *hunga kāinga*. Hokianga is the harbour and the district situated on the northern West Coast of Northland. In this example, the *hunga kāinga* of Hokianga are acknowledged in their links with: 1) *Hokiangānui-o-Kupe*, visited by the navigator, Kupe, and the place of his return to Hawaiki, according to local tradition; 2) *Hokianga Whakapau Karakia*, the place where Ruānui and Nukutawhiti expressed their rivalry in *karakia* (ritual incantation) soon after they arrived in Hokianga; 3) *Hokianga, Te Kōhanga o te Hāhi Katorika ki Aotearoa*, the birthplace of the Catholic Church in Aotearoa. The people of Hokianga are referred to as the *kaitiaki* (stewards) of the cradle of the Catholic Church in Aotearoa-New Zealand. This link enhances their *tapu*, bestows on them a unique mark of honour, and impresses upon them a keen sense of worth as *kaitiaki*. Their *tapu* was enhanced when in April 2002 the remains of the first Catholic Bishop, Jean Baptiste François Pompallier, were interred in Motuti, in North Hokianga. Now *te tapu o Motuti* is enhanced in its relationship with Bishop Pompallier. The same principle applies to other *iwi* in their links with their particular *whenua*. One would also say that Rangihoua, in the Bay of Islands, was further enhanced in its links with the Rev. Samuel Marsden and the first missionaries of the Church Missionary Society who conducted the first Christian Christmas service on that *whenua*, 25 December 1814. Similarly, we can say that Rātana Pā is enhanced because of its special relationship with Wiremu Tahupōtiki Rātana.



#### 2.5.4 *Te tapu o te whenua*

In this section we will examine *te tapu o te whenua* in its twofold relationship with *Atua* and with *tangata*. There are two principal parts to this section.

In the first part we reflect on *te tapu o te whenua* in relationship with *Atua*. There will be two headings:

- a) The relationship of *whenua* with *Atua* in terms of creation.
- b) The relationship of *te tapu o te whenua* with *Atua* in terms of providence.

In the second part we consider *te tapu o te whenua* in relationship with *tangata*.

##### 2.5.4.1 **The relationship of *whenua* with *Atua* in terms of creation**

Here we are reflecting on *whenua* as part of creation. *Atua* is Creator of the *whenua*. The relationship of *whenua* to *Atua* is the relationship of the created with its creator. Consequently, along with the rest of creation, *whenua* shares in *te tapu o te Atua*, and is endowed with *te tapu o te Atua*.

*Tangata* enhances *te tapu o te whenua* when he or she acknowledges, respects and renews the links of *whenua* with *Atua*. This is illustrated in rites of dedication of *whenua* <sup>36</sup> as sacred or pilgrimage places.

*Te tapu o te whenua* is the principle that links all other extensions of *Atua*, including *tangata*, to *te tapu o te Atua*. It is on the *whenua* that the encounters between *Atua* and *tangata* occur. These encounters enhance *te tapu o te whenua*.<sup>37</sup>

##### 2.5.4.2 **The relationship of *whenua* with *Atua* in terms of providence**

To illustrate this relationship, we can borrow from the rich imagery of *Papatūānuku*. *Papatūānuku* is the traditional personified name for the earth, and *whenua* is the common name. Quite often we hear *manuhiri* greeting the *marae* with these words, “*E mihi ana ki te whenua e hora nei, ki a Papatūānuku e takoto nei*” (we acknowledge the land that extends before us, and *Papatūānuku* who lies beneath us).

<sup>36</sup> *Whenua* that is set aside, in a special blessing, for service to *Atua*, such as church ground or a pilgrimage site, becomes thereby *whenua tapu*.

<sup>37</sup> See Exod 3:5 “Come no closer! Remove the sandals from your feet, for the place on which you are standing is holy ground.” We consider the land was holy because it was called the mountain of God. It was there that Moses experienced the presence of God whose voice was heard coming from the burning bush. The land marked the place of encounter between God and Moses. The words, “Come no closer” expressed *tapu* restrictions. The removal of sandals was a response to the land being holy.

The mother image of *Papatūānuku* reminds us that *whenua* provides life and nourishment for all living creatures, humankind included. First of all, with that realisation goes the obligation on humankind to respect and care for the *whenua*, so that *whenua* can continue to provide life and nourishment.

Second, the image offers us a wider understanding of *whanaungatanga*, of kinship among all created realities, humankind included. Respect and care for *whenua* must embrace all creatures in, of, and on, the *whenua*. Third, the imagery is extended to her children, the *atua kaitiaki*,<sup>38</sup> who become images of the providence of *Atua* for each and every sector of creation, thereby enhancing further *te tapu o te whenua*.

The sibling relationship among *atua kaitiaki*, and their interconnecting links with various areas of creation, suggest the notion of *whanaungatanga* among all creatures that live on or in the *whenua*. They are linked ecologically through the *whānau* relationships of the *atua kaitiaki*. Together they are symbols of the diversity, richness, and ecological interaction of the various aspects of creation. They offer a rich understanding of the providential respect and care of *Atua* for the ecological balance among all ecosystems.

On the other side of the relationship between *te tapu o te whenua* and *tangata* is the response of *tangata*. Let us now examine briefly some of these responses.

*Tangata* enhances *te tapu o te whenua* when he or she acknowledges, respects and renews the links of *whenua* with *Atua*, *te taketake*, the creator and source of the providence and bounty in creation. *Tangata* does this in returning thanks in *karakia* to *Atua* for the fruits of the *whenua*.<sup>39</sup>

*Tangata* enhances *te tapu o te whenua* when he or she acknowledges, respects and renews the links of *whenua* with *tangata*. This is the ecological task for *tangata*. To fall short in this respect is a *whakanoa* of *whenua*. We now move to the second element that constitutes *te tapu o te whenua*, namely, the relationship of *whenua* with *tangata*.

---

<sup>38</sup> For *atua kaitiaki*, see Appendix A.

<sup>39</sup> A Eucharistic application may also be seen here, when Jesus uses the fruits of the earth, its bread and wine, to be the central elements in his Last Supper, and when the Church returns thanks to *Atua* in the power of the Spirit who links *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* in one single Eucharistic act.

#### 2.5.4.3 The relationship of *whenua* with *tangata*

In the section on *te tapu o te tangata* we considered briefly *te tapu o te tangata* in relationship with *whenua* in terms of *tangata whenua* and *hunga kāinga*. In this section we look at the reverse situation where *whenua* is enhanced through sharing in *te tapu o te tangata*.

Māori have always had regard for *te tapu o Hawaiki* (mystical, original homeland), because it is the *whenua* of their *tūpuna* prior to the migration from the Pacific to Aotearoa. In oratory, the souls of the deceased are always sent off on their return journey to Hawaiki.<sup>40</sup>

Māori also have a regard for *te tapu o Aotearoa* because of the relationship of the *whenua* with their *tūpuna*, the original settlers of this land. In pre-European times, all *whenua* in Aotearoa was subject to the *mana* of a *tupuna* of a *whānau*, a *hapū* or an *iwi* for that particular *rohe whenua* (specific geographical territory).

Every feature of *whenua* whether *maunga* (mountain), *awa* (river) or *kāinga* was named by *tangata*, after *tangata*, or for events associated with *tangata*.<sup>41</sup> Thus *te tapu o te whenua* was established or further enhanced by its relationship with *tangata*. Because certain *hunga* (person/s) live in a certain *kāinga*, *te tapu o te kāinga* is further enhanced.<sup>42</sup>

Thirdly, for Māori who live away from their homelands, their *papawhenua* (ancestral lands) and *papakāinga* are endowed with *tapu* because of links with their particular *tūpuna* and *whānau*.<sup>43</sup>

Now we can be specific in relating *tapu* restrictions, which we dealt with earlier, to this second perspective of *tapu* as expressed in the phrase *te tapu o*. Firstly, the purpose of *tapu* restrictions is to restrict the access of *tangata* to *Atua*, other *tāngata* and to *whenua*, so as to protect against *whakanoa* of *te tapu o te Atua*, *te tapu o te*

<sup>40</sup> Frequently we hear these words in *poroporoakī* (farewell) to the dead, “*Hoki atu rā ki Hawaiki-nui, ki Hawaiki-roa, ki Hawaiki-pāmamao*” (return to the great Hawaiki, the long Hawaiki, and the distant Hawaiki).

<sup>41</sup> Whangarei is reputedly named because of the *whanga* (waiting) for the *tupuna wahine*, *Reipae*.

<sup>42</sup> Ngāruawāhia has a *tapu* because of its long association with the *Kīngitanga* (Māori King Movement) of the *Iwi* of *Waikato*, and with the beloved late Māori Queen, Dame *Te Ata-i-rangi-kāhu* who died August 2006.

<sup>43</sup> Two Māori women from Motuti have lived in Australia for over thirty years. Every two or three years these sisters return to re-link with *whānau* and to visit the graves of their parents. They regard *te tapu o Motuti* in terms of the links to the *whenua* and their parents.

*tangata* and *te tapu o te whenua*. When they are expressed as a negative command, *tapu* restrictions forbid the *whakanoa* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* in the relationships that exist among them.

Secondly, there is a positive aspect underlying the negative command. It is that there is continued enhancement of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. Thus, the positive aspect is that *te tapu o te Atua*, *te tapu o te tangata* and *te tapu o te whenua* are addressed and acknowledged, and that the relationships among *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* are enhanced, sustained or restored. The system that brings order to the encounters of *tangata* with *te tapu o te Atua*, *te tapu o te tangata*, and *te tapu o te whenua* is *tapu* restrictions.

To conclude this second section, we have established further the foundational place of *tapu* by considering not just *tapu* as restrictions, but more particularly the *tapu* of things understood in their relationship with other beings that exist, and specifically with *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

We now move to Section Three and consider a third perspective of *Tapu*, which we express in the phrases *te tapu i te Atua*, *te tapu i te tangata*, and *te tapu i te whenua*.

## 2.6.0 Section Three: *Te tapu i*—*tapu* as being-in-itself

In this section we present the third, and in our understanding, the most foundational of the three perspectives on *tapu*. We believe that the primary meaning of *tapu* is being-in-itself. It is this perspective of *tapu* that we now present.<sup>44</sup>

We consider this perspective of *tapu* as the foundation and source for the other two perspectives (*tapu* restrictions and *te tapu o*). Without being, there is no reality that is untouchable or sacred, and without being, in encounter with another, there is no purpose for *tapu* restrictions.

### 2.6.1 Justification for the use of the term ‘*te tapu i*’

In order to demonstrate that this is not a modern view, or a mere novelty, we now turn to examine five statements on *tapu* from the 1840s and 1850s and show how they can be understood according to our definition.

*Ko te tapu te mana o nga atua.*<sup>45</sup> [*Tapu* is the *mana* of the spiritual powers.]

This first quotation can be interpreted in two ways. It can be understood as, “The *tapu* of the spiritual powers is the source of the *mana* of the spiritual powers.” Or it can be understood as, “The existence of *tapu* is the effect of the *mana* of the spiritual powers.”

With regard to the first version, we may say that *tapu* restrictions surrounding and pertaining to the spiritual powers cannot themselves be the source of their *mana*. Rather, it is their *mana* in operation that gives power to the *tapu* restrictions that surround them.

---

<sup>44</sup> This is an element retrieved from the past, and offered as a new understanding in this thesis. We do so with the awareness that the understanding of *tapu* in our day may differ from earlier understandings of *tapu*. However, we do seek to ground our understanding in manuscript material from the 1840s and 1850s.

As with ‘*te tapu o*,’ we point out that Māori would not use ‘*te tapu i*’ on its own, but only in relation to some existing reality.

<sup>45</sup> John White, “Aspects of Maori Life—Tapu, Karakia: 75 B36/35,” in *White Manuscript Papers* (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z., n.d.), 48-49. Hereafter cited as White, “75 B36/35.” This is an undated Māori manuscript said by White to present a Ngai Tahu (South Island) understanding of *tapu*. Even though the first of White’s 6-volume work entitled *Ancient History of Maori, his Mythology and Traditions* was published in 1887, he was already forwarding some manuscripts of Māori traditions to Governor George Grey in the late 1840s. We assume, then, that the saying would have preceded the writing of this work. See also Shirres, *Te Tangata*, 33.

There can be no sacredness, even for the spiritual powers, if they have no being. There can be no relationship with other created realities if the spiritual powers do not exist in the first place.

With regard to the second version, it is correct to say that the *mana* of the spiritual powers can be the source of existence of *tapu* restrictions and of the sacredness of things that exist. But the fundamental point still remains.

There can be no *tapu* restrictions or sacredness unless they are associated with things that exist. From both viewpoints, then, this early saying gives initial support to our concept of *tapu* as being *te tapu i* of existing realities:

*E mea ana hoki, ko tona mea nui he tapu, kei whea hoki nga whakatauki, "Nga uri o Kiki whakamaroke raakau."*<sup>46</sup> [He thinks his greatest possession is *tapu* and so we have the proverb, "The descendants of Kiki who dries up trees."]

We would argue that one's greatest possession as regards *tapu* cannot be *tapu* restrictions, nor can it be sacredness. It has to be one's being. Without being there can be no sacredness, and without being or sacredness there is nothing for *tapu* restrictions to safeguard.

*Te mana o te hau, te tapu o te hau.*<sup>47</sup> [The *mana* of the wind, the *tapu* of the wind.]

Here, *te tapu o te hau*—the *tapu* of the wind—cannot be understood in terms of *tapu* restrictions. No one can restrict the wind, and the term 'access' is meaningless in its regard. Nevertheless, the statement says that the wind retains its own *tapu*.

The point remains valid here, that unless something is, then it cannot have sacredness. Something must first have *tapu* before it can be sacred or have *mana*.

*Tenei ka whakanoangia ei, te tapu i te tinana, te tapu i te whenua na ei.*<sup>48</sup> [Violated is the *tapu* intrinsic to the body and the *tapu* intrinsic to the land.]

<sup>46</sup> Shirres, *Te Tangata*, 36. Shirres is quoting Sir George Grey, "GNZMMSS 31," in Grey, *Māori Manuscripts* (N.Z.: Auckland Central City Library, prior to 1854), 9. Grey's Māori Manuscripts hereafter cited as GNZMMSS. The story refers in the first instance to *mana*, the *mana* of Kīkī versus the *mana* of another *tohunga* called Tāmure. But in the original context, the story is presented as a demonstration of the importance of a person's *tapu*.

<sup>47</sup> GNZMMSS 24:24.

<sup>48</sup> Writer's translation. This passage is taken from the *tangi* (lament) of Kawiti, the paramount chief of Ngāti Hine hapū of Ngāpuhi. He lamented the fact that the Māori people would submit themselves to the sovereignty of the British as a consequence of signing the Treaty of Waitangi on 6<sup>th</sup> February 1840. Kawiti was appealing to the assembled chiefs, and in particular to the chiefs of Hokianga, not to sign the Treaty. Every word of his *tangi* would have had special significance. The source of this material is Himiona Kāmira, "Kāmira," in *Kāmira Collection* (Auckland, N.Z.: Central City Library, 1937), vol. 3, 29-30. Hereafter cited as *Kāmira*. Material which dates from 1856 was compiled at Reena, Matihetihe,

These phrases are part of a lament by Kawiti, paramount chief of Ngāti Hine, in which he appeals to Hokianga chiefs not to sign the Treaty of Waitangi.

In using the phrases *te tapu i te tinana* and *te tapu i te whenua*, Kawiti is using a construction not usually heard today. The more common construction is *te tapu o te tinana*, *te tapu o te whenua* (the *tapu* of the body, the *tapu* of the land).

Kawiti does not use the preposition ‘o.’ In that case, ‘o’ would signify that *tapu* is something ‘of’ or ‘about’ the body, about the land, and *tapu* would be seen as something external to the body, external to the land. Nor does Kawiti use the preposition ‘kei’ as in *te tapu kei te tinana*, *kei te whenua* (the *tapu* that is with the body, with the land, or associated with the body, with the land). He specifically uses the preposition ‘i,’ which signifies ‘within.’ Thus, we conclude that the phrase is intended to mean that *tapu* is internal, inherent and intrinsic, to the extent that ‘*te tapu i*’<sup>49</sup> is the intrinsic being that is *tinana*, and the intrinsic being that is *whenua*.

Kāmira later recorded the words of this *tangi* in his collection of *waiata*,<sup>50</sup> and makes this reflection in our final example:

*Ko te mea i pouri nui ai a Kawiti, ko te tapu i te tangata ka whakanoangia e tetahi iwi ke, ko te tapu i te whenua ka whakanoangia e tetahi iwi ke.*<sup>51</sup> [The reason why Kawiti is so deeply saddened is that the *tapu*, intrinsic to *tangata* and intrinsic to *whenua*, is violated by another people.]

---

1937. Kāmira, also known as Tākou Kāmira, was born in 1880. (See H. A. Tate, "Himiona Tupākihi Kāmira," in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: 1921-1940*, ed. W. H. Oliver (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, Bridget William & The Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1998), vol. 4, 261-263. He was from Te Taomaui and Te Hokoheha *hapū* of Mātihetihe, North Hokianga, and from the *Iwi* of Te Aupōuri and Te Rarawa. In later years he became a leader of the Hokianga *Whare Wānanga* until his death in 1953. He explains he had in his possession four volumes of material which were dated 1856, 1860, 1872 and 1884. Since they pre-dated his birth and adulthood we presume they were written and collected by his father, Tūpākihi, and his grandfather, Kāmira Haka. In a statement dated 20 May 1937, Kāmira says he had edited and re-arranged all their material as well as his own in a collection of 14 volumes. This compilation is now known as the *Kāmira Collection*. (See *Kāmira*, vol. 2, 1.) This collection is held under access restricted to *whānau* only. The *whānau* granted the writer access to the material."

<sup>49</sup> According to the context of the sentence, *te tapu i* may be more correctly expressed at times as *te tapu i a ia* (*tapu* that is intrinsic to him or her) or, for example, *te tapu i a Hākopa* (*tapu* that is intrinsic to *Hākopa*).

<sup>50</sup> Kāmira does not provide a date for this entry (*Waiata* No. 13) in his collection of 77 *waiata*, or of his reflection on the *tangi* of Kawiti. He was not a contemporary of Kawiti. Kāmira died in 1953, aged about 73. He transferred all the *waiata* from two old volumes of historical material dated 1856 and 1884, including the later ones he had collected from various *kaumātua*, along with their commentaries, and *waiata* he himself had composed, including his commentaries, into a single volume. This transfer of material was completed by him at his home in Tauwhare, Wairoa, on January 26, 1936. See *Kāmira*, vol. 3, 1.

<sup>51</sup> *Kāmira*, vol. 3.1, 29-30.

Kāmira uses the same construction as Kawiti, except he changes the word *tinana* to *tangata*. He thus invites the same interpretation as that of Kawiti. *Tapu* is internal, inherent and intrinsic, to the extent that ‘*te tapu i*’ is the intrinsic being that is *tangata*, and the intrinsic being that is *whenua*.

There are thus some early antecedents, in these five examples, for this term *te tapu i*. We now draw on these antecedents to propose a definition of *te tapu i*.

## 2.6.2 Definition of *te tapu i*

We have come to the point that, for the purpose of this thesis, we propose that the primary meaning of *tapu* is *te tapu i*, namely, being-in-itself. This is because *tapu* encompasses the being of the whole spectrum of all realities, and their relationship to other realities.

Second, because *tapu* is dynamic, it encompasses, through *te tapu o* (relationships), the *encounters* which take place between one reality and another, between *tapu* and *tapu*. *Tapu* refers also to the control system that regulates these encounters between realities to ensure, not just the survival, but also the enhancement of all realities. *Tapu* can be identified at all stages of these encounters. It is foundational to the initial encounter, an encounter that may be purely external or superficial, of one reality towards another reality. But the encounter can also reach from one reality inwards to the very core of the other reality.

The word *tapu* applies just as much, if not more so, to that innermost encounter reaching into the very core itself. In the reverse movement, *tapu* is centred at the core of one reality and encompasses every stage of its outreach until it encounters the very core of another reality. The encounter between one reality and another is the meeting of *tapu* with *tapu*. How *tapu* meets *tapu* is another aspect of *tapu*. The consequence of the meeting of *tapu* with *tapu* is a further aspect of *tapu*.

We are now in a position to offer a definition of *te tapu i*.

***Te tapu i* is primarily being-in-itself.** There are five elements that qualify the essential nature of *te tapu i*: ***te tapu i* encompasses existence; this existence is intrinsic to *te tapu i*; *te tapu i* is dynamically ordered towards totality and fullness; because of this, *te tapu i* is understood as source and fulfilment of all other *tapu*. Finally, from *te tapu i* emanate extensions of *tapu*.**



We examine each of these elements in turn.

#### 2.6.2.1 ***Te tapu i* is primarily being-in-itself**

We have already seen in our five examples, and we have argued, that *te tapu i* must be understood as being. For anything to be in relationship (*te tapu o*) or to be restricted in access, it must first exist. It is in this sense that we say that the *primary* meaning of *tapu* is being. This is not to rule out the other two perspectives on *tapu*, but to affirm that, while all three denote *being* under different aspects, *te tapu i* embraces the primary meaning of the three. A holistic approach to being includes all three perspectives.

#### 2.6.2.2 ***Te tapu i* encompasses existence**

*Te tapu i* exists, or has existence. Everything that exists is *tapu*. *Tapu* begins with existence. Ultimately, all created forms of *te tapu i* derive their existence from *Atua*, the source of all *tapu*. Once something exists, whether physical or spiritual, or both, the phrase *te tapu i* can be used.

#### 2.6.2.3 **This existence is intrinsic to *te tapu i***

Every reality, created or uncreated, has its own *tapu i a ia*, its own existence, as opposed to *te tapu i tētahi atu* (the *tapu* of another). In this sense, it is this particular existing being, and therefore *te tapu i* may be understood as intrinsic to each and every existing reality. *Te tapu i* is thus the source of *te tapu ōna* (its own *tapu*) in its own right. We can also note that it is from *te tapu i* and *te tapu o* that *mana* emanates, thereby giving power to *tapu* restrictions. *Te tapu i* is intrinsic to *Atua*, to *tangata*, to *whenua* and to all creation.

#### 2.6.2.4 ***Te tapu i* is dynamically ordered towards totality and fullness**

*Tapu* denotes the wholeness, the totality, the fullness of existence. It is not just a quality or part of a being, but denotes the totality of that being, considered in all its qualities and in all of its links. For example, *tapu nui*<sup>52</sup> does mean great *tapu*, but not just in the physical sense of volume. It also means a depth, an intensity of being as in the nature of spiritual being. *Tapu nui* can mean all-pervading, all-embracing, present in one and present in many.

---

<sup>52</sup> In Shortland is the phrase *te tokomauri o te tapu, tapu nui, tapu whakahirahira*. E. Shortland, "Manuscript Containing Maori Notes on Mainly, Genealogies, Karakia and Customs (PC-0015)," in *New Zealand Manuscripts, Shortland* (Dunedin, N.Z.: Hocken Library, n.d.), 130-132. Shortland Manuscripts, hereafter cited as Shortland, "NZMS." Shirres' translation reads: "the manifold *mauri* of the *tapu*, a great *tapu*, a highly important *tapu*." See Shirres, *Tapu: Te Mana O Nga Atua*, 14.

This does not mean that *te tapu i* cannot increase, that it does not or cannot grow. *Tapu* can also be described as *tapu whakahirahira*.<sup>53</sup> This phrase means a highly important *tapu*, having great consequence, but it also means a *tapu* of great excellence, the highest form of *tapu*, the fullness of *tapu*, fully developed, with no further potential development of being. This, in turn, means that every being can be considered in a dynamic way, moving from partial to complete development of its possibilities in all of its links with all other realities. We will see in Chapter Three that this, in turn, determines the *mana* of a being.

#### 2.6.2.5 ***Te tapu i understood as source and fulfilment of all other tapu***

As *Atua-taketake*, *Atua* is the foundation and source of all *tapu*. All other forms of *te tapu i* must be considered in their essential link to the immediate and primary source of their being, namely, *Atua*. But they must also acknowledge their place and relationship in the entire order of creation.

In the same way, the fulfilment of *tapu* is an essential element to consider. Just as the source of all *tapu* is essential, so also is its fulfilment. The two must be seen together in order to keep in view the dynamic tendency of *tapu* towards fulfilment of every being, or, in other words, its potential for fulfilment in the sum of its links (as in *te tapu o*), which ultimately embrace all created reality.

#### 2.6.2.6 ***From te tapu i emanate extensions of tapu***

*Tapu* is not isolated. It stands always at the heart of the creative process, namely, it stands always in relationship to what it creates or produces. For example, *Atua* may create something non-divine; an artist may create a work of art; or a builder may build a house. Where there is *te tapu i*, there are extensions of that *tapu*. Let us explore this a little more.

*Atua* creates other beings that have their own intrinsic *tapu*. Those beings that thereby come into existence with their own intrinsic *tapu*, *te tapu i a rātou*, are the extensions of *te tapu i te Atua*. For example, *tangata* and *whenua* are created by *Atua* and exist as gifted with their own *tapu i a rātou*. *Tangata* and *whenua* in their turn produce other forms of existing realities with their own *tapu i a rātou*, which are extensions of *te tapu i te tangata* and *te tapu i te whenua*.

---

<sup>53</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 52. Williams under the entry “hira” (*whakahira* 2a) describes *tapu whakahirahira* as great, highly important.

In every case, *Atua* or *tangata* can bring about a greater *tapu* in things that exist. As each being enhances *te tapu ōna* through relationship links, we may say that it thereby enhances *te tapu i a ia*, moving from its initial source to its fulfilment in all its potential links.

Now that we have explored the meaning of our definition, we turn to its application to our three categories of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. We begin with *te tapu i te Atua*.

### 2.6.3 *Te tapu i te Atua*

*Te tapu i te Atua* embraces all the elements in our definition. According to some Māori creation stories, *Io (Atua)*<sup>54</sup> existed alone in the realm of *Te Korekore*<sup>55</sup> (The Great Void). Nothing existed before *Io*, for *Io* alone was existent as *Io-Matua-kore*, the parentless, and then as *Io-Matua*, the first parent. In the Bible, too, in the beginning, God alone IS, prior to the creation.<sup>56</sup>

By way of application, the existence of *Atua* is self-justifying. No created reality gives existence to the parentless one. *Te tapu i te Atua* is thus intrinsic to *Atua*, in the sense that it comes from nowhere else.

Secondly, the movement from parentless one, *Atua-matua-kore*, to parent, *Atua-matua*, implies that *Atua* is the source and cause of the existence of all *tapu*, creating it out of *te kore* (nothingness).

From *te tapu i te Atua* emanate all other created realities with their own *tapu i a rātou*. The divine attributes manifest and name *te tapu i te Atua* as *Atua matua-kore* (the parentless one), as *Atua pūkenga* (the first cause), and as *Atua taketake* (the foundation of all things). *Te tapu i te Atua* is *Atua-roa* (enduring), is *Atua-nui* (infinite), is *Atua-uru* (omni-present), and *Atua-wānanga* (omniscient). *Te tapu i te Atua* is *Atua-matangaro* (the hidden and unseen face of *Atua*).

---

<sup>54</sup> See Appendix A

<sup>55</sup> Most written versions of the cosmogony of the universe and of the human race begin with *Te Korekore* (the Great Void) and relate an evolutionary process from *Te Pō* (Darkness) to *Te Ao Mārama* (the World of Light). It is in *Te Pō* that *Rangi* (Sky Father) and *Papa* (Earth Mother) and their children come into being, and where the children are engaged in the struggle to overcome the darkness and move into the world of light. There are different versions of the *Rangi* and *Papa* story. The best known one is that written down in 1849 by Wiremu Te Rangikaheke of Te Arawa. See GNZMMSS 43:893-913, entitled *The Legend of Tama-a-Rangi*. See also Marsden, *God, Man and Universe*, 130-133. Another version of creation begins with *Io* who alone existed in the realm of *Te Korekore*. Marsden, *op. cit.*, 134 ff. For a fuller discussion, see Appendix A.

<sup>56</sup> See Gen 1:1.

All these attributes are windows through which we glimpse aspects that one would consider to be intrinsic to *te tapu i te Atua*.<sup>57</sup>

Thirdly, in *Atua* there is nothing lacking, there is no imperfection, no deficiency. The totality of *tapu* in *Atua* is again seen in the divine attributes, which point to a fullness of every quality in the very nature of *Atua*. Viewed from our perspective, *te tapu i te tangata* and *te tapu i te whenua* share in *te tapu i te Atua*; but, as extensions of *tapu*, they are only a shadow of the fullness of *tapu* in *Atua*. And, if *Atua* is the supreme primary *tapu*, then all other forms of *tapu* are extensions of *te tapu i te Atua*. They exist because *Atua* exists.

In relation to the attributes of *Atua*, we need briefly to consider *te mana i te Atua*. *Te tapu i te Atua* is dynamic. The virtue by which it is dynamic is *te mana i te Atua*.<sup>58</sup> *Tapu* and *mana* are one in *Atua* and constitute the very being of *Atua*. However, because of our experience of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*, we can say that it is of the very nature of *Atua* that both *tapu* and *mana* reach out beyond themselves.

*Tapu* exists by virtue of *mana*, and in *Atua*, *mana* is the power that brings all extensions of *te tapu i te Atua* into existence, with *te tapu i a rātou*, (with their own intrinsic existence) and thus with their own *mana* in turn. It is subject to the creative *mana o te Atua*, that *te tapu i te tangata* and *te tapu i te whenua* come into being. Hence, we can say that procession, mission, creation and re-creation are of the very nature of *Atua*.<sup>59</sup>

*Tangata* and *whenua*, of course, receive from *Atua* their own *mana*, and are empowered to address and enhance *tapu* in creation, and to strive for fullness of all *tapu*.<sup>60</sup>

*Te tapu i te Atua* can also be analysed from the viewpoint of source and fulfilment of *tapu*. On the *marae*, we often hear *kaimihi* address *Atua* as *te tīmatanga* (the

---

<sup>57</sup> Some of these attributes are recorded by Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, 444. See also, *Kāmira*, vol. 2. 6; Marsden, *God, Man and Universe*, 130-131; Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 10. Explanations for various names of *Io* have been taken from the writings provided by Nēpia Pōhuhu of Wairarapa 'base text' 1863-1865. See A. Thornton, *The Birth of the Universe: Te Whānautanga O Te Ao Tukupū* (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 2004), 212-217.

<sup>58</sup> *Te mana i te Atua* is the inalienable power which is one with *te tapu i te Atua*. See Chapter Three on *Mana*.

<sup>59</sup> Possible foundations of Trinitarian thought and of the procession of persons in the Trinity may be sought here.

<sup>60</sup> *Mana*, in reference to *Atua*, can be linked into what traditional systematic theology calls uncreated and created grace.

beginning). They also use the phrase *te mātāpuna o te tapu, o te mana*.<sup>61</sup> *Mātāpuna* (the well-spring or source) adds the extra dimension of the beginning being the starting point from which flow *tapu* and *mana*. *Kaimihi* will conclude the phrase by referring to *Atua* as *te whakamutunga* (the end).

Perhaps a more descriptive word would be *te tutukitanga*, in that it better describes *Atua* as the meeting-point or fulfilment of *tapu*.<sup>62</sup> *Atua* is *te tutukitanga o te tapu*.

One final application of the notion of fulfilment to *te tapu i te Atua*, is that *Atua* is not only the source and fulfilment of each created entity, but also the source and fulfilment of each entity in its links. Fulfilment brings the links or relationships to completion. In the end, the fulfilment of *te tapu i te Atua* is that *Atua* will be “all in all”—when all links will be completed and fulfilled.

Implicitly, we have covered in this section the relationship of *te tapu i te Atua* with *tangata* and *whenua*, because all we really know about *te tapu i te Atua* comes through *tangata* and *whenua* in *te tapu o rātou* (their relationship) with *Atua*, rather than through some other form of direct access to *te tapu i te Atua*. Thus, we now turn to examine *Te Tapu i te Tangata*.

#### 2.6.4 *Te tapu i te tangata*

There are two viewpoints which we can consider here. When we consider *tangata* as the individual in his/her own right, we are considering *te tapu i te tangata* in the sense of *te tapu i a ia*.

When we consider *tangata* as a body of people, in relation to a *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi* we are likewise considering *te tapu i te tangata*. Or we may speak separately of *te tapu i te whānau*, *te tapu i te hapū* or *te tapu i te iwi*.

##### 2.6.4.1 *Te tapu i te tangata in relation to Atua*

In the light of our previous section, we can immediately say that *tangata* receives *te tapu i a ia* from *Atua*. Further, *te tapu i te tangata* is an extension of *te tapu i te Atua*, brought into existence by the *mana* of *Atua*.

---

<sup>61</sup> *Atua* is the source of *tapu* and *mana*.

<sup>62</sup> There are three Māori words that relate to the word 'end': a) *mutunga* which is the end because the action or journey has stopped or ceased; b) *otinga* refers to the end in that the action has stopped because the task has been completed; c) *tutukitanga* refers to the end in the sense that the action or journey has stopped and ceased because the action or journey has led to completion and fulfilment. There is nothing more to be achieved or desired.

There are two responses to this creative act of *Atua*. The first is right acknowledgement of *Atua* as source of *te tapu i te tangata*. This is done in *karakia* and *ritenga* surrounding every aspect of the life of every *tangata*.

It is in these encounters that *tangata* acknowledges *Atua* as *te tīmatanga me te mātāpuna*, as well as *te tutukitanga* (fulfilment) of *te tapu i a ia*. In this way, the dynamism of *te tapu i te tangata* is intrinsically linked both to the depths of his/her being and to *Atua* as the source of his/her being.

The second response derives from the fact that *te tapu i te tangata* is the extension of *te tapu i te Atua*. It is, then, not merely a question of acknowledging *Atua* in *karakia*, but also of acknowledging *Atua* in all the links that *tangata* enjoys with other *tāngata* and with the rest of creation. The concept of fulfilment of *te tapu i te tangata* is relevant here. It is intrinsically linked in its essential relationship with *te tapu i te Atua*, as *tangata* strives for the fullest possession of *te tapu i a ia* and *te tapu ōna* in the fullest enjoyment of all his/her links with *Atua* and creation. As the saying goes:

*Mā te puāwai ka mohiotia te putiputi.* [By its blooming is the plant identified.]

#### 2.6.4.2 *Te tapu i te tangata with regard to tāngata*

*Tapu* begins with existence. Thus *te tapu i te tangata* begins at conception and continues through life. The child conceived within the womb has existence, is *tapu* in itself. Perhaps it is for this reason that a *kaumātua* said:

*Ka kōpū te whaea, me waiata ia ki tana peepi, kia mārie ngā kōrero.*<sup>63</sup> [When a mother has conceived she should sing to her child within her womb, and let the child hear words of peace.]

The *tapu* of the child already is intrinsic *tapu*. It has its own *tapu i a ia*, its own existence, as opposed to that of another, even of its mother. This is the source of *te tapu ōna* in its own right. This is because, already within the womb, the child has its own identity. It also has its own identity within and not just in relationship to, *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

*Tapu* denotes the wholeness, the totality, the fullness of existence in relation to *tangata*. It is not just a quality or part of being, but denotes the totality of that being, considered in all its elements and in all its links. *Te tapu i te tangata* has to be considered according to all the elements of being that constitute his/her *tapu* such as

<sup>63</sup> These are the words of Hohaia (Joe) Toki, in oral discussion with the writer. Toki died in 1993.

*ira tangata* (life principle of human kind), *wairua* (spiritual), *hauora* (physical well-being), and *hinengaro* (psychological, emotional and mental well-being).

The dynamics of living a wholesome life must consist in developing all that constitutes the totality of one's *tapu*. To address or develop one or two elements, or links, to the exclusion of the others, is to deny the wholeness of one's person and is thus a violation of the totality of one's *tapu*. *Te tapu i te tangata* is about wholeness understood in all its constituent parts and links. Therefore there is a responsibility for each and all to develop and promote their own physical health, and their spiritual, emotional and psychological well-being.

The *whakataukī* (proverb) states:

*Mā te hinengaro te tangata e whakapakari.*<sup>64</sup> [Let the faculty of emotion and conscience bring maturity to the person.]

This dynamic movement towards fullness of *tapu* is expressed in many ways in Māori culture and language. Through the various cultural rituals, the identity, relationships, links, and values are all seen to contribute towards the person's *tapu i a ia*. Another noted *kaumātua* maintained:

*Ko te reo te kai-hiki i te manawa tapu o te kupu mo te ora, mo te mate.*<sup>65</sup> [The language uplifts, from within, the life-giving breath of the word that relates to the events of life and death.]

Thus in all these dimensions, *te tapu i te tangata* is concerned with the development of the totality of *tangata* in all his/her links.

We also note that the ultimate fulfilment of *tangata* is part of our systematics. Death reminds us that the physical world of *Te Ao Mārama* is not the fulfilment of *te tapu i te tangata*. Death may seem to be *te mutunga*, the last stage of life's journey, but *te tapu i te tangata* does not end at death. It takes a different form. Death is not *te tutukitanga*, nor is it *te wā* (ultimate goal) for *te tapu i te tangata*.<sup>66</sup> Just as there was an outward journey from *te tapu i te Atua* in the process of creation, so there must also be a return journey to the source in *te tapu i te Atua*.

<sup>64</sup> This is writer's translation of the saying of Dame Whina Cooper.

<sup>65</sup> This is writer's translation of the words of Kāmira. See *Kāmira*, vol. 2. 13.

<sup>66</sup> These Māori insights have certain parallels in recent theological discussion. John P. Galvin states "Human death is not extinction; rather, the freedom exercised over the course of a lifetime now bears eternal fruit in attaining a final state that includes all the constitutive dimensions of human existence." J. P. Galvin, "Jesus Christ," in *Systematic Theology: Roman Catholic Perspectives*, ed. F. Schüssler Fiorenza and J. P. Galvin (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 249-324. See 308.

In *te tapu i te Atua* is the fulfilment for the total *tapu i te tangata* in all its extensions, even in the physical dimension of his or her *tapu*.<sup>67</sup> *Te tutukitanga* for *te tapu i te tangata* is in the total and undisturbed possession of the fullness of *tapu* in *te tapu i te Atua*. The goal has been fully and completely achieved. That is also the ultimate moment of *Te Wā*.<sup>68</sup>

We now consider *te tapu i te tangata* in relation to his/her links that are extensions of *tapu*. By virtue of *te mana o te tangata*, *te tapu i te tangata* also has extensions. *Tangata* generates or produces other forms with *te tapu i a rātou*, other forms of intrinsic *tapu*, like children, goods, products, crafts, which are and have their own *tapu i a rātou*, and thus their own *mana* in turn. We can say that action, production, outreach and restoring of *tapu* are of the nature of *te tapu i te tangata*. We can also say that the words of welcome of the *kaikaranga* and the *kaimihi* heard on the *marae* are extensions of the caller and of the speaker, in that the word is the extension of the person.<sup>69</sup>

We have seen that Māori is an *iwi* person, not just an individual. He/she is part of the constitutive structure, by which the person belongs to this *whānau*, to this *hapū* and to these *iwi* groups or bodies, and that directly affects a person, shapes them, constitutes their being and determines what they are.

We have said that the individual IS by virtue of his or her being part of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. They are not added subsequently to the identity of the person. To illustrate this, we refer to a custom in some areas called “*te karanga keke*.”<sup>70</sup> When the *hapū* whose name is Ngātimanawa is called, the individual replies:

*Ae, ko Ngātimanawa tēnei.*  
[Yes, this is Ngātimanawa.]

The person asserts that he or she IS Ngātimanawa. There are in this statement, four implications for our understanding of *te tapu i te tangata*.

---

<sup>67</sup> Here we see links not only with ancient Māori beliefs in the return of the departed to the mystical homeland of Hawaiki, but also with the Christian expectation of the resurrected body in all its links with a renewed cosmos. The resurrected Christ is understood to present a pattern for our own resurrection. Cf. Darragh, *At Home in the Earth*, 132.

<sup>68</sup> For *Te Wā*, see Chapter 8.

<sup>69</sup> See Jn 1:1-14, where the Logos (Word) is both an extension of God and a person, Jesus Christ. Further, in John's Gospel, Jesus' words are, in turn, an extension of himself (*passim*).

<sup>70</sup> “*Karanga keke* is the “calling of the cake” where *hapū* or *iwi* representatives among the guests are called to claim a piece of cake (wedding or birthday), and to prove their *Heke Tika* line of descent if they are challenged to do so.



Firstly, one exists not just as an individual body, but as a *hapū* and *iwi* body that has many individual parts. In this sense, *te tapu i te tangata* **is** *te tapu i te whānau*, *te tapu i te hapū*, *te tapu i te iwi*, the being of the individual **is** the being of the *iwi*.

The reverse is only partly true. The intrinsic *tapu i ia tangata* (of the individual) is only in part constituted by the intrinsic *tapu* of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

Secondly, the wholeness and fullness of *te tapu i ia tangata* (the individual) can only be comprehended in the light of the wholeness and fullness of *te tapu i te iwi*. The well-being of the individual is reflected in the well-being of *iwi*, which in turn contributes to the well-being of the individual.

The goals of the *iwi* are ideally the goals of the individual. The call to totality of *tapu* for the individual is the call to totality of *tapu* for the *iwi*. The aim is to enhance the *tapu* of the whole body in all its links, and thus of each member.

Thirdly, all that constitutes *hapū* or *iwi* constitutes *te tapu i ia tangata*, including links of *iwi* with *whenua*. Thus, in the case of Ngātimanawa, both the individual and the *hapū* are linked with their ancestral place, Panguru.

Lastly, violation of the individual is violation of *iwi*. Violation of *iwi* is violation of the individual. Violation diminishes the *tapu* and cripples the *mana* both of the individual and of *iwi*. *Hohou rongo* (restoration, reconciliation) is then needed to restore the *tapu* of the individual as well as of *iwi*.

We can see in these points a kinship with Pauline thought, in which the community, the body, constitutes the individual, and not vice versa.<sup>71</sup>

Now we turn to the third and last aspect: *te tapu i te whenua*.

#### 2.6.5 *Te tapu i te whenua*

We need now to consider *whenua* in its own right, *te tapu i te whenua*. *Whenua* has *te tapu i a ia* because it exists in its own right. It has *te tapu ōna* because of its relationship to *Atua* and *tangata*.

---

<sup>71</sup> See 1 Cor 12:12-31, and Rom 12:4-8. Likewise, a Māori understanding of the body of Christ will include all *tapu* links.

We have seen in our section on *te tapu o te whenua* how, in Māori cosmology, *whenua* is traditionally interpreted through the lens of the creation story of *Rangi* and *Papatūānuku*. *Papatūānuku* (and thus, *whenua*) existed before *tangata* came to be. This cosmology is not far removed from contemporary scientific efforts to view the earth as a living organism.<sup>72</sup>

Marsden offers a Māori view which is strikingly similar.<sup>73</sup> We must simply affirm that *te tapu i te whenua*, which exists in all its physical and geographical features,<sup>74</sup> and which includes not just the physical earth but also what touches the earth and must remain on it or within it,<sup>75</sup> has *te tapu i a ia*—it exists in its own right. But the Māori creation story reminds us, too, that *whenua* is more than just the physical world. *Whenua* also has a spiritual dimension. Its links with *Atua*, its source and fulfilment—and its links with *tangata*—take it beyond the merely physical. The totality and fullness of *whenua* is in its relationship with *Atua* and *tangata*.

Because *whenua* has intrinsic *tapu*, it can suffer violation. Violation occurs when it is regarded and treated as an instrument or commodity of *tangata*, and subjected to overexploitation and pollution.

---

<sup>72</sup> See J. E. Lovelock's notion of the 'Gaia Hypothesis,' in G. H. Potts, "Imagining Gaia: Perspectives and Prospects on Gaia, Science and Religion," *Ecotheology* 8, no. 1 (2003): 30-49, here 31-32. See S. McFague, *The Body of God: An Ecological Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 30-32. Recently, Darragh, in *At Home in the Earth*, (17-19) has proposed three helpful images in this regard. The first image he calls "Between heaven and Earth," (where heaven is 'above' and earth is in the middle of a three-tiered universe), (17). The second is, "Masters upon a planet," (where the earth is "planet earth," a ball in the space of a modern scientific view of the universe), (17), and the third is, "Living within the Earth," (where planet Earth is understood as a series of eco-systems) (18). See also (64-66) for discussion of models of human-earth relationships such as "Mother Earth" and "Body of God."

<sup>73</sup> Māori Marsden writes, "Papatuanuku is the personified name for the Earth, and whenua is the common name. Whenua is the term for the natural earth and placenta. We are of the earth and therefore earthy, and born out of the placenta and therefore human. As the human mother nourishes her child in the womb and then upon her breast after the child's birth, so does Mother Earth. Not only does she nourish humankind upon her breast but all life, animals, birds, trees, and plants. Man is part of this network and the other forms of life are his siblings. They share with each other the nourishment provided by Mother Earth ... Papatuanuku is a living organism with her own biological systems and functions. She provides a network of support systems for all her children who live and function in a symbiotic relationship. The different species and genera contribute to the welfare of other species and also help to sustain the biological functions of Mother Earth both in life and in death. Her children facilitate the processes of ingestion, digestion and excretion. The streams are her arteries bringing the life giving waters for her to imbibe and share with her offspring. The same streams act as alimentary canals and help in the disposal of waste." See Maori Marsden and Te Aroha Henare, *Kaitiakitanga: A Definitive Introduction to the Holistic World View of the Maori* (Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment, 1992), 23. Hereafter cited as Marsden & Henare, "Kaitiakitanga."

<sup>74</sup> For example, *maunga*, *awa*, *takutai* (coastlands), *roto* (lakes), *wairere* (waterfalls), *puia* (hot springs), *pā* (fortified village sites), *urupā* (burial grounds), *ana* (caves), *kāinga* and *papa-kāinga*, *mahinga kai* (plantations), and *marae*.

<sup>75</sup> For example, *wera* (heat), *tōmaiwhenua* (dew), *haupapa* (frost), *hukarere* (snow), *wai* (water). This point, especially in regard to heat and water, has become important in claims to the Waitangi Tribunal. *Whenua* also includes what is within the bosom of *Papatūānuku*, like *kōhatu* (rocks), *waro* (coal), *onepū* (sand), *pounamu* (greenstone).

### 2.6.5.1 *Te tapu i te whenua in relation to te tapu i te Atua*

Although it exists in its own right, *whenua* is also the extension of *te tapu i te Atua* by virtue of *te mana o te Atua*. *Whenua*, in its wonder and majesty, proclaims the wonder and majesty of *Atua*, its *mātāpuna* and *tutukitanga*. The goal-directedness of all creation and the final ecological implications of *te tapu i te whenua* are to be found in this sense of the ultimate fulfilment of *whenua* in its local and cosmic meanings.

### 2.6.5.2 *Te tapu i te whenua in relation to tāngata*

All that constitutes *te tapu i te whenua* in its physical and spiritual dimensions also enhances *te tapu o te tangata* through the links of *tangata* with *whenua*. *Kaumātua* may appear to be bold when they claim:

*Ko ahau tēnei, ko Panguru maunga. Ko ahau tēnei, ko Hokianga.*<sup>76</sup>  
[It is I, Panguru Mountain. It is I, Hokianga.]

On the other hand, the following proverbs emphasise the more permanent nature of *whenua* in comparison to *tangata*.

*Toitū he whenua, whatu-ngarongaro he tangata.* [Whenua is permanent, tangata disappears from vision.]

*Rārangi maunga tū te rā, tū te pō, rārangi tangata ka ngaro, ka ngaro.* [The mountain ranges stand, day and night, but generations of people disappear.]

Whilst being mindful of the message of the two proverbs that *whenua* is more permanent than *tangata*, one must still say that fulfilment for *whenua* is in the full exercise of its links with *tangata* and *Atua*. *Whenua* nourishes and sustains *te tapu i te tangata*. There is no identity for *tangata* without *whenua*. In acknowledging and respecting *te tapu i te whenua*, *tangata* acknowledges and respects the source.<sup>77</sup> The wholeness of Māori Spirituality lies in the fact that it concerns itself with manifesting, addressing, enhancing, sustaining and restoring *te tapu i te whenua* in all its links.

Lastly, we can be specific in relating *tapu* restrictions to this third perspective of *tapu* as expressed in the phrase *te tapu i*. Here, we recall that the purpose of *tapu* restrictions is to restrict the access of *tangata* to *Atua*, other *tāngata* and to *whenua*, so as to protect against *whakanoa* of *te tapu i te Atua*, *te tapu i te tangata*, and *te tapu i te whenua*.

<sup>76</sup> Te Ātihaunui-a-Paparangi say of themselves: “*Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au.*” (I am the river, the river is me.) They are referring to their constitutive relationship with the Whanganui River.

<sup>77</sup> See Rom 1:20. The basis of a Māori theology of sacramentality may be seen here.

### 2.7.0 Conclusion

We have proposed *Tapu* as a foundational concept in our systematics. Without it none of the other elements or principles of the thesis would exist. Each other principle, then, presupposes *tapu* and addresses it, either directly or in its links. We have analysed *tapu* from three perspectives (*tapu* restrictions, ‘*te tapu o*,’ and ‘*te tapu i*’), which must be held together to attain the full meaning of *tapu*. This threefold structure will underlie all the other chapters. Further, we have analysed the three perspectives in their relationship to *Atua*, *tangata*, and *whenua*, in order to form a systematic whole.

The next step in our systematics is to show that from *tapu* proceeds *mana*. We now move to the related concept of *Mana* in Chapter Three.

## CHAPTER THREE

### MANA

#### 3.1.0 Introduction

In this Chapter we reflect on the concept of *Mana*. Like *tapu*, *mana* is a foundational concept. We first look at word usage, and offer a systematic definition of *mana* for the purposes of the thesis. We analyse this definition in seven steps.

Next, we proceed to deal with *mana* in two major sections. In Section One, we deal with *mana* as ‘power in operation.’ For this perspective of *mana* we use the phrase, ‘*te mana o*,’ and we discuss this in relation to *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

In Section Two we deal with *mana* as ‘the inalienable power intrinsic to the person or being that has the *mana*.’ Here, we use the phrase, ‘*te mana i*,’ and we discuss this aspect of *mana*, likewise, in relation to *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

First, however, we look at word usage.

#### 3.2.0 Word usage

*Mana* is such a widely used word that it is impossible to give an exhaustive survey of word usage. In what follows, we highlight ten aspects of *mana*, and we provide sources, in an attempt to arrive at a deeper and more systematic understanding. These are: power, spiritual power, authority, influence, psychic force, control, prestige and status, *manaaki* (hospitality), charisma, and *rangatiratanga* (chieftainship).

The first aspect of *mana* is power. Williams’ Dictionary, Te Hurinui, and Ihi Management Consultants describe *mana* as power, in the sense of having influence.<sup>1</sup> Buck qualifies the meaning of power, as power to rule and direct.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 172. See Pei Te Hurinui, *King Potatau: An Account of the Life of Potatau Te Wherowhero the First Maori King* (Carterton, N.Z.: The Polynesian Society, 1959), 231. Hereafter cited as Te Hurinui, *King Potatau*. See Ihi Management Consultants Ltd., *Bicultural Development Programme: Prepared for the Department of Labour: Maori Management: Section Five: Tikanga Maori* (Wellington, N.Z.: Department of Labour, Maori Management, 1987), 25. Hereafter cited as Ihi Consultants, *Bicultural Development*.

<sup>2</sup> Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, 346.

Cleve Barlow describes *mana* as “the enduring, indestructible power of the gods ... the power of the ancestors ... the power of the land ... the power of the individual, power from the ancient ones.”<sup>3</sup> For Michael Shirres, *mana* is the actual power, the power itself. It is “power from people ... power from the land ... and power from our link with the spiritual powers.”<sup>4</sup> Chris Winitana follows this theme. *Mana* is the “power ... you’re given.”<sup>5</sup>

The second aspect is *mana* as spiritual power. Buck also describes *mana* as spiritual powers.<sup>6</sup> For Māori Marsden, *mana* is spiritual power; he distinguishes between spiritual power on the one hand, and the natural force of *ihi* (magnetism, psychic force); *mana* is the ability or power to perform; it is “the endowment of spiritual power to act; *mana* manifests the power of the gods.”<sup>7</sup> Shirres speaks of *mana atua*, in which every person shares, as “power from our link with the spiritual powers,”<sup>8</sup> while Ihi Management Consultants describe *mana atua* as the authority to act in spiritual matters.<sup>9</sup>

The third aspect is *mana* as authority.<sup>10</sup> Te Hurinui specifies this authority as “authoritative, and effective.”<sup>11</sup> For Rangimarie Rose Pere, *mana* is “vested and acquired authority.”<sup>12</sup> Marsden stresses the spiritual nature of the authority: the “lawful permission delegated by the gods.”<sup>13</sup> In their submission to the Waitangi Tribunal, the Ngāti Whātua people clearly understand *mana* as traditional authority,<sup>14</sup> while Te Atiawa people interpret *mana Māori* as authority to exercise control over their seafood

---

<sup>3</sup> Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 60-62.

<sup>4</sup> Shirres, *Te Tangata*, 53.

<sup>5</sup> C. Winitana, “The Meaning of Mana,” *N.Z. Geographic*, no. 5, Jan- Mar (1990): 107-111, here 108. Hereafter cited as Winitana, “The Meaning of Mana.”

<sup>6</sup> Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, 353.

<sup>7</sup> Marsden, *God, Man and Universe*, 118.

<sup>8</sup> Shirres, *Te Tangata*, 53.

<sup>9</sup> Ihi Consultants, *Bicultural Development*, 25.

<sup>10</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 172.

<sup>11</sup> Te Hurinui, *King Potatau*, 231.

<sup>12</sup> R. R. Pere, *Ako: Concept and Learning in the Māori Tradition* (Wellington, N.Z.: Te Kohanga Reo National Trust Board, 1982), 38. Hereafter cited as Pere, *Ako*.

<sup>13</sup> Marsden, *God, Man and Universe*, 118.

<sup>14</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Orakei Report 1987: Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Orakei Claim* (Wai 9) (Wellington, N.Z.: Brooker & Friend, 1987), 8.3-11, 11.4. Hereafter cited as *Wai 9: Orakei Report*.

resources.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, for Heremia Te Wake, “*te mana moana*” is the authority of an *iwi* over the sea.<sup>16</sup>

The fourth aspect is *mana* as influence.<sup>17</sup> Te Hurinui describes *mana* as influence in the sense of being effectual, binding. For Winitana it has a sense of influence like “charism, aura, and respect.”<sup>18</sup>

The fifth is *mana* as psychic force. Williams, Te Hurinui, and Ihi Management Consultants<sup>19</sup> all describe *mana* as psychic force. One of those giving evidence on behalf of Ngāti Kahungunu spoke about *mana* as the “psychic force within us.”<sup>20</sup> However, for Marsden, psychic force is *ihi*, not *mana*.<sup>21</sup>

The sixth aspect is *mana* as control. Williams, Te Hurinui, and Buck<sup>22</sup> include control as a meaning of *mana* in the sense of power to rule and direct. It can be the power to control and manage resources. The Waitangi Tribunal notes this sense.<sup>23</sup> For Ngāti Whātua, *mana motuhake* is the autonomous character of *mana Māori*. It is the *mana* of the tribe to possess, and to control its own resources.<sup>24</sup> Heremia Te Wake says: “*Kei a rāua te mana, me te tikanga*” (they have the *mana* and thereby the right to control and manage).<sup>25</sup>

The seventh is *mana* as prestige and status.<sup>26</sup> The Waitangi Tribunal’s Motunui Waitara Claim<sup>27</sup> describes tribal *mana* as prestige, honour, standing, naming them as essential elements of *mana*. For the Manukau tribes, *mana* is prestige because it constitutes the tribe’s ability to contribute and share.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Motunui-Waitara Claim (Wai 6): Background to the Reefs—Te Atiawa Perspective* (Wellington, N.Z.: Dept. of Justice, Waitangi Tribunal, 1983), 4. 9. Hereafter cited as *Wai 6: Motunui-Waitara Claim*.

<sup>16</sup> Tate & Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 9.

<sup>17</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 172. Ihi Consultants, *Bicultural Development*, 23.

<sup>18</sup> Winitana, “The Meaning of Mana,” 108.

<sup>19</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 172. Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, 231. Ihi Consultants, *Bicultural Development*, 23.

<sup>20</sup> Charlie Kingi. See the Waitangi Tribunal, *Mohaka River Report (Wai 119)* (Wellington, N.Z.: Brooker & Friend, 1992), 2.11. Hereafter cited as *Wai 119: Mohaka River Report*.

<sup>21</sup> Marsden, *God, Man and Universe*, 118.

<sup>22</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 172. Te Hurinui, *King Potatau*, 231. Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, 346.

<sup>23</sup> *Wai 6: Motunui-Waitara Claim*, 4.4, 4.5, 4.9.

<sup>24</sup> *Wai 9: Orakei Report*, 8.2, 11.11.4.

<sup>25</sup> Tate & Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 20.

<sup>26</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 172. Te Hurinui, *King Potatau*, 346.

<sup>27</sup> *Wai 6: Motunui-Waitara Claim*, 4.4.

<sup>28</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Finding of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Manukau Claim (Wai 8)* (Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printer, 1985), 6.3 (c), 9.2.6. 17 (b). Hereafter cited as *Wai 8: Manukau Claim*.

Kahungunu states that, “*mana* is more than pride.”<sup>29</sup> For Marsden,<sup>30</sup> “prestige is a by-product of *mana*.” Pere takes this a little further: “*mana* demands and provides far more than just prestige and status.”<sup>31</sup>

The eighth aspect is *mana* as *manaaki*. *Manaaki* means hospitality and care for others. Williams uses the following words for *manaaki*, “show respect or kindness to, entertain.”<sup>32</sup> Dame Whina used ‘*manaaki*’ in the sense of ‘hospitality.’ The term *manaaki* is used by various *iwi* in their Waitangi Tribunal Claims to refer to the desire and ability of their *iwi* to offer hospitality to their *manuhiri*.<sup>33</sup> *Manaaki* is *mana* in that it is the exercise of the spiritual power and authority of *ia tangata, o te whānau, o te hapū, o te iwi* to provide hospitality in various forms to *manuhiri*.

In the Manukau Claim, the exercise of *manaaki* in the form of contributing food from the Manukau harbour is seen as “traditional hospitality,” which symbolises “loyalty to the Māori Queen.”<sup>34</sup> The Claim comments: “The [prestige] of the Maori is based, in part, on this ability to contribute and share.” For Winitana,<sup>35</sup> “*mana* expresses itself in humaneness, justice, caring, giving, sacrifice,” which are essential expressions of *manaaki*. Shirres, quoting from the Māori King Movement of 1850, stresses that “a major factor in having *mana* is the ability of people to express *mana* through the exercise of hospitality.”<sup>36</sup>

The ninth aspect is *mana* as *charisma*. These days, a person with charisma is one who has the power to attract others to a *kaupapa* through *mana kupu*. Marsden says, “*mana*, in a theological sense, may be translated as charisma.”<sup>37</sup> This refers not just to a naturally given gift, but to the exercise of that gift by the power of the Holy Spirit for the Spirit’s purposes.

---

<sup>29</sup> Wai 119: *Mohaka River Report*, 2.11.

<sup>30</sup> Rev. Māori Marsden with a group of priests, including the present writer, in an oral discussion on Māori Theology and Spirituality, in Te Kopuru, 8 June 1992.

<sup>31</sup> Pere, *Ako*, 38. Pere speaks of *mana* as “The mantle of *mana* embraces people, and when worn demands and provides far more than just prestige and status.”

<sup>32</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 172.

<sup>33</sup> See Wai 8: *Manukau Claim*, 6.3 (c), *Manaaki* was “a matter of tribal prestige and honour.” See also Wai 6: *Motunui-Waitara Claim*, 4.4, *Manaaki* “maintains tribal *mana* and standing.”

<sup>34</sup> See Wai 8: *Manukau Claim*, 6.3 (c).

<sup>35</sup> Winitana, “The Meaning of Mana,” 111.

<sup>36</sup> Shirres, *Te Tangata*, 55. See also Te Hurinui, *King Potatau*, 197.

<sup>37</sup> See Marsden, *God, Man and Universe*, 118. See also Winitana, “The Meaning of Mana,” 108.



The tenth aspect of *mana* is *rangatiratanga*. The term *rangatiratanga* cannot be captured by a single English word.<sup>38</sup> “*Rangatiratanga* denotes the *mana* not only to possess what is yours, but to control and manage it in accordance with your own preferences.”<sup>39</sup> For the Waitangi Tribunal, “‘*rangatiratanga*’ and ‘*mana*’” are inextricably related. “‘*Mana*’ denotes the same thing [as ‘*rangatiratanga*’] but personalises the authority [implied].”<sup>40</sup>

### 3.3.0 Definition of *mana*

After surveying the various meanings of *mana*, we are in a position to offer our own definition.

***Mana* is spiritual power, authority, and prestige and status. Once it comes into existence, which it derives from *tapu* as its source, it is either power in potentiality or power in operation. In its operation, it acts either to create, or to produce (from existing material), further beings with their own *tapu*. Each of these beings has, and exercises, its own *mana*, deriving from its own *tapu*, or from the *tapu* of others.**

***Mana* is *tapu* centred. In every case, the *mana* deriving from *tapu* acts, to manifest, address, enhance, sustain, and restore its own *tapu* and the *tapu* of other beings until the goal is reached of possessing *tapu* in its fullness.**

In what follows, we will deal with various points of the definition. Our reflections will take into consideration the aspects gleaned from the various writers and contributors.

#### 3.3.1 *Mana* is spiritual power

*Mana* is spiritual power. It is power that is effective yet in itself it is imperceptible. It is perceptible only in its effects. *Te mana o te Atua* cannot be seen, but the effects of *te mana o te Atua* can be seen in creation. *Te mana o te tangata* likewise cannot be perceived. What is perceptible is what *tangata* produces and achieves, or the good effect he or she has on others.

---

<sup>38</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>39</sup> Wai 6: *Motunui-Waitara Claim*, 10.2 (b).

<sup>40</sup> Wai 8: *Manukau Claim*, 8.3. (91).

*Mana* is not physical power. Physical power and strength is *kaha*.<sup>41</sup> A person with *kaha* is not necessarily a person with *mana*. Physical strength can be used to restrain or physically violate people. It does not necessarily follow that physical strength can restrain or destroy the *mana* of a person or people.<sup>42</sup>

On the other hand, *mana* (spiritual strength) can energise and focus *kaha* (physical strength) to almost superhuman levels of human courage and endurance. A phrase used by Mere Tana stresses the distinction between *kaha* and *mana*: “*Ko te kaha kei te tinana, ko te mana kei te wairua*.”<sup>43</sup> (*Kaha* is the strength of the body whilst *mana* is the strength of the spirit).

### 3.3.2 ***Mana* is authority**

All authority (*mana*) derives from the source of all *tapu*. That source is *Atua*. The *kaupapa* (the set of principles or ground rules) governing creation was set by *Atua*, *i te orokotīmatanga o te ao* (when creation first came into being). The right exercise of authority essential to maintaining the *kaupapa* was also set by *Atua i te orokotīmatanga o te ao*.

Any exercise of *mana* as authority thus emanates from its spiritual source (*Atua*). Whoever shares in the creative action of *Atua* must abide by the *kaupapa* set by *Atua*. Whoever abides by the *kaupapa* set by *Atua* thereby shares in the *mana* (authority) of *Atua*. It can be said, “*kei te Atua te kaupapa, kei te Atua te mana*” (*Atua* sets the rules, *Atua* has the *mana*).

In the first place, therefore, the right exercise of *mana* as spiritual authority is directed towards manifesting, addressing, enhancing, sustaining, and restoring *te tapu i ngā mea hanga* (the intrinsic being of all existing realities). Second, it is directed towards *te tapu o ngā mea hanga* (the enhancing and empowering relationships of all existing realities), and third, it is directed towards the empowering of *tapu* restrictions that protect all forms of *tapu*.

---

<sup>41</sup> *Kaha* describes the strength, intensity and sheer volume of the elements of nature to physically move other aspects of creation. *He kaha kei te hau. He kaha kei te ua. He kaha kei te waipuke. He kaha kei te rū-whenua*. (There is physical power and strength in the wind, rain, flood, and earthquake). *Kaha* also describes the physical strength of humans and beasts. *He kaha kei te tangata rā mō te mahi* (That person has the physical strength to do his/her work).

<sup>42</sup> See D. Scott, *Ask That Mountain, the Story of Parihaka* (Auckland, N.Z.: Heinemann, 1975), 24-25. See also Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom* (London: Little, Brown & Co., 1994), 444.

<sup>43</sup> Mere Tana, a *kuia* from Moerewa, used this phrase during a *hīkoi* through France in January 2002.

Those who exercise temporal authority are also bound by the *kaupapa* of *Atua*. *Mana* can be rightly used of both spiritual and temporal authority, providing the exercise of temporal authority enhances and restores the *tapu* and *mana* of existing realities.<sup>44</sup>

### 3.3.3 *Mana is prestige and status*

*Mana* as prestige and status is considered in a secondary sense. It derives, not from *tapu*, but from the former two elements, spiritual power and authority. It is a state of honour, and thus status, that derives from *mana* handed down, or from *mana* given in the past (whether exercised or not), or from *mana* given in the present as a result of right exercise of spiritual power or authority.

It is something not only given by others, but also claimed (by an individual, or *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi*). It is important that *mana* as prestige be rightly and fully acknowledged, so that spiritual power and authority can in fact be exercised. If the prestige is given and the person or group so acknowledged exercises their *mana*, then goals are more readily achieved. If the *mana* given is not acted upon or not exercised, then that person or group loses the state of honour considered as prestige, and the goals are not achieved.

We will now move to consider the next point of the definition, that of *mana* deriving from *tapu*.

### 3.3.4 *Mana derives from tapu as its source*

*Mana* is not its own source because it comes into existence only when *tapu* comes into existence. *Mana* is rooted in *tapu*. It does not exist independently of *tapu*. Since *mana* is dependent on *tapu* for existence, then *tapu* is the source of *mana*. It is from *tapu* that *mana* emanates.<sup>45</sup>

In order to substantiate our claim, we must examine the links between *mana* and *tapu*, the nature of those links, and whether those links show if *tapu* is the source of *mana*, or *mana* the source of *tapu*. We begin the discussion with the point that *mana* and *tapu*

---

<sup>44</sup> Marsden speaks here of the “lawful permission delegated by the gods to their human agents and accompanied by the endowment of spiritual power to act on their behalf and in accordance with their revealed will.” Marsden, Māori, *God, Man and Universe*, 118-119.

<sup>45</sup> Ultimately, it is *te tapu i te Atua*, which in its creative mode—*te tapu o te Atua*—is the source of all *mana*, and in this case, *mana o te Atua*. From this ultimate source, *mana* emanates, to create particular limited beings, each with their own *tapu* and *mana*. In turn, these beings exercise their *mana* to create or produce further particular limited beings, each with their own *tapu* and their own *mana*.

are words that are often used interchangeably. When one person speaks of *tapu* another may speak of *mana*. One person may say, “*kaua e takahi i tōku tapu*” (do not trample upon my *tapu*), when another might say, “*kaua e takahi i tōku mana*” (do not trample on my *mana*).

Two of Grey’s New Zealand Māori manuscripts use *tapu* and *mana* interchangeably in describing the birth of a child. In one, the birth of the child is described as the beginning of *mana*,<sup>46</sup> whereas in the second, it is described as the beginning of *tapu*.<sup>47</sup> The existence, and therefore the *tapu*, of the mother, preceded the existence and the *mana* of the child. The same manuscript text identifies the ancestors, and therefore the *tapu* of the ancestors, as the original source of the *mana* of the child.<sup>48</sup> If the words can be used interchangeably, then a number of inferences may be drawn for our definition. In the first instance, the different words indicate different aspects of the one reality. In the second instance, when one aspect is present, the other is present also. Conversely, when one aspect is not present, then the other is not present either. In this context, where there is *tapu* there is *mana*, and where there is *mana* there is *tapu*. When *tapu* is enhanced, *mana* is also enhanced, that is, it is rendered more effective. When *tapu* is diminished, *mana* also is diminished and impaired.

Further, *inā whakanoangia te tapu, kua whakanoangia te mana* (when *tapu* is violated, *mana* has also been violated). When *mana* is not exercised, or its exercise is blocked, then neither is *tapu* addressed, enhanced or restored. When *mana* is not exercised with *tika* (rightly), as when *mana* is misused or usurped, then *tapu* is likewise not rightly addressed or enhanced. In the misuse of *mana* there is abuse of *tapu*. On the other hand, when *mana* is restored, *tapu* also is restored. There is thus an essential link between *tapu* and *mana*.

There is also an essential link between *mana* and *tapu* restrictions. *Mana* is required to impose *tapu* restrictions, to enforce them, and to lift them. *Tapu* restrictions protect *tapu* from violation, but *mana* is required for *tapu* restrictions to be effective. When

---

<sup>46</sup> GNZMMSS, 28:126. “*I te oroko putanga mai o te tamariki i roto i tona whaea, no reira ano i timata mai ai te mana, otiia, no mua iho, no nga tupuna*” (In the very coming forth of the child from its mother, from there indeed, its *mana* began, but it comes from right back, from its ancestors). Translation by Shirres. See Shirres, *Tapu*, 10.

<sup>47</sup> GNZMMSS, 28:126; 31:5.

<sup>48</sup> GNZMMSS, 28:126.

*tapu* is acknowledged, respected and enhanced through the right observance of *tapu* restrictions then *mana* becomes even more effective for enforcing further *tapu* restrictions. Violation of *tapu* restrictions is a violation of the *mana* of the person or people who imposed the restrictions. Ultimately, it is a violation of the *mana* of *Atua*.

This link between *tapu* and *mana* is evident in our authors. Marsden states that “*tapu* manifests itself in *mana*.”<sup>49</sup> Shirres says that “where *tapu* is the potentiality for power, *mana* is the actual power, the power itself ... *mana* is the actualisation, the realisation, of the *tapu* of the person.”<sup>50</sup> Thus, for Shirres, *mana* flows from *tapu*, which is the potentiality for power. Without the potentiality for power, there would be no actual power. *Tapu* is not just manifested in *mana*, but more importantly, *tapu* is the source of *mana*.

Shirres quotes from one of White’s Māori manuscripts, “*Ko te tapu te mana o nga atua*.”<sup>51</sup> There are two possible translations for this text, both of which affirm the links between *tapu* and *mana*. The first is that “*tapu* is the *mana* of the spiritual powers,” meaning that, in the spiritual powers, *tapu* is one with, is the same as the *mana* of the spiritual powers.

The other translation is that “*tapu* is or exists because of the *mana* of the spiritual powers.” In the second version, the emphasis is on the *mana* of the spiritual powers as the source of *tapu*. Shirres develops this second aspect: “the *mana* of the spiritual powers is the source of the *tapu* of the person and extends to the *tapu* restrictions surrounding the person.”<sup>52</sup> Thus, for Shirres, the spiritual powers are the source of the *tapu* of *tangata* and other forms of *tapu*. It does not follow that the *mana* of the spiritual powers is the source of the *tapu* of the spiritual powers themselves.

In conclusion, we may say that *mana* is not its own source, but that in every case, *tapu* is the source of *mana*.

---

<sup>49</sup> In oral discussion at Te Kopuru, 8.6.1992. See footnote 30.

<sup>50</sup> Shirres, *Te Tangata*, 53.

<sup>51</sup> See White, “75 B36/35,” 48-49. “*Tapu* is the *mana* of the spiritual powers.” (An undated Māori manuscript said by White to present a Ngāi Tahu (South Island) understanding of *tapu*). See Shirres *Te Tangata*, 33.

<sup>52</sup> Shirres, *Te Tangata*, 34.

### 3.3.5 ***Mana* is either power in potentiality or power in operation.**

In its operation, *mana* acts either to create, or to produce (from existing material), further beings with their own *tapu*. Each of these beings has, and exercises, its own *mana*, deriving from its own *tapu* or from the *tapu* of others.

If *mana* emanates from *tapu*, it is either power that is inactive, with potentiality for operation, or it is power in actual operation. In the latter case, the exercise of *mana* can create new beings. For example, *te mana o te Atua* is the creative power that brings creation into being. Alternatively, the exercise of *mana* produces new beings. For example, an artist takes existing materials and fashions something new, with its own *tapu* and its own *mana*.

### 3.3.6 ***Mana* is *tapu* centred**

By the phrase '*Mana* is *tapu* centred,' we mean that everything about *mana* is directed towards *tapu*. In every case, the *mana* deriving from *tapu* acts, to manifest, address, enhance, sustain, and restore its own *tapu* and the *tapu* of other beings until the goal is reached of possessing *tapu* in its fullness.

*Mana* acts, first of all, to manifest its source, which is its *tapu*. Thus, we perceive something of the *tapu* of a person or thing through our experience of their *mana*. Second, *mana* acts to address the *tapu* of things that exist. For example, *hunga kāinga* (the home people), in welcoming *manuhiri*, will address them through *karanga*, *mihi* (formal speech/es of welcome), and *manaaki*. This address will take care to acknowledge fully *te tapu o rātou* (their *tapu* in all their relationships). By so doing, *hunga kāinga* also manifest fully their own *tapu* and thereby further enhance their own *mana*.

Third, it follows from the fact that *mana* is *tapu* centred, that *mana* acts to manifest, address, enhance, sustain and restore *tapu* in virtue of its goal, the full possession of *tapu*. This can be its own *tapu* or the *tapu* of other beings (*te tapu o rātou*). It is always possible to enhance and sustain *tapu*, and it is at times necessary to restore it.

This concludes our preliminary considerations, in which we have surveyed definitions and come to a systematic definition of *mana*. We now turn to Section One, in which we will discuss *mana* as power in operation.

### 3.4.0 Section One: *Te mana o—mana as power in operation*

In Chapter Two we made the point that, in Māori language, the phrase ‘*te tapu o*’ is not complete on its own. It needs to be tied to existing realities like *Atua*, *Tangata* and *Whenua*. However, we used the phrase on its own because, by doing it this way, we were able to identify and reflect on elements of *tapu* that were common to *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*, specifically, *te tapu o te Atua*, *te tapu o te tangata* and *te tapu o te whenua*. We follow the same process here with the phrase ‘*te mana o*. We first deal with elements of *te mana o* and then we reflect in turn on *te mana o te Atua*, *te mana o te tangata* and *te mana o te whenua*.

#### 3.4.1 Definition of *te mana o*

***Te mana o is mana in operation.***

In its primary function, *mana* creates or produces *te tapu i ngā mea katoa* (the intrinsic being of all things that exist). In its secondary function it manifests, addresses, enhances, sustains and restores *te tapu i ngā mea katoa*, and *te tapu o ngā mea katoa*. *Te mana o* is more effective when relationship (*te tapu o*) is addressed, enhanced and restored. The greater *te tapu o*, the more effective *te mana o*. The stronger the relationship (*te tapu o*) among things that exist, the stronger is *te mana o*, to address, enhance, sustain and restore the *tapu* of those same things that exist. *Te mana o* may be effective in manifesting, addressing, enhancing, sustaining and restoring *tapu*, or it may be blocked. *Te mana o* is blocked or rendered ineffective by any act of *whakanoa* (violation).

Now we turn to the first of the three applications of *te mana o*, namely, *te mana o te Atua*.

#### 3.4.2 *Te mana o te Atua*

*Te mana o te Atua* goes forth to create the non-divine universe, *whenua* and *tangata*, and constitute it in being with its own *tapu* and its own *mana*. Whereas *te tapu o te Atua* denotes the creative presence of *Atua* in creation, *te mana o te Atua* denotes the creative power of *Atua* in creation. It is this creative power of *Atua*, which proceeds from, and is one with, *te tapu o te Atua*, which creates all existing realities out of nothing.

*Te mana o te Atua* is the source of all other *tapu* and all other *mana*, absolutely. It is the creative power of *Atua* in operation, creating, producing, manifesting, enhancing, sustaining and restoring *tapu*, and bringing to the fullness of *tapu* all created realities. Since *Atua* is the prime source and transmitter of *mana*, it follows that it is *Atua* who determines the *kaupapa*, which is the principle for right exercise of that spiritual power. *Mana* is then delegated to, received and exercised by, *tangata* and *whenua* as agents of *Atua* in the exercise of *te mana o te Atua*. *Te mana o te Atua* is necessarily limited by the limited nature of creation. The self-limitation has its source again in *te tapu o te Atua*.

Outside the parameters of right exercise of *mana*, there is no *mana* from *Atua*. The authority given by *Atua* is to ensure that *mana* is rightly used for the purposes already established by *Atua*, and that is to produce, manifest, address, enhance, sustain and restore creation. The misuse by *tangata* of *te mana o te Atua* is a violation of *Atua*, and an abuse of *mana*. Though *Atua* is inviolable, *tangata* and *whenua* suffer from the effects of this violation.

### 3.4.3 *Te mana o te tangata*

We approach this topic in two parts. First we will consider some expressions of *te mana o te tangata*. Second, we will deal with *te mana o te tangata* in terms of *ia tangata* (the individual), and of his/her *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

In general terms, we can describe *te mana o te tangata* as the *mana* that is proper to *tangata* and exercised by *tangata*. It is operative and activated in the living out of relationships with *Atua*, other *tāngata* and with *whenua*.

#### 3.4.3.1 Expressions of *te mana o te tangata*

We begin with the writings of Kāmira. In his reflection on the “*Tangi* of Kawiti,” Kāmira identified, under the general heading of *te mana o te Iwi Māori*, the following expressions of *mana*: *mana tangata*, *mana whenua*, *mana kupu*, *mana kawē i te riri*, *mana kawē i te rangatiratanga o te Iwi Māori*.<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> The writer’s translation for each of these, respectively, is—*mana* pertaining to people, *mana* pertaining to the land, *mana* of the word, *mana* to do battle, and *mana* to carry the chieftainship of the Māori People. See Kāmira, vol. 3, 20.



These do not exhaust all possible expressions of *mana*. We will add others to this list or make slight variations. The exercise of *mana* by *tangata* will generally take one or more of these forms of expression. Though we present them here as expressions of *te mana o te tangata*, we must acknowledge that the fullness must surely be in *te mana o te Atua*. After all, *te mana o te tangata* derives from *Atua*, and is rendered more effective when *tangata* is empowered by sharing in *te mana o te Atua*.

The expanded list that we will now analyse consists of eight categories, or forms of expression, all of which are important. They are: *mana kawē i te rangatiratanga o te Iwi Māori*; *mana whakahaere*; *mana kawē kaupapa*; *mana kawē i te riri*; *mana tuku iho*; *mana tuku*; *manaaki*; and *mana kupu*. We will give the translated meanings under their respective headings, and analyse these following expressions of *mana* with a view to relating them one with another.

#### 3.4.3.1.1 ***Mana kawē i te rangatiratanga o te Iwi Māori*** (***mana to carry the chieftainship of the Māori People***)

In our view, this is the foundation of all other expressions of *mana*. We recognise it as the *mana* by which the ‘*rangatiratanga o te Iwi Māori*’ is attained, maintained or restored. This is because in ‘*rangatiratanga*’ is the totality of *tapu* and the fullness of *mana*. ‘*Iwi Māori*’ embraces *ia tangata*, *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi* and, indeed, Māori as a race of people. Thus we can speak of *te mana kawē i te rangatiratanga o ia tangata, o te whānau, o te hapū, o te Iwi Māori*.

The integral exercise of *Mana kawē i te rangatiratanga o te Iwi Māori* extends to having access to, or having control and management of, various *taonga* such as *reo* (language), *tikanga* (culture and custom), *mātauranga* (Māori knowledge and wisdom), *whakapapa* (genealogy), to name but a few aspects.

#### 3.4.3.1.2 ***Mana whakahaere***

*Mana whakahaere* is the *mana* to conduct, direct, manage, govern, and have some control over resources and people, for the purpose of producing, manifesting, addressing, enhancing, sustaining, restoring and possessing *tapu* in its fullness. *Mana whakahaere* is essential for the purpose. Without *mana whakahaere* goals cannot be achieved, nothing can proceed. There is no movement. A state of stagnation is a state

of negative *noa*.<sup>54</sup> Included in *mana whakahaere* must be the power and authority to administer, make laws and regulations, and execute them in order to achieve the goal of possessing the fullness of *tapu*. There must also be the *mana* to impose *tapu* restrictions or *rāhui*, and to lift them, if *tapu* is to be enhanced or restored.

#### 3.4.3.1.3 *Mana kawē kaupapa*

*Mana kawē kaupapa* is another perspective of, and presupposes, *mana whakahaere*. It is the power and authority to conduct (*kawē*) and bring to completion specific projects (*kaupapa*) in order to achieve the right goals in life. Just as *mana kawē kaupapa* is exercised in projects that address and enhance *tapu* and *mana*, so *mana kawē kaupapa* is also exercised in projects of *hohou rongo* (reconciliation) to restore *tapu* and *mana*.

#### 3.4.3.1.4 *Mana kawē i te riri*

*Mana kawē i te riri* is another example of *mana tangata* and a further perspective of *mana whakahaere*. It consists in the *mana* to do battle (*kawē i te riri*) to achieve desired goals, that address, acknowledge and restore *tapu* and *mana* of *tangata* and *whenua*. If the *kaupapa* (principle) of the *riri* (battle) is to ensure the right to exercise *mana kawē i te rangatiratanga o te Iwi Māori*, and other expressions of *mana* (including *mana whakahaere* and *mana kawē kaupapa*), then *mana kawē i te riri* adds to this the notion of a proper exercise of *mana*.

*Mana kawē i te riri* thus cannot be used to achieve goals that of their nature violate, or put people down. For example, we will see that *kaiwhakatara*<sup>55</sup> (challengers and stirrers) seek to exercise *mana kawē i te riri* in their efforts to prevent, or to rectify, violations of *tapu* and *mana* of *tangata* and/or *whenua*.

#### 3.4.3.1.5 *Mana tuku iho*

*Mana tuku iho* is *mana* handed down (*tuku iho*) from one generation to another, from *tūpuna* (ancestors) and *mātua* (parents) to their *tamariki* (children) and *mokopuna* (grandchildren). Any *mana* handed down must include the other expressions of *mana* already referred to—otherwise *mana tuku iho* will not be effective in achieving the desired goals in the following generations. One can say that *tangata* ultimately receives *mana tuku iho* from *Atua*, since *Atua* is the source of all *mana*.

<sup>54</sup> We will consider this situation in Chapter Six dealing with *Whakanoa* and the state of negative *noa*.

<sup>55</sup> We will see in Chapter Five that *kaiwhakatara* is a *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* (role player).

#### 3.4.3.1.6 *Mana tuku*

*Mana tuku* is the sharing (*tuku*) of *mana* by one who has *mana* with one who does not. *Mana tuku* is shared horizontally with persons or people in the same generation and lifetime, whereas *mana tuku iho* is shared vertically with later generations. The giver can revoke *mana tuku* since it is given in the generation and lifetime of the giver. The sharing or giving of *taonga* (gifts), or shares in *whenua*, are examples of *mana tuku* exercised by the giver.<sup>56</sup>

#### 3.4.3.1.7 *Manaaki*

*Manaaki* is the exercise of *mana* in various forms of hospitality. In the words of Dame Whina Cooper: “*Ki te kore koe e manaaki i te tangata me pēhea te tangata e mōhio e whaimana ana koe?*”<sup>57</sup> The exercise of *manaaki* is a practical way of addressing and enhancing the *tapu* of *manuhiri*. It increases the *mana* of the *hunga kāinga* in terms of status and prestige in the eyes of the *manuhiri*.

*Atua* established the *kaupapa* of *manaaki* when *Atua* created the world and shared *tōna tapu me tōna mana* (the *mana* and *tapu* of *Atua*) with *tangata* and *whenua*.

#### 3.4.3.1.8 *Mana kupu*

Generally, *kupu* is the spoken word.<sup>58</sup> *Mana kupu* is the *mana* of the spoken word. *Kupu* derives its *mana* from the speaker. It has *mana* when the word proceeds from a source of *mana*, like *Atua* and *tangata*; and it has the power to create, produce, sustain, manifest, enhance, restore and possess *tapu*. Only *Atua* has the *mana kupu* to create. The *mana kupu o te Atua* is effective. For example, in our view, Isaiah was describing what Māori call *te mana kupu a te Atua* in Isaiah 55:11.<sup>59</sup> *Mana kupu* is a form of exercising *mana*. In times past, *tūpuna* used *mana kupu* to exercise *mana tuku* and to impose and lift *tapu* restrictions.<sup>60</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> See Tate & Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 82, 92, 99. “*No te hinganga o Ngati Whatua i te ope a Te Rarawa katahi ka tukua a Otaua, e Matahaia ki a Tarutaru*” (it was when Ngāti Whātua was defeated by Te Rarawa in a battle near Otaua that Matahaia gave Otaua to Tarutaru), 82. “*He mea tuku*” (it was gifted). A further usage of the phrase, *mana tuku*, is in the following sentence. “*Kaore rawa au i rongo i ngā uri e whakahē ana i tēnā mana tuku*” (I never ever heard of the descendants opposing that exercise of *mana tuku*), 82.

<sup>57</sup> “If you do not offer hospitality to people how will people know you have *mana*?” These words were spoken in oral discussion at Panguru, 1993.

<sup>58</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 157.

<sup>59</sup> “So shall my word be that goes out from my mouth; it shall not return to me empty, but it shall accomplish that which I purpose, and succeed in the thing for which I sent it.” (Isa 55:11)

<sup>60</sup> Tate & Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 66. “*E tapu ana i a ratou kupu*” (reserves were declared *tapu* just by their word).

*Kupu* can also be the written word. *Mana kupu* applies to the power of the spoken or the written word.

*Tangata* effectively exercises *mana kupu* when, at his/her word of direction or encouragement, people are empowered to make positive and productive response. Whoever motivates and enhances others by words of support is exercising *mana kupu*. Whoever negotiates with people at odds with each other until *hohou rongo* (restoration, reconciliation) is achieved, exercises *mana kupu*. *Mana kupu* is lost and is ineffective, when words are used to ‘put people down’ rather than to enhance them, or when integrity is lacking between *kupu* and *mahi* (word and action). Māori would agree with the Apostle Paul’s respect for the spoken word in Ephesians: “Let no evil talk come out of your mouths, but only what is useful for building up, as there is need, so that your words may give grace to those who hear.” (Eph 4:29)

#### 3.4.3.2 **The relation of *te mana o te tangata* to individuals and groups**

We have considered some general expressions of *te mana o te tangata*. We now move to reflect on the exercise of *te mana o te tangata* by the individual (*ia tangata*) in relation to self, to other groupings of *tāngata* (namely, to *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*), and to *whenua* and to *Atua*.

Even though much attention is given to identifying and applying general expressions of *mana* to the individual, it must be kept in mind that these expressions of *mana* apply just as much, if not more so, to the wider groupings of *tāngata*. Thus, we will also give reflections dedicated to *te mana o te whānau*, *o te hapū*, *o te iwi*.

In the term ‘*ia tangata*’ we include *tupuna* (ancestor/grandparent), *rangatira* (chief/leader), *matua*, *whaea*, *tamaiti* (child), *mokopuna* (grandchild), *pēpi* (child in the womb or child ‘at the knee’), *tāne* (male or husband), *wahine* (female or wife), *taitamariki* (youth), *pononga* (slave or servant), and *hunga mauhere* (prisoner) as individuals who are exercising *mana* or have the potentiality to exercise *mana*.

##### 3.4.3.2.1 ***He mana tō tēnā, tō tēnā* (each individual has *mana*)**

The individual has personal *mana* because it emanates from his or her *tapu*. It may be active, operative and effective, or it may not. If it is not, there can be a number of reasons why it is not. It may not yet have become activated or it is not being exercised. The *mana* of a child is usually in a state of potentiality. We will look at *mana* in the

state of potentiality in the next section dealing with *te mana i te tangata*. In this particular section, we will consider *te mana o te tangata* as the active, operative and effective spiritual power of the individual.

Alternatively, the exercise of *mana* may have been denied, withdrawn, restricted or usurped.<sup>61</sup> A person in this state is said to be in a state of negative *noa*, a state of diminishment and powerlessness.<sup>62</sup> Then again, it may be that the *mana* of the person remains dormant or in the state of potentiality.

In the case where *mana* is active, operative and effective, the individual exercises *tōna mana* to produce and provide whatever is necessary to address, enhance and restore *te tapu i a ia* (his or her being and well-being). This is the exercise by the individual of his/her *mana kawē i tōna rangatiratanga*.<sup>63</sup>

The individual has the right and obligation to exercise *mana* in one form or another to conduct, direct, manage, govern and have control over whatever is necessary to attend to his/her own well-being, survival and dignity. He/she cannot violate others in the process.

A necessary element of *mana* is the power and authority to acquire, use and distribute his/her resources as well. Attending to *te tapu i a ia* is the primary purpose of *tōna mana*. At the same time, the individual also needs to exercise *mana kawē i tōna rangatiratanga* and *mana whakahaere* to attend *ki tōna tapu*,<sup>64</sup> to ensure he or she attains and maintains right relationships with *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. To avoid *takahi i te mana o te tangata* (trampling on the *mana* of the person) requires that others acknowledge and respect the totality of the *tapu* and *mana* of the individual, and his/her relationship with *Atua*, other *tāngata* and with *whenua*.

We turn to explore the exercise of *tōna mana*.

---

<sup>61</sup> A person may not have *mana* in terms of prestige and status (for example, a child, whose *mana* is in a state of potentiality; or a prisoner, whose *mana* has been withdrawn by others), but always retains *te mana i ā ia* (his/her intrinsic *mana*).

<sup>62</sup> We will look further at these points in Chapter Six which deals with *Whakanoa* (violation) and the State of Negative *Noa*.

<sup>63</sup> We have seen that this includes *reo* (language), *tikanga* (culture and custom), *mātauranga* (Māori knowledge and wisdom), and *whakapapa* (genealogy).

<sup>64</sup> *Tōna tapu* means his, hers or its *tapu*. *Te tapu ōna* literally means the *tapu* of him, her or it. Similarly, *te mana ōna* literally means the *mana* of him, her or it. *Tōna mana* is an optional form and can be read as his, hers or its *mana*.

#### 3.4.3.2.2      **The exercise of *tōna mana* by the individual**

The individual never stands divorced from *whanaungatanga* and friendship ties to others. As well as sharing in *te tapu o rātou* the individual also shares in *te mana o rātou*. Here, *mana* is transferred from one to the other. This is an exercise of *mana tuku* (the transfer or sharing of *mana*). With the right exercise of *mana tuku* the *tapu* (*tōna tapu*) of the individual is enhanced, and his/her personal *mana* (*tōna mana*) becomes more effective as a consequence. It is *tika* for the individual to exercise the various forms of *tōna mana* to manifest, address, enhance, sustain and restore the *tapu* and *mana* of others as well.

Sometimes the personal *mana* of an individual is not strong enough to achieve a particular objective. An example may be helpful here. An employer may at first decline the application of a hopeful employee. Then it may happen that the employer recognises the *whānau* name, and on the merits of present or past *whānau* employees he gives the applicant a chance. This is a case of one (the hopeful employee) being empowered by *te mana o ētahi atu*, namely, the *mana* of other *whānau* members. It is not just the *mana* of the individual at work but the *mana* of others as well.

An obvious conclusion to draw from this section is that it is more effective for the individual to act with the *mana* of another, or others, and not just with his/her personal *mana*.

We note that the exercise of *mana* begins with *whakaaro* (thought), when the individual makes the choice to exercise his or her *mana* for his/her own benefit and for the betterment of others. *Mana kupu* is exercised by the individual in the spoken word, in *kōrero* (speech), *karanga*, *mihi* (formal speeches of address), *karakia*, *pātere* (chant), *tangi* (lament), *haka* (posture dance performed principally by men), or *waiata* (song). Through the exercise of *mana kupu* the individual can address and restore his/her *tapu* and *mana* as well as the *tapu* and *mana* of *whānau* and others. Above all, *mana* is about action. *Kawe i te rangatiratanga*, *whakahaere*, *kawe kaupapa*, *kawe i te riri*, *manaaki* are actions. *Te tangata whaimana* (the person with *mana*) is the person who exercises his or her *mana* to attain the fullness of *tapu* and *mana*.

*Te mana o ia tangata* derives, ultimately, from *Atua*. It is therefore right and proper (*tika*) that the individual makes choices to exercise *tōna mana* to address and

acknowledge *te tapu i te Atua*, and to proclaim *te tapu o te Atua*. The individual may need to exercise *mana whakahaere*, *mana kawē kaupapa*, and even *mana kawē i te riri*, to live faithfully his or her relationship with *Atua*. Through *karakia*, which is an exercise of *mana kupu*, and through *ritenga*, the individual exercises *tōna mana* to establish links with *te tapu o te Atua*. The *pirihi* (priest) exercises *mana kupu* in a liturgical setting when he pronounces the words of sacramental absolution for the forgiveness of sins, or when he invokes the Spirit and prays the words of the Eucharistic prayer.

We look now at the situation of the individual sharing in, being empowered by and exercising *te mana o te whānau*, *o te hapū*, *o te iwi*. The individual shares in and exercises *te mana o te whānau* when he or she has the authority to act on behalf of the *whānau*. Likewise, the individual shares in and exercises *te mana o te hapū*, and *te mana o te iwi* when he or she is given the authority (*mana tuku*) to act on behalf of the *hapū* and/or the *iwi*. The consequence is that the personal *mana* (*tōna mana*) of the individual becomes greater and more effective. It becomes obvious, then, that the task for the individual is to discover, rekindle or reclaim links with *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* so as to share in their *mana*.

Thus far, we have considered two aspects of *te mana o te tangata*. First, we reflected on *te mana o ia tangata* as the *mana* personal to the individual, and second, on the *whakamana* (empowerment) of the individual when he or she exercises *te mana o ētahi atu* (the *mana* of others), *o te whānau*, *o te hapū* and/or *te iwi*.

We now move to consider some of the elements of *te mana o te whānau*, *te mana o te hapū* and *te mana o te iwi*.

#### 3.4.3.2.3 ***Te mana o te whānau, te mana o te hapū and te mana o te iwi.***

“*He mana tō te whānau, tō te hapū, tō te iwi.*” (The *whānau* has *mana*, the *hapū* has *mana* and the *iwi* has *mana*.)<sup>65</sup> Each needs to exercise the various expressions of *te mana o te tangata* for the benefit of the *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi* as a body of people, and for each of their constituent members.

---

<sup>65</sup> The writer’s translation.

### 3.4.3.2.4 *Te mana o te whānau*

We turn first to consider *te mana o te whānau*. The *mana* of the *whānau* derives from *tūpuna* and *mātua*, and from the other members of the immediate *whānau*. Thus, the *mana* of the *whānau* is the combined *mana* of each of its individual members. In many cases, the *mana* of individual members greatly enhances the *mana* of the *whānau*.<sup>66</sup> The task of the *whānau* is to exercise its *mana kawē rangatiratanga*, *mana whakahaere*, *mana kawē kaupapa* and *mana kawē i te riri* for the benefit of the *whānau* as a whole, and for each of its members.<sup>67</sup> Their *mana* becomes operative when the *whānau* acts in relationship with other *whānau*, and on behalf of individual members. The *whānau* inherits *mana tuku iho* from a number of *tūpuna* according to particular *Heke Tika* lines of direct descent.<sup>68</sup>

There are other lines of direct descent from the same *tūpuna* to other *whānau*. In the dynamics of *whanaungatanga*, one *whānau* can share in, and exercise *te mana o ērā atu whānau* (of those other *whānau*).<sup>69</sup>

Through *te mana o te tupuna*, links have already been established for *whānau* with *whenua* and *marae*. As a result, the *whānau* shares in *te mana o te whenua* and *te mana o te marae*. *Te mana o te whānau* is exercised in order to attain the total well-being of the *whānau* (*te tapu i te whānau*), and its continuing right relationship with others (*te tapu o te whānau*). The total well-being of the *whānau* includes the total well-being of its individual members. Confirming and supporting *te mana o te whānau* (the *mana* of the whole *whānau*) includes confirming and supporting *te mana o ia tangata* of the *whānau*.

---

<sup>66</sup> The *mana* of Te Kanawa *whānau* is very much enhanced through Digger Te Kanawa, who was one of the most skilled and prolific *korowai* (ceremonial cloak) weavers in Aotearoa, and through their opera-singer daughter, Kiri.

<sup>67</sup> In August 2007 the country was shocked by the case of physical abuse of a child that resulted in death. What is obvious in this and in similar cases is that *whānau* are failing to exercise their *mana* to care for and protect their own infant members.

<sup>68</sup> For models of *whanaungatanga* see the section in Chapter Two dealing with *te tapu o te tangata*.

<sup>69</sup> For example, members of the Kanara *whānau* will, at times, have *mana* to act on behalf of the Rāpira and Noa *whānau* because of Huihana Peita, who is the common *tupuna wahine* (grandmother) of the Kanara, Rāpira and Noa *whānau*.



In the final analysis, *te mana o te whānau* is exercised by individuals or groups of individual *whānau* members for the purpose of manifesting, addressing, attaining, sustaining, enhancing or restoring the spiritual, physical, cultural and economic well-being of the *whānau* and its individual members. It may be required at times for *whānau*, and indeed for the individual, to exercise *mana* to impose or lift *tapu* restrictions, in order to protect and enhance the *tapu* and *mana* of the *whānau* and its members.

On the *marae* or in their *whānau* gatherings, it is common practice for *whānau* to acknowledge *Atua* in *karakia* (prayer). In sharing in *te tapu o te Atua*, *whānau* thereby share in *te mana o te Atua*.

It is not difficult to see *whānau* exercise *te mana o te whānau* when they live in their traditional rural *marae* areas. There, they are always exercising *te mana o te hunga kāinga* (the *mana* of the home people), as they expend their energy for the benefit of the *whānau noho kāinga* (the home *whānau*), and of the *whānau noho taone* (those members of the *whānau* who dwell in the city),<sup>70</sup> who return on special occasions like *tangi* (bereavements), *hura kōhatu* (unveilings), *mārena* (weddings), *huri tau* (birthdays), *whānau* reunions, *wānanga* (study programmes), and holidays.

Here, we can see two sets of *whānau* dynamics. On the one hand, it is the task of the *whānau noho kāinga* to continue to exercise *te mana o te whānau* for the benefit of the *whānau noho kāinga* whilst, at the same time, being mindful of the *whānau noho taone*.<sup>71</sup> This means that they provide or support opportunities, such as those mentioned above, for *whānau noho taone* to link with the *whānau noho kāinga*. In doing so, they are establishing or maintaining links with *tūpuna* and *whenua*, and will thereby enable *whānau noho taone* to share in *te mana o nga tūpuna* and *te mana o te whenua*. An exercise of their *mana* would see the *whānau noho kāinga* making available educational material regarding *whakapapa*, *waiata* and history. Keeping

---

<sup>70</sup> With the term, *whānau noho kāinga*, a distinction is being made between the home *whānau*, and members of the same *whānau* who live away in the towns, cities and in other countries (*whānau noho taone*). *Hunga kāinga*, on the other hand, can include many different *whānau* living together in the home *marae* area.

<sup>71</sup> *Whānau noho taone* can lose links with *whānau noho kāinga*. In the cities they can form different ‘*whānau*’ groups who are not necessarily united by *tūpuna* and *whakapapa* links, but by other common links such as where they live, study, teach, work, play sport, gather for *karakia* or for their cultural activities and rituals (*iwi*, urban and church *marae*). It is said that some young people join gangs so as to be a part of a *whānau*. Sometimes their parents or siblings or cousins are already gang members.

abreast of *iwi* development programmes and projects, and accessing resources for the benefit of the *whānau noho taone*, is another way in which the *whānau noho kāinga* can maintain *te mana o te whānau* for both groups. The *whānau noho kāinga* can extend *mana tuku* to the *whānau noho taone*, to act in the city on behalf of the *whānau noho kāinga* as well.

On the other hand, *whānau noho taone* can exercise *te mana o te whānau* with activities that bring together and bind individual *whānau* members who live in cities.<sup>72</sup> They can also access resources of education, business management, employment, finances, and technological development that are readily available to them in the city.<sup>73</sup>

With skills and qualifications in these areas, they will not only enhance themselves, but they can be more effective in exercising their *mana* to provide services for the benefit of both *whānau noho taone* and *whānau noho kāinga*.

A further task is to provide and support opportunities for *whānau noho taone* to link with their *papakāinga* and *marae*. A practical exercise of *mana* by the *whānau noho taone* towards the *whānau noho kāinga* is that of *manaaki*, when the *whānau noho kāinga* come to the city for one reason or another. This could, for example, include fundraising for the home *marae*.

Geographical separation from *tūpuna*, *papakāinga*, *marae*, and *whānau noho kāinga* does not necessarily disempower *whānau noho taone* from *te mana o te whānau*.

We now move from *te mana o te whānau* to the next section to reflect on *te mana o te hapū*.

#### 3.4.3.2.5 *Te mana o te hapū*

The primary task of the *hapū* is to exercise *te mana kawē i te rangatiratanga o te hapū* whilst at the same time attending to the *whānau* groups that make up the *hapū*. The *mana* of the *hapū* is the combined *mana* of every *whānau*.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>72</sup> One *whānau* in Auckland with links to north Hokianga produces a quarterly newsletter from contributions made by *whānau* members. Over forty copies of each issue of the newsletter reach many parts of Aotearoa-NZ, Australia, and as far afield as Austria.

<sup>73</sup> Most rural *Marae* Trustees Committees will express gratitude for financial support from *whānau noho taone*, some of whom make weekly or monthly automatic payments to their *marae*.

<sup>74</sup> Notable *whānau* names of the *hapū* of Ngai Tūpoto, in Motukaraka, include among others Harris, Davis, Brown, Ngāpera, Hoani.

*Te mana o te hapū* derives from various sources. One source is the *tupuna*, from whom the *hapū* generally receives its name, or from an event associated with the *tupuna*. *Te ingoa hapū* (the name of the *hapū*) contributes to *te mana o te hapū*.<sup>75</sup> Thus the *hapū* can inherit *mana tuku iho* from the *tupuna*. Secondly, the extent or strategic position of the *whenua* within the *rohe whenua* (land boundaries) of the *hapū*, and resources therein, enhances *te mana o te hapū*. Having access to *kaimoana* (seafood), to good agricultural land for planting and farming and to the forest for food and other resources, enhances *te mana o te hapū*.

Thus, links with *moana* and *whenua* enhance the *mana* of the *hapū* who are then better able to exercise *manaaki*. In more recent times, many *hapū* have developed economic ventures that are enhancing the *mana* of the *hapū*. They are providing employment, economic well-being, skills training and opportunities for higher qualifications.<sup>76</sup>

The test of *te mana o te hapū* lies in the ability of the *hapū* to exercise *mana whakahaere*, *mana kawē kaupapa*, and *mana kawē i te riri* to provide for the *hapū* and *whānau*, to negotiate in an outward movement with other *hapū*, and in an upward movement with *iwi*, for the benefit of the *hapū* and *whānau*. A measure of *mana whakahaere* of the *hapū* is its right and ability to control and manage the resources of their *rohe whenua* and *moana* (land and sea boundaries), by which it can provide for the present and future needs of its *whānau*, and exercise *manaakitanga* towards its *manuhiri*. Hence, it is of utmost importance that resources in a defined *hapū* territory be vested in the local *hapū*.<sup>77</sup> At times, a *hapū* needs to exercise its *mana* to impose *tapu* restrictions or *rāhui* to protect the material, spiritual, cultural and intellectual resources of its *whānau* and members.

A cautionary note for the *hapū* in its relationship to *whānau* is, that it is not the right exercise of *te mana o te hapū* to restrict or usurp *te mana o te whānau*. It need only step in when *te mana o te whānau* is not effective enough to achieve a particular goal

<sup>75</sup> A *hapū* of Motukaraka, in north Hokianga, is called Ngai Tūpoto after the *tupuna*, Tūpoto.

<sup>76</sup> Whale Watch is a multiple award winning nature tourism company, owned and operated by Kāti Kurī, people of Kaikōura, a sub-tribe of the South Island's larger Ngāi Tahu Tribe. See Kāti Kurī, "Whale Watch," <http://www.whalewatch.co.nz>. (accessed August 8, 2007).

<sup>77</sup> For example, see *Wai 6: Motunui-Waitara Claim*, 4.9. The Waitangi Tribunal stated: "That which was principally sought was the control of the reefs so that the "*mana Māori*" or authority in respect of them might be seen to vest in the local *hapū*."

on its own, and then, only at the request of the *whānau*. The principle of subsidiarity applies here.

Now we move from the topic of *te mana o te hapū* to consider *te mana o te iwi*.

#### 3.4.3.2.6 *Te mana o te iwi*

*Te mana o te iwi* derives from many sources. *Iwi* is bestowed with *te mana o te tupuna* after whom the *iwi* is named or from an event associated<sup>78</sup> with the *tupuna*.<sup>79</sup> Thus, *mana tuku iho* from the *tupuna* is a principal expression of *te mana o te iwi*. Historically, all *iwi* have links with *waka tūpuna* of the migration era while some are named for particular *waka*.<sup>80</sup> They are thereby endowed with *te mana o tō rātou waka tupuna* (the *mana* of their ancestral canoe). *Iwi* dwell within a specific geographical territory, and are thus enhanced and empowered with *te mana o te whenua*. *Te mana o te iwi* also derives from the *hapū*<sup>81</sup> and *whānau* who constitute the *iwi*.

*Te mana o te iwi* is to be exercised for an inwardly directed purpose; this is to attend to the internal needs and benefits of itself as a body consisting of *hapū*, *whānau* and individual members. It also has an outwardly directed purpose; this is to facilitate right and beneficial external relationships with other *iwi*, other regional or national bodies, including the government and Crown.

Foremost for consideration and implementation is the exercise of its *mana kawē i te rangatiratanga o te iwi*.<sup>82</sup> The expression of its *mana whakahaere* and *mana kawē kaupapa* occurs when an *iwi* directs, manages or governs resources for the benefit of its *hapū* and *whānau*, when such actions are not achievable to the *hapū* or *whānau*. This means that an *iwi* does not restrict, obstruct or usurp the *mana* of *hapū* and *whānau*, who are able to exercise their *mana* to attend to their respective affairs.

---

<sup>78</sup> The name, Te Rarawa, given to the *Iwi* of North Hokianga and further northwards, has its origins in an event associated with *Tarutaru*, his sons and others, which occurred in Kaipara. Tate & Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 54.

<sup>79</sup> According to Kāmira, an acknowledged authority of the *Whare Wānanga* of Hokianga, Ngāpuhi received its name from the *tupuna* for whom there were three different names, namely, Puhi, Puhi Kaiariki and Puhi Moanaariki. Kāmira, vol. 10, 20-22.

<sup>80</sup> *Tainui Iwi* carry the name of *Tainui waka*.

<sup>81</sup> With each of the 23 marae affiliated to Te Rarawa *Iwi* there are at least two major *hapū*.

<sup>82</sup> Current issues, such as the impact of new technologies on Māori knowledge and values, the appropriation of Māori knowledge on *rongoa Māori* (Māori herbal medicines), transplant of body parts, require appropriate attention from *iwi* to ensure *te mana o te hapū*, *o te whānau* and their members is not usurped in these developments, and that Māori are not disadvantaged.

All *iwi* are also legally registered entities. They have been able to bring land and other claims before The Waitangi Tribunal. These *iwi* exercise *te mana kawē i te riri* to address and resolve issues of injustice or unethical practices, that have negatively impacted on *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau*.<sup>83</sup>

Now that we have concluded this part of the section, we draw attention to some relevant applications.

#### 3.4.3.2.7 Applications of *te mana o te whānau, o te hapū, o te iwi*

Firstly, when the individual shares in *te mana o te whānau, o te hapū, o te iwi*, it is *mana* that rightly belongs to *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi* respectively. For whatever reasons, those groups can also withdraw and withhold *mana tuku* shared with the individual. Likewise, the same principle applies to *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* in their sharing of *mana* that rightly belongs to just one of them. *Mana tuku* can be withdrawn or withheld. Secondly, the exercise of *mana tuku* does not diminish the *mana* of the *kaituku* (the giver). *Mana* is spiritual power and is not lost or emptied in the act of sharing, due to its spiritual nature. Rather, it is confirmed and enhanced, provided *mana* was rightly given by the giver, and rightly exercised by the receiver according to the mind of the giver.

The exercise of *mana* by the receiver then becomes more effective, and the *mana* (considered as status and prestige) of the giver becomes greater. Thirdly, since *mana* can rightly belong to just one of them, it is not *tika* (right or appropriate) for *iwi* to restrict, obstruct or usurp the *mana* of *hapū*, or for *hapū* to act in this way towards *whānau*, or for *whānau* to violate the individual in the same manner.

From the reverse perspective, it is also not *tika* for the individual to claim to exercise *te mana o te whānau*, or for the *whānau*, *te mana o te hapū*, or for the *hapū*, *te mana o te iwi*, when they have no right to do so. These are transgressions, as we shall see in Chapter Six. These actions constitute *whakanoa i te mana o tētahi atu* (rendering *noa*

---

<sup>83</sup> See *Wai 8: Manukau Claim*, 2 (13). This Claim was first presented to the Waitangi Tribunal “at Makaurau Marae, Ihumatao, Manukau, Auckland, 16-20 July 1984.” Hearings continued in August and November of the same year. See also 1. (9) “Basically the claim is about the despoliation of the Manukau Harbour and the loss of certain surrounding lands of the Manukau tribes. More potently underlying this claim is an enormous sense of grievance, injustice and outrage that continues to haunt the Manukau Māori and bedevil the prospect of harmony in greater Auckland. The sense of grievance begins with the land confiscation of the 1860’s. By confiscation the Manukau tribes lost most of their lands including their villages and sacred places. They live with this loss today.”

of the *mana* of the other), or *takahi i te mana o tētahi atu* (the trampling of the *mana* of the other). *Whakanoa i te mana* impairs and diminishes the effective exercise of *mana* of both the *kaitakahi* (the one who tramples), and the one whose *mana* is trampled on. *Hohou rongo* is required to restore the *mana* of both.<sup>84</sup> Fourthly, whether it is *te mana o te whānau*, *o te hapū*, *o te iwi*, it is exercised by the individual or group of individuals within that body of people. *Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* is the term we use for those who fulfill roles and exercise *mana* whilst *tūranga* refers to the role.

This concludes this section on *te mana o te tangata*. We have considered *te mana o te tangata* as exercised by *ia tangata*, by *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, and how one can share in the *mana* of another. Now we turn to the final section, namely, *te mana o te whenua*.

#### 3.4.4 *Te mana o te whenua*

We suspect the general use these days of the term *mana whenua* is more to do with *te mana o te tangata ki runga i te whenua* (the *mana* of people in matters pertaining to the land). If that is the understanding, then that topic belongs in the section discussed earlier under *te mana o te tangata*. However, in this thesis, we propose an alternative understanding:

***Te mana o te whenua is the spiritual power that derives from whenua itself (te tapu i te whenua, existing in its own right by virtue of the creative mana o te Atua). Te mana o te whenua is operative and effective in its relationship to Atua, to tangata and to all creatures and organisms that live upon the whenua.***

In line with our systematics, we thus consider the *mana* of the *whenua* (*te mana o te whenua*), firstly in itself, and, secondly, in its extensions, or expressions. We do this by reflecting further on *te mana o te whenua* in relation to *Atua*, to *tangata*, and to all creatures and organisms that live upon the *whenua*.

The first point is by now clear, that *whenua* has its own *mana* (*tōna mana*) independently of other created realities.

Expressions or extensions of *te mana o te whenua* include *mana kawē i tōna rangatiratanga*, *mana kawē i te riri*, *manaaki*, *mana tuku iho* and *mana tuku*. By its

---

<sup>84</sup> We will deal with *Hohou rongo* in Chapter Seven.

*mana kawē i tōna rangatiratanga*, *whenua* sustains all creatures and organisms. Thus, we see *whenua* as generating, producing, nourishing, sustaining and restoring itself, and in an extended sense, all creatures and organisms that live upon the *whenua*. By its *mana kawē i te riri*, *whenua* releases its forces against the neglect, mismanagement, and abuse by *tangata*. By its exercise of *manaakitanga*, *whenua* nourishes and sustains *te tapu i ngā mea hanga* (of all creatures and organisms), including *tangata*, that dwell on the *whenua* and depend on the *whenua* for their continued existence and survival. *Whenua* receives *mana tuku iho* from *Atua*, the creator and source of all *mana*. *Whenua* exercises *mana tuku* in the sharing of *mana* that is proper to itself with *tangata*. Now we move to consider *te mana o te whenua*, operative and effective in its relationship with *Atua*, and in its relationship to *tangata*. We leave aside the wider questions concerning the non-human creation that lives upon *whenua*.

#### 3.4.4.1 ***Te mana o te whenua in relation to Atua***

*Te mana o te whenua* derives from *Atua*. *Atua* is the creator. *Whenua* is the creation. In its relationship with *Atua*, *whenua* shares in, and is endowed with, *te mana o te Atua*. From this perspective we can say that *whenua* inherits *mana tuku iho* from *Atua*. The awesome splendour, grandeur, tranquility and, at times, the simple beauty of the *whenua*, proclaim and reflect the presence of *Atua* immanent in creation. Using a Christian expression, *whenua* gives glory to *Atua*. To put it another way, the effect of *te mana o te whenua* is that it elicits from *tangata* an acknowledgement of the relationship of *whenua* with *Atua*, and that thereby *whenua* is endowed with *te mana o te Atua*.

There are some special events and special rituals of dedication that establish and highlight the relationship of *whenua* with *Atua*, by which *te mana o te Atua* is endowed upon the *whenua*. Church cemeteries, church sites and shrines are examples of *whenua* set aside for activities that relate to *Atua*. They are dedicated to *Atua* with *karakia* and rituals of dedication. The *karakia* specifically calls on the presence and blessing of *Atua* upon the *whenua*. This enhances and empowers the *whenua*, rendering it more effective in reflecting the presence of *Atua*. Sensing the presence of *Atua*, *tangata* will say, as Jacob once said, “Surely the Lord is in this place—and I did not know it. How awesome is this place!” (Gen 28:16-17)

For Christians (among others), places like Bethlehem, Nazareth, Jerusalem and other sites in the Holy Land are endowed with *te tapu* and *te mana o te Atua*. For Christians, it is on account of the links these places have with Jesus Christ. Through him, *te mana o te Atua* is endowed upon those sacred places *e mau nei i ngā tapuwae o te Karaiti* (which bear the footprints of Christ). The *mana* of these places draws pilgrims and visitors from around the world. As they walk in the footsteps of Christ, they have a sense of the presence of *Atua*. The spiritual experience is uplifting, enhancing, sustaining and empowering for them. Their *tapu* is enhanced. Their *mana* is energised.<sup>85</sup>

Now we turn to the last part of this section to discuss *te mana o te whenua* in relation to *tangata*. The reflection here is very similar to that of *te mana o te tangata* in relation to *whenua*. The difference is that the emphasis is now on *whenua* being empowered in its relationship to *tangata* rather than *tangata* being empowered by *whenua*.

#### 3.4.4.2 *Te mana o te whenua in relation to tangata*

*Whenua* also has *mana* through its links with *tangata*. Throughout Aotearoa, there are harbours, lakes, rivers, islands, mountains, hilltops, *pā* sites, dwelling sites, cultivation fields, pathways, *kāinga* and towns that bear the names of *tūpuna*, or events associated with them.<sup>86</sup> As a result of these links, *whenua* is endowed with *te mana o te tangata*, specifically, with *te mana o ngā tūpuna* for whom these places are named. *Rohe whenua* are acknowledged in their connections with *iwi*, *hapū*, *whānau* or individuals, and are thereby endowed with *te mana* of those groups of people or individuals.<sup>87</sup> Some *kāinga* are acknowledged and respected for their links with *whānau* or individuals.

Second, we turn to the other perspective of the relationship between *whenua* and *tangata*. From this perspective we say: *ko te whenua hei whakamana i te tangata* (*whenua* empowers *tangata*).

---

<sup>85</sup> A local example is that of the Sisters of Mercy in Auckland. In April 2000, they celebrated the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of their arrival in Auckland from Ireland. To mark the occasion they established a portion of *whenua* on the edge of their property as a sacred space and gifted it to the City of Auckland.

<sup>86</sup> *Te Ika-a-Māui*, the Fish of *Māui* (ancestor), is now also known as the North Island. The name Hokianga is associated with *Kupe*. *Pūrākau* in Hokianga has special links with Māori *tūpuna*, *Te Rūrū*, *Kaumātua* and others, and with Bishop Pompallier. *Tamatea Pā* in Motuti is named after the *tupuna*, *Tamatea*.

<sup>87</sup> The East Coast of the North Island is associated with the *tupuna*, *Porourangi*, from whom the tribe derives its name, *Ngāti Porou*.



The *rohe whenua* of *iwi* and *hapū* empowers *iwi* and *hapū* in those areas. The *whenua*, and in particular the *marae*, empowers the *hunga kāinga* (the *marae* people). The *whenua*, or more particularly the *papakāinga* (home sites), empowers the *whānau*. *Te mana o te tangata whenua ki runga i te whenua o Aotearoa* (the *mana* of Māori as an indigenous people in Aotearoa), derives from their tribal links with the *whenua* of Aotearoa. Empowered by *te mana o te whenua*—*iwi*, *hapū*, *whānau* and *ia tangata* exercise *mana kawē kaupapa* and *mana whakahaere* in projects concerning, or conducted on *rohe whenua*, *marae* and *papakāinga*. The exercise of *te mana kawē i te riri* would ensure that other *tāngata* from outside the *rohe whenua* do not trample or usurp the *mana o te iwi*, *o te hapū*, *o te whānau*, *o te tangata whenua*, *o te hunga kāinga*.

A point worth noting is that Māori people have *te mana o te tangata whenua* in Aotearoa. Should they move to Australia, or another country, although they retain *tō rātou mana*, nevertheless they do not have *te mana o tērā whenua* (the *mana* of that land), nor can they take with them *te mana o tēnei whenua* (the *mana* of this land) and expect it to be operative and effective there, as it was here. In Australia, the Aboriginal peoples have the *mana o te tangata whenua*. Their *mana* derives from their links with the *whenua* that is Australia. *Tāngata* thus need to acknowledge *whenua kē* (other *whenua*) and the *mana* that derives from that place and space.

Presently, it is common practice for Māori, especially young Māori people, to introduce themselves at *hui*, *wānanga* or seminars, by reciting their links with *kāinga*, *marae*, *maunga*, *rohe whenua* and other geographical features of *whenua*. In this exercise the *whenua* provides identity and *mana* (status and prestige), for those who would otherwise not be known to the gathering.

We now turn to Section Two of our chapter in which we will discuss *Mana* as Inherent or Intrinsic Power. We will first discuss the elements of ‘*te mana i*,’ then we will consider, under separate headings, *te mana i te Atua*, *te mana i te tangata*, and *te mana i te whenua*.

### 3.5.0            **Section Two: *Te mana i*—mana as inherent or intrinsic power**

In the previous section we reflected on *te mana o* as the operative and effective power that derives from relationships, and is exercised in the living out of those relationships. In this section, we will deal with *te mana i* and its link with *te mana o*.

#### 3.5.1            **Definition of *te mana i***

***Te mana i* is mana in the state of dormancy or potentiality.**

We have encountered the tenet that “where there is *tapu* there is *mana*.” Where one exists so does the other. They are essentially and, therefore, inextricably linked. Where there is *te tapu i* (intrinsic being of existing realities), there is *mana* which is inherent or intrinsic to those existing realities. We call this inherent or intrinsic *mana*, *te mana i*. *Te mana i* is rooted in *te tapu i* and is thereby one with *te tapu i*. *Te mana i* comes into existence when *te tapu i* comes into existence. In *Atua*, *te mana i* (the intrinsic power) and *te mana o* (operative power) are one and dynamic. In *tangata* and *whenua*, *te mana i* is the potentiality for dynamic action. Just as *te tapu i* cannot be annihilated, so too, *te mana i* cannot be totally lost or destroyed. When *te tapu i* is restored and enhanced, so also is *te mana i*. Just as the restoring and enhancing of *te tapu i* is evidenced in the state of well-being and right relationships (*te tapu o*), so also the restoring of *te mana i* is witnessed in *te mana o* being exercised and effective in right relationships.

#### 3.5.2            ***Te mana i te Atua***

Prior to creation there exists in *Atua*, *te tapu i te Atua* and *te tapu o te Atua*. *Te tapu i te Atua* is the intrinsic Being that is *Atua*. *Te tapu o te Atua* is the Being of *Atua* in relationality. One with *te tapu i te Atua* is *te mana i te Atua*. *Te mana i te Atua* is the intra-divine relationality in action.

*Te mana i te Atua* is the *mana* of *Atua* in the uncreated being of *Atua*. *Te tapu i te Atua* and *te mana i te Atua* are at one, from all eternity. This means that, when we speak of *te tapu i te Atua* (considering *te tapu i* as being) and of *te mana i te Atua*, we are speaking of limitless being without any unrealised potentiality for power, and thus of limitless power in actuality.

Since with *Atua* there is no further potentiality for power, *mana* is immediately and completely effective.<sup>88</sup> Thus *te mana i te Atua* can never be diminished or opposed. It is without restrictions. It is infinite. From *te mana i te Atua* issues forth the creative force which is *te mana o te Atua*.

In a Christian sense, it could be said that *te mana i te Atua* is the power of generation within the Trinity. Thus we can speak about *te mana i te Atua Matua*, (*te mana* of God the Father) *te mana i te Atua Tamaiti*, (*te mana* of God the Son) and *te mana i te Atua Wairua Tapu* (*te mana* of the Holy Spirit). Just as *te tapu i te Atua* is, in principle, unknown to us, so also is the full understanding of *te mana i te Atua* beyond us in every way. Yet, the unity of *te tapu i te Atua* and *te mana i te Atua* constitute the very *Atuatanga* (Godness) of *Atua*.

### 3.5.3 *Te mana i te tangata*

We now reflect on *te mana i te tangata* as it applies to *ia tangata* (the individual), to the *whānau*, to the *hapū*, and to the *iwi*.

*Te mana i te tangata, kei ia tangata, ahakoa tupuna, rangatira, matua, whaea, tamaiti, tamāhine, mokopuna, pēpi kei roto tonu i te kōpū o tōna whaea, ahakoa tāne, wahine, pononga, tangata mauhere rānei.*<sup>89</sup> [*Te mana i ia tangata* is the personal *mana* intrinsic to the individual whether ancestor, chief, father, mother, son, daughter, grandchild, man, woman, child still within the womb, or prisoner.]

To the extent that *ia tangata* (the individual) exists and therefore has *te tapu i a ia* (intrinsic being), then each has *te mana i a ia*, with potentiality for dynamic action.<sup>90</sup> *Te mana i ia tangata* is rooted in *te tapu i ia tangata* and thereby is one with *te tapu i ia tangata*.

Each individual has his/her intrinsic personal *mana* as an individual. *Te mana i a ia* has greater potentiality when he/she is part of a larger group such as the *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*.

<sup>88</sup> While our framework of understanding is Māori, it bears a kinship relation to that of Aquinas. See Aquinas. *St. Thomas Aquinas: Summa Theologiae: Prima Pars: Existence and Nature of God*, ed. Timothy McDermott trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, (London: Blackfriars in conj. With Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1964). Vol. 1a: Q. 3. Art.1.

<sup>89</sup> The writer's words.

<sup>90</sup> Perhaps this was also the understanding of Shirres when he described *tapu* in its primary meaning as "being with potentiality for power." See Shirres, *Te Tangata*, 33.

An example may be helpful in clarifying the difference we make between *te mana i te tangata* and *te mana o te tangata*. The water reservoir up in the hills is like *te mana i te tangata*. The water that flows from it is like *te mana o te tangata*. The water flowing from the reservoir has the same life-giving attributes as the water in the reservoir. *Te mana o te tangata* has the same attributes of *te mana i te tangata*. However, water kept in the reservoir is of no benefit to *tangata*, if the water does not flow forth. Similarly, *te mana i te tangata* is not productive unless it flows forth into action. Moreover, if the water sits unused in the reservoir the water becomes stagnant and loses its life-giving attributes.

If *te mana i te tangata* does not flow over into action, its life-producing and restorative powers have no effect. Continuing the image, the more water there is in the reservoir the more powerful the pressure to supply water to the communities. The greater *te mana i te tangata*, the greater the capacity for power, and the more powerful and effective is *te mana o te tangata*. If there is no water in the reservoir, then there is no water for the communities. Without *te mana i te tangata*, there is no *mana o te tangata* either. Finally, *te mana o te tangata* is exercised and witnessed in the deeds and performances, and the roles played by *tangata*, considered as an individual.

One aspect of the dynamics of *whanaungatanga* consists in the potentiality for the individual to share in, and exercise, the *mana* of the larger group, and for the larger group to exercise *mana tuku* towards the individual, thereby confirming and supporting *te mana i ia tangata*. We now turn to the next aspect of *te mana i te tangata*, namely, *te mana i te whānau, i te hapū, i te iwi*.

We can speak of *te mana i te whānau, i te hapū, i te iwi* (the *mana* intrinsic to *whānau, hapū* and *iwi*), just as we can speak of *te tapu i te whānau, i te hapū, i te iwi*.

In our earlier discussion on *te mana o te whānau, o te hapū, o te iwi*, the emphasis was on the active and effective exercise of *mana* by *tangata*, or groups of *tāngata*. Here, the emphasis is not on the exercise of *mana* in relationship, but on the potentiality of *mana* for action. The exercise of *mana* can only flow from, and is dependent on the potentiality of *mana* within *whānau, hapū* and *iwi*.

Let us now make some observations and draw some conclusions.

First, *te mana i ia tangata* contributes to the combined potentiality of *te mana i te whānau*, which in turn contributes to the potentiality of the *hapū*, and ultimately, of the *iwi*.

Second, there is the need for the individual, *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* to realise the potential in each person and in each group for dynamic action. Other individuals, professional people, organisations, government agencies, and the government itself, needs to have the same commitment to realisation of potential if they genuinely intend to assist Māori.

Third, practical action should be directed towards *te tapu i te tangata*, to the total well-being of *ia tangata*, *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, in order to build up their total potentiality.

Fourth, any diminishment of *te tapu i te tangata* by acts of *whakanoa* suppresses *te mana i te tangata*. For example, *te mana i te tangata mauhere* (the intrinsic *mana* of the prisoner) loses its active and effective power as a consequence of his/her *whakanoa*, resulting in enforced confinement, and by subsequent separation from *whānau*.<sup>91</sup>

Fifth, *te mana i te tangata* needs to be converted from its potential form to the active and effective power of *te mana o te tangata*, if *mana* is to be exercised for the purpose of attaining the fullness of *tapu*.

Sixth, since *te tapu i te tangata* cannot be annihilated (totally destroyed so as to exist no longer in any form whatsoever)<sup>92</sup> so neither can *te mana i te tangata*. The potentiality for active power is still there.<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup> We are reflecting here on the experience of Māori in the New Zealand prison system.

<sup>92</sup> In the ritual of the *tangi* (death), Māori acknowledge the reality of physical death but also that the *tūpāpaku* (body of the deceased) passes through other physical states of being *kōiwi* (skeletal form), *pungarehu* (ash form if they are cremated), *puehu* (dust) and *oneone* (earth). The deceased is present somewhere in some form; hence the *wāhi* where they are in repose is *wāhi tapu*. The dead are always acknowledged in *mihi* and *tangi*. Further, their *wairua* (spirit) can be present in some way. Thus, death is not annihilation.

<sup>93</sup> See, for example, the power for renewal of faith and relationships witnessed during the *hīkoi* of the remains of Bishop Pompallier around Aotearoa in 2002.

This provides support for the claim that no Māori can cede his (or her) *mana*<sup>94</sup> so as to possess it no longer. We offer as a basis for this claim that *te mana i te tangata* is one with *te tapu i te tangata*, and the one cannot be separated from the other. *Te mana i te tangata* cannot be ceded, nor can it be destroyed so as to lose all potentiality for action. This is also the basis for *hohou rongo* (restoring of *tapu*, reconciliation). *Te mana i te tangata*, though suppressed, remains, even when *whakanoa* has occurred and people are in the state of negative *noa*. It is *te mana o te tangata* that is obstructed and impaired by *whakanoa*.

We have dealt with *te mana i ia tangata*, *i te whānau*, *i te hapū*, *i te iwi*. Now let us turn to the next and final topic in this section, *te mana i te whenua*.

#### 3.5.4 *Te mana i te whenua*

*Te mana i te whenua* is *mana* inherent in, and intrinsic to, *whenua*. It cannot be ceded, nor can it be appropriated. *Te mana i te whenua* exists because of *te tapu i te whenua*. It is the potentiality for power intrinsic to *whenua*.

It is from *te mana i te whenua* that *te mana o te whenua* emanates, whereby the power of *whenua* is effective to produce, manifest, sustain, enhance and restore *te tapu i ngā mea kua hangā* (the *tapu* of all creatures and organisms). *Te mana i te whenua* is the primary source of power whilst *te mana o te whenua* is the secondary source.

### 3.6.0 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have considered the many perspectives of *mana* in relation to *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. In proposing that *mana* derives from *tapu* and is centred on *tapu*, we have kept the two topics linked in sequence as well: *Tapu* in Chapter Two and *Mana* in Chapter Three. We have established them as foundational concepts in our systematics. We now move to Chapter Four, where we will deal with the principles of action and encounter with *tapu*, and the right exercise of *mana* in the encounter. These principles of action and encounter are *Pono*, *Tika* and *Aroha*.

---

<sup>94</sup> See *Wai 8: Manukau Claim*, 8.3 (91). The comment of the Waitangi Tribunal is informative here: “Some commentators ... imply that a careful avoidance of ‘mana’ in the Treaty (of Waitangi) is obvious and was misleading, the missionaries knowing that no Maori could cede his *mana*.”

## CHAPTER FOUR

### *PONO* (Truth, Integrity), *TIKA* (Right Order and Right Response), *AROHA* (Love, Affection, Compassion)

#### 4.1.0 Introduction

We select in this chapter three concepts or principles which find their roots in the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> They are known more popularly through the words of the *waiata* “*Mā wai rā*.”<sup>2</sup>

*Mā wai rā e taurima*  
*Te marae i waiho nei?*  
*Mā te tika, mā te pono*  
*me te aroha e.*

Who will attend to  
the *marae* outside?  
*Tika*, *pono* and *aroha*  
will be the attendants.

The words of this *waiata* identify *Tika*, *Pono* and *Aroha* as important, even essential principles to the proper functioning and survival of the *marae*. In this chapter, we will reflect further on, and develop, each of these principles in line with our systematics. Each of them addresses, manifests, enhances, sustains and restores *tapu* and *mana*.

In three sections, we consider *Pono*, *Tika* and *Aroha*, both in their relation to *tapu* and *mana*, and in relation to each other, and to our overall systematics. In each case we will begin with word usage.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Te Waka Maori O Ahuriri*, 1863-1871, was a significant Māori-language newspaper which first appeared in 1863 in the Hawkes Bay province. Its motto was “Ko te Tika, ko te Pono, ko te Aroha.”

<sup>2</sup> Henare Te Owai (Ngāti Porou) composed *Mā Wai Rā* at Hiruharama *marae*, near Ruatoria, after the death in 1933 of Pine Tamahori. Henare Te Owai, “Ma Wai Ra.” (1933): <http://folksong.org.nz/file:///C:/3A/2FProgram/20Files/2FEndNote/20X/2FTemplates/2FChicag/2015th/20A.dot> (accessed October 9, 2007). Writer’s translation.

## 4.2.0 Section One: *Pono*

We choose to address *Pono* first because we propose that it is first and foremost a principle tied to our knowledge and understanding of the real. The other two principles presuppose this knowledge. For that reason we vary the order set out above.<sup>3</sup>

### 4.2.1 Word usage

Williams provides the translation for *pono* as ‘true.’<sup>4</sup> In the following example from *Karanga Hokianga*, *pono* means ‘the truth’:

*He nui taku whakapai ki te komiti, ki te kaha ki te haere kia kite i te pono o nga korero ki te komiti.*<sup>5</sup> [I am full of praise for the Committee for being so resolute in going to ascertain the truth of words spoken before the Committee.]

We see a further use of *pono* in the writings of Kāmira:

*Era karakia he mea kia puare tika ai nga taringa o aua tamariki kia rongoro pono ai ki te ako a nga tohunga.*<sup>6</sup> [The purpose of those prayers is to ensure that the ears of the young people are properly opened so they can truly hear the teaching of the tohunga.]

Here, we note that *pono* is used as an adverb which qualifies the verb, *rongoro*.

In Māori versions of the Bible, *pono* is often used to translate,

Amen, amen I say to you, [or] Very truly I tell you. [*He pono, he pono taku ka mea atu nei ki a koutou.*] (John 8:34)

Turning to our own oral tradition, the phrase was heard from time to time in Panguru: “*Kia pono te mahi*” (work honestly or with integrity), in distinction to “*kia tika te mahi*” (do things in a right or proper manner). *Pono* is again used as an adverb and qualifies *mahi* (work). The work should be done with honesty and integrity.

Another phrase used particularly by the tribes in Northland is ‘*pono mārika*’ (true, indeed). A person could say, “*pono mārika, kua kite ahau i aianeī*” (true, indeed, now I see). A third phrase is “*pono mārika, koia rawa tēnā*” (true, indeed; that is the reality). ‘*Mārika*’ can also mean ‘exceedingly.’ Here, the juxtaposition of *pono* and *mārika* indicates that people are now truly enlightened. They can now perceive the reality or the truth of a situation that they had not previously been fully aware of, or were not aware of at all.

<sup>3</sup> *Tika, pono, aroha* is the order used in the waiata “*Mā wai rā.*” See also footnote 1.

<sup>4</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 291.

<sup>5</sup> Tate & Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 130.

<sup>6</sup> Kāmira, vol. 2, 7.



To this extent, *pono* enlightens people in their perception of reality and truth. From this we conclude that *pono* may be understood as a perceptive principle.

We look at *Whakaponu* as a derivative of *Pono*. Williams gives the first meaning of *whakaponu* as “believe, admit as true.”<sup>7</sup> Here, *whakaponu* is used as a verb. He states that *whakaponu* as “faith” is a modern understanding. By 1840, *whakaponu* had already become the term for ‘faiths’ or ‘religions.’ It was used in the statement read to the meeting before the chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi in February of that year.

The statement is commonly referred to as the fourth article of the Treaty, and reads:

*E mea ana te Kawana ko nga whakaponu katoa o Ingarani, o nga Weteriana, o Roma, me te ritenga Maori hoki e tiakina ngatahitia e ia.*<sup>8</sup> [The Governor says that the several faiths (beliefs) of England, of the Wesleyans, of Rome, and also Maori custom shall alike be protected by him.]

*Pono* is the first of the three principles by which we manifest, address, enhance, sustain and restore *tapu*.

With this background of word usage, we now attempt our own definition of *pono*.

#### 4.2.2 Definition of *Pono*

***Pono* is a principle of perception of truth by which we address *tapu* and *mana*. It is an ethical principle of action in that it qualifies how we manifest, address, enhance, sustain and restore *tapu*, and how we exercise *mana*. It consists in truly and fully acknowledging *tapu*, in all its relationships with *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*, and in responding with integrity to *tapu* by the full exercise of *mana*. It is the basis of our other two principles, *tika* and *aroha*.**

We identify five statements in the definition: *Pono* is a principle of perception of truth by which we acknowledge *tapu* and *mana*. It is an ethical principle of action in that it qualifies how we address *tapu*, and how we exercise *mana*. It consists in truly and fully acknowledging *tapu*, in all its relationships with *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. It also consists in responding with integrity to *tapu* by the full exercise of *mana*. It is the basis of our other two principles, *tika* and *aroha*. We treat each in turn.

<sup>7</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 291.1.

<sup>8</sup> A. R. Shearer, *Facsimiles of the Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington, N.Z.: Govt. Printer, 1976).

#### 4.2.2.1 ***Pono* is a principle of perception of truth by which we address *tapu* and *mana***

*Pono* is the result of the process whereby our mind, in perceiving some aspect of reality, judges it to be true. It is also a principle of perception. Firstly, it is a principle of perception whereby we acknowledge such truth. Secondly, it is a principle of perception whereby we not only acknowledge this truth, but also respond to it. Here our will chooses to embrace this reality and accept its truth. This choice also involves the further choice of what further steps need to be put in place to ensure not just a partial acknowledgement of truth, but a full acknowledgement of it.

Essential to *pono* is the integrity of the relationship between these two aspects. There must be a oneness between acknowledging the truth and living the truth if *pono*, considered as a principle, is to be honoured.

*Tangata* is blessed with the ability to see, hear, taste, smell, feel and think. What binds these faculties into one, is our ability to perceive truly the reality that we are, and at the same time, to perceive truly the reality that is embraced by *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

At the same time, we do not always exercise all these faculties in their fullness, and to that extent our perception of reality is impaired. This is where *pono* comes in as a principle of perception. It is the principle that impels us towards a fuller and less biased perception of reality than that which we might otherwise have, and thus towards a more adequate and integral response.

Thus we can say that *pono* is a principle that *enlightens* people's perception of reality by ensuring that the knower knows the real state of affairs.<sup>9</sup> “*Pono mārika, he kau ērā kei te kēti*” (True, indeed, those are cows at the gate).

In addition to enlightening perception, *pono* as a principle also helps *evaluate* reality.<sup>10</sup> It is true that recognising reality can be a ‘hit and miss’ task at times, not because of the reality that exists, but because of our perception and evaluation of it.

---

<sup>9</sup> Jon Sobrino, *Spirituality of Liberation: Towards Political Holiness*, trans. R. Barr, 2nd ed. (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1989), 16. Hereafter cited as Sobrino, *Spirituality of Liberation*. Sobrino, reflecting on “Honesty about the Real,” states, “The correct manner of knowing defends the real. This is why it must know the real objectively. And this is what I mean by honesty about the real.”

<sup>10</sup> Lonergan, *Method in Theology*, 238. Lonergan includes judgement as one of the four elements of knowing (experiencing, thinking, judging, deciding). From this he derives a fourfold ethical exhortation which is close to *pono*: be attentive, be intelligent, be reasonable and be responsible.

Hence, there is the constant challenge to recognise and evaluate more accurately the reality in front of us and around us.

This is where the role of *pono* is indispensable. If those are not cows at the gate, whatever the other reality is, the observer is then challenged to investigate the truth more objectively, so as better to address and acknowledge that reality. Thus, the objective of *pono* as qualifying an act of perception is to help us not only to recognise but also to evaluate reality.

In the light of our discussion in Chapter One of what constitutes indigenous theology, we can also say that *pono* challenges both indigenous *iwi* and *iwi kē* to become aware of their conditioning factors, and the biased interests that go with them, and seek a knowledge of reality that addresses the *tapu* of all concerned.

At this point in the argument, it is simply the matter of acknowledgement. Thus we can say *pono* enables us to recognise and evaluate the reality of things that exist as in *te tapu i te Atua, te tapu i te tangata* and *te tapu i te whenua*.

We now turn to the question of address and response. *Pono* enables us to perceive the tension between partial and full acknowledgement of *tapu*. This means that we must respond. The challenge of *pono* is that we not be satisfied with partial acknowledgement but rather that we move to achieve full acknowledgement of *tapu*. The more fully we recognise and evaluate *tapu* the more fully we can respond, and thereby address and acknowledge, and thus enhance, *tapu*. If we recognise and evaluate *tapu* as having been violated or diminished, then *pono* puts us in a position to act to restore *tapu*.

Similarly, because of our principle, “where there is *tapu*, there is *mana*,” we can say that *pono* also requires, in terms of perception of the fullness of reality, the full recognition of *mana*. It is only when one has done this, for example, that one can make the judgement that in a case of impairment, *tapu* and *mana* need to be not only addressed but also restored. Failure to recognise and acknowledge *tapu* and *mana* means in effect that one violates the *tapu* and *mana* of that reality.

We stress that this principle of *pono* covers not only individuals, but also groups such as *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. We now move to the question of acknowledgement of *tapu* and *mana*.

4.2.2.2 ***Pono* is an ethical principle of action in that it qualifies how we manifest, address, enhance, sustain and restore *tapu*, and how we exercise *mana***

*Pono* is an ethical principle of action in that it qualifies how we act to manifest, address, enhance, sustain and restore *tapu*, and how we exercise *mana*. So once we perceive the presence of *tapu* and of *mana*, there arises the question of appropriate response. We have described this response in five forms: we can manifest, address, enhance, sustain, or work to restore, *tapu* and *mana*.

All five require some form of action from the person or persons responding, and to that extent the ethical question arises.

Full acknowledgement of *tapu* consists of full acknowledgement of *te tapu i* and also of *te tapu o*. We explain this as follows. The imperative call, deriving from *te tapu i ngā mea katoa* (the *tapu* of all things), is for the full acknowledgement of *tapu*, because anything less falls short of the full reality, and to that extent can be considered a violation of *tapu*. Thus there is an ethical basis in *pono*, that requires not only that we perceive the fullness of truth in reality (and thus its *tapu* and *mana*) but also that we respond in a manner appropriate to that reality. This means that we are ethically called to move from partial to full knowledge of the reality and to correct judgement of its truth.

We need to do justice to that reality and to be *pono* (faithful) to it.<sup>11</sup> This response reflects not only on the *tapu* and *mana* of the reality that is being perceived, but also on the *tapu* and *mana* of the perceiver.

Some examples may illustrate this. First let us look at the issue of appropriate response to *tapu* and *mana*. We return to our example of the cows. At first, the object at the gate was perceived to be cows. But when evaluated further, the object of perception was more clearly identified. “*Kāhore, ehara ērā i te kau, he manuhiri kē*” (No, those are not cows, they are visitors). The reality is clearly identified and evaluated. *Manuhiri* are at the gate. Their *tapu* and their *mana* need appropriate response. Thus, in terms of response, *pono* makes the ethical claim that the appropriate *tikanga* must be actioned and the *manuhiri* welcomed on to the *marae* in a way that fully acknowledges their *tapu* and *mana*. When the *pōwhiri* is accorded,

---

<sup>11</sup> See Sobrino, *Spirituality of Liberation*, 14-20. Sobrino covers similar territory, with categories such as “Honesty about the Real,” “Fidelity to the Real” and “Willingness to be swept along by the “More” of Reality.”

*hunga kāinga* do justice to the *manuhiri*, and justice to themselves. They have responded with *pono* (honesty and integrity). Here we encounter *pono* as a description of the unity or oneness of full acknowledgement and full response.

A second series of examples may be used to show that *pono* makes ethical claims on the *tapu* and *mana* of every person. Here we understand *pono* as part of the integrity or otherwise of a person.<sup>12</sup> For example, if certain people were to make claims to land, the claims would need to be investigated and their truth proven before such claims could be recognised.<sup>13</sup> False or misguided claims reflect back upon the ability of the person or group to be either objective or truthful, about reality. *Pono* thus extends to ascertaining the truthfulness or otherwise of a person or group—and of what they say, or the claims that they make—and thereby to make appropriate response. It is in this sense that the phrase *he tangata pono* describes a truthful person who strives to ascertain the truth precisely in order to respond with integrity.

An associated aspect is honesty. *He tangata pono tēnā i āna mahi* is a person who is honest in his/her dealings, whether that be honesty of effort or honesty in financial matters. For example, if, as a result of researching land titles, I find a right of way had been created fifty years ago over my block of land, then it is a matter of acting with *pono* (honesty) that I accept the truth of the situation and advise those who will be beneficiaries of the reality.

In relation to perception, *pono* thus enables us to ascertain whether or not there is integrity between the person and his/her actions, or whether or not a person is faithful, loyal, reliable or consistent in his/her actions. *He mahi pono* (it is an act of integrity), for example, when a beneficiary advises that he or she has now found employment and is no longer entitled to the unemployment benefit.

As a principle governing action, *pono* calls for actions that promote and acknowledge integrity, faithfulness, loyalty, reliability and consistency. While *pono* makes use of *tikanga* (the culture and its value systems) in approaching and addressing *tapu* with a view to action, *pono* can also be a critic of those same value systems to the extent that they do not, or no longer, correspond to the reality of situations. By pointing out the

---

<sup>12</sup> Darragh defines integrity as “a way of living where persons or corporates act consistently according to their principles even when the costs of doing so are high.” N. Darragh, “A Pakeha Christian Spirituality,” in *Counselling Issues & South Pacific Communities*, ed. Philip Culbertson (Auckland, N.Z.: Accent, 1997), 318. Hereafter cited Darragh, *A Pakeha Christian Spirituality*.

<sup>13</sup> See our example in word usage, 4.2.1.

integrity or otherwise of a person or a set of relationships, *pono* opens up the way for change.

Thus *pono* describes the way that the individual or the group recognise *tapu* and *mana*, and at the same time exercise their own *mana* to respond appropriately, with appropriate forms of address, or of response to *tapu* and *mana*, or of respectful action to restore *tapu* and *mana* where it has been violated or diminished. It reflects back on the *tapu* and *mana* of the individual or group responding in the same way.

#### 4.2.2.3 ***Pono consists in truly and fully acknowledging tapu, in all its relationships with Atua, tangata and whenua***

By now, this point is clear. It is ethically not possible to acknowledge truly and fully the *tapu* of a person or group without true, full and appropriate acknowledgement of their relationships in all their links. Thus, true, full and appropriate acknowledgement implies full and appropriate acknowledgement of all links with *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. In a similar way, it is ethically not possible to acknowledge fully someone's *mana* without acknowledging its source(s) that exist in *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. This is important in opening up the understanding of *mana* as 'potentiality for dynamic action' and thus of the possibility of change and growth. Let us look at some examples in relation to *pono* responses to *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

The theological basis of *pono* lies in *Atua*. Paul provides a reference point to the faithfulness of *Atua* to *Atua* through the person of Jesus Christ:

*Ki te kore tatou e whakaponu, e mau ana ano tona pono: e kore e ahei kia whakakahore ia i a ia ano. [If we are faithless, he remains faithful—for he cannot deny himself.] (2 Tim 2:13)*

Just as Jesus Christ is the self-revelation of *Atua*, so he is also the revelation of the *pono* of *Atua*. The basis of the integrity of Jesus' mission, with its outcome in death and resurrection,<sup>14</sup> was Jesus' integration of his will to that of his Father. (Mk 14:32-42; Matt 26:39; Lk 22:42) Jesus thus lived and died with *pono*.

The *kaupapa* or primary act of Christian *whakaponu* is, by way of response, to make an act of belief in *Atua*. This is an internal act. But *whakaponu* (faith), in the words of

---

<sup>14</sup> Darragh, *A Pakeha Christian Spirituality*, 320. Darragh speaks of the resurrection as the true indication of the faithfulness (*pono*) of *Atua* towards *tangata* and *whenua*: "The theological basis for integrity lies in the concept of resurrection. Resurrection proclaims the eternity of integrity. It is a claim for God's faithfulness towards the integral person, corporate, and culture, and ultimately towards the Earth ... Integrity is founded on God's resurrection of the self."

Avery Dulles, “flows secondarily into external acts of confession by word and deed.”<sup>15</sup> Without ceasing to be an assent of the mind to reality (*pono*), faith as response (*pono*) “involves a trusting commitment of the whole person to God who reveals, together with fidelity and obedience to the saving message.”<sup>16</sup>

There is thus an integral relationship between *pono* and *whakaponu*. Integrity—*pono*—is needed between the faith we profess and the faith we live. The *tikanga* of Christian *whakaponu* is doing good works such as clothing the naked and feeding the hungry. According to James, faith by itself is dead. (Jas 2:14) Another illustration of the relation between *pono* and *whakaponu* is baptism. Parents and godparents promise, with the help of the Christian community, to bring up their children and godchildren in the practice and knowledge of the Christian faith. The obligation, particularly on parents and godparents, is to be *pono* to their commitment. The failure to understand the full reality of what *pono* and *whakaponu* require, in terms of personal response to *Atua*, to their child and to the community, is a major reason why commitment, faithfulness and consistency are sometimes found lacking.

We now look at *pono* responses to *tangata* and *whenua*. These days it is common for Māori attendees at a seminar to introduce themselves with the practice called *whakapiripiri* (binding people together). In this exercise, the attendees introduce themselves to the whole group. Generally, they do so by stating their *whakapapa* links with *tūpuna* and *whānau*, and also with mountains, rivers, *kāinga*, *marae* and other distinguishing features of their tribal areas. In this way they seek to proclaim the reality (*te mea pono*) of their relationship links.

An example of response to *te tapu o te whenua* occurred when the Catholic Diocese of Hamilton returned two lots of land in the Eastern Bay of Plenty to the descendants of the original donors, when the *whenua* was no longer used for the purpose for which it had been given. It was a matter of *pono* to return the land.<sup>17</sup> An associated example is the fact that most Māori do not consider it to be *pono* for inherited, unpurchased

---

<sup>15</sup> A. Dulles, "Faith and Revelation," in *Systematic Theology: Roman Catholic Perspectives*, ed. F. Schüssler Fiorenza and J. P. Galvin (Minneapolis.: Fortress, 1991), Vol. 1, 116. Hereafter cited as Dulles, "Faith and Revelation."

<sup>16</sup> Dulles, "Faith and Revelation," 116-117.

<sup>17</sup> The *tikanga* of returning the *whenua* took place at Ōmaio and Raukōkore, respectively. See C. Piper, "Diocese Returns Land to Māori," *NZ Catholic*, Feb 23 2003, 10. The land was returned on December 29, 2002, after 70 years. The events were reported on Māori Television's, *Te Karere* programme, 29 and 30 December 2002.

shares in *whenua* to be transferred to other people on the basis of *aroha* alone, whilst depriving others who have a claim in *tika* to succession to those shares.<sup>18</sup>

#### 4.2.2.4 ***Pono* consists in responding with integrity to *tapu* by the full exercise of *mana***

Here we focus on the exercise of *mana*. There are three possibilities: full, partial or no exercise of *mana*. In the first instance, *pono* consists in the full exercise of *mana* to acknowledge fully *te tapu i te Atua*, *te tapu i te tangata*, *te tapu i te whenua*, and the relationships, existing or possible, among *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

Second, as soon as we evaluate reality, *pono* reveals the tension between the partial and full exercise of *mana*. The full exercise of *mana* thus may be understood under three headings. It is not enough to acknowledge fully. There is also the question of the full exercise of *mana* to enhance and restore *tapu* and *mana*. Appropriate and just responses to *tapu* call for nothing less than this. Herein lies the challenge for *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* (role players) to step up to the *tūranga* (roles or positions) they occupy and to implement them fully.<sup>19</sup> It is their task in their role playing to enhance the *mana* of others, and, in the case of violation, to initiate processes which will restore *tapu* and *mana*.

The third possibility we need to consider is situations where no *mana* is exercised. We deal with this in a separate section.

The *tapu* of all concerned must be addressed appropriately, which rules out any violation. We reflect on the consequences of failure to act with *pono*. Inappropriate response to any form of *tapu*, whether of *Atua*, *tangata* or *whenua*, is violation. The *tapu* of all concerned must be addressed appropriately, which rules out any violation. *Pono* does not permit violation of self or others whilst in pursuit of a *kaupapa* that is deemed to be *tika* or *aroha*. *Pono* is ignored when one chooses not to acknowledge the reality of a situation or when one chooses to remain *kuare* (ignorant) about the truth. *Pono* is lacking where there is dishonesty or theft. A person is not *pono*, and thereby lacks integrity, where his/her behaviour portrays infidelity, unreliability or inconsistency.

---

<sup>18</sup> For example, a man who was not legally entitled to succeed to them acquired some land shares. The shares belonged to a woman who had acted as his foster mother. Both the foster mother and the foster son failed to reveal the transfer of shares to the woman's daughter, her only legal issue. The transfer of shares was legal, but not *pono*, because it disinherited her daughter and the woman's own *mokopuna*.

<sup>19</sup> For Roles and Role players, see Chapter Five.



Let us look at some family examples where *pono* is lacking. When parents fail to reprimand children for their misbehaviour, they are choosing not to act with *pono*. Here, the parents are often afraid to act with *pono*, lest they lose the supposed love of their children. Second, the husband who drinks and then beats his wife is not *pono*, both in regard to her and to himself. He is failing to accept the truth and face the reality that he has a drink problem and an anger problem. He is failing in keeping integrity between his words given at marriage and his subsequent actions. He is failing to acknowledge the full *tapu* of his wife. On the other hand, the wife is not *pono* if she denies or covers up the truth and the reality of the situation. She is not *pono* to the children either, when she makes excuses for their father. She is not *pono* to herself when she does nothing to correct the situation. This is because she is not becoming what she could be, namely, a person enhanced and empowered by appropriate response to her husband's problem.

These examples show that, if in an encounter, someone responds to *tapu* with a half-hearted or partial exercise of their *mana*, then their own *tapu*, and their own *mana*, is not fully acknowledged or appropriately addressed. To that extent *pono* is lacking, and to that extent there is violation. In the case of a double violation, as in the example we have cited, a new state of affairs now exists that needs to be addressed—only this time the appropriate response becomes the restoration of *tapu* that has been violated and of *mana* that has been obstructed and impaired.<sup>20</sup>

#### 4.2.2.5 ***Pono* is the basis of our other two principles, *tika* and *aroha***

It is sufficient to note briefly in this regard that perception of the reality that exists is the basis of the principles of *tika* and *aroha*. Right response (*tika*) to reality and loving response (*aroha*) to reality both presuppose the reality itself.

---

<sup>20</sup> See further our chapters on *Whakanoa* and on *Hohou rongo*.

### 4.3.0 Section Two: *Tika*

#### 4.3.1 Introduction

In this section we will discuss *Tika* in the following ways. First, we will examine the usage of *tika* and its derivatives, in order to discover insights into its meaning and use by Māori. Second, in the light of the discussion, we will attempt a definition of *tika* within the systematic framework of this thesis, and provide our analysis. Finally, we will make a brief note of the relationship of *tika* to *pono* and *aroha*.

#### 4.3.2 Word usage

We treat *tika* on its own, and then in its derivatives, the verb *whakatika* and the noun *tikanga*.

According to Williams, *tika* means straight, direct, keeping a direct course, just, fair, right and correct.<sup>21</sup> Hori Ngata speaks of *utunga tika*, (just reward), or justice as seen to be done (*e kitea ana kua ū ki te tika*).<sup>22</sup>

*Karanga Hokianga* supplements the above meanings:

*Ka tika to kupu.*<sup>23</sup> [Your word is right.]

Kāmira uses *tika* as an adverb:

*Era karakia he mea kia puare tika ai nga taringa o aua tamariki.*<sup>24</sup>  
[The purpose of those prayers was to ensure that the ears of the young people are properly opened.]

*Tika* can also mean authority and, within that context, is synonymous with *mana*. *Kei au te tika*. *Kei au te mana* (I have the right. I have the authority).

The word *tika* abounds with multiple significant meanings in *Te Paipera Tapu*.<sup>25</sup>

To sum up, when *tika* is used as an adjective as in *utunga tika*, *tangata tika*, it describes something or someone as being right, proper, in order, in right relationship.

<sup>21</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 416.

<sup>22</sup> H. M. Ngata, *English-Māori Dictionary* (Wellington, N.Z.: Learning Media, 1993), 271. "just."

<sup>23</sup> Tate & Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 80.

<sup>24</sup> Kāmira, vol. 2, 7.

<sup>25</sup> *Tika* in biblical terms translates as lawful, just or justice, and righteous. "A ka ui ratou ki a ia, He tika ranei te whakaora i te hapatī?" ["Is it lawful to cure on the Sabbath?"] (Matt 12:10) "i mahia ai e ratou te tika" [who... administered justice.] (Heb 11:33) "Ka koa te hunga e hiakai ana, e hainu ana ki te tika; e makona hoki ratou" [Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they will be filled.] (Matt 5:6) "Kei reira hoki e whakakitea ana ta te Atua tika, he mea no te whakapono ki te whakapono: kua oti nei hoki te tuhituhi, 'ma te whakapono e ora ai te tangata tika" [For in it the righteousness of God is revealed through faith, for faith; as it is written, 'the one who is righteous will live by faith.'] (Rom 1:17)

Where *tika* is used as an adverb as in *haere tika*, *puare tika*, it indicates that *tika* qualifies the action by providing direction, order, rectitude and propriety. Where *tika* is used as a noun, it can often refer specifically to legal rights.

*Āku tika kei Rotorua kē* [My rights are rather in Rotorua.]

We look now at *Whakatika* and *Tikanga* as derivatives of *Tika*. With the causative prefix, *whaka*, *tika* becomes a verb. For Williams, *whakatika* means to straighten, to correct, to acknowledge as right, to stand up, to rise up, to set out on a journey.<sup>26</sup>

*Tikanga* is a noun form of *tika*. While Marsden describes it as a method, plan, reason, custom, a course of action, he also adds another important aspect, that is the right way of doing things.<sup>27</sup> He says, “*Kaupapa* and *tikanga* are juxtaposed in Māori thinking,” and describes *kaupapa* as “ground rules, first principles, general principles.”<sup>28</sup>

In conclusion, *tika* will generally be taken to mean, ‘what is right.’ *Tikanga* will be described as the custom, the reason, the method, the course and process of implementing *kaupapa*. We build on the thoughts of Marsden by saying that *tikanga* relates to *kaupapa* as process relates to foundation principles. *Tikanga* is the process of applying the ground rules or general principles residing in *kaupapa*. Once established, *tikanga* becomes, in turn, the principle for further action. In this context, *tōna tikanga* is a commonly used phrase. It can be translated as ‘in its own right,’ or ‘by right.’

#### 4.3.3 Definition of *Tika*

In the light of this discussion, we will attempt a definition of *tika* within the systematic framework of this thesis.

***Tika is the second of the three principles by which we manifest, address, enhance, sustain, and restore tapu. It consists in right acknowledgement of tapu and mana, and right ordering of relationships among Atua, tangata and whenua, and appropriate response to tapu by the right exercise of mana. It presupposes pono and is, in its turn, the presupposition for aroha.***

We address five statements in the definition.

<sup>26</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 417. Other variations we have encountered are: “*Me whakatika i te marae mō te hui*” (Make ready the *marae*, put it in order.); “*Me whakatika tātou i āna kōrero*” (We must endorse his/her words); “*Mehemea e hē ana ia, me whakatika*” (If the person is at fault, correct him/her).

<sup>27</sup> Marsden & Henare, “Kaitiakitanga,” 17.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

#### 4.3.3.1 ***Tika* is the second of three principles by which we manifest, address, enhance, sustain and restore *tapu***

The three principles by which we address and acknowledge *tapu* are *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*. The three are interrelated. We describe *tika* as a principle, and also as a virtue. It is a principle because it is the basis of right ordering of relationships (*te tapu o*) which manifest, address, enhance sustain and restore *tapu* (*te tapu i* and *te tapu o*). As such, it is the basis of just relationships. Further, it is a virtue because it is the principle for right conduct in relationships.<sup>29</sup>

To the extent that it is concerned with right order, *tika* is the principle that calls to action, qualifies and directs action. *Whakatika ake rā tātou* (let us rise up) is a call to action. *Whakatikatika* (to correct, make right) is a directive that we put things in order or rectify a situation that is ‘out of order.’ *Tika* indicates and directs a particular course of action. The right course of action is, first, to get things in order, and second, to maintain them in order so that *tapu* may be, and continue to be, rightly addressed and acknowledged and thus enhanced. Should things be ‘out of order,’ then *tika* points in the direction of restoring *tapu*.

As a principle of action, *tika* includes the elements of what should be done, how it should be done, and why it should be done. In terms of the definition, *tika* directs what should be done for right acknowledgement of *tapu*, for right ordering of relationships, for appropriate response to *tapu*, and, as we shall see in the next section, for right exercise of *mana*.

In the moral order, the principle of *tika*, because it addresses both *te tapu i* and *te tapu o*, guides the process of determining rights and duties in relation to *Atua*, to *tangata* and to *whenua*. The response to *tapu* is always a matter of ethical behaviour, of right conduct.

On a lesser level, without necessary reference to *Atua*, *tika* as a principle also grounds the legal order and the set of *tikanga* that determine right relationships, and thus rights and duties, among *tāngata*, among *iwi*, *hapū*, *ia tangata*, and with *whenua*. From the viewpoint of this systematics, the moral order grounds, and has priority over, the legal order, because *tika* requires as priority the right acknowledgement of *te tapu i te Atua*, and *te tapu o te Atua*, the source of all *tapu* and right relationships.

---

<sup>29</sup> Dulles describes virtues as “stable dispositions of the human spirit oriented toward good acts.” “Faith and Revelation,” 105.

How *tapu* is rightly addressed or restored is what *tikanga* is about. *Tikanga* is the process and course of action directed by the principle of *tika*. Where *tika* directs the right acknowledgement of *tapu* and the right ordering of relationships among *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*, *tikanga* is the process by which the end result is achieved.

#### 4.3.3.2 ***Tika* consists in right acknowledgement of *tapu***

We have seen in our treatment of *pono* that *pono* calls for full acknowledgement of *tapu*. *Tika* builds on this perception and this call, by adding the notion that ‘full’ acknowledgement includes the idea of ‘right,’ of ‘right order,’ of ‘appropriate’ as determined by the *tapu* of the person being addressed in the encounter. An acknowledgement that is partial cannot be *tika*, because it is not ‘full.’ An acknowledgement that is full cannot be *tika* unless it addresses the *tapu* of those involved according to right order and right relationships. For example, for *hunga kāinga* to address themselves before addressing *manuhiri* would not be *tika*, because the *kaupapa* of the *pōwhiri* requires that *manuhiri* be rightly addressed. This means that they are welcomed first. Otherwise the order of relationships is distorted and, to that extent, the acknowledgement cannot be ‘right’ or *tika*.

The principle of *tika* must resolve in practice the tension we have seen in our section on *pono* between partial and full acknowledgement of *tapu*. Fullness belongs with *pono*. Right address and the right ordering of relationships belong with *tika*. *Tika* requires that *tapu* be addressed. While *pono* calls for full acknowledgement of both *te tapu i te tangata* and *te tapu o te tangata*, one might not be in the position to address fully *te tapu o te tangata* because one does not know all their links through ignorance, or because to publicise some aspects of their links might violate the right ordering of relationships in the situation (as, for example, in maintaining a person’s right to privacy in some situations). In this latter case, *tika* means ‘full’ in the sense of ‘appropriate to the situation.’

#### 4.3.3.3 ***Tika* consists in right ordering of relationships among *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua***

Let us now look at what *tika* acknowledgement of *te tapu i te Atua*, *te tapu i te tangata*, and *te tapu i te whenua* may involve. By “acknowledgement” we mean that we address *tapu*, taking full account of *tapu* in all its links.

Firstly, we look at *Atua*. As the source and fullness of all *tapu*, absolutely, and in creation, *Atua* is the source and fullness of all relationships existing, or possibly

existing, among *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. *Te tapu i te Atua* speaks of the infinite transcendence of *Atua*. Second, full acknowledgement of *te tapu o te Atua* involves acknowledgement of *Atua* in all the links that *Atua*, as Creator, enjoys by virtue of immanence in creation.<sup>30</sup> Not to acknowledge these realities is already a violation.

Secondly, right and full address of *tangata* requires right and full address of *te tapu i te tangata*. This in turn involves right and full address of *te tapu o te tangata*, enhanced and empowered in relationship with *Atua*, and considered both as individual and as member of *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*.

To acknowledge *tangata* in *tika* means first to acknowledge *Atua* as the source, the unifying principle and the fullness of all relationships of *tangata*. It means, second, that the relationship of *tangata* to other *tāngata* be addressed, acknowledged and respected in *tika* whether the relationship is with individuals, *whānau* groups or friends.

Thirdly, right and full address of *te tapu i te whenua* involves right and full address of *te tapu o te whenua*, taking into consideration the enormous variety of relationships that constitute *whenua*.

Fourthly, *tika* is the principle directing the right ordering of relationships among *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. Integral to the intrinsic *tapu* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* is the relationship of each one to the others. Each has its own set of extensions and links, that also must be acknowledged in right order, and in right relationship. This is because, first, the relationships are extensions of the *tapu* of each, and *tika* directs the acknowledgement of the *tapu* of each. Second, the relationship of each contributes to the other, and each receives from the other. Thus, the relationships confer sacredness, dignity and power, and it is *tika* to acknowledge and enhance those relationships existing, or possibly existing, among them. From the opposite point of view, it is also *tika* that those relationships are not severed but are maintained and cultivated with the aim of ensuring the survival, maintenance and enhancement of their *tapu*.

We now look at some applications of these principles. Māori are concerned with the process and practice of making right response to *Atua*.<sup>31</sup> For them, acknowledgement

---

<sup>30</sup> In Christian terms, we would add links within the Trinity (*te tapu i te Atua Matua*, *te tapu i te Atua Tamaiti*, and *te tapu i te Atua Wairua Tapu*) and in history in *Hehu Karaiti* (Jesus Christ).

<sup>31</sup> This section could be developed further to encompass such topics as theology and its branches, spirituality, liturgy and ethics.

of *Atua in mihi* (speeches) *karakia* (prayer) and *ritenga* (ritual) are major forms of response to *Atua*. At the outset of every *hui* (public meeting) there is public acknowledgement of *Atua in mihi* and *karakia*. At gatherings of *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi* and church communities, speakers use the opportunity to praise the *Atua* of righteousness, and to acknowledge *Atua* in the presence of the living. Thus whenever they gather, Māori give thanks in *karakia* and in *hīmene* (hymns) and acclaim the power and majesty of *Atua*.

A second application concerns *tangata*. *Tika* is the principle that calls for appropriate response in acknowledging *te tapu i te tangata*, beginning with *te tangata ake* (the person himself/herself). *Tika* calls for the individual to strive for the fullness of *tapu*. It is not a *tika* response to be content with an inferior state of *tapu*. There is a moral obligation, and at times legal, for the individual to seek and provide for his/her total well-being. The obligation is not just to have physical and spiritual wellness but also to take positive steps to avoid, prevent, or attend to the lack of wellness. Self-interest and self-preservation, however, cannot be at the cost of violating others. *Tika*, considered as the obligation to manifest, address, enhance, sustain and restore *te tapu i te tangata*, calls for the individual to acknowledge, and, as appropriate, to maintain, develop, and restore right relationship with others, and above all, with *Atua*.

The same principle is just as binding upon groups of people. To this end, *tikanga* (customary practice) is helpful. We have seen this in the example of the *pōwhiri* (welcome ceremony). Initiatives regarding health, social justice, education, and *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, which in their *kaupapa* and *tikanga*, acknowledge *te tapu i te tangata*, are other examples. *Tika* as a principle stresses the need for full and appropriate responses to such initiatives that deserve *tautoko* (support).

The alternative is to set up, or live with, relationships that are not *tika*, or not rightly ordered to the full acknowledgement of the respective *tapu* of those in relationship. This in turn means violation, and the consequence is a series of relationships that, even though seemingly correct and rightly ordered, are *tika* only in reference to *tangata* in an inferior state of being.

*Tika*, by definition, means that this inferior set of relationships needs to be ordered to the full acknowledgement of all *tapu* in its fullness of being.

#### 4.3.3.4 ***Tika* consists in appropriate response to *tapu* by the right exercise of *mana***

In all encounters, every response to *tapu* is made by the exercise of *mana*. This exercise, however, can be appropriate, or inappropriate. Appropriate exercise of *mana* results in the right acknowledgement of *tapu*, which enhances *tapu* instead of violating *tapu*. The principle that guides this process is that of *tika*. With *tika* understood as the criterion and guide for the right ordering of relationships, then the right exercise of *mana* is integral to encounter. Appropriate response to *tangata*, for example, *needs* to be based not just on *te tapu i te tangata*, but also on *te tapu o te tangata*. In the process of this response, *tika* gives rise to the series of rights and obligations that derive from such right acknowledgement of all such relationships, that are then carried out by the right exercise of *mana*.

We observe in the Māori version of the Second Article of the Treaty of Waitangi:

*Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangatira, ki nga hapu, ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani, te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa.*<sup>32</sup> [The Queen of England agrees to protect the Chiefs, the Subtribes, and all the people of New Zealand in the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, their villages, and their treasures.]

Whilst specific rights were guaranteed to Māori under the Treaty, both parties also accepted obligations as well. The failure by Governments to observe their obligations has resulted in violation in the past, with ongoing consequences in the present, including impairment of *te mana o te tangata*. It requires contemporary exercise of *pono* and *tika* to address, restore, and enhance the relationship of the Treaty partners.

Now we turn to the last call of *tika*, namely, for appropriate response to *whenua*. The principle of *tika* requires the full acknowledgement of *te tapu i te whenua*, and appropriate response to the same *tapu*. A moral obligation for cooperative responsibility arises from this, which calls upon all *tāngata*, (the individual, *iwi*, communities, governments, and nations) to do what is humanly possible to ensure the well-being of *whenua* by means of right relationships. The goal is to care for the wellness of *whenua*. In its wellness, *whenua* can continue to provide sustenance for beings that depend on it for life and growth.

---

<sup>32</sup> Shearer, *Facsimiles of the Treaty of Waitangi*. The term ‘*tino rangatiratanga*’ (translated in this facsimile as “unqualified exercise of their chieftainship”) has been, and continues to be, the subject of dispute as to whether the Māori or the English version of the Treaty is the genuine expression of what was agreed.



Governments and local body authorities act according to the principle of *tika*—or otherwise—when they enact laws and by-laws that govern the utilisation and management of *whenua*.<sup>33</sup> A further example of appropriate response is the ensuring that legal titles safeguard the ownership of individuals, and the trusteeship of members representing *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. Contrariwise, to fail to acknowledge and respect *te tapu o te whenua* is a violation also of those connected with the *whenua*. At the same time, the rights of individuals, of *whānau*, of *hapū* or of *iwi* need to be protected, lest they are usurped by Trusteeship.<sup>34</sup>

Gifting, or making *whenua* available for purchase, for projects beneficial to the *whānau* and community is an appropriate response to *te tapu i te whenua*. Such examples include sites for *marae*, church and cemetery, and for housing for those who have no *whenua*. Returning *whenua* when the original use is no longer contemplated is also required, if the relationship is to continue to be *tika*. Sharing and giving of produce of the *whenua*, rather than being wasteful, is another example of appropriate response. On the negative side, there is a heavy responsibility to ensure that *tangata* does not damage, or worse, cause irreversible damage to *whenua*. Thus *tika*, on one hand, requires wise management of land utilisation, food and mineral resources. On the other hand, it requires preventative measures against pollution, depletion of food and mineral resources, deforestation, and other misuse of *whenua*.

#### 4.3.3.5 ***Tika* presupposes *pono* and is, in its turn, the presupposition for *aroha***

We now look at the relationship between *tika*, *pono* and *aroha*. *Tika* presupposes *pono* and is, in its turn, the presupposition for *aroha*. *Tika* is not the only response to *tapu*. We have already seen that *pono* is a response to *tapu* that is prior to *tika*. Once one has exercised *pono* in attempting to perceive truly and objectively the nature and the reality of *tapu* relationships, then there arises the question of the right ordering of response to these relationships. Thus *tika* follows, and presupposes *pono* in specifying the *tikanga* or right ordering of this response.

In the next section, we will see that *Aroha* is also a further response to *tapu* that presupposes both *pono* and *tika*.

<sup>33</sup> An example would be the Ministry for the Environment, "Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA)," N.Z. Government <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1991/0069/latest/DLM230265.html> (accessed January 19, 2008).

<sup>34</sup> *Wai 9: Orakei Report* 12.4.1. "On the face of the Court order, the legal owner was admitted as being a trustee, and the thirteen were declared to be absolutely entitled." It was a declaration that excluded the great majority of the tribe, and thus was not *tika*.

## 4.4.0 Section Three: *Aroha*

### 4.4.1 Introduction

In this section, we first examine word usage, including two derivatives, *whakaaroha* and *pūaroha*. Then we propose a systematic definition of *Aroha* and provide our analysis. Finally, we consider the relationship between *Aroha*, *Pono* and *Tika*.

### 4.4.2 Word usage

Williams defines *aroha* as love, yearning for an absent friend, pity, compassion, affectionate regard.<sup>35</sup> We also look at various sources around the country.

In *Ngā Mōteatea*,<sup>36</sup> we find many ancient *waiata* (songs) that make reference to *aroha*. We list three examples, that cover the meanings of grief, affection and yearning, respectively.

*He aroha tonu ake nōku ki te mate.*<sup>37</sup> [I but grieve for the dead.]

*E hine, tēnā koe! Ka nui taku aroha, ī.*<sup>38</sup> [My daughter! My greetings and my deep affection.]

*Ko koe nei te tāne ki roto i te ngākau, ē, he aha te inaina, e kōhi te mahara, he aha te ao pango, e kapo ai te aroha, ē.*<sup>39</sup> [The one consuming thought within my breast is of my spouse; whether basking in the sun, I centre my thoughts, or under the mantle of dark clouds, my love snatches at a ray of hope.]

P. W. Hohepa in his study of a Māori community in Northland includes love, affection and also sorrow as meanings of *aroha*.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 16.

<sup>36</sup> Sir Apirana Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui Jones, eds., *Ngā Mōteatea*, 4 vols., vol. 1 (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2004). Hereafter cited as Ngata, *Ngā Mōteatea*. From the inside cover we read: “Over a period of forty years, Sir Apirana Ngata, distinguished leader and scholar, collected and recorded hundreds of songs and chants from the iwi of Aotearoa, which became the four volumes of *Ngā Mōteatea*, with translations and annotations by Ngata and Pei te Hurinui Jones.”

<sup>37</sup> This is a *Tangi* (A Lament) from Tuhourangi, Te Arawa. See Ngata, *Ngā Mōteatea, The Songs, waiata* no. 6:005. The digits 005 refer to the line number on which *aroha* appears in the text. Translations are provided by those who collected and annotated the *waiata*. See R. B. Harlow and A. H. F. Thornton, eds., *A Name and Word Index to Ngā Mōteatea* (Dunedin, N.Z.: University of Otago Press, 1986), 69.

<sup>38</sup> Ngata, *Ngā Mōteatea, waiata* no. 17:014-15 is *He Waiata Aroha*, A Song of Yearning, from Tuhoe. It pre-dates 1896.

<sup>39</sup> Ngata, *Ngā Mōteatea, waiata* no. 23:014-17. It is *He Waiata Aroha*, A Love Song, from Ngāti Porou, from the 1836 period. We would understand *aroha* here as meaning ‘yearning.’

<sup>40</sup> P.W. Hohepa, *A Maori Community in Northland*, 132.

In *He Hīnātore ki te Ao Māori*, a handbook prepared by the Ministry of Justice in Wellington, *aroha* is presented as love, concern, compassion and sorrow. We particularly note its description of *aroha* as

an expression of love, care, respect and affection in its widest sense. It is the essential element in interpersonal relationships. Aroha encompasses respect, friendship, concern, hospitality and the process of giving.<sup>41</sup>

Though there is a single Māori term (*aroha*), there is no single English word that covers all the perspectives of *aroha*. Our study thus far provides us with a wide range of meanings of and various perspectives upon *aroha*, according to the context in which the word is used. We need to refine this further. To do so, we examine some examples from common conversation.

We divide our examples from common conversation into three groups. Each group has a different perspective of *aroha*. Let us look at the first group, in which the subject and object of *aroha* is a person or persons. Here, *aroha* is an action that flows from one person or persons, reaching out to the other.

*E aroha ana tātou ki te Atua.* [We love Atua.]

*E aroha ana ngā mātua ki ngā tamariki.* [Parents love their children.]

In this first group, *aroha* can also describe the quality of the relationship between or among persons. The following examples of *te tangata ki te tangata* relationship place the emphasis on the quality or content of that relationship.

Attitudes of compassion, sympathy or mercy are evident within that relationship:

*E aroha ana tātou ki te tūroto rā.* [We have *aroha* for that sick person.]

*E aroha ana rāua ki te hunga mate.* [They have *aroha* for the deceased.]

*E aroha ana ahau ki au anō.* [I have *aroha* for myself.]

*Ehara oti te tikanga kia aroha ano koe ki tou hoa pononga me ahau i aroha ki a koe?* [Should you not have had mercy on your fellow-slave, as I had mercy on you?] (Matt 18:33)

---

<sup>41</sup> Ministry of Justice, *He Hīnātore Ki Te Ao Māori: A Glimpse into the Māori World* (Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry of Justice, 2001), 151. Hereafter cited as Ministry of Justice, *He Hīnātore*.

The second group of examples present *aroha* when the object of *aroha* is not a person:

*E aroha ana ia ki tāna kurī.* [She has *aroha* for her dog.]

*E aroha ana ahau ki te hōiho e totitoti mai rā.* [I have *aroha* for that horse limping along the road.]

*E aroha ana ahau ki te pounamu nei, nā taku hoa kua mate.*<sup>42</sup> [I have *aroha* for this greenstone pendant because it belonged to my deceased friend.]

*E aroha ana ahau ki tēnei kāinga, ki Motuti, nā ōku mātua.*<sup>43</sup> [I have *aroha* for this place, Motuti, because of its connections with my parents.]

In these examples, the object of a person's *aroha* is an animal, an inanimate object that is valued as a *taonga*, and a place. In the first example, *aroha* could imply attachment to, fondness for, or care for, the dog as her treasured companion. In the second example, *aroha* could mean sorrow, or compassion, towards a suffering animal. In the third example, *aroha* could mean simply a fondness towards a greenstone pendant. It could also mean more than that. In the context, a link is made between the pendant and the deceased owner-friend. That suggests *te tangata ki te tangata* (the person-to-person) nature of the *aroha* relationship with the owner-friend by means of links, which are reflected in the *aroha* relationship with the pendant. Similarly, in the last example, the person is fond of the place (Motuti) because of the links with his/her parents, and with the *kāinga* and *whenua* of Motuti. In these cases, what is loved is not so much the thing in itself (*te tapu i tētahi mea*), rather the thing as sign and symbol of the relationship (*te tapu o tētahi mea*).

Now we turn to the third group, in which *aroha* is used as a noun:

*Ko te mea nui ko te aroha, te kaitonotono i ahau.*<sup>44</sup> [The most profound of principles is *aroha*, it sends me around like a servant.]

*Ko taku aroha mō rātou, he aroha noa.* [My *aroha* for them is unconditional.]

*E Hine e, hoki mai rā, ka mate ahau i te aroha e.*<sup>45</sup> [Come back to me, beloved, my heart is breaking for love of you.]

<sup>42</sup> In April 1994, Lottie Martin of Dargaville related this history of a greenstone pendant left to her following the death of an elderly friend.

<sup>43</sup> These words, spoken by Hone Peita at Tamatea Marae, Motuti, were recorded in the diary of the writer on 20<sup>th</sup> April, 2001.

<sup>44</sup> From a *waiata* frequently heard sung on *marae*. Lyricist/composer unknown.

<sup>45</sup> R. Spence, *Whakaaria Mai: The Biography of Canon Wiremu Wi Te Tau Huata* (Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore, 1994), 37.

In the first example, *aroha* is associated with service. In the second, it is a quality possessed by a person who then shares it gratuitously with others. In the last of these examples, *aroha* is seen as a bond of union. Separation is considered unbearable.

Let us now move to consider two derivatives of *aroha*. The first of the derivatives is *whakaaroha*:

*He mea whakaaroha ano te titiro a-wairua atu ki a Pa Arapeta e poipoi haere ana i taua kaumatua [a Pa Hoane] i te roa o te whenua i runga i te ngakau aroha.<sup>46</sup> [Aroha is drawn forth from me as I reflect, in spirit, on the gentle and loving attendance Pā Arapeta gives to the elderly man [Pā Hoane] on his distant journey.]*

In this example, *whakaaroha* refers to the drawing forth of a compassionate response from an observer (Kāmira) who is witnessing the attitude of care by one person (Pā Arapeta) towards another who is elderly and ill (Pā Hoane Becker). *Whakaaroha* is used as an adjective to describe a particular *aroha* response, namely that of compassion and sympathy. In another context, it would seem that *whakaaroha* could be used even if the *aroha* drawn forth is one of affection. It is possible that ‘*whakaaroha*’ is the origin of the phrase ‘*ka aroha*’ to mean ‘how loving, how affectionate, or how compassionate.’

*Pūaroha* is a second derivative. It is a yearning or feeling of sympathy.

*Ka nui toku puaroha ki tona tangi. Ka puta te puaroha ki te toroa, tangi te toroa ki tona kainga. Puaroha ana toku ngakau mo enei kupu tangi mai.<sup>47</sup> [I have a feeling of great sympathy for its cry. My sympathy goes out to the toroa [albatross] as it cries for its homeland. My heart has sympathy for these sounds of lament.]*

On the other hand, *pūaroha* means compassion in this passage from scripture:

*Ko te Atua hoki hei whakapono moku, mo te nui o toku kōnohi ki a koutou katoa i runga i te ngakau puaroha o Hehu Karaiti. [For God is my witness, how I long for all of you with the compassion of Christ Jesus.] (Phil 1:8)*

In this example, *pūaroha* is used as an adjective rather than a noun, and the words, *ngākau pūaroha*, can be translated as ‘compassionate heart.’

We now consider a definition of *aroha*, mindful that some or all of these expressions thus far examined are included in the meaning of *aroha*.

<sup>46</sup> A. Laangerwerf, "Hui Uhunga Mo Pa Hoane Ki Motukaraka, Hokianga," *Te Waka o Hato Petera* January (1942): 5.

<sup>47</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 302-303.

#### 4.4.3 Definition of *Aroha*

***Aroha* is one of the three principles governing the relationships among *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*, by which we manifest, address, enhance, sustain and restore *tapu*, and exercise *mana*.**

***Aroha* is love, namely, a principle of communion and of action by which the fullness of *tapu* of some (and, implicitly, all) beings is manifested, addressed, enhanced, sustained and restored in affection, compassion, sacrifice and generosity, by the right and gratuitous exercise of *mana*.**

We now offer our analysis of this definition in line with our systematics.

##### 4.4.3.1 ***Aroha* is one of three principles governing the relationships among *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua***

We have seen that *pono* and *tika* are principles governing the relationships among *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. *Aroha* is the third principle. Like the other two, it qualifies the relationships that exist between *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. Its own focus, however, is on the communion in relationship among *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* that needs to be brought about by *pono* (perceptive) and *tika* (right) action. In a second instance, therefore, it governs action dedicated to bringing about, enhancing or restoring communion among *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

##### 4.4.3.2 ***Aroha* is one of three principles by which we manifest, address, enhance, sustain, and restore *tapu*, and exercise *mana***

Like the other two principles, *aroha* is a principle by which we address and acknowledge *tapu*. Here we note that to fully address and acknowledge *tapu* is not just a question of true perception and of right response (of *pono* and of *tika*). Rather, there exists the question of the role of *aroha* considered as desire, as initiating the process of knowledge and perception, and as transcending right order in relationships, whether it is we who address and acknowledge *tapu* or it is someone else who addresses and acknowledges our *tapu*.

Let us begin from the viewpoint of a person who exercises *aroha*. The theological tradition speaks of a motive power which exists between two realities, whereby the one reality wishes to find out another reality, to go out of itself in order to know it, and to unite itself with the other reality once it is known: *certe enim amari aliquid nisi*

*notum non potest*.<sup>48</sup> If we follow this line of thought, we can say that to perceive *te tapu i te Atua* or *te tapu i te tangata*, even perceive it rightly, with *tika*, does not amount to the full acknowledgement of the same *te tapu i a ia*. This is for three reasons.

Firstly, there needs to be some motive power in the beginning to account for the desire to know, for the desire to go out of oneself towards the other reality, in order to encounter *te tapu i tērā* and *te tapu o tērā*. If we postulate this as a motive power rooted in *te mana i a ia anō* (one's own intrinsic *mana*, or potentiality for dynamic action), then we encounter a dynamism that has its beginning in *te tapu i a ia anō* (one's own *tapu i*), emanating through *te tapu ōna* (one's own *tapu o*) by the exercise of *mana* to reach its term in *te tapu i tētahi atu* (the *tapu i* of the other). The principle of *aroa* embraces all aspects of this dynamism, both those of *tapu* and those of *mana*.

Secondly, full acknowledgement requires respecting *te tapu i a ia* for its own sake, and not simply because of *te tapu ōna* (its relationships) that may come about between knower and known as a result of perception or of *tika* relationship. We love the person for the person's sake, rather than for the advantage one may gain from the relationship. One cannot love the relationship itself in the first instance, but rather one can only love those who give rise, in *te tapu i a ia*, to that relationship. Were one to love only the relationship between two realities, the action would be *tika*, but it would not qualify as *aroa*, and the *tapu* of those in the relationship would be acknowledged, but not necessarily enhanced or restored.

Thirdly, at the term of the dynamic process one is left to contemplate *te tapu i tētahi atu*. But contemplation alone is *pono*, and not *aroa*. For this reason we will consider *aroa* as a principle of communion in the next section.

Before we do so, we need to look at the reverse side of our considerations. What happens when one experiences the *aroa* of another? In this case, the dynamism works in the other direction, and the one receiving *aroa* discovers that *te tapu i a ia anō* (the person's own *tapu*) is enhanced (or, perhaps restored), as is *te tapu ōna*. From this state of enhanced or restored being, the person can make a response to the person

---

<sup>48</sup> Augustine, "*Certe enim amari aliquid nisi notum non potest*" (Certainly, something cannot be loved unless it is (first) known." *De Trinitate*, X, 1. Aquinas cites Augustine as follows: *Incognita enim amari non possunt* (Unknown things cannot be loved). See *Summa Theologiae: Prima Pars: Charity*, ed. R. J. Batten, trans. R. J. Batten, vol. 34 (IIa, IIæ 23—33) (London: Blackfriars in conj. with Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1974), Q. 27: Art. 4.4.

who exercises *aroha* in their regard, by the exercise of *tōna mana* (his/her *mana*). The process works in reverse, as through the relationship initiated by the other, one is led to contemplate *te tapu i tēra atu* (the *tapu* of that other), and in turn can exercise *aroha* in his/her regard, thereby enhancing *te tapu o rāua* (the *tapu* of them both).

Now that we have seen that *aroha* is a principle by which we address and acknowledge *tapu*, and exercise *mana*, we can move to consider its next aspect.

#### 4.4.3.3 ***Aroha* is love, namely, a principle of communion**

By stating that *aroha* is love we offer a summary statement which prepares for the content of what love is, namely those aspects which follow in the definition. Thus love itself includes, and is defined in what follows. In the first instance it means a principle of communion. By ‘communion,’ we mean coming together in union or reunion, as expressed in the phrase:

*Ka piritahi nei tātou, ka kotahi te whakaaro, kotahi te wairua, anō  
he tinana kotahi.* [We come together one in mind, one in spirit as if  
we are one in body.]

At the heart of this coming together is the overcoming of separation, and the enjoyment of the presence of the other, or others, in union.

*Aroha* is a principle of communion firstly because it is the motive power by which persons yearn for (*pūaroha*), create, and renew communion.<sup>49</sup>

Secondly, *aroha* creates, celebrates or renews the communion of *tapu* with *tapu* in a dynamic encounter that reaches inwards and outwards from the very core of one being to the very core of the other (from *te tapu i tētahi* to *te tapu i te tētahi atu*).<sup>50</sup>

Thirdly, *aroha* expresses the reciprocal and common communion of persons who enjoy *aroha*. It also gives witness to the knowledge between the one who loves and the one who is loved. *Aroha* is freely given from one to the other as *aroha noa* (an unconditional, gratuitous gift). Persons in communion are changed in the act of knowing and loving of each other. They are mutually enhanced, restored and empowered.

---

<sup>49</sup>Paul Tillich describes love as “the whole being’s movement toward another being to overcome existential separation.” See P. Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, vol. 3, 3 vols. (London: SCM, 1987), 136.

<sup>50</sup>This is the sentiment expressed in the example from word usage: 4.4.2. “*Ko koe nei te tāne ki roto te ngākau, e*” (The one consuming thought within my breast is of my spouse).



Fourthly, since it is by *mana* that *aroha* is exercised, we may say that *aroha* is the uniting and binding force in the communion of person with person, of persons within *whānau* and community, of *Atua* with *tangata*, of *tangata* with other *tāngata*, and of *tangata* with *Atua*.

The communion possessed or sought may be physical. Those in communion are either physically present to one another, or they long to be in the physical presence of each other. On the other hand, the communion may be spiritual, such as communion with *Atua*, or with deceased *whānau*, or with separated *whānau* and friends. In these examples, persons can only be present to each other in spirit. *Aroha* is the driving force for communion with *Atua*, and with those who are physically or spiritually separated. Whether physical or spiritual, it is a communion of mind, heart and spirit. Communion, considered more broadly, is the gathering together of members of *whānau*, or members of the community, sharing what they have in common with each other.

In the early Church, the Greek term *koinonia*<sup>51</sup> was used to describe the coming together in fellowship of members of the Christian community, overcoming separation between Jew and Gentile. Other terms associated with *koinonia* included ‘taking part in,’ ‘partnership,’ ‘participation,’ and ‘sharing in.’ These terms, too, can all qualify *aroha* as a principle of communion.

#### 4.4.3.4 ***Aroha* is love, namely, a principle of action**

Of the three principles, *aroha*, alone, can be used as a verb. With regard to *aroha*, one can make a distinction between the *kaupapa* of *aroha* (the principle of *aroha* and what *aroha* is about), and the *tikanga* of *aroha* (the principle of action or the process/practice of *aroha*).

The *tikanga* of *aroha* concerns the actions that bring about communion and union. Here, we are concerned with how the *kaupapa* is implemented, or how we can act with *aroha*.

---

<sup>51</sup> The standard reference is Acts 2:42. “They devoted themselves to the apostles’ teaching and fellowship (*koinonia*), to the breaking of bread and the prayers.” However, other texts include *koinonia* with the body of Christ—1 Corinthians 10:16; and *communion* with the Spirit. Philippians—2:1. 1 John 1:3, speaks of our *koinonia* being also with the Father and the Son.

We may say: *e aroha ana ahau ki a koe* (I love you). If our *aroha* is to be *pono* (to have any truth, honesty or integrity), there must be action behind our words; otherwise, our words are mere empty words.

If *aroha* is to be *tika*, then we may say that acting according to the principle of *aroha*, a person is faced with a course of action that has obligations, which are moral, if not legal. Certain actions must follow. For example, children who say they have *aroha* for their parents must follow that up by caring for them in their old age. Similarly, a family that has legally inherited land that rightfully belonged to others, has an obligation in *aroha*, if not in *tika*, to return part, if not all, of that land.

Another aspect of *aroha* as a principle of action is expressed by the idea of service. Service to others is the greatest expression of *aroha*. This sentiment is captured in the words of the *waiata*: “*Ko te aroha te kaitonotono i ahau.*” (*Aroha* sends me around like a servant).

Motivated, inspired and guided by *aroha*, a person can change direction in life with decisions and actions he/she might not otherwise make. Recently, a man was critically injured in an accident. His injury called forth from his *whānau* a series of responses, involving some dramatic changes in their choices and activities, in order to be with him and support him. These changes and actions were made in the name of *aroha*.

Thus, we can describe *aroha* as a principle of action because *te tangata aroha* (the loving and compassionate person) responds to others with *mahi aroha* (works of *aroha*). Further, to act according to the principle of *aroha* requires that we show our *aroha* in actions, and that we exercise *aroha* with *aroha*.

#### 4.4.3.5 ***Aroha* is the principle of communion and action by which the fullness of *tapu* of some (and, implicitly, all) beings is manifested, addressed, enhanced, sustained, and restored**

In order to examine the phrase “some and, implicitly, all beings,” we focus first on those who have, and exercise *aroha*; and secondly, on those who are the recipients of *aroha*. Since *aroha* is exercised in an interpersonal relationship, *Atua* and *tangata*<sup>52</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> Karl Rahner says, “love in the strict sense can only be addressed to a personal spiritual subject.” We would say also that only a personal spiritual subject can love. It may be concluded that the love of persons for persons is the foundation upon which rests the concept of *aroha* whilst “the love for things or actions seems to belong to a weaker or more metaphorical usage.” See Rahner, “Virtue,” in *Encyclopedia of Theology: A Concise Sacramentum Mundi*, ed. Karl Rahner (London: Burns & Oates, 1984), 1794-1806, here 1800.

are the subjects who have, and who exercise *aroha*. In the exercise of *aroha*, *Atua* and *tangata* address, acknowledge and restore *tapu* in the following relationships:

<u>Atua</u> towards <i>tangata</i> :	<i>e aroha ana te Atua ki a tātou</i> ( <i>Atua</i> has <i>aroha</i> for us).
<u>Tangata</u> towards <i>Atua</i> :	<i>e aroha ana tātou ki te Atua</i> (we have <i>aroha</i> for <i>Atua</i> ).
<u>Tangata</u> towards other <i>tāngata</i> :	<i>e aroha ana ngā mātua ki ngā</i> <i>tamariki</i> (parents have <i>aroha</i> for their children).

*Atua* is the source and origin of *aroha*. *Aroha* emanates from the fullness of *te tapu i te Atua*, and flows forth through *te tapu o te Atua* towards creation. Just as there is the fullness of *tapu* in *Atua*, so also in *Atua* is the fullness of *aroha*. The phrase *te aroha noa o te Atua* (the unconditional love of God) can be used to describe this fullness of *aroha* of *Atua*.

In a similar way, *aroha* emerges also from *te tapu i te tangata* through *te tapu o te tangata* to qualify the relationship *tangata* has with *Atua*, with other *tāngata* and with *whenua*. The greater *te tapu i te tangata* and *te tapu o te tangata*, the greater the capacity to have and exercise *aroha*. The principle here is that, if we are to become more capable of *aroha*, then our goal is to develop ourselves more fully spiritually, physically, psychologically and emotionally (*te tapu i a tātou*) in the first instance. Secondly, the stronger and more enriched we are in relationships with others (*te tapu o tātou*) the stronger is our capability to have and exercise *aroha*.

We now move to discuss the recipients or objects of *aroha*. Since *aroha* qualifies an interpersonal relationship, it follows that *Atua* and *tangata* also can be the objects of *aroha*. In other words, we love or direct our *aroha* towards *Atua* and other *tāngata* in the same sets of relationships outlined above.

More specifically, the object of *aroha* can be: *te tapu i te Atua*, *te tapu i te tangata*, or *te tapu i te whenua*. We look at each in turn.

The first is *te tapu i te Atua*. Here *aroha* is directed towards *Atua* for the very self of *Atua*, rather than for *Atua* in the relationship of *Atua* to *tangata* or *whenua*. “*E aroha ana tātou ki te Atua*.” (We love *Atua*). What draws or elicits our *aroha* are the qualities or attributes in *Atua*, such as the source and fullness of life, totality, goodness, peace, harmony, sacredness, *aroha*, and compassion.

The phrase “*aroha* addresses the fullness of *te tapu i te Atua*” means that *Atua* is loved as the supreme primary *tapu*, the parentless one, the beginning, first cause and foundation of all things, the everlasting, the infinite, the omnipresent and omniscient *Atua*. *Atua* is loved because *Atua* is the fullness of every quality, and in whom there is no imperfection or deficiency. At the same time, we love *Atua* by “acknowledging” the fullness of *te tapu o te Atua* when we are consciously aware of addressing and loving *te tapu i te Atua* in the fullness of relationships and links of *Atua* in creation. We manifest our *aroha* for *te tapu i te Atua* in our *aroha* for *te tapu o te Atua* in creation.

We need to note that *te tapu i* (intrinsic being), whether of *Atua*, *tangata* or other created realities, is violated if it is “reduced” to being an object. We conclude that we can love ‘*te tapu i*’ (the intrinsic being) of someone or something through ‘*te tapu o*’ (relationship links that enhance and empower someone or something). The fullness of *tapu* embraces both aspects of *tapu*.

The second object of *aroha* is *te tapu i te tangata*. Here, *aroha* is directed towards *tangata*, or other *tāngata*, for their own sake. For example, *e aroha ana ngā mātua ki ngā tamariki* (parents have *aroha* for the children)—for the children’s sake. *E aroha ana te tāne ki tāna hoa wahine* (the husband has *aroha* for his wife)—for the person she is. Again, what draws or elicits our *aroha* are the qualities of the person or persons like beauty, goodness, giftedness, faith, holiness, humility and simplicity.

When we use the phrase “*aroha* addresses the fullness of *te tapu i te tangata*” we mean that *tangata* is identified as the object of *aroha*, and is loved because of the qualities that make up the spiritual, physical, psychological and emotional well-being of *tangata*. However, we note that we can love *te tapu i te tangata* through *te tapu o te tangata*, that is, we have *aroha* towards other *tāngata* because of the relationship they have with *Atua* (for the sake of *Atua*) or with *whānau* (for the sake of the *whānau*), or with other *tāngata* (for the sake of friends), or with *whenua* (because of a particular place or country). The fullness of *tapu* embraces both aspects of *tapu*. At the same time, we have *aroha* for others by “acknowledging” the fullness of *te tapu o te tangata* when we are consciously aware of addressing and loving *te tapu i te tangata* in the fullness of his/her relationships and links.

Third, when it comes to *whenua*, we have seen that the capacity for *aroha* resides in *Atua* and *tangata*. Thus, we can have *aroha* both for *whenua* as *whenua (te tapu i te whenua)* but mostly because of the relationship that *whenua* has with *Atua* and with *tangata*, and with other aspects of creation (*te tapu o te whenua*). The fullness of *tapu* embraces both aspects of *tapu* in relation to *whenua*. At the same time, by “acknowledging” the fullness of *te tapu o te whenua* we are consciously aware of addressing and loving implicitly, *whenua* and other realities in the relationship of creation with *Atua* and/or with *tangata*.

The phrase “*aroha* for, implicitly, all beings” thus follows the line that *aroha* begins with individual beings, with their specific qualities. We arrive at *aroha* for *te tapu i te tangata* by beginning with *te tapu o te tangata*. For example, we do not know these people, but we know their relatives, for whom we already have *aroha*. Thus it is easier for us to have *aroha* for the people at hand.

Once we see that *te tapu ōna* includes relationships with other *tāngata*, with *whenua*, and especially with *Atua*, then to love them fully means that we must love them in the full extent of their relationships. This extends implicitly not just to the earth and the people who live on it, but to all of the creation that *Atua* has made.

The same point applies to the exercise of *aroha* with a view to “restoring” the fullness of *tapu*, when it has been violated and diminished by *whakanoa*. Partial restoration of relationship cannot suffice, unless the fullness of *te tapu o rātou* (all their relationships) is restored.<sup>53</sup> We move to the next point of our definition.

#### 4.4.3.6 ***Aroha* is the principle by which the fullness of *tapu* is addressed, acknowledged and restored in affection, compassion, sacrifice and generosity**

The choice of these four words is an attempt to capture the sense of *aroha* that Māori know and feel. At the very least, *aroha* is not without any of these attributes.

First, let us consider the perspective of affection. From the examples in the word usage—4.4.2, we see that *aroha* is used to mean “love” or “affection” between *Atua* and *tangata*, between *tangata* and *Atua*, and between *tangata* and other *tāngata* in interpersonal relationships. As such it expresses fondness, friendship, and joy-in-relationship. One can infer that affection is the *aroha* that is more readily expressed by

---

<sup>53</sup> Though it may appear to *tangata* that *Atua* is diminished by the misdeeds of *tangata*, *te tapu i te Atua* is inviolable. It is *te tapu o te Atua* in creation that can be violated.

people, who are in the state of well-being, towards others, who are, or are not, in the state of well-being. The latter, too, are persons and therefore can be the object of great affection. Generally, though, the response is one of compassion towards those who are not in the state of well-being. Those who are not in the state of well-being, in the sense that they are either physically or psychologically unwell, or are physically or mentally disabled, are persons and are therefore capable of expressing *aroa* as affection.

Second, we consider *aroa* as compassion. Again, in our study of word usage—4.4.2, *aroa* is extended to the sick (*tūro*), to the dead (*hunga mate*), to the bereaved (*whānau panī*), to a fellow-slave (*hoa pononga*). We can draw the conclusion that this expression of *aroa* is the response of the subject to the diminished state of being of the object of *aroa*. According to the second set of examples, *aroa* can be an expression of compassion towards an animal that is suffering (e.g., the limping horse).

A third attribute of *aroa* is sacrifice. Sacrifice is commonly associated with efforts to be compassionate, sympathetic, merciful and affectionate. Those who make efforts in the name of *aroa*, make sacrifices. They may be required to forego leisure, pleasure or personal preferences in order to exercise *aroa* or to return an act of *aroa*. Sacrifice may also be needed to foster or maintain affection.

A fourth attribute of *aroa* is generosity. Generosity is giving, over and above the call of duty. This expression may be called *aroa noa* (unconditional love), which consists in giving without expecting anything in return. It is a clear indication of the state of well-being when the subject can exercise *aroa* with generosity.<sup>54</sup>

#### 4.4.3.7 ***Aroa* consists in the right and gratuitous exercise of *mana***

If *aroa* is the principle by which the fullness of *tapu* is manifested, addressed, enhanced, sustained and restored, then *mana* is the power that makes the exercise of *aroa* creative, productive, effective.

The gratuitous exercise of *mana* is the free exercise of *mana*, free from force or compulsion, in the giving of *aroa*. Nor can the exercise of *mana* in the act of *aroa* take away the free will of the recipient to accept, decline or redirect the offer of *aroa*.

---

<sup>54</sup> It was not uncommon for *rangatira* to grant shares in *whenua* in the name of *aroa* to those who did not have a claim in *tika* (ancestral rights). See Tate & Paparoa, *Wairea*, iii.

#### 4.5.0 The relationship between *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*

We have seen that *aroha* is not identical with *pono*; nor is it identical with *tika*. But for *aroha* to be present, it presupposes *pono* and *tika* in the sense that *pono* and *tika* have already been exercised in response to *tapu* and *mana*.

A person must seek to be *pono* in recognising the reality and truth regarding what exists (*te tapu i ngā mea katoa*) and in acknowledging it in all its relationships and links (*te tapu o ngā mea katoa*). It is *pono*, a matter of reality, honesty and integrity, for *aroha* to be exercised at every stage of encounter whilst *tapu* is being addressed, enhanced and restored.

*Pono* can be exercised with *tika*, and *tika* must be exercised with *pono*. However, both can be superseded by *aroha*. Let us examine this statement.

Guided by the principle of *tika*, a person addresses what exists (*te tapu i ngā mea katoa*) and acknowledges it in all its relationships and links (*te tapu o ngā mea katoa*), because it is right and proper for all concerned in encounter. It is *tika* to make appropriate response to *tapu* and to exercise *mana* rightly in order to address, acknowledge and restore *tapu*.

However, *pono* and *tika* alone are not adequate to capture the full nature of encounter with *Atua*, with *tangata*, or with *whenua*. The affection, generosity, sacrifice and gratuitousness involved in the exercise of *aroha* bring something more to the encounter.

Here, Lonergan's notion of sublation is helpful to express what we mean:

What sublates goes beyond what is sublated, introduces something new and distinct, puts everything on a new basis, yet so far from interfering with the sublated or destroying it, on the contrary needs it, includes it, preserves all its proper features and properties, and carries them forward to a fuller realization within a richer context.<sup>55</sup>

This is exactly true of *aroha*. The fullness of encounter is to be found in the 'richer context' provided by the exercise of *aroha*.

As we conclude this chapter, we need to offer a theological reflection on our principles. We can affirm that each of them has its source in *te tapu i te Atua* and in *te*

---

<sup>55</sup> Lonergan, *Method in Theology*, 241.

*mana i te Atua*. As *Atua* exercises the *mana* that is proper to *Atua*, it is not only limitless, but it is also the full actuation of the principles of *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*. In this sense, we can describe *Atua* as *pono*, as *tika* and as *aroha*.<sup>56</sup>

As *te tapu i te Atua* issues forth in creation in *te tapu o te Atua*, and as *te mana o te Atua* creates *te tapu i ngā mea hanga*, with their own *mana* in turn, we can affirm that creation—*tangata* and *whenua*—is founded on, and guided by, the principles of *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*. Thus we can affirm the sentiment of Romans 5:5, “God’s love has been poured into our hearts,” but we also need to say that this “love” (*aroha*) is based in, and founded on, the principles of *pono* and of *tika*.

We now turn to look at the exercise of these principles by *tangata*. In Chapter Five we will consider this under the headings of *Tūranga* (roles) and *Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* (role players).

---

<sup>56</sup> It seems to us in the light of our principles that the high point of the Christian revelation, “God is love,” (1 Jn 4:16) requires a Trinitarian basis, in the same way that our principles require, and presuppose, relationships with terms and processes among them. It is in relationship that *pono*, *tika* and *aroha* are exercised. Yet all reside in *Atua*. But at this point we go beyond the scope of the thesis.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### *TŪRANGA* (Roles) and *KAIWHAKAKAPI TŪRANGA* (Role Players)

#### 5.1.0 Introduction

Māori society is structured by many roles and corresponding *role players*. Māori understand these concepts and issues instinctively. This chapter endeavours to set such roles and *role players* within the overall systematics of the thesis. After all, there is no encounter of *tapu* with *tapu* without roles, and there is no *mana* without *role players* to exercise the *mana* to enable and facilitate encounters.

In this chapter, we will address the topic under a number of headings: Word Usage, Definition of *Tūranga* and *Kaiwhakakapi tūranga*, *Tūranga* as Roles or Functions, *Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* as *Role players*, *Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* in relation to *Tapu*, to *Mana*, to the Principles of *Pono*, *Tika* and *Aroha*, to *Hohou rongo*, and, lastly, to *Te Wā*.

#### 5.2.0 Word usage

*Tū* is the verb meaning ‘to stand,’ or ‘to position oneself.’ *Tūranga* is a noun deriving from the verb, *tū*. Examples of usage include, *i taku tūranga ake* (on my standing up), and *i taku tūranga hei heamana* (in my position as chairperson). In the context of this chapter, *tūranga*<sup>1</sup> means ‘stance, standing, position, role.’

*Whakakapi* is a verb meaning ‘to fill.’ When the prefix *kai* is added, it indicates the doer of the action. According to Williams, *kaiwhakakapi* is ‘the one who fills the place of another, a substitute, a successor.’<sup>2</sup> Thus we obtain the term, *Kaiwhakakapi tūranga*. They are persons who *whakakapi* (fill) or

---

<sup>1</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 443. See also P. M. Ryan, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 2nd ed. (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 1997), 320. Hereafter cited as Ryan, *Reed Māori Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 96.

perform *tūranga* (roles). Kāmira speaks of the *tauirā* (student trainees) as “*whakakapi turanga tohunga*” (filling the role of *tohunga*).<sup>3</sup>

### 5.3.0 Definition of *tūranga* (roles) and *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* (role players)

***Tūranga* are roles or functions performed, or stances adopted, by persons in encounter. *Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* are the persons who *whakakapi* (fill) or perform such *tūranga* (roles), of which the principal ones are *kaikōkiri*, *kaitautoko* and *kaiwhakatara*.**

**The purpose of *tūranga* is to manifest, address, enhance, sustain and restore the *tapu* and *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*, through the right and gratuitous exercise of *mana*, in accordance with the principles of *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*.**

We see six points in this definition, and will address each in turn.

#### 5.3.1 ***Tūranga* are roles or functions performed, or stances adopted, by persons in encounter**

There is a constant meeting between *tapu* and *tapu*. We are able to regulate and control some of these meetings. Sometimes, we are able to determine when, where, and with whom we meet. At other times, the encounters are beyond our control. They can occur suddenly, in unexpected places, between total strangers or with long lost *whānau* members. One can come unexpectedly upon a scene of home, church or shop invasion, or be confronted with sudden death.

Meeting with *Atua* in *karakia* or in some spiritual experience can also fall into the category of an unexpected encounter. The meeting between *tapu* and *tapu* can be a hit-and-miss experience. One person or group of people may avoid meeting another. Perhaps there had been an act of *whakanoa* (violation) in a previous encounter. Some are hesitant and unsure when they do meet other people. They are not confident of the approach they should take, or are expected to take.

---

<sup>3</sup> See *Kāmira*, vol. 2, 10.

*Tūranga*, are actions performed, or stances adopted, to enable such, and other encounters to occur. Sometimes a stance adopted, in the sense of a position taken, or even of an attitude accompanying the encounter, can influence what follows. The right exercise of *tūranga*, considered both as role and as stance, facilitates and controls the various stages of encounter so that *whakanoa* (violation) does not occur.

*Tūranga* are interrelated and interdependent, and therefore have a complementary relationship. They are interrelated in that they have a common purpose and a common goal, which is the manifesting, addressing, enhancing, sustaining and restoring of *tapu*. They are interdependent to the extent that the common goal cannot be achieved by the exercise of one role alone. Someone may initiate an action. But that initiative requires a response of support from a second person if it is to be effective. On the other hand, a third person may initiate an action. The first initiator may find he or she has to turn to support this other initiative.

*Tūranga* can also be complementary in the sense that one role follows on from, and thereby complements, another. One role enhances the other. One role does not clash with the other. Though differing in expression and sequence, they are working towards a common goal.

We can distinguish between *tūranga* which are formally acknowledged in Māori culture and tradition, and those equally important *tūranga* which are exercised informally. We will study *tūranga* formally acknowledged on the *marae*, and that are exercised on behalf of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

We find a clear example in the formal roles exercised on the *marae*, that demonstrate the interrelationship, interdependence and complementarity of *tūranga*. The first role is that of *karanga* (the woman's call of welcome or acknowledgement). When the *kaikaranga* calls the *manuhiri*, she does so with her own manner of delivery. She chants her *karanga* on a high note. She finds her own imagery and words. But she does not act alone.

When she has completed her role, there follows the role of *mihi*, or *whaikōrero*. The *kaimihi* delivers his words in a lower pitch, more conversational than a chant tone. The objective of the *mihi* is the same as that

of the *karanga*, namely, to address the *manuhiri*. The *kaimihi* may even use some of the words used by the *kaikaranga*, or refer to the imagery used in her *karanga*. At times, the *karanga* and the *mihi* can issue forth at the same time. The voices are at different pitches. They do not clash.

The roles on the *marae* of *karanga*, *mihi* and *ringawera* (the workers in the kitchen) are complementary in that they have a common goal, addressing the *tapu* of the *manuhiri*, and they support one another towards that common goal. The proverb, “*ko te rourou mā tēnā, mā tēnā ka ora te manuhiri*,”<sup>4</sup> is usually interpreted as: “many small contributions of food provide the amount necessary to entertain guests on the *marae*.” ‘Contributions’ can also be the gifts, talents and roles that various *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* bring to the life and activities of the *marae*.

On the other hand, some roles are mutually exclusive of each other, in that one person cannot play two roles at a particular time. The woman who is *tūpoupou* (the person beside the coffin) has a special role to fill. She attends to the body of the *tūpāpaku* (deceased), on the one hand; and helps focus the *tangi* and *kōrero* of the *manuhiri* towards the deceased, on the other. The role of *tūpoupou* is considered *tapu* because she is attending to the *tūpāpaku*.<sup>5</sup> *Tapu* restrictions do not allow her to work in the kitchen. She is required to remain at her station. Other people can fulfil the roles of *karanga*, *mihi* and *waiata* and the task of *manaaki* in the *whare kai* (dining room).

Roles need to be played, otherwise *tapu* is not being addressed and *mana* is not being exercised. When roles on the *marae* are not fulfilled, there is lack of response and responsibility on the part of *hunga kāinga* towards *manuhiri*.<sup>6</sup> In that case, encounters are either not happening or are not as enhancing as they should be. *Tapu* is meeting *tapu*, but is not being fully and rightly addressed in the encounter. This can result in confusion, disorder and a breakdown of right relationships.

---

<sup>4</sup> See H. M. Mead and N. Grove, *Ngā Pepeha a Ngā Tīpuna: The Sayings of the Ancestors* (Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria, University Press, 2001), 259. The authors cite Huata, 1921: 5.18.

<sup>5</sup> See our earlier discussion of this point under *tapu* restrictions in Chapter Two, section 4.1.

<sup>6</sup> See Chapter Six on *Whakanoa* for greater detail on acts of *whakanoa* and the consequence of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* not exercising their roles.

When attention is drawn to the situation, the result can also be one of *whakamā* (shame) for the negligent party. Here, in the lack of appropriate role playing, one recognises the symptoms of *noho noa* (being in the state of negative *noa*) of the two parties. On the one hand, a person or group can feel “unacknowledged,” whilst on the other hand, the other person or group can feel guilty for being remiss. In fact, the failure to exercise roles is an act of *whakanoa*, an act of violation by omission of right and appropriate response to others.

On the other hand, there are also the *tūranga* exercised by the *manuhiri*. It is equally important that they exercise their roles to address and acknowledge the *tapu* of the *hunga kāinga*.

We turn briefly to examples of *tūranga* that are informal. These would include the roles exercised between two persons in encounter, or in the ongoing life of a *whānau*. In family life, it is vital that all members fulfil their roles for the right functioning of the home.

### 5.3.2 ***Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* are the persons who *whakakapi* (fill) or perform such *tūranga* (roles)**

Our statement is self-evident. *Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* are the persons who *whakakapi* (fill) or perform such *tūranga* (roles). One further point needs to be made. Only persons can reflect on purpose and have right motivation for exercising roles. Consequently, only *Atua* and *tangata* are *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* (role players) in the strict sense. However, the encounters of *Atua* and *tangata* relate to the *whenua* or occur on the *whenua*. It is, therefore, an essential expression of the roles of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* that they also address, acknowledge, enhance and restore *whenua*.

### 5.3.3 **The principal *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* are *kaikōkiri*, *kaitautoko* and *kaiwhakatara***

*Tūranga* generally fall into one or other of three principal forms of address and response to *tapu* and *mana*. They are: *kōkiri*,<sup>7</sup> *tautoko*<sup>8</sup> and *whakatara*.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 130. *Kōkiri*—‘to dart, rush forward, charge.’

<sup>8</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 404. *Tautoko*—‘to prop up, support.’

<sup>9</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 386. *Whakatara*—‘to challenge, put on one’s mettle.’

Some people may use other terms.<sup>10</sup> To *kōkiri* is to initiate an action. To *tautoko* is to support an initiative. To *whakatara*<sup>11</sup> is to challenge a particular initiative with an alternative proposal. Specific actions of *whakatara* can take the form of *kōkiri* or *tautoko* for the alternative proposal. All three require the exercise of *mana*.

We look at some specific examples of these three forms or roles. People may come together to discuss a project such as an unveiling of memorial stones for deceased *whānau* members. The person who thought about the unveiling and called the *whānau* together to discuss it, is taking an initiative. His or her initiative is one of *kōkiri*. If other members support the proposal, they are giving *tautoko* to the initiative.

Other members of the *whānau* may disagree and complain: “It is too cold, wet and muddy to have it in winter, even though it may be the anniversary of death. Besides, other *whānau* are planning an unveiling *hui* (gathering) for the coming summer. We can join together with them. It will make the *hui* cheaper for both *whānau*.” The response of the objectors is one of *whakatara*. They are challenging the first initiative, whilst at the same time proposing an alternative option. *Tautoko*, or support for the alternative option, is still required before the *kaupapa* can be discussed further. The settlement of the *kaupapa* to be followed is then dependent on which of the two options receives the greater *tautoko*. In this way, the three roles allow for the *tapu* of all members of the *whānau* to be addressed and for the *mana* of all participants to be exercised or acknowledged.

*Kaikōkiri*, *kaitautoko* and *kaiwhakatara* are the terms that describe the persons who exercise these roles of *kōkiri*, *tautoko* and *whakatara*. We reflect on these in relation to *Atua*, and to *tangata*.

---

<sup>10</sup> Peta Awatere, in oral discussions at Te Ūnga Waka in June 1968, acknowledged the following people and their roles as important on the *marae*. “*Ko ngā tāngata nunui o te marae ko te kākā wahanui, ko te kaiwhakatara, ko te kaihou rongo*” (the important people on the *marae* are the *kākā wahanui*, the *kaiwhakatara*, the *kaihou rongo*—the orator, the challenger and the peace-maker). It is from Awatere that I have taken the term, *kaiwhakatara*.

<sup>11</sup> Other English words for *kaiwhakatara* include “stirrer,” “protester,” and “The Devil’s Advocate.”

### 5.3.3.1 *Atua te tino kaiwhakakapi tūranga*

Firstly, *Atua* can be seen as the primary *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*, and specifically as *te tino kaikōkiri*, *kaitautoko* and *kaiwhakatara*. As *kaihanga* (creator), *tīmatanga* (first beginning), *mātāpuna* (source) and *tutukitanga* (fullness), *Atua* is *kaikōkiri* (the supreme initiator) who creates, addresses, acknowledges, enhances and restores all *tapu* and *mana*. As the supreme *kaikōkiri*, *Atua* seeks to bring all things to the fullness of *tapu* and *mana*.

*Atua* is also the supreme *kaitautoko*. *Atua* allows and enables *tangata* to act in, and share in the ongoing process of creation. *Atua* blesses the good initiatives of *tangata*.

*Atua* is the supreme *kaiwhakatara*, who constantly challenges *tangata* to act in the image of *Atua* and to address, enhance and restore the *tapu* and *mana* of creation in line with the *kaupapa* of *Atua*. *Atua* also proposes alternative lines of action for *tangata* to consider and adopt when this *kaupapa* has not been observed.

### 5.3.3.2 *Tangata as kaiwhakakapi tūranga*

Secondly, we briefly consider *tangata* as *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*. *Ia tangata* is an individual person—the child, the young person, the *kaumātua* or *kuia*. *Tangata* is also the collective—the *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi*, the organisation. All of these can, and do, act as *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*. Some of these persons will be *kaikōkiri* or *kaitautoko* and others will be *kaiwhakatara*.

There are many and different ways in which the *kaikōkiri* may *kōkiri*, the *kaitautoko* may *tautoko* and the *kaiwhakatara* may *whakatara*.

### 5.3.4 **The purpose of *tūranga* is to address, maintain, enhance, sustain and restore the *tapu* and *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua***

*Tūranga* are roles performed, or stances adopted, with a purpose. They are directed towards the addressing, maintaining, enhancing, sustaining and restoring of the *tapu* and *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

As such, they are directed towards *te tapu i* and *te tapu o* of existing realities. To that extent, *tūranga* are essential contributors to the maintenance and sustenance of life, to dignity and to quality of life. When such roles are rightly

exercised, they contribute to right order and right and gracious relationships among *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. Thus, *tūranga* facilitate the addressing, maintaining, enhancing, sustaining and restoring of *te tapu i te Atua*, *i te tangata*, *i te whenua* and of *te tapu o te Atua*, *o te tangata*, *o te whenua*.

We have briefly alluded to *Atua* as the primary *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*. In what follows, we address the roles played by *tangata* in relation to *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

It is the role of the various *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* to facilitate the encounters among *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*, to ensure *te tapu i a rātou* is addressed, and *whakanoa* is avoided. They facilitate the addressing of *te tapu i a rātou* by ensuring that the existence of each of them—*Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*—is singularly identified and rightly attended to.

#### 5.3.4.1 ***Kaiwhakakapi tūranga and their roles in relation to te tapu i te Atua and te tapu o te Atua***

*Te tapu i te Atua* is addressed in these terms, “*E te Atua, tēnā koe*” (literally, O God, that is you). In this example, there is no reference to *te tapu o te Atua* links, or relationships to other things that exist. This second aspect is to be found in the commonly used phrase “*E te Atua, e te kaihanga o te ao*” (O God, creator of the world). Full acknowledgement of *Atua* requires that *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* address both these aspects.

The first duty of the *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* is to facilitate the encounters between *tangata* and *Atua*, and that consists in addressing the *tapu* of *Atua*. When Māori gather, for whatever purpose, they first address and acknowledge *Atua* before they turn to any other *kaupapa*.

The role of the *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*, on behalf of *whānau* and *iwi*, is to *kawe karakia* (initiate prayer) and *ritenga* (ritual), as principal forms of addressing, acknowledging and proclaiming *te tapu i te Atua*. Within the gathering, be it on *marae*, in church, in the home or in public places, there are some principal *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*, such as the *pirihi* (priest), *minita* (minister), *kaikarakia* (leaders of prayer), *kaipānui i te karaipiture* (readers of the scripture),



*kaihāpai hīmene* (hymn leader and singers), and *kaikauhau* (homilist).<sup>12</sup> They are *kaikōkiri* in their particular role.

Those who are present in the *huihuinga* (gathering) and join in the *karakia* and *hīmene*, and listen to the scripture readings and the homily are the *kaitautoko*. The word that is expressive of their role is “*tautoko*,” a word that can be translated as, “so be it” or “Amen.”

In the setting of the *karakia*, or in other settings, the *kaiwhakatara* may be the *kaikauhau*.<sup>13</sup> Listeners could be challenged to be more active as *kaikōkiri* in the roles of *kaikawe karakia* and *ritenga*, often referred to as “*kaiwhakatū arawhata karakia ki te Atua*” (erectors of the ladder of prayer to *Atua*).<sup>14</sup>

*Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* exercise roles to address and acknowledge *te tapu o te Atua*. Again, the principal *role players* are those who participate in *karakia* and *ritenga*. Here, greater emphasis is given by the *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* to the presence of *Atua* among *tangata* and in creation. The *kaikarakia* acknowledges *te tapu o te Atua* in phrases like, “*E te Atua, e te kaihanga o ngā mea katoa, ka whakamihi, ka whakawhetai ki a koe*” (God, creator of all things, we acknowledge you and give you thanks).

The *kaikarakia* may emphasise in *ritenga* the link between *Atua* and *tangata* in acts of *whakatapu* (blessing and dedication of people). He/she may stress the links between the fruits of creation, like bread and wine, and the creator of

<sup>12</sup> In pre-European times, such roles were played by the *tohunga*. See Appendix A. In these times, the variety of gatherings ensures a variety of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*.

<sup>13</sup> Lloyd Ashton gives an example of such *kaikauhau* at Waitangi, on the 6<sup>th</sup> February 1990—the occasion of the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, in the presence of Queen Elizabeth, the Governor General, the Prime Minister of New Zealand and other dignitaries. Ashton says that Bishop Whakahuihui Vercoe “told the Queen, to her face, in front of her elected representatives, that the Crown had not honoured the covenant that it had struck with his tupuna 150 years earlier.” Ashton quotes: “One hundred and fifty years ago, a compact was made between two people ... But since the signing of that Treaty ... our partners have marginalised us. You have not honoured the Treaty ... The language of the land is yours, the custom is yours, the media by which we tell the world who we are are yours ... I have come to Waitangi to cry for the promises that you made and for the expectations our tupuna [had] 150 years ago.” We see in this speech the role of the *kaiwhakatara*, challenging the status quo and proposing that this could be a time for the broken promises to be redressed and honoured. See L. Ashton, “The Making of a Radical Bishop,” *Mana*, no. 71, Aug/Sept (2006): 24. The author cites New Zealand Herald, 7 February 1990 as the source for the text of Vercoe’s *kauhau*.

<sup>14</sup> The ‘*arawhata*’ is a reference to Jacob’s ladder in Genesis 28:12. Māori understanding of *tūranga* enables them to see similar roles, with their potential for *kōkiri*, *tautoko* and *whakatara*, in the Scriptures. Elijah, Amos, Jeremiah and Isaiah were *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* who exercised a *role* as prophets, that demanded a response of rejection or support. The New Testament letters offer lists of roles in the Christian community e.g. Romans 12:4-8; and Ephesians 4:11-13.

all. The *ritenga* may include *tuku taonga* (offering of gifts) or *tuku kai* (offering of food) through acts of *whakatapu* (blessing and dedication), or *whakawātea* (releasing a person, *taonga*, or *whenua* from a dedication previously made to *Atua*).

*Karakia* can also express sorrow for transgressions committed against *Atua*, and seek forgiveness from *Atua*. Here, *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*, and others, pray for the restoring of *te tapu o te Atua* in the relationship between *tangata* and *Atua*.

In addressing *te tapu o te Atua*, *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* may need to attend to proclaiming the *tapu* restrictions in relation to *Atua*, to ensure a greater respect by *tangata* for the *tapu* of *Atua*. The *kaiwhakatara* reminds people of the *tapu* restrictions applying to *Atua*, and challenges them, in order that no disrespect is shown for *te tapu o te Atua*.

#### 5.3.4.2 ***Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* and their roles in relation to *te tapu i te tangata* and *te tapu o te tangata***

In any encounter, the first task of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* is that they address the *tapu* (understood as *te tapu i*) of all involved. One term for addressing *te tapu i te tangata* is “*E te iwi, tēnā kōutou*” (O People, that is you), or the personal pronoun may be used, “*E Petera, tēnā koe*” (Petera, that is you). On the other hand, the term *te iwi o Te Rarawa* addresses a particular *iwi* in relation to their founding ancestor, from whom they derive their name. Full acknowledgement requires both these aspects.

Secondly, *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* can only implement fully his or her role when they do so with awareness of their own *tapu* links (*te tapu o*) and the links of those they encounter. Someone may be the *kaikōkiri* on behalf of a *tamaiti* (child) because of the relationship of the child to *mātua* known to the *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*. In this way, he or she is acknowledging *te tapu o te tamaiti*, and is prepared to initiate on his or her behalf. Another *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* may choose to *tautoko* whilst another is prepared to *whakatara* for the benefit of the child on account of the child’s relationship. Though it is right that they acknowledge *tapu*, the role of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* does not end there. *Tapu* needs to be maintained, enhanced, sustained and, if necessary, restored. It is the primary role of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* to enhance *tapu* and to

bring it to its fullness. To this end, the various *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* will be *kaikōkiri*, *kaitautoko* or *kaiwhakatara*. They will exercise their roles to promote a greater state of *tapu* (well-being) of *tangata* and *whenua*, and of right relationship among *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

On the other hand, *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* are also called to a constant and demanding role of restoring the *tapu* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* when it is diminished by *whakanoa*. At times, it may be necessary to lift or impose *tapu* restrictions in order to address and restore *tapu*.

#### 5.3.4.2.1 Roles exercised by individual *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*

First, it is the primary role and responsibility of *ia tangata* to attend to *te tapu i a ia anō* (his/her own well-being). He/she needs to be the *kaikōkiri* (initiator) and *kaiwhakatara* (challenger for alternatives) for his/her own physical, mental, spiritual, educational and economic well-being.<sup>15</sup>

In regard to others, he/she has to be *kaitautoko* (supporter) of the initiatives put in place by others for their particular enhancement, providing, of course, that the initiatives are *tika*. In this way there is cooperation between the individual and other *kaiwhakakapi-tūranga*, to ensure that the common goal of well-being for the individual, and others, is achieved. There is no place in the scheme of things for those who *noho noaiho* (sit and do nothing) or *noho taiepa* (who sit on the fence) and avoid commitments.

There are numerous occasions when *mātua*, *whānau* and friends spend an enormous amount of time, effort and expense trying to help their children in their difficulties. In some cases, they end up frustrated and stressed, and the children are no better off. If the children do not become *kaitautoko* for the initiatives of their *mātua* or become *kaikōkiri* to help themselves, the efforts of others will be in vain.

---

<sup>15</sup> There are many inspiring stories of individuals who work hard and make great sacrifices to achieve personal excellence in particular fields of endeavour—sport, entertainment, education, community affairs, politics and employment, among others. They are *role players* seeking their own development and are, in turn, role models for others. Many of these individuals acknowledge the contribution of various other *kaikōkiri*, *kaitautoko* and *kaiwhakatara* on their behalf. However, the opportunity to exercise roles is not the prerogative of the heroic or of the dramatic. The person who initiates even the most menial of tasks is a *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*.

On the other hand, there are individuals who are not able to care for themselves as in the case of the child in the womb, a young child, people with disabilities, or those without appropriate knowledge, skill or opportunities. In these cases, there are other individuals or representatives who can and are expected, according to the *kaupapa* of *whanaungatanga* (relationship, kinship) or of friendship, to be *kaikōkiri* or *kaiwhakatara* on behalf of these individuals.

There can be moral or legal responsibilities upon *whānau* and friends to act on behalf of those others. Thus, the *tupuna* (ancestor) is expected to be the *kaikōkiri* or *kaiwhakatara* for the benefit of the *mokopuna* (grandchild). *Mātua* (parents) are expected to be the same for their *tamariki* (children), *tuakana* (the older) for *teina* (the younger), *tungāne* (brother) for *tuahine* (sister), and *tuahine* for *tungāne*. There are situations when *hungawai* (father or mother-in-law) can be the *kaikōkiri* or *kaiwhakatara* for the benefit of *hunaonga* (son or daughter-in-law), and a *hoa* (friend) for another friend.

If goals are to be achieved, namely, to manifest, address, enhance, sustain and restore *te tapu i te tangata* and *te tapu o te tangata*, then roles need to have mutuality, interdependence, and complementarity. If one is the *kaikōkiri* and *kaiwhakatara* on behalf of another, the other is expected to be the *kaitautoko*. Thus, *mokopuna* becomes the *kaitautoko* for *tupuna*, *tamariki* for *mātua*, *teina* for *tuakana*, *tuahine* for *tungāne*, *tungāne* for *tuahine*, and *hunaonga* for *hungawai*.

There are occasions of departure from the norm, when roles are reversed. Generally, it is due to a change of circumstances brought about by higher education, greater knowledge and skills, wider experience and more opportunities; but in these cases, there should be some degree of mutual agreement or acknowledgement. Thus, *mokopuna* may be *kaikōkiri* or *kaiwhakatara* for the well-being of *tūpuna*, *tamariki* for *mātua* (parents), *teina* for *tuakana*, and *hunaonga* for *hungawai*. In these situations, the role of *kaitautoko* is also reversed. It now falls to *tūpuna*, *mātua*, *tuakana* and *hungawai* to be *kaitautoko*.

Let us now turn to roles played by collective groups on behalf of their members.

#### 5.3.4.2.2 Roles exercised by groups on behalf of their members

At their respective levels, *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, *hunga kāinga* and *tangata whenua* have dynamic roles to play on behalf of their own members. In the first instance, *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* within these groups exercise their roles of addressing, enhancing, sustaining and restoring the *tapu* and *mana* of their *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* members. In the second instance, their roles are important in developing and maintaining right relationships with other *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, *iwi kē* (other nationalities), and with Government. Thus, the roles of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* have outreach beyond the *rohe* of *marae*, *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*. The collective group authorises and empowers individual members to play the roles of *kaikōkiri*, *kaiwhakatara* and *kaitautoko* in their communities, on their home *marae* and elsewhere.<sup>16</sup> These days, some *kaikōkiri* and *kaiwhakatara* for *hapū* and *iwi* are heavily involved as negotiators in such issues as the Fisheries, Foreshore and Seabed, and Waitangi Claims.

Churches, governments, and organisations have roles to play. Their objectives should not be other than addressing, enhancing, sustaining and restoring *te tapu i te tangata*, *te tapu o te tangata*, *te tapu i te whenua* and *te tapu o te whenua*.

In this regard, *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* must do more than address people simply as individuals. They do not just address *te tapu i te tangata*, as if it ends there. To do justice to any groups of people, *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* need to address *te tapu o rātou* by acknowledging them in their relationship links with *Atua*, *tangata* or *whenua*. The knowledgeable and skilled *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* will also acknowledge people in their links with *waka*, *iwi*, *rohe whenua*, *mahi* (occupation), and even with their particular religious

---

<sup>16</sup> Meri Te Tai Mangakahia, originally of Waihou in north Hokianga, was a notable *kaiwhakatara* for the rights of Māori women. In May 1893, she attended, with her husband, the second session of the Kotahitanga parliament at Waipatu in Hawkes Bay. She was the first woman recorded to have addressed the parliament. She spoke in Māori, of course, and moved the motion which, in English translated as: “that a law may emerge from this parliament allowing women to vote and women to be accepted as members of the parliament.” See Angela Ballara, “Meri Te Tai Mangakahia 1868-1920,” in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: 1870-1900* (Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books & The Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1993), vol. 2, 53-55.

denomination or organisations. The knowledge and skills of such *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* to enhance *te tapu o te tangata* are acknowledged and appreciated by *manuhiri*, whether they are Māori or *iwi kē*.

5.3.4.3. ***Kaiwhakakapi tūranga and their roles in relation to te tapu i te whenua and te tapu o te whenua***

*Te tapu i te whenua* is addressed as “*E te whenua e hora nei, tēnā koe.*” (O land, you that stretch before us and beneath us, we acknowledge you.) *Te tapu o te whenua* is addressed when *whenua* is acknowledged in all its relationships with all living beings on that *whenua*.

*Ia tangata, hunga kāinga* and *tangata whenua* have responsibilities for attending to and caring for their *papakāinga* and *whenua*. Their role of *kaitiakitanga* (stewardship) requires that they act as *kaikōkiri* or *kaiwhakatara* to achieve and maintain *te tapu i te whenua* (the well-being of *whenua*), and as *kaitautoko* of the initiatives of individuals, organisations, local, national and international bodies that strive for the same objectives. All are morally bound to exercise individual or collective care for the *whenua*.

Legal obligations apply to landowners, trustees and occupiers. Further, the principle of *kaitiakitanga* binds all to the obligation of exercising the same wise stewardship, to ensure the well-being of *awa*, *roto* and *moana* (sea). These days, the effects of climate change and global warming are topics rising to the top of Government agendas around the world, as they face up to the roles they should be actively engaged in, namely, in caring for the earth, and ensuring that urgently needed policies are put in place and implemented to meet this goal.

Landowners, trustees and occupiers are *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* with moral and legal responsibility to care for *te tapu o te whenua*, and not just for *te tapu i te whenua*. They are required to be *kaikōkiri*, *kaitautoko* or *kaiwhakatara* to achieve these objectives. The goal of the *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* is to acknowledge, enhance, and, in some cases, restore the *whenua* or restore its relationship with *Atua* and/or *tangata*. Trustees of *whenua* such as church land, *wāhi tapu*, *whenua tupu* (ancestral land), *ūnga ki uta* (foreshore landing sites) are *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* with guardianship roles to maintain and

protect the relationship of the *whenua* with *Atua*, and with *whānau*, *hapū* and/or *iwi*, according to the original intention of the donor *tupuna*.

In all exercise of such roles, be they of *kōkiri*, *tautoko* and *whakatara*, the exercise of *mana* is also at stake. It is this that we address in our next section.

### 5.3.5 ... through the right and gratuitous exercise of *mana*

*Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* require *mana* to exercise their roles if they are to address, enhance and restore *tapu*. Here we include both elements of *mana*, namely, spiritual power and authority. Thus we can speak of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* exercising *mana* as spiritual power by which the goal of addressing enhancing, sustaining and restoring *tapu* and *mana* is achieved. Similarly, a *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* must have *mana* in the sense of the authority to exercise his/her role in community.

A number of cases may be considered. Someone who exercises a role without *mana* in either sense cannot manifest, address, enhance, sustain or restore *tapu*. Again, someone with *mana*, in the sense both of spiritual power and of authority, may exercise it wrongly, with resultant violation of *tapu*. Then again, someone may exercise a role with the *mana* of another, which is both spiritual power and authority, and exercise it rightly or wrongly. These possibilities can apply to *role players* in all three roles, so we infer the need for the right exercise of *mana*.

The sheer giftedness of creation, and ultimately of every *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*, finds its source in *te mana o te Atua*. *Atua* exercises *mana tuku*—gratuitously—when *Atua* empowers others to act on behalf of *Atua* in the relationship of *tangata* and *whenua* with *Atua*. Recourse to *Atua* in *karakia* and *ritenga* is a channel for *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* to share in *te mana o te Atua*.

In another instance, *te mana o te kaiwhakakapi tūranga* exists because he/she shares in *te mana o te Atua*. *Ia tangata* then has his/her personal *mana* by which he/she exercises certain personal roles which, should ideally be graciously, gratuitously exercised, like *te mana o te Atua*.

However, individual *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* cannot exercise personal roles without reference to others. It is part of their role that they create or rekindle relationships in the encounters they facilitate. Relationships need to be mutual and reciprocal, and extend to the *mana* of those in relationship. For the roles in a relationship to be effective, there has to be a gratuitous sharing of *te mana o te Atua*, *te mana o te tangata* and *te mana o te whenua* with *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*. This act of gratuitous sharing of *mana* or of empowering *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* is called *whakamana* (empowerment or authorisation). The act of *whakamana* may be expressed publicly and ritually, or implicitly.

Finally, for the reason of its gratuitousness, it is not sufficient to exercise *mana* simply in order to acknowledge *tapu*. It is also necessary to exercise *mana* to enhance *tapu*. To this extent, the exercise of *mana* is gratuitous, that is, a gift which empowers the other to claim and exercise their own *mana* for their own enhancement. Similarly, role players may acknowledge the *mana* of others, by foregoing their own right to exercise *mana*, and gifting or sharing their *mana* with others. In this case, the *tapu* and *mana* of both are enhanced. We now consider this gratuitous exercise of *mana* in relation to our two *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*, namely, *Atua* and *tangata*.

The *mana* of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* refers in the first instance to *Atua*, and in the second instance to *tangata*. *Atua* is the prime *kaikōkiri*. *Atua* is the *kaitautoko* of all roles played by *tangata*. *Atua* is the *kaiwhakatara* calling and challenging *tangata* and *whenua* to attain the fullness of *tapu*. *Atua* is the *kaihouhou rongo*, whose inexhaustible *aroa noa* (unconditional love) constantly restores and renews *tapu*.

It is necessary for *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* to share in the *mana* of other *tāngata* involved in encounter. In this situation, *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* act not just with their personal *mana* but, even more importantly, with the *mana tuku* (*mana* shared or delegated), not only of *Atua*, but also of those on whose behalf they act—whether they be *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, *marae*, other people or organisations. They become *kaikōkiri* and *kaiwhakatara* whilst those other people become their *kaitautoko*. It is this principle of *mana tuku* that Sir Hugh



Kāwharu is probably referring to when he says “what *mana* allows, indeed requires, is sharing.”<sup>17</sup>

Not only the gratuitous, but also the right exercise of *mana* is required for *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* to be effective in their roles; otherwise, *whakanoa* will be the consequence. The emphasis, here, is on the freedom to exercise *mana* within the parameters of assigned roles. It includes the freedom to choose how to implement these roles, providing they abide by right *kaupapa* and *tikanga*.

### 5.3.6 ... in accordance with the principles of *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*

*Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* do not always act or respond appropriately in their roles, and human freedom needs careful exercise. Thus, all the responses of *kaikōkiri*, *kaitautoko* and *kaiwhakatara* must be subjected to examination under the principles of *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*. We now examine the roles of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* in relation to these three principles.

#### 5.3.6.1 *Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* and the principle of *pono*

We begin with *pono*. *Pono* consists in *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* performing their roles with honesty of effort, with integrity of action, with consistency and with perseverance. To be accountable in roles is another requirement of being *pono*. When *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* are available and present to exercise their roles, their presence and contribution is enhancing, empowering and reassuring for all. In some communities and on some *marae*, there can be a desperate, last-minute search for *kaikaranga*, or *kaimihi*. Every *whānau* should have *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* who can be their *kaikaranga*, *kaimihi* and *kaikarakia*.

*Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* who ignore *whānau* needs fail to be *pono* to them. Honesty of effort on the part of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* means they need to know the needs, and do a good job to address them. Honesty of effort may require that they seek more knowledge and skills. This can apply to all *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* irrespective of their particular role or their age. To be *pono*, the various *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* should exercise their roles with integrity, consistency and perseverance.

---

<sup>17</sup>Quoted in G. Cuming, "A Glimmer of Hope," *The New Zealand Weekend Herald*, 31 Jan—Feb 1, 2004, B2.

Firstly, their integrity requires that they practise what they preach. There should be integrity between what they say and what they do. *Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* should be role models. The younger generation is not always patient or forgiving towards their elders who appear to lack integrity in their roles.

Secondly, consistency in how they exercise their roles is another good quality for *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* to acquire. It is diminishing when some people are ignored by *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*, whilst others receive greater attention. Consistency requires that all people are acknowledged, irrespective of the numbers in their group, their ages or appearance.

Thirdly, *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* need perseverance. Their roles can be very demanding of energy and time, and their efforts are not always appreciated by those who do not understand the nature of their roles. *Manuhiri* can come and take their leave of the *marae* whilst the *hunga kāinga role players* must remain at their post from the start of the *hui* till the end. *Ngāti Taone* (people of the city) can also be unappreciative of the effort and dedication of the *hunga kāinga* role players. Whilst the city people travel to their home *marae* for the occasional *tangi*, the *hunga kāinga* and their *role players* must be in attendance for every *tangi* at the *marae*, whether the deceased is a close relative or not.

While *pono* requires *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* to exercise with integrity the roles of *kaikōkiri*, and of *kaitautoko*, it is especially in regard to *kaiwhakatara* that *pono* is important.

It is a test of the *pono* (understood as integrity, consistency and perseverance) of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* when they have the courage to be *kaiwhakatara* and challenge *whānau* leaders to exercise the same qualities of *pono* (integrity, consistency and perseverance) in addressing the needs and problems of some of their more dysfunctional *whānau*. In some recent cases of *whānau* abuse that resulted in the death of *tamariki*, we have seen that *whānau* lacked *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* with the necessary skills and *mana* to lead their *whānau* out of the tragic state of *noa*. Some *whānau* members were not *pono* about what had happened. This kept other members of the *whānau* in the state of *noa* for many months.

To be effective in their roles, even to the extent of being unpopular, *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* should thus be *pono* and act with *pono*. If people are won over by their exercise of *pono*, then they have achieved a necessary stage towards the attaining of the goal, namely, the addressing, acknowledging, enhancing and restoring of the *tapu* of *whānau*. It will thereby enable them to bring to the exercise of their roles, the perspectives of *tika* and *aroha*.

#### 5.3.6.2 ***Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* and the principle of *tika***

*Tika* consists in the right acknowledgement of *tapu* and the appropriate response to *tapu* at all stages and with regard to every participant in every relationship. It is thus the role of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* to act in right acknowledgement of *te tapu i te Atua*, *te tapu i te tangata* and *te tapu i te whenua*. It is also their task to acknowledge, and to facilitate or restore, the right ordering of relationships among *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. The more aware *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* are of the links and relationships of people in their various encounters, the more effective they are in playing roles on behalf of their people.

*Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* must act with *tika* whether he/she is *kaikōkiri*, *kaitautoko* or *kaiwhakatara*. Firstly, *kaikōkiri* cannot initiate any *kaupapa* or project that is not *tika*; otherwise he/she commits an act of *whakanoa*. Nor can the *kaikōkiri* use means that are not *tika* to pursue a goal that is *tika*. Secondly, *kaitautoko* cannot *tautoko* any *kaupapa* or *tikanga* that is not *tika*; otherwise he/she is an accomplice in the act of *whakanoa*. Thirdly, for the same reason, *kaiwhakatara* cannot propose or pursue an alternative *kaupapa* that is not *tika*.

Thus *kaikōkiri*, *kaitautoko* and *kaiwhakatara* need to ascertain whether the *kaupapa* and the *tikanga* are at one. Accustomed to, and abiding by the principle of *tika*, *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* are significantly positioned to exercise their roles in issues of social and legal justice for the benefit of the *whānau* and community.

Now, we turn to *aroha* as the third guiding principle for *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*.

### 5.3.6.3 *Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* and the principle of *aroha*

In the first place, in every *kaupapa* or project, actual or proposed, *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* need to assure themselves that *pono* and *tika* have first been observed—then they can respond to, or initiate, such *kaupapa* with *aroha*. They will see their role as assisting to foster and develop affection and compassion in the hearts of all involved in the project.

In the second place, *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* need to ensure that the *tikanga* for implementing the *kaupapa* is also carried out with *aroha*. This requires that they exercise their roles with affection and compassion. If they are to *kōkiri*, *tautoko* or *whakatara* on behalf of others, they should do so with affection and joy if the occasion is a celebratory one. If the occasion is a difficult one, like *hohou rongu*, or a sad one, like illness or death, or if people are in the state of negative *noa*, *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* need to exercise their *aroha* with compassion. To ensure that the exercise of their *aroha* does justice to people and has integrity, they can assess the exercise of their roles in the light of the principles of *tika* and *pono*.

A *waiata* sometimes heard on the *marae* says, “*Ko te mea nui ko te aroha, te kaitonotono i ahau*” (The most profound of principles is *aroha*, it sends me around like a servant). In their efforts to bring integrity to the *kaupapa* of *aroha* by fulfilling their roles with *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*, *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* often become *kaitonotono* (servants) for others.

The demands of their role can require, at times, *aroha* in the form of exceeding generosity and sacrifice. *Kaumātua* and *kuia*, as principal *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* on the *marae* and in communities, can be under considerable pressure to travel to various *marae* and venues, to fulfil roles as *kaikaranga* and *kaimihi*. Likewise, *pirihi* and *minita* can also be under pressure as *kaikarakia* at *aituā* (tragedies), with *tūroro mate nui* (seriously ill patients) and at *tangi*. *Aroha* in the form of personal generosity and sacrifice is also asked of *ringa wera* and *kaikeri poka* (gravediggers), especially in the rural communities where the numbers of people to fulfil the roles are few.

Demanding as these roles can be, *aroha* can provide continuing motivation for *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*. Rather than merely respond as a matter of duty, they

can bring affection and compassion to their roles. Generally speaking, these expressions of *aroha* are, in turn, felt and appreciated by the people who are assisted by *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*. For *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*, it can be satisfying, uplifting and encouraging to see the expressions of joy and affection in those they assist.

Gratitude can be the expression of those who were previously in need of compassion, and experienced it as a result of the *aroha* of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*. To extend compassion and to witness the healing effect on, and the gratitude of those who were in need of compassion, can also be sustaining and encouraging for *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*.

It is *aroha* that can motivate *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* to bring people together in communion in the spirit of affection, compassion, generosity and sacrifice. Because they abide by the principle of *aroha*, *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* are significantly positioned to exercise their roles in causes of charity for the benefit of the *whānau* and community.

It is an integral element of the role of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* to enkindle in others an appreciation for these same principles, in order that they might also be motivated to act accordingly in their own encounters with *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

In conclusion, it is important to note that *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* need to respect the relationship between *pono*, *tika* and *aroha* in the fulfilment of their roles. All three are interrelated in the full exercise of *mana*.

#### **5.4.0      *Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* in relation to *hohou rongo* and *te wā***

Two important aspects for *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* are their roles in *Hohou rongo* and *Te Wā*. We will address them in Chapters Seven and Eight.

We now move to Chapter Six and the topic of *Whakanoa* (The Act of Violation).

## CHAPTER SIX

### WHAKANOA (The Act of Violation)

#### 6.1.0 Introduction

In this chapter we will introduce the concepts of *noa* and its derivative verb forms, *whakanoa*, *whakanoangia* and *whakanoanga*. Our focus for this chapter will be principally on the verb form—*whakanoa*, because this is the act of violation that induces the state of *noa*.

We will deal with *whakanoa* from two perspectives. Firstly, we reflect on *whakanoa*, considered as the act of violation. Secondly, we reflect on *te noho noa*, a diminished state of being, a state of disempowerment that is a direct consequence of *whakanoa*.

We begin with word usage, and examine four terms: *noa*, *whakanoa*, *whakanoangia* and *whakanoanga*. We then offer a systematic definition of *whakanoa*, followed by its analysis in detail. Here we examine *whakanoa* in relation to the *tapu* and *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. We will then turn to the consequence of *whakanoa*, and define and examine *te noho noa*. Lastly, we will connect *whakanoa* to the other terms in our systematics, setting it in relation to the principles of *pono*, *tika* and *aroa*, to the roles of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* and to *hohou rongo* and to *te wā*.

#### 6.2.0 Word usage

We begin with the word *noa*. Williams writes as follows:

*Noa*, free from *tapu* or any other restriction; of no moment, ordinary; indefinite; within one's power; [*kia noa katoa ai i a ia rātou*] without restraint; spontaneously; gratuitously; at random; fruitlessly, in vain [*to noa, to noa, tē taea.*]<sup>1</sup>

*Noa* is both an adjective and an adverb. We see within Williams' definition a mainly positive meaning: free from *tapu* or any other restriction, free to be spontaneous or gratuitous.

---

<sup>1</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 222-223.

There are also negative aspects according to the context: to be within someone (else's) power,<sup>2</sup> fruitlessly, in vain.<sup>3</sup>

We add a further phrase that is sometimes heard to describe particular situations: *Kua noa to tātou noho* (we are in a state of *noa*), a phrase that can be understood either in a positive or negative sense, depending on its context.

We will look at *whakanoa*, *whakanoangia* and *whakanoanga*. The latter two are derivatives of *whakanoa*. Williams defines *whakanoa* as follows:

*Whakanoa*, make or consider free from *tapu*; remove or abrogate *tapu*. [*Kia whakanoaia nga tapu.*]<sup>4</sup> Bring under one's power.

*Te Paipera Tapu* offers a further meaning for *whakanoa*, namely, to defile. The term, *noa*, is also used here.

*Kahore he mea o waho o te tangata ka tapoko nei ki roto ki a ia hei whakanoa i a ia: engari nga mea e puta ana mai i roto i a ia, ma ena e noa ai te tangata.* [There is nothing outside a person that by going in can defile, but the things that come out are what defile.] (Mark 7:15)

We note the use of two further terms, *whakanoangia* and *whakanoanga*, in *Karanga Hokianga*:

*E tika ana te tapu e korerotia nei e ia, engari i te wa i rite ai te tapu, ka whakanoangia. I muri i te whakanoanga ka kore tonu atu te tapu i tena wa.*<sup>5</sup> [What that person says about the *tapu* is correct, but at the time when the *tapu* applied, it was soon rendered *noa*. Following the rendering *noa* of the *tapu*, the *tapu* restrictions were lifted. They no longer applied.]

The *waiata* of Kawiti also uses the term *whakanoangia*:

*Tenei ka whakanoangia ei, te tapu i te tinana, te tapu i te whenua na ei.*<sup>6</sup> [Now, *te tapu i te tinana* and *te tapu i te whenua* are rendered *noa*.]

<sup>2</sup> Williams' example of 'within one's power' (*Kia noa katoa ai i a ia rātou*) can mean either that 'they are totally made free or are totally held bound by him/her/it.' Here it is implied that the power belongs to another.

<sup>3</sup> Williams' example of 'in vain' (*to noa, to noa, tē taea*), can mean 'Your state of *noa*, your state of *noa*, is why you have not been able to achieve the goal.'

<sup>4</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 223.

<sup>5</sup> Tate & Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 35.

<sup>6</sup> These are Kawiti's words as reported in written form by Kāmira. We examined this text in Chapter Two on *Tapu*. Here, the focus is on the act of *whakanoangia* rather than on *tapu*. See Kāmira, vol. 3, 30.

Kāmira, in turn, comments on this *waiata* of Kawiti using the same term:

*Ko te mea i pouri nui ai a Kawiti ko te tapu i te tangata ka whakanoangia e tetahi Iwi Ke. Ko te tapu i te whenua ka whakanoangia e tetahi Iwi Ke.*<sup>7</sup> [The reason why Kawiti was greatly saddened was that *te tapu i te tangata* was rendered *noa* by another Iwi. *Te tapu i te whenua* was rendered *noa* by another Iwi.]

To sum up, *noa* is used as an adjective or as an adverb. *Whakanoa* is the verb form of *noa*. *Whakanoaia* and *whakanoangia* are alternative passive verb forms which are also used as imperatives. *Whakanoanga* is the sole example of the noun form. We now reflect on their possible meanings.

Each of these forms of *whakanoa* can have one of two possible meanings depending on the context, one positive and one negative. On the one hand, *whakanoa* can mean to lift *tapu* restrictions from people, places or activities. This action sets free for the enjoyment of something positive. It can also result in negative acts and a resulting negative situation. It can result in violation of those whom the *tapu* restrictions were supposed to protect. The phrase, *nā rātou i whakanoa*, can be interpreted as ‘they lifted the *tapu* restrictions’ or ‘they violated the *tapu* restrictions.’

As passive verb forms, *whakanoaia* and *whakanoangia* can be translated as ‘was rendered *noa*.’ The two possible meanings both apply here as well. Either the people, places or activities ‘were rendered free from *tapu* restrictions’ or they ‘were diminished by violation or defilement.’ In the imperative form, the command can mean ‘set free from restrictions’ or, alternatively, ‘to diminish by violation.’ In the phrase, ‘*i te whakanoanga*,’ *whakanoanga* can mean ‘when set free from restrictions’ or it can mean ‘when diminished by violation.’

In this line of thought, the term *noa* can mean that people, places and activities are either in a state of being free from restrictions, or they are in a diminished and restricted state.

The conclusion of this analysis is that we recognise in the terms used above, and in the realities they describe, either a positive or a negative state of being, of positive *noa* or of negative *noa*. The positive state is the consequence of *tapu* restrictions having been

---

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. The word usage this time is Kāmira’s. The focus here is on the act of *whakanoangia* and the effect it had on Kawiti.



lifted to enable encounter, whilst the negative state is the result of violation having occurred. We thus need to be very aware of the context, because it helps determine which state is being described. Henceforth, for the purposes of our systematics, *whakanoa* and its derivative forms will refer to negative *noa*, which we will discuss at greater length in this chapter.

### 6.3.0 Definition of *whakanoa*

***Whakanoa is the act of violation by which the tapu of Atua, tangata and whenua is diminished, and the exercise of their mana is obstructed or impaired.***

There are three parts to this statement: *whakanoa* is the act of violation; the *tapu* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* is diminished; the exercise of their *mana* is obstructed or impaired. We will attend to each in turn.

There are several Māori terms for the act of violation. *Whakanoa* is one of them. Some are general terms, while others refer to specific acts. In our systematics, *whakanoa* expresses the act of violation both in a general, and in a specific, sense.

Two other general terms for violation include *takahi i te tapu*<sup>8</sup> and *takahi i te mana*. *Takahi i te tapu* describes violation as the ‘trampling’ (*takahi*) of *tapu*, and *takahi i te mana* is the ‘trampling’ of *mana*.<sup>9</sup> *Takahi i te mana* is particularly expressive of acts of violation that diminish the *mana* of people considered as their authority, status and prestige, rather than their *mana* as spiritual power. Other general terms include *tūkino*,<sup>10</sup> *hara*<sup>11</sup> and *mahi hē*.<sup>12</sup>

There are also terms for specific acts of violation by which *whakanoa*, *takahi i te tapu*, *takahi i te mana*, *tūkino*, *hara* and *mahi hē* are perpetrated in specific instances.

---

<sup>8</sup> Tate & Paparua, *Karanga Hokianga*, 59. “Kahore he ingoa hapu i rongo au i haere mai i runga i tona mana ake ki te takahi i te tapu o te whenua nei” (I have not heard the name of any hapū who has come with its own *mana* to trample on the *tapu* of this land.) Here, *tapu* is understood as *tapu restrictions*.

<sup>9</sup> Ministry of Justice, *He Hīnātore*, 177. Provided here are some examples of “*takahi mana*: trampling on the integrity of individuals or groups; verbal, physical or emotional assault on others causing hurt or embarrassment that results in deliberate and calculated abuse of privilege; or violence, low self-esteem, hate and suicide.”

<sup>10</sup> *Tūkino* is to ill-treat, abuse, to use with violence. Williams, *Dictionary*, 450.

<sup>11</sup> *Hara* is to violate against, offend or transgress. Williams, *Dictionary*, 36.

<sup>12</sup> *Mahi hē* is to err, do something wrong or commit a fault. Williams, *Dictionary*, 43, under the entry, *Hē*.

*Whakanoa* thus can be understood, depending on the context, as violation in general, or as a very specific act of violation. One example of the latter is the direct violation of *tapu* restrictions which are in place to protect the *tapu* and *mana* of *Atua*, and of people, places and things.

Exactly in what this violation consists is the subject of our next section.

### 6.3.1 ***Whakanoa is the act of violation by which the tapu of Atua, tangata and whenua is diminished***

*Whakanoa* is violation in that it diminishes the *tapu*, understood as both *te tapu i* and as *te tapu o*, of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. This is also true of *whakanoa* considered as the specific act of direct violation of *tapu* restrictions, in that it results in diminishment of *tapu*.

In this sense, it follows that, where there is *whakanoa*, there are perpetrators and there are victims. There are those who violate—thereby diminishing their own *tapu* and crippling their own *mana*—and there are the violated, whose *tapu* is diminished and whose *mana* is impaired as a result.

We consider *whakanoa i te tapu* in relation to *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* and then move on to consider *whakanoa i te mana* in the same way.

#### 6.3.1.1 ***Whakanoa i te tapu i te Atua and whakanoa i te tapu o te Atua***

First, we consider *whakanoa i te tapu i te Atua*. From the outset, we state that *te tapu i te Atua* is inviolable. There is no act by which *tangata* can diminish *te tapu i te Atua*. *Whakanoa i te tapu i te Atua* can be regarded, then, as *attempts* to diminish *Atua*. This therefore exists only in the perception of *tangata*. While the attempt to *whakanoa* or *takahi i te tapu i te Atua* (the trampling of the *tapu* of *Atua*), though having no effect on *te tapu i te Atua*, nevertheless it can have effect on *te tapu o te Atua*, and therefore on *te tapu o te tangata*.

The more common ways of *attempting* to violate *te tapu i te Atua* are acts of omission. Some *tangata* seek to *whakanoa i te tapu i te Atua* by denying or ignoring the existence of *Atua*. In doing so, they seek to deprive *Atua* of being the supreme primary *tapu*, or of having totality and fullness of *tapu*, of being *te tīmatanga*, source and cause of all existence of all *tapu*, and of being *te tutukitanga*, the fulfilment of all *tapu* in all

their links. Thus, attempts to *whakanoa i te tapu i te Atua* can occur in one of two ways: one, by professing that *Atua* does not exist, and the other by ignoring *te tapu i te Atua*, and living as if *Atua* does not exist.

Specific acts of *whakanoa* directed against *te tapu i te Atua* include: *kore whakaaro ki te Atua* (having no thought for *Atua*); *whakaaro me te kōrero whakahāwea ki te Atua* (thoughts and words that despise and belittle *Atua*); and *kangakanga ki te Atua* (cursing *Atua*, blaspheming). Sometimes, people can harbour *riri* (anger) and *mauāhara* (resentment) towards *Atua*, and blame *Atua* for misfortunes and tragedies in their lives or in the world around them. In these ways, *tāngata* can attempt to *whakanoa i te tapu i te Atua*.

Second, we consider *whakanoa i te tapu o te Atua*. *Te tapu o te Atua* is the very being of *Atua* present and discerned in *Atua*'s relationship to creation. *Whakanoa i te tapu o te Atua*, therefore, is the denial of, or ignoring the creative presence of *Atua* in all creation, and the corresponding failure to acknowledge that *Atua* shares qualities of self—to some degree—in a relationship that enhances and empowers created beings. This denial, ignoring, or failure to acknowledge, is a diminishment of *te tapu o te Atua*. By denying or ignoring the fact that *Atua* is the source of their *tapu*, and that *tangata* and *whenua* are extensions of *te tapu i te Atua*, *tangata* fail to acknowledge *te tapu o te Atua*. Here, *whakanoa* is the failure or the refusal to know *Atua* in the things *Atua* has made.

Failing to give worship and glory to *Atua* from the depths of *te tapu i a rātou* (of their very being) is a further example of *tangata* omitting to acknowledge *te tapu o te Atua*. Even if they do not do so deliberately, by failing to acknowledge *Atua* as the source of such gifts as life, totality, inviolability, *mana*, goodness, dignity, sacredness and being 'set apart,' *tangata*, thereby commit an act of *whakanoa i te tapu o te Atua*.

To violate or to desecrate any part of creation, because of its relationship to *Atua*, is likewise an act of *whakanoa i te tapu o te Atua*. Acts of violation and desecration of creation diminish the potentiality of creation to reflect fully *te tapu o te Atua*. By failing to be responsible stewards of creation, *tāngata* fail to care for *te tapu o te Atua* in creation.

In the Christian tradition, any misuse of, or disrespect for the name of *Atua* by *kangakanga ki te Atua* is an act of *whakanoa*.<sup>13</sup> *Whakahāwea* (despising and belittling), in regard both to the teachings about *Atua* and also *karakia* to *Atua*, are acts of *whakanoa*. To obstruct or deprive individuals and communities of their religious freedom to give worship to *Atua* is, at the same time, an act of *whakanoa i te tapu o te Atua*, and of *te tapu o te tangata*.

Thus far, we have discussed *whakanoa i te tapu o te Atua* as acts of omission and commission by which *tangata* attempt to diminish or sever the relationship of *Atua* to creation. Since we are speaking of a relationship between *Atua* and creation, *whakanoa i te tapu o te Atua* can also be regarded as *whakanoa i te tangata, i te whenua* in their relationship to *Atua*. Thus, to violate *tangata* and *whenua* in their relationship to *Atua* is a violation of *te tapu o te Atua*.

#### 6.3.1.2 ***Whakanoa i te tapu i te tangata and whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata***

*Te tapu i te tangata* is the intrinsic *tapu* of *tangata* by which *tangata* has existence in his/her own right. We have seen that *te tapu i te tangata* is to be considered according to each and all the elements of being that constitute the person's *tapu*.<sup>14</sup>

##### 6.3.1.2.1 ***Whakanoa i te tapu i te tangata is the diminishing of any element, or all of the elements, that constitute the person's tapu or the totality of the person's tapu***

Here, specific acts of *whakanoa* include *whakahāwea ki te taha wairua* (despising the spirit or spiritual dimension of a person). This type of *whakanoa* includes the belittling of, or disregard for, the person's belief in *Atua*, in other spiritual realities and in spiritual values, as well as denying people the exercise of *ritenga tapu* (sacred rituals) and *karakia*. Today, Māori still find it a natural thing to express their *taha wairua* in *karakia* at the beginning and end of gatherings and meetings, before *kai* (food), and at certain events of life and death. To be denied the opportunity, or *kia taunutia* (to be ridiculed) for it, is to deprive people of the right to worship *Atua* from the depth of *te tapu i a rātou*. This would suppress the *wairua* of the person or persons to the extent that it would also adversely affect the whole person. However, *te wairua o te tangata* by its very nature cannot be totally suppressed, nor can it be annihilated by *tangata*.

<sup>13</sup> *Me korero ano e koe ki nga tama a Iharaira, me ki atu, "Ki te kanga tetahi tangata i tona Atua, ka waha e ia tona hara"* [and speak to the people of Israel, saying: "Anyone who curses God shall bear the sin."] (Lev 24:15)

<sup>14</sup> These elements—*mauri*, *wairua*, *hauora* and *hinengaro*—were covered in Chapter Two.

Other types of *whakanoa* come under the heading of *whakanoa i te hinengaro o te tangata*. These acts of *whakanoa* diminish the psychological, mental and emotional well-being of the person. *Riri kino me te kanga* (violent verbal abuse and swearing), *kōwhete* (constant scolding), *amuamu* (moaning and complaining), *wairua* and *kōrero whakahāwea* (belittling talk), *whakapae* (making rash judgement), *taunu* (reviling) and *teka* (lying and deceit) are acts of *whakanoa i te hinengaro*. These acts are forms of psychological, mental and emotional abuse which can seriously diminish *te tapu i te tangata*, and can cause psychological, mental and emotional instability, if not illness. Sometimes, that is the intention of the perpetrator.

Other acts of *whakanoa* come under the heading of *Whakanoa i te hauora o te tangata*. These acts of *whakanoa* diminish the physical health and wellness of the person. *Whakanoa i te tinana o te tangata* is another phrase that has the same meaning. Here, the term ‘*tinana*’ specifies that *whakanoa* affects the body. Specific acts that diminish the physical well-being of people, that cause injury or inflict unnecessary suffering fall into this category. Thus, *patu tamariki* (physical violence on children), *patu wāhine*, *tāne rānei* (physical assault on women or men), *mahi pūremu* (illicit sexual acts, sexual abuse) and *ngau whiore* (incest)<sup>15</sup> are acts of *whakanoa i te hauora o te tangata*.

This category includes self-inflicted injuries, such as *haurangi* (drunkenness), *momi hikareti me te kai taru* (smoking and taking illicit drugs), and *puku kai* (overindulgence in food). All these acts of *whakanoa* inflict physical injury on the body, thereby diminishing *tapu*, and rendering the body *noa*.

There are other ways in which people can suffer physically. Some suffering is caused by neglect. Thus, *whakanoa i te tinana* can be the consequence of failing to care for or to restore the physical well-being of people. These acts of omission include *te kore tiaki tika i te whānau*, *i ngā tūroro*, *i ngā kaumātua*, *i te hunga hauā* (failing to provide proper care for the *whānau*, for the sick, for the elderly, for the disabled).

---

<sup>15</sup> H. M. Mead, *Tikanga Māori. Living by Māori Values* (Wellington, N.Z.: Huia, 2003). Hereafter cited as Mead, *Tikanga Māori*. Mead describes “*he tangata ngau whiore*” as “the person who commits incest.” See also “Tāne married Hine-titama, his daughter, and so caused the first case of incest in the world.” Mead, *op.cit.*, 245.

In a broader sense, *whakanoa i te tapu i te tangata* can be considered as the diminishing of the totality of the person's *tapu*. We do this when we attend to a part of the person's well-being without reference to the person's total well-being. We may readily and conscientiously care for the bodily well-being but neglect the *wairua* or the *hinengaro*, or we may attend to the individual but ignore the fact that the person is part of a particular *whānau*, a particular *hapū*, and a particular *iwi*. In this sense, *whakanoa i te tapu i te tangata* is the suppression and prevention of the dynamic movement of *tangata*—and indeed of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*—towards attaining total well-being and fullness of *tapu*.

*Whakanoa i te mauri o te tangata* is the most traumatic and can be the most tragic of the acts of *whakanoa* in that it is the extinguishing of the *mauri* (life principle itself) of the person. This occurs at death.<sup>16</sup> Even though it can happen as a natural event, it can still be traumatic. It is tragic, whether it is self-inflicted or caused by another person. These acts are traumatic and tragic because the consequence is that there is no return, no second chance.

Specific acts of *whakanoa i te mauri o te tangata* include *kōhuru* (murder, manslaughter, genocide, abortion, euthanasia), *whakamomori* (suicide),<sup>17</sup> and *whakamate noa i te tangata* (unnecessary death caused by accident or negligence). All actions that lead to or cause death are acts of *whakanoa i te mauri o te tangata*. *Ahakoā ka pā te noa ki te mauri o te tangata* (though the *mauri* of *tangata* is rendered *noa* by death), *mauri* does not constitute the totality of *te tapu i te tangata*. *Te wairua o te tangata* is not annihilated. *Te tapu i te tangata* continues to apply to the deceased.

*Te tapu i te tangata* continues to apply to the living, also, even though the person or persons are diminished, in some form or other, by acts of *whakanoa*. Despite the adverse effects of *whakanoa*, they remain endowed with *te mana i te tangata* by virtue of which they can recover and find wholeness again through the process of *hohou rongo*.

Following this discussion of *whakanoa* as it affects particular elements of *te tapu i te tangata*, we move to reflect on *whakanoa* as it can affect *te tapu o te tangata*.

---

<sup>16</sup> Mead, *Tikanga Māori*, 147, says: “At death the *mauri* that a person is born with dies and disappears. It is extinguished when the spark of life ceases, breathing stops and the heartbeat throbs no more.”

<sup>17</sup> See Mead, *Tikanga Māori*, 240-41.

*Whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata* occurs when the act of violation severs or weakens the relationship between *tangata* and *Atua*, between *tangata* and other *tāngata*, and between *tangata* and *whenua*. By severing or weakening the relationship, the act of *whakanoa* diminishes and disempowers those in relationship. Let us look at each of the relationships.

#### 6.3.1.2.2 ***Whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata in the relationship of tangata with Atua***

The severing or weakening of the relationship with *Atua* can be caused by the person himself/herself. The person can choose to sever links with *Atua*. In this way, the person repudiates *te tapu o te Atua* but in doing so, *tangata* becomes self-diminishing. An example of a specific act of severing links is *kore whakapono ki te Atua* (refusing to believe in God). We have already mentioned that *whakahāwea ki te Atua* and *kangakanga ki te Atua* can weaken, if not destroy, the relationship of the person with *Atua*.

Considered from the relationship of *Atua* towards *tangata* and *whenua*, there is *whakanoa i te tapu o te Atua* where there is *whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata me te whenua*, indeed, of any aspect of creation, because all created things have their own *tapu* from *te tapu o te Atua*, and are sustained by this relationship.

Obviously, *whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata*, in terms of severing or weakening the relationship of *tangata* with *Atua*, can be caused by other people. In addition to the examples mentioned above (*takahi* and *whakahāwea*), we can note that these acts can be directed towards the faith of others, and deny them the opportunity of expressing their faith in *Atua*. These, too, are specific acts of *whakanoa*.

Thus far, we have considered *whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata* from the perspective of the relationship of *tangata* and *Atua*. Now we reflect on *whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata* in the relationship of *tangata* with other *tāngata*.

#### 6.3.1.2.3 ***Whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata in the relationship of tangata with other tāngata***

People are linked with other *tāngata* through *whanaungatanga*, or friendship and association ties. In this context, *whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata* occurs in two ways. Firstly, a person suffers from *whakanoa* insofar as his/her relationship with others is weakened or severed, when it should have been enhancing and empowering. Some

problems affecting many young people these days can be attributed to the fact that they are often disconnected from their *whānau*. This may be due in part to the fact that they have disconnected themselves by their own acts of *whakanoa* of others—which may include their own *whānau*; or it may be due in part to the fact that they were disconnected by acts of *whakanoa* by others—generally, *whānau*. Sometimes, for example, they were adopted out and felt disconnected both from their adoptive *whānau* and from their *whānau ake* (their own biological *whānau*).

The signs of *whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata* are recognisable in that the young people do not feel connected. They are aware that they are lacking a sense of wholeness. There is something missing in their lives. Disowning a person who has mutual relationship links, or depriving him/her of their right to link with *whānau*, is an act of *whakanoa*.

Secondly, a person can be diminished and reduced to a state of *noa* on account of his/her relationship with some others who are already in that state. *Tūpuna* and *mātua* can be diminished and disempowered for *mahi hē* committed by their *tamariki* or *mokopuna*. Similarly, *tamariki* or *mokopuna* can suffer for *mahi hē* perpetrated by their *tūpuna* or *mātua*. Thus, when *whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata* occurs, it adversely affects people in their relationships with one another.

There is a further perspective to *whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata*. This is the situation of *takahi*, *whakahāwea* or *tūkino* of things about or of the person. Specific acts include denigrating the *tikanga* (culture and values), *reo* (language), and spirituality of a person, *whānau*, *hapū*, or *iwi*. *Whakakinokino ingoa* (defamation of character) is another. *Tāhae* (theft and burglary) of *taonga* (possessions) of whatever kind, is an act of *whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata*. Though these acts of *whakanoa* may appear to be directed to things external to the person, nevertheless, these “external” things are either intrinsic to the person, such as a person’s good character, or they are directly associated with the person, such as *taonga*. These acts thus diminish *te tapu o te tangata*. They adversely affect the person. These are acts of *whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata*.



#### 6.3.1.2.4 *Whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata in the relationship of tangata with whenua*

*Whakanoa* can adversely affect people in their relationship with *whenua*. This occurs when people suffer and are diminished because their links with their *whenua*, or with the *whenua* of their *tūpuna*, are weakened or severed by *murū me te raupatu* (confiscation,<sup>18</sup> expropriation),<sup>19</sup> or by culpable neglect of duty by the Crown.<sup>20</sup> It is also an act of *whakanoa i te whānau* or *i te iwi*, when *whenua*, taken under the Public Works Acts for a specific purpose, is not used for that purpose and then not returned to the original *whānau* or *iwi*.<sup>21</sup> A most serious act of *whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata* in relation to the *whenua* is to render a people landless, a claim made before the Waitangi Tribunal by Ngāti Whātua of Ōrākei.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Taranaki Report Kaupapa Tuatahi: Muru Me Te Raupatu: The Muru and Raupatu of the Taranaki Land and People (Wai 143)* (Wellington, N.Z.: GP Publications, 1996). Hereafter cited as *Wai 143: Taranaki Report*. [see inside leaf] “The claims (of Taranaki) were brought to The Tribunal as ‘*Muru me te Raupatu*.’ In Taranaki, ‘*murū*’ describes the confiscation or plunder of property as punishment for alleged offences, ‘*raupatu*,’ the conquest or subjugation of the people by Government control.” During 1865, some 1,199,622 acres (485,847 ha) of Taranaki were confiscated. The Waitangi Tribunal Report stated: “Even more important than the number of acres, however, is the fact that the whole of the lands of most hapū were confiscated, the whole of the lands of every hapū were also deleteriously affected, and lands were not adequately returned to any hapū to provide the minimum relief that was vitally necessary.” *Wai 143: Taranaki Report*, 12.3.5.

<sup>19</sup> *Wai 143: Taranaki Report*, 12.3.5. In the Taranaki Claim, the Tribunal considered “that a further 426,000 acres (172,402 ha) were expropriated by land reform and the Government’s Native Land process.”

<sup>20</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Roroa Report 1992, (Wai 38)* (Wellington, N.Z.: Brooker & Friend, 1992), 8.1-8.1.7. Hereafter cited as *Wai 38: Te Roroa Report*. “The Te Roroa claim against the Crown, concerning the land and people of Maunganui, Waipoua, Taharoa and Waimamaku, was first filed with the Waitangi Tribunal in November 1986.” In their Report of 1992, the Tribunal found that the Crown was, or is, in breach of the Treaty. Under these breaches are listed: “the denial to Te Roroa of the benefits of the Crown’s Policy of borrowing for development; the unfair methods employed by the Crown in the purchase of Te Roroa lands (1876); the Crown’s failure to make proper provision for Native Reserves; the fragmentation and purchase of Waipoua No 2 by the Crown; loss of mana and the destruction of a community; the violation of taonga; the failure by the Crown to listen to Te Roroa grievances.”

<sup>21</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua: The Report on the Turanganui a Kiwa Claims: (Wai 814) 2 vols., Vol. 2.* (Wellington, N.Z.: Legislation Direct, 2004), Findings 12.3.1 (5). Hereafter cited as *Wai 814: Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*. “In 1902, the Gisborne Borough Council took land from the Awapuni 1 Block for an abattoir (6 acres two roods 30 perches), and cemetery (45 acres three roods 30 perches) under the Public Works Act 1894 and the Cemeteries Act 1882, respectively, despite immediate objections from Turanga Māori. The Awapuni site for a cemetery was never used for the purpose for which it was taken. It was not offered back to the original owners.”

<sup>22</sup> *Wai 9: The Orakei Report*, Summary of Findings, 13.1.1. In the Ōrākei Claim, led by Joseph Hawke and filed with The Waitangi Tribunal in Tāmaki Makaurau on 7 April 1986, one of their claims against the Crown stated, “Indeed, the cumulative effect of the various breaches of the principles of the Treaty [of Waitangi] was to render Ngāti Whātua of Orakei virtually landless and without standing in their own homeland.”

The effects of *raupatu* (confiscation) of *whenua tupuna* (land passed down from *tupuna*, ancestral land) linger psychologically and emotionally, as well as physically. It is a greater insult still when the confiscated land is handed by the Crown to another tribe.<sup>23</sup>

A further case of *whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata* in relation to *whenua* is that of a more modern-day crime, home invasion. Violation of the *whenua*, *kāinga* and *taonga o te tangata* (of the land, home and possessions of the person) are violations of the person and their rightful relationships.

In conclusion, in the twofold relationship between *tangata* and *whenua*, an act of *whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata* is, at the same time, an act of *whakanoa i te tapu o te whenua*.

### 6.3.1.3 ***Whakanoa i te tapu i te whenua and whakanoa i te tapu o te whenua***

*Te tapu i te whenua* is the intrinsic *tapu* of *whenua* by which *whenua* has its own existence in its own right. Now we move to consider *whakanoa i te tapu i te whenua* and *whakanoa i te tapu o te whenua*.

#### 6.3.1.3.1 ***Whakanoa i te tapu i te whenua***

In ancient times, the principle form of *whakanoa i te tapu i te whenua* took place when Māori fought battles among themselves *me te whakaheke toto* (and blood was spilt) on the land<sup>24</sup> or on the sea,<sup>25</sup> thereby placing them immediately under *tapu* restrictions.

In another early example in word usage—section 6.2.0, we took the phrase in Kawiti's *Tangi*, "*Tenei ka whakanoangia ei ... te tapu i te whenua na ei*,"<sup>26</sup> to refer to actions that rendered *noa* (defiled) the intrinsic *tapu* of the *whenua*. In our view, Kawiti here regarded the battles, fought on and over the *whenua* by those "*raro i te maru o te*

<sup>23</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngāti Awa Raupatu Report (Wai 46)* (Wellington, N.Z.: Legislation Direct, 1999). 9.8. Hereafter cited as *Wai 46: Ngāti Awa Raupatu Report*. "Ngāti Awa (of Bay of Plenty) also lived with the insult of much of their lands being handed by the Crown to their traditional tribal rivals."

<sup>24</sup> For an example of this, (after the attack by Hongi Hika on the *pā* of Matarāua, resulting in the death of Te Tihi and others), see Tate and Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 14.

<sup>25</sup> *Karanga Hokianga* records the following example: "*I waho o te moana ka patere nga toto ki roto i te waka. Katahi ka tiherua ki te moana. Ka tae ki Waima ka korerotia te tiherutanga o nga toto o Papau ki te moana. Katahi ka rahuitia te moana.*" (Out at sea, the blood from the wounds spilled into the canoe. They bailed it out into the sea. When they arrived at Waima they told the people about the bailing out of the blood of Papau into the sea. Immediately the *rahui* [a form of *tapu* restriction] was placed on the sea). Tate and Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 83.

<sup>26</sup> The *tapu* intrinsic to the land (*te tapu i te whenua*) has been made *noa* (*whakanoangia*). See footnote 6.

*Kuini*” (beneath the shadow of the Queen),<sup>27</sup> as actions of defilement of the very being of the *whenua*.

Applying this view of defilement of the *whenua* on a wider scale today, we can consider bombing of land, chemical sprays in warfare, strip mining, wholesale deforestation, nuclear explosions, and pollution of waterways, as actions of *whakanoa i te tapu i te whenua*. They defile the land. The land is then diminished in its *tapu* and thus unable to sustain and nourish those that live upon the land, namely, all organisms, trees, plants, birds, animals and *tāngata*. In some cases, the land is so polluted that crops are also polluted, and everything else becomes polluted, including *tāngata*. Thus, *kua whakanoangia te tapu i te whenua* (the *whenua* is rendered *noa* (defiled) in its intrinsic *tapu*).

To be sure, *whenua* is rendered *noa* by natural disasters such as storms, floods, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, droughts, fires and tidal waves. These are unavoidable. *Tāngata* cannot prevent them. The concern must be whether some of these events, such as floods, droughts, fires and climate changes, are not visited indirectly upon the *whenua* by actions or attitudes attributable to *tāngata*: greed over resources, and thereby by overexploitation, irresponsible or bad management of *whenua*.

We see in the Motunui-Waitara Case one instance of serious *whakanoa i te tapu i te whenua* and *te moana* (the land and the sea and what lives upon and within it) caused by pollution due to runoff from the *whenua*.<sup>28</sup> Pollution affected the fishing grounds, shell-fish reefs and areas around the Waitara River mouth, extending along a considerable area of the coastline on either side. The effect of the pollution was that bacterial contamination exceeded health quality standards and rendered fish and shell-fish unfit for human consumption. Thus *whakanoa i te tapu i te whenua me te moana* can have serious health consequences on *te tapu i te tangata*.

---

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> *Wai 6: Motunui Waitara Claim*, Appendix II, 66-67. The Taranaki Catchment Commission, by order dated 6/12/73, gave the Waitara Borough Council, as a local authority constituted under the Local Government Act, 1974, the right for a period of ten years, to discharge preliminary treated sewage and industrial waste into the sea off the Waitara River. In 1983, Te Atiawa tribe brought their claim before the Waitangi Tribunal against the discharge of industrial waste and sewage from the Waitara outfall and from petrochemical industries that were being established near Waitara on to their fishing grounds and shell-fish reefs.

### 6.3.1.3.2 *Whakanoa i te tapu o te whenua in its relationship with Atua*

The above reflections show already that *whenua* can be violated and thus diminished not only in itself (*te tapu i te whenua*), but also in its relationships (*te tapu o te whenua*). Now we examine *whakanoa i te tapu o te whenua*, in its relation to *Atua*.

We have earlier acknowledged the immanence of *Atua* in creation, the personal presence of *Atua* in every part of creation, the embodiment of the divine in all created realities. Violation of creation—and here we are reflecting on *whenua* as part of creation—is a violation of the presence of *te Atua kaihanga* in creation. Violation of *whenua*, of creatures, and of events on and of the *whenua*, is a violation of the creator.

Desecration of *whenua* dedicated to or specially linked to *Atua*, such as sacred sites, church and pilgrimage sites, is a violation of *Atua*. We conclude that any disrespect and disregard for *whenua* and for the right care of the ecological balance and well-being of *whenua*, renders *whenua noa* in its relationship with *Atua*, as well as with *tāngata*.

### 6.3.1.3.3 *Whakanoa i te tapu o te whenua in relation to tangata*

Throughout Aotearoa, *te tapu o te whenua* is evident in the fact that most mountains, hills, historic sites, plantations, lakes and rivers, foreshore and fishing grounds are named after *tūpuna*. The *tapu* of those places became and remain enhanced by the names and events associated with particular *tūpuna*.

*Ka whakanoangia te tapu o te whenua* (violation of *te tapu o te whenua* takes place) when the relationship with these *tūpuna* is ignored, ridiculed, denied or severed. An example would be when Māori place names were replaced with English names, thus ignoring or denying the links of *whenua* with particular *tūpuna*. For example, Taranaki was replaced with Egmont, Aoraki with Cook, Tāmaki with Auckland, Kirikiriroa with Hamilton.<sup>29</sup>

*Whenua* is enhanced by its relationship with *tangata whenua*. So also, *kāinga* is enhanced by its relationship with *hunga kāinga*. By contrast, if one denies, ignores or violates *tangata whenua* and *hunga kāinga*, one diminishes the *tapu* both of *whenua*

---

<sup>29</sup> Better consultation and relationships between *iwi* and the Crown have resulted, in some cases, in the official option to use either of two names, for example, Taranaki or Egmont, Aoraki or Cook. When speaking in *te reo*, in formal and informal speeches, Māori have always used the Māori names.

and *kāinga*. If one severs the links of *whenua* with *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi*, one is guilty of *whakanoa i te tapu o te whenua*.

Again, the Orakei Report documents this aspect. In 1951, the Crown compulsorily acquired the *marae* at Ōkahu Bay<sup>30</sup> despite the protestations of Ngāti Whātua. The burning of the village and the demolition of the *whare tupuna* (ancestral house) late in 1952 brought about a total severing of the *marae*—physically, spiritually, culturally and socially—from the *iwi* of Ngāti Whātua. This was *whakanoa i te tapu o te whenua* in the extreme.

Subsequently, when before the Waitangi Tribunal, the claimants identified two situations that constituted what we term *whakanoa i te tapu o te whenua o Ōrākei*. Firstly, the claimants pointed to the Crown's:

failing to secure land for us as a *marae*, and giving land proposed for us as a *marae*, to other persons, for a national *marae*; [and] failing to heed our numerous petitions to spare our *papakāinga* from the buying, to reserve us land for a *papakāinga*, and to reserve land for our *marae*.<sup>31</sup>

Secondly, the Crown's giving of the *whenua* of Ngāti Whātua for a *marae* to other persons for a national *marae* was also an act of *whakanoa i te tapu o te whenua*. The selling of *papakāinga* and the failing to take care of *papakāinga* for the benefit of the *whānau*, constituted acts of *whakanoa i te tapu o te whenua*. The separation of *whenua* from *iwi* or *whānau*, who had, and who have, claims in *tika* to the *whenua* based on *whakapapa heke tika* (genealogical descent in direct line)<sup>32</sup> from *tūpuna*, is an act of *whakanoa i te tapu o te whenua*.

Thus far we have considered *whakanoa* in relation to violation and diminishment of *tapu*. Now we move to the second part of our definition of *whakanoa*, namely, its relation to *mana*.

---

<sup>30</sup> *Wai 9: Orakei Report*, 13.2 (p).

<sup>31</sup> *Wai 9: Orakei Report*, 12.19.1. The response and recommendation of the Tribunal was “we propose that the *marae*, Church and *urupā*, with the areas added to each be vested by legislation in the Ngati Whatua Trust Board, freed from liability for all rates.” *Wai 9: Orakei Report*, 14.4.3.

<sup>32</sup> See 2.5.3.2.1.1.

### 6.3.2 **As a result of *whakanoa*, the exercise of the *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* is obstructed or impaired**

We have seen how *whakanoa* violates *te tapu i te Atua*, *i te tangata*, *i te whenua*, and equally, *te tapu o te Atua*, *o te tangata*, *o te whenua*. In this section we propose that, as a result of this violation, the exercise of the *mana* of each of these is obstructed, or impaired. After examining some general aspects of *whakanoa i te mana*, we will follow the same pattern and examine this diminishment of *te mana i* and *te mana o*, in regard to *Atua*, *tangata*, and *whenua*.

In our reflection on *whakanoa i te mana* we begin with some general aspects.

In our definition in Chapter Three, we proposed a number of aspects of *mana*. Each of them may be the object of *whakanoa*. Firstly, *mana* is spiritual power. Thus, an act of *whakanoa i te mana*, is to deny the spiritual nature of *mana* and to hold that physical and legal power are all that mattered. Those who would deny that *mana* is spiritual power would also deny that people have, and do exercise, spiritual power. *Whakanoa i te mana*, in this particular respect, can be the failure to exercise *mana* as spiritual power.

Secondly, *mana* is authority. *Whakanoa i te mana* is to act with disregard and disrespect for all or some forms of authority. Those who *takahi i te mana*, reject authority, or some forms of authority, until it is imposed with physical or legal force. Not only do they not accept authority, but they despise both it and those who may determine and enforce it. They obstruct the exercise of authority. *Whakanoa i te mana* can be the failure to exercise and uphold authority with integrity.

Thirdly, *mana*, to some degree, is prestige and status. Those who *whakanoa i te mana* are showing disregard for the values of prestige and status, and for those who exercise *mana* in order to achieve those values. It is a form of *whakanoa i te mana* for people to seek after and exercise *mana* simply for the purposes of gaining prestige and status.

Fourthly, *mana* derives from *tapu* and is directed towards *tapu*. In this regard, *whakanoa i te mana* consists in acting as if *mana* were its own source, and a goal in itself. It is an ill-informed view of *mana*, because it is divorced from its relationships with *tapu*. In this case, *whakanoa i te mana* is an abuse of *mana*.

Fifthly, the links between *mana* and *tapu* mean that *whakanoa i te mana* is, in the same act, *whakanoa i te tapu* and vice versa. This case is clearly illustrated when we consider the indispensable links between *mana* and *tapu* restrictions. *Mana* is required for *tapu* restrictions to be imposed, enforced or lifted. *Whakanoa i te mana* deprives *tapu* restrictions of their effectiveness to safeguard *tapu* and *mana*. *Whakanoa i te mana* can also be the failure to exercise *mana* to impose, enforce or lift *tapu* restrictions.

There are two other general aspects of *whakanoa i te mana* for us to consider. These are expressed in the phrases *te mana i* and *te mana o* in relation to *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. *Whakanoa* can be directed against *te mana i te Atua*, *i te tangata*, *i te whenua*. This is an act of violation of the intrinsic power of *Atua*, *tangata* or *whenua*, the power that is proper to them, that exists by virtue of its inextricable link with *te tapu i a rātou*, and is to be exercised by them.

*Whakanoa i te mana* can also be directed against *te mana o te Atua*, *o te tangata*, *o te whenua*. In this instance, the act of violation obstructs, impairs or renders ineffective the operative power of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* in creation.

Now that we have considered these general aspects we are able to deal more specifically with *whakanoa i te mana* in relation to *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. We begin with *Atua*.

#### 6.3.2.1 ***Whakanoa i te mana i te Atua and te mana o te Atua***

In line with our systematics, *te mana i te Atua* is all-powerful and limitless, and cannot be diminished in any way. By contrast, *whakanoa i te mana o te Atua* is to oppose or fail to cooperate with, or attempt to render ineffective, *te mana o te Atua* in all of creation.<sup>33</sup>

#### 6.3.2.2 ***Whakanoa i te mana i te tangata and te mana o te tangata***

When we speak of *te mana i te tangata* we mean the *mana* that is intrinsic to *tangata*, proper to *tangata*, rooted in *te tapu i te tangata*, and having the potentiality for operation. Because of the inseparable link between *te tapu i te tangata* and *te mana i te tangata*, an act of *whakanoa i te tapu i te tangata* is also an act of *whakanoa i te mana*

---

<sup>33</sup> A similar reflection may be made in regard to *Hehu Karaiti* (Jesus Christ). *Te mana i a ia* is that of *Atua*; *tōna mana* (*te mana ōna*) was subject to opposition, violation and diminishment. He became *noa* for our sake. See 2 Corinthians 5:21.

*i te tangata* (the violation of the intrinsic spiritual power and authority of *tangata*). The act of *whakanoa i te mana i te tangata* opposes and obstructs the potentiality for operation and effective action. Just as *te tapu i te tangata* cannot be diminished so that it exists no longer in any form at all, so also *te mana i te tangata* cannot be destroyed. It is the source of *te mana o te tangata*.

On the other hand, *whakanoa i te mana o te tangata* obstructs and impairs *te mana o te tangata* and renders it ineffective. It does this by diminishing, obstructing, weakening or severing right relationships between *tangata* and *Atua*, *tangata* and other *tāngata*, and *tangata* with *whenua*.

*Whakanoa i te mana o te tangata* can be committed by *whakaaro* (thought), *wairua* (attitude), *kōrero* (speech), *mahi* (action), or by *kapenga ture* (omission of one's duty). Another Māori phrase for omission of one's duty is *te whakarere i te mahi tika* (forsaking right action). *Whakanoa* can be caused by words or actions of *whakahāwea* (belittling), *pūhae* (jealousy) or *whakahē noaiho* (opposing initiatives for no other reason than just opposing them). *Te kore tautoko* (the lack of support) for good initiatives is a major reason for *te mana o te tangata* being rendered ineffective.

A person's *mana* can be blocked by *whakapae* (rash judgment), by *ngau tuara* (backbiting), or by *kōrero whakakinokino* (speaking ill of someone, by defaming the character of another).

In another sense, *whakanoa i te mana o te tangata* is the belittling, undermining and diminishing of the status, honour and prestige *o te tangata*, *o te whānau*, *o te hapū*, *o te iwi*. In all these ways, *whakanoa* diminishes the capacity for *te mana o te tangata* to be effective, or obstructs the exercise of *mana*.

As a consequence, *whakanoa* obstructs or diminishes the *mana* of *tangata* to act in matters of relationship between *tangata* and *Atua*. For example, when the opportunity of *karakia* is denied to a *kaikarakia*, *tōna mana* as *kaikarakia* is obstructed, and his/her *mana* is impaired.

Second, it pertains to *te mana o te tangata*, *o te whānau*, *o te hapū*, *o te iwi* to deal justly with their *whenua*, and to make decisions affecting their relationship with their *whenua*. Thus, confiscation, unjust loss or alienation and dispossession of *whenua* is an



act of *whakanoa i te mana o te tangata ki runga i te whenua* (violation of the people's *mana* over the land).

A final consideration is that *whakanoa i te mana o te tangata* does more than just block the exercise of *mana* or diminish the authority, status and prestige *o te tangata*. It diminishes the person, *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi* who exercise or should be exercising *mana*. *Whakanoa i te mana o te tangata* can be self-inflicted by the individual himself/herself, or by the *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi* upon themselves. They do this when they commit acts of *whakanoa* of *Atua*, of other *tāngata* and of *whenua*. In the misuse or abuse of their *mana* they render their own *mana* weak or ineffective.

Now we turn to consider *whakanoa i te mana i te whenua* and *te mana o te whenua*.

### 6.3.2.3 ***Whakanoa i te mana i te whenua and te mana o te whenua***

*Whakanoa i te tapu i te whenua* results in *whakanoa i te mana i te whenua* since *te mana i te whenua* derives from *te tapu i te whenua*. When one diminishes *te tapu i te whenua* by pollution, overexploitation and bad management of resources, one also impairs *te mana i te whenua* to produce, sustain, manifest, enhance and restore *te tapu i ngā mea kua hanga* (the *tapu* of created realities). This extends to all ecosystems that exist in dependence upon the *whenua*. *Whakanoa i te mana o te whenua* are acts that prevent or limit the *mana* of the *whenua* from being active and effective in providing well-being and maintaining identity for *tangata whenua* or *hunga kāinga*. *Te mana o te whenua* is rendered *noa* in the severing of the relationship of the *whenua* with *Atua*, with *tangata*, *whānau*, *hapū*, or *iwi*.

For those who ignore or reject the relationship of the *whenua* with *Atua*, the *mana* of the *whenua* is restricted in its power to reflect the *mana* and *tapu* of *te Atua Kaihanga* (creator God). The *whakanoa* of *whenua* dedicated to *Atua* renders weak or ineffective *te mana o te whenua* in its capacity to make transparent the presence of *Atua*. The same act is a *whakanoa i te mana o te Atua* with which the *whenua* was endowed in the ritual of dedication.

In the same way, those who ignore or reject the relationship of *whenua* with *tangata*, *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi* are opposing and obstructing *te mana o te whenua*. At the same time, they are opposing and obstructing *te mana o te tangata*, *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi*, who are *tangata whenua* or *hunga kāinga*.

Thus far, we have considered the act of *whakanoa* and its effects on the *tapu* and *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. If *whakanoa* is not addressed, the diminishing and restrictive effects will continue. We now look further at this continuing state of diminishment and of disempowerment which we call, *te noho noa*.

#### **6.4.0        *Te noho noa*—the continuing state of *noa***

*Te noho noa*, which we define as the continuing state of *noa*, needs to be understood in five ways. It needs to be understood, firstly, in its effects as such; secondly, in relation to *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*; thirdly, as the state of diminished *tapu*; fourthly, as the state of limited *mana*; and lastly as a state of ongoing restriction. We look at each of these elements.

##### **6.4.1        *Te noho noa* and its effects**

*Whakanoa*, as an act of violation, places perpetrators and victims in a state of *noa*, a state in which *tapu* is diminished and *mana* is blocked or impaired. Should this continue, an ongoing state must be considered.

In word usage—6.2.0, we included the phrase, *kua noa to tātou noho* (we are in a state of *noa*). Whenever this phrase is used, it indicates that a serious situation of *whakanoa* has occurred in the *whānau*, and is affecting the *whānau* in an ongoing way. Generally, the state of *noa* would refer to the effects resulting from a physical, moral or spiritual violation, or from a natural disaster such as a tsunami. In all cases, the result is an ongoing state which is crushing in its effects. An example of physical violation might be an assault; a moral or spiritual violation might be a sexual violation.

Let us look at some symptoms that may indicate that an individual or a *whānau* are in the state of *noa*. They may feel sick in the stomach and drained of energy. Even the *mana* of the *whānau* is weak to the point of being powerless. They do not know what to do next. They do not know where next to turn. They do not even know what to say to relieve the pain, the stress and the sense of helplessness. The only option may be to remain silent, until they can find the right words with which to address the situation and find a solution. This may sound melodramatic, but it is the case, sometimes, that *whakanoa* can be this severe, and its continuing effects can be devastating.

To know what the state of *noa* is and what are its effects—what are the tell-tale signs of *noa* and of how people can be affected—can be the first step towards its healing. This knowledge can shed light on some of the sad and tragic situations that affect many people today. For Māori, it is a valuable tool that can open up hope where none existed, and enable their rightful *mana* and *tapu* to be reclaimed.

#### 6.4.2 ***Te noho noa and its effects upon Atua, tangata and whenua***

*Te noho noa* is a continuing state of being of negative *noa*, in which the effects of *whakanoa* continue to impact adversely upon *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. Until they are addressed, the effects of *whakanoa* continue to diminish *tapu* and impair *mana*. It is only through active engagement in *hohou rongo*, and not simply through waiting for the passing of time, that such diminishment of *tapu* and *mana* can be restored. Their *whakawāteatanga* (setting free by lifting the state of *noa*) is achieved in accordance with the *kaupapa* and *tikanga* of *hohou rongo* (restoring of *tapu* and *mana*).

#### 6.4.3 ***Te noho noa is a state of diminished tapu***

First, we turn to *te tapu i te Atua* and *te tapu o te Atua*. *Te tapu i te Atua* cannot be diminished in any way by acts of *whakanoa* committed by *tangata*, and thus is not subject to the state of *noa*. On the other hand, *te tapu o te Atua* can be diminished and therefore subject to the state of *noa*. In other words, the relationship of *Atua* with *tangata* and *whenua* can be in a state of *noa* through the continuing effects of *whakanoa* by *tangata*.

In regard to *tangata*, *te tapu i te tangata* is diminished by acts of *whakanoa*. *Te noho noa o te tangata* means that the effects of *whakanoa* continue to adversely affect the well-being of *tangata* morally, emotionally, spiritually and physically.<sup>34</sup> It diminishes the well-being of the individual, of friends and associates, of *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi*.

Symptoms can include low morale, enflamed by a sense of shame or moral guilt. Tears, anger and tantrums can indicate emotional and mental stress. There can be spiritual emptiness and lethargy. *Atua* seems to be distant, faith is weak, and *karakia* is difficult.

---

<sup>34</sup> The Waitangi Tribunal's Ngati Awa Raupatu Report illustrates this in regard to Ngati Awa: "For Ngati Awa, the effects of the *raupatu* lingered psychologically as well as physically. Not only were they stripped of much of their lands and their leaders imprisoned, but they were forced to live with the stigma of being seen as 'tangata hara' or sinners.... Ngati Awa also lived with the insult of much of their lands being handed by the Crown to their traditional tribal rivals, and with the pain of some hapū leaving the Ngati Awa-Ngati Pūkeko confederation and realigning themselves with the Arawa canoe to escape the ignominy attached to being Ngati Awa." *Wai 46: Ngati Awa Raupatu Report*, 9.8.

The person can become physically drained, whilst sleep and rest are elusive. In some cases, the person becomes physically ill. These can be tell-tale signs of *te noho noa o te tangata* diminished in *te tapu i a ia* or in *te tapu i a rātou* (in his/her/their well-being).

*Te noho noa o te tangata* is the continuing state of diminishment of *te tapu o te tangata*. The effects of *whakanoa* continue to diminish the *tapu* of victim and perpetrator in their relationship with *Atua*, *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, with their friends and associates, and with *whenua*.

It also adversely affects those who have *whanaungatanga* or friendship ties. These people can personally suffer the pain and shame affecting the victim and/or perpetrator. Sometimes, a sign of *te noho noa* of *whānau* and friends is that they avoid the victim or the perpetrator. They tire of hearing the same sad story, and the same moans to which they have already been subjected on other occasions.

As a consequence of their links, and on account of *te noho noa* of victim and perpetrator, *whānau* and friends can also be put in the state of *noa*. They too can be diminished emotionally, mentally, spiritually and physically. *Te noho noa o te tangata* can also affect their relationship to *whenua*, whereby the state of *noa* affects them both. As a result of that state of *noa*, *tangata* can be restricted from visiting a particular place, such as the home of the victim or the perpetrator. At the same time, the place may be the poorer for the absence of these people. That can be an effect of *te noho noa o te tangata*, seen in the continuing effects of *whakanoa*, namely, the weak, fractured or severed relationships among *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

Third, *te noho noa* can apply to *te tapu i te whenua* and *te tapu o te whenua*. *Te tapu i te whenua* is in a state of *noa* when the *whenua* remains depleted of its life-producing and life-sustaining qualities. The continuing effects of *whakanoa* of the *whenua* may have been caused by a culpable act of *tangata* like pollution, or by an act of nature like flooding or earthquake. *Ka noa te tapu o te whenua* is when an act of *whakanoa* continues to adversely affect the *whenua* and those in relationship with the *whenua*. The effect is usually in the form of restricted access to the *whenua*. The scene of a fatal accident is subject to the state of *noa* for as long as *tapu* restrictions on the *whenua* are in place, until they are lifted.

*Te noho noa* can apply also to the restricted use of the *whenua*. Because *whānau* members do not have adequate resources, or training, or motivation, their land can sometimes be left undeveloped and unoccupied for long periods.

#### 6.4.4 ***Te noho noa is a state of limited mana***

First, we turn to *te mana i te Atua* and then to *te mana o te Atua*. *Te mana i te Atua* is one with *te tapu i te Atua* and is therefore unlimited, and is not subject to the state of *noa*. On the other hand, the exercise of *te mana o te Atua* can be opposed, limited or blocked by *tangata*. In this sense, it is subject to the state of *noa*. The continuing effect of *tangata* opposing and obstructing *te mana o te Atua* is that the operative power of *Atua* to enhance relationship with *tangata* and *whenua* is restricted. Also restricted is the empowering of *tangata* and *whenua* with *te mana o te Atua*. Without *te mana o te Atua*, the *mana* of *tangata* and the *mana* of *whenua* are impaired and are, thus, less effective for achieving goals in life.

Second, we consider how the state of *te noho noa* affects *te mana i te tangata* and *te mana o te tangata*. The effect of *whakanoa* is that it reduces the potentiality of *te mana i te tangata* to become operational. Whilst in the state of *noa*, the person's potentiality for power remains obstructed. Opportunities for his/her *mana* to become operational are diminished. With regard to *te mana o te tangata*, the implications of *te noho noa o te tangata* mean that *te mana o te tangata* remains impaired and ineffective. The power to *kōkiri* or to *tautoko* projects concerning the relationship of *tangata* with *Atua*, with other *tāngata* and with *whenua* is restricted.

Whilst they are in the state of *noa*, the *mana* of victim and perpetrator and of their respective *whānau* and associates remains limited. For them, the exercise of *mana whakahaere*, *mana kawē kaupapa*, *mana kawē i te riri*, *mana tuku* and *manaaki* continues to be obstructed and impaired.

Third, the effect of *te noho noa o te whenua* is that the potentiality of *te mana i te whenua* to become operational remains restricted. The state of *noa* imposes a continual obstruction on the effectiveness of the *mana o te whenua* to enhance and restore its relationship with *Atua*, with *tangata whenua*, or with *hunga kāinga*.

#### 6.4.5 *Te noho noa is a state of ongoing restriction*

From the fact that the state of *noa* is a continuing state of diminished *tapu* and restricted *mana*, one must draw the obvious conclusion that it is a state of restriction. Thus, *te noho noa o te tangata* is a continuing state of restriction. For *te hunga noho noa* (people in the state of *noa*), victims, perpetrators, their *whānau* and their associates, there are some restrictions as to where they can go, with whom they can associate, and what they can do. Mostly, these restrictions are self-imposed, out of their sense of guilt or of shame. In particular situations and in certain circles, they know they do not have the *mana* to effect things. Then again, some restrictions are imposed legally. *Te noho noa* is a continuing state of restriction because the effects of *whakanoa* continue to diminish and disempower them.

*Whenua* affected by the act of *whakanoa* becomes a *tapu* place, in the sense of restricted. Victims in the state of *noa* will avoid places where acts of *whakanoa* occurred or places associated with the perpetrator. To be in those places would only emphasise for them their state of *noa*, or diminish them even further.

People in the state of *noa* are restricted in their contact with other people. The victim and his/her *whānau* will avoid the perpetrator and his/her *whānau* and friends, and vice versa. Sometimes, people will not attend a function for fear of seeing the ‘other’ person or persons there. Some people will admit to crossing the street to avoid meeting a person towards whom they bear a grudge.

People in the state of *noa* are restricted in the activities they can engage in. If a *kaikaranga* is in a state of *noa* with regard to a particular *whānau*, she will feel unable to fulfill the role and will excuse herself from it. The same principle would apply to a *kaimihi*, or a *kaikarakia*. They may have to step aside. A person in the state of *noa* is not a good choice for the role of *kaihohou rongo* (peacemaker). Likewise, places, people and activities remain restricted until the restriction is lifted in a *ritenga* (ritual) of *whakawāteatanga*, or in the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo*.

We can now draw a clearer picture of the tragedy of *te noho noa*. First, *tāngata* become diminished—emotionally, spiritually, mentally and physically. Second, *tāngata* remain in a state of weakness and powerlessness to the extent that they do not have the *mana* to help themselves escape their state of *noa*. They remain in this state of

diminishment and weakness together with their *whānau* and all and everything associated with them. Third, since the effects of *whakanoa* continue to have impact on them, *whakanoa* can come to be seen as normal behaviour. For instance, violence becomes seen as normal behaviour and breeds further violence. If *mana* in the *whānau* is weak and impaired, the cycle of *whakanoa* will not be broken, nor will the state of *noa* be lifted. If the cycle is not broken and the state of *noa* is not lifted in the present generation, then the effects of *te noho noa* will pass on to diminish and weaken the next generation, even to succeeding generations. This is a tragic situation.

Now we turn to reflect on how *whakanoa* occurs when *tangata* abandons the principles of *pono*, *tika* and *aroa* in encounters with *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

## 6.5.0 *Whakanoa and the principles of pono, tika and aroha*

### 6.5.1 *Whakanoa and the principle of pono*

We begin with *whakanoa* and the principle of *pono*. The *kaupapa* (principle and basis) of *pono*, viewed from one perspective, is that *tangata* is enabled to perceive reality, truth, honesty and integrity more clearly. The *tikanga* is that *tangata* responds to reality with truth and integrity. To ignore *pono* or to act contrary to *pono*, such that something or someone is overlooked or ignored, constitutes an act of *whakanoa*. For example, at a wedding, the Master of Ceremonies rightly acknowledged the two principal lines of *whakapapa* of the groom. He also paid fitting tribute to the bride, but he omitted to acknowledge her second *whakapapa* line. The *hapū* concerned, who had travelled a great distance to be present, was offended by the omission. Even if it was unintended, it was an act of *whakanoa* and caused offence. Someone is not being *pono* who fails to address and acknowledge fully the *tapu* and *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

To fail to ascertain truth and respond to the promptings of *pono* can have dire consequences. Many people have been accused *i runga i te whakapae* (on the basis of suspicion) of offences they did not commit. In one or two cases, people have been imprisoned for murder, despite their vehement protestation of innocence. The failure to ascertain and to act according to *pono* can thus lead to tragic cases of *whakanoa*.

To propose and promote *kaupapa* that are not *pono*—for example, false advertising—is against the principle of *pono*. To seek to implement good and noble

*kaupapa* with *tikanga* that are not *pono* is to lack integrity and honesty. We lack integrity and honesty when we do not keep our word, or when we fail to play our rightful roles in *whānau*, in community and in business circles. These are acts of *whakanoa*. In the end, the *tapu* and *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*, are not addressed, enhanced and restored. The fullness of *tapu* and *mana* is not achieved.

#### 6.5.2 ***Whakanoa and the principle of tika***

*Whakanoa* is contrary to the principle of *tika*. To act contrary to *tika* is an act of *whakanoa*.

To fail to address, enhance, sustain and restore the *tapu* and *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* is not *tika*, and is therefore an act of *whakanoa*—whether it is a deliberate intention to ignore, or whether it is an oversight. Either way, it is an act of omission or neglect of duty. It is not *tika* to ignore the threefold relationship among *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. An act that ignores or diminishes this relationship diminishes those in relationship, and is an act of *whakanoa i te tapu o te Atua, o te tangata, o te whenua*.<sup>35</sup>

Both *kaupapa* and *tikanga* of an action or a project need to be *tika*, or *whakanoa* will be the consequence. To propose a *kaupapa* that will endanger or diminish *te tapu i te tangata*, *whānau*, *hapū*, or *iwi* is not *tika* and constitutes an act of *whakanoa*. A *kaupapa* may be *tika* but the *tikanga*, or process of implementation, may not be *tika*. The *kaupapa* of raising money for a *marae* project is a good one. It is *tika*. However, it is not *tika* to demand money from *whānau* to the extent that the *whānau* goes hungry or is not able to pay for other necessities. Both *kaupapa* and *tikanga* need to be *tika*, or *whakanoa* will be the consequence.

It is not *tika* to neglect the imposing, observing, and the right lifting of *tapu* restrictions. The neglect will lead to *whakanoa* of the *tapu* and *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. It is not *tika*, and therefore it is an act of *whakanoa*, to obstruct or diminish the *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* or *whenua*. For example, to neglect to observe *tapu* restrictions imposed at a place where a person has drowned is an act of *whakanoa* of the *mana* of those who imposed them.

---

<sup>35</sup> We identify as acts of *whakanoa* of *tangata*, *whenua* and *taonga*, what the Waitangi Tribunal states are breaches of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. We see such acts as contrary to the principle of *tika*, and contrary to Article II of The Treaty of Waitangi which assured Māori of their ‘*tino rangatiratanga*’ over themselves, their possessions, their culture and their way of life.



It is not *tika*, and indeed is a further violation, to leave *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* in the state of negative *noa* by declining to be a part of the process of *hohou rongo* (restoring of *tapu* and *mana*).<sup>36</sup> If one is able to make a contribution towards *hohou rongo* and does not to do so, then, *ka noho noa te katoa* (all remain in the state of negative *noa*). This is diminishing of the *tapu* and *mana* of all involved and is therefore an act of *whakanoa*.

### 6.5.3 ***Whakanoa and the principle of aroha***

Now we examine *whakanoa* and the principle of *aroa*. *Whakanoa* occurs when we ignore or oppose a *kaupapa* of *aroa*, when we fail to exercise *aroa*, and when the exercise of our *aroa* is not *pono* or *tika*.

*Whakanoa* occurs when we ignore or oppose a *kaupapa* of *aroa*. The *kaupapa* may be a specific one, but the general *kaupapa* is contained in the fact that *te tapu i te Atua*, *i te tangata*, *i te whenua* are worthy of *aroa*, and that *te tapu o te Atua*, *o te tangata*, *o te whenua* are enhancing and restorative for all those in relationship, and therefore, deserving of our *aroa*. When we ignore or oppose this call to *aroa*, we commit an act of *whakanoa*.

*Whakanoa* occurs when we fail to exercise *aroa*, as when we withhold affection and/or compassion from those who have a claim on our *aroa*. To withhold affection is to diminish *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* as objects worthy of our *aroa*, and to diminish ourselves as people capable of *aroa*. To withhold compassion is to condemn other *tāngata*, and animals, to continued suffering, diminishment and disempowerment, and to condemn ourselves as people incapable of compassion. It is also a *kaupapa* of *aroa* that we have compassion for ourselves in times of our own needs. By our failure to respond to *aroa* we commit acts of *whakanoa*.

Not only must the *kaupapa* be one of *aroa*, but the *tikanga* must also be exercised with *aroa*, otherwise there is *whakanoa*. We can violate and offend people when we seek to respond to *aroa*, but do not act with *aroa*. We do this when we fail to act with affection and compassion, or when the exercise of our *aroa* falls short of any effort of sacrifice and generosity.

---

<sup>36</sup> See Chapter Seven.

If we consider *pono*, *tika* and *aroa* together, we may say that, to act with *aroa* also means that our exercise of *aroa* needs to be tempered with *pono*; otherwise our *aroa* lacks reality and integrity. It needs to be tempered with *tika* as well; otherwise our *aroa* is misguided and misplaced. To exercise *aroa* that is neither *pono* nor *tika* will violate others. Instead of *aroa* being the principle of communion, it will be the cause of diminishment and fractured relationships.<sup>37</sup>

Now we move to examine *whakanoa* in relation to *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* and their roles.

### 6.6.0 *Whakanoa and the roles of kaiwhakakapi tūranga*

*Whakanoa* occurs when *tūranga* are not exercised, and when *kaiwhakakapi-turanga* are not prepared to assume their roles. *Tūranga* are not exercised when the roles of *kōkiri*, *tautoko* and *whakatara* are not being put into action. *Tapu* is not being addressed, enhanced or restored, and *mana* is not being exercised. This constitutes an act of *whakanoa*. This lack of action is contrary to the principles of *pono*, *tika* and *aroa*.

*Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* can be the cause of *whakanoa* in one of two ways. Firstly, they violate when they are not prepared to be *kaikōkiri*, *kaitautoko* or *kaiwhakatara* for the benefit of *tangata*, *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi*. In other words, they decline to exercise their *mana* on behalf of others, or they do not turn up to do so.

Secondly, they violate when they do act as *kaikōkiri*, *kaitautoko* or *kaiwhakatara*, but fail to do so according to the principles of *pono*, *tika* or *aroa*. In other words, they do exercise their *mana*, but do so in such a way that it constitutes a misuse or abuse of *mana*. For example, to address and acknowledge some *manuhiri* and not all, is not *tika* on the part of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*. To be present for some and not for other occasions when they are called to exercise their role is indicative of inconsistency or lack of integrity. In other words, a lack of *pono*. Failure to exercise *aroa* in their roles means always that there is *whakanoa*. Lack of affection or compassion can cut to the core.

---

<sup>37</sup> These reflections may have applications to some aspects of ecclesiology and to the theology of Christian marriage.

### 6.7.0 *Whakanoa and hohou rongo*

When *whakanoa* occurs, the diminishing and disempowering effects of *te noho noa* need to be addressed. The state of *noa* must not be allowed to continue or to remain the status quo. *Te noho noa* must be addressed. The diminishment of *tapu* must cease. *Mana* needs to be active and effective. The restoring of *tapu* and *mana* becomes the *kaupapa* that must be followed. Our next chapter on *Hohou rongo* will address in detail the response to *whakanoa*.

### 6.8.0 *Whakanoa and te wā*

Our final chapter will consider *te wā* (moments, stages and the goals in time) in terms of specific moments when *tapu* and *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* are manifested, addressed, enhanced, sustained and restored. At this point, we identify two points of engagement between *te wā* and *whakanoa*. First, *whakanoa* prevents or delays the attainment of *te wā*. Second, an important moment of *te wā* occurs when people, perpetrator and victim in particular, come face-to-face with the realisation that *whakanoa* must cease. At that point in time, the way forward is opened up. We now turn to *Hohou rongo* to consider the *kaupapa* (principle) and *tikanga* (process) by which *whakanoa* and its effects are addressed.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### *HOHOU RONGO*

#### (Restoring *Tapu* and *Mana*, Reconciliation)

##### 7.1.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we deal with the topic of *hohou rongo*.<sup>1</sup> There are five major headings. First, we examine word usage, considering the words *hohou* and *rongo*, and the phrase *hohou rongo*. Second, we offer a systematic definition of *hohou rongo*, followed by a detailed analysis of its component parts. This is the *kaupapa* (principle) of *hohou rongo*. Third, we examine the *tikanga* (process) of effecting *hohou rongo*, in which we propose six elements that contribute towards the achieving of *hohou rongo*. Fourth, we consider the situation obtaining once *hohou rongo* is achieved.

Now we move to reflect on the word, *hohou rongo*, its variations and usage.

---

<sup>1</sup> The theological theme of restorative justice has received much coverage of late, particularly in South Africa, but also here in Aotearoa-N.Z. The reader may be able to see many connections, but I would stress that the Māori understanding of *hohou rongo* predates this discussion. Further, this thesis proposes that the understanding and practice of *hohou rongo*, tried and tested in many Māori situations from pre-European times to the present, has much to contribute to the wider discussion. In the following cases, we acknowledge the *kaupapa* of *hohou rongo* and some of its elements. See, for example, the account of Tarutaru and Maruwhenua (at least four generations before the arrival of the Europeans) who sought wives instead of revenge, in Tate & Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 75. Second, *maungārongo* was achieved by Mohi Tāwhai following the battle of 'Te Wai o te Kauri.' See Tate & Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 18. See also L. M. Rogers, ed., *The Early Journals of Henry Williams: 1826-1840* (Christchurch, N.Z.: Pegasus, 1961), 309-310. Third, *Hui-te-Rangiora*, the Catholic Marae in Hamilton, was given its name by the Māori Queen, Te Arikiniui, Dame Te Atairangikāhu in 1966. The name was taken from a pre-Pākehā *whare hui* near the present town of Kihikihi. It was a place where those in disgrace, on account of misbehaviour, would gather to beg pardon and where they found their "*Rangiora*" (Day of Redemption). Fourth, following many retaliatory battles between Waikato and Ngāpuhi, *hohou rongo* was eventually sealed in 1823 through the marriage of Kati (brother of the first Māori king, Te Wherowhero) to Matire Toha (daughter of the Ngāpuhi chief, Rewa). See L. G. Kelly and Pei Te Hurinui, "Pōtatau Te Wherowhero," in *Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau: 1796-1869*, ed. W. H. Oliver (Ākarana, N.Z.: Allen & Unwin & Te Tari Taiwhenua 1990), vol. 1, 340-343, here 342. Hereafter cited as L.G. Kelly & Te Hurinui, *Te Wherowhero*. Fifth, see the account of the binding peace between Ngāpuhi and Arawa after the attack on Mokoia Island in 1823, in D. M. Stafford, *Te Arawa, a History of the Arawa People* (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 1965), 180. For some New Zealand discussion, see also Jim Consedine, *Restorative Justice: Healing the Effects of Crime* (Lyttleton, NZ: Ploughshares Publications, 1995); Jim Consedine, "The Third Millennium—Restorative Justice or More Crime and Prisons?" in *Ngai Tātou 2020: Indigenous Peoples & Justice: Tangata Whenua i Roto i te Tika*, ed. Edward Te Kohu Douglas and Mark Robertson-Shaw (Auckland: The F.I.R.S.T. Foundation—Tuatahi Ngā Kaitaunaki Rangahau, 1999), 57-64; B. A. Gray and P. Lauderdale, "The Great Circle of Justice: Restorative Justice Is Only Half of the Story," *Fourth World Journal* 6, no. 1 (2002): 77-93. (Permission to cite this article received from both authors, 2-3 Nov. 2007.)

## 7.2.0 Word usage

One of the meanings of *hohou* is ‘to bind.’ It can mean to bind what is damaged or broken. *Hohou* can also mean ‘to enter’ as in *hou mai*.<sup>2</sup> It could be that *hohou* is to enter the realm of *Rongo*, known in the creation story as the *atua kaitiaki* of peace.

*Rongo* has a number of meanings. As a verb, *rongo* means ‘to hear,’ or ‘to perceive with the senses.’ As a noun, it means ‘tidings, report, fame.’<sup>3</sup> In the phrase, *te rongo o te taua*, *rongo* means the ‘news of the war party.’<sup>4</sup> Missionaries combined *rongo* (news) and *pai* (good) to form *Te Rongo Pai*, the ‘Good News’ or the Gospel.

Of significance is the association of the word ‘*rongo*’ with the *atua kaitiaki* ‘*Rongo-mā-tāne*,’<sup>5</sup> in the Māori creation story. In this story, various responsibilities or spheres were assigned to the children of *Rangi* and *Papa*. To their offspring, *Rongo-mā-tāne*, were assigned the spheres of cultivated crops and of peace.<sup>6</sup> There seems to be good reasons for this assignation. If there was a commonly accepted time to cease from warfare, then it was during the planting and harvesting season. Further, if peace did not prevail during these times, then the warring parties would die from starvation, if not from the wounds of battle.

In *karakia* and in *whaikōrero*, the contrast was often made between *Rongo* and *Tū* (another *atua kaitiaki* responsible for warfare and for human affairs): “*Ko wai koe? Ko Tu, ko Rongo koe.*”<sup>7</sup> If *Tū* is the *atua kaitiaki* of war, then *Rongo* is the *atua kaitiaki* of peace. In the examples that follow we observe further contrasts between *Tū* and *Rongo*.

---

<sup>2</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 62-63.

<sup>3</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 346.

<sup>4</sup> It was sad news. *Te Rongo o te Taua* was the name given to the house of mourning built on Motukauri pā, near Motuti in Hokianga. It was built to acknowledge ‘the sad news of the war party’ following the death of some of the sons of Waimirangi who were killed in the battle at Waimimiha, Ahipara. See Tate & Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Rongo-mā-tāne* (sometimes shortened to *Rongo*) was the spiritual guardian (*atua kaitiaki*) with responsibility for the *kūmara*, and peace among human beings.

<sup>6</sup> Shirres, *Te Tangata*, 35.

<sup>7</sup> Marsden, *God, Man and Universe*, 125. Marsden translates: “Whose shall you be? You shall be dedicated to *Tu* (god of war), to *Rongo* (god of vegetation).”

*Ko te marae ātea i waho ko te marae o Tū. Ko te marae i roto nei, ko te marae o Rongo.*<sup>8</sup> [The *marae ātea* outside is the *marae* of Tū. The *marae* inside is the *marae* of Rongo.]

Sometimes, we hear a further explanation of this text, namely, that the *marae ātea* of Tū is the place for speakers to jump around, kick up dust, and be aggressive in their speech-making. As the *marae* of Tū, it is the space for war. On the other hand, within the *whare hui*, the *tikanga* is peace, because it is the realm of Rongo. In most tribal areas, if women speak formally, then they do so within the *marae* of Rongo and not on the *marae* of Tū.

There was an instance when a Māori woman made use of similar words to recall the links of Rongo to peace and of Tū to war. She had been reprimanded by a *kaumātua* for speaking in the *whare hui* before she had been given leave to do so. In a gentle manner and from a seated position, she responded to the *kaumātua* with these words,

“*Ko te marae ātea i waho ko te marae o Tū.*” [The *marae ātea* outside is the *marae* of Tū.]

but she added these words,

“*Ko te marae i roto nei ko te marae o Rongo rāua ko Roimata, arā, ko ahau ko te wahine.*” [The *marae* within the *whare* is the *marae* of Rongo and Roimata [tears], and I, the woman, represent them.]

The *kaumātua* raised his walking stick in a gesture of approval of this astute reply, thus lifting the restriction, restoring her *tapu* and her *mana*, thus enabling her to continue to speak.<sup>9</sup> It brought about peace between her and the *kaumātua*.

Mead also observes that the terms *rongo ā whare* and *rongo ā marae* suggest a peace negotiated in a *whare* (house), and a peace negotiated on the *marae* respectively.<sup>10</sup> Williams adds support to this example, when he calls *rongo* ‘peace after war.’<sup>11</sup>

For the purposes of this thesis, we will adopt the stance that the major meaning of *rongo* is ‘peace after conflict.’ This will be further qualified later

<sup>8</sup> A saying occasionally used in *mihi*.

<sup>9</sup> This event took place on the 4<sup>th</sup> May 1980. We choose not to mention the name of the *marae*.

<sup>10</sup> Mead, *Tikanga Māori*, 168.

<sup>11</sup> *Ka mau te rongo* (peace was made). He also refers to the phrases *rongo ā whare* (peace brought about by the mediation of a woman—here associated with the *whare hui*) and *rongo ā marae* (peace brought about by the mediation of a man). These phrases echo the remarks of the *kuia* (elderly woman) we referred to earlier, concerning *te marae o Tū* and *te marae o Rongo*. See Williams, *Dictionary*, 346.

in this chapter in relation to another word *rangimārie*, which also can be translated as ‘peace’ in the sense of ‘tranquility.’

We now turn from the word usage of *rongo* to that of the phrase *hohou rongo*. Both Williams<sup>12</sup> and Tregear<sup>13</sup> translate *hohou rongo* as ‘to make peace.’ *Houhou rongo* is referred to in *He Hīnātore ki te Ao Māori* as “the capacity to bring about a peaceful settlement over a conflict or an issue.”<sup>14</sup> Mead uses the term, *hohou rongo*, to describe the process of negotiating a peace agreement.<sup>15</sup>

‘*Houtia te rongo*,’ or ‘*houhia te rongo*,’ is a command or strong encouragement to people to ‘make peace and be reconciled.’

*Houhanga rongo* is a noun, which translates as ‘peace’ or ‘reconciliation.’<sup>16</sup> *Maungārongo* is another noun form. Literally, it signifies ‘the carrying, bringing or maintaining (*maunga*) of peace (*rongo*).’<sup>17</sup> ‘*Kia mau te rongo*’ (let peace abide) is used for the Gospel phrase ‘peace on earth.’ (Luke 2:14) This phrase, *kia mau te rongo*, is often used to begin a *whaikōrero* (speech) as “an expression of ‘peace and goodwill,’ and as such, serves to lessen tensions and to set a more conducive context within which to conduct matters of contention.”<sup>18</sup> *Kua mau te rongo* indicates that *rongo* (peace) is established and continues to prevail (*kua mau*).<sup>19</sup> According to Mead, “Such a peace might be called *rongomau*, a peace accord that is properly bound and lashed together.”<sup>20</sup> We will make use of this concept, *rongomau*, in our description of the state of positive *noa* which is the goal of *hohou rongo*, once the state of negative *noa* has been lifted.

<sup>12</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 62.

<sup>13</sup> E. Tregear, *The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* (Wellington, N.Z.: Lyon and Blair, 1891), 423. Hereafter cited as Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Dictionary*.

<sup>14</sup> Ministry of Justice, *He Hīnātore*, 157.

<sup>15</sup> Mead, *Tikanga Māori*, 167.

<sup>16</sup> The *whare hui* in Dargaville, Northland, is called *Houhanga*. The full name is *Houhangarongo*. The story told is that it is named after a historical peace-making event that was achieved between two chiefs who had been at war with each other.

<sup>17</sup> The *whare hui* in Ohākune, Central North Island, is called *Maungārongo*. In conversation with a *marae* member in December 2001, we learnt that the full name was ‘*Te Kīngi o te Maungārongo*,’ and was named after “Christ, the King of Peace.”

<sup>18</sup> Ministry of Justice, *He Hīnātore*, 168.

<sup>19</sup> Tate & Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 18. See also Mead, *Tikanga Māori*, 167.

<sup>20</sup> Mead, *Tikanga Māori*, 167.

Mead's overall description of *hohou rongo* is informative. He offers an explanation for the words, '*rongo*' and '*hohou*' before describing what *hohou rongo* is about:

The process of negotiating a peace agreement was called *hohou rongo*, to make peace. A state of peace achieved after a battle was called *rongo*, peace (Williams 1957:346). The word which clarifies the process is *hohou* and its primary meaning is to bind and lash together. This is the aim of negotiating a peace agreement that holds through time. The objective is to bind the parties together, to lash them together so that each side accepts a responsibility to uphold the agreement.<sup>21</sup>

With these reflections in mind, we move to our own systematic definition of *Hohou rongo*.

### 7.3.0 Definition of *hohou rongo*

***Hohou rongo* consists in the restoration of the *tapu* and *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*, diminished or impaired by *whakanoa*. It is the peaceful enjoyment of right relationships restored, with corresponding freedom from the state of negative *noa*, achieved by the exercise of *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*.**

We view *hohou rongo* from two perspectives; first, from the perspective of the *kaupapa* and second, from the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo*. The *kaupapa* expresses what *hohou rongo* is about, its purpose, its constitutive elements and how it stands in relation to other concepts. The *tikanga* is the process by which the *kaupapa* is approached, conducted and achieved.

*Hohou rongo* is directed towards the victim<sup>22</sup> and *whānau*, perpetrator and *whānau*, and all who are in the state of negative *noa*. This includes *Atua*,<sup>23</sup> *tangata* and *whenua*. It focuses on the restoration of the *tapu* and *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* following their diminishment by acts of *whakanoa*.

There are constitutive elements of *te kaupapa o te hohou rongo* that need to be highlighted. These include *whāki* (admission of acts of *whakanoa* committed or being endured), *pōuri* (sorrow and regret), *utu* (compensation),

---

<sup>21</sup> Mead, *Tikanga Māori*, 167.

<sup>22</sup> In this chapter we refer to 'victim' or 'perpetrator' in the singular. But it should be read as 'victim' or 'victims,' as 'perpetrator' or 'perpetrators,' because it is equally possible that there could be several victims, as well as several perpetrators of *whakanoa*.

<sup>23</sup> See our comments in 6.3.1.1 and 6.3.2.1



*whakawāteatanga* (the setting free), *rongo mau*,<sup>24</sup> and *kai tahi* (final sharing of a meal). *Pono*, *tika* and *aroa* are highlighted as principles of action that should accompany these elements.

*Hohou rongo* is clearly seen as necessary for people in the state of negative *noa*. *Hohou rongo* moves them towards the goal to be achieved, namely *rongomau*, the state of positive *noa* amongst all concerned, which includes their enhancement, empowerment and peace, and their freedom from restrictions and the diminishing effects of *te noho noa*.

In the second section, dealing with the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo*, we consider how *hohou rongo* can be achieved. We examine the process to be followed by *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*, including victim and *whānau*, and perpetrator and *whānau*, and others who are indirectly affected, and the application by all of the principles of *pono*, *tika* and *aroa* to the roles they are to play. We consider the implementation by *kaiwhakakapi tūranga mā* (all involved), of the elements of *hohou rongo* by which the *kaupapa* is eventually completed.

Now we move to examine and discuss each of the four points contained, explicitly or implicitly, in the definition.

### 7.3.1 ***Hohou rongo* consists in the restoration of *tapu* and *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* diminished or impaired by *whakanoa***

There are six parts to this section. First, we consider *hohou rongo* as the restoring of *te tapu i te Atua* and *te tapu o te Atua*. Second, *hohou rongo* is the restoring of *te tapu i te tangata* and *te tapu o te tangata*. Third, *hohou rongo* is the restoring of *te tapu i te whenua* and *te tapu o te whenua*. Fourth, *hohou rongo* is the restoring of *te mana i te Atua* and *te mana o te Atua*. Fifth, *hohou rongo* is the restoring of *te mana i te tangata* and *te mana o te tangata*. Sixth, *hohou rongo* is the restoring of *te mana i te whenua* and *te mana o te whenua*.

We begin with the first of these points.

---

<sup>24</sup> See 7.2.0: 202.

7.3.1.1 ***Hohou rongo consists in the restoration of te tapu i te Atua and te tapu o te Atua***

In the previous chapter dealing with *whakanoa*, we recalled that *te tapu i te Atua*, which is the very existence and intrinsic being that is *Atua*, is inviolable, and that there is no act of *whakanoa* by *tangata* that can diminish *te tapu i te Atua*. It follows that there is nothing *tangata* can do, or need do, to restore *te tapu i te Atua*.

From another perspective, *tangata* do make attempts to *whakanoa i te tapu i te Atua*, by denying or ignoring the existence of *Atua*, or by thoughts and words belittling, despising or even cursing *Atua*. In effect, *tangata* diminishes him/herself rather than *Atua*. In this case, it is *tangata* who has need of *hohou rongo* with *Atua*. This they can do by engaging in *te tikanga o te hohou rongo*, and by working through the various elements of the process. They can have recourse to *ritenga* and *karakia* to achieve *hohou rongo* with *Atua*. The turning of the mind and heart to acknowledge the existence of *Atua* and to give worship and praise are *tohu* (signs) of *hohou rongo* already begun. Peace comes with the right acknowledgement of the existence of *Atua*, the source of all *tapu*.

On the other hand, acts of *whakanoa* by *tangata* can diminish *te tapu o te Atua*, the very being of *Atua* present and discerned in creation. The *kaupapa* is clear. If the presence of *Atua* in creation is ignored, denied or belittled, *hohou rongo* is required, so that *te tapu o te Atua* is restored, by right acknowledgement of the creator-creation relationship between *Atua* and created beings. Conversely, violation of creation is a violation of *te tapu o te Atua*. *Hohou rongo* is required and the *tapu* of creation—of *tangata* and *whenua*—needs to be restored by *ritenga* and *karakia*, reconciling and reclaiming right relationship of creation with *Atua*. Peace comes with being in right relationship with *Atua*.

We move to the second point, *hohou rongo* and the *tapu* of *tangata*.

7.3.1.2      ***Hohou rongo consists in the restoration of te tapu i te tangata and te tapu o te tangata***

*Hohou rongo* is directed towards *te tangata noho noa* (people in the state of negative *noa*). It consists in the restoration of *te tapu i te tangata*, and *te tapu o te tangata*.

7.3.1.2.1      ***Hohou rongo consists in the restoration of te tapu i te tangata***

In the restoring of *te tapu i te tangata*, *hohou rongo* can bring about spiritual, psychological, emotional and even physical healing of victim and *whānau*, of perpetrator and *whānau*, of *hapū* and *iwi*, of other people affected, and of *whenua* and objects damaged by acts of *whakanoa*.

We begin with *whakaora wairua* (spiritual healing). *Hohou rongo* with *Atua* is the most effective pathway to spiritual healing of *tangata*. Here, the beginning of *hohou rongo* is the turning away from acts of *whakanoa* of *Atua*, such as ignoring, belittling and insulting *Atua*. Rekindling faith in *Atua*, reaching out to *Atua* in *ritenga* and *karakia*, trusting in the *aroa noa* (unconditional mercy) of *Atua*, and finding peace in right acknowledgement of *Atua*, can bring about spiritual healing. *Hohou rongo* with *Atua* can lead in turn to *hohou rongo* with other *tāngata*, and with *whenua*. Spiritual healing comes when *tāngata noho noa* (people in a state of *noa*) are able to find faith again in *Atua*, in other *tāngata* and in *whenua*, and are able to recover their appreciation of spiritual values. This is the *kaupapa* of *hohou rongo*.

Second, we consider some possible aspects of *whakaora hinengaro* (psychological and emotional healing). *Hohou rongo* can bring peace of mind to those who suffer from the psychological and emotional effects of *whakanoa*, whether they be victim or perpetrator. In the elements of *hohou rongo* is the potential to bring about *whakaora hinengaro*. Within *whāki*, *pōuri*, *utu* and *whakawāteatanga* is the potential that can enable victim and perpetrator—and their respective *whānau*—to confront each other and the act of *whakanoa*. There is also potential to lift the burden of guilt, shame and mental pain, to assure, and be assured, that there would be no further violation, and to feel free to move on in life. This is the *kaupapa* of *hohou rongo*.

Third, we look at some aspects of *whakaora tinana* (physical healing). Physical assaults, rape, robbery and domestic violence all inflict physical

injuries on the victim. These acts indirectly affect others apart from the obvious victim or victims. The *kaupapa* of *hohou rongō* is that attention is given to their physical healing. As we will see, it is a matter of *tika* and, thus, it must be integral to the right consideration of *utu*, that whoever inflicts the injury is responsible for the recovery of the injured party or parties.

*Hohou rongō* can assist in other ways in the overall physical healing of the victim. For instance, spiritual healing can help with the physical healing of victim and *whānau*. Finding peace with *Atua*, with other people, even with one's own *whānau*, and with the perpetrator and *whānau* through *hohou rongō* can give some respite from the diminishing and debilitating effects of *whakanoa*. *Karakia* can bring spiritual strength which, in turn, can motivate the mind and give energy to the body. Psychological and emotional healing can also assist in physical healing. Physical healing and well-being can, in their turn, assist in spiritual, psychological and emotional healing of the injured party. It can be spiritually, psychologically and emotionally uplifting when a person feels physically well. The healing of one part of the person can contribute to the healing of the whole person, and of *whānau*.

On the other hand, there are some cases where spiritual, psychological, emotional and physical harm is deep-rooted, and appears irreparable. With regard to physical harm, we are referring to cases such as road accidents, where people are seriously injured or crippled by negligent drivers. Another example is that of some home invasion incidents, where a member of the household is left permanently maimed. *Tangata* does not have the *mana* to bring healing to people with these types of permanent physical injuries. With regard to emotional harm, *hohou rongō*, on condition that there is no further act of violation in the process, can be one step along a long road of healing towards a state of well-being, whereby wholesome and life-giving relationships with *Atua* and *tangata* are rebuilt and enjoyed.

In all these situations, one must have faith in *te mana o te Atua* to bring healing in some other form to those affected, and to bring spiritual support for those who care for them. We do come across people who are able to find some level of spiritual and psychological healing, whereby they do rise above their disabilities to be creative, active and fulfilled people.

We turn to the last aspect of *hohou rongo* in relation to *te tapu i te tangata*. Regrettably, in the case of seeking *hohou rongo* for *whakanoa i te mauri o te tangata* (the *whakanoa* of the life principle of the person), there is no physical healing, because this act of *whakanoa* has caused the death of another, of others, or of the person him/herself. It is beyond *te mana o te tangata* to bring to life someone who has died. *Tangata* can only trust in *te mana o te Atua* to bring healing to the dead and fulfilment for that person or persons. Behind this trust lies the belief that *Atua* can heal even here, because *Atua* is not just *te tīmatanga* (the beginning) but also *te whakatutukitanga mō te hunga mate* (the fulfilment for the dead).

This brings to a close our reflections on *hohou rongo* and the restoring of *te tapu i te tangata* through spiritual, psychological, emotional and physical healing. Now we move to consider *hohou rongo* and *te tapu o te tangata*.

#### 7.3.1.2.2 ***Hohou rongo* consists in the restoration of *te tapu o te tangata***

The act of *whakanoa* diminishes or severs relationships between *tangata* and *Atua*, between *tangata* and other *tāngata*, and between *tangata* and *whenua*. The effect of *te noho noa o te tangata* is that fractured relationships continue to diminish and to disempower those in relationship. The *kaupapa* of *hohou rongo* is that fractured relationships, and their ongoing effects, need to be mended. This is what we mean by restoring *te tapu o te tangata*. When there was *raruraru* (trouble) in the community, Dame Whina Cooper used to say: “*He tawhā kei waenganui i a tātou, kia horo te mahi*” (There is a rift in our midst, make haste to mend it.)<sup>25</sup>

#### 7.3.1.2.3 ***Hohou rongo* consists in the restoration of right relationships between *tangata* and *Atua***

In considering *hohou rongo* between *tangata* and *Atua* and the restoration of *te tapu o te tangata*, we are thinking of the victim and *whānau*, the perpetrator and *whānau*, and of those who are indirectly affected.

We turn first to the victim and *whānau* in their fractured relationship with *Atua*. Being the victim of *whakanoa*, and therefore being diminished and disempowered, the victim and *whānau* may need the assistance of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*, such as *kaikarakia*, to help them mend their

<sup>25</sup> Dame Whina often used these words during her retirement years in Panguru in the 1980s.

relationship with *Atua*. Turning to *Atua* in *karakia*, expressing *pōuri* for their own acts of *whakanoa*, renewing their faith in *te mana o te Atua*, trusting in *te aroha noa o te Atua* (the unconditional love of God), are means by which they can rekindle right relationship with *Atua*. Linking with *Atua*, sharing in the *tapu* and *mana* of *Atua* are ways of restoring the *tapu* of victim and *whānau*. In these ways, victim and *whānau* can be better prepared to initiate or cooperate in the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo* with the perpetrator and *whānau*, and with other *tāngata* affected by the act of *whakanoa*.

Next we turn to the perpetrator and *whānau* in their fractured relationship with *Atua*. It is common to find the relationship quite tenuous, if not totally fractured, between the perpetrator, who may be troubled by a bad conscience, and *Atua*. *Hohou rongo* with *Atua* is needed to bring an end to blaming *Atua* for acts of *whakanoa* committed by the perpetrator, who may not have faced up to, or has even denied, his/her actions of *whakanoa*. By the guidance, support and *karakia* of *whānau* and other *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*, and by observing the elements of *hohou rongo*, the *tawhā* (rift) between the perpetrator and *Atua* can be bridged.

The perpetrator can be brought back into relationship with a compassionate *Atua*. Hopefully, the perpetrator may come quickly to the realisation that the journey to restoring *tōna tapu* (his/her own *tapu*) begins with being in right relationship with *Atua*. He/she can take refuge in *te tapu o te Atua*, and have recourse to the healing *mana o te Atua* for him/herself, for the victim and *whānau*, his/her own *whānau* and for others.

The goal is that victim and *whānau*, and the perpetrator and *whānau* may see the wider picture. To find *hohou rongo* with *Atua* and to restore *te tapu o rātou* (their own *tapu*), they need to find *hohou rongo* with each other and with other *tāngata* who may be in the state of *noa*, as a consequence of the perpetrator's act of *whakanoa*.

#### 7.3.1.2.4 ***Hohou rongo* consists in the restoration of right relationships between *tangata* and *tangata***

Now we consider the restoring of *te tapu o te tangata* in the mending of fractured relationships between *tangata* and *tangata* (between person and person, people and people).

We look at three possible cases. First is that of victim and *whānau*. There may be a need for *hohou rongo* between victim and members of his/her own *whānau*, before they look to approaching the perpetrator and *whānau*, and others.

Sometimes, *hohou rongo* is necessary for the immediate *whānau* of the victim among themselves, because *whakanoa* may have already created a *tawhā* among them, or because members of the *whānau* have not faced up to the fact that *whakanoa* has occurred, and that they are all in the state of *noa*. This should be done with the help of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* from within their own midst.

Similarly, if there is a rift in the perpetrator *whānau*, the rift should be attended to by the *whānau* before they approach the victim and *whānau*. If suitably skilled *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* are not available in their immediate *whānau*, they need to look to the wider *whānau*.

With *hohou rongo* achieved within their own respective *whānau*, the next stage is for the encounter between the victim and *whānau* and the perpetrator and *whānau* to take place, in the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo*. The *kaupapa* of *hohou rongo* is that the restoring of right relationships between the two *whānau* should bring about the restoring of their *tapu* and *mana*, and peace and freedom from the restrictive state of *te noho noa*.

Our second possible case applies to all people who suffer in any way from broken relationships, and who have the need to reconnect with friends, *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi*. The same *kaupapa* applies to them. Right understanding of this *kaupapa* is urgent these days. Marriage break-ups have a traumatic effect on husbands and wives and, particularly, on their children. It also affects each of their *whānau* and their friends. When relationships between young people end on the rocks, they are often not able to cope with these multiple stresses of separation. Hence, right understanding of the *kaupapa* of *hohou rongo* and the practical and honest approach to each of the elements in the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo*, are absolutely necessary to help people through these painful situations. *Hohou rongo* may require that some changes be made to the *status quo* of relationships. That the rift is mended, and people are friends rather than enemies, is *hohou rongo* already at work.

Values, *taonga*, *tikanga*, *reo*, spirituality, and reputation of people are part of *te tapu o te tangata*. The belittling, denigration and/or misappropriation of these are acts of *whakanoa* of the *tapu* of people. The principle of *hohou rongo* for restoring *te tapu o te tangata* applies to the restoring of these values to their rightful status and relationship with *tangata*, *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. If *taonga* are stolen, they need to be returned to the rightful persons. When these values and *taonga* are restored, their right relationship is restored, and so also is *te tapu o te tangata* as well as *te tapu o ngā taonga*.

#### 7.3.1.2.5 ***Hohou rongo* consists in the restoration of right relationships between *tangata* and *whenua***

The third possible case of *hohou rongo* and the restoration of *te tapu o te tangata* concerns the mending of fractured relationships between *tangata* and *whenua*.

*Whakanoa i te tangata* (violation of people), generally, occurs *i runga i te whenua* (on the land) or is concerned with the *whenua*. An example is helpful here. There was an encounter between two groups of people, *ko te whenua te take* (it concerned *whenua*). *Tapu* restrictions were verbally and vehemently placed by one group—on access over a block of *whenua*—even though legal access had already been granted through the Māori Land Court. In effect, such *tapu* restrictions invoked by one group, would prevent the other group from reaching their own *whenua* and conducting a project on it.

The placing of the restrictions in our example was an act of *whakanoa i te tapu o te tangata* and *te tapu o te whenua*, in that it severed the right relationship between one group of people and the *whenua* they had a legal right to be on. It also severed the right relationship between the two groups of people. Later, efforts were made to bring about *hohou rongo*, but they were not immediately successful.

What is significant in this particular case is that *hohou rongo* was eventually achieved when the two groups returned to the *whenua* concerned. It was there that the *tapu* restrictions were publicly lifted. The *tapu* of the two groups of people and of the *whenua* was restored. In this example, *hohou rongo*, in regard to fractured relationship involving *whenua*, resulted in the restoration both of *te tapu o te tangata* and, at the same time, of *te tapu o te whenua*.



Having viewed these points thus far, we can say that the restoration of *te tapu o te tangata* can begin by restoring right relationship in any of the threefold relationships that *tangata* has with *Atua*, with other *tāngata* and/or with *whenua*. For *hohou rongo* to be fully achieved, however, all three forms of relationships need to be restored. Each shares in the *tapu* of the other two. Each is thus enhanced when the *tapu* of others is enhanced, and each is diminished when the others are diminished. If the state of *noa* affects one, it also affects the others.

*Tangata* cannot be truly restored with other *tāngata* if the act of *whakanoa* still affects *whenua*. *Tangata* cannot be truly restored in relationship with *Atua* if *tangata* is still not at peace with other *tāngata*. There are several starting points, but the goal is the same. *Hohou rongo* with *Atua* is rightly proposed as the highest form of reconciliation. But it is not *hohou rongo* if being at peace with *Atua* is used as an excuse to avoid *hohou rongo* with other *tāngata* and with *whenua*.

Now we turn to the third point of our definition.

#### 7.3.1.3 ***Hohou rongo consists in the restoration of te tapu i te whenua and te tapu o te whenua***

*Hohou rongo* is required when *te tapu i te whenua* has been defiled, polluted and over-exploited to the extent that the *whenua* struggles to sustain and nourish itself, let alone those that live off the land. It is in a serious state of *noa* when *te tapu i te whenua* is so polluted and toxic that it threatens *te tapu i te tangata* with illnesses and even death. Restoring *te tapu i te whenua* requires that immediate steps be taken to rectify bad management or exploitation by *tangata* over the *whenua*. This may involve cleaning up pollution, sewage and toxic waste, clearing debris from flooded lands, planting trees to prevent further landslides, clearing and widening the rivers to stop further flooding, and in war-torn countries, clearing the land mines. The *kaupapa* of *hohou rongo* in relation to *te tapu i te whenua* is that *tangata* gives full attention to wise management and conservation measures, to facilitate the restoring of the well-being of *whenua*.

Now we move to consider the restoring of *te tapu o te whenua*. This involves the restoration of *te tapu o te whenua* in its relation firstly, with *Atua*, and secondly, with *tangata*. We consider each case.

**7.3.1.3.1      *Hohou rongo* consists in the restoration of *te tapu o te whenua* with *Atua***

*Ina whakanoangia te tapu o te whenua, kua whakanoangia te tapu o te Atua* (when the *tapu* of the *whenua* is violated, so also is the *tapu* of *Atua*.) The relationship between creation and Creator is diminished if creation—and here we speak more specifically of *whenua* and all that live on it—is violated. *Hohou rongo* needs to be initiated when *whenua* dedicated to *Atua* as sacred sites, burial places, or as church and pilgrimage sites, is desecrated. *Hohou rongo* rituals of *whakawātea* (freeing the site from *whakanoa*) and *karakia whakatapu* (rededication) restore right relationships between *whenua* and *Atua*. Restoring *te tapu o te whenua* is, at the same time, restoring *te tapu o te Atua*.

**7.3.1.3.2      *Hohou rongo* consists in the restoration of right relationships between *whenua* and *tangata***

Second, we reflect on the restoring of *te tapu o te whenua* in its relation with *tangata*. *Te tapu o te whenua* is diminished when the relationship of *whenua* with *tangata* is severed, weakened or belittled. An example will illustrate this point. In 1985, the Manukau tribes brought a case before the Waitangi Tribunal, seeking redress for the loss of most of their lands, including their villages and sacred places, as a result of land confiscated by the Crown in 1863.<sup>26</sup> As a result of these actions, there was *whakanoa*. There followed the need to pursue and achieve *hohou rongo* to restore the *tapu* of all those involved—the Crown, *iwi* and *whenua*; otherwise they would all remain in a diminished and restricted state of *noa*.

In response, the Tribunal made a number of recommendations with reference to the *whenua* and to the restoring of its links with the Manukau tribes. It emphasised that special consideration be given to the people of the Makaurau, Pukaki and Te Puea Marae, by way of compensation to these *marae* for land now lost to them, and that support be provided to assist them in particular land-related projects such as the restoring and maintaining of sacred sites and

---

<sup>26</sup> Wai 8: *Manukau Claim*, 1.

burial places. The last words of the Tribunal in this case are encouraging in terms of *hohou rongo*: “Past wrongs can be put right, in a practical way, and it is not too late to begin again.”<sup>27</sup>

As seen in this example, the Waitangi Tribunal can be a most useful instrument in facilitating restoration of right relationships between the *whenua* and *iwi*, between the *whenua* and the Crown, and consequently, between the Crown and respective *iwi*.

This completes our reflections on *hohou rongo* and *tapu*. We examined the relation between *hohou rongo* and the restoration of the *tapu* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. Now we move to reflect on *hohou rongo* and the restoring of the *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

One effect of *whakanoa* is that the *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* is suppressed at its very roots, to prevent it becoming the active spiritual power and authority it ought to be. The other effect is that the *mana* of *Atua*, *tangata* or *whenua* is blocked, impaired or usurped to prevent it becoming effective in the relationship encounters among them.

The *kaupapa* of *hohou rongo* is that *mana* blocked, impaired or usurped by *whakanoa* is restored and rekindled so that it becomes active and effective again. This fourth part examines *hohou rongo* and *te mana i te Atua* and *te mana o te Atua*.

#### 7.3.1.4 ***Hohou rongo consists in the restoring of te mana i te Atua and te mana o te Atua***

The intrinsic being of *Atua* cannot be blocked, or violated. Nor is it possible for *tangata* to diminish, oppose or violate *te mana i te Atua* since *te mana i te Atua* is limitless power in actuality with no further potentiality for power. It follows that *hohou rongo* by *tangata* is neither possible nor required to restore *te mana i te Atua*.

Unlike *te mana i te Atua*, *te mana o te Atua* is necessarily limited by reason of the limited nature of the created world. Thus, it is possible for *tangata* to oppose, to render *noa*, to limit, obstruct and render ineffective *te mana o te*

---

<sup>27</sup> Wai 8: *Manukau Claim*, 10. Recommendations, 15.

*Atua*. Therefore, *hohou rongo* with *Atua*—restoring relationship links of *Atua* with *tangata* and with creation—is necessary to enable *te mana o te Atua* to be effective. Furthermore, *tangata* can cooperate in, rather than block, the creative power of *Atua*, which not only sustains and enhances but also restores *mana*.

We now turn to our fifth point, *hohou rongo* and the restoring of *te mana i te tangata* and *te mana o te tangata*.

#### 7.3.1.5 ***Hohou rongo* consists in the restoring of *te mana i te tangata* and *te mana o te tangata***

Since *te mana i te tangata* is rooted in *te tapu i te tangata*, it is necessary to restore *te tapu i te tangata*, if we are to restore *te mana i te tangata*. This means that focus is placed on restoring the spiritual, psychological, emotional, physical, and thus, the total well-being *o ia tangata, o te whānau, o te hapū, o te iwi*. The greater their well-being, the greater is their potentiality for operative and effective power. Where *whakanoa* has occurred and *tāngata* are in the state of *noa*, *hohou rongo* is essential for the restoring of *te mana i te tangata*.

The *kaupapa* of *hohou rongo* is to restore *te mana o te tangata* of those in the state of *noa* and whose *mana* has been blocked or impaired through *whakanoa*. Thus, *hohou rongo* is directed towards victims and perpetrators of *whakanoa* and to their respective *whānau, hapū, iwi* and associates. We are mindful of the fact that to restore *te mana o te tangata* it is first necessary to restore *te tapu o te tangata*. Right relationship with *Atua*, with other *tāngata* and with *whenua* needs to be restored if people are to have the *mana* to act in matters that relate to them.

*Hohou rongo* not only restores *mana* as the effective power to act in matters of relationship among *Atua, tangata* and *whenua*, it also provides the opportunity for people to earn *mana*, or regain *mana*, as authority, prestige and status in the eyes of the *whānau, hapū, iwi*, other *iwi* and of the nation. To restore *te mana o ia tangata* is, at the same time, to restore *te mana o te whānau, o te hapū, o te iwi*.

Now we move to the sixth point, *hohou rongo* and the restoring of *te mana i te whenua* and *te mana o te whenua*.

**7.3.1.6 *Hohou rongo* consists in the restoring of *te mana i te whenua* and *te mana o te whenua***

The restoration of *te mana i te whenua* requires restoration of *te tapu i te whenua*, since *te mana i te whenua* derives from *te tapu i te whenua*. The focus of *ia tangata*, of the *whānau*, of the *hapū*, of the *iwi*, of the nation, and of the world, must be on restoring the *whenua*. This includes also the *awa*, *roto* and *moana* that cleanse the *whenua*. The healthier the state of the *whenua*, the greater is its potential (*te mana i te whenua*) to restore itself and to provide well-being for everything that dwells on the *whenua*, including *tangata*.

Restoring *te mana o te whenua* is an aspect of the *kaupapa* of *hohou rongo*. In order to achieve this goal, *te tapu o te whenua* needs to be restored. Thus, the links of the *whenua* with *Atua* and with *tangata*, including *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* need to be restored, if *te mana o te whenua* is to be restored. If *whenua* dedicated to *Atua* has been desecrated, *hohou rongo* can be achieved by *ritenga whakawātea* (ritual to lift the *whakanoa*) and *ritenga whakatapu* (ritual of rededication). This will restore *te mana o te whenua tapu* (sacred ground), which is endowed further with *te mana o te Atua* through links restored in the *ritenga whakatapu*. As a consequence, *te mana o te whenua* becomes more effective in restoring, establishing and reflecting links between *tangata* and *Atua*.

*Te mana o te whenua* is also restored when *whenua* is rightly returned to, or linked with *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. In that situation, the *whenua* is endowed with *te mana o te whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* because the *whenua* embodies the common links shared by *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. With relationships restored and reclaimed, more effective is *te mana o te whenua* to provide identity to its people, to link *whānau* with *whānau*, and to confirm *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* as *hunga kāinga* and *tangata whenua*.

Now we turn our attention to the second point of our definition.

### 7.3.2 *Hohou rongo* consists in the peaceful enjoyment of right relationships restored

First, we consider the aspect of peace.

We have advanced the view in our word usage—7.2.0, that *rongo* is not only related to the idea of peace: it *is* peace, and specifically, peace after conflict. A second word often used for ‘peace’ is *rangimārie*, which Williams describes as an adjective, meaning ‘quiet, peaceful.’<sup>28</sup> In 1820, Kendall has the following entry: ‘Rāngi mādīe; A still atmosphere; peaceful.’<sup>29</sup>

Current usage also assigns to it a noun form: *Kia tau te rangimārie* (let there be peace) is a phrase often used to pacify people upset about an issue. The liturgical greeting *Kia tau te rangimārie ki a koutou* (Peace be with you)<sup>30</sup> is also a current usage. Also, *kaiwhakamārie* (pacifier) is a particular *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* who is capable of bringing about peace in difficult situations.

If *rongo* is ‘peace after conflict,’ and if, in the context of this thesis, *hohou rongo* achieves peace after *whakanoa*, then *rangimārie* is what follows *rongo*. It is the positive fruit that results from successful completion of the ‘binding in peace’ which has taken place in the process of *hohou rongo*.

We can describe *rangimārie* as a *state of peace and tranquility* within a person, among people, between people and *Atua*, and between people and creation. We agree with the sentiment expressed in this phrase: *Ko te rangimārie te taonga e rapua nuitia nei e te hinengaro tangata* (peace is the treasure that is greatly sought after by the human heart). The human heart craves and searches constantly, sometimes in wrong places and in misguided pursuits, for the state of peace and tranquility. We can go a step further and say that *tangata* seeks after the full and total possession of peace.

However, the fact of life is that, in the present world in which we live, *rangimārie* is fragile and short-lived, at the best of times. *Rangimārie* is soon disturbed, shattered or lost by *whakanoa*. The state of peace and tranquility is supplanted by a state of anxiety, or stress, unrest, ill will, illness, weakness

<sup>28</sup> Williams, *Dictionary*, 342.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Kendall and Dr. Samuel Lee, *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1820), 200.

<sup>30</sup> See Jn 20:19.

and, at times, powerlessness. In other words, the state of peace and tranquility gives way to the state of negative *noa*, and as long as this state of *noa* remains, the state of peace remains a pipedream. It is in the lifting of the state of negative *noa* that *hohou rongo* and *rangimārie* encounter each other. *Hohou rongo* is the means by which *rangimārie* can be regained, following the act of *whakanoa*.

When *hohou rongo* is rightly conducted and successfully concluded, people find peace in *whakaaro* (thought) and *hinengaro* (mind and emotion). *Kua unuhia te hē me te whakamā* (they have unloaded their guilt and shame). When people abide by the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo*, there is peace in the sense that there is no more anxiety, stress or fear of further *whakanoa*. *Hohou rongo* thus enables perpetrator, victim and their respective *whānau* to find peace, restore peace and maintain peace within themselves and among themselves.

Second, we consider the aspect of right relationships restored.

Restricted access to *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*, with corresponding loss of aspects of the relationship, is one of the principal causes of diminishment and disempowerment. When people regain freedom through *hohou rongo*, they are more at peace with *Atua*. Right relationships are restored. Personal *karakia* to *Atua*, which may once have been a struggle and distracted with anxiety, shame, guilt and bitterness, becomes a little easier and may be even enjoyable. *Rangimārie* returns.

Ease in the presence of *Atua* makes it easier to be in the presence of people, and vice versa. When right relationships with other *tāngata* have been restored and there is freedom of engagement, it is easier to be in their presence. With the freedom to rejoin *whānau* and community and to be involved in *whānau* and community activities, *rangimārie* returns.

Greater is the sense of peace in the relationship of people with *Atua* and with *tangata* when they are in right relationship with *whenua*. *Whakanoa* can restrict the movement of people in a particular place. *Hohou rongo* lifts the restriction to enable freedom of movement *i runga i te whenua* (over the land), and to be engaged again with *hunga kāinga* and with *tangata whenua*.

When right relationship with *Atua* is restored through *hohou rongo*, *tangata* can share in *te mana o te Atua*. Similarly, when right relationship with other *tāngata* and with *whānau* is restored, a person is empowered to act with *te mana o ētahi atu* and with *te mana o te whānau*, hitherto withdrawn or restricted. To be in restored right relationship with *whenua*, with *hunga kāinga* and/or *tangata whenua*, provides the opportunity and ability to act with *te mana o te whenua*.

If *te mana o te tangata* remains blocked or impaired because right relationships have not been mended, then the *mana* of *tangata* to achieve *hohou rongo* is also impaired. On the other hand, with right relationships restored, *te mana o te tangata* is also restored. We reiterate this point of our definition—*hohou rongo* consists in the peaceful enjoyment of right relationships restored. Now we move to the third point.

### 7.3.3 ***Hohou rongo* consists in the corresponding freedom from the state of negative *noa***

Before we examine the state of positive *noa*, which is the state of freedom envisaged in *hohou rongo*, we make some comments on the state of negative *noa* and the need for *hohou rongo*.

*Ka noho noa tonu te tangata* (people remain in a continual state of negative *noa*) for a number of reasons. The pain and anguish they feel from the act of *whakanoa* may be hurting so much, that they are psychologically and emotionally unable to confront the issue. They may avoid encounters with those involved, because they may be afraid of verbal or physical abuse from them, or of fear of *whānau*, or of legal repercussions. Sometimes their personal pride is an obstacle. They may not have confidence in the skills of particular *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*. They may not have sufficient knowledge and understanding of the *kaupapa*, and thus of the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo*. In their state of *noa*, they may not be able to imagine what the restoring of their *tapu* and *mana* might be like, what it might bring to them, or the peace they might find in restored relationships.

Then again, some may refuse to engage in *hohou rongo* because, through being in a state of denial or through an active choice, they will not accept responsibility or admit guilt for any particular act of *whakanoa*. In this



situation, victim and perpetrator and their respective *whānau* are still in the state of negative *noa*. Healing does not occur, relationships remain severed, and *mana* to achieve their goals remains impaired. Restrictions, as to where they can go, what they can do and what company they can keep, still apply and form a barrier to open relationships with *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. There is no peace of mind. *Rangimārie* is elusive.

In some cases, *hohou rongo* appears to be impossible. The *mana* of *tangata* is not able to move the minds and hearts of those who are stubborn, spiteful or revengeful in the direction of *hohou rongo*. Those who had hoped for *hohou rongo* and were denied it, must continue to have faith in the *mana* of *Atua* to touch people during their various experiences in life and move them towards *hohou rongo*, *a te wā* (in due course). *Atua* is the source and fullness of all *tapu* and *mana*. The goal of *te mana o te Atua* is that all *tapu* and *mana* are addressed, enhanced and restored, and reach their fullness.

As difficult or as hopeless as it may seem, the obligation, according to *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*, remains for *te hunga noho noa* (persons in the state of negative *noa*) to seek after *hohou rongo*.

In contrast, there are numerous occasions when positive steps are taken towards *hohou rongo*, the parties all respond, and *hohou rongo* is happily achieved. When it is achieved, we may hear the phrase, *kua noa tō tātou noho* (we are in a state of *noa*).

To hear this phrase used at the completion of *hohou rongo*, considering it was probably used at the beginning as well, may be confusing. In fact, it does have a different meaning, and it is another state of *noa*. We now move to consider the relationship of *hohou rongo* to this other state of *noa*.

As we have intimated above, the phrase *kua noa tō tātou noho* has a further meaning beyond that of living in a state of diminished *tapu*, impaired *mana* and with prohibited or restricted access to *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. Quite commonly, the phrase is heard when the formalities of the *pōwhiri* have been completed on the *marae*. The *kaumātua* of *hunga kāinga* would say “*kua hikina te tapu i waenganui i a tātou; kua noa tō tātou noho*” (The *tapu* restrictions between us have been lifted; we are now in a state of freedom).

What is immediately obvious, following the *pōwhiri*, is that people then have the freedom to move around and mingle with others, even to the point of being free to go to work in the kitchen, or to be told to do so. This freedom is a consequence of *te tapu i te tangata* and *te tapu o te tangata*, of both *manuhiri* and *hunga kāinga*, having been rightly addressed, acknowledged and enhanced, and the danger of *whakanoa* from either side having been removed. This is a positive state of being. This is what we call the state of *noa* in a positive sense, or positive *noa*.

What is important here is that *te noho noa*, in the situation of *hohou rongō* now achieved, is the same state of positive *noa*. The state of positive *noa* is the state of freedom from restrictions and from the danger of further *whakanoa*. The *tapu* of the *whānau* has been addressed, acknowledged and thus restored. Their *mana* has been restored, and right relationships have been rekindled. They are now better able to engage in relationship with *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*, and share in their *tapu* and *mana*. Restored relationships and freedom from *whakanoa* allow people to be at peace within themselves and with those around them. Thus, we can say that *hohou rongō* is the doorway to peace.

Now we turn our attention to the principles that are foundational to the *kaupapa*, and integral to the *tikanga*, of *hohou rongō*, namely, *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*. Throughout this section, reference is made to the various *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* involved in the *tikanga* of *hohou rongō*, and who need to be guided by these principles.

#### 7.3.4 ***Hohou rongō is achieved by the exercise of pono, tika and aroha***

##### 7.3.4.1 ***Hohou rongō is achieved by the exercise of pono***

With the enlightenment of *pono*, people can recognise that acts of *whakanoa* have occurred, that those affected are in the state of *noa*, and that *hohou rongō* is required for restoring their *tapu* and *mana*. It is also *pono*, the reality, that victim and perpetrator can be so diminished and disempowered, that they are not able to face up to, let alone bring about, *hohou rongō* without the assistance of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* from within or from outside of their immediate *whānau*.

*Pono* is crucial to the conducting and implementing of the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo*. Often it is the victim, or the victim's *whānau*, who may initiate *hohou rongo* in order to confront the fact of *whakanoa* and the perpetrator of it.

Victim and *whānau* must be *pono* in revealing the particular act of *whakanoa* and in identifying the perpetrator. The perpetrator and their *whānau* must be *pono* in admitting to, and in accepting responsibility for, the act of *whakanoa*. Denial is not an option. *Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* need to be *pono* and have integrity in the exercise of their role as they set about to discover *te mea pono* (the truth).

If the truth cannot be found, *hohou rongo* cannot be achieved. For example, one particular attempt at *hohou rongo* did not reach a resolution because no one of either *whānau*, or the police, could provide an integral piece of information in response to the question: Did the young man who was killed on the motorway choose to cross the motorway, or did he do so to escape his attackers? Without that piece of information, the process of *hohou rongo* could not be brought to a successful conclusion.

When *hohou rongo* is concluded and resolutions have been reached, then perpetrator, victim and their *whānau* must be *pono* in abiding by them, otherwise *hohou rongo* is not achieved. In that case, the consequence is that perpetrator, victim and their *whānau* are still in the state of negative *noa*. We can see here that *pono* has value as a monitoring factor to ensure that resolutions are followed through and implemented. If *hohou rongo* is not achieved at the first attempt, those involved need to be *pono*, and accept the fact that other stages may still need to be put in place and completed. The effort, though, will not be in vain, providing there are no further acts of *whakanoa* whilst the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo* is conducted.

#### 7.3.4.2 ***Hohou rongo* is achieved by the exercise of *tika***

The *kaupapa* of *tika* includes right acknowledgement, right order, and right response. *Hohou rongo* is *tika*, meaning it is, first of all, the appropriate and right response to make with regards to those who are diminished and disempowered by *whakanoa*.

It is *tika* to restore *te tapu i a rātou*, namely, of victim, perpetrator, and their *whānau* through *hohou rongo*, so they can attain spiritual, psychological, emotional and physical healing and well-being. It is *tika* to restore *te tapu o rātou*, by mending fractured relationships among them, with other *tāngata*, between them and *Atua*, and with *whenua*—thus serving right order in all these relationships. It is *tika* that their *mana* is restored so they can be stronger against *whakanoa* in the future, and be empowered to maintain the effects of *hohou rongo* achieved.

It is in the interests of *tika*, considered as right and appropriate response, that victim, perpetrator and their *whānau* participate actively in the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo*, difficult and painful as it may be, so as to attain healing, well-being and peace for themselves and for others. It is *tika* that all abide by the resolutions of the *hohou rongo*, and especially with regard to *utu* (compensation). It is *tika* that *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* rightly exercise their *mana* and take up the roles of *kaikōkiri*, *kaitautoko* or *kaiwhakatara* in order to facilitate *hohou rongo*. It is not *tika* to leave people in the state of negative *noa*.

#### 7.3.4.3 ***Hohou rongo is achieved by the exercise of aroha***

We reflect now on the third principle, namely, *aroha*. We need to note immediately that *aroha* assumes that both *pono* and *tika* have been exercised as well.

The *kaupapa* of *hohou rongo* is to appeal to the sense of *aroha* (compassion, sympathy) of victim, perpetrator, their immediate and the wider *whānau*, fragile as it might be, in order to facilitate the restoring of their *tapu* and *mana*. Sometimes, it is out of compassion for the victim him/herself that the perpetrator seeks *hohou rongo*. This can be described as *aroha ki te tapu i te tangata*—*aroha* for the person him/herself. On the other hand, it can be out of compassion for the *whānau* of the victim, for *mātua* or *tūpuna*, rather than for the victim's sake. This is an example of *aroha ki te tapu o te tangata*, *aroha* for those others in relationship.

If the response of *aroha* is *pono*, it can spare the victim much anguish. For example, if the perpetrator exercises *aroha* for the victim by timely and honest

(and thus *pono*) *whāki* (admission) of *whakanoa*, it is already healing for the victim and *whānau*.

Likewise, the response of *aroha* helps the process of *hohou rongō*, if this *aroha* is expressed in words of *pōuri* (sorrow and regret), and if it is seen in the generosity of *utu*, and in the effort the perpetrator makes to ensure that *whakanoa* genuinely has ceased in this case, and that it will not occur again.

It is a measure of *aroha pono* (true *aroha*) of a *whānau* when they recognise and acknowledge that their perpetrator son or daughter is addicted to violating behaviour (alcohol, drugs, violence, sexual abuse), and respond by putting in place restrictions and by seeing that these restrictions are honoured.

At times, it is the victim who initiates *hohou rongō*. The victim may make the first move out of compassion for the perpetrator, or out of *aroha* for *mātua* or *tūpuna* of the perpetrator. The outcome of *hohou rongō* and the fate of the perpetrator can depend, to a large extent, on the *aroha* (compassion and mercy) of the victim and *whānau*. The acceptance of the perpetrator's expression of *pōuri*, together with the offer and amount of *utu*, and with the assurance of rehabilitation, can hinge largely on the *aroha* of the victim and *whānau*. On the part of the victim and *whānau*, the measure of their *aroha* can extend to unconditional *whakawāteatanga* (forgiveness) of the perpetrator, and to total or partial *whakawāteatanga* from *utu*.

There is a place in *hohou rongō* for a further expression of *aroha*, namely, *aroha mōna anō* (*aroha* for self). Victim, perpetrator and their *whānau* can have *aroha* for themselves in their diminished and restricted state of *noa*, and this *aroha* can motivate them to seek *hohou rongō*, and so to find wellness for themselves.

*Aroha* (compassion, sympathy, even affection) can also be the motivating principle for *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* to exercise their roles as *kaikōkiri*, *kaitautoko* or *kaiwhakatara* in order to help bring about healing, well-being and peace for victim and perpetrator and their respective *whānau*. The measure of their *aroha* can be seen in the generous sacrifice of time, energy and resources that *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* are prepared, or required, to put into facilitating *hohou rongō*.

The immediate goal of *hohou rongo* is to rekindle the *aroha* of compassion between victim and perpetrator and their *whānau* to enable the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo* to proceed and, hopefully, to succeed. The ultimate goal is to restore or enkindle the *aroha* of affection of victim and perpetrator and their *whānau* for each other. This may not be immediately achievable, but it must remain a possibility. The evidence of compassionate and forgiving *aroha* is seen when victim and perpetrator and their *whānau* are able to move on in their lives—from the diminished and restricted state of negative *noa*—to the state of well-being, peace and freedom.

*Hohou rongo* achieved can be of particular value to perpetrator, victim and their respective *whānau*, when they can reclaim faith in, and live by, the principles of *pono*, *tika* and *aroha* that had been clouded or lost as a consequence of *whakanoa*.

In this section, we reflected on the principles of *pono*, *tika* and *aroha* and their place in the *kaupapa* and *tikanga* of *hohou rongo*. We now move on to consider the *tikanga* itself.

#### **7.4.0      *Te tikanga o te hohou rongo* (The process of conducting and achieving *hohou rongo*)**

There are four parts we need to consider in relation to *te tikanga o te hohou rongo*.<sup>31</sup> The first is that of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*. The second is the format, which is the form the *hohou rongo* will take. The third concerns the venue where the process of *hohou rongo* is to be conducted. The fourth encompasses the elements by which *hohou rongo* is achieved. We begin with the first.

##### **7.4.1      The roles of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* in conducting *te tikanga o te hohou rongo***

Here, we consider *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* and their roles in the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo*. There are various *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* required for the conducting of the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo*. The traditional *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* in the usual *marae* setting, such as *kaikaranga*, *kaimihi*, *kaiwaiata*

---

<sup>31</sup> This process of *hohou rongo* applies to situations and cases relating to individuals or to communities. Legal situations and cases like Family Group Conferences, Restorative Justice and Waitangi Tribunal Claims have their own protocols. These are not covered in this chapter, but the elements that we propose for *te tikanga o te hohou rongo* should be part of all cases, and they need to be addressed satisfactorily if the goal of *hohou rongo* is to be truly achieved.

and *kaikarakia*, are included among the *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* in *te tikanga o te hohou rongō*.

To these we add the *kaihohou rongō* (initiator of *hohou rongō*) and the *kaiwhakamārie* (peacemaker or pacifier) and the *kaiwhakatara* (stirrer). The role of the *kaihohou rongō* is to direct the *hui* and to ensure the process is conducted according to the principles of *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*. In some cases, there is a *kaiwhakamārie*. This person can play a significant role in that he/she is quick to promote patience and peace at difficult times during the process. The *kaiwhakamārie* acts as *kaitautoko* for the *kaihohou rongō*. As such, he/she acts on the spot when tempers flare and when situations threaten to get out of control.

We have already noted that the *kaiwhakatara* can play an important role in the more formal situations of the *marae*. He/she also has a particularly valuable role in the process of *hohou rongō*. This person, sometimes called the “devil’s advocate” or “stirrer,” has the challenging role of drawing forth the truth—regarding a particular act of *whakanoa*—and of identifying perpetrator and victim, if they are not already known.

Victim and perpetrator and their *whānau* are *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* as well. Though their *tapu* and *mana* are diminished and impaired, their contribution is essential if *hohou rongō* is to be achieved. They may act as *kaikōkiri*, *kaitautoko* or *kaiwhakatara* in the process.

We have identified the principal *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* required for *hohou rongō* and their roles. Sometimes, *hohou rongō* is not achieved, either because the various *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* are not available, for whatever reason, to play these different roles, or because they do not have the skills for the task.

What are the skills required for *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* to implement their roles correctly and successfully? In the first place, they need to have sufficient knowledge for their tasks. The more they know about the concepts of *tapu* and *mana*, the principles of *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*, the effects of *whakanoa*, the need for *hohou rongō*, and the achievement of it, and its relation to *te wā* (stages of time), then the better equipped they will be for their roles. They should all have some basic knowledge of *marae tikanga*, *te reo* (Māori

language), the general *whakapapa* of the *whānau* concerned and *whānau* dynamics.

In the second place, they need to acquire as many practical skills as possible to bring to their task. Particular skills may vary from one *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* to another. Whatever the skills may be, *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* need to be guided in the exercise of their roles by the principles of *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*. If they fail to do so, they will not achieve the goal of *hohou rongo*. They might even exacerbate further the state of negative *noa* affecting victim, perpetrator and their *whānau*.

The reality is that *hohou rongo* is not always achieved. Sometimes, the problem is with the process. To gain a better understanding of the process and how it should be conducted, let us move to the second part of the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo*, the format.

#### 7.4.2            **The format for conducting *te tikanga o te hohou rongo***

In terms of our second element, the format, there are two possibilities. The first format is that *hohou rongo* can be conducted on an informal basis. This may be between one individual and another, or between a family group and another. Sometimes, it is possible for individuals to address *whakanoa* and its effects and find healing on a person-to-person basis. In one scenario, for instance, the perpetrator approaches the victim, admits his/her offence, apologises for it and receives forgiveness from the victim. The forgiveness may be sealed by a handshake, an embrace, a *hongi* or by an offering of compensation made by the guilty party. In another scenario, the victim wants peace and makes the approach to the perpetrator. The victim accuses him/her of an offence. The guilty one admits the offence and apologises to the victim. The victim forgives, and the guilty one offers compensation. In this way, they quickly bring about peace and reconciliation for themselves and for their *whānau*. There are always opportunities for *whānau* and friends to use this form of *hohou rongo* to restore their *tapu* and *mana*, reclaim good relationships and rekindle peace among themselves.

The second format is more formal. It indicates that the *whakanoa* was a serious matter and that it needs to be addressed in a more public forum. It



generally involves *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi*. In this case, there are protocols and rituals to be observed, beginning with the venue.

#### 7.4.3 The venue for conducting *te tikanga o te hohou rongō*

Venue is an important aspect. The victim *whānau* may nominate the venue, which may be a home, a hall, or a *marae*. Since they are the aggrieved party, the victim *whānau* has the first right to select a venue where they will feel safe and free from the possibility of intimidation and further *whakanoa*. If the perpetrator nominates the venue, then it must be acceptable to the victim and *whānau*. It may be the perpetrator *whānau marae*, or the *marae* of the victim *whānau*, or a neutral *marae*. The place selected will determine who the *hunga kāinga* is for the *hui*, the *tikanga* to be followed, and who will fulfil the roles of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*.

The *tikanga* can be informal or formal. The *whakatau* (informal welcome) would include just a *mihi* of welcome and a response. On the other hand, the *pōwhiri* is formal, and would require right implementation of *tikanga* by various *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* on both sides. Whether it is *whakatau* or *pōwhiri*, right observance of *tikanga* ensures that respect is accorded, that *tapu* restrictions are properly lifted to enable right encounter, and that the dignity of all people present is acknowledged and honoured.

There may be one variation to the *tikanga* of the *pōwhiri*. It concerns the *hongi* (the ritual touching of noses), which follows the speeches of welcome and reply. On account of the seriousness of the issue, or the very personal pain of the victim, it may be deemed inappropriate for the victim to *hongi*, at this early stage, with the perpetrator and his/her immediate *whānau*. The requirement for the *hongi* can be met in another way, namely, that some, rather than all, of the extended victim *whānau* engage in the *hongi*. Provided an announcement is made to that effect, and provided that approval is signaled by the gathering, the *hunga kāinga* would not be offended.

An example may help clarify the issue. In one case of *hohou rongō*, the *manuhiri*—victim group included the mother of a young man who died following an altercation with some youths of the *hunga kāinga* group. In her pained and emotional state, the mother could not bring herself to *hongi* with

the *hunga kāinga*, or with their youth. However, the rest of her *whānau* proceeded with the *hongī*. For several reasons, this case did not reach a successful conclusion. Had it concluded successfully, then at that point, when the parties were spiritually, psychologically and emotionally ready for the physical contact of the *hongī*, it would have been appropriate for the mother of the victim and the ‘accused perpetrators’ and their *whānau* to *hongī*.<sup>32</sup>

We turn now to our fourth and final section of our analysis of *te tikanga o te hohou rongo*, namely, that of the individual elements that can or should make up the process.

#### 7.4.4 **The elements of *te tikanga o te hohou rongo***

The *tikanga* comprises six elements, to be carried out in consecutive order. Each element needs to be satisfactorily addressed before moving to the next one. It is the role of the various *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* of both groups to ensure each element is addressed, begun, carried through and completed. If no progress is made beyond a particular element, the process of *hohou rongo* ends at that stage. The parties can work on the difficulties and differences, there and then, to come up with a solution, or they can choose to end the *tikanga* and resume at some later date.

Behind this lies the certainty: *hohou rongo* is not achieved simply by the parties taking time out. They need to put further stages in place and complete them to allow the process to resume.

Let us presume the *tikanga* will proceed. The six elements which we consider to be essential in the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo* are: *whāki*, *pōuri*, *utu*, *whakawātea*, *te rongo mau*, and *te kai tahi*.

##### 7.4.4.1 ***Te whāki***

*Whāki* is to confess, admit to or disclose. *Whāki* is the first element. Someone has to confess, admit to or disclose that *whakanoa* occurred, that there is a perpetrator and there is a victim. In one scenario, the perpetrator admits there was an act of *whakanoa*, identifies the victim and accepts personal responsibility for what has happened. In a second scenario, the victim

---

<sup>32</sup> In this particular case, *hohou rongo* was not achieved. The mother did not attend the *kai* but sent her *whānau* to join the others.

discloses there was an act of *whakanoa* and identifies the perpetrator. There is a third scenario. The *whānau* or associates of one or the other does the *whāki*.

At this stage of the process, the role of the various *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* including victim, perpetrator and their *whānau*, is to ensure these facts are raised, vigorously debated, clearly proven and accepted by all as *pono*. If there is no *whāki* by the perpetrator, by the victim, and by their *whānau* or associates, then there is no case to proceed with. If the act of *whakanoa* cannot be proven by the victim, or the perpetrator cannot be identified with certainty, the process comes to an end. If, on the other hand, *whakanoa* is proven or admitted, or if the victim is identified and the perpetrator admits to the act of *whakanoa*, then this element is satisfactorily addressed, and attention can move to the next element.

#### 7.4.4.2 *Te pouri*

The second element is *pōuri*. *Pōuri* means darkness, but it also means sorrow, sadness and distress. We take the second meaning, namely, sorrow, sadness and distress, though we do not deny a link with darkness. For the one who is sorrowful, sad and distressed everything seems to be in darkness.

Following the *whāki* stage, the perpetrator expresses *pōuri* towards the victim and victim's *whānau* for the act of *whakanoa* committed, and for the sad state of *noa* to which they had been condemned.

The perpetrator may also express *pōuri* towards his/her particular *whānau*. If the expression of *pōuri* is *pono*, then the perpetrator resolves that it will not happen again and that he/she offers to make amends for the damage done. It is then up to the victim and *whānau* whether to accept or decline the expression of *pōuri* from the perpetrator and *whānau*. They may accept it if they believe it is *pono*; otherwise, they may decline it, or even suspend it until the matter of *utu* is discussed. If they decline it, then the process goes no further. If they suspend, rather than decline their acceptance, then the next step is to wait for the offer of the *utu*. This is because the sincerity of the expression of *pōuri* can often be gauged by the commensurate or generous nature of the offer of *utu*.

#### 7.4.4.3 *Te utu*

The third element is *Utu*. *Utu* can mean equal payment—along the lines of “life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth,” as suggested in Deuteronomy 19:21. Though it was common practice in pre-European times for Māori to seek *utu* by avenging death for death, it did not always end that way.<sup>33</sup> Sometimes, to rectify a wrong and restore honour, it was sufficient for parties to engage in battle to the point of blood-letting, but not necessarily to the point of death.<sup>34</sup>

In the wider sense, *utu* means more than compensation or revenge.<sup>35</sup> It can also mean the cost, price, reward or ransom. “*Utu* was concerned with the maintenance of relationships and balance in Māori society.”<sup>36</sup> *Utu* refers to righting imbalance. If someone takes a pair of shoes from the shop, he/she must leave something behind, namely, the money for the shoes. *Utu* is the cost. It is the means by which the imbalance is righted between the one who loses possession and the other who gains possession of the shoes. In the context of *hohou rongo*, the *kaupapa* is that the perpetrator must right the imbalance and restore right order if he/she has diminished and disempowered the victim by an act of *whakanoa*. The perpetrator must do what is necessary to restore, enhance and empower the victim.

*Utu* can take various forms. These days a common form of *utu* is monetary compensation for stolen property destroyed, unsold or not recoverable. It may be the offer of other goods as well. In other forms, some may offer their labour to repair damage done; others may do voluntary work for the victim and *whānau*, or for an organisation nominated by them. A person may offer his/her resignation from a position held in the community.

---

<sup>33</sup> According to Re Te Tai, Maruwhenua and Tarutaru discussed avenging the death of their father, grandfather and others who had been killed in battle at Pūreirei (Waihou, North Hokianga). Tarutaru interjected and suggested they seek wives instead. It ended that way. This story is set in pre-European times but it is related and recorded in 1903. See Tate & Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 75. H. A. Tate, “*Utu—to Restore Honour*,” *The Common Good* 19 (2001): 6-8.

<sup>34</sup> “Thereupon, Te Ngaropo and Muriwhenua fought each other, and that dispelled the ill will of Te Whitu.” (writer’s translation). There is no suggestion in the original Māori text that Te Ngaropo or Muriwhenua died in that fight. See Tate & Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 48.

<sup>35</sup> Ministry of Justice, *He Hīnātore*, 67. “*Utu* has frequently been cited as revenge but that is only one aspect of *utu*. *Utu* was also a reciprocation of kind deeds from one person to another.”

<sup>36</sup> See Anne Salmond, *Hui: A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings* (Auckland, N.Z.: Heinemann Reed, 1976), 12. Salmond says, “*Utu* was a human way of protecting mana and it operated on the principle that for every slight on a person’s mana equal return should be taken.”

A sound policy is that, if the offending was by *kōrero* (word), then the *utu* should be in *kōrero*. If the *whakanoa* was by action, then the *utu* should be in action. If the *whakanoa* was one of neglect or omission of right action then the perpetrator should do the right deed for those who were neglected.

It is up to the victim *whānau* to consider the offer of *utu*. It is their prerogative to accept the *utu* being offered, to commute it to some other form, to reject it on the grounds that it is not sufficient, or not to accept it.

It has happened that the victim and *whānau* accept the *utu* and then return it. In this situation, the *mana* of the perpetrator and *whānau* to give the *utu* is acknowledged, whilst the *mana whakahoki* (*mana* to return) exercised by the victim and *whānau* is applauded as a *tohu rangatira* (a chiefly act). Such a gesture is an indication of good will and of desire for the healing and the restoring of *tapu* and *mana* of both *whānau*.

If the *utu* offered by the perpetrator and *whānau* is acceptable, then the *kaikōrero* for the victim *whānau* rises and formally accepts the offer and, with it, the apology.

There is another possibility, involving the associated concept of *muru*. *Muru* was also a means of redress for *whakanoa* or injustice. “It involved the taking of personal property as compensation for an offence against an individual, community or society.”<sup>37</sup> The perpetrator and *whānau* would accept that a wrong has been done and that the victim and *whānau* have the right to take some personal property from them to restore the balance. This is an example of the restorative aspect of *muru*. It cannot, however, be used in a manner that is excessive and that serves to create further imbalances.

We have seen that *utu* is offered by the perpetrator and *whānau*. It is for the victim to accept or refuse or commute the *utu*. By contrast, in the case of *muru*, it is the victim and *whānau* who name the form of compensation and demand that it be given. They simply impose their demand upon perpetrator and *whānau*. They can even take possession of it. The perpetrator and *whānau* must accept the demand as it is made of them, if they want to attain *hohou*

---

<sup>37</sup> Ministry of Justice, *He Hīnātore*, 75.

*rongo*.<sup>38</sup> Obviously, it would be better for them to consider making *utu* before the possible action of *murū*.

In the case of the offer of *utu*, if the offer is accepted, then both parties are free to proceed to the next stage. If, however, the offer is not accepted, then progress is halted. The two *whānau* are left to negotiate further until they reach a satisfactory agreement. Otherwise, the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo* is suspended.

In the alternative case, where the victim and *whānau* decide upon *murū* and make their claim—and it is accepted—then the pathway is likewise opened. In both cases, once agreement has been reached, the parties can proceed to the next element, that of *whakawātea*.

#### 7.4.4.4 *Te whakawātea*

*Whakawātea* is the fourth element of *te tikanga o te hohou rongo*. It means to set someone or something free from any restriction applying to a task, place or time. *Whakawātea* is thus the stage for the setting free of the victim and his/her *whānau* from the diminishing and restrictive state of *noa*. It is, at the same time, the setting free of the perpetrator and his/her *whānau* from the act of *whakanoa*, and from the effects it had on the victim and his/her *whānau*.

*Whakawātea* is exercised on the grounds that the elements of the *tikanga* of *hohou rongo* have been met to the satisfaction of all. *Whakawāteatanga* is expressed and acknowledged in *mihi* from both parties, and accompanied by *waiata*, and sometimes by a gentle *tangi* of relief. Then *karakia whakapai* (thanksgiving) and *karakia whakawātea* (prayers of release) are led by a *kaikarakia*. Here are five lines of a longer *karakia* sometimes used for this stage in the *hohou rongo* process:

*Waea te noa i a koe, waea te hau i runga i a koe, waea te taurekarekatanga i a koe, Ko te mumu, ko te awaha, tenei ka horo. Ka horo te hau otaota i runga i a koe.*<sup>39</sup> [Clear away the noa from you, clear away the spirit which is upon you, clear away from you the state of being a slave. The storm rages. This clears it. The force upon you that makes you rubbish is cleared off.]

<sup>38</sup> In our present-day context, *murū* has developed the opposite meaning of forgiving or being forgiven, as, for example, when Christian Māori of other denominations use the phrase, *E te Ariki, murua o mātou hara* (Lord, forgive us our trespasses). It was for the above reasons that Catholic Māori preferred not to use the word *murū* as a translation for ‘forgive us our trespasses’ in the Lord’s Prayer.

<sup>39</sup> Shortland, "NZMS 2: 28-59." Shortland, "NZMS 15: 130-132."

Following the *karakia whakawātea*, encouragement is given to both victim and perpetrator and their *whānau*, to let go of the past and to face the future with a sense of freedom. The *whakawāteatanga* is then sealed with the *hongi* between the two groups, and particularly between the perpetrator and victim.

#### 7.4.4.5 *Te rongomau*

The fifth element is *te rongomau*. Providing the two parties have *pono* in their responses to each of the elements, and have integrity of intention to observe the conditions, *hohou rongo* is now achieved. The focus then shifts to ensuring continuation of the peace achieved by *hohou rongo*. This is called *te rongomau* (*rongo*—peace; *mau*—secured) or *maungārongo*. This describes the state of positive *noa*, that follows *hohou rongo*, and in which one experiences *rangimārie*, the sense of peace and tranquility that accompanies the achievement of *rongomau*.

In times past, there were examples of arranged or political marriages of persons of some standing within their respective *iwi* in order to secure *hohou rongo*. Another example was the giving of valued *taonga* for the same purpose.<sup>40</sup> In these times, the securing of *rongo mau* may be in the symbolic giving of gifts, of valued heirlooms, of food, of services and other forms of continuing good will.

#### 7.4.4.6 *Te kai tahi*

The sixth and final element in *te tikanga o te hohou rongo*, is *te kai tahi* (sharing a meal). The offering of the meal is an exercise of *mana manaaki* (power and honour of providing hospitality) on the part of the *hunga kāinga* and a tribute to the *manuhiri*. The sharing in the meal is the final act of lifting the *tapu* restrictions that have kept the two parties on different paths, up till now.

In pre-European times, some or all of the six elements we have named were part of the *hohou rongo* process. In those days, the *rangatira* (chiefs and leaders) would call their people together or discuss with those around them the important issues affecting the *whānau*, *hapū* and *whenua*. *Hohou rongo* was

---

<sup>40</sup> See Mead, *Tikanga Māori*, 169-77, for examples and case studies of peace agreements symbolised in political marriages and the giving of valued heirlooms.

one of those important issues.<sup>41</sup> If *whāki* was not made explicitly, the admission of guilt and wrongdoing may have been signified in action rather than in words. Similarly, if *pōuri* was not obviously expressed, it may have been implicit in the particular offering of *utu*, or in an extraordinary effort that might have been made to restore and maintain peace between warring *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi*. The marriage of Matire Toha and Kati is one such example of extraordinary effort made to ensure that *hohou rongo* was maintained.<sup>42</sup>

There are numerous occasions when *hohou rongo* is not pursued, or not achieved. At this stage, things come to a halt. However, such a situation is just that—a stage. As a general principle, *hohou rongo* not achieved means *hohou rongo* postponed. There are other stages that will have to be put in place for *hohou rongo* to be achieved. This insight provides us with the opportunity to relate *hohou rongo* to the subject of the final chapter of our thesis, *Te Wā*.

### 7.5.0 *Hohou rongo and te wā*

Here we note simply that *hohou rongo* is achieved when stages or a series of stages towards that goal have been put in place by the requisite *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*, and have been completed. The *tapu* and *mana* of those in the state of negative *noa* are thereby restored, right relationships are recovered, *pono*, *tika* and *aroha* again govern their actions, peace is rekindled, and freedom from the diminishing and restrictive effects of the state of *noa* is celebrated with joy.

This is the moment of *te wā*. For those in the state of negative *noa*, without *hohou rongo*, *te wā* cannot be achieved. So now we turn to the final chapter and to the topic of *Te Wā*.

<sup>41</sup> According to D.M.Stafford, the *hohou rongo* after the assault on Mokoia by Ngāpuhi in 1823 took place outside Tama-te-Kapua before Ngāpuhi returned north. See Stafford, 174-188.

<sup>42</sup> See Footnote 1, example 4. Following the defeat of Waikato at Matakītaki at the foot of Pirongia Mountain in May 1822, peace between Ngāpuhi and Waikato was sealed when Matire Toha, daughter of Rewa of Ngāpuhi, was escorted to Waikato to be the wife of Kati (also known as Takiwaru), kinsman of the Māori King, Te Wherowhero. See Te Hurinui, *King Potatau*, 148. Here, Te Hurinui describes Takiwaru or Kati as Te Wherowhero's younger brother—hence the significance of the marriage for sealing *hohou rongo*. He identifies Matire as the daughter of Toka. In two other sources, she is called Matire Toha, the daughter of Rewa, a prominent Ngāpuhi chief. See A. Ballara, "Turikatuku," in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: 1769-1869*, ed. W. H. Oliver (Wellington, N.Z.: Allen & Unwin, & The Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1990), vol. 1, 558-559. See also L. G. Kelly & Te Hurinui, "Te Wherowhero," 340-343.



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### *TE WĀ*

#### 8.1.0 Introduction

We now consider *Te Wā*, or the issue of Time, Stages, Goal and Fulfilment. *Te wā* in a general sense means ‘time,’ ‘stages in time,’ or ‘goal.’ However *te wā* has many other associations, being deeply rooted in Māori consciousness, as is evidenced in language usage and cultural practice. The history of a people (of *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*) can be read in terms of *te wā* prolonged, obstructed, achieved, or yet to be achieved. In a similar way, the life story and experiences of an individual can be read in terms of *te wā*.

In the next part of this chapter we examine word usage in relation to *te wā*. In the third part we consider *te wā* as a temporal framework of understanding, and reflect on the imagery of *hīkoi* (journey), with which to present the concept of *te wā*. In the fourth part, we provide and analyse a systematic definition. Fifthly, we treat of the eschatological fulfilment of *te wā*. Sixthly, we reflect on how the topic fits into the systematics of the thesis. The significance of this chapter is that it draws all the other chapters together to a point of conclusion and fulfilment.

#### 8.2.0 Word usage

We look first at *te wā* and then at some terms related to *te wā*, namely, *he wa*, *wātea*, and *ātea*.

We have stated already that *te wā* has many meanings and shades of meaning. It can mean a moment in time, an occasion, an opportunity, a period, a season, a space in time, a stage, a goal.<sup>1</sup> Some common phrases illustrate these nuanced meanings.

‘*Ā te wā*’ is a common phrase meaning that *te wā* is in the future. It is not now. It will come about ‘in due course.’ In the meantime, the right course of action is to attend to the present moment and the stages that now need to be set in place. The goal will be achieved in due course.

---

<sup>1</sup> See Ryan, *Reed Māori Dictionary*, 330. We use ‘*te wā*’ instead of ‘time’ in order to safeguard its many meanings.

‘*Mā te wā*’ also means *te wā* is in the future. But the particle ‘*mā*’ emphasises ‘let it be *for*’ and thus that something will come to pass—pass *as a consequence of* something that is presently being set in place. It can be translated as ‘time will tell’ or ‘allow for time to pass and you will see it come about.’

*Kāhore anō kia tae ki te wā* means that *te wā* has not yet arrived. It has been obstructed or its coming prolonged. Other things need first to be attended to, or stages set in place, if it is to occur.

*Kua tae ki te wā* means ‘*te wā* (the time) has arrived.’ The English phrase does not capture the sense of fulfilment or achievement that this phrase has for Māori. It means one series of actions is completed. A goal has been achieved.

‘*He*’ is the indefinite article, and when used with ‘*wā*,’ the phrase can be translated as ‘a time for’ rather than ‘the time for.’ Thus, *he wā mō te moe, he wā mō te mahi* (There is a time for sleeping, a time for working). Similarly, Ecclesiastes 3:2 reads, “*he wa e whanau ai, he wa e mate ai*” (a time to be born, a time to die). In relation to *te wā*, we can ascribe a further meaning to *he wā*. *He wā* can be used to denote a stage, or series of stages, by which *te wā* is achieved. *He wā* is a stage whilst *te wā* is the goal.

The related term ‘*wātea*’ means, literally, to be free to do or not to do something, to go or not to go somewhere. It refers not just to *freedom in time* to do and to go. It also refers to *freedom of space* in which to do and to go. ‘*Whakawāteatanga*’ is the ‘setting free’ of whomever or whatever was, up to that moment, held bound within restrictions of time and space.

The term *ātea* is another form of *wātea*. *Te marae ātea* is the space or courtyard in front of the *whare tupuna* (the ancestral meeting house).<sup>2</sup> For some *iwi*, it is in that space that *tikanga* (rituals and protocols) are conducted. Marsden says that *ātea* is the word for space, and it is usually combined with *wā* (time) to form *wātea* (space-time). Further, according to Marsden, *tua-ātea* is to be beyond time and space. He describes *tua-ātea* as the world beyond any space-time framework. It is infinite and eternal.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Hiwi Tauroa and Pat Tauroa, *Te Marae: A Guide to Customs and Protocol* (Auckland, NZ: Reed Methuen Publishers, 1986), 42.

<sup>3</sup> See Marsden & Henare, "Kaitiakitanga," 11.

*Āteatanga* is the noun form of *ātea* and an optional form of *whakawāteatanga*. *Te āteatanga o te tapu* is the lifting of, or setting free from, *tapu* restrictions.<sup>4</sup>

### 8.3.0 *Te wā* as a temporal framework of understanding

We move now to consider *te wā* within a temporal framework of understanding. We will examine *te wā* in relation to chronological time, cyclical time and to ‘graced moments of time.’ We will then bring these three understandings into the image of a *hīkoi*, a journey.

#### 8.3.1 *Te wā* and chronological time

Tregear translates *wā* as the time, season, or space in time.<sup>5</sup> Thus, ‘*te wā*’ can refer specifically to a moment in time, to the season, or to the space in time.

Chronological or linear time is open-ended and unrepeatable; it cannot be changed or delayed. It is time in the sense of the passage of time. Thus, it can be measured in years, months, weeks, days, hours, minutes or seconds. *Te wā* can be, and is, used of time in this chronological sense. In this context, when someone uses the phrase *kua tae ki te wā mō te hoki ki te kāinga*, (the time has arrived to return home), that person is referring to a specific day or hour as the time to depart for home. The event, people, place and other circumstances are locked into a set time. Here, *te wā* means ‘being on time.’ Further, to be ‘on time’ will enable the following events to proceed ‘on time.’ Not being ‘on time’ can have serious or costly consequences—especially if one is not ‘on time’ for the bus, barge or plane. In this sense, *te wā* also means that an event cannot occur before the set time. If it is still in the future, then the phrase *ā te wā* is used. It cannot be hastened, because it is set in chronological time, which cannot be fast-forwarded. It is necessary time. All those involved must wait until that time comes to pass.

#### 8.3.2 *Te wā* and cyclical time

*Te wā* can also mean cyclical or seasonal time. It is a measurement of time that comes and goes in cycles or seasons. It, too, is necessary time because seasons come round and cannot be prevented, avoided or hastened. In this context, *te wā* means time for activities that are locked into, or dependent upon, particular seasons. Thus, when spring comes round, *ko te wā tēnei mō te whakatō kai* (it is time to plant food).<sup>6</sup> In this context, ‘it is

<sup>4</sup> For reference to *te āteatanga o te tapu*, see Tate & Paparoa, *Karanga Hokianga*, 59.

<sup>5</sup> Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Dictionary*, 583.

<sup>6</sup> Traditionally, this moment was announced by the call of the *Pipīwharau* (Shining Cuckoo), which is first heard about the first week of October.

time' means using the opportunities that occur only during this period of the cycle. They can then reap the fruit of their own hands. If one does not avail of the opportunity of planting food in due season, then one is deprived of food that would have been otherwise available. The consequence of 'not being on time' means that an activity does not take place, and that one has to wait for the season to come round next year.

One can include daytime and night-time in this category. *Kua ara te rā, ko te wā tēnei e ara ai te tangata. Kua pō te rā, ko te wā tēnei e moe ai te tangata* (The sun has risen, it is time for people to rise from their sleep. Night-time has come, it is time for people to sleep).

The Greek word *chronos* expresses both these meanings. It means chronological or cyclical time, in which one moment necessarily and predictably follows the other. *Te wā*, as we have seen above, can embrace these two senses.

### 8.3.3 *Te wā* and graced moments in time

There is a further perspective. We use a second biblical word to explain it. The Greek word, *Kairos*, also means time, but not mere chronological or cyclical time. In the Biblical Greek text it designates a special moment in time when God visits his people, to offer them a unique opportunity for repentance and conversion, for change and decisive action. It is a moment of truth, of judgment, and in this sense, a crisis.<sup>7</sup>

Thus *kairos* is God's time, or the time of God's grace, or graced moments in time. It may be the time to accept the grace of salvation from God, (2 Cor 6:2) or a time of readiness to depart this life. (2 Tim 4:6) It may be when the time is fulfilled and the moment of God's grace occurs to challenge people to repentance and faith. (Mark 1:15)

*Kairos* can sound a fateful note of warning of the consequences of not recognising graced moments. There is the sense that they will not come round again. (cf. Luke 19:44) *Kairos* is time in the sense of a decisive moment, a time to act decisively in a way that breaks with past patterns.

For the community and for the individual, it is the propitious time, the favourable opportunity, the appropriate time, or point of time. It is time to assess the critical

---

<sup>7</sup> For some of these points, see the pamphlet published by the self-styled "*Kairos* Theologians," *Challenge to the Church: A Theological Comment on the Political Crisis in South Africa* (London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1986).

situations in life, to know what the demands are for a right decision, and to act accordingly.

The biblical *kairos* is close to *te wā*. *Kua tae ki te wā* can be used of a person who is nearing death. It can also be applied to the moment of conversion of criminals and perpetrators who choose to put an end to their criminal activity. But *te wā* is different from *kairos*, in that it consists in a series of stages, all of which are graced, and which must all be set in place and completed before the goal is attained.

When *chronos* and *kairos* come together, the sense achieved is close to the fuller meaning of *te wā*:—the sense that one must close one stage before moving on to the next, together with the sense of grace experienced at this moment. For example, in Mark 1:15 we recognise three stages. Firstly, the time is fulfilled. Secondly, the kingdom of God has come near, and thirdly, people are to repent and believe in the Good News.

Up to this point, we have reflected on three notions of time, chronological or linear time, cyclical or seasonal time, and graced moments in time, or *kairoi*. We can state that these three notions of time relate to *te wā*, but none is identical with it. There is a further perspective to *te wā*. It is not only the graced *moment* in time, but also each *stage* of a journey is itself graced, and is experienced as such. To discover this other and deeper perspective of *te wā*, we can consider the imagery of *hīkoi* (journey).

#### 8.3.4 *Te wā and the imagery of hīkoi (journey)*

The imagery of journey may shed some light on the subject. On a particular day, people set out on a journey from Auckland to Panguru in order to celebrate Christmas (thus chronological time within the cycle of the year). Along the way they stop at Wellsford for something to eat. Then they are on their journey again. They travel on from town to town. The time taken between towns varies, depending on road conditions and the flow of traffic. As they reach the next town, there is a sense of satisfaction and achievement: the destination is getting closer. In due time, they arrive at Panguru. People are awaiting their arrival. They meet. They eat together. The final stage of the journey is achieved. They are ready to celebrate Christmas.

There are thus in this *hīkoi*, elements of time, stages, change, fulfilment and necessity. In the *hīkoi*, the stages or towns en route cannot be by-passed. Driving towards and through each of the towns, is a stage that has to be encountered and completed. And the fulfilment

of each stage, and of all of them, is a moment of grace. In due course, they arrive at their destination. They celebrate with a sense of fulfilment and achievement.

In a similar way, *te wā* involves time, stages and fulfilment rolled into one, with varying emphases, dependent on the context. Now we move to offer a systematic definition of *te wā*.

#### 8.4.0 Definition of *Te Wā*:

***Te wā is the culmination (tūtakitanga) and fulfilment (tutukitanga) of a stage, and of a series of stages, put in place at specific moments in time by kaiwhakakapi tūranga (Atua or tangata), enlightened and guided in their roles and decision making by the principles of pono, tika and aroha, and who exercise their mana to achieve the goal of addressing, enhancing and restoring tapu and mana.***

There are four parts to this definition. We look at each in turn.

##### 8.4.1 ***Te wā is the culmination (tūtakitanga) and fulfilment (tutukitanga) of a stage, and of a series of stages, put in place at specific moments in time***

Here we reflect on the points that constitute the first part of this definition.

##### 8.4.1.1 ***Te wā is a stage***

We take our starting point from the image of *hīkoi* (journey). A stage is a movement from here to there, from one point to another, from a starting point to a goal, such that, in its own right, it is seen as a whole. A stage is never simply temporal. It always involves some physical, spiritual, moral or general experience. A person may enter a point in life with one set of attitudes and emerge with another. If the beginning and the end can be identified, even by looking backwards, it is a stage. Periods of suffering, humiliation, disappointment, rejection, loneliness or illness can often be identified as stages in people's journeys. So can periods of enlightenment, joy, and celebration also be identified as stages.

The period can be very brief, even a moment, wherein something moves the person or persons onward in the journey of life, or it may be long, even many years. Positive attitudes, positive words of encouragement and wise counsel can help people turn their lives around and move them from one stage to the next.

#### 8.4.1.2 ***Te wā* is a series of stages with a goal**

We saw earlier that the term *he wā* can also be used to denote a stage, or series of stages, by which *te wā* is achieved. *He wā* is a stage and *te wā* is the goal. We will now examine this connection.

*He wā*, considered as a stage, is related to *te wā*, considered as the goal. Every stage and every series of *he wā* leads to *te wā*. Every stage of *he wā* attained, brings the goal of *te wā* one stage closer. The stages of *he wā* are directed towards, and find their fulfilment in, the achievement of the goal, *te wā*.

When one attains *he wā*, one already has some limited experience of *te wā*. If *te wā* brings fulfilment, peace, joy and love, then one is assured of a limited experience of fulfilment, peace, joy and love with each stage of *he wā*. The glimpse of what is to come with *te wā*, gives encouragement to people to persevere in a series of *he wā*, even at the cost of sweat and pain. Athletes know full well the reality; *he wā mō te werawera*, *he wā mō te hari* (there is a stage for sweat, and there is a stage for celebration).

A stage, thus, is always seen as one within a bigger series, aimed towards a goal or series of goals. A goal is the endpoint of a series of stages, each linked to the other across chronological time. Whilst the goal has priority of intention, each stage must receive priority of attention. Within each stage there also is a sense of direction focused on its own internal goal. On its achievement, the next stage becomes the immediate goal. Thus we can distinguish along the journey, goals which can be immediate, intermediate, long-term, and eschatological or ultimate.

Stages have a teleological perspective in that they have direction and purpose because they are focused on their immediate goal and also on the ultimate goal. This ultimate goal, in a general sense, puts order into the intermediate stages. *Te wā*, then, can be described both as each individual stage attained, with its attendant experience of fulfilment, peace, joy and love, and as the goal of the stages achieved with its attendant experience of these factors as well. In both cases, *te wā* is an experience of grace.

#### 8.4.1.3 **Stages are put in place by *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* (*Atua* or *tangata*)**

We have seen in Chapter Five that *Atua* is *te tino kaiwhakakapi tūranga*. It is through *te mana o te Atua* that *Atua* puts stages in place to fulfil the goal, unknown to us, of creation. We can discern something of the ultimate intention of *Atua* from the stage that we occupy.

We also know that in the life of *tangata*, we can see the providential hand of *Atua* guiding *ia tangata, ia whānau, ia hapū, ia iwi*, in stages, towards their goals in life, and towards the ultimate goal, again known only to *Atua*. When human freedom results in *tangata* falling short of intermediate goals, then *Atua* sets in place the new stages which are necessary to bring *tangata* to the ultimate goal.

*Tangata*, considered as *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*, also has goals and puts stages in place to achieve them. We can make some further general statements. Stages must first be put in place and then attained by *tangata*, before goals can be achieved. Stages thus deserve due and timely attention to ensure right stages are put into place and duly completed. On the other hand, *tangata* must see that stages are not unduly rushed, or unduly delayed. This may require patience with a stage, because a stage may not, in fact, have the priority we thought it had.

We must also say that, for *tangata*, stages are not always recognisable as such. For grieving *whānau*, at the time of *tangi*, it is not easy to accept the loss of their loved one. In their grief they may not recognise this time as a stage of *he wā*, but in due time they will do so. Some healing will occur, *ā te wā*. Just as *he wā* will come about in time, so also *te wā* will be achieved within chronological time.

Stages are not always attainable. In principle, if goals are achievable, the stages leading to them are attainable. But in fact, for one reason or another, they may not always be attained. The consequence of stages not attained means that the next stage—an immediate goal just ahead—is likewise not attained.

We find many examples in life of missed opportunities. A missed opportunity can leave one in a state of negative *noa*, in which one feels regret, even guilt. A stage was not attained when it could have been. Lost opportunities can have moral implications when one could have done something, but did not do it. The person then feels the guilt of this act of omission. Some opportunities come once in a lifetime. *I tae mai te kōtuku-rerengatahi, ā, kua riro* (the white heron of single flight arrived—and has departed). Once opportunities are gone, they are irretrievable in the sense that they do not touch the same people, in the same place, at the same time, and in the same way. Circumstances will have changed. Some people involved earlier may have moved away, whilst others may have died.



For those who remain, there is need of revisioning intermediate goals, and of setting in place new and different stages that are attainable from the new situation of negative *noa*. Despite what may have been done, the ultimate goal remains, but the journey to it will follow different stages.

#### 8.4.1.4 ***Te wā* is the culmination of a stage or of a series of stages**

We have seen that *te wā* can, in a limited way, be enjoyed at the completion of each stage of *he wā*. We can also say that it is enjoyed as the culmination of stages put in place. A student can have a sense, in passing a single unit, not only of *he wā*, but also of *te wā*. The unit is seen in its own right, and not as merely one of a series of stages. But when the student graduates, he/she experiences that same stage, and all the other stages, as a whole. It is a moment of *te wā* that includes, but also surpasses, the previous moments of *he wā* with their attendant and limited experiences of *te wā*.

#### 8.4.1.5 ***Te wā* is the fulfilment of a stage or of a series of stages**

A series of stages always reaches some goal, of which it is the culmination. Not every series of stages reaches the fulfilment originally intended. We can also look at the same process from the viewpoint of the goal intended. From this viewpoint, we can say that *te wā* is the fulfilment of the whole process, of each of the stages individually, and of the goal towards which the stages were directed. At this point, the experience is of a moment of *te wā*. If, however, the goal then becomes oriented towards a new goal, (like a Ph.D.), it becomes revisioned as one stage in a further series oriented towards a further goal. The limited experience of *te wā* is seen, now, in a wider context, also as *he wā*, and a new experience of *te wā* is eagerly anticipated.

#### 8.4.1.6 **At specific moments in time**

We simply note at this point that none of this happens outside time. Rather, both *he wā* and *te wā* are experienced in time, at specific moments. We turn next to address the second point of the definition.

#### 8.4.2 ***Te wā* is achieved by *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* enlightened and guided in their roles and decision making by the principles of *pono*, *tika* and *aroa***

There are two parts to this section. In the first part, we examine the role of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* in bringing about *te wā*. In the second part, we reflect on their roles and decision making in the light of the principles of *pono*, *tika* and *aroa* by which *te wā* is achieved.

*Te wā* is the goal achieved by *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* who set stages in place and complete them. They achieve their goal by actions of *kōkiri*<sup>8</sup> (taking initiatives), *tautoko* (supporting initiatives), and of *whakatara*<sup>9</sup> (challenging initiatives, or proposing alternatives) in a series of stages leading to *te wā*.

*Te wā* is achieved by *kaikōkiri* setting stages in place. Generally, however, it cannot be achieved by just one *kaikōkiri* (initiator). Rather, it is achieved by the contributions of many and different kinds of people (*whānau*, friends, strangers, even ‘enemies’), at different times or in different generations, and in different places, who put stages in place and complete them.

This idea is captured in the following phrase: *kāhore i tū i te tuatahi, kāhore i tū i te tuarua* (the task was not achieved by the first person nor by the second).<sup>10</sup> The moment when *te wā* comes to fruition is dependent not solely on, nor within the control of, an individual *kaikōkiri*. The only factor within his/her control is the effort the *kaikōkiri* makes to set the stages in place and, with the effort of other *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*, to bring them to completion. This realisation should remove from the individual the burden of being overly anxious or guilty, that he/she may not have brought about *te wā* at a particular time or occasion.

The achieving of *te wā* requires the support of *kaitautoko* for the initiatives of the *kaikōkiri*. Sometimes this *tautoko* is sufficient to achieve a moment of *te wā*. At other times, a series of stages may be needed because *te wā* may not always be immediately achieved by the early *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*. If further series of stages are necessary to achieve *te wā*, it is the role of *kaikōkiri* to initiate more stages, and for *kaitautoko* to support the further initiatives.

---

<sup>8</sup> In October 2007, Whaiora Marae in Otara celebrated the 30<sup>th</sup> jubilee of its meeting house, Te Wai Āriki. The special commemorative book contained stories and photographs of all the *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* who made the project possible. These included *kaumātua*, *kuia*, *pirihi* (priests), *mātua*, *tamariki* and *mokopuna*. Some fulfilled roles of *kōkiri*, some of *whakatara*, but the majority gave their *tautoko* in various other forms such as fundraising. For those people of 1977, *te wā* was the opening of the *whare*. See O. Marino and J. Marino, "Whaiora Marae & Te Wai Ariki," (Otara, N.Z.: 2007).

<sup>9</sup> When Ngati Whātua opposed the Government plan to sell Bastion Point for a subdivision, their response was one of *whakatara*. This took the form of occupation of the site. It lasted 506 days, from 6 January 1977 to 25 May 1978. See Aroha Harris, *Hikoi: Forty Years of Māori Protest* (Wellington, NZ: Huia, 2004), 81.

<sup>10</sup> For example, in 1991, Te Ūnga Waka Marae in Epsom celebrated its Silver Jubilee. Initiatives to build a gathering place in Auckland for the people and a place for *karakia* had been conceived in the 1940s by Pa Werahiko (Fr. Rice) and a few Catholic Māori families. They did not achieve the goal. A succession of five more Mill Hill priests for Māori Pastoral Care, and the involvement of many more families over time, led to the eventual building and opening of Te Ūnga Waka in March 1966. See P. M. Ryan, "Te Ūnga Waka Huri Tau 25." (Auckland, NZ.: 1991).

The role of *kaiwhakatara* is important to ensure that some other options are investigated for achieving *te wā*. For this to happen, it is necessary that alternatives offered or demanded by the *kaiwhakatara*<sup>11</sup> be given support by *kaitautoko*. We thus see that all three roles are necessary to bring about *te wā*. If *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* fall short in their roles, *te wā* will be delayed, or indeed may never be achieved by *tangata*.

All the while, we are mindful that *Atua* is *te tino kaiwhakakapi tūranga* (the supreme role-player) constantly engaging as *kaikōkiri*, *kaitautoko* and *kaiwhakatara* to bring about *te wā* and *te tutukitanga* (fulfilment) for *tangata* and for *whenua*.

Now we turn briefly to the second part of this section. *Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* need to exercise their roles and decision making by which *te wā* is achieved, according to the principles of *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*. It is by exercising these principles that stages and goals are contemplated, initiated, tested and brought to completion. *Te wā*, like stages, cannot be achieved without *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* acting according to these principles. Rather, the sense that everything has been accomplished with *pono*, *tika* and *aroha* is an essential element of the fulfilment of *te wā*.

#### 8.4.3 ***Te wā is achieved by kaiwhakakapi tūranga exercising their mana***

*Atua* is the source of all *mana*. *Te mana o te Atua* not only creates but also makes possible all our exercise of *mana*. *Te Wā* is more effectively achieved when *te mana o te kaiwhakakapi tūranga* is further empowered by positive linking with *te mana o te Atua*. *Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* attain stages and, eventually, *te wā*, by the right and gratuitous exercise of *mana*. This can include *mana whakahaere*, *mana kawē kaupapa* and *mana kawē i te riri*.

*Mana* is needed for *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* to initiate, support, challenge, direct and manage stages towards goals. For example, there were many people exercising *mana whakahaere* and *mana kawē kaupapa* in various areas of control and management during

---

<sup>11</sup>For example, Naida Glavish was working in the Tolls (long distance) section of Telecom (Auckland), in 1983-84, when she initiated a personal practice of greeting her callers with the words, “*Kia ora*, Tolls here.” In this, she was a *kaikōkiri*. She was also a *kaiwhakatara*—a stirrer—because the alternative Māori greeting she was initiating was not considered an option by her supervisor, who forbade her to use the greeting. She took her case to, and received *tautoko* from, the New Zealand Māori Council, the Auckland District Māori Council, the media (The Auckland Star), and from some overseas counterparts. Eventually, she won her case. She was reinstated, and was able to resume greeting her callers with “*Kia ora*.” *Te wā* was achieved, in that “*Kia ora*” is now standard and acceptable practice across the land. See Anon., “The ‘Kia Ora’ Lady,” *Mana* Jun-Jul, no. 76 (2007): 42.

the weeklong *tangi* for the Māori Queen, *Te Arikinui*, Dame *Te Atairangikaahu*, at *Tūrangawaewae marae*, *Ngāruawāhia*.<sup>12</sup> They helped bring to successful completion the biggest *tangi* ever for a Māori person, and thereby honoured their Queen. Thus, *te wā* was experienced in multiple ways by *hunga kāinga* and *manuhiri* alike.

A second example is that of *kaiwhakakapi tūranga* appointed by their respective *iwi* to spearhead their *Iwi Treaty Claims*. They exercise *mana kawē i te riri* in order to set stages in place and achieve *te wā* for their *iwi*.

#### 8.4.4 ***Te wā* is the goal achieved of addressing, enhancing and restoring *tapu* and *mana***

We consider two parts to this statement. First, *te wā* is the goal achieved of *tapu* addressed, enhanced and restored. Second, *te wā* is the goal of *mana* addressed, enhanced and restored. We will address each of these points.

##### 8.4.4.1 ***Te wā* is the goal achieved of *tapu* addressed, enhanced and restored**

We have reflected in Chapter Two on the three perspectives of *tapu*, namely, *tapu* restrictions, and *te tapu o* and *te tapu i* of existing realities, and seen that the goal is always that *tapu* be fully addressed and acknowledged, and thus enhanced. In cases of *whakanoa*, the goal becomes the full restoration and the ultimate enhancement of *tapu*.

In each case, we can see that *te wā*—understood as a stage, a series of stages towards the goal, or the goal itself—is an integral part of the process. Without *tapu* being addressed, acknowledged, enhanced or restored, there is *whakanoa*, and, by definition, *te wā* is not achieved.

When *tapu* restrictions are effective in safeguarding *tapu*, and, when their lifting is effective in enabling freedom, a stage is concluded and *te wā* is experienced. Secondly, the freedom experienced is freedom to exercise *mana* in the next stage. It is also freedom from fear of violation.

A term for this unrestricted state of freedom is *noho wātea*. Thus, the experience of *te wā* is one of being *wātea*, of being free from restrictions. It is a state of freedom to engage

---

<sup>12</sup> *Te Arikinui* Dame *Te Atairangikaahu* died 15 August 2006 and was buried on Taupiri Mountain six days later. See D. Fox, et al., "Cover Story," *Mana*, no. 72 (2006): 6-27.

further with *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*. It is the state of being free to exercise *mana*. It is the freedom to be fully oneself in relationship with *Atua*, other *tāngata* and with *whenua*.

We can also say that *te wā* is the goal achieved when *te tapu o te Atua*, *te tapu o te tangata* and *te tapu o te whenua* are each addressed, acknowledged, enhanced and restored. In the last case, after a violation, *te wā* is the moment and experience of *hohou rongo* with *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*; in place of fracture and concealment, right relations, informed by *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*, are now enjoyed. *Te wā* is the moment, and the experience, of people enhanced and empowered by those relationships.<sup>13</sup> It is also the moment, and experience, of enhanced or restored relationships with *te tapu o te whenua*, which also involves the enhancing or restoring of *te tapu i te whenua*. It was *te wā* for the *iwi* of Te Rarawa, when the land of Waireia, alienated in 1914, was finally returned to them in 1987.<sup>14</sup> It was *te wā* for the *whenua* itself.

*Te wā* is the moment when one realises that the fullness of *te wā* can only come about in the full acknowledgement of *te tapu i te Atua*, and full participation of all *tapu* in *te tapu o te Atua*. We now turn to the second part, to *te wā* and *mana*.

#### 8.4.4.2 ***Te wā* is the goal achieved of *mana* addressed, enhanced and restored**

*Te wā* is the culmination and fulfilment of stages when *mana* is fully effective and is exercised rightly, with *pono*, *tika*, and *aroha*. It is the moment when *mana* is effective because *tapu* and *mana* have been addressed and enhanced, and, in the event of *whakanoa*, restored through *hohou rongo*. It is the moment when *tangata* and *whenua* are empowered with *te mana o te Atua*, which makes all exercise of *mana* possible and effective.

---

<sup>13</sup> On the 8<sup>th</sup> November 1977, a group travelled to the *marae* of *Tākitimu* in Wairoa, Hawkes Bay. Some had recently returned from visiting the war-graves of the Mediterranean with members of the 28<sup>th</sup> Maori Battalion. The group received a very moving *karanga* when they arrived at the *marae*: “*Hoki mai ra, e te iwi, i te mura o te ahi. Ahakoa kāhore i riro mai ngā kōiwi o ā mātou tama, kia tae kau mai i a koutou o rātou wairua, haere mai rā*” (Welcome home from the battlefields. Even though you were not able to bring back the remains of our sons, bring home their spirit. Welcome.) The group was greatly enhanced by the *karanga* which acknowledged the relationship the group had with the fallen sons of Wairoa. It was a powerful experience of *te wā*.

<sup>14</sup> Tate & Paparoa, *Waireia*, 203.

*Te wā* is the moment when *te mana o te tangata* is effective by virtue of *te mana tuku iho* and *te mana tuku* from other *tāngata*, principally from *tūpuna*, *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. It is the moment when *te mana o te whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* is effective. *Te wā* is when *te mana o te tangata* is effective through their sharing in *te mana o te whenua*.

Furthermore, with the achievement of *te wā* in one stage, *mana* is rendered more effective to approach and complete the next series of stages, and, ultimately, a further occasion of *te wā*. In practice, when *iwi* are able to achieve one goal for the benefit of *hapū*, *whānau* or individual, they are more empowered to work towards the next goal. Thus, the more often *te wā* is achieved through the exercise of *mana*, the more empowered is the person, *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi* to achieve further occasions of *te wā*. *Te wā* is the moment when *mana* is rightly exercised by *kaiwhakakapi tūranga*, whereby other occasions of *te wā* are achieved.

We have now completed the analysis of our definition, and are ready to move on to the fourth part of our chapter.

### **8.5.0 The eschatological fulfilment of *te wā***

In this part of the chapter, we look at two realities, and at the relationship between them. We have seen that *he wā* is a stage and *te wā* is the goal. In turn, the achievement of *he wā* becomes itself an experience of *te wā* achieved. This experience of *te wā* in a stage is also related to the experience of *te wā* as the fruition of all the stages leading to the goal. Thus we turn now to examine the experience of *te wā* achieved. Then we will relate it to the eschatological fulfilment of *te wā*.

#### **8.5.1 The experience of *te wā* achieved**

*Te wā* is to be seen as more than just a goal achieved in some purely academic or clinical way. Rather, *te wā* is the achieving of a goal that enhances or restores well-being. It is a state of positive *noa* in which wellness of body, spirit and mind is personally experienced by the individual, or by the *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi*. Emanating from wellness and from relationships gained or regained are outward perceptible signs that include manifestations of peace, joy and love.

Experience of *te wā* is described by some as being awesome, mighty, surprising, humbling, uplifting, fulfilling, reassuring, liberating, totally unexpected, empowering, and even divine.

Some say, “In the experience of *te wā*, I feel so good. I am happy to be in this particular place and with these particular people. I do not want to be anywhere else.” It is, in a word, the experience of *grace*.<sup>15</sup>

A discernible feature of *te wā* achieved, as we saw in the previous paragraph, is that people are energised and empowered for action. Goals are being achieved. Further occasions of *te wā* are being achieved. In experiencing *te wā*, one can become poignantly aware of one’s insignificance in the overall picture of creation, with consequent acknowledgement of *te tapu i te Atua* and *te tapu o te Atua*. In moments of *te wā*, one can experience a greater appreciation of *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*, and one is energised to exercise these principles in further encounters with *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua*.

### 8.5.2 The eschatological fulfilment of *te wā*

In terms of the thesis, the journey towards the goal in life (the total and undisturbed possession of the fullness of *tapu*) has an eschatological component. Tension between the ‘now’ of each stage and the ‘not yet’ of the next stage to be attained, draws us on to complete one stage and start the next, at the appropriate time of *te wā*.

While *te wā* is the goal achieved and possessed in the present time, the fullness of *te wā* points us forward, to immediate goals, to distant goals, and ultimately, to the eschatological goal. There is thus a tension here that draws us forward. Throughout this thesis, we have proposed that *Atua* is *te tīmatanga* and *te tutukitanga* of all things. Therefore, we can claim that *te wā* is ultimately oriented towards the eschatological culmination and fulfilment of all stages of *tangata* and *whenua* and *Atua*.

This has to be in the infinite and eternal, where the goal is totally and eternally possessed. This involves freedom from the present conditions of time and space.<sup>16</sup> The reference is not just to *freedom in time* to do and to go. It also refers to *freedom of space in which to*

---

<sup>15</sup> A Christological application may be relevant here. The whole Christ event may be understood as *te wā*. But individual encounters with Jesus Christ, with his *tapu*, with his *mana*, with his healings, with his words, with the events of his life, are also moments, or stages, of *te wā*. Māori do not share the apocalyptic world-view of the New Testament, whereby God intervenes to bring history to an end. On the other hand, the eschatological hope of the New Testament, particularly as expressed in Jesus’ preaching of the coming Kingdom of God, is deeply compatible with the Māori notion of *te wā*. The death of Christ is also significant. It is an exercise of *mana*, which in turn results in an exercise of *te mana o te Atua* in the resurrection. At this point, a new series of goals is introduced into *te wā*. The deep tension between the penultimate stage of *te wā* (the time of dying) is thus resolved by *Atua* in the ultimate, eschatological, stage beyond—the eschatological fulfilment of *te wā*.

<sup>16</sup> Marsden & Henare, “Kaitiakitanga,” 11. Marsden describes this as *Te Ao Tua-ātea*, the world beyond space-time. It is infinite and eternal. For Marsden, this is the realm of *Io*.

do and to go. ‘*Te whakawāteatanga*’ is the ‘setting free’ of *tangata* and *whenua*—whomever or whatever was, up to that moment, held bound within restrictions of time and space. Not just *tangata*, but the *whenua* itself, is set free, to enjoy the fullness of its *tapu* and *mana*, in a fulfilment we cannot yet imagine. But we can say that *te wā* is a glimpse within time of the fulfilment of time in eternity. (cf. 2 Pet 3:8)

As a consequence of our human condition and the limitations of this earthly existence of ours, we cannot enjoy the complete fullness of *tapu* and *mana* in this life. For those of us on this side of *te ārai* (the veil between this life and the next), there is a deep tension between the penultimate stage of *te wā* (the time of dying as completion of the first stage of this life) and the ultimate stage beyond.

But our experience of *te wā* in this life can be an experience of *Atua* in our present lives. The tension that draws us forward lies in the fact that the fullness of *te wā* must surely be found in the unending and total experience of *Atua* who is *te tīmatanga* (beginning, source) and *te whakatutukitanga o nga mea katoa* (fulfilment of all things).

A Māori response to the fullness of *te wā* in a life that is beyond this world can be heard expressed in the words of a *poroporoakī* (farewell) to the dead. *Tūpāpaku* (deceased) are sent on their final journey, towards the completion of the stages of their existence. All the stages of their life lead to this point. Thus, we bid them farewell as they journey to the mythical home-land of *Hawaiki* from whence they came, and to which they now return: *haere, haere, haere atu rā, hoki atu ki “Hawaiki nui, ki Hawaiki roa, ki Hawaiki pāmamao”* (farewell, go on your journey, return to the ancient homeland of “Great Hawaiki, Long Hawaiki, Far-Distant Hawaiki”).<sup>17</sup> These insights in the *poroporoakī* point us to *Hawaiki-nui*, to the future beyond death, where the eschatological fullness of *tapu* and *mana* in the fullest relation to *Atua*, *tangata* and *whenua* may be experienced.

### **8.6.0 The place of *te wā* in the overall systematics of the thesis**

Our final step is to relate *te wā* to our overall systematics. Throughout the thesis we have reflected on each concept and principle, and viewed each of them within the framework of stages leading towards a goal. Thus, we contend that, in the concept of *te wā*, lies the culmination and fullness of our systematics.

---

<sup>17</sup> Buck, *The Coming of the Māori*, 36.



Diagram three shows *te wā* in its relationship to the other topics of the thesis. The reason why we place *te wā* as the goal in the centre of our circle and our systematics, is, firstly, because it is related to every other topic as its goal and its fulfilment. Thus, *te wā* is an essential moment of each of the concepts we have proposed. Secondly, its central importance lies in the understanding that it is not only the beginning of the journey (and thus *te wā* on the outer part of the circle), but also the completion of the journey, the fulfilment of the stages, and the fulfilment of the person, (and thus *te wā* stands at the centre of the circle)—all of which can only be found in *Atua*, in fullest relation with *Atua*, but also with *tangata* and *whenua*. It is, necessarily, the last of the topics. *Te wā* thus has a significant place in the overall systematics of Māori Theology.

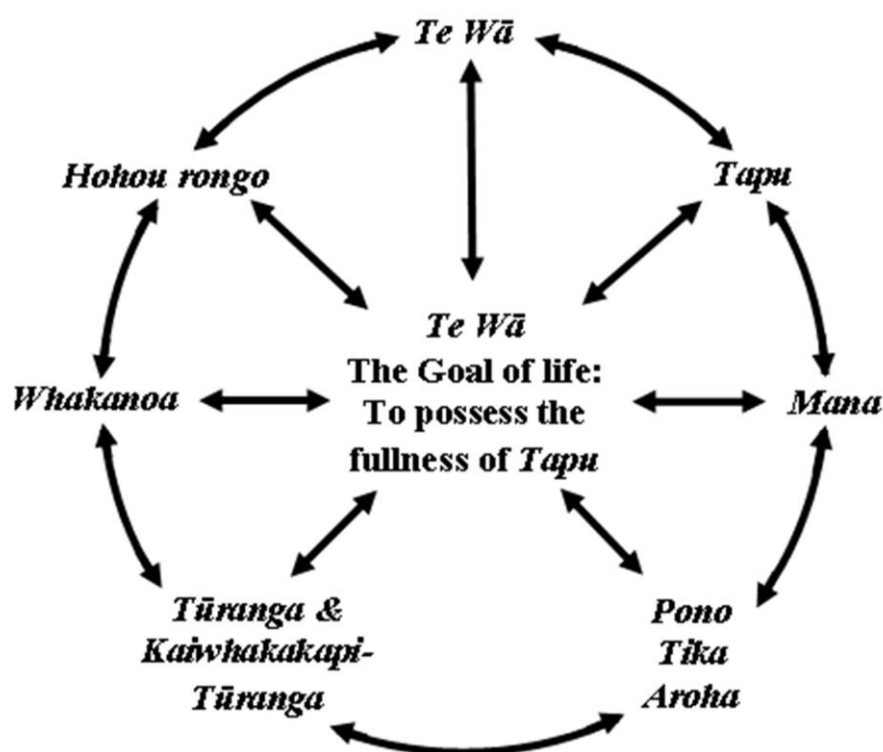


Diagram 3

## CONCLUSION

This thesis has been an attempt to develop the foundations of an indigenous Māori theology. It is needed because the writer is of the opinion that the traditional Christian message has fallen short of speaking intimately and powerfully to Māori experience in Aotearoa. Māori are crying out for a form of Christianity which is “theirs,” and which is relevant to their concerns and context.

This thesis offers one response and contribution to this call, by attempting to develop for Māori a theology which Māori can call “ours,” namely, an indigenous theology. We have understood this as a theology developed by Māori for Māori in the first instance, and in the second instance for all those who share the same land and context, and thirdly, for all others.

From a classical Western Christian theological point of view, the content of this thesis may perhaps be viewed as pre-theological. But it is not pre-theological from a Māori point of view, because it presupposes Māori experience of God and leads Māori to God. If the Word of God is not to be “imported from elsewhere,” then revelation in Māori cultural forms must be heeded, and brought to *Māori* expression.

It is a case of *indigenous* faith seeking *indigenous* understanding. In this respect, part of the methodology must be for a Christian Māori theologian to try and construct what is possible from within the Māori tradition. This is the first step. Only after it makes sense to Māori from within, in its own right, should it be brought into dialogue with the wider Christian tradition.

The thesis has attempted to follow this path. It has proceeded by expounding ten major concepts, or series of concepts, drawn from Māori tradition and current in contemporary use. In each case, word usage was examined, and a systematic definition provided for the purposes of the thesis.

Each concept was related systematically to three categories that are central to Māori identity and experience: *Atua* (God), *tangata* (people) and *whenua* (land). The three are also dynamically interrelated one to another in the sense that, if one enhances or diminishes one’s relationship with *Atua* (God), thereby one’s relationship with *tangata* (people) and with *whenua* (land) is also enhanced or diminished. This threefold reference underlies all chapters.

Chapter One introduced Māori, and dialogued with other theologians writing about contextual theology, in order to set the context for this thesis. It argued that for Māori, it is a case of *indigenous* faith seeking *indigenous* understanding.

Chapter Two addressed the topic of *Tapu* (being and its relationships and *tapu* restrictions), maintaining that *tapu* is the foundational principle of the systematics, in that without existence being presupposed, none of the other concepts would exist.

Chapter Three presented *Mana* as a second foundational concept in the thesis, in the sense that, from *tapu* proceeds all *mana* (spiritual power and authority).

Chapter Four presented *Pono* (truth and integrity), *Tika* (right response) and *Aroha* (affection and compassion) as three principles directing the proper exercise of *mana*, whereby *mana* addresses, enhances and restores *tapu*. We have treated them in one chapter, but we have also considered them as three concepts in their own right.

Chapter Five considered the place in our systematics of *Tūranga* (roles) and *Kaiwhakakapi tūranga* (role players) who form an essential part of Māori society. They exercise their roles of *kōkiri* (initiating), *tautoko* (supporting) and *whakatara* (challenging, proposing alternatives) and help people exercise *mana* to address, enhance or restore *tapu*.

Chapter Six presented, firstly, the concept of *Whakanoa* as violation of *tapu* and of *mana*, and, secondly, of *Noa* as the state of diminishment and disempowerment that is the result of violation of *tapu* and of *mana*.

Chapter Seven treated *Hohou rongo* considered as the *kaupapa* (principle) and *tikanga* (process) of seeking restoration both of *tapu*, which has been violated, and of *mana*, which has been obstructed or impaired.

Chapter Eight presented the concept of *Te Wā* as a specifically Māori understanding of time and of stages in the journey of life, and their fulfilment. While stages are ordered towards a goal, the thesis noted that the fulfilment of all *tapu* and *mana* of *tangata* and *whenua* lies in their eschatological fulfilment in *Atua*.

We concluded with a diagram, that set out in visual form how these concepts are interrelated.

We should note that these systematics have been tested in constant dialogue with Māori over many years. Dialogue has taken place with various tribal and church groups, government departments (Justice, Social Services, Prisons, Health, Education) and other interest groups—on a wide range of issues. These have included land claims, social policy, education, mental health, prison chaplaincy, and *whānau* development programmes, to name a few. To this extent, the criterion of fruitfulness has thus already been partially realized.

### **The potential for future development**

It is hoped that, at a later stage, the framework offered here can be tested as to its potential fruitfulness by being employed in other fields of theological, social, legal, educational and cultural endeavours.

In the theological field, we would hope that it will offer a foundation for Māori to construct their own account of some of the traditional theological subjects such as Christology, Christian Anthropology, Eschatology and so on, and, secondly, to write theology out of their own issues.

The testing will have to have two criteria. One will be its fruitfulness for Māori, to help them enter into the Christian mystery on their own terms. The other will be its fruitfulness for dialogue with other, non-Māori forms of Christian theology in the interests of developing new frameworks that encompass our common past and our ecumenical and bicultural hopes.

In the social field, we would hope that it will offer a foundation for developing a Māori *kaupapa* for social policy and practice. Those who work in Māori social services and Māori health initiatives have already benefited. But there is much to do.

In the legal field, we would hope that it will offer a foundation: firstly for a Māori *kaupapa* of respect for, and treatment of, Māori and their *whānau* in the legal and penal system, and secondly, for renewed attention to the potential of *hohou rongo*, particularly with regard to restorative justice and to the social effects of violation. On occasion, it may be helpful in Treaty negotiations.

In the educational and cultural fields, we would hope that it will offer a foundation for Māori to claim the knowledge and wisdom that is theirs by right, and to give them faith in the power of their own culture to engage, from a position of strength, dignity, and intellectual integrity, with all those who share the same land and aspirations for well-being.

We would hope that, as Māori work towards their own indigenous understanding in all these fields, they will test the fruits of their reflections, and work to produce further good fruit. We hope, too, they will share our conviction that Māori theology has much to contribute beyond these shores, on the global scene.

*E kau ki te tai e  
e kau ki te tai e  
wāhia atu te ngaru-pae-whenua  
kia puta koe ki runga o matua-moana i waho rā.*

Swim  
swim forth  
cut through the wave that hits the shore  
to reach the open sea on which to travel.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Non-attributed. "The 'Kia Ora' Lady." *Mana* Jun-Jul, no. 76 (2007): 42.

Anselm. "Proslogium," In *St Anselm: Basic Writings* Illinois: Open Court, 1962.

Aquinas. *St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica*. Translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province. Vol. 1. 3 vols.; New York: Benziger Brothers, 1947.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Summa Theologiae*. Vol. 2, & 34, 60 vols., eds. Timothy McDermott, R. J. Batten, London: Blackfriars in conj. with Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1964.

Ashton, L. "The Making of a Radical Bishop." *Mana*, no. 71, Aug/Sept (2006): 24-32.

Augustine, St. *De Trinitate*. X, 1.

Ballara, Angela. "Meri Te Tai Mangakahia 1868-1920." In *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: 1870-1900*, Vol. 2, 309-310. Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books & The Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1993.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Meri Te Tai Mangakāhia." In *Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau: 1870-1900*, ed. C. Orange, Vol. 2, 53-55. Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget William Books & Te Tari Taiwhenua, 1994.

Barlow, C. *Tikanga Whakaaro: Key Concepts in Māori Culture*. Victoria, Aus.: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Battung, R., Z. Samita, and G. Tinker. "Indigenous Theologies: An EATWOT Response." *Voices from the Third World* 21, no. 1, June (1998): 247-252.

Best, Elsdon. *Maori Religion and Mythology*. Vol. 1. Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printer, 1976.

Bevans, S. B. *Models of Contextual Theology: Faith and Cultures (Revised and Expanded Ed.)*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 2002.

Binney, J. *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press with Bridget Williams Books, 1995.

Boethius. "De Persona Et Duabus Naturis." In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. R. Appleton, XI. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911, cii.

Broughton, Ruka. "Ngā Pūkōrero O Te Wā 17," Learning Media Ltd <http://www.learningmedia.co.nz> (accessed October 15, 2009).

Buck, Sir Peter (Te Rangi Hiroa). *The Coming of the Maori*. 7th ed. Wellington, N.Z.: Maori Purposes Fund Board, 1970.

Canning, R. "Sharpening the Questions." In *Discovering an Australian Theology*, ed. P. Malone, 25-45. Homebush, N.S.W.: St Paul, 1988.

- Charlot, John. "The Maori-Christian Theology of Michael Shirres." *The Journal of Intercultural Studies*, no. 33 (2006): 18-27.
- Colquhoun, D. "Frederick Edward Maning." In *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: 1769-1869*, ed. W. H. Oliver, vol.1, 265-266. Wellington, N.Z.: Allen & Unwin & The Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1990.
- Consedine, J. *Restorative Justice, Healing the Effects of Crime*. Lyttleton, N.Z.: Ploughshares, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Third Millennium —Restorative Justice or More Crime and Prisons?" In *Ngai Tātou 2020: Indigenous Peoples & Justice: Tangata Whenua i Roto i Te Tika*, ed. E. Te Kohu Douglas and M. Robertson-Shaw, 57-64. Auckland, N.Z.: The F.I.R.S.T. Foundation—Tuatahi Ngā Kaitaunaki Rangahau, 1999.
- Cuming, G. "A Glimmer of Hope." *The New Zealand Weekend Herald*, 31 Jan-Feb 1, 2004, B1 & B2.
- Darragh, N. *Doing Theology Ourselves: A Guide to Research and Action*. Auckland, N.Z.: Accent, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Pakeha Christian Spirituality." In *Counselling Issues & South Pacific Communities*, ed. Philip Culbertson, 303-332. Auckland, N.Z.: Accent, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *At Home in the Earth: Seeking an Earth-Centred Spirituality*. Auckland, N.Z.: Accent, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Contextual Method in Theology: Learnings from the Case of Aotearoa New Zealand." *Pacifica* 16, no. 1 (2003): 45-66.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Theology in Aotearoa New Zealand: An Annotated Bibliography under Subject Headings." (2007), <http://hdl.handle.net/2292/447>, 1-2. (accessed May 27, 2009).
- Davidson, A. K. *Christianity in Aotearoa: A History of Church and Society in New Zealand*. 3rd rev. ed. Wellington, N.Z.: The N.Z. Education of Ministry Board, 2004.
- Davis, C. O. *The Life and Times of Patuone*. Auckland, N.Z.: Capper, 1876.
- Dennehy, B. M. "Traditional Māori Ritual: The Notion of Atua in the Māori Manuscripts, with Reference to Rangi, Papa and Their Offspring." Auckland, N.Z.: Eugene O'Sullivan Library, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Inculturation of Theology in a Māori Context in Aotearoa New Zealand." M Th., Melbourne College of Divinity, 1995.
- Devadutt, V. E. "What Is Indigenous Theology?" *Ecumenical Review* 2, no. 1 (1949): 40-51.
- Dickson, K. A., P. A. Kalilombe, and T. Presler. "Development of African Theologies." *Mission Studies: Journal of the International Association of Mission Studies* 2, no. 1 (1985): 93-96.

- Dodson, P. "The Land Our Mother, the Church Our Mother." In *Discovering an Australian Theology*, ed. P. Malone, 83-88. Homebush, N.S.W.: St Paul, 1998.
- Donovan, V. J. *Christianity Rediscovered: An Epistle from the Masai*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1982.
- Dulles, A. "Faith and Revelation." In *Systematic Theology: Roman Catholic Perspectives*, ed. F. Schüssler Fiorenza and J. P. Galvin, 1, 89-128. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991.
- Edwards, D. "Sin and Salvation in the South Land of the Holy Spirit." In *Discovering an Australian Theology*, ed. P. Malone, 89-102. Homebush, N.S.W.: St Paul, 1988.
- Elsmore, B. *Mana from Heaven: A Century of Maori Prophets in New Zealand*. 2nd ed. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 1999.
- Fabella, V. "Contextualization." In *Dictionary of Third World Theologies*, ed. Virginia Fabella and R. S. Sugirtharajah, 58-59. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 2000.
- Fox, D., et al. "Cover Story." *Mana*, no. 72 (2006): 6-27.
- Galvin, J. P. "Jesus Christ." In *Systematic Theology: Roman Catholic Perspectives*, ed. F. Schüssler Fiorenza and J. P. Galvin, 1, 249-324. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991.
- Gower, P. "Dog Attack Victim Needs 200 Stitches." *The New Zealand Herald*, Feb 17 2003, A6.
- Gray, B. A., and P. Lauderdale. "The Great Circle of Justice: Restorative Justice Is Only Half of the Story." *Fourth World Journal* 6, no. 1 (2002): 77-93.
- Grey, Sir George. *Ngā Moteatea Me Ngā Hakirara O Te Iwi Māori*. Wellington, N.Z.: Robert Stokes, 1853.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna*. Wellington, N.Z.: L.T. Watkins, 1871.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Polynesian Mythology*. 3rd ed. Christchurch, N.Z.: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1956.
- \_\_\_\_\_. GNZMMSS: 24; 28: 126; 31. Grey, Māori Manuscripts: Auckland, N.Z.: Central City Library, n.d.
- Hall, D. J. "The Place of Contextuality in Christian Theology." Paper presented to the Canadian Theological Society. St. John's Newfoundland: Canadian Theological Society, 1997.
- Hāre, Ngākuru Pene. Pakanga 1, Ngākuru Pene Hāre Manuscripts, Ngākuru Pene Hāre Manuscripts, Auckland City Libraries.



- Harlow, R. B., and A. H. F. Thornton, eds. *A Name and Word Index to Ngā Moteatea*. Dunedin, N.Z.: University of Otago Press, 1986.
- Harris, A. *Hīkoi: Forty Years of Māori Protest*. Wellington, N.Z.: Huia, 2004.
- Henare, Manuka. *Nga Tikanga Me Nga Ritenga O Te Ao Maori: Standards and Foundations of Maori Society* Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy III: Part One: Future Directions. Wellington, N.Z., 1988.
- . "Hope and Maori Self-Determination." In *Theological Symposium on Hope*, 93-121. Palmerston North, N.Z., 1998.
- . "*Tapu. Mana, Mauri, Hau, Wairua*: A Maori Philosophy of Vitalism and Cosmos." In *Indigenous Traditions and Ecology: The Interbeing of Cosmology and Community*, ed. John A Grim, 197-221. Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Henare, Manuka, and Bernie Kernot. "Maori Religion: The Spiritual Landscape." In *Can Humanity Survive? The World's Religions and the Environment*, ed. James Veitch, 205-215. Wellington: Awareness Book Co., 1966.
- Henderson, J. M. *Ratana: The Man, the Church, the Political Movement*. 2nd ed. Wellington, N.Z.: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1972.
- Hernández, E. L. "Indigenous Theologies." In *Dictionary of Third World Theologies*, ed. M. M. Virginia Fabella and R. S. Sugirtharajah, 108-109. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 2000.
- High Court of New Zealand. "N 1514/94: Te Rūnanga O Muriwhenua & Ors Versus Treaty of Waitangi Commission." Auckland, N.Z.: High Court of New Zealand, 1998.
- Hiroa, Te Rangi (Sir Peter Buck). *The Coming of the Māori*. 7th ed. Wellington, N.Z.: Māori Purposes Fund Board, Whitcombe & Tombs, 1970.
- Hohepa, P. W. *A Maori Community in Northland*. Wellington, N.Z.: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1974.
- Howe, K. R., "Ideas of Māori Origins," Te Ara—Encyclopedia of New Zealand <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MāoriNewZealanders/IdeasOfMāoriOrigins/en> (accessed November 7, 2007).
- Ihi Management Consultants Ltd. *Bicultural Development Programme: Prepared for the Department of Labour: Maori Management: Section Five: Tikanga Maori*. Wellington, N.Z.: Department of Labour, Maori Management, 1987.
- Irwin, J. *An Introduction to Māori Religion*. Aus.: Nat. Library of Australia, 1984.
- Johansen, J. Prytz. *The Maori and His Religion in Its Non-Ritualistic Aspects*. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954.
- John Paul II, Pope. *Evangelium Vitae: The Gospel of Life*. Homebush, N.S.W.: St Paul, 1995.

- Kairos Theologians. "The Kairos Document: A Theological Comment on the Political Crisis in South Africa." London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1986.
- Kāmira, Himiona. Kāmira Collection, Auckland, N.Z.: Central City Library, 1937.
- Kāti Kurī, "Whale Watch," <http://www.whalewatch.co.nz> (accessed August 8, 2007).
- Kelly, L. G., and Pei Te Hurinui. "Pōtatau Te Wherowhero." In *Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau: 1769-1869*, ed. W. H. Oliver, Vol.1, 340-343. Ākarana, N.Z.: Allen & Unwin & Te Tari Taiwhenua, 1990.
- Kelly, T. *A New Imagining: Towards an Australian Theology: An Inquiry into Method*. Melbourne: Collins Dove, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Whither 'Australian Theology'? A Response to Geoffrey Lilburne." *Pacifica* 12, no. 2 (1999): 192-208.
- Kendall, Thomas, and Dr. Samuel Lee. *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand*. London: Church Missionary Society, 1820.
- King, M. *Whina*. Auckland, N.Z.: Hodder & Stoughton, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Penguin History of New Zealand*. Albany, N.Z.: Penguin, 2003.
- Kwok, Pui-Lan. *Postcolonial Imagination and Feminist Theology*. Westminster: John Knox, 2005.
- Laangerwerf, A. "Hui Uhunga Mo Pa Hoane Ki Motukaraka, Hokianga." *Te Waka o Hato Petera*, January (1942): 5.
- Latourelle, R. "Fundamental Theologian." In *Dictionary of Fundamental Theology*, ed. R. Fisichella and R. Latourelle, 320-323. New York: Crossroad, 2000.
- Lilburne, G. "Contextualising Australian Theology: An Inquiry into Method." *Pacifica* 10, no. 3 (1997): 350-364.
- Lohfink, G. *Jesus and Community: The Social Dimension of Christian Faith*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984.
- Lonergan, B. *Method in Theology*. 2nd ed. New York: Herder & Herder, 1973.
- Longchar, W. "Doing Contextual Theologies from Ecumenical Perspective—Tribal/Indigenous People's Theology." *The Pacific Journal of Theology* 28 (2002): 54-72.
- Mahuika, Api. "Leadership: Inherited and Achieved." In *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga*, ed. M. King, 42-63. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 1993.
- Malone, P., ed. *Discovering an Australian Theology*. Homebush, N.S.W.: St Paul, 1988.
- Mandela, Nelson. *Long Walk to Freedom*. London: Little, Brown & Co., 1994.

- Maori Land Court, *Northern Minute Books: Papatupu*, 1900 - 1975. Kaitaia, N.Z.
- Marino, O., and J. Marino. "Whaiora Marae & Te Wai Ariki." Otara, N.Z., 2007.
- Marsden, Maori. "God, Man and Universe: A Maori View." In *Te Ao Hurihuri, Aspects of Maoritanga*, ed. M. King, 117-137. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 1992.
- Marsden, Māori. "'Educating Maori': An Interview with Rev. M. Marsden—Dame J. Metge, 9 November 1982." In *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden*, ed. Te Ahukaramū C. Royal, xxi-xxxviii. Masterton, N.Z.: The Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden, 2003.
- Marsden, Maori, and Te Aroha Henare. *Kaitiakitanga: A Definitive Introduction to the Holistic World View of the Maori*. Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment, 1992.
- McFague, S. *The Body of God: An Ecological Theology*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.
- Mead, H. M. *Tikanga Māori. Living by Māori Values*. Wellington, N.Z.: Huia, 2003.
- Mead, H. M., and N. Grove. *Ngā Pepeha a Ngā Tīpuna: The Sayings of the Ancestors*. Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria, University Press, 2001.
- Mihesuah, D. A., and A. C. Wilson. "Indigenous Scholars Versus the Status Quo." *American Indian Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (2002): 145-148.
- Mill Hill Fathers. *Ko Te Hītoria Paipara Tawhito Me Te Kawenata Hōu a Tō Tātou Ariki, a Hehu Kerito.*, ed. Mill Hill Fathers. Turnhout, Belgique: Brepols & Son, 1909.
- Ministry for the Environment, "Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA)", N.Z.Government. <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1991/0069/latest/DLM230265.html> (accessed January 19, 2008).
- Ministry of Justice. *He Hīnātore Ki Te Ao Māori: A Glimpse into the Māori World*. Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry of Justice, 2001.
- Nessan, C. L. "The Necessity and Limit of a Contextual Theology." *Mission Studies* XX-2, no. 40 (2003): 78-93.
- New Zealand Catholic Bishops' Conference. *The Visit of His Holiness Pope John Paul II: New Zealand November 22-24, 1986*, Peace: The Message of the Gospel. Wellington: N.Z. Catholic Bishops, 1986.
- Newbigin, L. *Foolishness to the Greeks: The Gospel and Western Culture*. London: SPCK, 1986.
- Ngata, H. M. *English-Māori Dictionary*. Wellington, N.Z.: Learning Media, 1993.
- Ngata, Sir Apirana. "The Cult of Io." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 59, no. 4 (1950): 335-346.

- Ngata, Sir Apirana, and Pei Te Hurinui Jones, eds. *Ngā Moteatea*. Edited by Margaret Mutu. Vol. 1. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2004.
- Orange, C. *The Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington, N.Z.: Allen & Unwin, 1987.
- Palu, Ma'afu 'o' Tu'itonga. "Pacific Theology." *The Pacific Journal of Theology*, Series II, no. 28 (2002): 21-47.
- Parkinson, P., and P. Griffith, eds. *Books in Māori 1815-1900: Ngā Tānga Reo Māori: An Annotated Bibliography*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 2004.
- Parratt, J. "Recent Writing on Dalit Theology: A Bibliographical Essay." *International Review of Mission* 83, April (1984): 329-337.
- Pattel-Gray, A., and G. W. Trompf. "Styles of Australian Aboriginal and Melanesian Theology." *International Review of Mission* 82, no. April (1993): 167-188.
- Pearson, C., ed. *Doing Theology in Oceania: Partners in Conversation: Hanga Mahi Karaipiture i Te Moana Nui-a-Kiwa: Tūtaki Ā Kanohi, Kia Whakawhitiwhiti Kōrero*, Theology in Oceania Conference. Dunedin, N.Z.: Centre for Contextual Theology, School of Ministry, Knox College, 1996.
- Pene Haare, Ngakuru. "He Powhiri Na Ngapuhi Ki Aotearoa Me Te Waipounamu." *Wharekura* VI, no. 2 (1926): 13-18.
- Pere, R. R. *Ako: Concept and Learning in the Māori Tradition*. Wellington, N.Z.: Te Kohanga Reo National Trust Board, 1982.
- Piper, C. "Diocese Returns Land to Māori." *NZ Catholic*, Feb 23 2003, 10.
- Pompallier, Bishop Jean Baptiste. "Letter to Hone Heke, 1 January 1845." *Wharekura* VI, no. 5 (1926): 8-10.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Letter to Kapene Home, Dated 1 April 1845." *Wharekura* VI, no. 7 (1926): 7-9.
- Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, ed. *Resources for Peace in Traditional Religions: Acts of the Colloquium, Rome: 12-15 Jan 2005*. Vatican City: The Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, 2006.
- Potts, G. H. "Imagining Gaia: Perspectives and Prospects on Gaia, Science and Religion." *Ecotheology* 8, no. 1 (2003): 30-49.
- Rahner, Karl. "Christology within an Evolutionary View of the World." In *Theological Investigations V, 'Later Writings'*, 157-192. London: Darton, Longman, Todd, 1966.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Foundations of Christian Faith: An Introduction to the Idea of Christianity*. Translated by William V. Dych. 1st ed. London: Darton, Longman, Todd, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Virtue." In *Encyclopedia of Theology: A Concise Sacramentum Mundi*, ed. Karl Rahner, 1794-1806. London: Burns & Oates, 1984.

- Rakena, Ruawai D. *The Maori Response to the Gospel: A Study of Maori-Pakeha Relations in the Methodist Maori Mission from Its Beginnings to the Present Day*. 2nd ed. Auckland N.Z.: Wesley Historical Society, 1971.
- Rees, Frank. "Beating around the Bush: Methodological Directions for Australian Theology." *Pacifica* 15, no. 3 (2002): 266-293.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Teaching Theology with Due Regard to Experience and Context." *Theological Education* 40, no. Supplement (2005): 101-113.
- Rogers, L. M., ed. *The Early Journals of Henry Williams: 1826-1840*. Christchurch, N.Z.: Pegasus Press, 1961.
- Royal, Te Ahukaramū C., ed. *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden*. Masterton, N.Z.: The Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden, 2003.
- Ryan, P. M. "Te Ūnga Waka Huri Tau 25." Auckland, N.Z., 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*. 2nd ed. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 1997.
- Salmond, Anne. *Hui: A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. Auckland, N.Z.: Heinemann Reed, 1976.
- Savage, John. *Some Account of New Zealand; Particularly the Bay of Islands, and Surrounding Country; with a Description of the Religion and Government, Language Arts, Manufactures, Manners and Customs of the Natives Etc. Etc*. London, Fleet Street: J. Murray ; also A. Constable and Co (Edinburgh), 1807. Reprint, Capper Press: Christchurch N.Z. 1973.
- Schillebeeckx, E. *Church, the Human Story of God*. New York: Crossroad, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Jesus: An Experiment in Christology*. N.Y.: Crossroad, 1981.
- Schreiter, R. J. *Constructing Local Theologies*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1985.
- Scott, D. *Ask That Mountain, the Story of Parihaka*. Auckland, N.Z.: Heinemann, 1975.
- Shearer, A.R. *Facsimiles of the Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington, N.Z.: Govt. Printer, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *He Whakaputanga O Te Rangatiratanga O Nu Tireni: The Declaration of Independence of New Zealand*, 1835.
- Shirres, Michael P. "Tapu." *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 91, no. 1 (1982): 29-50.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "An Introduction to Karakia." Thesis, University of Auckland, 1986.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Māori Theological Response to Violence." *Colloquium* 26, no. 2 (1994): 94-103.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Tapu: Te Mana O Nga Atua, 'the Mana of the Spiritual Powers': A Maori Theological Understanding of Tapu*. Auckland, N.Z.: Te Runanga Hahi Katorika ki Aotearoa, 1994.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Te Tangata: The Human Person*. Auckland, N.Z.: Accent, 1997.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Ko Toou Manawa, Ko Taaku Manawa—*Your Heart, My Heart*." Auckland, n.d. <http://homepages.ihug.co.nz/~dominic/manawa.html>. (accessed September 15, 2009).

Shorter, A. *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1988.

Shortland, E. *Maori Religion and Mythology*. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1882.

\_\_\_\_\_. New Zealand Manuscripts, Shortland, Pc-002, Pc-0015, Hocken Library Dunedin, N.Z.

Simmons, D. R. *The Great New Zealand Myth: A Study of the Discovery and Origin Traditions of the Māori*. Wellington, N.Z.: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1976.

Simmons, E. R. *Pompallier, Prince of Bishops*. Auckland, N.Z.: CPC, 1984.

Sobrino, Jon. *Spirituality of Liberation: Towards Political Holiness*. Translated by R. Barr. 2nd ed. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1989.

Spence, R. *Whakaaria Mai: The Biography of Canon Wiremu Wi Te Tau Huata*. Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore, 1994.

Stafford, D. M. *Te Arawa, a History of the Arawa People*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 1965.

Statistics New Zealand—Te Tari Tatau, "Quickstats About Māori: Census 2006/ Tauranga 2006 ", Statistics N.Z. <http://www.stats.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/095030F8-BD62-4745-836D-0EF185619C37/0/2006censusquickstatsaboutmaorirevised.pdf> (accessed June 5, 2007).

Tahana, Yvonne. "Northland Iwi Happy to Defer Sovereignty Challenge." (March 4, 2009). [http://www.nzherald.co.nz/treaty-of-waitangi/news/article.cfm?c\\_id=350&objectid=10595638](http://www.nzherald.co.nz/treaty-of-waitangi/news/article.cfm?c_id=350&objectid=10595638) (accessed November 11, 2009).

Tate, H. A. "Himiona Tupākihi Kāmira." In *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: 1921-1940*, ed. W. H. Oliver, Vol. 4, 261-263. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, Bridget William & The Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1998.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Utu—to Restore Honour." *The Common Good* 19 (2001): 6-8.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Understanding the Meaning of Peace in the Traditional Religions and Cultures of Oceania." In *Resources for Peace in Traditional Religions: Acts of the Colloquium, Rome: 12-15 Jan 2005*, ed. Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, 261-271. Vatican City: The Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, 2006.

- Tate, H. A., and T. Paparoa, eds. *Karanga Hokianga*. Kohukohu, Hokianga, N.Z.: Motuti Community Trust, 1986.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Wairoa." Motuti, Hokianga, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Waireia." Motuti, Hokianga, 1998.
- Tauroa, H., and P. Tauroa. *Te Marae: A Guide to Customs and Protocol*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Methuen, 1986.
- Taylor, Richard. *Te Ika a Maui: New Zealand and Its Inhabitants*. 1974, Facsimile ed. Wellington, N.Z.: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1855.
- \_\_\_\_\_. GNZMSS 297/29, 30, 31. Grey, New Zealand Manuscripts, Taylor Collection, Grey, New Zealand Manuscripts, Taylor Collection, Auckland, N.Z. Central City Library.
- Te Hurinui, Pei. *King Potatau: An Account of the Life of Potatau Te Wherowhero the First Maori King*. Carterton, N.Z.: The Polynesian Society, 1959.
- Te Owai, Henare, "Ma Wai Ra,"  
<http://folksong.org.nzfile://C%3A%2FProgram%20Files%2FEndNote%20X%2FTemplates%2FChicago%2015th%20A.dot> (accessed October 9, 2007).
- Te Rangikaheke, Wiremu. GNZMMSS 43; 44; 81. Grey, Māori Manuscripts: Auckland, N.Z. Central City Library, 1849.
- The British and Foreign Bible Society. *Ko Te Paipera Tapu: Arā, Ko Te Kawenata Tawhito Me Te Kawenata Hou*. London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1952.
- The Native Land Court, *Important Judgements: Delivered in the Compensation Court and Native Land Court 1866-1879*, 1879. Southern Reprints 1994.
- The Roman Catholic Church. *The Catechism of the Catholic Church*. Vatican City: CEPAC/Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1995.
- Thornton, A. *The Birth of the Universe: Te Whānautanga O Te Ao Tukupū*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 2004.
- Tienou, T. "Indigenous African Christian Theologies: The Uphill Road." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 14, no. 2 (1990): 73-77.
- Tikao, Teone Taare, and H. Beattie. *Tikao Talks: Ka Taoka Tapu O Te Ao Kohatu – Treasures from the Ancient World of the Maori/Told by Teone Taare Tikao to Herries Beattie*. 2nd ed. Wellington, N.Z.: Reed, 1990.
- Tillich, P. *Systematic Theology*. Vol. 3. 3 vols. London: SCM, 1978.
- Tregear, E. *The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*. Wellington, N.Z.: Lyon and Blair, 1891.

Tuwere, I. S. "What Is Contextual Theology: A View from Oceania." *The Pacific Journal of Theology* 27, no. 2 (2002): 7-20.

United Nations, *Draft: United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, 1994.

United Nations: Centre for Human Rights. "Who Are the World's Indigenous Peoples?" *International Year For the World's Indigenous People—1993* (1993). [http://www.ciesin.org/docs/010-000a/Year\\_Worlds\\_Indig.html](http://www.ciesin.org/docs/010-000a/Year_Worlds_Indig.html). (accessed November 7, 2007).

Vatican I. *Dogmatic Constitution Dei Filius on the Catholic Faith*. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1870.

Waitangi Tribunal. *Motunui-Waitara Claim (Wai 6): Background to the Reefs – Te Atiawa Perspective*. Wellington, N.Z.: Dept. of Justice, Waitangi Tribunal, 1983.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Finding of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Manukau Claim (Wai 8)*. Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printer, 1985.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Orakei Report 1987: Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Orakei Claim (Wai 9)*. Wellington, N.Z.: Brooker & Friend, 1987.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Mohaka River Report (Wai 119)*. Wellington, N.Z.: Brooker & Friend, 1992.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Ngāti Awa Raupatu Report (Wai 46)* Wellington, N.Z.: Legislation Direct, 1999.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Te Paparahi o Te Raki (Northland) District Inquiry." <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/inquiries/genericinquiries/northland/> (accessed December 27, 2009).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Taranaki Report Kaupapa Tuatahi: Muru Me Te Raupatu: The Muru and Raupatu of the Taranaki Land and People (Wai 143)*. Wellington, N.Z.: GP Publications, 1996.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Te Roroa Report 1992, (Wai 38)*. Wellington, N.Z.: Brooker & Friend, 1992.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua: The Report on the Turanganui a Kiwa Claims: (Wai 814) Vol. 2*. Wellington, N.Z.: Legislation Direct, 2004.

Walker, Ranginui. "The Relevance of Maori Myth and Tradition." In *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga*, ed. M. King, 170-182. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 1993.

Walters, Muru. *Te Upoko O Te Ika Karaitianatanga*, 2004.

Walters, Muru. "Io—Where From? Written Evidence." In *Pacific Region Religious Liberty Congress*. Suva, Fiji, 7-10 June 1993.



White, John. *Ancient History of the Maori: His Mythology and Traditions*. 6 vols. Wellington, N.Z.: Alexander Turnbull Library, 1887.

\_\_\_\_\_. Aspects of Maori Life—Tapu, Karakia: 75 B36/35. White Manuscript Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

Williams, H. W. *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*. 7th ed. Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printing Office, 1988.

Winitana, C. "The Meaning of Mana." *N.Z. Geographic*, no. 5, Jan- Mar (1990): 107-111.

Zizioulas, J. *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church*. New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985.

## APPENDIX A

### A.1.0 Māori naming of God

In Chapter One, we noted that the Māori naming of the Divine has been the subject of some controversy. At issue are two competing names: *Atua*, which was the name given to God by the early Christian missionaries; and *Io*, a name that arguably goes back to pre-European and thus pre-Christian Māori tradition. However, a further issue is whether or not the name *Io* as we have received it, is influenced by Christian tradition, or indeed, is a creation by Christians.

We have stated in Chapter One that we use the term *Atua* to name God throughout our thesis. Thus we avoid the controversy over *Io*. However, because we have attempted, as far as possible, to locate our concepts in pre-European Māori tradition, it is important that we review the evidence. We begin with a brief summary of the term *Atua*. We then consider the missionary use of *Atua* to name the Christian God. Thirdly, we look at *Io* as a name for God, and at the disputed nature of the sources. Fourthly, we review the evidence for *Io* traditions in five tribal areas. Fifthly, we review the dispute, and finally, in our conclusion, argue that the *Io* tradition does indeed pre-date the European settlement.

### A.2.0 *Atua*, a Māori name for the gods

The creation story speaks of *Rangi* and *Papatūānuku*, who have a number of children who each exercise responsibility over their own department or sphere of creation.<sup>1</sup> They are commonly referred to as *atua* or *atua kaitiaki* (spiritual powers or guardians, or departmental gods—written in lower-case).<sup>2</sup>

The word ‘*atua*’ is commonly divided by earlier writers into four classes—the Supreme Being (*Io*), departmental gods (*Tāne*, *Tū*, *Rongo* etc.), tribal and district gods, and family gods.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> These children included *Tangaroa*, with responsibility for the sea and all its inhabitants, *Rongo-mā-tāne* (sometimes shortened to *Rongo*) for the *kūmara* and for peace among human beings, *Haumia-tiketike* for the fern root and wild crops, *Tāne-mahuta* (*Tāne*) for the forest, birds and for human beings, *Tāwhiri-mātea* for the wind and weather, and *Tū-matauenga* (*Tū*) for human beings and their warfare. See Wiremu Te Rangikaheke, "GNZMMSS: 43," in *Grey, Māori Manuscripts* (Auckland N.Z. Central City Library, 1849), 893-95.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Coming of the Māori*, 440. Also Marsden, *God, Man and Universe*, 131-135. Also Marsden and Henare, *Kaitiakitanga*, 21.

<sup>3</sup> See Best, *Māori Religion and Mythology*, Vol. 1, 139. See also Buck, *The Coming of the Māori*, 454; and J. Irwin, *An Introduction to Māori Religion* (Aus.: Nat. Library of Australia, 1984), 33.

Despite the earlier claim that ‘*atua*’ are divided into four classes—the Supreme Being, departmental gods, tribal and district gods, and family gods, a closer examination of manuscripts and of recorded *karakia* reveals different levels of meaning and emphasis.<sup>4</sup> *Rangi* and *Papa* are rarely referred to as *atua* in the manuscripts studied. It is the same for the *tamariki* (children) of *Rangi* and *Papa*, whereas tribal and district deities are clearly spoken of as *atua*. Ancestors, some of whom were deified, are also included in this category.<sup>5</sup>

### A.3.0 The missionary naming of God

The early missionaries chose the word *Atua* (with an upper-case “A”) as a naming word for the Christian God. By giving it an upper-case “A,” they sought to make a distinction between the Christian God and the Māori gods. Given our note from Dennehy about four classes above, we see that there is some ambiguity about this choice of four classes of *atua*. Williams states that *atua* could be a god, but it could also denote a demon, a supernatural being, a ghost, an object of superstitious regard, anything malign or disagreeable, something extraordinary, unusual.<sup>6</sup> However, *Atua* has established itself as the near-universal name for God used by Christian Māori.

---

<sup>4</sup> See Bernard Michael Dennehy, “Traditional Māori Ritual: The Notion of Atua in the Māori Manuscripts, with Reference to Rangi, Papa and Their Offspring” (Auckland Consortium for Theological Education, 1991), 37. Hereafter cited as Dennehy, “Traditional Māori Ritual.” According to Dennehy, there are 188 references to the word ‘*atua*’ in the Grey Manuscripts studied. Only 6 references out of 301 apply *atua* to *Rangi*, and 1 out of 131 to *Papa*. In only 6 instances out of 875 are the *tamariki* of *Rangi* and *Papa* referred to as *atua*.

<sup>5</sup> Dennehy, “Traditional Māori Ritual,” 12-13. An examination of the Grey Māori manuscripts and of the *karakia* (ritual chants) recorded by Shortland, White, and Taylor reveals different levels of meaning and emphasis. See E. Shortland, *Maori Religion and Mythology* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1882). See John White manuscripts held at the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. The Māori manuscripts of Rev. Richard Taylor are included among Grey’s New Zealand Manuscripts, GNZMSS. Dennehy further states: “Tribal and district deities, of the third category, are clearly spoken of as *atua* in the Māori manuscripts studied. Ancestors, some of whom were deified, are also included in this category. In the *karakia* contained in the manuscripts, the most frequent references to *atua* are contained in the *karakia* for the sick, the object of which to control or expel the *atua ngau* or *atua ngau tangata* (the spirit biting the person) believed to be causing the illness. The *atua kahu* arising from stillborn children were thought to be particularly harmful to people. In the description of the *karakia* rituals, the word *atua* is used to indicate the spiritual power to which a ritual is directed or an offering made. In the other texts the *atua Maori* are seen as the spiritual powers behind the traditional way of life which was being eroded and lost at the time of writing (the 1840s and 1850s). The conclusion drawn from this study is that the term *atua* is applied in a spiritual sense to many different beings and objects, and only rarely to the higher spiritual powers such as *Rangi*, *Papa* and their offspring. More frequently it is applied to the lesser spiritual powers which were thought to be more active in inter-relating with people, namely, the tribal deities, ancestors and harmful spirits which cause sickness and other misfortunes.” Dennehy, “Traditional Māori Ritual,” 12-13.

<sup>6</sup> See Williams, *Dictionary*, 20.

#### **A.4.0        *Io* as a name for God, and the disputed nature of the sources.**

At the outset, a distinction needs to be made between the existence of an *Io* tradition (or *Io* cult), and public use of the term *Io*. Both the existence of the *Io* tradition, and its suitability for use today, have been points of dispute in recent times. We look first at the existence of an *Io* tradition.

By way of background, we note that Māori transmitted orally much of their wisdom and tradition in *whare wānanga*, which were houses of learning open to a selected few initiates, who were charged with preserving the tribal knowledge of history, *whakapapa*, *karakia* and rituals.<sup>7</sup> While these *whare wānanga* pre-dated European arrival, they also continued afterwards, into European times.<sup>8</sup> It is in this context that the question arises: did the use of the name *Io* for the Supreme Being exist in pre-European times in these *whare wānanga*?

According to Michael Shirres:

The Māori understanding of *Io* first became generally known with the publication in 1913 of Percy S. Smith's two volume work, *The Lore of the Whare Wānanga*, and from some of the writings of Elsdon Best, especially his writings on Māori Religion. The sources for this material were the writings of H. T. Whatahoro (John Storway).<sup>9</sup>

#### **A.5.0        Evidence of *Io* traditions in five tribal areas**

We now turn to review the various *Io* traditions that are extant. We begin with the Ngāti Kahungunu story because, amongst others of the time, Te Rangi Hīroa (Sir Peter Buck) regarded the *Io* tradition as originating amongst the Kahungunu people.

##### **A.5.1        Ngāti Kahungunu tradition**

H. T. Whatahoro had taken down, developed and rewritten a series of lectures given at a *whare wānanga* in the Wairarapa district in 1865 by Te Mātorohanga and Nēpia Pōhuhu, two eminent *tohunga* of the Ngāti Kahungunu tribe who were reputed to be Christians at this time.

---

<sup>7</sup> See C. Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro: Key Concepts in Māori Culture* (Victoria, Aus.: Oxford University Press, 2004), 156-59.

<sup>8</sup> For example, the *whare wānanga o Te Tai Tokerau*, which originated in the early 1850's as a result of concern for Māori *tikanga* that was in danger of being lost due to the impact of Christian missionaries, went into recess only in 1958. See Māori Marsden, "'Educating Maori': An Interview with Rev. M. Marsden—Dame J. Metge, 9 November 1982," in *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden*, ed. Te Ahukaramū C. Royal (Masterton, N.Z.: The Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden, 2003), xxxvii.

<sup>9</sup> Shirres, *Te Tangata*, 107.

The text of Whatahoro, rewritten over a period of forty years, had increased fourfold in size when it was approved by the Tāne-nui-ā-rangi Committee in 1907 as an agreed expression of genuine Ngāti Kahungunu tradition in that year.<sup>10</sup>

These three factors make difficult any judgements firstly as to whether Whatahoro's writing faithfully reflects the belief in *Io* of Te Mātorohanga and Nēpia Pōhuhu in their 1865 lectures; secondly, as to whether their Christian faith influenced its transmission pre-1865; or thirdly, as to whether, as some allege, it was fabricated by them. Shirres draws a modest conclusion: "It does not necessarily represent the tribal tradition in 1865. However, it is an oral tradition approved by a responsible body of elders."<sup>11</sup> As such, the Ngāti Kahungunu evidence is not convincing on its own, and must be considered alongside evidence from other, independent sources, to which we now turn.

#### A.5.2 Waikato tradition

Early written material for Waikato derives from John White's manuscripts *Ancient History of the Maori*.<sup>12</sup> One of his sources was the notebooks of Reverend Richard Taylor. An entry in one of Taylor's notebooks reads:

Notes from the Teacher of Wawarua Mai 7/52. Their chief god was *Io*. He was the creator of heaven and earth. *E Io e, rangi tapapa mai e koe a taua tama, ko te whakarongorongo i raro i to tawhito taparongo nui a Rangi ka tokoto Rangi ki te ahu Rangi*. This was the beginning of a *karakia* addressed to *Io* in the *hahunga tupapaku* and afterwards another was addressed to Tiorea (the *mokai* servant of Uenuku), an ancestor. Uenukuatu was once a man and afterwards became a god. *Io* made the heavens and the earth and Tiki.<sup>13</sup>

Taylor's notebook is dated 7 May 1852, thirteen years before the Kahungunu *Whare Wānanga* series.

<sup>10</sup> Shirres, *Te Tangata*, 107.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> See John White, "75 B36/35." Also John White, *Ancient History of the Maori: His Mythology and Traditions*, 6 vols. (Wellington, N.Z.: Alexander Turnbull Library, 1887). Hereafter cited as White, *Ancient History of Māori*.

<sup>13</sup> GNZMMSS Taylor 297/30 Part 1, No.10, p. 146, GNSMMSS Taylor 297/29 No. 9, p.182. Wawarua is situated between Otorohanga and Te Kuiti, deep in the Waikato district. See also White, *Ancient History of Māori*, Vol. 2, 4.

Shirres cites an undated reference to *Io* in Taylor's notebook (No.11), showing Taylor's awareness of both the Waikato and Kahungunu belief in *Io*: "*Io* the great god of Waikato and of Kahungunu. The resemblance of his name to Ihowa was pointed out to me by the natives themselves who still affirm it to be the ancient name of this god."<sup>14</sup>

Pei Te Hurinui, a Waikato historian, also gives evidence of the presence of the *Io* tradition within Waikato.<sup>15</sup> In his biography of King Potatau, he describes the raising-up ritual for the first Māori King in 1859, and cites the *Io karakia* used by Te Tāpīhana, "*E Io! e Rangi! tapa mai ra ia ta taua tama.*"<sup>16</sup> The opening lines of the *karakia* are very similar to those of the *karakia* given by Taylor.<sup>17</sup> Te Hurinui speaks of Tāpīhana as "a High Priest of the ancient *Io* (Supreme Being) cult of the Tainui tribes."<sup>18</sup>

In his chapter on Religion, Te Hurinui reflects "As a high priest of the *whare wananga*, Potatau could look back into the remote past—and to the 'Beginning of All' with *Io*, the Supreme Being."<sup>19</sup> Te Hurinui notes that Potatau, weighed down with age and new problems, found solace "in the *Io* religion of his race."<sup>20</sup> In elaborating further on the *Io* religion of the Tainui priesthood, he states:

At the outset the declaration is made in the *Io* religion that the world evolved from *Io*, the Supreme Being; and his dwelling is at the apex and centre of Creation.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Shirres, *Ibid.* The citation is from GNZMMSS Taylor 297/31: No.11, p. 265.

<sup>15</sup> See Te Hurinui, *King Potatau*, 246. He provides translations, and explanatory notes that have not been previously available. In his bibliography, he cites written tribal sources of his information: "Journal and *Whakapapa* (Genealogies) Book of the Late King Te Rata (the fourth Māori King)" (p. 286). Secondly, he cites "Ritual, *Whakapapa* and *Waiata* (Songs), of the late Te Hurinui Te Wano (Maniapoto and Tuwharetoa tribes)." (*Ibid.*) Thirdly, under the heading of Tribal Elders, he lists, with their tribal affiliations, twelve people who provided oral information. (*Ibid.*) He also cites under his own name, "Manuscript Records of Tribal Genealogies, Ritual, Songs, and History" (p. 285). Fourthly, from the Auckland Office of the Native Land Court, he cites "Waikato and Otorohanga series of Minute Books containing minutes of the evidence of ... tribal witnesses." Alongside the names of the 23 witnesses, he cites their dates, from 1884 to 1894. (p. 285).

<sup>16</sup> Te Hurinui, *King Potatau*, 224. On page 221, he offers his translation of these same words: "O *Io*! Thou Heavenly One! Name him this son of ours."

<sup>17</sup> GNZMMSS Taylor 297/30 Part 1, No.10, p.146. See also GNSMMSS Taylor 297/29 No.9, p. 182.

<sup>18</sup> Te Hurinui informs us that Te Tāpīhana was a chieftain and high priest of the southern Waikato Tribes of the Rangiaohia-Ohaupo district. Te Hurinui, *King Potatau*, 225.

<sup>19</sup> Te Hurinui, *King Potatau*, 244.

<sup>20</sup> Te Hurinui, *King Potatau*, 244-246.

<sup>21</sup> Te Hurinui, *King Potatau*, 246-247.

### A.5.3. Ngāi Tahu (South Island) Tradition

Herries Beattie provides written evidence for the *Io* tradition for the South Island tribe of Ngāi Tahu. In 1920 he recorded the material of seventy-year-old Teone Taare Tikao of Banks Peninsula, who had trained in the ways of the *tohunga* and was a recognised expert in Ngāi Tahu culture and belief. According to Tikao's creation story:

At the conclusion of the *Po* ages, *Io*, the Supreme God, brought the sky (*Rangi-nui* or *Rangi*) and land (*Papa-tuā-nuku* or *Papa*) into being. *Io* was the supreme god of the Maori. He is far and away the greatest of our many gods, and it was through his act of creation that the other gods appeared.<sup>22</sup>

### A.5.4. East Coast-Tairāwhiti Tradition

Sir Apirana Ngata, in his 1950 article, “The *Io* cult,”<sup>23</sup> argues for the existence of the cult in pre-European times in East Coast-Tairāwhiti. Firstly, in this brief article, Ngata refers to the cult of *Io* being practised widely:

The evidence of the coverage of the Cult of *Io* in New Zealand shows that it is not confined to one district like the Wairarapa or even the East Coast. We may say that the East Coast is fairly uniform in its tradition. You may find it in the Wanganui River, you find it at Thames and the remarkable thing from our point of view on the East Coast, you find it at Tolaga Bay in the Rakeiora *whare wananga*.<sup>24</sup>

Secondly, Ngata continues that the *Io* cult survived through the secrecy laws that surrounded it:

You can't have a cult obtaining amongst seven different tribes unless you were to say that the secrecy, which hedged round it, had collapsed when the Pakeha came. It did not.<sup>25</sup>

Thus Ngata gives his own evidence to the existence of an *Io* cult which is geographically and tribally widespread. He clearly believes the cult, thanks to the secrecy laws surrounding it, to be pre-Pākehā in origin. Now we turn to the tradition of the northern tribes.

---

<sup>22</sup> Teone Taare Tikao and H. Beattie, *Tikao Talks: Ka Taoka Tapu O Te Ao Kohatu—Treasures from the Ancient World of the Maori/Told by Teone Taare Tikao to Herries Beattie*, 2nd ed. (Wellington, N.Z.: Reed, 1990), 24.

<sup>23</sup> Sir Apirana Ngata, “The Cult of Io,” *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 59, no. 4 (1950): 336–337. Hereafter cited as Ngata, “The Cult of Io.”

<sup>24</sup> Ngata, “The Cult of Io,” 336.

<sup>25</sup> Ngata, “The Cult of Io,” 337.

### A.5.5. Te Rarawa, Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Whātua Tradition

A first piece of evidence comes from Ngata, who refers to a Judge Maning, resident in Hokianga from 1833.<sup>26</sup>

Ngata speaks of Maning as “the only Pakeha who made a complete study of the Cult of *Io*. He absorbed it all, *karakia* and everything, and was even initiated in it.”<sup>27</sup>

A second piece of evidence comes from *The Life and Times of Patuone*, written by C. O. Davis and published in 1876. Davis relates how a distinguished Maori chieftain had:

inadvertently revealed the fact that the Maoris, in the olden times, worshipped a Supreme Being whose name was held to be so sacred that none but the priest might utter it at certain times and places. The name was *Io*, perhaps an abbreviation of *Iouru*.<sup>28</sup>

Thirdly, Ngākuru Pene Hāre in 1923 records the story of two opposing chiefs, Pōkaia and Taoho, who fought a battle in 1820 between Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Whātua. He records how each one sought the *karakia tapu* to give him victory, and relates that the two most powerful *karakia* were the *karakia* from two different *Io Whare Wānanga*:

The *tapu karakia* greater than other *tapu karakia* is *Pinepine-i-te-rangi*. This *tapu karakia* is from within one of the *Whare Wananga* of *Io* called Te Rarauatea. *Takahia-i-te-rangi* is the *tapu karakia* from within one of the *Whare Wananga* of *Iomatuakore* called Titoremahutu.<sup>29</sup>

Fourthly, Himiona Kāmira, in a section entitled *Te Tohungatanga* (The Priestly Role), describes the whole process of inducting *tauirā* (new disciples) into the *whare wānanga* in Hokianga. He outlines in detail the construction of the *whare wānanga*, and the rituals and *karakia* for its opening and refers to *Io* as *Io-matua-i-te-kore*:

---

<sup>26</sup> Maning arrived at Hokianga in July 1833. He acquired property in Kohukohu. In March 1839 he settled at Onoke, at the mouth of the Whirinaki River. The house still stands. From 1840 he lived with Moengaroa of the local Hikutū *hapū* with whom he had four children. See D. Colquhoun, "Frederick Edward Maning," in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: 1769-1869*, ed. W. H. Oliver (Wellington, N.Z.: Allen & Unwin & The Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1990), vol. 1, 265-66.

<sup>27</sup> See Ngata, "The Cult of *Io*," 336-337.

<sup>28</sup> See C. O. Davis, *The Life and Times of Patuone* (Auckland, N.Z.: Capper, 1876), 13.

<sup>29</sup> This is the writer's translation of the Maori text from "Penehāre Manuscripts," Pakanga No.1, unpublished, 1923, held at the University of Auckland Library. Ngākuru Pene Hāre was born in 1852 and died in 1950, aged 98. Like Himiona Kāmira, he was a senior member of the *Whare Wānanga o Hokianga*. The local people spelt Pene Hāre as separate words. See Tate & Paparoa. See also H. A. Tate and T. Paparoa, "Wairoa," (Motuti, Hokianga: 1989), 24.



*Ka mutu ena, ka karakia te tohunga ki a Io-matua-i-te-kore kia tukua iho te mana here ki runga i te whare kei tinihangatia e etahi atu iwi. I karakia ratou i ēnei karakia, na te mea kia tapu te whare. [When those prayers were completed the tohunga (priest) led the prayers to Io-matua-i-te-kore to rain down the binding spiritual power upon this house of learning to protect it from the guile of other people. They prayed that it be a sacred house.]*<sup>30</sup>

The final northern sources are to be found in the writings of Barlow<sup>31</sup> and Marsden.<sup>32</sup> Both refer to *Io* in their creation stories. Both acknowledge, as source of their material, the Ngāpuhi *whare wānanga* they attended, though not at the same time, in the 1930s and 1940s.

Marsden, in the introduction to his chapter on *Io*, Supreme God, writes:

For this study, I will be taking the tradition (about *Io*) of the Ngapuhi *Wananga*, modified by the tradition of my own tribal elders and my observations over the years of variations in detail in tribal custom and oral literature of other tribes expressed on the *marae*.<sup>33</sup>

This completes our survey of the written evidence, from Ngāti Kahungunu and four other traditions from different parts of *Aotearoa*.

## **A.6.0 Review of the dispute**

We have reviewed the evidence for an *Io* tradition. Now we turn to those who express doubts and objections concerning the existence of this tradition.

### **A.6.1. Doubt and objections to the antiquity of the name of *Io***

We look at three writers, namely, Sir Peter Buck, J. Prytz Johansen and Anglican Bishop Muru Walters.

#### **A.6.1.1. Sir Peter Buck**

Buck wrote that the discovery of a supreme God named *Io* was “a surprise to Māori and *pakeha* alike.”<sup>34</sup> He found it surprising for a number of reasons. The concept of *Io* was a marked departure from the popular version of a number of co-equal gods, each possessing authority over independent departments of nature and human activities.

<sup>30</sup> Writer’s translation. See *Kāmira*, Vol. 2, 6.

<sup>31</sup> Barlow relates his experience of attending the *Whare Wānanga*, as a young boy, and learning about *Io*. See Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 10-12.

<sup>32</sup> Marsden, *God, Man and Universe*, 130-131.

<sup>33</sup> Marsden, *God, Man and Universe*, 130.

<sup>34</sup> Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, 526.

Secondly, he maintained that an extraordinary amount of detail had been furnished by two writers who had enthusiastically accepted the existence of an Io tradition, namely Percy Smith and Elsdon Best.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, Buck states, that “the general public” did not know about it “until comparatively recent times because ... an inner circle of priests termed [*tohunga ahurewa*] held the knowledge,” and “would not impart it to the uninitiated.”<sup>36</sup>

Thirdly, Buck considered the *Io* version of the separation of light from darkness, the division of the waters, and the creation of the earth to be “too reminiscent of similar episodes in the first chapter of Genesis.”<sup>37</sup>

Fourthly, Buck claims that “the doubt grew when it was considered that both Te Mātorohanga and his scribe Te Whatahoro had been converted to Christianity before the detailed story of Io was committed to manuscript.” This “New Zealand discovery of a supreme creator” led, in turn, to a

search for the same or similar creators in Polynesia, and it is amazing what a mass of secret information was alleged to have been locked away in the minds of cautious Christians who but awaited the inquiry of sympathetic seekers to unloose the floodgates of memory.<sup>38</sup>

Fifthly, Buck avers that Te Whatahoro

spent years in making further recordings from Te Matorohanga and a learned confrère named Nepia Pohuhu had the manuscript in his possession for 50 years and he made copies, one of which was deposited in the Dominion Museum.<sup>39</sup>

Buck considered the concept of *Io* to be a “new theory.”<sup>40</sup> He suspected that the name *Io* is the same as “*iho*,” meaning “core,” and it was

probably for some such meaning that the name was selected for a supreme god who was to be the core or heart of all things. Following an established technique, Io was given a number of names by adding a qualifying term to denote his various attributes.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. Buck refers to the following authors: J. S. Percy Smith, “The Lore of the Whare-Wananga or Teaching of the Maori College,” Part 1, vol. 3, *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society* (New Plymouth, N.Z.: The Polynesian Society, 1913); and to Elsdon Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, 2 vols., Vol. 1 (Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printer, 1976).

<sup>36</sup> Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, 443-4.

<sup>37</sup> Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, 526.

<sup>38</sup> Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, 526.

<sup>39</sup> Buck, *The Coming of the Māori*, 444. We need to note that according to Smith, as cited by Buck, Te Whatahoro had recorded the *Whare Wānanga* lectures given by Te Mātorohanga and Nēpia Pōhuhu in 1865, before he made the information publicly available through the copy he deposited in the Dominion Museum. See S. Percy Smith, *The Lore of the Whare-Wānanga or Teaching of the Maori College on Religion, Cosmogony, and History: Part 1*, Vol. 3, *Memoirs of the New Plymouth N.Z.: Polynesian Society*, 1913, ii, 1.

<sup>40</sup> Buck, *The Coming of the Māori*, 444.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

Thus Buck considered the *Io* tradition as a reaction, from a group of Christian Māori individuals from Ngāti Kahungunu, to Christianity. Buck here seems, like those he criticises, dependent for his sources on the “extraordinary amount of detail ... furnished by Percy Smith and Elsdon Best through the publication of copious extracts from the Mātorohanga manuscript.”<sup>42</sup>

#### A.6.1.2. **J. Prytz Johansen**

Our second writer who expresses doubt about the *Io* tradition is J. Prytz Johansen. Apparently basing himself only on Buck, he writes: “All things considered there is the greatest probability that *Io* became a high god after the European came to New Zealand.”<sup>43</sup>

#### A.6.1.3. **Bishop Muru Walters**

Anglican Bishop Muru Walters, in June 1993, also rejected the tradition of *Io*. He claimed: “The invention of a supreme god *Io* was a response to the political, social and economic circumstances of the times.” He follows the arguments of Buck, and adds that: “The supreme god *Io* which was developed about the late nineteenth century was not known by my elders,’ my parents,’ my uncles’ and my aunties’ tribes. It was developed by a few Maori of the Kahungunu tribe.”<sup>44</sup>

### A.7.0 **Conclusion**

It remains a matter of dispute whether *Io* is an authentic pre-Christian Māori naming of God. The earlier secrecy and restrictions surrounding the term do not apply any more, because the term *Io* is now commonly used by particular groups of Māori.<sup>45</sup>

We have considered the traditions of five *iwi* in various parts of the country that witness to an *Io* tradition. We have also examined the doubts and objections lodged against the antiquity and authenticity of the name and the tradition of *Io*, principally those of Elsdon Best, in the name of a single scribal source whose conversion to Christianity raises doubts about the objectivity of his account.

<sup>42</sup> *The Coming of the Māori*, 526.

<sup>43</sup> J. Prytz Johansen, *The Maori and His Religion in Its Non-Ritualistic Aspects* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954), 193.

<sup>44</sup> Muru Walters, “Io—Where From? Written Evidence” (paper presented at the Pacific Region Religious Liberty Congress, Suva, Fiji, 7-10 June 1993). This address by Bishop Muru was broadcast on Radio Rhema (Auckland). See the reflections on Johansen and Walters in Shirres, *Te Tangata*, 107.

<sup>45</sup> Some *kaumātua* speakers acknowledge in *whai-kōrero* (formal speeches) the Supreme Being with the term, *Io*. Some recite pre-Christian *karakia* which include the term, *Io*. Others insert the name of *Io* in *karakia* they construct for the occasion.

The argument is delicately balanced. On the one hand, there is witness to an *Io* tradition from five *iwi* (Ngata claims seven), with a reasonably wide geographic spread throughout Aotearoa. On the other hand, there is the claim that all its witnesses were familiar with the Christian tradition and that the claims for an *Io* tradition should stop with their witness, because it is subject to some doubt.

However, we believe that the wide geographic spread of the witness is a strong argument against the one-source claims of the objectors. We conclude—cautiously—that the *Io* tradition is sufficiently well founded that we may dare to accept *Io* as an authentic Māori term to speak of the One whom Christians have also called *Atua*. In the knowledge that *te tapu i te Atua* transcends all names, we have seen fit to use the name *Atua* in this thesis.

## APPENDIX B

### Glossary

#### Ngā Kupu

*āhei*  
*Aho Matua*  
  
*aituā*  
*amuamu*  
*ana*  
*Ao Mārama*  
*Ao-tua-ātea*  
  
*ara*  
*ārai*  
*Ariki*  
*ariki*  
*aroaro*  
*aroa*  
*aroa mō rātou anō*  
*aroa noa*  
*ātarau*  
*ātea*  
*āteatanga*  
*atua, atua kaitiaki*  
*Atua*  
*Atua kaha*  
*Atua kaihanga*  
*Atua mana*  
*Atua matangaro*  
*Atua matua*  
*Atua matua-kore*  
*Atua pūkenga*  
*Atua taketake*  
*Atua Tamaiti*  
*Atua Wairua Tapu*  
*Atua-nui*  
*Atua-roa*  
*Atuatanga*  
*Atua-uru*  
*Atua-wānanga*  
*autāne*  
*auwahine*  
*awa*  
*āwhā*  
*ekore e āhei*  
*ekore e taea*  
*haere tika*  
*Hāhi Katorika*  
*haka*  
*hākinakina*  
*hapū*  
*hara*  
*hau*

#### – Kupu Whakamārama

– may, able  
 – process of learning followed in *Kōhanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa*  
 – death, tragedy  
 – complaining, moaning  
 – caves  
 – the perceptible physical world, the world of light  
 – the world beyond any space-time framework, the infinite and eternal  
 – pathway  
 – veil, barrier  
 – Lord  
 – chief  
 – presence  
 – affection, love, compassion, mercy, empathy  
 – love or compassion for themselves  
 – unconditional love or mercy  
 – shadow  
 – optional form of *wātea*, freedom from restrictions  
 – freedom, the setting free  
 – gods, guardian spirits, spiritual powers  
 – God, Supreme Being  
 – almighty God  
 – creator God  
 – omnipotent God  
 – unseen God  
 – parent God  
 – God, the parentless one, uncreated  
 – God, the first cause  
 – God, root, foundation, source, cause of all things  
 – God the Son  
 – God the Holy Spirit  
 – God, the infinite one  
 – God the everlasting one  
 – Godness of *Atua*  
 – God, the omnipresent  
 – God, the omniscient  
 – brother-in-law to a female  
 – sister-in-law to a male  
 – river  
 – storm  
 – not morally or spiritually possible  
 – not physically attainable  
 – go directly  
 – Catholic Church  
 – posture dance, principally by the men-folk  
 – sport, fun  
 – extended family grouping, the subtribe  
 – violation, offence, transgression  
 – wind, breath

<i>hau otaota</i>	– winds of rubbish
<i>Haumia-tiketike</i>	– spiritual guardian with responsibility for the fern root and wild crops
<i>hauora</i>	– health, physical wellbeing
<i>haupapa</i>	– frost
<i>haurangi</i>	– drunkenness
<i>Hawaiki</i>	– mystical, original homeland in the Pacific
<i>he</i>	– a, some, indefinite article
<i>hē</i>	– error, wrong-doing, fault, mistake
<i>he wā</i>	– moment in time, a stage
<i>hea whenua</i>	– land shares
<i>heamana</i>	– chairperson
<i>Hēhu Karaiti/Kerito</i>	– Jesus Christ (Catholic Māori version) <i>Kerito</i> first used during the ministry of Bishop Pompallier
<i>heke tika</i>	– direct descent
<i>Hekenga Mai</i>	– The Great Migration
<i>hīkoi</i>	– journey, pilgrimage
<i>hīmene</i>	– hymns
<i>hinengaro</i>	– seat of thoughts and emotions
<i>hoa</i>	– friend
<i>hoa haere</i>	– fellow traveller
<i>hoa pononga</i>	– fellow-slave or servant
<i>hoa wahine</i>	– wife
<i>hohou rongo</i>	– restoration of <i>tapu</i> and <i>mana</i> , making peace, reconciliation
<i>hoiho totitoti</i>	– limping or lame horse
<i>Hokianga</i>	– harbour and district on north West Coast of Northland
<i>Hokianga Whakapau Karakia</i>	– Hokianga of Intense Prayer
<i>Hokianganui-o-Kupe</i>	– Hokianga, the direct returning place of Kupe
<i>hongī</i>	– ritual greeting of pressing noses
<i>hou mai</i>	– enter
<i>houhangarongo</i>	– peace, reconciliation
<i>houhia te rongo</i>	– binding the peace
<i>hui</i>	– meeting, gathering
<i>hui rangimārie</i>	– gathering of peace
<i>huihuīnga</i>	– gathering
<i>hukarere</i>	– snow
<i>hūmārie</i>	– peaceful
<i>hunaonga</i>	– in-law relationships, son-in-law, daughter-in-law
<i>hunga</i>	– person, people
<i>hunga kāinga</i>	– home people
<i>hunga mauhere</i>	– prisoner
<i>hunga mate</i>	– deceased person/persons
<i>hungawai,</i>	– in-law relationships; father-in-law; or mother-in-law
<i>hura kōhatu</i>	– unveiling of gravestone
<i>huritau</i>	– birthday
<i>i runga i te aroha</i>	– on the basis of affection or compassion
<i>i runga i te whakapae</i>	– on the basis of suspicion
<i>i runga i te whenua</i>	– upon the land
<i>ia tangata</i>	– each person, the individual
<i>ihi</i>	– psychic power
<i>Ika-a-Maui</i>	– Fish of <i>Maui</i> , Māori name for the North Island
<i>ina</i>	– when
<i>Io</i>	– Supreme Being, <i>Atua</i>
<i>Io matua</i>	– parent God
<i>ira tangata</i>	– life principle of human kind
<i>iwi</i>	– tribe, collective of <i>whānau</i> and <i>hapū</i> , bones
<i>iwi kē</i>	– people of other tribes or nationalities

<i>iwi o Te Rarawa</i>	–	tribe of <i>Te Rarawa</i>
<i>ka noho noa te katoa</i>	–	all remain in a state of negative <i>noa</i>
<i>kaha</i>	–	physical power and strength
<i>kāhore anō kia tae ki te wā</i>	–	not yet time; stages not yet in place, goal not yet achieved
<i>kai</i>	–	food
<i>kai tahi</i>	–	sharing a meal
<i>kai moana</i>	–	seafood
<i>kai tangata</i>	–	cannibalism
<i>kaihangā</i>	–	creator, maker
<i>kaihāpai himene</i>	–	hymn leader, singers
<i>kaihohou rongo</i>	–	peacemaker
<i>kaikarakia</i>	–	prayer leader
<i>kaikaranga</i>	–	caller
<i>kaikauhau</i>	–	homilist
<i>kaikawe karakia</i>	–	conductor of prayer
<i>kaikeri poka</i>	–	gravedigger
<i>kaikōkiri</i>	–	initiator
<i>kaikōrero</i>	–	speaker
<i>kaimihi</i>	–	speaker who greets
<i>kaimoana</i>	–	seafood
<i>kāinga</i>	–	home
<i>kāinga tupu</i>	–	birth place
<i>kaipānui i te karaipiture</i>	–	readers of scripture
<i>kaitakahi</i>	–	one who tramples
<i>kaitautoko</i>	–	supporter
<i>kaitiaki</i>	–	steward, guardian
<i>kaitiakitanga</i>	–	stewardship
<i>kaitonotono</i>	–	servant
<i>kaituku</i>	–	giver
<i>kaiwaiata</i>	–	singer
<i>kaiwhakakapi tūrangā</i>	–	filler of a position, role-player
<i>kaiwhakamārie</i>	–	peace maker or pacifier
<i>kaiwhakanoa</i>	–	lifter of <i>tapu</i> restrictions, violator
<i>kaiwhakatara</i>	–	challenger, stirrer
<i>kangakanga</i>	–	cursing, blaspheming
<i>kapenga ture</i>	–	omission of duty
<i>karakia</i>	–	incantations, chants, prayer
<i>karakia whakapai</i>	–	prayer of thanksgiving or praise
<i>karakia whakapono taua</i>	–	prayer over war-party in preparation for battle
<i>karakia whakatapu</i>	–	blessing or dedicatory prayer
<i>karakia whakauru mana</i>	–	prayer bestowing <i>mana</i>
<i>karakia whakawātea</i>	–	prayer of release
<i>karanga</i>	–	call of welcome; named relationships, in name
<i>karanga keke</i>	–	custom of “calling of the cake”
<i>karanga matua</i>	–	<i>matua</i> 'in name'; uncle or aunt
<i>karanga mokopuna</i>	–	<i>mokopuna</i> 'in name'; grand-niece or grand-nephew
<i>karanga tamāhine</i>	–	daughter 'in name'; niece
<i>karanga tamaiti</i>	–	son 'in name'; nephew
<i>karanga teina</i>	–	younger brother 'in name' to a male or younger sister 'in name' to a female; cousin of the same gender—but in the junior line of descent
<i>karanga tuahine</i>	–	sister 'in name' to male; female cousin of male
<i>karanga tuakana</i>	–	older brother 'in name' to a male or older sister 'in name' to a female; cousin of the same gender—but in the senior line of descent
<i>karanga tungāne</i>	–	brother 'in name' to a female; male cousin of a female
<i>karanga tupuna</i>	–	<i>tupuna</i> 'in name'; grand-uncle or grand-aunt
<i>Katorika</i>	–	Catholic

<i>kauhau</i>	– sermon, homily
<i>kaumātua</i>	– elder (more commonly a male)
<i>kaupapa</i>	– principle, ground rules, purpose, project
<i>kaupapa o te aroha</i>	– principle of <i>aroha</i>
<i>kaupapa o te Atua</i>	– principles or ground rules of <i>Atua</i>
<i>kawa</i>	– ritual actions
<i>kawe</i>	– conduct, carry
<i>kawe karakia</i>	– initiate prayer, conduct prayer
<i>kete</i>	– flax basket
<i>kia mau te rongo</i>	– let peace abide
<i>kia tau te rangimārie</i>	– let there be peace
<i>Kīngitanga</i>	– Māori King Movement
<i>kiri waiwai o Papatūānuku</i>	– skin (surface) of <i>Papatūānuku</i>
<i>koha</i>	– gift of food or money
<i>Kōhanga o te Hāhi Katorika</i>	– cradle and birthplace of the Catholic Church
<i>Kōhanga Reo</i>	– pre-school Māori language nests/classes
<i>kōhatu</i>	– rock
<i>kōhuru</i>	– murder, manslaughter, genocide, abortion, euthanasia
<i>kōiwi</i>	– bones, skeletal remains
<i>kōkiri</i>	– to dart, rush forward, charge, initiate
<i>kore tautoko</i>	– lacking support
<i>kore whakaaro</i>	– lacking thought or regard for
<i>kore whakapono</i>	– lacking in faith, not believing
<i>kōrero</i>	– word, speech
<i>kōrero whakakinokino</i>	– speaking ill of, defaming
<i>kōwhete</i>	– constant scolding
<i>kua mau te rongo</i>	– peace is established, and prevails
<i>kua noa to tātou noho</i>	– in a state of freedom (positive), or of diminishment (negative); restriction (negative)
<i>kua tae ki te wā</i>	– the time has arrived or the goal has been achieved
<i>kuare</i>	– lacking knowledge, culpable ignorance
<i>kuia</i>	– elder (female)
<i>kūmara</i>	– sweet potato
<i>kupu</i>	– word, speech
<i>kura kaupapa</i>	– Māori primary school; language classes and programmes in <i>te reo</i>
<i>kura tuarua</i>	– secondary school
<i>kurī</i>	– dog
<i>mahi</i>	– work, action
<i>mahi aroha</i>	– works of love or mercy
<i>mahi hē</i>	– err, commit a fault
<i>mahi pono</i>	– honest dealings
<i>mahi pūremu</i>	– illicit sexual acts, sexual abuse
<i>mahi tika</i>	– correct, right action
<i>mahinga kai</i>	– crop plantations
<i>mana</i>	– spiritual power and authority, influence, control, prestige, status
<i>mana Atua</i>	– spiritual power of God
<i>mana kawē i te riri</i>	– right and power to do battle
<i>mana kawē kaupapa</i>	– right and power to initiate and conduct specific <i>kaupapa</i> (projects)
<i>mana kupu</i>	– power of the word
<i>mana manaaki</i>	– power and honour of providing hospitality
<i>mana motuhake</i>	– power, authority and prestige; set apart
<i>mana o te hunga kāinga</i>	– right and power of the host or home people
<i>mana o te ingoa</i>	– power and prestige of the name
<i>mana o te Iwi</i>	– power and authority of the tribe
<i>mana o te marae</i>	– power and authority of the <i>marae</i>



<i>mana o te tangata ki runga i te whenua</i>	–	power and authority of people over the land
<i>mana o te Tangata Whenua</i>	–	power and authority of the People of the Land (the Indigenous People)
<i>mana o te whānau noho kāinga</i>	–	power and authority of the country-dwelling family
<i>mana o te whānau tuakana</i>	–	power and authority of the senior line of the family
<i>mana o te whenua</i>	–	power of the land
<i>mana tangata</i>	–	power and authority of people
<i>mana tuku</i>	–	power and authority shared, given, bestowed
<i>mana tuku iho</i>	–	power and authority handed down from one generation to another
<i>mana whakahaere</i>	–	power and authority to manage, control and direct, govern, administer
<i>mana whakahoki</i>	–	<i>mana</i> to return
<i>manaaki</i>	–	caring attitude and action, exercising hospitality
<i>māngai</i>	–	mouth, mouth-piece
<i>manuhiri</i>	–	guests, visitors
<i>Māori</i>	–	person of the native race of Aotearoa New Zealand
<i>marae</i>	–	the land on which are located the <i>whare hui</i> , <i>whare kai</i> and other buildings
<i>marae ātea</i>	–	space or courtyard in front of the <i>whare tupuna</i>
<i>marae tikanga</i>	–	protocols of the <i>marae</i>
<i>marama</i>	–	moon, month
<i>mārena</i>	–	wedding
<i>mārie</i>	–	quiet, appeased
<i>mata o te whenua</i>	–	face of the earth
<i>mātāmua</i>	–	first born, male or female
<i>mātāpuna</i>	–	source, well-spring
<i>mātauranga</i>	–	Māori knowledge and wisdom
<i>matua; mātua</i>	–	parent; parents
<i>mau</i>	–	take hold of, hold firm, prevailing; to carry, to secure
<i>mauāhara</i>	–	bear a grudge, resentment
<i>maunga</i>	–	carrying, bringing; mountain
<i>maungārongo</i>	–	peace, reconciliation
<i>mauri</i>	–	life principle
<i>mea kua hangā</i>	–	things created
<i>mihi</i>	–	greet, address, acknowledge
<i>minita</i>	–	minister
<i>moana</i>	–	sea
<i>Moananui-a-Kiwa</i>	–	expansive sea of <i>Kiwa</i> (ancestor); now called the Pacific Ocean
<i>Moana-o-Raukawa</i>	–	the sea of Raukawa (ancestor); now called Cook Strait
<i>mokopuna</i>	–	grandchildren
<i>momi hikareti me te kai taru</i>	–	smoke cigarettes; take illicit drugs
<i>momo</i>	–	characteristics, traits
<i>mōrehu</i>	–	remnants
<i>mumu</i>	–	baffling wind
<i>murū</i>	–	take as compensation or redress; plunder; forgive (mod.)
<i>mutunga</i>	–	end
<i>Nepia Pohuhu</i>	–	eminent tohunga of Ngāti Kahungunu tribe; died 1882, about 80 years old
<i>Ngāi Tahu/Kāi Tahu</i>	–	one of the tribes of the South Island
<i>ngākau pūaroa</i>	–	compassionate heart
<i>Ngāpuhi</i>	–	one of the tribes of Northland
<i>Ngāruawāhia</i>	–	town in Waikato, home of the <i>Kīngitanga</i> (Māori King Movement)
<i>Ngata, Tā Apirana</i>	–	Sir Apirana Ngata

<i>ngāti</i>	– prefix meaning tribe
<i>Ngāti Kahungunu</i>	– tribe encompassing those living in, and north and south of, Hawkes' Bay
<i>Ngāti Manawa</i>	– <i>hapū</i> or extended <i>whānau</i> group of North Hokianga
<i>Ngāti Tamatea</i>	– <i>hapū</i> or extended <i>whānau</i> group of Motuti, North Hokianga
<i>ngāti taone</i>	– city-dwellers
<i>Ngāti Whatua</i>	– one of the tribes of Northland and Auckland
<i>Ngatokimatawhaorua</i>	– canoe of <i>Nukutawhiti</i>
<i>ngau tuara</i>	– backbiting
<i>ngau whiore</i>	– incest
<i>niu, toko</i>	– rods used in ritual
<i>noa</i>	– state of violation, lack of freedom, (negative state); state of freedom from restrictions (positive state)
<i>noho noa</i>	– continuing state of diminishment, disempowerment
<i>noho noaiho</i>	– state of inactivity, idleness
<i>noho taiepa</i>	– lit. sit on the fence; uncommitted
<i>nui</i>	– great; intense
<i>Nukutawhiti</i>	– one of the founding ancestors of Hokianga
<i>ōna</i>	– his/her/its
<i>oneone</i>	– earth
<i>onepū</i>	– sand
<i>ora</i>	– life, well-being
<i>orokotīmatanga</i>	– very beginning, outset
<i>orokotīmatanga o te ao</i>	– when creation first came into being
<i>otinga</i>	– end, completion of task
<i>pā</i>	– fortified village sites
<i>Pai Mārire, Hauhau</i>	– Māori religious movement
<i>Paipera Tapu</i>	– Bible
<i>Pākehā</i>	– fair-skinned people, "White people"
<i>papa</i>	– platform, flat ground
<i>papa-kāinga</i>	– homes-sites and villages
<i>Papa-tūā-nuku</i>	– Mother Earth, personified name for earth
<i>papawhenua</i>	– ancestral lands
<i>parori</i>	– crooked
<i>pātere</i>	– chant
<i>patu tamariki</i>	– physical beating of children
<i>patu wāhine, patu tāne</i>	– physical beating of women, of men
<i>pēpi</i>	– child (baby)
<i>Pēterehema</i>	– Bethlehem
<i>Pinepine-i-te-rangi</i>	– an Io chant
<i>pirihi</i>	– priest
<i>pō</i>	– night, darkness
<i>poke</i>	– haunt, accursed, unclean
<i>pono</i>	– true, genuine, unfeigned, honesty, integrity, faithfulness
<i>pononga</i>	– servant
<i>poroporoakī</i>	– words of farewell
<i>pōtiki</i>	– the last born, male or female
<i>pounamu</i>	– greenstone
<i>pōuri</i>	– sorrow, regret
<i>pōwhiri</i>	– ritual of welcome
<i>puare</i>	– open
<i>pūaroha</i>	– yearning, sympathy, compassion
<i>puāwai</i>	– blossom, flower
<i>puehu</i>	– ash, dust
<i>pūhae</i>	– jealousy, envy
<i>puia</i>	– hot springs
<i>puke</i>	– hill

<i>puku kai</i>	–	over-indulgence in food
<i>pungarehu</i>	–	ash
<i>Pūrākau</i>	–	place in north Hokianga, site of early Catholic Māori Mission
<i>pūremu</i>	–	illicit sexual acts, sexual abuse
<i>pūtake</i>	–	very root, source, cause
<i>putiputi</i>	–	flowering plant
<i>rā</i>	–	sun, day
<i>rāhuitia</i>	–	set aside, reserved
<i>rākau</i>	–	tree, shrub
<i>rangatira</i>	–	chief, leader, noble person
<i>rangatiratanga</i>	–	quality and dimensions of chieftainship, leadership and nobility, identity, dignity, well-being, independence, uniqueness
<i>rangi</i>	–	sky, heavens
<i>rangimārie</i>	–	quiet, peaceful, tranquil
<i>Ranginui/Rangi</i>	–	Sky Father, personified name for the heavens
<i>Rangiora</i>	–	Day of Redemption
<i>raro</i>	–	under, beneath
<i>raruraru</i>	–	trouble
<i>Rātana</i>	–	Rātana Religious Movement or Church
<i>rātou</i>	–	them
<i>raupatu</i>	–	confiscation
<i>Rāwiri</i>	–	David
<i>reo</i>	–	language
<i>Reo Māori</i>	–	Māori language
<i>Ringatū</i>	–	Māori Religious Movement or Church
<i>ringawera</i>	–	cooks
<i>rīpeka</i>	–	cross, crucifix
<i>riri</i>	–	anger
<i>ritenga</i>	–	rituals
<i>ritenga tapu</i>	–	sacred rituals
<i>ritenga whakatapu</i>	–	ritual of blessing and dedication
<i>ritenga whakawātea</i>	–	ritual to set free
<i>rohe whenua</i>	–	land boundaries, specific geographical territory
<i>roimata</i>	–	tears
<i>rongo</i>	–	hear, perceive, tidings, report, fame
<i>rongo ā marae</i>	–	peace brought about by the mediation of a man
<i>rongo ā whare</i>	–	peace brought about by the mediation of a woman
<i>rongo mau</i>	–	peace accord that is properly bound and lashed together
<i>Rongo o te Taua</i>	–	news of the war-party, name of a house of mourning
<i>Rongo Pai</i>	–	Good News, Gospel
<i>Rongo-mā-tāne</i>	–	spiritual guardian with responsibility for the <i>kūmara</i> and peace among human beings
<i>rongoa Māori</i>	–	Māori herbal medicines
<i>rongomau</i>	–	secured peace
<i>roto</i>	–	in, inside; lake
<i>Ruānui</i>	–	<i>Ruānui</i> , a founding ancestor of Hokianga
<i>rūnanga</i>	–	council
<i>runga</i>	–	above, on
<i>rūruhi ariki</i>	–	senior woman of rank
<i>tae manuhiri</i>	–	arrive as visitor
<i>taea</i>	–	was done, can be done
<i>taha wairua</i>	–	spiritual dimension
<i>tāhae</i>	–	theft, burglary
<i>tāhae i te whenua</i>	–	theft or alienation of land
<i>tai-kaumatua</i>	–	middle-aged male
<i>Tairāwhiti</i>	–	East Coast

<i>taitemariki</i>	– youth
<i>takahi</i>	– trample on, violate
<i>takahi i te mana</i>	– trample the <i>mana</i> of
<i>takahi i te tapu</i>	– trampling the <i>tapu</i> of
<i>Takahia-i-te-rangi</i>	– an Io chant
<i>take</i>	– reason, purpose
<i>taketake</i>	– root, base, cause, origin, beginning
<i>takitaki iho</i>	– ceremony calling down the <i>mauri</i> or life force upon a person or object
<i>takiwā</i>	– in the distance, in the vicinity of
<i>takoto</i>	– lay down
<i>takutai</i>	– coastlands, foreshore
<i>tama/tamaiti</i>	– son, daughter, child
<i>tamāhine</i>	– daughter
<i>tamariki</i>	– children
<i>Tamatea Pā</i>	– a pā site
<i>Tāmure</i>	– a <i>tohunga</i>
<i>tāne</i>	– adult male, husband
<i>Tāne-Mahuta</i>	– spiritual guardian with responsibility for forests, birds and human beings; the giant <i>kauri</i> tree in the <i>Waipōua</i> forest
<i>Tane-nui-a-Rangi Committee</i>	– a Ngāti Kahungunu Committee of Elders
<i>Tangaroa</i>	– spiritual guardian with responsibility for fish and the sea
<i>tangata; tāngata</i>	– person; persons, people
<i>tangatatanga</i>	– human nature
<i>tangata ake</i>	– person himself/herself
<i>tangata aroha</i>	– affectionate or compassionate person
<i>tāngata noho noa</i>	– people in the state of <i>noa</i>
<i>tangata pono</i>	– person of integrity, a truthful and honest person
<i>tangata tika</i>	– a just and upright person
<i>Tangata Tiriti</i>	– People of the Treaty
<i>Tangata Whenua</i>	– people of the land; indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand
<i>tangi</i>	– lament, plead, weep, time of bereavement
<i>tangi kōrero</i>	– lament expressed in words
<i>tangi poroporoakī</i>	– lament of farewell to the dead
<i>taokete</i>	– brother-in-law to a male, sister-in-law to a female
<i>taonga</i>	– special objects and possessions, treasures, artefacts
<i>tapa</i>	– to call or name
<i>tapu</i>	– being, restriction, sacredness
<i>tapu i a Hehu Karaiti</i>	– intrinsic <i>tapu</i> of Jesus Christ
<i>tapu i a ia anō</i>	– his/her own <i>tapu</i> or well-being
<i>tapu i a rātou</i>	– their own intrinsic <i>tapu</i>
<i>tapu i a Rāwiri</i>	– intrinsic being of <i>Rāwiri</i>
<i>tapu i ahau</i>	– my own <i>tapu</i>
<i>tapu i ētahi atu</i>	– intrinsic <i>tapu</i> of others
<i>tapu i ngā mea hangā</i>	– intrinsic being of created realities; the <i>tapu</i> of all things
<i>tapu i te Atua</i>	– intrinsic <i>tapu</i> of God
<i>tapu i te Atua Matua</i>	– intrinsic <i>tapu</i> of God the Father
<i>tapu i te Atua Tamaiti</i>	– intrinsic <i>tapu</i> of God the Son
<i>tapu i te Atua Wairua Tapu</i>	– intrinsic <i>tapu</i> of God the Holy Spirit
<i>tapu i te hapū</i>	– intrinsic <i>tapu</i> of <i>hapū</i>
<i>tapu i te iwi</i>	– intrinsic <i>tapu</i> of <i>iwi</i>
<i>tapu i te tangata</i>	– intrinsic being of the human person
<i>tapu i tētahi atu</i>	– intrinsic <i>tapu</i> of another person
<i>tapu i te whānau</i>	– intrinsic <i>tapu</i> of the <i>whānau</i>
<i>tapu i te whenua</i>	– intrinsic <i>tapu</i> of the <i>whenua</i>
<i>tapu nui</i>	– all pervading, all embracing <i>tapu</i> , present in one and present in many

<i>tapu o</i>	– right relationships that enhance and empower
<i>tapu ōna</i>	– <i>tapu</i> of that person, place or thing
<i>tapu o Hawaiki</i>	– <i>tapu</i> of Hawaiki, the original homeland
<i>tapu o Hehu, te Ariki</i>	– <i>tapu</i> of Jesus, the Lord
<i>tapu o ngā mea hangā</i>	– the enhancing and empowering relationships of created realities
<i>tapu o rātou</i>	– their <i>tapu</i>
<i>tapu o te Atua</i>	– <i>tapu</i> of Atua
<i>tapu o te katoa</i>	– <i>tapu</i> of all
<i>tapu o te Matua</i>	– <i>tapu</i> of the Father
<i>tapu o te tamaiti</i>	– <i>tapu</i> of the child
<i>tapu o te tangata</i>	– <i>tapu</i> of the person
<i>tapu o te whānau</i>	– <i>tapu</i> of the <i>whānau</i>
<i>tapu o te whenua</i>	– <i>tapu</i> of the land
<i>tapu whakahirahira</i>	– encompassing, highly important <i>tapu</i>
<i>tapu me te mana o te whānau</i>	– <i>tapu</i> and <i>mana</i> of the <i>whānau</i>
<i>tauira</i>	– model, student, aspirant
<i>te tauranga ika</i>	– fishing ground
<i>taunu</i>	– revile, jeer, bully, ridicule
<i>taurekarekatanga</i>	– state of slavery
<i>tautoko</i>	– support, endorse
<i>tawhā</i>	– rift
<i>tawhito</i>	– old, ancient
<i>te Ao Tua-ātea</i>	– world beyond space and time
<i>te āteatanga o te tapu</i>	– setting free from <i>tapu</i> restrictions
<i>Te Hekenga Mai</i>	– The Great Migration
<i>te kore</i>	– nothingness
<i>te korekore</i>	– The great void
<i>Te Kotuku Rerenga Tahi</i>	– white heron of single flight, a rare visitor
<i>te mana o te katoa</i>	– the <i>mana</i> of all
<i>te mea pono</i>	– the truth
<i>Te Rarawa</i>	– tribe in, and north of Hokianga
<i>te tapu o te katoa</i>	– the <i>tapu</i> of all
<i>te toi o ngā rangi</i>	– the highest heaven where <i>Io</i> dwelt
<i>te wā</i>	– moment, time, goal
<i>Te Wairua Tapu</i>	– The Holy Spirit
<i>teina</i>	– younger brother of a male, younger sister of a female
<i>teka</i>	– lying, false-hood
<i>tētahi</i>	– one, each
<i>tētahi ki tētahi</i>	– one to another
<i>tika</i>	– right, correct, appropriate, proper, just, straight, direct
<i>tika ki te whenua</i>	– rights to the land
<i>tika pū</i>	– right indeed
<i>tikanga</i>	– method, custom, right way of doing things
<i>tikanga Māori</i>	– Māori customs and protocols
<i>tikanga o te aroha</i>	– protocols and process for exercise of <i>aroha</i>
<i>tikanga o te hohou rongo</i>	– ritual and process of reconciliation
<i>tikanga o te marae</i>	– <i>marae</i> protocols and procedures
<i>tīmatanga</i>	– beginning
<i>tinana</i>	– body
<i>tinihanga</i>	– deceit, treachery
<i>tohi</i>	– rite of dedication
<i>tohu</i>	– sign
<i>tohu rangatira</i>	– chiefly act
<i>tohunga</i>	– expert in particular field
<i>tohungatanga</i>	– class or status of <i>tohunga</i>
<i>tokotoko</i>	– walking stick
<i>tōmaiwhenua</i>	– dew
<i>tōna mana</i>	– his/her <i>mana</i>

<i>tōna tapu</i>	– his/her <i>tapu</i>
<i>tōna tikanga</i>	– by right, in its own right
<i>tū</i>	– stand
<i>tua-ātea</i>	– free from time and space
<i>tuahine</i>	– sister of male sibling
<i>tuakana</i>	– older of sisters, older of brothers
<i>tuakana-teina</i>	– older and younger siblings of same gender
<i>tūkino</i>	– ill-treat, violate
<i>tuku</i>	– offer, give, share
<i>tuku kai</i>	– offering of food
<i>tuku taonga</i>	– offering of gifts
<i>tungāne</i>	– brother of female
<i>tūpāpaku</i>	– body of deceased
<i>tūpoupou</i>	– grieving woman beside the casket of deceased
<i>tupuna</i>	– ancestor
<i>tūranga</i>	– stance, standing, position, role
<i>tūrangawaewae</i>	– foot-hold, standing place, home-land
<i>tūroro</i>	– sick person
<i>tūroro mate nui</i>	– seriously ill patient
<i>tūtaki</i>	– meet
<i>tūtakitanga</i>	– culmination, meeting point
<i>tutukitanga</i>	– fulfilment, completion
<i>ūnga ki uta</i>	– foreshore landing sites
<i>uri</i>	– descendant
<i>urupā</i>	– ancestral burial ground
<i>utu</i>	– vengeance, compensation
<i>utunga tika</i>	– just reward
<i>wā</i>	– time, moment, stage, goal
<i>wāea</i>	– set free, another form of <i>wātea</i>
<i>wāhi tapu</i>	– forbidden or sacred place, burial ground
<i>wahine</i>	– woman, wife
<i>wai</i>	– water
<i>waiata</i>	– song
<i>waimārie</i>	– quiet, peaceful
<i>wairere</i>	– waterfall
<i>wairua</i>	– spirit, attitude
<i>waka</i>	– canoe
<i>wānanga</i>	– learning programmes
<i>waro</i>	– coal
<i>wātea</i>	– free from restriction
<i>wehi</i>	– awe
<i>wera</i>	– heat
<i>whaea</i>	– mother
<i>whai-korero</i>	– speech-making
<i>whakaaro</i>	– thought
<i>whakaaroha</i>	– generating, arousing <i>aroha</i>
<i>whakahāwea ki te Atua</i>	– belittling or despising <i>Atua</i>
<i>whakahē noaiho</i>	– needless opposition
<i>whakahirahira</i>	– highly important
<i>whakahuatanga o ngā kupu o te karakia</i>	– recitation of Māori chants
<i>whakakapi tūranga</i>	– fill roles
<i>whakakinokino ingoa</i>	– defamation of character
<i>whakamā</i>	– shame
<i>whakamana</i>	– commissioned, empowered, authorised
<i>whakamārie</i>	– appease, pacify
<i>whakamaroke</i>	– dry up
<i>whakamate noa i te tangata</i>	– cause unnecessary death by accident or negligence

<i>whakamomori</i>	–	persevering, suicide
<i>whakamutunga</i>	–	end, conclusion
<i>whakanoa</i>	–	violate, defile, render worthless, lifeless (negative), set free from restrictions (positive)
<i>whakanoaia</i>	–	was rendered <i>noa</i>
<i>whakanoanga</i>	–	violation of; rendering <i>noa</i> , the lifting of <i>tapu</i> restrictions
<i>whakanoangia</i>	–	violated, rendered worthless, or lifeless by another (negative), freed from restrictions (positive)
<i>whakaora hauora, whakaora tinana</i>	–	physical healing
<i>whakaora hinengaro</i>	–	psychological and emotional healing
<i>whakaora wairua</i>	–	spiritual healing
<i>whakapae</i>	–	accuse wrongly, make rash judgement
<i>whakapapa</i>	–	genealogy
<i>whakapapa heke tika</i>	–	genealogical descent in direct line
<i>whakapiripiri</i>	–	binding people together
<i>whakaponu</i>	–	believe, admit as true, faith
<i>whakarere</i>	–	forsake, abandon
<i>whakarere o te mahi tika</i>	–	forsaking right action
<i>whakarongo</i>	–	hear, listen
<i>whakatapu</i>	–	bless, dedicate, impose restrictions
<i>whakatara</i>	–	challenge
<i>whakatau</i>	–	informal welcome
<i>whakataukī</i>	–	proverb
<i>whakatika</i>	–	straighten, correct, rectify, endorse
<i>whakatika ake</i>	–	rise up
<i>whakatō kai</i>	–	plant food
<i>whakatutukitanga</i>	–	fulfilment, completion
<i>whakawātea</i>	–	set free
<i>whakawhirinaki</i>	–	trusting in, depending on
<i>whāki</i>	–	confess, admit, disclose
<i>whānau</i>	–	family
<i>whānau ake</i>	–	birth family
<i>whānau hui</i>	–	family gatherings
<i>whānau noho kāinga</i>	–	home-dwelling family
<i>whānau noho taone</i>	–	city-dwelling family
<i>whānau o te Atua</i>	–	family of God
<i>whānau pani</i>	–	bereaved family
<i>whānau teina</i>	–	junior <i>whānau</i> line
<i>whānau tuakana</i>	–	senior <i>whānau</i> line
<i>whanaungatanga</i>	–	family relationships, relationship structures
<i>whare</i>	–	house
<i>whare hui</i>	–	meeting house
<i>whare kai</i>	–	dining room
<i>whare tupuna</i>	–	ancestral meeting house
<i>whare wānanga</i>	–	house of learning
<i>whenua</i>	–	land, natural earth, placenta
<i>whenua kē</i>	–	other lands or country
<i>whenua tapu</i>	–	sacred, holy ground
<i>whenua tupu</i>	–	ancestral home-land
<i>whenua tūpuna</i>	–	ancestral lands
<i>whetū</i>	–	star