

Transcendental Unity: *Mana*-Mediations in Māori Lore

by

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BA, York University, 2009

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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This analysis uses the term *mana* as a lens to interrogate a regionally diverse range of Māori lore texts. It will be seen that categories of human-nature, natural-supernatural are often permeable in Māori lore because of the agency provided by *mana*. This permeability is transcendental unity which destabilizes the notion that humans are fully distinct from their environment. Transcendental unity is expressed in Māori lore through changes in states of being or planes of existence, biological-environmental metaphoric equivalences, and metaphysical spheres of reciprocal influence. I argue relations between humans and the non-human environment involve genealogical ties, are mediated by *mana*, and suggest a transcendental form of unity characterized by common essence and characteristics.

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Preface: “How does a Canadian girl come to study Māori?”

Variations on this question were asked by several Māori contacts met during my five weeks of research and travel in New Zealand in May and June of 2010. I journeyed in search of additional texts for this analysis in libraries, universities, archives and museums in the North and South Islands. Additionally, I hoped to improve my Māori language skills which I had begun to cultivate independently.

I’d strike up conversations with various people using a little bit of Māori I knew: Kia ora! Kei te pehea koe? People would ask why I was travelling and I would explain my research a bit, and the question invariably came up. So how does a Canadian girl come to be fascinated by Māori narratives? It started for me ten years ago, before my undergraduate studies, with a partner whose family was from New Zealand. I was captivated by descriptions of New Zealand’s diverse geography and peoples, and determined to learn more.

Everything about stories and storytelling has always interested me. I had never heard of Māori people before, and I was curious about their stories. I went home and searched the internet for Māori myths. The first narrative I read was Shortland’s account of Māori creation which contained an analysis comparing Māori and Greek pantheons (Shortland, *Maori Religion and Mythology*). I read on, finding different sources and versions, different stories. I was hooked and my interest endured.

Four years later, I went back to university and majored in Humanities. I focused on an interdisciplinary study of lore: myths, legends and folktales from diverse cultures. The curriculum was heavily Indo-European with a dash of Canadian Indigenous materials. I wished to broaden my study of lore to other geographic regions. Pursuing a Master’s degree which would allow me to examine the Māori lore I had long admired seemed ideal. This thesis is the outcome of over a decade’s enduring admiration of Māori narratives, and fascination with the diverse landscapes in New Zealand’s geography.

That’s how this Canadian girl came to study Maori.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank several people who have supported this project. My supervisory committee, Doctors Michael Bodden and Chris Morgan, have provided patience and invaluable guidance, especially in regards to structure and analytical coherence. Their support and encouragement did not wane, and I'm very grateful for their thoughtful feedback.

Whilst in New Zealand there were several contacts that aided my research. In particular, I wish to thank Victoria Boyack and Martin Lewis of the Te Aka Matua Library and Information Centre at the Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington. They let me while away days in stacks of books and suggested valuable materials, both in print and online.

As an outsider, I had thought that my research might be frowned upon by Māori people. Māori scholar, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, notes Māori attitudes towards scholarship: "In Māori communities today, there is a deep distrust and suspicion...not just of non-indigenous researchers, but of the whole philosophy of research and the different sets of beliefs which underlie the research process" (173). To my delight, my enthusiasm for Māori lore and language was warmly received and encouraged by the people I met.

I was fortunate enough to be taken by contacts onto Māori lands, and to visit marae in Waikato and Rotorua. The people of Māui Haka in Christchurch let me observe shows free, and enthusiastically explained how the Māui stories were incorporated into haka performances.

Additionally, I gained invaluable help, especially in terms of my pronunciation of Māori words. To that end, I wish to send thanks and aroha to my friend Te Aotaki Pewhairangi and her family from Taranaki. Ngā mihi nui ki a koe arā me tō whānau hoki. We met at an 1814 concert in Wellington and shared many things, including a love of reggae, dancing and chocolate. I am grateful to them for their support of my research, and my efforts to learn te reo Māori. Tēnā koe mo tō mahi manaaki i ahau. Waiho ngā āhua kore he tikanga.

I want to dedicate this to my Mom and Dad.
For giving me roots to grow, and wings to fly,
thank you.

A Guide to Māori Pronunciation and Orthography¹

Fortunately, the way in which Māori is pronounced and the spelling system are closely related. For this reason it is not necessary to provide a pronunciation guide for each word in the glossary. The glossary entries are placed in the following order: ā, a, ē, e, h, ī, i, k, m, n, ng, ō, o, p, r, t, ū, u, w, wh (Moorfield x). Macrons (horizontal lines over vowels) indicate long vowel sounds. The orthographic conventions of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, including the use of macrons to indicate vowel length are followed (Moorfield xi). It is not possible to illustrate in writing the exact pronunciation of the sounds of Māori without the use of technical terminology. The best that can be done is to liken Māori sounds to their nearest equivalents in New Zealand English.

Vowels

There are five main vowel sounds, each of which may be said short or long. Long vowels are marked with a macron.

Pronounce long *ā*, as in *hāpu*, like ‘a’ in ‘Chicago’.

Pronounce short *a*, as in *mana*, like ‘u’ in ‘nut’.

Pronounce long *ē*, as in *kēhua*, like ‘ai’ in ‘pair’ or ‘fairy’.

Pronounce short *e*, as in *wehi*, like ‘e’ in ‘peck’ or ‘ferry’.

Pronounce long *ī*, as in *tīpuna*, like ‘ee’ in ‘peep’.

Pronounce short *i*, as in *iwi*, like ‘i’ in ‘pit’.

Pronounce long *ō*, as in *Pō*, like ‘ore’ in ‘pore’.

Pronounce short *o*, as in *moko*, like ‘or’ in ‘report’.

Pronounce long *ū*, as in *kūkū*, like ‘oo’ in ‘moon’.

Pronounce short *u*, as in *utu*, like ‘u’ in ‘put’.

¹ Excerpt made to include terms from this thesis as examples (Moorfield xv-xvi).

Diphthongs and vowel combinations

Māori diphthongs retain the quality of the second vowel quite clearly and most of them are not matched at all closely by anything in English.

Pronounce *ei*, as in *hei*, like 'ay' in 'hay'.

Pronounce *ae*, as in *marae*, like 'igh' in 'high'.

Pronounce *ai*, as in *Waitangi*, like 'ighi' in 'sighing'.

Pronounce *ao*, as in *Aotearoa*, like 'ow' in 'vow'.

Pronounce *au*, as in *whānau*, like 'oe' in 'toe'.

Pronounce *ou*, as in *pounamu*, like 'ow' in 'low'.

Pronounce *ea* as in *Aotearoa*, to rhyme with 'mare'.

Pronounce *ia*, as in *karakia*, to rhyme with 'beer'.

Pronounce *ua*, as in *wairua*, to rhyme with 'sewer'.

Pronounce *oa*, as in *Tangaroa*, to rhyme with 'drawer'.

Pronounce *ei*, as in *kei*, like 'ay' in 'pay'.

Pronounce *eo*, as in *reo*, like 'air or' in 'pair or'.

Pronounce *eu*, as in *heu*, as in 'bet two', leaving out the 't'.

Pronounce *oi*, as in *poi*, like 'oy' in 'boy'.

Pronounce *oe*, as in *koe*, like 'cortext', leaving out the 't'.

Pronounce *ie*, as in *kie*, like 'ie' in 'fiesta'.

Pronounce *io*, as in *tio*, like 'io' in 'Rio Grande'.

Pronounce *iu*, as in *piu*, like 'ew' in pew.

Consonants

Most consonants in Māori are pronounced approximately as in English, except for the following four:

Pronounce *wh*, as in *whare*, like 'wh' in 'whale' (not 'wail'), or as 'f'. Either pronunciation is correct.

Pronounce *ng*, as in *ngāti*, like the 'ng' in 'singer', never as in 'finger'.

Pronounce *r*, as in as in *Rangi-nui*, like the 'r' in the Oxford pronunciation of 'very'.

Pronounce *t*, as in *tohi*, like the ‘t’ of ‘still’. This sound involves placing the tip of the tongue behind the top teeth, not further back as in English.

The other consonants of Māori language are much closer to their New Zealand English equivalents.

Pronounce *p*, as in *powhiri*, like the ‘p’ of ‘spill’.

Pronounce *k*, as in *kōrero*, like the ‘k’ of ‘skill’.

Pronounce *m*, *n*, *h* and *w* as in English.

Word stress

The following rules for words stress must be applied in the order given below. First, however, it should be noted that stress in Māori words must never occur more than four vowels from the end of the word. The stressed vowel is underlined in the examples below.

1 Stress the first long vowel, e.g. *māra*, *matā*, *Pākehā*, *Māori*.

2 If there is no long vowel stress the first non-final diphthong (or pair of vowels), e.g. *tamaiti*, *waiata*, *Hauturu*, *tauranga*.

3 If there is no long vowel and no non-final diphthong, stress the first vowel which is not more than four vowels from the end of the word, e.g. *wahine*, *tamariki*, *marae*, *Ōmarumutu*.

4 If a word contains more than four vowels the rules are applied again counting leftwards from the fifth vowel from the end, e.g. *Pāremoremo*, *Kohimaramara*, *Ngāruawāhia*.

Dialects

This analysis includes vocabulary from particular dialects including dialect forms that involve sound shifts. “Such sound shifts include ‘n’ for ‘ng’ with some speakers from Tūhoe, the shift from ‘ng’ to ‘k’ with some speakers from the South Island, the shift from ‘wh’ to ‘w’ and from ‘h’ to the glottal stop with some speakers from the Whanganui-Taranaki tribes” (Moorfield x).

Chapter 1: Introduction

Otaitapu...had a power possessed only by the greatest chiefs. He uttered the strongest *karakia* possible and when the first rays of the rising sun appeared above the horizon Erawhiti and Ngāruahine were transformed into two rocks. And there they remain, Erawhiti looking out to sea and Ngāruahine looking over his shoulder (McConnell, *He Taonga Anō* 98-99).²

The transformation in the above fragment of text suggests that the constructs of human and non-human are permeable and therefore unified in some fashion. Māori lore provides narrative representations of Māori societies which indicate important cultural ideas. These originally oral histories often include ritual activities, effective incantations, talismanic objects, permeability between natural and supernatural realms, and changeability of physical forms. Aspects of nature are tied to biological metaphors indicating that humans and the non-human environment are not distinct entities, as commonly imagined, but share common essences. For example, the narrative above provides an origin story of a landmark. Two rocks are ancestors, biologically reckoned through genealogical ties to Otaitapu. This suggests a remarkable form of unity and questions arise. What relationships between Māori peoples and their natural environment are portrayed in Māori lore? What form of unity is suggested by these relationships? How is such a form of unity possible? This study uses Māori texts to examine relations between humans and the non-human environment.

This project's analysis is significant because relations between humans and nature are of great interest in the contemporary world. Indigenous people around the world are making arguments that they have particular relationships with nature which are different from Western relationships with nature. *Tsawalk: a Nuu-chah-nulth Worldview* by Canadian, Indigenous scholar Richard Atleo says, "That the universe is unified, interconnected, and interrelated are assumptions about both the physical and metaphysical realms found in Nuu-chah-nulth origin stories" (xix). This view eliminates

² This text is English. These stories come from minutes of Māori Land Court and land-block meetings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

alienation of humans from nature and indicates a logic structure in which all things and planes of being exist in a web of relations. The interconnected, interrelated, unified philosophy presented by Atleo provides alternatives to Western logic which are echoed in Māori narratives.³

Understanding the human condition through kinship with aspects of the environment suggests an alternative spiritual and environmental ethos. Positive ecological and environmental outcomes could result from alternate views of human-nature relationships. This project is not a survey of Māori environmentalism, but rather focuses on what the stories reveal about conceptions of unity between the human and non-human world. This project adds to understandings of human-nature relationships.

Transcendental Unity

The form of unity I describe is different from the way some people have talked about unity between indigenous peoples and nature. Commonly these notions of unity are tied to property and ownership, inalienable land rights, and access to land and resources. “In Māori terms land was inalienable, taken only by conquest and occasionally transferred by gift; and it was group property, held in trust by the chiefs” (Salmond, *Hui* 23). In New Zealand, people can claim rights through Māori maternal or paternal bloodlines (Mead 42). This political and economic type of unity means that as a member of a tribe you have a right to some soil to produce a livelihood. Unity is a much deeper issue. It is important to understand the form of unity between human and non-human elements in Māori texts because it contrasts with economic notions of unity involving ownership and inalienable land rights.

Texts of Māori lore indicate that Māori peoples feel they are intimately tied to aspects of nature in ways that extend beyond economic or political notions of unity. In addition to economic forms of unity there is significant emphasis placed on an ancestrally-reckoned, transcendental form of unity. Part of this project’s aim is to establish a definition of a concept of transcendental unity which is not situated within

³ According to Statistics New Zealand, 1 in 7 New Zealand people claimed Māori ancestry in 2001 (<http://www.stats.govt.nz/>).

an already established folklore tradition. Humans and nature are transcendently unified in that they share similar substances and characteristics because of relations through genealogical ties. Transcendental unity is the central theme of this project and entails permeability between constructs of human-non-human-nature.

Joseph Campbell has published several works in the field of folklore analysis such as *The Power of Myth* and *Myths to Live By*. In *The Hero With A Thousand Faces* and *The Power of Myth* Campbell speaks of threshold crossings and magical journeys which are components of transcendental unity (*Hero* 64-73, 188-96). His analysis is mainly psychological and heavily influenced by the writings of Carl Jung (Campbell, *Hero* xii). He does speak of magical journeys and refers to a text analyzed in this project about a monstrous woman (Campbell *Hero* 174). However, he is focused on the flight from the monstrous mother, analyzed in psychological terms, and not upon notions of unity. He speaks about threshold crossings in psychological terms. “You leave the world you’re in and go into a depth or into a distance or up to a height. There you come to what was missing in your consciousness in the world you formerly inhabited” (Campbell, *Power of Myth* 157). Furthermore, “passage of the threshold is a form of self-annihilation” (Campbell, *Hero* 77). For example, in some Māori ascent narratives, Tāne ascends the realms of heaven in order to obtain knowledge necessary for human life. Campbell might point to rituals performed enabling the ascent in which Tāne receives a new name as a type of self-annihilation. Additionally, Campbell might speak of the knowledge Tāne receives as the missing pieces of Tāne’s former consciousness.

In contrast, this project interrogates the fact of the permeability of such thresholds, and what that implies for distinctions between human and non-human. Therefore, this project extends the analysis of threshold crossings already established in folklore analysis.

Mana

A central point of the method for this study is the use of the concept of *mana* to exhibit the theme and argument of transcendental unity. An initial meaning for this term is established here. The use of *mana* as a lens results from my perception that it is

an illuminating concept which applies to both human and non-human phenomena. *The* first Māori narrative I read was a creation narrative. Some themes, like the separation of Earth and Sky, were familiar, but I was puzzled by names. There were numerous different names for a single actor within the narrative, and many places and objects were named. When I began this project, I recognized a need for a perceptive lens which would explicate subtleties, such as the proliferation of names, which had formerly eluded me. *Mana* is a term dense with meanings which will be elucidated more fully at a later time, and provides the perceptive lens for this project. This project aims to expand on the existing study of *mana* as a term and its usefulness in deciphering some lore (Keesing *Rethinking Mana*; Patterson *Mana Yin and Yang*; Yoon *Maori Mind, Maori Land*). For present purposes, I will briefly outline the relations of the term to the concept of transcendental unity.

Commonly *mana* is described in terms of hierarchical power and status. This renders *mana* important because traditionally it functioned as part of a normative system. Additionally, *mana* is pervasive and produced patterns of activity in Māori societies. “Almost every activity has a link with the maintenance and enhancement of *mana*...” (Moorfield 76). The involvement of *mana* in almost every activity suggests that narratives should construct images of the operation of *mana* in representations of Māori societies.

In Māori lore *mana* applies not only to people and notions of power and status, but also to places and objects. This suggests that *mana* is a quality shared by human and non-human aspects of the environment. Therefore *mana* is implicated in transcendental unity. John Patterson says, “*mana* includes as an important ingredient the inseparability of related beings...the key idea that humans and nonhumans are linked by ties of kinship...*mana* is a measure of our attachment not only to our human environment but also to the whole natural environment” (230). *Mana* evokes interconnection, interrelatedness and interdependence. A study of the operation of *mana* should enlighten the analysis of transcendental unity in relationships between human and non-human elements in Māori lore.

A brief elaboration of the term *mana* at this point will help orient the subsequent analysis in this thesis. *Mana* is a complex term with many meanings and zero morphological markings to distinguish between them (Keesing, *Rethinking Mana* 140). *Mana* is defined briefly in *Te Aka* as “prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma; be legal, effectual, binding, authoritative; to be effectual, take effect; jurisdiction, mandate” (Moorfield 76). The number of terms associated with *mana* indicates that its translation into English is not simple. There is no one-to-one correspondence between *mana* and any English word. *Mana* can be indirectly implied or directly used as a noun or a verb (Keesing *Rethinking Mana* 137, 147). Nuances of *mana* go beyond what simplified English terms like power or prestige indicate and are elaborated in chapter three.

The use of the term *mana* as an interrogative lens is significant because language is a locus of social action in several contemporary Māori societies. Colonial educational systems have emphasized English and marginalized Māori language. In more recent times, Māori cultural revivals have worked to bring the Māori language back into common use (Tawake 162). I use a Māori term to focus my analysis because it is important for me to respect and honour the people I write about. By emphasizing the Māori language in this project through the use of the word *mana*, I celebrate the strength and pride of Māori peoples. This project looks deeply at human-nature relations in Māori lore using the term *mana* as an interrogative lens.

Method of Textual Analysis

My method begins with the close-reading of a wide selection of regionally diverse Māori literary and cultural texts. I lift out passages which describe human-non-human-nature relationships and *mana*. These passages are analyzed in terms of their implications for transcendental unity. Additionally, I provide a glossary of Māori terms and an appendix indicating the proper pronunciation of Māori terms.

First I will discuss my method for selecting the sources of Māori lore analyzed in this project. Textual selection was based upon a few criteria: bilingualism, author’s nationality, and faithfulness. For this project, the primary texts are written in Māori and

English and contain commentary. Preference is given to Māori authors writing in English. Texts by non-Māori authors are preferred which contain similar versions of the stories found in Māori sources. This is a way for me to gauge the faithfulness of the English translations. This method was designed to engage with Māori lore as traditional representations of Māori societies.

Instances of the term “*mana*” have been noted during close reading, not only to observe the actual instances of the word *mana* and its English equivalents, but also to note the sequences of actions within the stories to determine instances of *mana* in its verbal form. Linguistic usage and other contextual information, how the term is used, why and when, have been noted, along with any changes in the use of the term. Examination of the use of *mana* requires that I observe if it is used in both languages equally. My method is designed to reveal how *mana* expresses interconnectivity and hierarchy simultaneously, and involves notions of productivity and power. In Māori lore *mana* expresses the transcendental unity of all nature, especially the human and non-human. The term *mana* is varied and dynamic, like the views of nature it interrogates, and is well-suited to the deconstructive analysis this project will accomplish.

Interestingly, *mana* is used more in explanations and commentary on the lore than within the lore itself. There are also occasions where *mana* appears in the Māori version, but not in the English version, and vice versa. These discrepancies encourage a post-colonial reading.

Post-colonial theory is very influential in indigenous studies and nearly every source I cite acknowledges and is influenced by the colonizer-colonized binary. Cultural differences can alter representations found in Māori lore. Tawake says, “Until 1970, most of the fiction about the Pacific Islanders was written by people living outside the Pacific. It was written from a Eurocentric perspective that depicted Pacific Islanders as exotic, peripheral, “noble,” heroic, primitive” (155). Sanitation of sexual content for Victorian audiences occurred in some Māori lore. For example, in Reed’s version of the meeting between Māui and Hine-nui-te-pō, Māui tries to pass through her body and defeat death through the mouth rather than her genitals as in other versions (38-48).

Colonial contact also may have altered cosmogonies. Notably, as it relates to lore, there is debate regarding the existence of a 'Supreme Being' named Io. An awareness of the post-colonial situation of Māori peoples provides some cultural context for the lore and influences, without being the driving force of, this analysis. Rather this project reproduces traditional Māori symbols which may be useful in contemporary Māori social action.

Transcendental unity is a crucial component of this conceptual approach which undermines the notion that humans and nature are discrete entities. Through literary and deconstructive analysis, and the assertion of transcendental unity being characteristic in much of Māori lore, this project critiques the false boundary created between humans and nature.

Deconstruction is a method for examining texts which illuminates the paradoxes engendered by Western reason and its insistence that it is able to discover Truth (Derrida 944-49). "Deconstruction in... rigorous form acts as a constant reminder of the ways in which language deflects or complicates the philosopher's project. Above all, deconstruction works to undo the idea...that reason can somehow dispense with language and arrive at a pure, self-authenticating truth or method" (Norris 19).

The ability to convey meaning is complicated by constraints imposed by language. "Language is a *differential* network of meaning. There is no self-evident or one-to-one link between 'signifier' and 'signified', the word as (spoken or written) vehicle and the concept it serves to evoke" (Norris 24). "Language is in this sense *diacritical*, or dependent on a structured economy of differences which allows a relatively small range of linguistic elements to signify a vast repertoire of negotiable meanings" (Norris 25).

Derrida asserts that any form of communication is a supplement which, through use of language, is outside of the control of the author or speaker. "The supplement is that which both signifies the lack of a 'presence', or state of plenitude for ever beyond recall, and *compensates* for that lack by setting in motion its own economy of difference. It is nowhere present in language but everywhere presupposed by the existence of language as a pre-articulated system" (Norris 37). The writer relies upon

words to convey meaning, but the meanings conveyed through written words are slippery.

Writing is the endless displacement of meaning which both governs language and places it...beyond the reach of a stable, self-authenticating knowledge. In this sense, oral language already belongs to a 'generalized writing', the effects of which are everywhere disguised by the illusory 'metaphysics of presence'. Language is always inscribed in a network of relays and differential 'traces' which can never be grasped by the individual speaker (Norris 28-29).

Thus, meaning is endlessly deferred, and attempts to establish meaning are always undermined by language. "Language can fulfil the condition of self-present meaning only if it offers a *total and immediate* access to the thoughts that occasioned its utterance. But this is an impossible requirement" (Norris 46). Deconstructive analysis combats reductive logic by opening texts to multiple meanings, none of which may be considered Truth, but all of which are, in some manner, true.

According to Dictionary.com, binary opposition is the relationship between a pair of linguistic items, i.e. nature and culture, natural and supernatural, which are seen as polar opposites; one is the absence of the other. Meanings of terms in binary pairs are interdependent. Therefore, such terms are not distinct. Binary oppositions can economize communication, but their use obscures complexities and limits understanding. "Once the term is fixed within a given explanatory system, it becomes (like 'structure') useable in ways that deny or suppress its radical insights" (Derrida 32).

In binary oppositions, hierarchies of value are established and one term is usually given preference over another, for example, culture (i.e. human) is valued over nature. However, "...the privileged term is held in place by the force of a dominant *metaphor*, and not (as it might seem) by any conclusive logic" (Norris 45).

Deconstruction destabilizes the boundaries between binary oppositions, sometimes inverting the privileged status of a term but "...deconstruction is not simply a strategic reversal of categories which otherwise remain distinct and unaffected. It seeks to undo the given order of priorities *and* the very system of conceptual opposition that makes

that order possible” (Norris 31). Binary oppositions are only sustained through a logic which is always self-undermining.

Can deconstructive analysis be applied to Māori texts? Yes, but cautiously. Smith describes “...the strengths of communities and their ability to deconstruct official talk with ease” (198). This indicates that a deconstructive outlook is already part of Māori mindsets. Furthermore, a glance at the glossary reveals the diversiform nature of Māori language, which suggests the irreducibility of terms to a single concept. “[L]anguage in its ‘creative’ uses outruns what might be accounted for in terms of purely ‘structured’ or pre-existent meaning. Contrary to structuralist thinking, it reveals an ‘excess of the signified over the signifying’ which places it beyond all reach of reductive explanations” (Norris 52).

Even culturally sensitive academics are constrained by language. “There is no language so vigilant or self-aware that it can effectively escape the conditions placed upon thought by its own prehistory and ruling metaphysic...*all* forms of writing run up against perplexities of meaning and intent...” (Norris 22). Deconstruction, for the purposes of this project, will be useful in assertions that there is no one-to-one relation between word and meaning, object and essence. For example, in the quote at the beginning of this chapter, two people are transformed into two rocks. The rocks are thus both rocks and ancestors; human and earth. Additionally, human and land essences are enmeshed through the term *whenua*, which can mean placenta and afterbirth, and also land, ground and country (Moorfield 209). The meaning of an object or a word is open to various interpretations and is therefore unstable. Unification of essences found in Māori lore differs from common taxonomical distinctions between humans and the environment.

Divisions between humans and nature have a long history in Western writings. Since the time of Aristotle, human beings have been sometimes viewed as entities separate from the natural world (Lovejoy, 201-02). This separation has impacted later writings by scholars like Rousseau. Human-nature relationships continue to be of

interest to contemporary scholars (Fuentes et al). This project provides an antithesis to notions of separation between human beings and the rest of the natural world.

Early writings about the South Pacific were heavily influenced by the ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and his romanticized views of the 'noble savage' (Tawake 155, Smith 49, 86). "This view linked the natural world to an idea of innocence and purity, and the developed world to corruption and decay. It was thought that the people who lived in the idyllic conditions of the South Pacific, close to nature, would possess 'noble' qualities from which the West could relearn and rediscover what had been lost" (Smith 49). In other words the West became corrupt through distance from nature, and analysis of 'savage' or 'primitive' societies could show the West how to fix itself.

Scholars often divide "...primitive societies, which are grist for the anthropologists because they are timeless and static, and advanced societies which elude anthropological analysis because they are 'in history'" (Leach 16). The notion that 'primitive' societies are outside of history devalues indigenous histories, and relies upon culturally embedded notions of time and space which are differentiated differently for Western scholars than the societies they examine. The same scholars, Lévi-Strauss for example, who speak of primitive peoples as static and timeless also depend for their analysis on variants of a narrative. The fact of variants and regional diversity destabilizes the notion of 'static' primitive peoples and provides juicy material for analysis.

Rousseau's ideas are Biblical: a retelling of the fall from grace. Essentially, in some past, golden age (i.e. in the Garden of Eden), men were in a natural state of purity and innocence until they became corrupted through the introduction of culture (knowledge from the apple) and lost their state of grace. The study of 'savage' or 'primitive' societies, according to this theory, should show people of the West how to return to a state of grace (Smith 49).

Rousseau suggests nature is preferable to culture, and that the 'uncivilized' state is better than the 'civilized' state. Paradoxically, discourse legitimizing colonization commonly played upon the idea that bringing 'civilization' to 'uncivilized' or 'savage'

peoples was a good thing; culture and civilization were superior. “Whenever the primacy of ‘nature’ ...is opposed to the debasements of ‘culture’ ...there comes into play an aberrant logic which inverts the opposition and cuts away the ground of its very meaning” (Norris 35). Either binary term can be subverted to create a reverse power hierarchy. The ability to invert the value assigned to a pair of terms destabilizes the terms’ meanings.

Deconstruction, also called post-structuralism, is a response to, and critique of, structural inquiry. Claude Lévi-Strauss has published several comparative, structural studies of myths, and his analyses continue to be read in universities. The structural approach can be simplified as “...the quest for the invariant, or the invariant elements among superficial difference” (Lévi-Strauss, *Myth and Meaning* 8). These invariant elements are not neutral, but are social constructs embedded in social contexts. Despite Lévi-Strauss’ distinction between reductionist and structural arguments, structural analysis, the quest for the invariant, is reductive. In addition, his claims that ‘primitive’ thought is different (and implies inferior) to ‘scientific’ thought are undermined by his claims that myths, like science, explain the world intellectually exactly as a scientist would (Lévi-Strauss, *Myth* 16-17).

Lévi-Strauss doesn’t examine Māori culture, but he concludes that his observations and conclusions reveal ‘universal’ ways of thinking (Leach 30). Lévi-Strauss undercuts his own argument of universality, his search for the invariant, by claiming that myths reflect nature and specific environments (*Raw and the Cooked* 341). The divide between nature and culture has become reified, but it is an imaginary distinction. This divide is arbitrary but essential to Lévi-Strauss because without this distinction his argument could not proceed. “In that we are men, we are all part of Nature; in that we are human beings, we are all part of Culture” (Leach 34). The oppositional relationship between culture and nature is destabilized even as it is established. This project highlights permeability between nature-culture (i.e. human), natural-supernatural thus destabilizing such categories.

Key Terms

Following the general review of my method, this next section elaborates upon key terms and their use in this analysis. This project analyzes Māori lore. Lore is a general term used to encompass several terms: myths, legends, folktales and parables. The definition of each of these terms is problematic as one contains elements of the other. Also, the term ‘myth’ is typically associated with falseness. All terms share the common theme of being originally oral, traditional narratives, told for a purpose. Therefore lore is a general term describing traditional narratives.

Several Māori terms are included in this project. Definitions are not commonly given unless required for the analysis. Readers are instead directed to the glossary. The glossary provides definitions of each term from, unless otherwise indicated, *Te Aka: Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index*. A guide to Māori orthography and pronunciation is provided at the outset. Because I use regionally diverse sources, differences in dialects occur. Regarding quotes: all Māori terms except for proper nouns are italicized regardless of whether or not they were italicized in the source texts. However, I have spelled Māori terms exactly as in my texts and have not attempted standardization.

Mana has been elaborated but several other non-Māori terms are implicated in expressions of transcendental unity. Kinship is a noun which describes a family relationship reckoned through genealogical descent. Māori peoples trace descent through either the maternal or paternal line; this particular form of kinship is referred to in anthropological literature as cognatic descent (Keesing 148).⁴ Descent, as it relates to transcendental unity, implies bloodlines from *atua* who are personified forms of nature, and inherited essences which are common between the human and natural world. Essence in this sense means that because of the culturally constituted relationship between humans and the environment, that is, the imposition of a schema of genealogical relation and family ties, humans inherit qualities and attributes from

⁴ “Cognatic descent: a mode of descent reckoning where all descendants of an apical ancestor/ancestress through any combination of male or female links are included.”

nature. These shared essences are often highlighted by metaphoric equivalences created between environmental and biological elements. The notion of kinship links humans to the environment.

Talismans are material objects which possess mana. Talisman is a term which describes anything (amulet, stone etc.) thought to possess supernatural power. The presence of a talisman influences human feeling and action. These are overviews of non-Māori terms implicated in relationships between peoples and land and expressions of transcendental unity between humans and nature.

Several terms in this project refer to nature. Nature means everything living and the environment as distinct from cultural productions. Nature is often paired with culture in binary oppositions. Environment carries nuances of environmentalism. It is a broad term which also applies to everything around with no particular distinction between what is natural or cultural, seen or unseen. Land is applied to the actual earth or ground or mountain. Land is also implicated in concepts of possession. Earth refers to the personification of land, and dirt like in gardens. Already I have combined the terms human-non-human-nature. *Atua* are often personified aspects of nature. 'Non-human' in the previous conflation of terms serves as a reminder of supernatural forces which may be personified or invisible. Supernatural in my usage also evokes constructs of natural and unnatural.

Culture is a term often opposed to nature. It is a complex term which operates as both a noun and a verb. In this project it has several nuances. Culture is used to describe social groups – i.e. Western culture. Culture is also implicated in notions of agriculture and growth. This growth is applicable not only to the cultivation of soil but also to people, as in cultivating knowledge etc. Generally culture applies to human transformations of nature – i.e. cultural products, such as texts, carvings etc. There is no monolithic Māori culture. Therefore, terms such as people, society and culture are pluralized to emphasize diversity. These terms are defined as I use them. These terms recur frequently, both in this project's analysis and source texts.

Texts

Texts are a crucial part of any literary analysis. Texts are this project's sources for these originally oral tales for several reasons. Texts offer evidence about the ways human and non-human relationships are imagined. Texts provide multiple versions of the analyzed stories which provide rich variation for analysis. Lastly, texts are a useful window into human conceptualizations of the world which can then be complicated or deconstructed. The sources of Māori lore used in this project represent regionally diverse samplings from the North and South Islands of New Zealand.

Three key texts were found at the University of Victoria library. All are bilingual texts which are translated by the author and contain English commentary. All narratives in these texts come from Māori informants. However, with the exception of Thornton's text, these sources were recorded by non-Māori collectors. These three key texts are: *Māori Folktales* by Margaret Orbell, published 1968; *Stories From New Zealand He Kōrero nō Te Wai Pounamu* by Christine Tremewan, published 2002; *The Birth of the Universe Te Whānautanga O Te Ao Tukupū* by Agathe Thornton, published 2004. Tremewan's collection is specifically from the South Island, and Thornton's Narrative is specifically from the North Island. Orbell's collection contains narratives with similarities between North and South Island narratives.

Two additional sources of Māori lore were encountered at the Te Aka Matua Library and Information Centre at the Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington while conducting research. These texts are: *He Taonga Tuku Iho Ngāti Porou Stories from the East Cape* and *He Taonga Anō* both by Bob McConnell published in 2001 and 2002 respectively. These narratives were pieced together from Land Court testimonies and meeting minutes from land bloc meetings. They do not provide analysis or commentary. The first collection is bilingual and the second is not. Therefore, the first text is used more than the second. Both of these texts provide interesting material for analysis.

Additional texts provide information about Māori philosophies and societies. Two texts encountered in New Zealand at the University of Waikato bookstore provide

information about Māori societies and philosophy. These texts are *Tohunga Hohepa Kereopa* by Paul Moon and *Tikanga Māori Living by Māori Values* by Hirini Moko Mead, both published in 2003. The first text is a presentation of information gleaned by Paul Moon from conversations with Māori tohunga Hohepa Kereopa. The second text is a presentation of Māori values and philosophy presented by a Māori author. Additionally, *Decolonizing Methodologies* by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, published in 1999, was found in the University of Victoria bookstore. This text critiques Western forms of thought and research and provides Māori-centric alternatives. Detailed descriptions of important primary and secondary sources are reviewed in chapter two. Primarily on the strength of these texts, this analysis proceeds and builds its argument.

Proposed Argument

This project uses the interrogative lens of *mana* to aid inquiry into an important form of unity revealed through analysis of relations between constructs of human-non-human-nature in Māori lore. Through an examination of mythic and cultural texts and deconstructive analysis, I find that human and non-human relationships in Māori lore are more diverse, complex and dynamic than commonly acknowledged. The results of this analysis show that alternative ways of viewing the Western human-nature binary relationship can be found in Māori texts. This constitutes a pioneering study, offering an analysis of a range of lore and their implications for some Māori views of unity between the human and nonhuman world, and a potential starting point for future Māori lore studies.

In other Polynesian countries, kinship-related metaphors link human beings and aspects of nature, particularly the yam (Gudeman 136-40). Metaphoric equivalences in Māori lore are different from what is encountered in other areas of Polynesia. They can involve crops, particularly the kūmara. However, more commonly in Māori texts, transformational expressions of transcendental unity involve birds, trees and landforms, particularly rocks. I use the term transcendental unity to describe this form of unity and to discuss its implications.

Transcendental unity in these texts involves a descent-link between nature and humans. Genealogies link Māori peoples to *atua* who are personified forms of nature. This kinship relation is crucial because it means that both Māori peoples and the natural environment inherit similar characteristics and share similar substances.

One shared, inherited quality possessed by Māori peoples and their environment is *mana*. *Mana*, applied to nature and natural objects, mediates expressions of transcendental unity. An example is seen in several narratives in which successful *karakia* call upon *atua* and (super)natural forces for aid in crisis situations. Genealogies and talismanic objects are implicated in the noun-definition of *mana* and expressions of transcendental unity. Expressions of transcendental unity implicated in the verb definition of *mana* include *karakia* and metamorphoses. Constructed barriers separating human-non-human-nature are actually permeable because of commonly inherited *mana*. Along these lines I will demonstrate that human beings and aspects of nature are not discrete entities, but intimately interrelated through genealogical ties. These interrelations and expressions of transcendental unity are always mediated by *mana*.

The results of this analysis demonstrate a series of alternative ways of viewing the human relationship to nature characterized by transcendental unity. I will demonstrate that transcendental unity is diversely expressed in Māori lore: genealogies linking tribes to gods who are personifications of natural phenomena; the talismanic effects of natural objects; *karakia* which appeal to nonhuman powers; the metamorphosis of humans into animals and back into humans. Transcendental unity is explicitly illustrated in Māori lore in movement between states of being, as when there are changes in physical form, or movement between natural and supernatural realms, as in journeys to Hawaiki. This discussion of transcendental unity expands notions of threshold crossings already present in folklore analysis.

Chapter by chapter, I will argue along the following lines: in chapter two, reviews of historical perspectives in Māori scholarship, and an overview of Māori social structure situate my analysis within a social context. Additionally, detailed descriptions of key

texts are provided. In chapter three, permutations of *mana* and their implications in transcendental unity are discussed in detail. In chapter four, descriptions of the land and the uses people make of the land are noted and analyzed with respect to the mediation of *mana* in expressions of transcendental unity. On the basis of this analysis, I argue relations between humans and the non-human environment involve genealogical ties, are mediated by *mana* and suggest a transcendental form of unity characterized by common essence and characteristics.

Chapter 2: Māori Oral Narratives in Social Context

This chapter situates the subsequent literary analysis in the broader field of Māori studies and provides general social and historical contexts for key texts. Though post-colonial theory is not the driving force of this analysis, it is a useful frame for social contexts and analytical source materials. Post-colonial theory will be used to examine the renaming of land and to detect possible sites of colonial resistance. Scholarly writings bearing on this project, including information about the Polynesian settlement of New Zealand, sources of histories and the Treaty of Waitangi will be reviewed. Additionally, a general review of some aspects of Māori social organization bearing on this analysis will be conducted. Finally, contemporary Māori cultural writings which provide essential perspectives will be reviewed and specific information regarding key texts provided. This general overview provides some requisite understanding of social context and aspects of Māori social organization which will be relevant to this analysis.

Post Colonialism, Naming Land and Contested Histories

Post-colonialism provides a theoretical framework for several key texts which describe colonizer-colonized relationships. Māori- Pākehā (colonized-colonizer) oppositions are involved in discussions of Māori societies in pre and post-contact times, legal battles over land stemming from the Treaty of Waitangi and the general state of Māori cultures in the face of assimilation pressures.⁵

Colonizer-colonized relationships and changes in Māori societies impact relationships between Māori peoples and the land. Chapter four examines these relationships as they are traditionally found in Māori lore. Some contemporary context is needed to understand the obscuring effects of colonial renaming of Māori places on traditional narratives and cultural identities. *Māori Mind, Māori Land* by Hong-Key Yoon has been an important source of information about relationships between peoples and land. In particular, he analyzes a creation narrative for environmental ideas, and also

⁵*Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* by Linda Tuhiwai Smith provides history and critiques of Western theories and their use in Māori studies. Alternatives to Western theory include approaches which focus on Māori self-determination, empowerment and healing (117).

discusses peoples and land through discussions of proverbs, or motto-maxims, used by Māori peoples to assert a particular tribal affiliation and cultural identity. Relevant to this discussion, Yoon makes comments on the distribution of Māori and Pākehā place names, and provides maps of several districts to demonstrate the distribution (98-121).

Colonizing peoples, including early Māori settlers, often name or rename areas in which they settle. New Zealand is the European name given to the land which was called Aotearoa (Long White Cloud) by Māori settlers (Yoon 103). Traditional Māori place names often evoke stories. These stories of ancestors asserted tribal claims to land. Renaming these places obscures these stories, diminishes their *mana* and nullifies ancestral land claims.

As an example, the North and South Islands of New Zealand are commonly called the North Island and the South Island. More rarely the European names New Ulster and New Munster respectively are applied (Yoon 104). However, traditional names evoke Māori lore, specifically the narrative in which Maui fishes the land out of the water (Tremewan 73-101). His brothers cry, “‘O Māui, let it go, you’ve got a supernatural being.’ But Māui declared, ‘This is my very own fish that I came to sea to catch’” (Tremewan 84). Therefore the land is a natural form, however it is also a supernatural form. The North Island was known as Te Ika a Maui (Maui’s Fish), the South Island was known as Te Waka a Maui (Maui’s canoe) and Stewart Island was the anchor (Yoon 104). Naming has an important link to the concept of *mana* as will be shown later.

The European renaming of areas is widely known, but needs to be appreciated in terms of its effect on the *mana* of both the land and the stories and peoples tied to it. Renaming places obscures Māori histories and can impact cultural identities. Smith says “Naming the world has been likened by Paulo Freire to claiming the world and claiming those ways of viewing the world that count as legitimate” (Smith 81). In addition to processes of naming and renaming, some, especially early, scholarly histories have been twisted by political agendas. Juxtaposed theories regarding the settlement of Aotearoa by Polynesian voyagers will now be reviewed. Discussions of contested histories are an important site of contemporary resistance and cultural revival.

There is considerable debate regarding the time New Zealand was first settled. A review of two theories of New Zealand's settlement will demonstrate that early scholarly writings were twisted to suit political agendas. "Using genealogies to establish dates, European scholars fitted the varying tribal versions together in a scheme that brought Kupe to New Zealand in about A.D. 950, Toi in about 1150, and a final, dominant wave of immigrants in a 'great fleet' in about 1350" (Metge 2). According to the 'great fleet' narrative, this final wave of immigrants killed a group of people known as Moriori, already living on the land, and claimed New Zealand (Howe 28-29). Several scholars including Raymond Firth, Sir Peter Buck and Eldson Best, supported the 'great fleet' theory and established its dominance in early Māori studies.

The 'great fleet' narrative has been criticised as an historical misrepresentation which has had negative impacts on Māori societies. Concerns with the 'great fleet' narratives revolve around their implicit support of colonial oppression (Howe 28). The 'great fleet' theory maintains that Māori peoples came to New Zealand, slaughtered all the Moriori and took their lands. This implicitly justifies European colonization, Māori land theft and the seemingly immanent extinction of Māori peoples as a natural continuation of waves of migration and conquest. The popularity of the 'great fleet' narrative also obscures regionally important narratives. In arguing that Māori came to New Zealand in a single, massive migration, narratives of groups not descended from the canoe groups named in the 'great fleet' narratives are marginalized.⁶ Therefore an alternative, contemporary theory will be provided.

Rats were brought to New Zealand by travellers, so radiocarbon dating and DNA testing of rat bones provides evidence that New Zealand was first encountered by people from Western Polynesia between 50-150 AD (Irwin and Walrond 38-39). They either died out or moved on leaving no evidence of settlement (Irwin and Walrond 38-39). Early sporadic occupation, especially in the North Island was likely due to its geographical position. Using various scientific methods including genealogical dating,

⁶ Aotea, Arawa, Horouta, Kurahaupo, Mataatua, Tainui, Takitimu and Tokomaru are the canoes named in the 'great fleet' narrative (Metge 2).

pollen analysis, DNA testing of rat bones and radiocarbon dating the current perspective argues, “...New Zealand was settled by people from East Polynesia – the Southern Cook and Society Islands region; that they migrated deliberately, setting off in different canoes, at different times; and that they first arrived in the late 13th century” (Howe 31). This date is still a matter of debate, and it applies to the *settlement* of New Zealand according to archaeological record rather than its *discovery*. Also note that the settlement of Aotearoa occurs at different times, rather than as the massive migration argued for in the ‘great fleet’ theory.

The Moriori, according to current perspectives, have Polynesian rather than Melanesian ancestry and are inhabitants of the Chatham Islands who migrated from Southern Aotearoa around 1500 AD (Davis and Soloman 94). The Moriori were sworn to non-violence through a covenant called Nunuku’s Law (Davis and Soloman 96). Formerly, the ‘great fleet’ theory argued that the violent Māori slaughtered the peaceful Moriori and took their lands. True, some Māori peoples were involved in the enslavement and land alienation of Moriori peoples (Davis and Soloman 97). However, these events occurred in post-contact times, not before the arrival of Europeans as the ‘great fleet’ narrative suggested. In fact, the conquering Māori arrived on a crowded British sailing vessel in 1835 (Davis and Soloman 96-98). Enslavement, more than slaughter, was the outcome of Māori conquest of Moriori lands (Davis and Soloman 97). The decimation of the Moriori populations was accomplished mainly through introduced diseases brought by British sailors (Davis and Soloman 97).

These summaries of classical and contemporary theories of Polynesian migration and settlement establish a general timeline of the occupation of Aotearoa, and highlight issues regarding the use of scholarly materials for political agendas. These views of Polynesian settlement provide an understanding of contested histories. The ‘great fleet’ narrative is an outdated theory, now condemned as implicit justification for European colonial dominion. With this note of caution in mind, some scholarly histories and cultural information are valuable to this analysis.

Overview of Scholarly Histories and Māori Scholarship

In this section, a general review of some Māori scholarship situating and bearing on this analysis will be conducted. Pre-existing scholarly sources regarding Māori peoples in pre-contact, contact and contemporary times will then be supplied. Particular attention will be given to Māori scholars Eldson Best and Anne Salmond who provide classical and more contemporary cultural studies. Their texts will be examined for perspectives on relationships between Māori peoples and land, *mana*, and notions of unity. This general overview of some scholarly cultural and historical information will be expanded in later discussions of the Treaty of Waitangi, aspects of Māori social organization and key contemporary sources of Māori cultural information. Some useful scholarly histories, including publications from contemporary and classical sources, will now be related.

A general overview of Māori history in wider Polynesian context is given in *Polynesia in Early Historic Times* (Oliver 224-53). The first four chapters of *The Māoris of New Zealand* by Joan Metge are devoted to a general history of Māori peoples in pre-contact, contact and contemporary times (1-65). More contemporary sources need to be consulted for detailed information about Māori history.

The *Te Ara* encyclopaedia, available in text form or online,⁷ is the most recent source of scholarly history used in this thesis. It is highly accessible and it combines traditional stories and regionally specific tribal histories with scientific data. The topics are broad and survey a range of ideas put forward by past and present scholars, evidence for those ideas, and their flaws as well. It also provides histories specific to different Māori tribes and therefore demonstrates the fact that there is no singular Māori culture or society, but rather diverse groups with particular traditions.

This source is especially valued for discussions of creation traditions and settlement of Aotearoa. Additionally, regional landmarks and their importance to tribal identity are mentioned. Equivalences created between people, *marae* and land will recur and suggest a form of unity. People and places and objects have *mana*, as will be

⁷ www.TeAra.govt.nz

clarified in chapter three. Metaphoric relationships between people and the land especially bear upon analysis in chapter four.

Eldson Best is a classical Māori ethnographer who has published extensive studies of Māori culture. Much of his work was conducted while living with Tūhoe Māori. As noted above, his writings concerning the 'great fleet' have been discredited.

His language is filled with loaded terms such "inferior culture" (Best, *Some Aspects* 7-8). In *Forest Lore of the Maori*, Best says ritual methods designed to preserve and protect crops and people are "based on erroneous beliefs and superstition" (141), yet he notes that karakia are "charms of marvellous efficacy" (144). If it works, it is mana. Therefore, karakia are not erroneous expressions of superstition, they are sites where mana can be determined by efficacy.

Best's writings involve an underlying assumption that cultures evolve through stages and that monotheism is the apex of religious, cultural evolution. Io is a contested supreme being in Māori lore, first mentioned in 1913 in *The Lore of the Whare Wananga* by S. Percy Smith. The deity Io is involved in one source text, and therefore Best and his critics supply some context for analysis of creation and ascent narratives in chapter four.

Additionally, Tūhoe Māori *tohunga* Hohepa Kereopa criticises the rigid categorizations in Best's writings regarding Eldson Best's writing concerning Māori *tohunga* (Best, *Some Aspects* 7). Kereopa says, "the value of his analysis was at best marginal, and is perhaps more important for the material that was omitted..." (Moon 18). Kereopa, in criticism of the scholarly experts on *tohunga*, says, "...people placed their emphasis on the person of the *tohunga*...[but]...it was the processes and methods that were paramount" (Moon 23). This stress on process and method rather than the person will illuminate interpretations of the contested supreme deity Io in chapter four.

Despite criticisms of Best's writings (Buck 526; Moon 18; Simpson 85), his works are still detailed and valuable sources of information. Of particular value to this project are his works on religion and myth, spiritual-mental concepts, religion, forest lore and agriculture.

Best's writings describe various cultural practices and concepts related to *mana* (*Forest Lore of the Maori; Maori Agriculture; Maori Religion and Mythology Parts 1 and 2; Some Aspects of Maori Myth and Religion; Spiritual and Mental Concepts of the Maori*). *Mauri* is one concept Best describes which is linked to *mana* in chapter four of this project, and is implicated in constructed equivalences between human and non-human entities. Equivalences based upon biological metaphor recur in aspects of Māori social organization discussed below, and in the term *whenua*.

In *Agriculture* Best describes practices and beliefs surrounding cultivation of the land. A narrative is provided regarding the birth of the *kūmara* from divine parents (102). Furthermore, the pure ritual (described in chapter four) following human birth is performed for the *kūmara* crop as well (Best, *Agriculture* 221).

Forest Lore provides further metaphoric equivalences between people and aspects of nature. Again, the same rituals used to encourage productivity in people are used to ensure the productivity of the land (Best, *Forest Lore* 141). Of particular interest in this work are links between peoples, the forest, birds and the land which are related back to *atua* such as Tāne (forest), and explored in detail in chapter four.

Dame Anne Salmond is a Māori scholar who is still involved in writing, teaching and politics (*New Zealand Book Council*). Her exposure to Maori studies resulted from stories of her great-grandfather who worked with Eldson Best (Salmond, *Between Worlds* 9). "For many years she worked closely with Eruera and Amiria Stirling, noted elders of Te Whaanau-a-Apanui and Ngati Porou" (*New Zealand Book Council*). Two key texts detailed below contain tribal histories from Ngati Porou peoples. Thus Dame Salmond's works provide some necessary regional perspective. Her works provide both detailed and general sources of Māori historical and cultural information.

Between Worlds by Anne Salmond provides a detailed and informative historical analysis of early Māori-European contact. Her discussions of *mana* often involve *utu*, (reciprocity) 144-45, 160, 226, 395, 509). *Utu* is expressed as reciprocity of both generosity and insults (Moorfield 186). Conceptual ties between reciprocity and *mana* are developed in chapter three.

In *Hui* are descriptions of *marae* and Māori ceremonies which prove useful to this analysis as the *wharenui* is a place with *mana* which is linked to group identity. Salmond notes how groups' activities at *marae* can increase or decrease *mana* (*Hui* 12, 14, 20). Interestingly, Salmond speaks of "the slave, who by definition had no *mana* at all" (*Hui* 13). Given the assertions throughout this project that *mana* is a pervasive, reciprocally-influencing quality shared by peoples and land, this is important to bear in mind. Though *mana* is a pervasively-shared quality it is not absolute, nor is it possessed in the same degree in all entities.

Scholarly histories can marginalize indigenous concepts. In New Zealand's colonial context, indigenous and scientific explanations clashed. "The negation of indigenous views of history was a critical part of asserting colonial ideology, partly because such views were regarded as clearly 'primitive' and 'incorrect' and mostly because they challenged and resisted the mission of colonization" (Smith 29). This means indigenous conceptual frameworks become devalued, and through colonial educational systems, indigenous peoples are forced to swallow and regurgitate alien conceptual frameworks, while their own are submerged, destroyed or co-opted by the colonizer. Therefore colonial scientific and religious ethos became a weapon by which Māori peoples' stories, their oral histories, were described and dismissed by scholars such as Best as being based "on erroneous beliefs and superstitions" (*Forest Lore* 141). The scientific rejection of oral histories perpetuates intellectual colonial dominance and provides a site of social action in terms of colonial resistance and cultural revival.

In *Hui* Salmond uses myth to trace the creation of the universe and settlement of New Zealand and then follows the evolution of Māori society from that time until the late 1970s when her work was published (10-290). Salmond defends her decision to use data from myth rather than science saying, "...although the archaeological version has greater scientific validity, it is mythology which is relevant to the *marae*" (*Hui* 10). Part of the purpose of this project is to emphasize the importance of oral histories as important histories and representations of Māori societies.

Any of the above mentioned scholarly sources will provide a general historical context for key texts. This historical context will now be broadened to include discussions of and reactions to the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Treaty of Waitangi

The Treaty of Waitangi is an important and contentious historical document. The treaty can be read in full, along with valuable background information, online.⁸ Responses to the Treaty in contemporary times merit special attention to this aspect of Māori history.

The Treaty of Waitangi contained three articles and existed in two similar, but different versions: one in English, one in Māori. To summarize them briefly from Kawharu's English text: the first article grants the Crown complete sovereignty over New Zealand; the second article states that Māori peoples shall retain possession of their ancestral lands and resources for as long as they wish, but grant the Queen exclusive rights of pre-emption for lands the Māori sell at an agreed upon price; the third article guarantees Māori peoples protection and the rights and privileges of British subjects (11). The date given for the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi is February 6, 1840 (Kawharu 1).

Treaty, Tribes and Governance in New Zealand was a paper presented by I.H. Kawharu at the University of Victoria in 2002. In it, he examines the Treaty of Waitangi and its centrality to British colonization efforts and abuses. Problems with translation, explained by Kawharu, meant that neither group really understood what was being asked or given (1, 8, 11). This paper best compares the discrepancies between the English and Māori texts, and goes beyond simple criticism of the Treaty.

Examples of Treaty violations and promises to treat fairly are given by Kawharu: In the case of the Ngāi Tahu peoples of the South Island, a 30,000 acre block was sold by the Crown two years before its purchase (3). Additionally, "the price it received was greater than that which it eventually decided to pay the Ngāi Tahu for the entire South Island that was 1000 times larger in area" (Kawharu 3). Confiscations "by the Crown in

⁸ www.treatyofwaitangi.govt.nz

the mid 19th century of 245,000 acres of land owned by a number of tribal and sub tribal groups in the Rangitiki District on the east coast of the central North Island...as a penalty for rebellion...was clearly contrary to the Treaty, since under Article 2 no Māori land could be taken without free consent” (Kawharu 3). Subversion of traditional Māori communal occupation of land by means of naming owners dismembered traditional political systems and disinherited Ngāti Whatua peoples from their lands (Kawharu 3-4).

In 1869 the Native Land Court awarded the 700 acres to only thirteen members of the local community of over 500. Although the thirteen were thought at the time to be trustees, they were in law made owners thereby disinheriting the rest...In 1898 the court partitioned the land among the thirteen owners. A short while later the Crown changed the law giving it the sole right to buy the shares of these individuals privately, overriding all group right to the communal estate...in 1950 the Crown finally lost patience and took the last acres under the compulsory powers of the Public Works Act. Houses and buildings, including the sacred meeting house, were pulled down and burnt in front of the community (Kawharu 4).

This claim represented a “microcosm of ills besetting Māori tribal society from the outset of the European colonisation of New Zealand” (Kawharu 3).

Therefore, land was sold by the Crown before it was purchased at unreasonable levels of profit, confiscations of land violated promises of the Crown to treat fairly with Māori peoples, and individualization of land titles and ownership destroyed traditional systems of politics and land occupation. Additionally, Kawharu raises the issue that the so-called benefits of British citizenship: education, healthcare and so forth, were not delivered as promised (3). Kawharu discusses legislations passed which give Māori peoples a forum, the Waitangi Tribunal, to raise grievances and demand accountability and reciprocity on behalf of the British Crown in accordance with the treaty (2).

Of the three articles in the treaty, it is only the second article, which deals with the promise to protect Māori chiefly trusteeship, which has seen grievances brought before the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal (Kawharu 4). Several grievances have been resolved with portions of Māori land being returned to Māori groups, but the process is long and difficult (Smith 46).

Bringing claims before the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal involves getting together the necessary evidence to prove the claim, and having the claim validated by the Tribunal before Māori peoples and the Crown can even negotiate a settlement (Kawharu 5). Success occurs more frequently for claims wherein several groups join together to assert a united claim (Kawharu 5-6). “There was never a Māori nation; and that remains the case today” (Kawharu 6). Therefore Treaty claims can be problematic because joining unrelated groups together is contrary to traditional Māori social organization, as is the imposition of individual land ownership titles.

All claims before the Waitangi tribunal reinforce the validity of the original treaty. In 2002 there were 900 claims filed with the Tribunal (Kawharu 3). The Treaty can be seen as more than just a source of colonial abuse, however, it is also a locus for Māori social action and change. Viewed positively as a locus of social change, or negatively as a source of colonial abuse, the Treaty of Waitangi had and continues to have a great impact on Māori peoples and their relationships with the land.

The Treaty and the controversies surrounding it are usually discussed by scholars in terms of legal ownership and colonial abuse (Kawharu 1-11; Smith, 46-47). The significance of the Treaty extends beyond historical and political contexts to impact upon the uses and importance of tribal histories and lore. Testimonies given sometimes use oral histories to assert tribal land claims, as will be seen in the review of McConnell's texts below. Before key texts are examined, a cursory review of some aspects of Māori social organization will provide this analysis with additional cultural context.

Aspects of Typical Māori Social Organization

Aspects of Māori social organization provide cultural context, and use biological metaphors to express important equivalences between people and land. These metaphoric equivalences will bear directly upon analysis of relations between people and nature in Māori lore. The overview below is one broad outline of traditional Māori social structure, but variations exist.

Once Māori peoples settled in large numbers, distinct practices evolved in different communities; people in different communities did things differently. Though

practices were varied, the overall social organization was relatively similar. “Māori recognized four kin groups: *whānau*, *hāpu*, *iwi* and *waka*” (Mead 230). These kin groups remain, to a varying extent, operational in contemporary times, and can be loosely defined as family group, sub-tribe, tribe and canoe respectively (Metge 5-8). Despite the challenges to this social structure, including urbanization, these social structures adapt and persist to varying degrees all over New Zealand.

Identification with a particular group can be troublesome. Due to assimilation and alienation from traditional organization, many Māori people do not “...know their *iwi* or do not want to identify as a member of an *iwi*, or object to having to choose one over several possible *iwi* affiliations” (Mead 212). It is important to remember that “there is a degree of flexibility in how the terms *whānau*, *hāpu* and *iwi* are used” (Mead 215). The following overview clarifies some traditional aspects of social structure with a brief definition and explanation of the terms: *whānau*, *hāpu*, *iwi*, *waka* and *marae*.

The *whānau* is the basic social unit which can vary in size from a nuclear household to an extended family group which can have more than a hundred members (Mead 213, 215; Taonui 73). According to Williams, *whānau* means ‘be born’, ‘be in childbed’, ‘offspring’, ‘family group’ and ‘family’ (Williams 487). In other words, members are born into the *whānau* and are all related. “The *whānau* principle, which is described by anthropologists as the kinship principle and by Māori as the *whakapapa* principle, underpins the whole social system...” (Mead 212). In terms of economics, the *whānau* was a self-sustaining unit (Taonui 73). “The *whānau* occupied either one dwelling house or several contiguous houses within a village. Under their head man, the group was able to undertake several important tasks such as working a *kūmara* plot, building an eel weir, building a *waka*, fishing, rat trapping or bird hunting” (Firth 111). The *whānau* also shares a relationship to the land in that when a child is born, its placenta and umbilical cord are buried within the ancestral land of the *whānau* creating a spiritual connection between the land and the child (Mead 213). This ancient ritual is still practiced by some, and arguably a growing number of modern Māori, and will be elaborated in chapter four’s analysis.

A *hāpu* consists of many related *whānau*, and membership can be traced through the maternal or paternal line, or both. Williams says the definition of *hāpu* is “pregnant, conceived in the womb; section of a large tribe, clan, secondary tribe’ (Williams 36). As with the *whānau*, ties of kinship, being born into the group, are necessary prerequisites for *hāpu* membership. Kinship ties are stressed in this definition through the metaphor of pregnancy. *Hāpu* are usually named after a common ancestor, but less frequently they are named for an event (Mead 216). “Names could be taken from both male and female ancestors” (Taonui 73). For example, analysis in the next chapter will involve a narrative about Hinerupe, a founding Ngāti Porou ancestress.⁹

Hāpu strong in numbers and organization could have great social, economic and political power, and traditionally managed the resources of the land they occupied (Mead 214). Taonui notes that defence of land was a major political function of *hāpu* (71). According to Mead, the key difference between the *whānau* and the *hāpu* is the intention to establish, or the establishment of a *marae* (Mead 214). Mead further clarifies that well-established *hāpu* have *managed* at least one *marae* for one hundred years or more.

In the same manner that *whānau* and *hāpu* are terms which are difficult to distinguish, *hāpu* and *iwi* are equally difficult to distinguish. “There are revived *hāpu*, urban *hāpu*, traditional *hāpu*, and *hāpu* that are both *hāpu* and *iwi*” (Mead 215). Traditional *hāpu* are located on Māori land. With increasing urbanization there are also several *hāpu* in urban centres such as Auckland. Sometimes a *hāpu* could fade out of existence if its members aligned themselves with other *hāpu* (Mead 217). In cases where the Māori Land Court has returned ancestral lands to Māori peoples *hāpu* are being revived. Some *hāpu* are large enough to function as *iwi*, and when a well-established *hāpu* meets with another *iwi*, the *hāpu* represents their *iwi* and can function as an *iwi* during their encounters (Mead 215).

⁹ *Iwi* and *hāpu* names were preceded by a clan prefix such as Te Kāhui (the assemblage), Te Uri or Ngā Uri (the descendents), Ngāti, Ngā, Ngāi, Aitanga, or Te Āti (the people or offspring), Te Tini or Te Whānau (the family). The prefix was coupled with the name of an important founding ancestor (Taonui 73).

Leadership and ceremonial roles were filled by persons preferably from a chiefly or senior line of descent. Chiefs (*rangatira*) or paramount chiefs (*ariki*) were the hierarchically organized, recognized leaders, though decision-making within the *hāpu* was usually collective (Mead 216, 220). *Hāpu* and *iwi* differ in that *iwi* are “...logically larger than a *hāpu*, far more numerous, richer in resources and occupies a far larger area of land” (Mead 219).

The *hāpu* was largely self-sufficient, but functioned as part of a larger group, the *iwi*. There is no set number of *hāpu* required to form an *iwi*. The *iwi* was a political unit which banded together for purposes of attack and defence (Mead 220). There was sometimes disagreement and infighting between the *hāpu* of a given *iwi* which weakened their strength and forced the *rangatira* and the *ariki* to sometimes banish *hāpu* from the *iwi* (Mead 220-21).

Williams defines *iwi* as ‘bone’, ‘stone of a fruit’, ‘strength’, ‘nation’, ‘people’ (80). *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index* adds the term ‘tribe’ to Williams’ definition (Moorfield 38). “Relatives are often described as ‘bones’ and, in this sense, the members of an *iwi* are ‘bones’ which emphasizes again the importance of shared *whakapapa*...An important component of the metaphor of bones is that it provides strength...Thus bones in the sense of *whakapapa* and in giving strength to anything is important in understanding the concept of *iwi*” (Mead 219).

As for how many *iwi* there are, that is subject to debate, and the numbers change with time. Mead says the 1996 census recognized ninety different *iwi*, though several were much smaller than traditionally recognized *iwi* (Mead 224). Metge says, “Once lists and maps were made they came to be accepted as definitive and “right”, and the fluidity of the traditional system was frozen” (121). Rigidity might cause problems for groups which become *iwi* because they may not be legally recognized entities. It stands to reason that the number of *iwi* will continue to increase as *whānau* and *hāpu* groups become too large to function efficiently. Some might, for legal and political purposes, choose to remerge with more established *iwi* so as to be a stronger political force.

This overview of some aspects of social structure demonstrates that social units are metaphorically reckoned in physical terms as birth, pregnancy and bone. A *whānau* is a family group or extended family group. Several *whānau* make a *hāpu* and several *hāpu* make an *iwi*. Membership within Māori societies depends upon *whakapapa* ties to a common ancestor.

Beyond the categories of *whānau*, *hāpu* and *iwi*, two further aspects of Māori societies, *waka* and *marae*, will now be outlined. *Waka* and *marae* are important aspects of Māori societies which demonstrate transcendental unity.

Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index provides the following definition of *waka*: “canoe, vehicle, conveyance, spirit medium, medium (of *atua*), long, narrow receptacle, box (for feathers), water trough; allied tribes descended from the crew of a canoe which migrated to New Zealand” (Moorfield 190). It is this last definition which is relevant to social organization. *Waka* are important in Māori lore. *Waka* are also the only kin group not necessarily descended from a common ancestor, though they tie several important ancestors and therefore *iwi* into a larger whole through a common event – the migration of a group from Eastern Polynesia to New Zealand.

Waka can be involved in expressions of transcendental unity. *Waka* are spirit mediums and vehicles which convey characters to the underworld or Hawaiki in Māori lore. Additionally, their use as receptacles pops up in Māori lore where they are used in funerary rites, for storing heads of dead persons, troughs for bird snares and as boxes for feathers. Feathers, birds, and *waka* are symbolically important, as will be shown in chapters three and four.

The *marae* has special relationships with Māori peoples, the land and traditional lore which express transcendental unity. *Marae* is defined as: “be generous, hospitable; courtyard – the open area in front of the *wharenuī*, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the *marae*” (Moorfield 79). In *Hui*, Salmond says, “The *marae* is a local ceremonial centre, dedicated to the gatherings of Maori people and to the practice of traditional rituals.

Each *marae* has a meeting-house, a dining-hall and other small buildings set in about an acre of land and fenced off from surrounding properties” (31). *The marae* is also spoken of as “the place for the feet to stand...This is a very important cultural bond to the land” which comes with rights and obligations (Mead 96; Salmond, *Hui* 31). The *marae* connects the *hāpu* to the land and gives it a unique identity. “The *marae* symbolizes group unity, and acts as a bridge to the past as well as a useful community centre in the present” (Salmond, *Hui* 31). Gateways into the *marae* are traditionally narrow for defensive purposes and carved with images designed for *marae* protection and to strengthen group identity: founding ancestors, protective *atua* or ancestors with many battle victories (Brown 66-99).

A meeting-house or *whareniui* is crucial to the identity of a group, provides a ritual space, facilitates discussions within the group and provides a place to host other visiting groups. It is a repository of *whakapapa* information and lore and is worthy of extensive study by future scholars. On the *marae*, the *whareniui* (big house or meeting-house, called the *whare tīpuna* or ancestral house in the quote below) is a central and striking building.

The meeting house at the *marae* is a point of focus for all members. Because it is characteristically named after an ancestor and because hundreds of members of the group from several generations long since gone played their part in maintaining the *mana* of the *hāpu* there is also a mystical quality to the meeting house, elements of *ihi* (essential force), *wehi* (fearsomeness), and *wana* (sublimity). In other words the *whare tīpuna* has awe (strength, power and influence), it is imbued with the *mana* of those gone by, and it is *tapu*, highly respected, and symbolic of the group and all that it stands for (Mead 218).

Some *whareniui* are very simple, but they can be elaborately decorated with carvings, paintings and weavings which relate to important ancestors and narratives (Brown 50-69; Salmond, *Hui* 35). Founding ancestors are depicted on internal columns and are the metaphorical “heart of the house” (Brown 58). Patterns of weavings on walls are based on genealogies (Salmond, *Hui* 35).

Not only do the adornments of and in the building evoke genealogies, but the form of the house is likened to an embracing parent (Salmond, *Hui* 40). Imagine the

house as a parent bending down to gather up a child: the carved figurehead atop the meeting house represents an ancestor and spiritual 'head' that provides guidance and protection. The top of the roof is the spine, the rafters a ribcage, the carved gables embracing hands; the window is like an eye, the door a mouth. Thus, biological and bodily metaphors are associated not only with social organization and land but also with places. Where these metaphoric equivalences appear they are often associated with ritual as will be seen in chapter four. Ritual spaces and places, especially the *marae*, are given special attention in following chapters.

These explanations of traditional Māori social organization provide an understanding of Māori social organization which will be further elaborated in the next chapter's discussions of *mana*, *tapu* and authority. The importance of *whakapapa* ties and kinship relations which tie peoples and land through genealogical descent expressed through environmental-biological equivalences are stressed throughout this analysis, and express transcendental unity. This chapter has reviewed social and historical contexts in which key texts may be placed.

Regarding Key Texts

Lore is culturally constructed. This analysis uses Māori lore as a source of oral histories which contain representations of Māori societies. Because of the importance of genealogical reckoning, all members of Māori societies would have some knowledge of lore. There is no original, correct version.

By the mid-nineteenth century, a time when several source texts for this analysis were written, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed and colonization was in full progress. With European sovereignty came cultural assimilation. Many young Māori began participating in wage labour and abandoning traditional means of sustenance (Metge 72-77). Concern that Māori traditions would die with the older generation who had limited contact with Europeans spurred the writing of several source texts used in this analysis (Tremewan xiv). It is in this particular context the sources of Māori lore will be placed. First, two texts encountered while researching in New Zealand provide crucial

Māori perspectives on themes of *mana*, relations between Māori peoples and land, and unity.

This analysis relies not only on texts of Māori lore and the clear elucidation of *mana*, but also on an understanding of the concept of transcendental unity, and the importance of *mana* to that unity. Recall the theoretical perspective that the relations between the human and non-human environment express interconnections which can be navigated with sufficient *mana*. I sought texts written by Māori about their beliefs which would help me understand features in Māori lore, which I posit clearly demonstrate how *mana* provides the power and agency required to make transcendental unity possible. The texts elaborated below reveal a distinctly Māori perspective which will greatly benefit this analysis.

Tohunga Hohepa Kereopa by Paul Moon and *Tikanga Māori Living by Māori Values* by Hirini Moko Mead contain discussions of many aspects of Māori societies and beliefs. In particular, each of these texts has much to say about unity, *mana* and relations between peoples and land. These texts provide crucial cultural information from Māori perspectives and deepen and enlarge understanding of culture, history and social structure given by aforementioned scholarly sources such as Anne Salmond and Eldson Best. Both these sources are contemporary scholarly works and have proven indispensable to this analysis. These texts do not discuss Māori lore except through allusion, but have implications for the analysis of lore that this project explores. Each of these texts will be discussed in turn.

Tohunga Hohepa Kereopa by Paul Moon is a text about the life of the *tohunga* named in the title. Paul Moon is currently a professor of history at Auckland University of Technology whom Hohepa Kereopa approached about writing this book (Moon 13). Moon gives provenance for this text: “To ensure that the accuracy of the material contained in this volume remained intact, Hohepa scrutinized every paragraph, and frequently made additional observations on how the material might be enhanced. In addition, much of the text is made up of verbatim accounts...this meant the adoption of a process whereby months of dialogue between the two of us were condensed down”

(Moon 11). This work was found in the University of Waikato Bookstore during research in New Zealand. It is an invaluable source of Māori philosophy.

What this text provides is a rare glimpse into some beliefs held by a *tohunga*, a respected member of a Māori community. Some of Kereopa's beliefs are controversial, as is the existence of this text at all. "Learning and the act of teaching were not ordinary or common" (Mead 307). Learning was an activity that was sacred, undertaken by a few chosen males, and segregated from the village and everyday activities in a *whare wānanga* (Mead 310). "Knowledge was *tapu*" (Mead 310). Sharing the knowledge would render it *noa* (common) and diminish its *tapu* status, and therefore knowledge-sharing was limited. Some diffusion of knowledge through oratory likely occurred.

The knowledge of a *tohunga* would never have been published in traditional times, but Kereopa feared "...the world of the traditional *tohunga* has been eroded to the verge of disappearing..." (Moon 11). This fear was the outcome of the Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907 (repealed in 1964) which made the "superstitious" practices of *tohunga* illegal (Moon 10). Any *tohunga* still practising had to be secretive. In many cases the knowledge they possessed died with them. In this context Kereopa wanted to share his knowledge, and believed that doing so was more important to Māori culture and peoples than traditional prohibitions on sharing such material (Moon 13). Māui told his brothers "*I nga ra o te pai, hei pai; I nga ra o te kino, hei kino,*" which literally means "In good days be good; in bad days be bad" (Patterson 236). Therefore, sharing knowledge against custom is appropriate in times of stress or crisis.

As further examples of beliefs asserted by the *tohunga* which may be controversial to some Māori peoples, Kereopa does not put much stock in genealogy. "*Whakapapa* is not important. Not really" (Moon 41). Considering the importance of *whakapapa* ties in tribal identification and social organization which is stressed in every other source and this analysis, this view was surprising. It is very understandable, however, when contemporary urbanization and other geographic fragmentation of kin-groups is taken into account. Rather than emphasizing *mana* through ancestry, Kereopa stresses *mana* from individual actions. "[W]e are the summation of all our ancestors

who have preceded us, so...there was significance in *whakapapa*. Yet, Hohepa emphasized that greatness, or human worth of any sort, was not conferred by ancestry. Instead, it was up to the individual to discover their own value” (Moon 41). Differences between inherited *mana* and *mana* gained through an individual’s actions will be refined in the next chapter.

Of particular interest to this analysis are views given by Kereopa which express transcendental unity. Kereopa had much to say about the connections between the human and non-human world. Paul Moon notes the critical “...convergence of the physical and metaphysical worlds. *Tohunga* like Hohepa seem to glide effortlessly between the two” (11). Kereopa says, “One of my first experiences that showed me that I was becoming a *tohunga* involved lizards” (Moon 34). “They were not vague, esoteric inklings from deep in the shadowy recesses of the brain, but events for which supernatural forces assumed definite shapes” (Moon34). Kereopa “...talked to the lizards” (Moon 35). Additionally he can communicate with trees and water (Moon 38). Representations of spirits influencing human lives and communicating with aspects of the environment are common in the lore analyzed in this thesis. This belief, rather than being a mere colourful storyteller’s embroidery, is echoed by Hohepa Kereopa’s experiences.

These transfigurations and communications are possible because of the great *mana* possessed not only by the *tohunga*, but also by the natural world. “When the world was created, everything was given full *wairua* and *mana*, like trees for example, so that everything is its own master” (Moon 131). Thus both human and natural aspects of the environment share similar substances and always have. This indicates transcendental unity involving *mana* in relations between humans and aspects of nature. Kereopa says, “Knowing how things are done, or otherwise, was not as essential as knowing they could be done” (Moon 36). In addition to this text, one other source has been especially vital in supplying cultural information and perspectives.

Tikanga Māori Living by Māori Values by Sir Hirini Moko Mead “provides a scholarly background to practices and values that many Māori, a growing number, see

as necessary for good relations with people and with the land on which they live. These practices and values make up *tikanga* Māori, or that which exemplifies proper or meritorious conduct according to ancestral law” (Mead ix). This text was encountered in New Zealand at the Victoria University of Wellington Bookstore.

The Waitangi Tribunal website gives the following information about Tribunal member Mead,¹⁰ appointed in 2003: Professor Sir Mead established the first department of Māori studies at Victoria University in Wellington and was responsible for the first university-based *marae* on a mainstream campus. Upon retirement he established a tribal university for Ngāti Awa Māori, his tribal group. He was a chief negotiator for Ngāti Awa claims which were settled in 2005.

This text provides crucial information about *tikanga* Māori, or correct Māori procedure. Thus it illuminates concepts such as *mana*. *Tikanga Māori Living by Māori Values* goes beyond recording ancestral law by encouraging Māori peoples to adapt *tikanga* Māori to modern situations (Mead 323-34). In addition to providing information about correct Māori conduct through the examination of social groupings and concepts such as *tapu*, actions such as gift giving, and correct ritual procedures, this text also contains numerous sections explaining the interconnectedness of all things, *mana* and its operation in *tikanga* Māori. Additionally, an entire chapter is devoted to identity and land (Mead 269-86).

As a window into traditional values and modern Māori societies this text has proved invaluable. Of particular interest to this analysis are discussions of Māori social organization, *mana*, and the relationships between not only people and the land in birth and other rituals, but also between the natural and supernatural realms. Māori lore is referred to obliquely as it pertains to aspects of *tikanga* Māori and provides an origin for a certain ritual or *tikanga*. The values discussed in this text can be applied to the analysis of Māori lore. Sources of Māori lore used in this analysis will now be detailed.

All primary texts are bilingual, use Māori sources and come from the post-contact era. To summarize, sources for the lore are: *The Birth of the Universe Te*

¹⁰ <http://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/about/wtmemb/mead.asp>

Whānautanga O Te Ao Tukupū by Agathe Thornton, *He Taonga Tuku Iho Ngāti Porou Stories from the East Cape* and *He Taonga Anō* by Bob McConnell, *Māori Folktales* by Margaret Orbell, and *Stories from New Zealand He Kōrero nō Te Wai Pounamu* by Tremewan. Thornton's, Orbell's and Tremewan's sources date back to the mid-1800s, while the McConnell sources date from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These sources, along with numerous secondary sources provide regional diversity and a range of lore to analyze (Alpers; Reed). These sources will now be examined in more detail.

In *The Birth of the Universe Te Whānautanga O Te Ao Tukupū*, Agathe Thornton edited and translated the original texts of two major stories of Wairarapa cosmology from four manuscripts...orally transmitted and dictated by *tohunga* to a reliable scribe...The stories describe the Separation of (Rangi (Heaven) and Papa (Earth), and the god Tāne's ascent to the twelfth heaven to bring down to earth from the supreme god Io the Baskets of Knowledge and the two sacred stones (7).

At the time these manuscripts were written (1850s and 60s), the Māori King Movement or Kīngitanga was in process, and some contributors to Thornton's texts were supporters of the King Movement (Thornton 14). At this time, much Māori land had been sold, and people not consulted in the process were alienated from their lands (Thornton 15).

The 1860s were, furthermore, years of war in Taranaki and the Waikato, and also on the East Coast. The emotional pressures of the situation are visible in the manuscripts. In...a depressed mood about things Māori is prevalent, as is a reluctance to talk about the cosmological side of the traditions. Nevertheless, for the people of the Wairarapa, writing down their traditions, on which their identity rested, was a strong statement that they intended to survive... (Thornton 16).

Thornton has a background in classical mythology and has also published a comparative analysis called *Māori Oral Literature as Seen by a Classicist* which is not used in this analysis. This text, however, is a continuation of that work (Thornton 7). This text was found at the University of Victoria Library and contains originally oral histories, specifically various versions of creation and ascent narratives. Creation and ascent

narratives explain the origin and forming of the universe, the dynamics between natural forces, the creation of humans, the origins of knowledge and the origin of death. These popular narratives relate themes of human and non-human relationships, and the role of *mana* in navigating those relationships. This text will be analyzed in chapter four.

Stories from New Zealand He Kōrero nō Te Wai Pounamu by Christine Tremewan is a key text in this analysis. A look at the University of Canterbury's online profile of Tremewan reveals she is an adjunct senior fellow at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch,¹¹ New Zealand, specializing in nineteenth-century manuscripts, South Island language and lore, Polynesian lore and traditional Māori waiata. This source was found at the University of Victoria Library.

“This book contains stories recorded in the mid-nineteenth century on the tiny island of Ruapuke, in the far south of Te Wai Pounamu (the South Island of New Zealand)” (Tremewan xi). The remoteness of Ruapuke offered refuge for survivors of inter-tribal conflict (Tremewan xi). Thus, genealogies and narratives from later *iwi* in Ruapuke in the South Island connect with many from the North Island (Tremewan xi-xii). Colonization had begun fairly recently, therefore older members of the Ruapuke community who dictated these stories to German missionary, Reverend Wohlers, retained a vast range of traditional lore (Tremewan xi).

Wohlers, a German missionary who wished to preserve Māori stories (in Māori) for various purposes, transcribed these texts (Tremewan xiii). Unfortunately, Wohlers does not identify his informants (Tremewan xii). Tremewan leads readers to believe that Wohlers had great empathy for Māori culture: “‘This language is by no means poor,’ he wrote. ‘It can be formed logically and permits of exact expression of every thought’” (xiii). However, over several correspondences, Rev. Wohlers makes disparaging comments about Māori language and its lack of expression for emotional sentiments concluding that the Māori are emotionally blunted (MS-papers-0428-05A; MS-papers-0428-05B). Tremewan asserts that Wohler's recordings were faithful and did not suppress objectionable material (xii). Having read versions of Māui narratives in

¹¹ <http://www.maori.canterbury.ac.nz/people/tremewan.shtml>

Reed which appear to suppress sexual content (*Myths and Legends of Maoriland* 23-47), Tremewan's conclusion is sound. Therefore the bias of the Reverend did not permeate the lore he collected.

Tremewan's text contains stories collected in Māori by Rev. Wohlers, and English translation and commentary by Tremewan. It is especially valuable for thematic analysis and the diversity of narratives and comparisons between regionally diverse narratives. *Māori Folktales* by Margaret Orbell is another bilingual source used as a primary text. Orbell's writings were recommended to me by a Māori contact. This text was found at the University of Victoria Library. The web profile of Margaret Orbell on the New Zealand Book Council website says, "Margaret Orbell was the author of several books on Maori literature, tradition and belief, an editor of collections of songs, poetry and stories, and a leading interpreter of Maori texts."¹²

Orbell's various sources date from the early contact period, 1843-1876, and can be found in the Auckland Public Library and the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington (Orbell xx). Orbell gives provenance for each narrative, the majority of which come from Pākehā collectors (107-116). Every story in this collection implies the operation of *mana* in the relations between humans and the non-human world and gives evidence for transcendental unity described in this thesis.

He Taonga Tuku Iho Ngāti Porou Stories from the East Cape by Bob McConnell is available in a bilingual edition. *He Taonga Anō* is the sequel by the same author, though it is not bilingual. These stories are not regionally diverse but stem from a single *iwi* (tribe), the Ngāti Porou of the East Cape.

The narratives in these texts were pieced together by McConnell from Waiapu minute books of the Māori Land Court from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (McConnell, *He Taonga Tuku Iho* 8; *He Taonga Anō* 8). Additionally, McConnell says source materials come from minutes of Wharekāhika block meetings and reports from missionaries stationed at Kawakawa (*Anō* 8-9). These texts support the notion that protection of Māori lands is a key element in protecting Māori peoples'

¹² <http://www.bookcouncil.org.nz/Writers/Profiles/Orbell,%20Margaret>

mana. The relative success of the Ngāti Porou's claims in the Māori Land Court show the value of Māori lore in asserting ancestral claims to lands, and the continuing influence and impact traditional stories have on contemporary Māori lives.

McConnell's works often relate important tribal narratives associated with particular landmarks. These stories explain the narratives associated with, and significance of some place-names. McConnell says that the stories belong to the land and the people of the land. "If by writing these stories I can make even a small number of people identify more closely with their mountains, their rivers, and their whole environment, I will feel that I have done something worthwhile" (*Anō* 10). Themes of *mana* and relations with the land abound in these texts. These will be considered key texts, with special attention paid to the bilingual text.

The information provided in this chapter relates textual information about Māori culture which gives context to this analysis. Māori lore culturally constructs representations of Māori societies. These texts, analyzed using *mana* as an interrogative lens, reveal culturally constructed representations of relationships between humans and their environment. These representations express transcendental unity.

This chapter is not a comprehensive review of Māori lore or Māori studies, but provides requisite context for this analysis. Colonizer-colonized relationships, cited in every source, provide a frame for textual sources of Māori culture. Māori-Pākehā relationships affect the landscape. Place names have significance because renaming lands has obscured Māori narratives associated with places. Naming will be associated with *mana* in this analysis. Scholarly writings can be used for negative purposes. Fortunately they can also be positive spaces for social action. Some useful histories and cultural information, the Treaty of Waitangi, and some aspects of Māori social organization situate key source texts within a general socio-historical context necessary to the subsequent analysis.

Now that some cultural context has been provided, chapter three focuses on the interrogative lens: *mana*. *Mana* needs to be defined so that when related terms

emerge in the ensuing analysis, their understanding can be enriched. Some useful analytical categories of *mana* are provided, and applied to analysis of some Māori lore.

Chapter 3: *Mana*-fold Meanings

The last chapters have outlined the scope of this project as well as highlighted some pertinent socio-historical information. This chapter explores *mana*, an important theme and analytical lens in this thesis. *Mana* provides one of many fundamental principles or values of Māori law.¹³ Any of those or other principles or values could be studied to great profit, and each implies others as will be seen. I use only *mana* as a lens in this project for the sake of brevity, but encourage future studies to explore additional principles and values.

Maintenance of *mana* produced patterns of activity in Māori societies (Moorfield 76). Therefore examining narratives through the lens of *mana* should clarify actions within Māori lore. As a pervasive quality, *mana* involves people, objects and places. “Animate and inanimate objects could also have *mana* as they derive from the *atua* and because of their association with people imbued with much *mana* or because they were used in significant events” (Moorfield 76). Relations between *mana tapu* and authority expand upon previous discussions of social organization. A quick review of categories of *mana* given in Mead’s text will be used to analyze some Māori lore.

Discussions of *mana*, reciprocity and gender will elaborate relations between *mana* and *utu* in displays of hospitality and acts of revenge, and show that the quality of a person’s *mana* is more significant than gender. Objects such as personal adornments indicate the *mana* of the wearer. In a very similar fashion, carvings on some ancestral houses can also indicate *mana*. Discussions of *mana* and geography tie peoples and places, like *marae*, through kinship relation and lead into chapter four’s analysis of the *mana* of lands and peoples. First definitions of the term are required.

Recall the definition of *mana* from chapter one. *Mana*, originally a Polynesian term, is complex, with many meanings and zero morphological markings to distinguish between them (Keesing, *Rethinking Mana* 140). Additionally the glossary provides

¹³ “*Whanaungatanga, mana, manaakitanga, aroha, mana tīpuna, wairua* and *utu*, may be described as conceptual regulators of *tikanga*, or as providing fundamental principles or values of Māori law” (Mead 23).

information and definitions for further permutations of the term *mana*. The number of terms associated with *mana* indicates that its translation into English is not simple. In the narratives analyzed *mana* is often simplified in translation and implied indirectly. All source texts provide definitions of *mana* except Thornton's work which consistently gives 'power' as the meaning of *mana* (Thornton *Birth of the Universe* 53, 55, 124 etc). McConnell defines *mana* as "authority, prestige" (*Anō* 116). Orbell defines *mana* as "influence, prestige, power." Tremewan's glossary indicates *mana* is "influence, prestige, power, psychic force" (ix). As a term, *mana* implies far more than these simplifications suggest. The nuances that *mana* covers go beyond what relatively simple English terms like power or prestige indicate. There is no one-to-one equivalence between *mana* and any English term.

Mana applies to individuals, groups, places and objects. Patterson notes, "*mana* can be gained through either co-operation or conquest" (Patterson 233). Actions express *mana* which comes from *atua*. It was mutually beneficial for the web of relations in Māori societies to increase *mana*. Thus the promotion of individual success is quite evident in many Māori stories and songs.

"A person's or tribe's *mana* can increase from successful ventures or decrease through the lack of success" (Moorfield 76). For example when greeting a neighbouring group, oratory skill is a sign of great *mana* (Salmond, "Mana Makes the Man" 45-63; *Hui* 14-15). As hosts, tribal leaders were often required to participate in orations on *marae* (Salmond, *Hui* 14). They had to demonstrate exemplary *mana* and oratory skills. Community leaders, such as *rangatira*, *ariki* and *tohunga* were held in high esteem in Māori communities. Often there must be evidence of individual *mana*, through ancestry and/or ability, before such an honoured appointment was given (Moon 42). "Each chief spoke in turn, using proverbs, genealogy and argument to win over his audience, and for every fine performance, a man won extra *mana*" (Salmond, *Hui* 14). If a speaker were to make mistakes in his speech, he would lose *mana* personally and this loss of *mana*, and the public nature of the situation, would decrease the *mana* of the entire group the mistaken speaker was affiliated with (Salmond "Mana makes the Man")

50-53). Conversely excellence in oratory would increase the *mana* of the speaker and their tribe.

The concept of *mana* as a supernatural force was used to validate authority. “[M]ana is a supernatural force in a person, place or object” (Moorfield 76). Keesing says *mana*, originally at least, was not an invisible substance present in nature, but a condition of nature itself in the original, verbal sense; realized and effective (Keesing, *Rethinking Mana* 138). *Mana* does something. The operation of *mana* is determined retrospectively by the results – if it works it is *mana* (Keesing, *Rethinking Mana* 138). “*Mana* is a condition, not a “thing”: a state inferred retrospectively from the outcome of events” (Keesing, *Rethinking Mana* 137). Keesing says missionaries and other contact-era Europeans conceived of *mana* as an invisible spiritual medium and distorted the term (*Rethinking Mana* 147). The increased use of *mana* as a noun in Māori society is the result both of translation errors and of its use for the Māori in legitimizing “the sanctity and authority of...chiefs” (Keesing, *Rethinking Mana* 147). Thus *mana* has a history of socio-political involvement. Our discussion moves now to elaborate ties between *mana*, *tapu* and authority.

Mana, Tapu and Authority

Mana, though applicable to objects and places, is more commonly associated with people. It is often used when describing a person of high status. Persons of high status and great *mana* usually had influence in Māori societies. Thus *mana* is tied to notions of authority. *Mana* is also a term which often implies other important concepts. One such concept, often linked to *mana* and expressions of authority, is *tapu*. *Tapu* can be defined briefly as “sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, under *atua* protection; restriction” (Moorfield 155).

Tapu and *mana* are related, inherited qualities. “A person is imbued with *mana* and *tapu* by reason of his or her birth” (Moorfield 155). *Tapu* and *mana* were sometimes used interchangeably because their levels rose and fell at the same time (Mead 45). “*Mana* goes hand in hand with *tapu*, one affecting the other. The more prestigious the event, person or object, the more it is surrounded by *tapu* and *mana*”

(Moorfield 76). Additionally, *mana* and *tapu* functioned as parts of a normative system, and were involved in socio-political structures. *Tapu* is important to keep in mind because it is a quality which often is directly stated where *mana* may only be implied. *Mana* and *tapu*, and links between these concepts and authority, will now be discussed.

Mana and *tapu* are associated with assertions of authority. *Te Aka Māori-English English-Māori Dictionary and Index* provides the following elaboration for the term *tapu* specifically as it is linked with *mana* and applies to authority. “High-ranking families whose genealogy could be traced through the senior line from the *atua* were thought to be under their special care. It was a priority for those of *ariki* descent to maintain their *mana* and *tapu* and to keep the strength of the *mana* and *tapu* associated with the *atua* as pure as possible” (Moorfield 155). Links between *mana*, *tapu* and authority are further supplied in elaborations of the concept of *mana*.

The authority of *mana* and *tapu* is inherited and delegated through the senior line from the *atua* as their human agent to act on their behalf and in accordance with their revealed will. Since authority is a spiritual gift delegated by the *atua*, man remains the agent, never the source of *mana*. This divine choice is confirmed by the elders, initiated by the *tohunga* under traditional consecratory rites (*tohi*). *Mana* gives a person the authority to lead, organise and regulate communal expeditions and activities, to make decisions regarding social and political matters...The tribe gave *mana* to their chief and empowered him/her and in turn the *mana* of an *ariki* or *rangatira* spread to his/her people and their land (Moorfield 76).

Thus, *mana* and *tapu* stem from the *atua* and justify assertions of authority.

Genealogical ties to *atua* could be found in senior lineages and imparted high levels of *mana* and *tapu*. Authority and power were confirmed through ritual and by the spirit world. The success of ventures could increase *mana*, but failures diminished one’s *mana* and damaged *tapu*. Damage to the strength of chiefly *mana* and *tapu* could result in withdrawal of the care and protection provided by *atua* (Tremewan 54). Therefore *mana* had to be protected.

For example, in “Hāpopo: an archetypal victim” (Tremewan 49-62), Hāpopo is warned of the danger of an approaching war party by his *atua*, but is betrayed by this same *atua* who tells Hāpopo to remain where he is (Tremewan 53). At his defeat he

cries, “You fickle *atua*! You’ve left nothing but death for Hāpopo” (Tremewan 53)! The breach of *tapu* by Hāpopo is not specified but can be inferred from his defeat and the betrayal of his *atua*. This narrative reinforces the importance of protecting oneself by keeping the *mana* and *tapu* of the *atua* undamaged.

People recognized their leaders had *mana* and empowered them by their recognition. In turn, the *mana* of the chief reflected back to the group as a collective and gave them status and influence. The more *mana* a person had, the more their successes and failures could benefit or deteriorate their community’s *mana*.

If a leader claims his actions are the will of the *atua* then his actions are justified, though never above judgement; results are thoroughly evaluated by the people within the community. “*Mana* is always a social quality that requires other people to recognize one’s achievements and accord respect” (Mead 51). Thus *mana* is highly unstable and complex because its very existence depends upon external recognition, sometimes retrospective recognition, and reinforcement.

Mana and *tapu* are inextricably linked. These concepts are often implicated in assertions of authority. Previous discussions of social organization will now be expanded to include some political dimensions of social structure.

Authority was hierarchically organized and typically based upon descent reckonings. “The dimension of kinship...was intimately connected with the dimension of chieftainship. The position of chiefs in the hierarchical order of political organization corresponded to the structure of kinship groupings” (Van Meijl 85-86). Recall, some common kin-groupings include: *whānau* (extended family), *hāpu* (sub-tribe) and *iwi* (tribe). These kin groupings correspond to leadership categories.

Chiefs of higher rank drew together a multitude of lower- ranking chiefs and their followers. The paramount chief was the *ariki*, and in his pedigree the senior lines of all tribal genealogies converged. Hence he was recognized as the head of the tribe. The chief of the sub-tribe, or the *rangatira*, ranked lower than the paramount chief since he descended along junior lines. The head of the extended family was the *kaumaatua* or “elder” recognized on account of his offspring as well as his age, wisdom, and life experience (Van Meijl 86).

This would mean that within one tribe there would be one *ariki*, several *rangatira* and a multitude of *kaumaatua*. *Waka* are level of social organization not included in categories of authority. This is likely due to the fact that *waka* do not depend upon common descent, and due to the importance of *whakapapa* in relation to authority.

On a daily basis, most members of an *iwi* would have little or no contact with their *ariki*. Instead, the most important levels of authority to daily life for most Māori would be lower levels of political hierarchy. The *kaumaatua* would likely have the most influence in the daily life of Māori peoples. Thus there is an inversion between hierarchies of authority, and actual influence.

Though lower levels of authority were subsumed under higher levels, each level functioned independently for the most part (Van Meijl 87). Unlike power-holding in other Polynesian societies, Māori leaders had to prove themselves through actions in order to maintain their authority (Swain and Trompf 140-41; Van Meijl 87). Hierarchies of authority were not absolute, and the exercise of power had to be restrained because. "...all lower-ranking kinship groupings and their respective chiefs remained autonomous, which allowed them to upgrade their inferior position in a populist ideology, primarily constructed to balance the absolutist potential in the office of paramount chiefs" (Van Meijl 87). A popularly favoured *rangatira* could supplant an *ariki* if the actions of the *ariki* were called into question. Thus power-holding is as unstable as *mana*.

In this section, previous discussions of social organization have been expanded to include political hierarchies. *Mana* and *tapu*, both inherited at birth and demonstrated by an individual, validated authority in traditional Māori societies. Family and tribal elders, as will be seen, often incite or resolve conflicts in Māori lore, rendering the explication of political hierarchies necessary. "Almost every activity has a link with the maintenance and enhancement of *mana* and *tapu*" (Moorfield 76). Therefore taking note of expressions of *mana* and *tapu* will illuminate aspects of Māori lore. In the following section the broader definition of *mana* is honed into categories which are analytically useful.

Some Categories of *Mana*

As seen in the above definitions of *mana* and discussion of *mana*, *tapu* and authority, *mana* is not just a quality one inherits, but is also a quality which can be built upon recognized deeds. This suggests that some categories of *mana* may be constructed which will benefit this analysis. Categories have been constructed by other scholars and will be used in this analysis. There is a degree of fluidity in these constructs, so they are not to be thought of as stable.

Patterson and Jackson draw a distinction between *mana* which is inherited, and *mana* which is achieved or earned (Jackson 352; Patterson 235). Understanding differences between inherited and earned forms of *mana*, as well as the external recognition required for the *mana* of a person to be effective, aids in understanding aspects of Māori stories which appear to contradict important ties between lineage, *mana* and authority described above. If one were to think of inherited *mana* as the cards a person was dealt, then earned *mana* is the way a person plays their hand.

This distinction is further refined in Mead's text and put into Māori terms.

People of *mana* draw their prestige and power from their ancestors (*mana tīpuna*). This power is socially founded upon the kinship group, the parents, the *whānau*, *hāpu* and *iwi*. There is also a personal increment based on the proven works, skills and/or contributions to the group made over time by an individual that provide human authority (*mana tāngata*). The element of psychic power relates also to the *whakapapa* and connections with the Gods of the Māori world (*mana atua*) (Mead 29-30).

Mana tīpuna is dependent upon genealogy, granted to every Māori child at birth and beyond an individual's control. "In such communities, one of the greatest assets a person could possess was the *mana* that preceded them" (Mead 54). "Among the Māori, leadership was exercised by males, and primogeniture in the male line was the deciding factor in succession to chiefly rank (Jackson 352). Thus, there was high importance placed on chiefly descent, or on senior lines of descent, and on the first born children, especially male children.

Thus *mana* is relative in two senses: in the sense that it is inherited from relatives, and in the sense that a person's *mana* can be high or low in different

company. For example, if an elder brother visits a younger brother he has the higher *mana*. However, if that same elder brother were to visit a cousin whose father was of senior lineage he would have lower *mana*.

Keeping track of *whakapapa* can seem confusing to a mind that has not been trained in such a manner, but it was and remains essential because it determines relative position and authority in group gatherings and gives guidance about proper conduct towards one's associates. The relative *mana* of an individual in different settings determines what is or is not appropriate behaviour. *Mana tīpuna* is useful in Māori societies for mediating social interactions.

Mana tāngata is based upon the proven skills or deeds of individuals throughout their life. This type of *mana* is most easily subjected to enhancement or damage, depends upon external recognition. Children of chiefly and senior lines as well as first-born children, especially males, might have more *mana tīpuna*, however all individuals can distinguish themselves and increase their *mana tāngata*. This allows for status mobility in Māori societies.

There is a recurring, archetypal theme in several Māori stories: a narrative in which a person of lower *mana*, younger sons especially, accomplishes some great deed or act of revenge. Perhaps the best known examples of this type of narrative are the Māui-pōtiki stories. As his name implies, Māui was the last-born son. "Socially marginal, the youngest son is nevertheless endowed with attributes of cleverness, guile, audacity and superior insight" (Jackson 352). As the youngest child, Māui-pōtiki has less *mana* than his brothers, but through his successful deeds which break every social convention he earns greater *mana* than his brothers (Swain and Trompf 141). In this tale type the inadequacies, especially intellectual, of older siblings are highlighted (Jackson 349, 354).

Mana atua is perhaps the most interesting and confusing form of *mana*. "*Mana* is the enduring, indestructible power of the *atua* and is inherited at birth, the more senior the descent, the greater the *mana*" (Moorfield 76). If all *mana* comes from the *atua*, how can *mana atua* be a distinct category of *mana*? *Mana atua*, as a category of

mana, is specifically related to spiritual potency which comes from the gods. Examples of this spiritual potency can be detected in every successful *karakia*. *Karakia* were not simply prayers or spells, but were potent expressions of *mana atua*. *Mana atua* can also be seen in any case of supernatural help, or movement between planes of existence and states of being. *Mana atua* is important because it is an expression of a greater ideology which points to worldviews based on convergence rather than separation. This clearly links *mana atua* to expressions of transcendental unity because supernatural realms influence human realms. Where *mana atua* occurs, so do expressions of transcendental unity.

As mentioned, these categories of *mana* are not distinct, nor do they encompass all that *mana* can imply. *Mana atua*, *mana tāngata* and *mana tīpuna* can be conflated and thus stories often incorporate several forms of *mana*. Expressions of transcendental unity appear to involve all categories of *mana*. Transcendental unity is always mediated by *mana*.

Mana has been defined, elaborated and analytical categories provided. The following sections will show that *mana* applies to people, objects and places. The analysis will use the specified analytical categories and elaborate any terms which are related to *mana*. For example, the next section looks at some Māori lore and explicates ties between *mana* and *utu*, in the process upsetting traditional notions that men have more *mana* than women.

Mana, Reciprocity and Gender

As mentioned above, *mana tīpuna* helped determine a person's place and status within Māori societies. Differences in gender can cause differences in inherited *mana*. Generally, men received a greater increment of *mana* than women. "First-born males would have more *mana* than first-born females, although not always" (Mead 52). Maternal genealogies could involve more chiefly descent and more inherited *mana* and *tapu*. This means that some narratives, such as "How Hinerupe Came to Rangihuanoa" below (McConnell *He Taonga Tuku Iho*), tell about a founding ancestress. In Māori lore expressions of *mana* are more significant than gender. This analysis will highlight the

deeds of women and notions of reciprocity in Māori lore using the above categories of *mana*. *Mana* is a useful interrogative lens because it illuminates other important concepts such as *tapu* and *utu*.

Utu “...is closely linked to *mana* and includes reciprocation of all kinds of deeds as well as revenge” (Moorfield 186). Violence in Māori narratives can be better understood through an explication of how *utu* is tied to the protection and enhancement of *mana*. *Utu* can be defined briefly as “to repay, pay, make a response, avenge, reply; revenge, cost, price, wage, fee, payment, salary, reciprocity” (Moorfield 186). *Utu*, as in the above quotes, is commonly linked to revenge (Salmond, *Between Worlds I* 144, 160). In *Hui*, Salmond defines *utu* as “the principle of equal return, often expressed in revenge” (12). However, it is important to note that reciprocity was not restricted to vengeance, but also involved reciprocating gifts and acts of hospitality (Moorfield 186; Salmond, *Between Worlds* 176).

Gift-giving endowed material objects with social significance. Because of the importance of *utu* to the protection and enhancement of *mana*, and because of meanings of *utu* which involve payment and repayment, material objects could be considered a type of currency which could be paid to build *mana*. The better the quality, the more prized the object, the more *mana* could be gained in the giving. “While particular actions required a response, it was not necessary to apply *utu* immediately” (Moorfield 186). Insults against men or women, hospitality and generosity had to be repaid eventually in order to protect *mana* (Patterson 233). Both forms of reciprocation enhanced *mana*. The concepts of *mana* and *utu* are therefore linked. This understanding will explain motivations for many conflicts in Māori lore.

Analysis in this section highlights *mana*, *utu* and gender in Māori lore. Hinerupe is a founding ancestress for some Ngāti Porou peoples and an important figure in their histories. Several stories, “How Hinerupe Came to Rangihuanoa” for example (McConnell, *He Taonga Tuku Iho* 28-34), touch on her life. This narrative reveals female assertions and demonstrations of *mana* through acts of violence and generosity.

Additionally, it provides an account of how Hinerupe and her descendents came to occupy an area of land.

This story begins with three very talkative daughters, likened to chattering bell-birds, whose father gains some quiet by giving each daughter a separate allotment of land. Hinerupe was the youngest of these daughters. While gardening, her husband's brother approaches her. Not yet knowing who she is, he makes advances. Hinerupe strikes the man for his presumption. The man, Tūwhakairiora, is a warrior and used to striking first in any conflict. He strikes Hinerupe in retaliation and cuts her head. She will not tolerate the insult and leaves immediately to the land of her eldest sister, Te Aopare. Te Aopare sees the cut and learns that it was Tūwhakairiora who struck her. Te Aopare gives her sister fertile land between two rivers, Rangihuanoa, as her own. Hinerupe's husband follows her there and they make their home.

Mana will help to illuminate aspects of this story. Hinerupe, despite being the youngest daughter, inherited a fair amount of *mana tīpuna* as can be inferred by the power of her father and the amount of land he was able to give his three daughters. Her marriage to Hukarere seems stable and pleasant compared to the violent marriages in subsequent narratives analyzed in this section.

Hinerupe displays *mana tāngata* when she hits Tūwhakairiora for making advances. This is a very daring act against a warrior which shows that while women typically may not have been warriors, they were not cowards, and fiercely protected their own *mana*. This blow is supremely insulting to a warrior. This insult damages his *mana* and he must try to remedy this damage so he reciprocates the blow. *Utu* often involves escalation of violence or generosity (Moorfield 186). In this narrative *utu* is a response to insults: unwanted advances, and physical blows. Violence as a response to insults is common to many narratives and stems from the need to redress damage to one's *mana*.

It is important to note that *mana tāngata* does not only increase in this narrative through daring deeds, but also through displays of generosity. “[A] major factor in having *mana*...is the ability to express *mana* through the exercise of hospitality” (Mead

33). “As a means of enhancing *mana*, lavish hospitality and gift-giving were as important as success in war” (Metge 35). Therefore, the greatest display of *mana* in this story was the generous gift of land by Te Aopare. This is not reciprocity (*utu*) but an action which would create an obligation for Hinerupe eventually to reciprocate the generosity of Te Aopare.

In freely giving Hinerupe such a wealth of land, suitable for farming, on which to establish her own hearth, Te Aopare showed exemplary *mana*. Establishing a hearth is linked to landholding (Taonui 72). Therefore this narrative also provides an origin story validating a descent-group’s claim to a particular section of land.

Hospitality was socially important in Māori lore, enhanced *mana* and could create obligations of future reciprocity for guests (Mead 182). Actions in several stories, such as “The Story of Hine-poupou and Te Oriparoa,” stem from failure to meet expected standards of hospitality (Orbell 90-104).

In a general synopsis of the story-type, a woman fails to properly cook or care for her guests. Because *mana* was dependent upon external recognition and reinforcement, and because of the publicity of the failure of generosity, the host’s *mana* is severely, negatively impacted. In retaliation the host beats, yells at, and/or otherwise insults the woman, usually his wife. Then the woman leaves or is abandoned. She gets vengeance upon her husband, usually with supernatural help. This redresses the damage to the woman’s *mana* and restores equilibrium.

This tale-type is seen in the first half of “The Story of Hine-poupou and Te Oriparoa” in which Hine-poupou is abandoned for undercooking a meal (Orbell 90-97). She divines the path to follow to be reunited with her husband by throwing grass. She undertakes a great journey, swimming such a long distance her side becomes covered with rot and barnacles. Finally, she is reunited with her husband, but he mistreats her again. The wife plots and executes the husband’s destruction by arranging a fishing trip during which she calls up a storm which destroys the followers of Te Oriparoa.

The narrative provides several clues that Hine-poupou is a special woman. Her loincloth is red on one side and white on the other (Orbell 93). Salmond notes red is a

colour denoting sacredness (*Hui*, 14). Additionally, “one of her sides was quite rotten, and overgrown with barnacles” (Orbell 93). “This is a motif found in other stories...where it indicates a person of great *mana*, with a non-human side as well a human one” (Tremewan 93). This merging of human and non-human attributes is transcendental unity.

Mana tāngata is displayed in the successful, arduous swim Hine-poupou undertakes to be reunited with her husband, and in her destruction of the followers of Te Oriparoa. Her repayment for the insult of violence, and to some extent for the insult of being abandoned, is repaid. Therefore this story demonstrates how *utu* can redress damage to *mana*. In achieving *utu*, the *mana* of Hine-poupou increases while that of her husband decreases. *Utu* was an important method of equalizing *mana* and restoring balance to social relations. There was a cycle progressing from “cause, ‘take,’ to a response, ‘utu,’ and finally reaching a state of balance again, ‘ea’ and ‘noa’” (Mead 31-32). Therefore cycles of *utu* could continue and escalate until satisfaction was achieved and balance restored.

The agency of the woman is pronounced in this narrative. Hine-poupou is not an instigator of vengeance. Instead she is a powerful agent who plots and executes her husband’s downfall through cunning and the exercise of ritual magic which prove, protect and enhance her great *mana*. Hine-poupou says to her brother, “Say nothing, only I know what must be done” (Orbell 95). Then, similarly to how Māui fishes up the North Island, Hine-poupou

...struck her nose with her hand, then took the bait and mixed it with her blood. At once fish rose to the lines, two at a time. Taking the bait, she touched first the rock, then the blood from her nose. She waved it towards the sky and threw it into the water...the wind came, and Te Oriparoa’s canoes were scattered and tossed about in confusion; still it blew, and the canoes were overturned – all that multitude were swallowed up (Orbell 97).

Mana atua is displayed by the ability of Hine-poupou to divine her husband’s location and summon up a storm. Hine-poupou’s ‘bait’ is an offering and part of the magic she uses to communicate with *atua*. “*Taniwha* were believed to be able to raise storms...Hine-poupou lures her husband’s people to the side where the *taniwha* live,

then through her magic she causes the *taniwha* to raise a storm” (Orbell 96). As mentioned *mana atua* is always associated with transcendental unity. Influence passes between agents, Hine-poupou and *taniwha*, who are both natural and supernatural, thus rendering categories of natural and supernatural unstable. Natural and supernatural always converge through influential use of magic such as summoning a storm. Thus actions such as *karakia* and other rituals invoking *atua* are always implicated in expressions of *mana atua* and transcendental unity.

This section examined two Māori narratives using analytical categories of *mana* established in the previous section. *Mana* can illuminate other socially significant concepts and is therefore an invaluable interrogative lens. Analysis in this section paid special attention to the concept of *utu* and explicated its use in balancing *mana* damage and returning equilibrium to social situations. The operation of *utu* will recur in subsequent narratives. Explication of *utu* and reciprocity will therefore clarify some aspects of Māori lore throughout this analysis. People, regardless of gender, have *mana* which can increase or decrease through personal actions, including displays of *utu* such as generosity and revenge. The two narratives above highlight the deeds of women in Māori lore and demonstrate that the quality of one’s *mana* was more significant than their gender. *Mana* applies to people and is tied to other concepts such as *utu*, *tapu* and notions of authority. Objects also could have *mana*, usually because of their association with people of great *mana*. Our analysis turns now to discussions of objects and *mana*.

Physical Indicators of *Mana*

In the above section reciprocity could involve gift-giving which endowed objects with social significance. Social tensions could ensue if persons failed to properly reciprocate gifts, or if claims to objects were disputed. “Animate and inanimate objects could also have *mana* as they derive from the *atua* and because of their association with people imbued with much *mana* or because they were used in significant events” (Moorfield 76). The *mana* of talismans is related to *atua* and to the concept of *mauri* and will be analyzed in chapter four. The naming of an object (i.e. a canoe, a fishhook, a

weapon, clothing etc.) indicates that it has *mana* which, in part, explains the proliferation of names in Māori lore. Wherever an object is named, it has *mana*. Canoes and feathers are linked and special attention will be paid at the end of this section to discussions of relations between these items. Analysis of regionally diverse narratives regarding the origin of the *moko* (tattoo) will demonstrate that material objects and personal adornments were physical indicators of *mana*.

Moko and quality of clothing and jewellery were outward displays of *mana*. *Moko* are special because they not only indicated status, but also were used as personal identification on colonial documents such as the Treaty of Waitangi. “It is significant that a number of the signatories...inscribe the document with a small pattern from their facial *moko*...effectively conveying their *mana*, or chiefly authority, to the process. Other legal instruments, particularly land deeds were similarly authorized” (Te Awekotuku 3). Additionally, “more than the recognition...[of] self, it is the proclamation of that self as belonging – to a particular descent line, family, or kinship network...to a community” (Te Awekotuku 6). The purpose of “...the *moko* of old was to signify the quality of power and of *mana*” (Moon 13). *Moko* and *mana* are thus related.

“*Te Moko* is a process unique to the Māori people. The skin was not only punctured to insert pigment, but also cicatrised, with the raising, particularly on the face, of deeply furrowed grooves. Acute pain, and in some instances risk to life, were inevitable” (Te Awekotuku 1). *Moko* are transformative. “It was and still is about metamorphosis, about change, about crisis, and about coping too” (Te Awekotuku 1). Furthermore, Te Awekotuku says, “*Ta Moko*, as it inscribes narratives and infers genealogy...has spiritual significance” (Te Awekotuku 5).

Moko are tied to *mana*, and in Māori lore, originate in the underworld. This fact and the transformative aspect of *moko*, imply transcendental unity. North and South Island versions cast different protagonists, and contain different action sequences, but the otherworldly origin of the *moko* remains constant. In both stories there is a wife that runs away, a *moko* that washes off and is replaced with a permanent *moko*, and a wife who is regained.

In most North Island versions of this origin story Mataora is the protagonist (Tremewan 282; Te Awekotuku 2). His is the name widely associated with the *moko*, and means “The Living Face” (Te Awekotuku 2). Versions of Mataora narratives differ. Sometimes his wife Niwareka is also said to be his daughter (Te Awekotuku 2) In Tremewan’s version, which will be used for the summary, Nirwa-reka is the high-born daughter of a fairy chief (Tremewan 282).

Mataora meets a beautiful woman, a *patupaiarehe* from the underworld,¹⁴ and weds her. She does a task improperly and he beats her so she flees home to the underworld. Full of shame and remorse, Mataora seeks her, overcoming obstacles to reach her. He notices that the tattoos in the underworld are not painted on and do not wash off like his. He begs to be tattooed in the underworld fashion and his wish is granted. Mataora promises never to be violent to his wife again and he is reunited with his bride. The couple return from the underworld with gifts for mankind including the arts of *moko* and weaving. The path between the underworld and the world above is sealed after the pair return.

In this narrative, as in many narratives in Māori lore,¹⁵ the beauty of the protagonists indicates their *mana tīpuna*. Also in this narrative, as in other narratives, a woman will leave her husband if he is violent to her, thus protecting her *mana*. Note that ‘leaving her husband’ and ‘fleeing to the underworld’ could be euphemisms for suicide. Suicide is one form of *utu* (Moorfield 186-87). Mataora’s remorse indicates that Niwareka may have died. In another journey to the underworld to reclaim a woman, “The Girl Brought Back from the Underworld” on pages 2-7 of Orbell’s text, the story explicitly states that the woman, Pare, hanged herself (5). Thus it is possible that stories involving a woman fleeing to the underworld from an abusive man are disguised instances of suicide, which is a form of *utu*. Mataora’s promise never to be violent again is kept, thereby demonstrating and upholding his *mana*.

¹⁴ *Patupaiarehe* are described by Best as souls of the dead in *Spiritual and Mental Concepts* (19). In the narrative, *patupaiarehe* are equated with fairy-folk.

¹⁵ I.e. from Tremewan: “Hāpopo: an archetypal victim” 49-62; “Paowa: an encounter with a witch” 347-60.

Mataora displays *mana tāngata* in overcoming the various obstacles barring his path to his wife. Also, Mataora increases his *mana tāngata* by enduring the *moko* and being the first man to have such a *moko*. Additionally gifts brought back from the underworld for all mankind increase the *mana tāngata* of wife and husband, and accomplish *utu* by reciprocating gifts received by passing them on to humanity.

Mana atua is displayed in the supernatural aid Mataora receives which helps him overcome obstacles and cross into the underworld. Furthermore, *patupaiarehe*, either as fairy-folk or spirits from the underworld, are otherworldly beings which would innately possess *mana atua*. *Atua* possessed knowledge and passed it on to humans in other narratives. Thus *mana atua* also can be inferred by the special knowledge of weaving and *moko* methods possessed by denizens of the underworld. The presence of fairy-folk or spirit beings in the human world, the permeability of natural and supernatural realms indicate transcendental unity.

However, also important to note is that the path to the underworld is sealed after Mataora's and Niwareka's return. Thus this narrative expresses both permeability and transcendental unity, and yet, establishes an impermeable boundary between the everyday world and the lands of the underworld.

The South Island version of the *moko* origin story is quite different (Tremewan 257-83). A summary of the tale reads thusly. Tama and his family receive visitors who dress in finer cloaks and, in his shame, Tama retreats. The visiting man seduces Tama's wife and takes her away. Tama turns himself into a bird to seek her and his own relatives capture him and send him to the lands of his ancestors, the underworld, where they give him a *moko* and fine gifts. He continues, overcoming all obstacles, until he finds his wife and sabotages her *haka* performance so that her new husband beats her. He causes her to come outside and she asks him to take her back but he will not. The next day he reveals himself, his *moko* and finery to the village, and causes his wife to come straight to him. He then beheads her and carries her head home in a feather cloak. When home he inters it in a feather box and mourns her. A blowfly reveals that she is not dead and when he opens the feather box she is smiling at him.

There is irony in a husband mourning the death of the wife he deliberately killed. *Utu* may help explain this irony. Tama had to have *utu* for the insult and shame of his wife leaving him for another man. Causing her new husband to beat her would not have been enough because the more *mana* a man has the more an insult damages him. The overkill might arise from the need for Tama to redress drastic damage to his *mana*. Tama says, "Our wife's hips are for you, and her head is for me" (Tremewan 273). The head was considered *tapu* (Mead 49).

The smiling, decapitated head could be another way of saying 'grinning skull,' however the narrative explicitly says, "...she was alive" (Tremewan 273). The *mana* and aspects of the woman's life-force remained in the head. Skulls and residual *mana*, as well as blurred boundaries between life and death express transcendental unity, and will reappear in chapter four.

Transcendental unity is further expressed in this narrative in Tama's transformations between bird and human forms. Additionally *mana atua*, linked to transcendental unity, is displayed in the way Tama sabotages his wife's *haka* performance and in the way Tama causes his wife to come to him. Otherwise categories of *mana* displayed in this narrative are relatively similar to displays mentioned for the previous narrative.

Interestingly, differences in clothing quality, dog skin versus red feather cloaks, started all the trouble in this story. Personal adornments gave prestige to Tama's guest and Tama was shamed by the comparatively poor quality of his own clothing. Feathers recur in this narrative (feather cloaks and feather boxes), are symbolically important and require some explication. In addition to *mana* displayed in the wearing of feather adornments, discussions of feather boxes will tie *waka*, as canoe and receptacle, to feathers, birds and notions of transcendental unity.

Feathers, either as single plumes or in articles of clothing such as cloaks, can indicate status, *mana* and *tapu*. Additionally, feather plumes are associated with *tapu* because they were often worn in the hair, and the head is considered a *tapu* part of the

body (Best, *Forest Lore* 120). Names given to feather plumes indicated their special use by persons of authority possessed of superior *mana* and *tapu*.

Prized plumes were often referred to as *piki ariki*, *piki kahurangi*...etc., apart from names that included the name of the species, as *piki...ariki* and *kahurangi* are names for males and females, respectively of superior rank. Certain feathers...were held in high estimation, hence their use was reserved for persons of superior social status (Best, *Forest Lore* 120).

For example in the narrative of “Paowa: An encounter with a witch” (Tremewan 347-60), feather plumes indicate the chiefly status of Paowa (Tremewan 354).

Feathers could display *mana*, *tapu* and superior rank, but they were more commonly involved in *utu*. “Prized plumes and feather-covered cloaks or capes were often utilized as presents in the old days of Māori rule” (Best, *Forest Lore* 121). In the narrative above *utu* is not only implicated in the vengeance of Tama, but also in the gifts given to Tama by his ancestors: the *moko*, and a red feather cloak. Birds, as will be seen in the next chapter, are symbolically important. Bird ornaments, therefore, were not restricted to feathers but also included bird skins and whole birds.

The definition of *waka* provided in the previous chapter links birds, feathers and canoes. Recall the definition of *waka* as boxes for feathers, canoes and water troughs used to snare birds. Most water troughs were rectangular rather than canoe-shaped (Best, *Forest Lore* 247). Bird snares are legally important because they were used as evidence in the Māori Land Court (Best *Forest Lore* 344).

The above narrative links feathers and *waka*. Feather boxes, sometimes called *waka huia* “...were small, oblong receptacles, cut out of the solid, fitted with a lid, and as a rule covered with well-executed designs” (Best, *Forest Lore* 121). Feathers were also used to decorate canoes (*waka*). “Albatross feathers were...sought for the purpose of providing decorations for canoes...and entered into certain performances of white magic” (Best, *Forest Lore* 123); down feathers are tied to notions of lightness and intangible spirit. In the narrative above, Tama keeps his wife’s head and spirit in a feather box. Due to associations with magic and spirit-conveyance, feathers and *waka* are implicated in transcendental unity.

This section has demonstrated that personal adornments and material objects could physically indicate *mana*. The *moko* was tied to identification and its otherworldly origin indicates transcendental unity. Feathers and *waka* are related objects which can indicate social status, be involved in *utu*, and as devices of spirit-conveyance, express transcendental unity. The significance of birds will be expanded in chapter four's discussions of talismans, *mana* and *mauri*. As a pervasive condition *mana* also applies to objects and places. Sacred places and spaces will now be examined.

Mana and Geography

Places could have *mana*, either through association with *atua* or with peoples and events. *Tapu* places such as burial sites possessed *mana*. Metaphoric equivalences between peoples and landmarks are expressed in common formulaic expressions of tribal identity which indicate *mana* of and reverence for prominent geographical features, tie peoples to land and expand previously established ties between *mana*, *tapu* and authority. Finally, *wharenui* and *marae* are ritual places and spaces which ritually re-enact processes of universal creation and express transcendental unity. This section briefly introduces concepts of place-*mana* which will be expanded in the next chapter.

Reverence for, and *tapu* upon, natural spaces indicate their *mana*. Burial sites, for example, had high levels of *mana* and *tapu*.

Intense feelings for land were often associated with mountains or rivers, which are the prominent landmarks. Māoris considered those mountains where ancestral bones were hidden as especially sacred while the valleys and rivers which often served as the tribal boundaries, rarely acquired a comparable intensity of sanctity. A tribal mountain was revered like a dignified and famous chief as the pride of the tribe (Yoon 57).

As mentioned previously in this chapter, *tapu* and *mana* and authority are interconnected. This connection is here demonstrated though metaphoric equivalences established between the chief and the mountain.

The reverence for, and *mana* of, prominent landmarks was such that peoples identified themselves in formulaic ways by reciting names of nearby mountains, bodies of water, *marae*, tribe or chief (Yoon 53). These formulaic expressions were common to

most Māori peoples and tied cultural identities to natural features. Examples include, “Hikurangi is the mountain, Waiapu the river, Ngatiporou the people” (Yoon 49), or “Taranaki is the mountain, Kapuni is the big river, Ngarongo is the *marae*, Ngatiruanui is the people” (Yoon 86), or “Taupiri the mountain, Waikato the river, Tainui the canoe, Potatau the man” (Yoon 52). This practiced grounded the *mana* of identity in physical and cultural terms. Note that the statement of geographical landmarks remained a constant feature while cultural identifiers such as tribe, *marae*, canoe and chief or important ancestor were sometimes omitted. Consistently constructing tribal identities through the association of people with physical features of the environment in proverbial expressions, as well as associations between chiefs and mountains and burial sites, and the *tapu* status sometimes attributed to such geographical features, indicates the great *mana* of places.

As noted, the *marae* is tied to assertions of cultural identity. *Marae* and *wharenuī* were named indicating that they were spaces and places possessed of *mana*. Recall from the previous chapter that the *wharenuī* or meeting house was the focal point of *marae* and was socially and spiritually important. For example, *wharenuī* were repositories of *whakapapa* information indicating their importance to identity and *mana tīpuna*.

Wharenuī were usually carved by *tohunga* with ancestral figures which linked present and future generations to tribal or local histories and the ancestors. “Among the Maori, long-tongued carvings of the gods and ancestors remind viewers of aggression and *tapu* (and oversized heads of *mana*), while the iconic identification of each spirit – the beaked bird-spirit of *manaia*, the curling merman *marakihau* and so on – is not to be overlooked” (Swain and Trompf 153). Exemplary carvings in the *wharenuī* increased the *mana* of all associated with that *marae*.

Beyond the *mana* of skill and beauty in *wharenuī* decoration, *wharenuī* ritually could be viewed as portals. In crossing the threshold of the *wharenuī*, people pass, ritually, from one realm, one state of being into another. For example welcome

ceremonies (*pōwhiri*) at *marae* evoke and re-enact creation stories (Royal, *Creation Traditions* 48).

The ritual guides participants from a state of *Pō*, a state of darkness upon the *marae* itself (hence, *pōwhiri*) to *Ao*, the state of lightness and resolution. This latter state...is represented by the structure of the carved meeting house as an image of the world. The roof represents Ranginui (Sky) and the floor represents Papatūānuku (Earth). The posts represent those that Tāne used to separate earth and sky, and the carving above the doorway represents Hine, the custodian of the threshold between night and day, darkness and light (Royal, *Creation Traditions* 48).

The use of the creation narrative in the *pōwhiri* demonstrates the importance of *mana atua* which is innate to such a structure. This convergence of natural and supernatural realms in a physical structure expresses transcendental unity. This examination of *wharenuī* leads nicely into our next chapter's discussions of the relationships between *mana*, peoples and environment in creation and other narratives.

In this chapter, definitions were supplied for the term *mana* and analytical categories of *mana tīpuna*, *mana tāngata* and *mana atua* established. Some *mana* is inherited, other *mana* can be built. The *mana* of the *atua* and spiritual potency is important to ritual success and expresses transcendental unity. *Mana* is a pervasive quality shared by humans, objects and places which is more often implied than explicitly stated. The usefulness of *mana* as an interrogative lens was demonstrated by its illumination of other socially important concepts such as *tapu* and *utu*. *Tapu* and *mana* are inextricably tied concepts which are always involved in assertions of authority. A basic understanding of how *mana* operates and can be detected in some narratives and demonstrates that building and protecting *mana* drives much of the action in Māori lore. Through examining the deeds of women in Māori lore, traditional notions of male superiority was upset; quality of *mana* was more significant than gender. *Utu*, involving either vengeance or generosity, was explicated as reciprocation designed to maintain social equilibrium, redress damage to *mana* or enhance *mana*. Named objects such as *waka* and *marae* have *mana*. Personal adornments, such as *moko*, items of clothing, or feathers are physical indicators of *mana*. Feathers are important physical adornments

which could indicate superior status and were tied to *waka*. *Waka* can be cultural identifiers, feather boxes, water troughs for bird snares, or spirit conveyances. As spirit-conveyors, *waka* are tied to transcendental unity. *Tapu* places, such as burial sites, have *mana*. Formulaic expressions of tribal identity always invoke geographical features which are metaphorically tied to the tribe, especially the chief. Other tribal identifiers include the *marae* and *wharenuī* which are ritual places and spaces full of *mana* and expressing transcendental unity. Relations between humans and the environment will be discussed in detail in the next chapter and will demonstrate that *mana* is a pervasively-functioning relationship mediator in Māori lore.

Chapter Four: *Mana* of Land and Peoples

In the last chapter, *mana* was defined and established as an analytical lens with examples from Māori lore illustrating *mana* of peoples, objects and places. This chapter aims to explore material and spiritual relationships between Māori peoples and their lands through an analysis of texts, particularly Māori lore. Creation and other narratives of the ancestors are the basis for the deep connection to the land (Royal, *First Peoples in Māori Tradition* 49). Relationships between people and land are based on *whakapapa* ties established in creation narratives, particularly narratives concerning the creation of humans. “Many Māori creation traditions use symbols of childbirth, the growth of trees, thought, energy, and the fertile earth to convey the idea of constant, repeated creation. These symbols convey the idea of the world in a perpetual state of ‘becoming’” (Royal, *Creation Narratives* 48). Thus creation is not only found in narratives about the origin of the universe and human beings, but constantly occurring. Māori land is a unifying issue in Māori narratives, and Māori lore presents a relationship with the land that is not based on ownership, but on kinship.

Mana whenua is a pre-existing term describing *mana*-mediated relations between the people and the land. *Mana whenua*, having *mana whenua*, means having authority over land (McConnell, *Anō* 116). The gloss of ‘birthright’ could easily be added as *whenua* is a term involving both land and birth. Thus *mana whenua* is a proprietary term used frequently in legal settings when establishing a claim to ancestral lands. Kawharu expresses the significance of the land:

Māori land has several cultural connotations for us. It provides us with a sense of identity, belonging and continuity. It is proof of our continued existence as the indigenous peoples of this country. It is proof of our tribal and kin group ties. Māori land represents our place to stand. It is proof of our link with the ancestors of our past, and with the generations yet to come. It is an assurance that we shall forever exist as a people for as long as the land shall last. But land is also a resource capable of providing general support for our people: employment, sites for our dwellings, and an income to maintain our meeting houses, sacred places and tribal assets generally (5).

The inclusion of analysis of Māori lore emerging from Land Court testimonies adds further significance to the notion of *mana whenua*. Such narratives involved explications of changing authority over sections of land through conquest or gifting and helped establish Ngāti Porou claims to ancestral lands. *Mana whenua* applies mainly to people's authority over land though it appears to deal with the *mana* of land itself.

The most important thing about land, for Māori, is not that it is ancestral land, but that it is land – it is Papatūanuku...So you need to go beyond the concept of the ownership of land. Now, some people talk about having *mana whenua*, and I hear that quite a lot. But really, the concept of *mana whenua* only became strong when the Europeans began their surveying and whatnot...But the thing that people forget is that the land is still the same. And the more you look at who owns it, or who has *mana whenua* over it, or whatever, the less you will be able to understand that no one really owns the land..." (Moon 122).

Māori lore presents Māori peoples who belonged to their lands through occupation, and moved into new lands through either gifting or conquest.

When European colonization began, new notions of land-ownership were introduced. Meanings of land, and relationships with land, may have broadened and changed. The term *mana tangata whenua* can be translated as indigenous rights (Moorfield 77), incorporates *mana*, people and land and, in part, reflects desire that Māori peoples not be divested of the right to live on ancestral lands.

These ready-made terms provide some information about contemporary *mana*-mediated relations between peoples and land. The above relations are based upon land-ownership and maintaining rights to ancestral lands. Dimensions of ownership were introduced by colonizers, and supplanted traditional notions of occupation and kinship land rights found in Māori lore. Therefore, further notions of relations between people and land can be illuminated by the concept of transcendental unity. These notions are based upon occupation and genealogical ties, established in creation narratives.

Creation Narratives: Aetiologies and Family Dynamics

Creation narratives relate cosmogony, the fashioning of the natural world and the origin of humans. "Creation stories give people a way of looking at their world.

These stories tell us about individuals acting in particular ways and securing their place in the world. They stand, therefore, as a model for individual and collective behaviour and aspirations” (Royal, *Creation Traditions* 48).

Creation narratives are popular and exist in several versions and mediums. Varying versions begin and end at different points, some omitting the first beginnings of the cosmos and starting instead with the separation of Earth and Sky, others ending with the conflicts between the offspring of Earth and Sky and omitting the creation of humans altogether. Some versions omit ritual or aetiological details while others assert the (contested) existence of a supreme deity named Io, who will be given special focus in the next section. This section will examine relations between personified *atua* in regionally diverse texts of creation narratives, highlight genealogical ties and aetiologies, thus extending relationships between people and land beyond material notions of ownership.

This analysis compares Māori lore with itself by using diverse narratives from the North and South Islands (Alpers 15-27; Thornton 86-136, 212-56; Tremewan 25-48). The creation narrative in Alpers, although not bilingual or found in a key text, will be used for a summary representative of North Island creation accounts because, unlike other sources, it does not omit cosmogony, the fashioning of the natural world or the origin of humans. All versions contain the same kernel: Ranginui and Papatūanuku clung together, and Tāne separates them. Key themes include movements away from void/nothing and darkness to creation/something and light (Royal, *Creation Traditions* 46). “From the conception the increase/ from the increase the thought/ from thought the remembrance/ from remembrance the consciousness/ from consciousness the desire” (Salmond, *Hui* 10)

Nothingness gives way to darkness and Night. Several permutations of Night are listed which increase. From the increase comes living breath which creates the sky floating above the earth. The sun and moon dwell in the heavens. Permutations of day are listed. The children of Sky (Rangi-nui) and Earth (Papa-tūa-nuku) were not formed like men and they lived in the darkness of their parents’ perpetual embrace. There were

ten heavens and the lowest of these lay on Papa, making her unfruitful, only creeping vines, low weeds and dark waters existed. The offspring of Papa and Rangi wanted to create life (mankind specifically) and were tired of living in darkness. Tū-matauenga, *atua* of man and war, wished to kill his parents.

Tāne, *atua* of forests, proposed that the Sky be separated from the Earth and that they remain close to the Earth, estranging them from the Sky. All agreed except Tāwhiri-matea, *atua* of winds and storms. Each *atua* tried and failed in turn to separate them: Rongo-ma-tāne, *atua* of cultivated food; Tangaroa, *atua* and father of all things that live in the sea; Haumia-tiketike, *atua* of uncultivated food; Tū-matauenga, hacking the sinews binding Rangi-nui and Papatūanuku, failed also. Finally Tāne-mahuta succeeded, and became the maker of day, by placing his shoulders against the Earth and raising the Sky with his feet in a process that took as long as it takes great trees to grow. Different permutations of day are listed and multitudes of creatures begotten by Earth and Sky were uncovered.

Tāwhiri-matea rose up in anger and followed Rangi to the realm above and begat numerous turbulent winds and storms which dwell between Heaven and Earth. Tāwhiri-matea and his progeny returned for vengeance on his brothers. Tāne's trees were uprooted and fell, Tangaroa's waters were churned forcing Tangaroa to leave the shoreline and seek deeper waters as refuge.

Tangaroa's grandchildren, Ika-tere (father of fish) and Tu-te-wanawana (father of reptiles) were split on whether to stay in the water or try to make a home on land. In the end, Ika-tere and his family stayed and Tu-te-wanawana left. Tangaroa was furious that some of his offspring sheltered with Tāne, and thus wars perpetually with Tāne.

Tāwhiri sought Rongo and Haumia in vain because Papatūanuku hid them. Tāwhiri-matea attacked Tū-matauenga, but Tū planted his feet firmly in the Earth and was unshaken.

Tū, enraged no brother helped him, made war on his brothers. Progeny of each brother was made into food, but Tū could not make Tāwhiri into food.

Tāne creates human beings by forming a female from earth called Hine-ahu-one (Earth-Formed-Maid) and blowing into her nostrils. From the joining of Tāne with Hine-ahu-one, the first human called Hine-tītama (Dawn Maid) is born. Tāne marries his daughter, and when she discovers their relationship, she flees to the underworld and becomes Hine-nui-te-pō (Great-Maid-of-the-Night). Tāne guides his children through the world of day (life), and Hine-nui-te-pō gathers them in night (death).

Rangi-nui and Papatūanuku grieved at their separation and shed so many tears that sea covered land. Papa was turned over so Rangi and Papa would not always see each other and be grieving. Papatūanuku had her youngest offspring suckling at her breast when she was turned over. His name was Rūamoko, god of earthquakes and rumblings. He was given fire to keep him warm, and some claim he is the husband of Hine-nui-te-pō.

In all narratives concerning the origin of humans, Tāne creates a female form from earth and spawns human beings by coupling with this form. Thus, humans are direct descendents of Tāne, *atua* of forests (notably including birds and trees) and Hine-ahu-one (Earth-formed-maid).

Tāne creates humans. Tū is the *atua* of man and war. Mead says, “Human beings belong to the realm of Tūmatauenga and so it is common to see the name of the god in many *karakia* pertaining to new life” (290). Who is the god of humans? Both Tū and Tāne are implicated. Alpers phrased it nicely when he said that Tū was the spirit of man, but human form did not exist until Tāne fashioned a wife and had a human offspring from the coupling (22-23).

Tremewan’s creation narrative from the South Island is altogether different. Recall: South Island spellings tend to substitute ‘k’ for ‘ng’. Tremewan provides a concise summary of her narrative:

Tāne tries unsuccessfully to copulate with unsuitable partners. Finally, instructed by his mother, Papa-tua-nuku, he makes a female form out of earth to be his wife. Their daughter Hine-atauirā in turn becomes Tāne’s wife. Tāne visits Rehua, his elder brother in the tenth sky...Returning home he finds Hine-atauirā gone and follows her below to Night, but is told to return to the world and bring up his offspring, while she stays to draw them

downwards. In the world of night, Tāne acquires stars and constellations to take home...His father Raki is wounded in a fight with Takaroa over the latter's wife, Papa-tua-nuku. After obtaining satisfaction, Takaroa leaves Papa-tua-nuku to Raki. Papa-tua-nuku and Raki have children – crippled ones at first, but later two healthy offspring, Tāne-nui-a-Raki and Paia. The brothers lift Raki away from Papa-tua-nuku. Tāne decorates Raki with stars and Papa-tua-nuku with trees. Raki sends his sons to settle in the world (26).

These episodes appear inverted; as though the latter episode, chronologically, should come first. The inversion of the episodes: human creation before the separation narrative is unique and demonstrates that insistence on linear chronology is not always appropriate to the cycles of generation and regeneration found in Māori lore.

The separation narrative above in Tremewan's text differs greatly in actors and detail, and in the reactions of the actors involved, from other versions. For example, instead of ascending to the heavens as will be seen in later narratives, Tāne-mahuta visits the world of night, which is typically considered part of the underworld and would involve descent; another inversion.

After the separation, Raki tells his sons to settle in the world, whereas in other versions, he urges his son Tāwhiri-matea to exact vengeance for the separation. Raki's injury in his fight with Takaroa suggests an alternate explanation for the separation of Earth and Sky which explains the more moderate reaction of Sky to the separation. Basically, Raki's injury brought him low and his sons, Paia and Tāne, restored him to his proper place. In this narrative Tāne uses posts to force earth and sky apart, rather than his own body. The detail, motivations and dramas of other creation accounts are not present.

Most *atua* commonly named in creation narratives do not appear in the South Island version. Only Raki, Papa-tua-nuku, Takaroa and Tāne are recognizable. Takaroa is usually a brother, not uncle to Tāne. The seniority of Takaroa in this narrative highlights important land, sea and sky dynamics which are obscured by popular Earth-Sky relations. In this narrative, Takaroa perhaps reflects the presence of waters in the universe before Earth and Sky begat progeny.

The account of human creation concretely ties human beings to the land, and establishes their kinship with the rest of the natural world. Tāne fashioned a female form, Hine-ahu-one (Alpers 23, Tremewan 26). She was formed, not from just any patch of dirt, but potent “red earth that is found at Kurakawa, red with the blood of the sinews that once joined Rangi and Papatūanuku” (Alpers 23). The blood of the primeval parents would be extremely *tapu*; breath and life are associated in Māori traditions (Mead 49). The manner in which Hine-ahu-one was created, and the blood passed to her progeny, assured the *tapu* nature of human beings.

Papatūanuku refused to mate with Tāne because he was her son. She instead urges him to fashion a surrogate out of earth. This is worth a moment of thought. How is coupling with a maid formed of the earth different than fulfilling the desire Tāne had for Papatūanuku in the first place? Though the form was made of earth, it was highly *tapu* earth, distinguishable from other land because of the blood there. Animation of the form through Tāne’s breath assured that the female form of Hine-ahu-one was fully separate from Papatūanuku.

The key thing to remember is that humans are descendents of the land, not just because Tāne made humans and Papatūanuku was his mother, but also because of the earthen form which generated human beings. No narrative seems to explain what becomes of Hine-ahu-one; as though she reverts to earth once her purpose is served.

Yoon has compared Māori and Biblical creation narratives (33, 35). Similarities to the second account of creation in Genesis should not be overstated.¹⁶ Several cultures around the world have narratives where humans are created from earth or clay, and animated though the breath or spoken word of a god. A key difference here is that the Earth-formed-maid was not human herself, but gave birth to human offspring through her union with Tāne.

All creation narratives contain important aetiologies which operate through the personification of aspects of the environment. Aetiologies in Māori lore account for

¹⁶ Genesis 2:7 “And the LORD God formed man [of] the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.”

natural phenomena in terms of relationships between the *atua*. As examples: sighs and tears account for flood waters and mists; warring between Tāne and Tangaroa accounts for erosion; battles between Tū and his brothers explains the origins of man's food.

A significant aetiology in the creation narrative is the origin of life and death. Life and death are typically thought of in oppositional terms where one condition is the absence of the other. Additionally, poetic metaphors commonly link images of light and life, darkness and death. Analysis reveals that suggested equivalences between darkness and death; light and life are unsuitable.

Darkness and life precede light and death. This suggests equivalence between darkness and life, rather than darkness and death. Perhaps it could be argued that darkness, as *the* initial condition in several cosmogonies, is a precondition for life. If this is true, then darkness and life are even more strongly associated than darkness and death, undermining suggested equivalence between darkness and death, light and life.

To complicate matters more, light both existed and did not exist in the darkness before the separation of Earth and Sky. The sun and moon existed and cast light, but the light was not perceived until after the separation. Therefore, light and day, darkness and night are not really equivalent or mutually exclusive, but rather a matter of perception. Equivalences between life and day, night and death are equally a matter of perception which can be broadened through close-reading of Māori lore.

Day and life, night and death, are strongly linked in narrative. Equivalences between life and day, night and death suggest that features assigned to these terms have always co-existed and been mutually referential. Tane creates Te Ao (the world of light) in separation; Hine-nui-te-pō is the keeper of Te Pō (the world of night). However, death doesn't seem too fearsome. Observations in narratives involving the underworld relate spirits dwelling in communities in a place of light. Furthermore, actions in the underworld land of death, competitions of skill like dart throwing, mirror life. Thus narrative depictions of death and the underworld reveal that the underworld is a land of light where there is life in death. The reversal of associations is explained by the actions of Hine-nui-te-pō (Great-woman-of-the-night), the nurturing mother of humans

succouring the welfare of her children after they die. This is relevant for my argument that natural and supernatural realms, realms of life and death, day and night, are mutually influencing and share common characteristics.

Personifications allow forces of nature and abstract concepts to act in familiar, emotional ways which are easy for humans to understand and relate to their own experiences.

Many environmental phenomena are considered to be ancestors of humankind, taking on human qualities and names...Every aspect of existence was considered in this manner – earth, sea and sky were imbued with *mana*, qualities and identities that the people shared an intimate relationship with...This organic world view enabled people to imagine themselves as their counterparts in the natural world, such as a tree, a rock, or a fish (Royal, *First Peoples* 52).

Yoon says Māori creation narratives establish relationships between *atua* modeled on human families (34-35).

This model enabled Māori peoples to interact with deities as members of the same family. “You see, in the old days, our people treated all trees and plants as if they were of the same family as them, but just in different forms” (Moon 151).

The family dynamic portrayed in Māori creation narratives is not harmonious. Yoon’s interpretation of conflict between personified *atua* is Darwinian. He emphasizes competition between the siblings and suggests that the denigration of some *atua* by Tū accounts for human supremacy (Yoon 32-34). Yoon says, “...the Māori myth sees man as the conqueror of his immediate environment and nature as an object to be exploited and overcome in order to achieve his own ends” (Yoon 33). Yoon’s conclusions are contrary to ideas put forth by Mead: “The relationship is not about owning the land and being master of it, to dispose of as the master sees fit” (273). Thus, relationships between Māori peoples and land entail more than mastery and ownership.

The land is a source of identity for Māori. Being direct descendants of Papatūanuku, Māori see themselves as not only ‘of the land’, but ‘as the land’. The living generations act as the guardians of the land, like their *tīpuna* had before them...the land holds the link to their parents, grandparents and *tīpuna*, and the land is the link to future generations.

Hence the land was shared between the dead, the living and the unborn (Mead 283).

Creation narratives establish kinship between human beings and the land. *Atua* personified in creation narratives fit easily into kinship structures and guide relationships between peoples and lands. “Many of the gods who represent the divine character or spirit of an aspect of the natural world...are included in a genealogical chart, the recitation of which establishes a fundamental relationship between humans and the natural world” (Royal, *Creation Traditions* 48) Mead says,

The children of Ranginui and Papatūanuku were the parents of all resources: the patrons of all things *tapu*. As the descendants of Ranginui and Papatūanuku and the *kāwai tīpuna*, Māori maintained a continuing relationship with the land, environment, people, *kāwai tīpuna*, *tīpuna* and spirits. The way they conducted their lives and the respect they have for their environment and each other stemmed from *whakapapa* (282).

In creation narratives, lists of names and permutations of night and day highlight an emphasis on genealogy and continuity, stretching from the beginnings out of nothingness to the present day. Because *mana tīpuna* is *mana* inherited from ancestors, and because people are descended from land, people inherit *mana* from the land.

This section has examined regionally diverse creation narratives in order to expand previous comparative narrative analyses and demonstrate relations between peoples and land which extend beyond ownership. Creation narratives involve cosmogonies, the fashioning of the natural world and provide accounts of the origin of humans. Actions and reactions of personified *atua* provide aetiologies for natural phenomena and guide relationships between humans and the environment. Humans are descendants of Tāne and the Earth-formed maid thus establishing concrete genealogical ties between peoples and the natural world. Most significantly, relations between humans and the natural world are constructed in terms of kinship relations. This allows Māori peoples to interact with the natural world as members of the same family.

Some Māori creation narratives, not analyzed in this section, assert the existence of a supreme deity called Io. Because of the contested status of Io in Māori societies the following section will pay special attention to this deity.

The Io Debate

Io is a regionally important deity whose status as ‘Supreme Being’ is contested and deserves special attention because a new interpretation can be offered. “Io is...potentiality which, as such, cannot be grasped or possessed but contains hidden within it the actualities of the whole universe. Io’s parenthood is the potentiality of all there is, which changes into the actual existence of all there is...” (Thornton *Birth of the Universe* 216). Analysis in this section reflects debate concerning Io by alternating varying perspectives about the establishment and supremacy of this deity. Io is variously considered to be an important, pre-contact deity, or Christianization of Māori lore. This debate obscures the function of Io which suggests an alternative interpretation. In the creation and ascent narratives in which Io appears he functions as a primal *tohunga* rather than ‘Supreme Being’.

Nearly all of the narratives in Thornton’s text involve Io. There are cosmogonies which mention Io at the outset, as in Te Okawhare’s and Paraone’s manuscripts (Thornton, *Birth* 220-22, 230-33). However, the majority of Māori creation narratives begin like the Tainui cosmogony with Te Kore (the Void/the Nothingness) (Thornton *Birth* 233-34). Thornton says, “Io does not seem to occur outside of New Zealand” (218). However, Best notes the occurrence of Io in Society and Cook Islands narratives (*Maori Myth and Religion* 23). Io is not a deity recognized by all Māori. “There is little or no evidence in the Bay of Plenty area that there was a supreme being organizing Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku. Nor does Io appear in genealogical tables linking to Rangi and Papa” (Mead 309). Thus Io is only recognized as a Supreme Being in regional, localized, even individual cases.

The assertion of Io as a Supreme Being has sparked debate among scholars and Māori peoples. “The discovery of a supreme god named Io in New Zealand was a surprise to Māori and Pākehā alike” (Buck 526). Shortland says, “...neither in any

existing superstition nor tradition, purely as such, is there to be found internal evidence that an idea of God existed more elevated than that of the spirit of a dead ancestor.” (*Traditions and Superstitions* 79-80). The counterargument is that because of the very sacred nature of Io, his name was not spoken. In order to protect the very great *mana* and *tapu* of Io, he was solely known and spoken of by elite within the community.

According to Best, birth rituals, explored in the next section, performed for high-ranking children used the name Io (*Ceremonial Performances Pertaining to Birth* 128). Eldson Best suggests *karakia* invoking Io for conception, birth and dedication ceremonies omitted the deity’s name in public recitation (*Ceremonial Performances* 132). Mead says, “I have great difficulty with the concept of Io and with the very notion that Io was so exalted that the people did not know about him and were not supposed to hear his name. There was no evidence that so important a matter was kept secret or could have been kept secret” (309). Other cultures have kept secret the name of a god or the rituals of their cults. It is possible that happened in the case of Io, and that European and scientific values introduced with colonization eroded the authority of *tapu* laws so much that the revelation of Io was possible as never before.

Some people believe Io is a post-contact adaptation of Māori traditions. Jane Simpson’s article, “Io as Supreme Being: Intellectual Colonization of the Māori?” examines how Io can be read as a textually created and maintained form of intellectual colonialism which dehumanized Māori through reductionist arguments. “The complexity of Māori religion was controlled through hierarchical ordering, list making, and stratification. The savage mind was domesticated pre-eminently by Best’s listings and categories...” (Simpson 85). The Io myth, Simpson says was “...indispensible for the survival and growth of new disciplines in competitive and sometimes hostile academic environments” (Simpson 56). Best says, “In order to learn more, the seeker *must* turn to the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*” (*Some Aspects* 7; my emphasis). Therefore it has been argued that Io was a European creation which furthered European ends.

However, Mead says, “Several of the *karakia* in the lore of the *whare wānanga* include the name of Io and it could be that in the Ngāti Kahungunu traditions there was

a place for a god called Io” (309-10). It has been claimed that Io must be a pre-Christian invention because new ideas, i.e. the existence of Io and his many names and functions, could not have been invented and inserted into the teachings and knowledge of a specific tribal region because the material taught in *whare wānanga* (Māori houses of learning) are conservative (Thornton 247). However, this undervalues the documented impact colonialism has had on Māori spirituality through missionary and educational forces of acculturation. As an example, the invocation of Io in Māori educational settings normalizes and nationalizes the existence of Io (Mead 309).

As the debate indicates, Io might have been a regionally important pre-contact deity. Io equally might have been a Christianization motivated by self-interest, “...invented by Māori and European scholars together for the purpose of enhancing Māori culture as part of the struggle for Māori status within New Zealand society” (Thornton 247). Io has *mana* for some Māori and, regardless of genesis, is worth examination because of relationships in Māori lore between Io and other deities, especially Papatūanuku and Tāne.

Some of the narratives featuring Io involve creation through the power of song or chant or word. Thus Io narratives might appear moulded on spoken creation narratives, like the origin stories found in Genesis 1 in the Bible. This possibly contributed to the notion that Io was a Christianization of traditional lore. However, Thornton says “Such an utterance is closer to a *tohunga*’s spell than to a biblical god’s command” (219). In spite of this observation, Thornton fails to extend the thought to its logical conclusion.

Having read multiple versions of the creation narratives and “The Ascent of Tāne to Io” in Agathe Thornton’s text, there is ample evidence that Io functions like a *tohunga*. A brief description of some aspects of birth rituals performed by a *tohunga* will be compared to words spoken by Io in a cosmogony, and will provide some evidence for this assertion.

In traditional times, women giving birth were highly *tapu* and were segregated from the community in a structure called a ‘nest house’ erected for the sole purpose of

the birth of the child, and destroyed afterwards (Best, *Ceremonial Performances Pertaining to Birth* 8-10). A *tohunga* would speak the following *karakia* to cause the child to be born in the correct manner:

Now I appeal to the gods of earth and heavens that they may cause you to come forth to Tahuaroa, to this world. Come, O child: tread thy path, the broad way of Tane. Brining thyself by the way of your ancestors, of Hine-titama, who brought herself forth to this world, to dwell in peace within Hui-te-ana-nui. Content shall be thy lot in the world of Life and Light, and sighs of relief proclaim the ordeal past, O child (Best, *Ceremonial* 136).¹⁷

References to the first human (Hine-titama), and first birth are thought to be especially effective for aiding childbirth (Best, *Ceremonial* 135). In similar fashion to how *tohunga* recite a *karakia* to cause childbirth, Io speaks the following words:

Then for the first time he looked at the water that was surrounding him,
And he spoke a fourth time, it was this word:
“There water shall be a swift tide and the waters shall separate,
Then the heavens will grow and Rangi will be lifted up,
And there will be *born* the Awesome-landslide-spreading-out,”
Behold, Papatūanuku was lying there (Thornton 230-32; my emphasis).

The similarities to *tohunga* who attend women giving birth as described by Best above are obvious. The words Io spoke are different, but serve the same purpose as *karakia* used by *tohunga* in birthing. The waters were not properly named, as Rangi and Papatūanuku were. Therefore the water had no *mana* in its own right, but served as a sort of amniotic fluid. If the aspect of childbirth known as the ‘water breaking’ is kept in mind, the “swift tide” of the water parting above can easily be seen as another parallel. Many Māori narratives use birth imagery and symbolism. This section of Thornton’s text contains clear reference to the birth of Papatūanuku and points to Io serving the function of a *tohunga*.

Other narratives in which Io is named illustrate regional variations of a story type: ascent narratives in which an individual transcends realms and receives some gifts for

¹⁷Tahuaroa is another name which can be applied to the Earth. The "broad way of Tāne" is the path travelled by souls to and from the spirit world. Hui-te-ana-nui was a dwelling-place erected by Tāne and Tangaroa for Hine-titama, daughter of Hine-ahu-one and Tāne (Best, *Ceremonial* 136).

humanity. There are variances, as with the creation narratives, not only among Thornton's collected narratives, but also between Thornton's and other ascent narratives (Tremewan "Whaitiri and Tāwhaki" 163-92). "For example, it is Tāwhaki who is credited with fetching knowledge from the uppermost heaven and the source of information was Tamaiwaho. Also there were ten heavens and not twelve, which is the Kahungunu tradition" (Mead 310). It can be surmised that Io traditions offer interesting, regional variations of Māori lore.

Thornton's text contains several versions of "The Ascent of Tāne to Io" in which Tāne receives baskets of knowledge necessary for human life (*Birth of the Universe* 137-211). Io, according to this narrative, held all knowledge initially, and Tāne became an intermediary who brought knowledge to humans. This narrative reveals the origins of the *whare wānanga* and the process of teaching. Tāne gets knowledge from Io exactly like a Māori youth instructed by a *tohunga* in a house of learning, further pointing to Io's function as a *tohunga*.

In this section Io, a regionally important deity, has received special attention because of his occurrence in several texts important to this analysis; Thornton's in particular. The Io debate, in which Io is variously considered an important pre-contact deity or a post-contact adaptation, has been reviewed. This debate, however, obscures the function of Io as a primal *tohunga*. Io as *tohunga* is functionally consistent in all of the narratives Thornton presents. Therefore, instead of viewing Io as a supreme deity, scholars could attain illuminating results from analysis of Io as a primal *tohunga*; an actuating force, like a *karakia* properly achieved, turning potentiality into actuality. In the next section, important rituals common to peoples and land will be analyzed to further elaborate *mana*-mediated relationships between Māori peoples and lands.

Life Rituals

This section expands analysis of relations between peoples and land through an examination of rituals used for both people and crops. Birth rituals establish concrete ties between peoples and land. These ties are based upon notions of kinship and metaphoric equivalences between people and land explained in previous discussions of

Māori social organization. Additionally, some of the same rituals used to secure the *mana* and productive potential of humans was also used for crops. Discussions of agricultural practices designed to enhance fertility introduces the concept of *mauri* which is related to *mana*. Examinations of relations between people and land in this section will begin with a brief look at Māori terms for land and explication of metaphoric equivalences evoked by the term *whenua*.

As there are many English equivalents of Māori terms like *mana*, conversely, for a single English word there can be several Māori equivalents. There are several Māori words for land: *motu*, *taiwhenua*, *tau*, *uta*, *whenua* (Moorfield 280). The glossary shows each term has a particular nuance and several meanings beyond land. *Motu(-kia)* indicates land which is isolated or separated; *taiwhenua* indicates permanence of residence; *Uta* usually indicates land perceived from water, or is used in specific grammatical situations; *tau* is verbal and implies landing; finally, *whenua* refers most basically to the earth itself and is implied in birth metaphors.

Each word, and nuance, is appropriate in different situations depending on context. This project uses *whenua* strategically when discussing land because of its metaphoric association with birth, important to discussions of creation narratives and birth rituals, and because of the terms like '*mana whenua*' and '*mana tangata whenua*' which establish *mana*-mediated relationships between peoples and lands (Moorfield 76, 153).

Whenua, defined as "land, country, ground, placenta, afterbirth" is a term which has metaphoric and ritual significance (Moorfield 209). "*Whenua*, as placenta, sustains life and the connection between the foetus and the placenta is through the umbilical cord. This fact of life is a metaphor for *whenua*, as land, and is the basis for the high value placed on land" (Mead 269). Land sustains people and provides requisite materials for life: sustenance, shelter and hospitality. Mother Earth nurtures her children. Interesting to note, *afterbirth* is associated with the completion of birth, at which time the physical link between mother and child, the umbilical cord, is severed.

Therefore *whenua* simultaneously implies connection to, and severance from, the mother (Earth).

“*Whenua*, as land, sees that person develop and grow, make their contribution to society and then be ‘born’ into the spirit world” (Mead 288). *Tāngata whenua* is a term specifically relating people to land and is defined as “local people, hosts, indigenous people of the land – people born of the *whenua*, i.e. of the placenta and of the land where the people’s ancestors have lived and where their placenta are buried” (Moorfield 153). There are rituals surrounding birth which use this metaphor to physically and spiritually connect ancestral lands and Māori peoples.

Māori rituals surrounding birth came into disuse through colonial importance placed on hospitals and the expertise of doctors and nurses, but in the 1980s traditional practices began to revive, and are practiced by some contemporary Māori peoples (Mead 287). Traditionally the placenta was buried in ancestral tribal lands. Sometimes a marker was erected at the spot to indicate whose placenta is buried there, or, it might have been kept secret to protect the placenta and prevent its denigration by enemies (Mead 289).

“The act of burial is a mechanism of binding the child to the homelands...” (Mead 288). The physical burial of the placenta spiritually ties people to the land. Thus *whenua* as land and *whenua* as part of the infant become one. “It makes sense that the *whenua* as placenta should be returned to the *whenua* as land and deposited within the bosom of the Earth Mother, Papa-tū-ā-nuku” (Mead 288). Return to the Earth Mother is a feature of birth and death rituals, all of which indicate the spiritual and physical importance of land to Māori peoples.

Birth rituals include the *tohi*, *paparoa* and *pure* rituals (Mead 295-99). Best also describes three rituals around the birth of a child: the *koroingo*, *tohi* and the *pure* rites (*Ceremonial Performances* 140-59). The ceremonies might be variously named, but are similar in practice. Essentially, the child is born, speeches and *karakia* of welcome are made, then the child is baptised, the umbilical cord or *pito* is buried with a number of

stones correlating the duration of labour, then the *pure* rite fixes the *mana* of the child. Stories associated with the rituals can differ regionally.

Ngāti Kahungunu traditions base their rituals on the actions of the divine family: Tāne's baptism of his granddaughter Hine-rau-wharangi (Mead 295). In the Mataatua region, Tāwhaki is the protagonist who ascends the ten levels of the heavens to regain his wife and child and in the process gains the *karakia* for ceremonies necessary for human life which he performs on his daughter (Mead 295). The first baptism always seems to involve a woman. In Tremewan's Tāwhaki chapter, his ascent is motivated by vengeance for his father's death, and no mention is made of birth rituals within that particular narrative (Tremewan 163-92).

Best's description of birth rituals in *Ceremonial Performances* follows the Ngāti Kahungunu traditions. The family gathers and the child is baptised in a river; after which the *pito* or umbilical cord, along with stones, one for each night of labour, were planted in the earth unless labour extended past ten nights or the child was stillborn, as these were thought to be situations in which the stones would cause trouble (Best *Ceremonial Performances* 151). The use of one stone for every night of labour is symbolic.

The importance and ritual use of stones involves the concept of *mauri* which must be examined briefly before returning to discussions of birth rituals. *Mauri* can be defined as, "life principle, special nature, a material symbol of a life principle, source of emotions" (Moorfield 85). *Mauri* existed in tangible and intangible forms. In its intangible form, *mauri* was a life principle. "The Māori maintains that forests, birds, fish, etc., also possessed this immaterial *mauri* or vital principle" (Best, *Spiritual and Mental Concepts* 39). Thus *mauri* and *mana* are pervasive qualities shared between peoples and aspects of nature. Therefore *mauri* are involved in expressions of transcendental unity.

In tangible form, a *mauri* was a physical object, ritually endowed with *mana*, representing a life principle. "The term *mauri*...may be applied to anything that serves to protect and promote vitality and welfare ...represents the *mana* of all ceremonial performances and *tapu* pertaining to the proceedings, hence it holds great protective

powers” (Best, *Agriculture* 209). Furthermore, Best relates that the *mauri* would foil damaging designs by persons of mal-intent because of the *mana* and *tapu* of the *mauri* (*Agriculture* 209). They could be “...employed in order to protect and preserve the fruitfulness and welfare of a forest, a stream, the ocean, a village, etc” (Best, *Some Aspects* 33). As will be seen, *mauri* were not only stones as in the *tohi* rite above. However, stones were often used as *mauri* because of their durability (Best, *Spiritual and Mental Concepts* 35). Any damage or pollution of the *mauri* would damage the *mana* of the *mauri* and result in withdrawal of *atua* protection. Analysis of talismans in the next section will involve *mauri* and expand this explanation.

Returning to birth rituals, the *pure* ceremony, in Thornton’s texts, was first undergone by Tāne and Paia (99). The *pure* ceremony was performed traditionally right after a child’s baptism. It dedicated the child to the protection of the *atua*, capabilities for great deeds and a world of knowledge, and rendered “permanent the sacred and spiritual *mana*; it was not removal or lifting of *tapu*” (Mead 298). Baptism removed *tapu*, the *pure* rite was *mana*-fixing. It ensured that the child had status, a place within society, and the protection of the gods. Birth rituals including the burial of the umbilical cord, stones and placenta all give physical, ritual form to a *mana*-mediated spiritual link between humans and lands.

In furtherance of ritual linking between peoples and land, the *mana*-fixing *pure* rite performed for people was also performed for the *kūmara* crop (Best *Agriculture* 221). This ritual, common to peoples and land, was designed to secure *mana* thus increasing productivity. *Mana*, therefore, is a productive force. Additionally, stones were often used as *mauri* for crops (Best *Agriculture* 200).

Other agricultural practices explicate *mana*-mediated relationships between peoples and land. One practice used human remains as material *mauri*. Best notes the “...ceremonial use of the skulls and other bones of dead and gone tribesman with a view to causing fertility and an abundant harvest” (*Agriculture* 193). The bones had to be from an individual who had great *mana* and influence during life because of “...a belief in an inherent, perhaps supernatural *mana* or power pertaining to such bones” (Best,

Agriculture 193). Thus bones retain a portion of the *mana* of an individual after death. Therefore *mana* is a quality which transcends categories of life and death. Because *mana* is a pervasive quality, the *mana* of the individual retained in the bones spread to the crop. This ritual was designed to enhance the crops' productivity, to protect crops against damage from natural or supernatural forces, and like the birth rituals above, physically associated peoples and land.

This section discussed the metaphoric significance of *whenua* as land and placenta. Birth rituals such as the *tohi* and *pure* rite physically and spiritually connect peoples to the land and dedicate them to *atua* protection. Specifically, the *pure* rite was *mana*-fixing and invoked *atua* protection. Sometimes, the *pure* ritual was used to increase productivity of resources. The sharing of this ritual between humans and aspects of nature, notably the *kūmara* crop, indicates that all aspects of nature share qualities of *mana* and *mauri*. *Mauri* as an intangible quality is life principle which is possessed by every aspect of nature, and must for such aspects to exist. In intangible form this extends to physical objects. Stones, as in birth rituals, are often used as *mauri* because their durability made them less susceptible to damage or pollution which would result in withdrawal of *atua* protection. Anything that had *mana* could be used as a *mauri*; the stronger the *mana*, the stronger the protection from such a talisman. The pervasiveness of the quality of *mana*, evidenced by the use of *mauri*, means that *mana* transcends and unifies all divisions: human-nature-natural-supernatural etc. Therefore *mana* and *mauri* are linked concepts involved in relations between people and nature which express transcendental unity. Our discussion of *mana*-mediations, *mauri* and transcendental unity will now be expanded to include transformations and stone, tree and bird symbols in Māori lore.

Talismans and Transformations: Stones, Trees, Birds

Transcendental unity in Māori lore is, in part, expressed by talismans and transformations involving stones, trees and birds. Metaphoric equivalences and transformations between human, stone, tree and bird forms are possible in Māori lore because of these entities' genealogical ties. Specifically, because humans are

descended from Tāne who is the *atua* of forests (associated with birds and trees) and Hine-ahu-one (*Earth-formed-maid*), humans inherit substances from these ancestors and can, with sufficient *mana*, take on their form.

Stones, as mentioned in the above discussion, were important, durable symbols, often ritually used as *mauri* which were protective talismans. For example, stones were sometimes placed or buried at the rear-most post supporting the ridgepole of a house in order to provide protection for the house (Best, *Spiritual and Mental Concepts* 35). Additionally, stones were implicated in traditional learning, and in several narratives, hot stones were used to defeat monstrous antagonists.

Stones as *mauri* could be used to protect any resource, including a community. ‘The Stone of Rangitāne – Te Pōhatu a Rangitāne’ (McConnell *He Taonga Tuku Iho* 112-19), links the strength and health of a *pā* called Rangitāne to the presence of a *mauri* stone possessed of great *mana*. Without such a stone, a fortified village would possess no *mana*, inspire no fear in enemies, and suffer the buffetings of fate” (Best, *Spiritual and Mental Concepts* 35).

Before I tell you the story of this stone, I want you to put out of your mind all that your education has taught you – about what’s possible and what’s impossible – because you are not going to believe some of what I am going to tell you.

In olden times every Māori *pā* had a special stone lying on it. The stone was usually a little bit out of the ordinary, maybe for its size, maybe for its shape. In that stone dwelt the spirit and the *mana* of the *pā*. If the stone was removed, the *pā* lost its *mana* and the people lost all their confidence (McConnell *He Taonga Tuku Iho* 112).

This talisman had influence on human actions and feelings because of its *mana*. One remarkable example explains how the stone was thrown at an enemy war party and caused the enemy to retreat and disperse (McConnell *He Taonga Tuku Iho* 112). This increased the *mana* of the stone, and the community. Therefore the *mana* of objects influences peoples as much as the *mana* of peoples imbues objects.

The story goes on to explain that the stone was removed from the *pā*, probably by government officers who had heard of the stone and wanted to remove the greatest *taonga* [treasure] of the *pā*, so that supporters of the *Kingitanga* (Māori King

Movement) living there would feel thoroughly beaten (McConnell, *He Taonga Tuku Iho* 114). The stone was found in Auckland because it 'haunted' the house where it was kept as a doorstep, causing pictures to fall from the walls (McConnell, *He Taonga Tuku Iho* 113). A *matakite* (seer) determined the stone to be the cause of the problem and 'saw' where the stone belonged and the stone was repatriated (McConnell, *He Taonga Tuku Iho* 113-14). "The *matakite*...told the people that when the stone lay in its right place it would bring the people together and there would be progress" (McConnell, *He Taonga Tuku Iho* 114). McConnell says, the loss of the stone, and its subsequent recovery, paralleled the dilapidation and rebuilding of Mātahi *marae* (*He Taonga Tuku Iho* 114). The influence of the stone when it was both in and out of place proves that it has great *mana*.

Stone *mauri* are also implicated in traditional learning. "Resources for learning included an *ahurewa* (altar) at the back wall of the house and little pebbles that each student had to swallow at the end of the course" (Mead 307). Narrative origins of the use of stones in learning are established in "The Ascent of Tāne to Io" (Thornton 137-211). Tāne in these ascent narratives ascends various upper realms in pursuit of the knowledge necessary for human life, is given that knowledge by Io and returns (Thornton 175-78). As he begins his return to earth he is given two 'god-stones'. The placement, naming and reference to these stones as god-stones indicate their *tapu* and association with *atua*, hence, they had potent *mana atua*, specifically, the very great *mana* associated with Io and with Tāne.

These Stones were *mana* (powers). They were left to lie in the sacred enclosures at sacred places. When it was desired that the House of Learning should be opened, they were fetched, and some small stones collected along the way...They were brought by the *tohunga*, who touched those [large] stones with them and left them lying on top of them...When it came to bringing in the *karakia* of 'folding up' the small stones were fetched and to be held against the Stones [called] *Whatu-kura-ā-rangi* (Sacred-stones-of-heaven). That is the great name of those Stones in *Rangi-ā-tea*. Well, they were brought [i.e., the small stones], and they were fed to the people considered fit to receive them. One was given to each to put into his mouth, and when the speeches were finished, he swallowed it (Thornton 177).

The pebbles swallowed by students, through association, had the *mana* of the 'god-stones,' the *atua*, knowledge and the *tohunga*. By swallowing these stones, the recipient gains the *mana* and seals in the knowledge of the teachings which were thought to enter through the stomach rather than the head (Best, *Forest Lore* 196; Mead 308). The stones were *mauri* which promoted and protected the *mana* of the knowledge gained by the student.

The quote supplied at the top of the introduction of this project relates the transformation of two people into rocks. Thus, rocks are implicated in expressions of transcendental unity. These rocks became important tribal landmarks and had the *mana* associated with all characters in the story. Therefore, in Māori lore important landmarks were not just geographical features; they were established as ancestors in narratives.

Beyond the use of stones as talismans or in transformations, they were important in cooking. Hot stones were awesome weapons which could destroy monstrous beings that ate them. Two narratives, "Houmea the Shag-Woman" (Orbell 64-71), and "Paowa: An encounter with a witch" (Tremewan 347-60), use heated stones as weapons.

Houmea was a monstrous woman who would neglect her duties and eat all the fish her husband, Uta, caught and her actions were always blamed on someone else. Houmea's children tell their father their mother is stealing the food. In revenge, Houmea swallows her children. The husband returned to find his wife with bad indigestion and blowflies around her mouth. Uta's children are missing and, having figured out what happened, he recites a *karakia* which causes Houmea to disgorge the children. Uta and his children hatch a plan to flee Houmea and while she fetches water, they make their escape. Uta tells the house, latrine and etc. to answer Houmea's call. When she returns and calls the answering buildings distract her so that Uta and the children can escape. Houmea sees them fleeing in the canoe and catches up to them to try to eat Uta. Uta hides while Houmea hears Uta is ashore and Houmea demands fish and more fish. Finally the children give Houmea a huge hot stone which causes her

stomach to burst and thus she dies, though she can still be seen in the form of the shag. Her name is now associated with evil and thievish women.

Uta, it can be seen in the glossary, is another word for land. Uta has great *mana*, as is expressed through Uta's *karakia* which cause Houmea to disgorge and the waters to recede. Uta also displays *mana* by commanding buildings to respond to Houmea's call which gives him and his children a chance to escape. These are all expressions of *mana atua*. It is worth noting that whenever expressions of *mana atua* occur they implicate other categories of *mana*: *mana tīpuna*, *mana tāngata*, as well as transcendental unity. Finally, the stone destroys the monstrous Houmea, who notably changes into a shag: a type of bird "which she resembles in voraciousness, vomiting and method of swimming" (Tremewan 359). This will be important to discussions of bird transformations later.

As a regional variation of the above story, Tremewan offers the narrative "Paowa: An encounter with a witch" (Tremewan 347-60). This narrative was briefly cited in the last chapter because of the feathers worn by Paowa which denoted his chiefly status. Note that the stones which defeat the witch are not named, but are effective weapons. Their very effectiveness denotes *mana*.

Tremewan provides a concise summary of the tale:

Paowa and his companions visit Te-Ruahine-mata-māori, a witch who knows *kūmara karakia*. When Paowa sends her to fetch water, he chants a *karakia* to dry up the water as she approaches. He then burns her home and leaves in his canoe. She swims after him so he sends the canoe home, swims ashore and hides in a cave. He throws cooked food to the witch, then throws her hot stones which make her stomach burst. Seizing the magic treasures from her armpits, he enters a log and travels home, where people are preparing for his *tangi*. Paowa disguises himself and begs for food, clothing and oil. Finally, dressed in all his finery, he reveals his identity, takes a wife, and undergoes a ritual to remove *tapu* (347).

The Paowa also shares similarities with the stories of Tāwhaki as told by Te Arawa peoples in the North Island (Tremewan 355). Tāwhaki is a character in an ascent story. Though the Paowa tale is not an ascent story he does gain knowledge of *kūmara karakia* which would be invaluable to the growth of that crop and a boon for his people.

“Sometimes Tāwhaki’s great *mana* is said to be revealed by the lightning flashing from his armpits. In the Paowa story, it is the witch who has lightning flashing from her armpits, but Paowa inherits her *kura* (treasures) and with them her powers” (Tremewan 355). Thus *mana* is transferable through victory in conflict. This power transference is especially noticeable in the way Paowa magically enters a log. This is a magical transformation which always indicates transcendental unity.

Stones are a small, durable piece of land, often imbued with *mana*, either in their own right or as *mauri*, or by association with people of great *mana*. Stones imply the land’s importance. The presence of stones in Māori narratives expresses profound spiritual connections between the people and the land which are genealogical, *mana*-mediated and exhibit metaphysical spheres of reciprocal influence.

Along with stones, other aspects of the natural world, like trees, become associated with a person and through that association gain the *mana* of the person. For example, umbilical cords were sometimes placed in trees (Best, *Spiritual and Mental Concepts* 51). Such an action, similar to the burial of the placenta noted above, spiritually and physically connects the child to ancestral territory. “In the north a young tree was sometimes planted at the birth of a child, which tree was used as a *mauri* of the child, hence it was closely observed as to its vigour and mode of growth” (Best, *Spiritual and Mental Concepts* 35). Additionally, trees are symbolically important and are sometimes connected to chiefly authority. “An important chief was often alluded to as a *rata whakatau* or *rata whakamarumarū*, i.e., the shade-giving, or rather sheltering *rata*, for he was the protector of the people” (Best, *Forest Lore* 108). This metaphor evokes the protective aspect of chiefly office, just as the metaphoric relation between a tribal mountain and the chief’s head denoted *tapu* and strength. All of these metaphors are mediated by shared *mana* and possible because of genealogical descent from *atua*.

Connections between a tree and a chiefly child are expressed in a Ngāti Porou narrative called “The Mouth of Rerekohu” (McConnell *He Taonga Tuku Iho* 80-86). The tree is named Te Waha o Rerekohu (The Mouth of Rerekohu) because there was a food store there which held food for an important child named Rerekohu, who came from

senior descent lines and was born to be an important chief in two tribes (McConnell, *He Taonga Tuku Iho* 80). The name of the tree is shared with that of the child, firmly connecting them, and this name-connection is emphasized by the function of the tree: a place where food was stored for the child. The collection of food for Rerekohu while he was only a baby, and throughout his life, emphasised and increased his *mana* (McConnell, *He Taonga Tuku Iho* 80). Furthermore “...the name stuck to the tree and it became as important as Rerekohu himself” (McConnell, *He Taonga Tuku Iho* 82). The *mana* of the man attached itself to the tree through association, and thus the tree came to have a name and *mana*. The flow of *mana* is reciprocal; natural objects can have their own *mana* and can increase peoples’ *mana*, or peoples’ *mana* through association can increase the *mana* of natural objects.

Trees also have their own *atua* protection. Human actions must respect the *mana* of the forest. In Tremewan’s “Rata: Canoe builder and avenger” Rata attempts to chop down a *tōtara* tree in order to build a canoe to carry his war-party on an errand of vengeance (193-207). Note the name of the protagonist is also the name of a species of tree.

Rata cuts the tree down, but finds it again and again standing upright. “‘I cut it down without paying proper attention.’ His mother said to him, ‘Should you have chopped down your ancestors so thoughtlessly?’” (Tremewan 198)? Best notes that there were proper ways to fell a tree (*Spiritual and Mental Concepts* 26), including rites which Rata does not observe, therefore, the tree would not stay cut. Rata returns and chops the tree down again. A voice called out and made the tree stand upright. Rata caught it as it stood upright and confronted the beings, his ancestors, who kept making the tree stand upright.

Only by confronting the ancestors and thereby proving his own *mana* was Rata able to fell the tree. His ancestors told him to leave the tree with them and in the morning it was outside his house “...his canoe, which the ancestors had finished for him” (Tremewan 199). Failure of ritual observances can be overcome with sufficient

mana, however it was important that relationships between peoples and nature respect and protect *mana* of all.

Canoes and logs are extensions of a tree, as stones or feathers are extensions of lands and birds. As *waka* or spirit conveyances canoes are implicated in transcendental unity. In narratives like the Paowa story above, canoes or logs can provide passage from one realm into another, and are therefore associated with transcendental unity. Furthermore all of this is possible because of the explicit reference to the trees as Rata's ancestors which adds layers of spiritual, ancestral *mana* to the innate *mana* of the tree.

In the majority of instances of magical transformation encountered in this analysis, humans change into birds, and then back into humans. The frequency of birds in transformations expressing transcendental unity suggests that birds were symbolically important to Māori peoples. Birds were buried as *mauri* protecting either peoples or lands (Best, *Spiritual and Mental Concepts* 44). Additionally, Best observed the use of a bird during a *tohi* rite, "...at a certain stage of the intoned ritual a little bird, *miromiro*, was released and allowed to fly away. This ceremony endowed the child with *mana*, and protected its life principle. The bird is viewed as a link between the child and the gods, a means of communication" (Best, *Some Aspects* 17). Birds also communicated crisis situations such as death and potentially damaging attempts at sorcery (Best, *Spiritual and Mental Concepts* 24). Birds therefore spiritually link and facilitate communication between humans and *atua*.

Transformations into bird-forms not only express transcendental unity, but transformation also facilitates further expressions of transcendental unity, specifically passage between natural and supernatural realms. For instance, in the Tama story in the previous chapter's discussion of physical indicators of *mana*, Tama transforms into a bird. In bird form, he is able to pass into the realm of his ancestors: the underworld. Nor is Tama's use of bird-form in threshold crossings unique.

Māui, for instance, frequently changes into birds or other forms (Tremewan 72-101). For example, when he follows his mother to the underworld to meet his father he is in bird form; when he tries to escape the inferno of Mahuika's wrath, he again

transforms into a bird (Tremewan 82-83). Bird-transformations are relatively common in Māori lore because birds and humans share common lineage from Tāne.

The Māui narrative, like the Mataora narrative in the previous chapter, also provides a narrative origin for the impermeable physical boundary between life and death. To clarify, categories of life and death are permeable in that metaphysical influence (*mana*) persists after death. However, once physical form dies it cannot be reanimated. The remains do still possess the *mana* of the departed, and this can exert influence which belies categories of life and death.

As *mana* mediates permeability, it also accounts for impermeable categories. For example, when Mataora and his wife return from the underworld with knowledge of *moko* and weaving for humans, they attempt to deceive the threshold keeper. This deceit causes the way to be shut so that there is no longer the back and forth passage between worlds because it damages the *mana* of the threshold keeper and Tama. However, though this impermeable state is established it is not upheld in other narratives, including the Māui narratives.

Birds also destabilize categories of man and nature, culture and nature. Lévi-Strauss' conclusions link back to Rousseau, Hobbes, even Aristotle when he says: "It is a language which makes Man different" (Leach 37). Language, then, is at the heart of man's difference and the origin of his culture. However, the insistence upon language being the decisive factor between Nature and Culture, as the factor which differentiates men, is undermined by Lévi-Strauss' own statements about birds and bird symbolism. Birds and bird worlds, according to Lévi-Strauss, are excellent metaphors for humans and the human world because birds communicate and form social relations homologous to our own through communication such as bird-calls (Leach 88-89). Humans are not the only possessors of language. Therefore elevating humans to superior status on account of language is flawed.

This section has explored talismans and transformations in Māori lore, paying particular attention to symbols of stones, trees and birds. Transcendental unity is expressed in several ways: shared qualities between humans and the world (*mana*,

tapu, mauri etc), passages between natural and supernatural realms; transformations between natural and human forms; effectiveness (of *karakia*, of *mauri* etc).

Transcendental unity involves metaphysical spheres of reciprocal influence. This form of unity always demonstrates all categories of *mana*: *tīpuna*, *tāngata* and *atua*, and is possible because of genealogical descent from *atua*. This descent is explicated in creation narratives which establish Tāne and Hine-ahu-one (Earth-formed-maid) as the parents of humans. Tāne is one of several *atua* reckoned in lore as members of a family, therefore humans share this kinship with the *atua* who are personifications of natural phenomena. Descent from these *atua* means that humans can, if possessed of sufficient *mana*, take on the forms of these *atua* because of the inherited, shared qualities possessed by each. Stones, trees and birds are culturally important symbols because of links to the parents of humans; therefore they feature prominently in many Māori narratives.

Relationships and similarities between humans and the world are established by metaphoric equivalences such as, chief-tree-mountain, or *whenua*-land-placenta. These similarities are further highlighted by the fact that the ceremonies to ensure productiveness, such as the *mana*-fixing *pure* ritual, can be performed for people or aspects of nature such as the *kūmara* crop. In the same way that the burial of placenta or umbilical cord physically and spiritually tie peoples to land, this influence is reciprocated in the use of human bones in rituals designed to protect crops.

Mauri are tangible or intangible. Intangibly, *mauri* is a shared life-spirit all aspects of nature must have to exist. Tangibly, *mauri* are protective talismans, usually stone, though other forms are possible. These *mauri* are used to protect and promote the life-principle of various things: people, crops, buildings, communities, knowledge – any resource can be protected with *mauri*.

Thus relations between peoples and lands are always mediated by *mana*. The relationship is not about ownership, but rather kinship among all aspects of nature established in creation narratives. This kinship endows humans with substances and qualities such as *mana*, *tapu* and *mauri* which are common to all aspects of nature. The

commonness of these qualities enables expressions of transcendental unity which always express all forms of *mana*.

In Summation

This textual analysis has examined a regionally diverse range of Māori lore, along with various supplemental anthropological materials, to assert that relationships between Māori peoples and the natural world in Māori lore, seen through the interrogative lens of *mana*, express transcendental unity. Unity is commonly expressed in economic terms which assume ideas of possession, production and inalienable rights to ancestral territory. The type of unity proposed in this analysis both encompasses and extends these notions. Transcendental unity is the permeability of constructs such as natural and supernatural, human and nature, rendered possible by *mana*. Significantly, the concept of transcendental unity deepens understandings of inalienable rights to land, and could be applied to examinations of transformative narratives from other cultures.

“The symbolic themes Pacific Islanders use to assert their unity and identity have also been shaped by struggles against domination, as is most clearly manifest in the pervasive elevation of ‘land’ as a political symbol” (Keesing, *Creating* 29). Rønning says, “In New Zealand literature, the linking of myth and history with contemporary issues such as land and the role of Māori within New Zealand society...illustrate how myth evolves into history, an understanding of which is essential for finding one’s own place in the contemporary world” (148). These findings, therefore, have implications for processes of cultural revival and constructions of environmental ethos.

Contemporary writer Patricia Grace uses motifs from Māori lore to frame contemporary struggles portrayed in her narratives, thus demonstrating the continued value and influence of Māori lore. Aside from literary art forms, Māori lore is implicated in other artistic and cultural productions like paintings and haka performances. Unfortunately, this project did not have space to address contemporary uses of Māori lore. An individual with better language skills, and an insider’s perspective could greatly enhance and expand upon the analysis provided in this project.

Relationships between Māori peoples and their environment in Māori lore are based upon notions of genealogical relation and occupation. Inasmuch as peoples

occupied an area of land which sustained them, peoples belonged to that space of land. Cognatic genealogical descent can be traced through one's mother and/or father to apical ancestors, thus Māori people can belong to several tribes simultaneously. Māori social organization uses biological metaphors. For example, *whānau* also evoked birth, *hāpu* evoked pregnancy and *iwi* evoked bones.

It is creation narratives which establish the kinship between humans and the natural world through genealogical relationships with *atua* who are personifications of forces of nature. "Genealogies, cosmologies, rituals were themselves contested spheres. The 'authentic' past was never a simple, unambiguous reality" (Keesing, *Creating* 25). Permeability, a characteristic of transcendental unity, is possible because Māori lore establishes that human beings are descendents of *atua*, who are personifications of natural forces; specifically, humans were created from the union of Tāne and the Earth-formed-maid. Therefore, descent, in terms of transcendental unity, involves human lineages which have origins in the environment.

This notion of descent implies shared essences between human and the natural world. Essence, in this sense, refers to attributes, qualities and characteristics common to humans and the environment. This common inheritance is possible because of the schema of genealogical relation and family ties which enable constructions of biological and environmental equivalences. Given these equivalences, and the importance placed upon genealogy in Māori societies and narratives, the significance of kinship is profound.

Waka is a term implicated in social organization, i.e. the Te Arawa peoples are descendents of persons who arrived in Aotearoa in the canoe called Te Arawa. Interestingly this cultural identifier does not imply genealogical relation, nor is it involved in hierarchies of authority. Canoes are named, *mana*-imbued objects which often facilitate passage between natural and supernatural realms in Māori lore. *Waka* also means, conveyance, spirit medium, long narrow receptacle, box (for feathers); water trough. Stones, bones, trees, canoes, birds and feathers are important symbols which can be imbued with *mana* and often express transcendental unity.

The commonness of metaphoric equivalences constructed between humans and stones, trees and birds stem from creation narratives which name Tāne, *atua* of forests and the Earth-formed-maid as the primal ancestors of humanity. This genealogical tie means that humans inherit substances from these *atua* and can, with sufficient *mana*, change physical form from human to forms of the *atua*. Birds are one such transformation commonly found in Māori narratives which suggests there is no one-to-one relationship between object and essence.

Metaphoric equivalences created between chief, tribe and geographical feature suggests transcendental unity through shared, inherited substances and reciprocal influence. Places and spaces such as prominent landmarks, i.e. mountains and *marae*, had *mana* and were linked to the identities of tribal groups as seen in common, formulaic expressions. The naming of mountains and other geographical features was constant in these expressions, while the cultural indicators such as *marae*, chief or tribe varied. This suggests that the geographical landmarks are a crucial component of tribal identity for Māori peoples.

The importance of kinship is also reflected in ritual spaces like *wharenuī* and adornments. Adornments such as *moko*, clothing, and carvings in *wharenuī* and were physical indicators of *mana*. The *moko* indicated the quality of an individual's *mana*. *Moko* patterns and feathers were a display of superior status and lineage and a means of identification which were used as signatures on colonial documents such as the Treaty of Waitangi. The physical structure of the *wharenuī* was likened to an ancestor's body, reaching to gather together descendents. The decorations on these structures reflected genealogies. The type of descent involved in transcendental unity involves geological reckoning from *atua*. Genealogical reckoning from *atua* means that there are inherited qualities that humans share with the natural world, such as *tapu*, *mauri* and *mana*.

Mauri existed in tangible and intangible forms. Intangibly, *mauri* was life principle which was a quality possessed by every aspect of the environment. Tangibly, *mauri* were talismans which were imbued with *mana*, sometimes through ritual, and served to

protect and promote the productive potential of any resource: humans, knowledge, communities, streams, forests, crops, etc. Stones were popular forms of *mauri* because their durability made them less susceptible to damage which would result in the withdrawal of *atua* protection. The *mana* of such *mauri* rendered them effective and influential. Reciprocal influence, and qualities shared among humans and aspects of the environment, suggests transcendental unity. Significantly, the concept of *mauri* is still implicated in contemporary resource management and conservation strategies (Morgan 129-30).

Mana was used as an interrogative lens in this project to illuminate aspects of Māori lore because *mana* is a characteristic which was not restricted to human agents, but was also innate in environmental elements, and evident in cultural products. It is a term which can subvert constructions such as natural and supernatural, and traditional expectations of performance based upon gender or birth order. The linguistic meaning and operation of the term *mana* in the narratives was far more complex than simplified definitions of the term initially suggested. *Mana* is a Māori term which has no one-to-one correspondence with any English term. As established, it is variously defined and used. In this analysis, *mana* has meant prestige, status, authority and power, influence, spiritual power, and efficacy. These diverse uses do not encompass all that *mana* entails, suggesting the complex nature of the term.

Due to the complexity of the term *mana*, some useful categories were provided: inherited *mana* and achieved *mana*; *mana tīpuna*, *mana tāngata* and *mana atua*. These categories are particularly useful as a starting point, but the analysis has shown that these categories are not really separate. For example, instances of *mana atua* are possible because of inherited *mana* (*mana tīpuna*), the exercise of which demonstrated *mana tāngata* (*individual mana*). Everywhere in the narratives where names proliferated or agents performed great deeds, achieved victories, exhibited leadership or generosity, adorned their bodies, canoes and buildings, performed *karakia*, metamorphosed between human and non-human forms, and traversed natural and supernatural realms, *mana*-dynamics operated and facilitated success.

Mana is inextricably linked with *tapu* and assertions of authority, as well as several other culturally important concepts. *Mana*, as a fundamental principle of Māori law, produced patterns of activity, such as *utu* (reciprocation) for insults or generosity. This analysis focuses upon *mana* for the sake of brevity, but other related concepts can be examined by future scholars to great effect.

The assertion of indigenous language can be an important locus of social action in post colonial societies. The choice of a Māori language term as an analytical lens for this project was deliberately designed to highlight the contemporary importance and revival of Māori language, and to celebrate the strength and power of Māori peoples and language. It is because of the enduring *mana* of Māori peoples that the predicted death of Māori societies never came to pass. It is in the mobilization of *mana* and in the assertion of transcendental unity and kinship with the environment that restorations of stolen Māori lands, revitalization, healing and reinvention of Māori societies can occur. It is *mana*, ultimately, which is agency and effectuality that can facilitate any metamorphosis, cultural or otherwise.

Mana was a crucial component of my method for this analysis, but other theoretical influences operated in the background. The colonizer and colonized binary continues to influence contemporary Māori society and scholarship. Keesing says, “It is no wonder that indigenous peoples seeking to characterize Themselves and their differences from Us have adopted a similar essentialism” (*Creating* 33).

The binary opposition between Māori and Pākehā in New Zealand is analogous to the distinction between colonized and colonizer, and is present in much of the literature. The differentiation between Māori and Pākehā refers to where someone is from, contrasting indigenous and settler populations and erecting notions of otherness. Destabilization of the boundaries between colonizer and colonized is popular in post-colonial writings, but post-colonialism as a term evokes the sense the colonialism is over, and it is not (Smith 24). I could point to evidence which suggests that the Māori peoples are themselves colonizers, but such arguments perpetuate the type of thinking in the ‘great fleet’ narratives which were used to justify imperialism as mere logical

continuation of waves of colonization. It would be better to focus on the fact that Māori peoples have used the terms colonizer and colonized in positive ways to cement a desire for social justice.

The linguistic complexity of the term *mana*, and its necessary implication in threshold crossings between human and non-human realms and states of being, indicate that worldviews expressed in Māori lore embody an outlook with similarities to principles of deconstruction. As binaries such as life and death are established, they are simultaneously and unselfconsciously self-undermining. Through the lens of *mana*, insight was gained into the lack of one-to-one relationship between signifier and signified, the difficulty of language to convey meaning, and the destabilization of established constructs (i.e. binary pairs) and hierarchies of values placed upon those constructs. Therefore the notion of transcendental unity works in ways that parallel some of the ideas and practices of contemporary deconstruction.

In exploring human and non-human relationships, and in deconstructing the Western understandings of terms like human and nature, natural and supernatural, my inquiry is paradoxical: I examine relationships between humans and the natural environment – reifying differences between them to an extent. However, I also undercut the very distinctions some of my analysis is predicated upon. Hitt says, “...the fundamental problem with the concept of sublime wilderness is that it depends on and reinscribes the notion of nature’s otherness, of the separation of the human and non-human realms” (603). This paradox is like a lucid dream, both conscious and unconscious, and serves to highlight the importance of deconstruction as a method for critiquing Western reason and scholarship. “Ideally, then, an ecological sublime would offer a new kind of transcendence which would resist the traditional reinscription of humankind’s supremacy over nature” (Hitt 609). This project is an effort in that direction.

Man is not separate from nature, but part of nature and kin to every aspect of the natural world. Kinship in this project is more than an abstract anthropological concept describing relationships; it is a biological fact expressed in biological-

environmental metaphoric equivalences in terms such as *whenua*, birth rituals and rituals used to secure productive potential in resources.

Traditional rituals surrounding birth involved the burial of placenta and umbilical cords along with stones, one for every night of labour, in ancestral lands. As *whenua*, those ancestral lands gather the bones. This created a concrete physical and metaphysical link between peoples – the *tangata whenua* – and the land they occupied. These rituals are still practiced in contemporary times by some Māori peoples.

The *pure* rite happened after a child's baptism (the *tohi* rite) and was a *mana*-fixing ritual which invoked atua protection and ensured productivity in both peoples and crops, particularly the *kūmara* crop. The use of this ritual for both people and crops suggests shared substances and metaphysical influence and thus expresses transcendental unity.

Aside from the *pure* rite, other rituals also expressed reciprocal, metaphysical influence between humans and crops. One ritual used human bones from a person of great *mana* as *mauri*. The bones retained the *mana* of the deceased, and this *mana* spread to the crops and foiled magical attempts by enemies to damage crops. Similar substances and transcendental unity suggested in the above agricultural practice were extended in the symbolic importance of stones, trees and birds.

Stones, in the above birth ritual, served as *mauri*.

It could perhaps be argued that the relationships proposed in this project are essentialist. Additionally, modern environmentalists wax poetic about interconnectedness; perhaps, it could also be argued, this analysis' assertions of transcendental unity persists in the tradition of noticing one's own culture and projecting one's own desires in the culture of the 'Other.' Keesing says,

The portrayals that idealize the precolonial past not only incorporate conceptual structures and premises of colonial discourse and elevate symbols as reactions against colonial domination. In many respects, they also incorporate Western conceptions of Otherness, visions of primitivity, and critiques of modernity. The imagined ancestors with whom the Pacific is being repopulated – Wise Ecologists, Mystical Sages, living in harmony with one another, cosmic forces, and the environment – are in many ways creations of the Western imagination (*Creating* 29).

However, Keesing also says, “In New Zealand, increasingly powerful and successful Māori political movements incorporate idealized and mythicized versions of a precolonial Golden Age, the mystical wisdom of Aotearoa” (*Creating* 22). In indigenous societies, language, like ‘authenticity’ which is tied to essentialism and essence, can be used to oppress, but can also become a strategic, political site of resistance. Kramer describes this approach as strategic essentialism and says, “through self-objectification, strategies deployed against indigenous peoples are being reappropriated by Native political leaders in order to regain control of self-definition and self-display” (50-51).

The term ‘authentic’ ...was an oppositional term used in at least two different ways. First, it was used as a form of articulating what it meant to be dehumanized by colonization; and, second, for reorganizing ‘national consciousness’ in the struggles for decolonization. The belief in an authentic self is framed within humanism but has been politicised by the colonized world in ways which evoke simultaneous meanings; it does appeal to an idealized past when there was no colonizer, and to our strengths in surviving thus far, to our language as an uninterrupted link to our histories, to the ownership of our lands, to our abilities to create and control our own life and death, to a sense of balance among ourselves and with the environment, to our authentic selves as people. Although this may seem overly idealized, these symbolic appeals remain strategically important in political struggles (Smith 73).

The notion of shared essence has its basis in Māori writings about their relationships to the environment. “The indigenous perspective of the *Tangata Whenua* in relation to the management of the environment is considered important and relevant in New Zealand...More holistic approaches are consistent with indigenous thinking and a decision-making framework based on traditional beliefs” (Morgan 128-29). Discussions of *mana* and transcendental unity were not intended as abuse, but rather as a site for contemporary agency. “Some official policies inspired by a desire for “cultural revitalization” even endeavour to encourage the...reproduction of these identity symbols, which are deemed proof of the vigour of indigenous cultures and of their resistance to Westernization” (Keesing, *Creating* 32).

Māori lore both informs and is informed by structures and machinations of Māori societies. “If there is any other value in these Māori tales it is in the patterning of events, which come through with that sense of time more fluid than the modern European’s sense of distinctness and relativity; the past and present flow into one another” (Simms 225). “The common understanding of history, peculiar to modern Western society, is one that consists of a stream of events, a temporal continuum whose empirical existence is unquestionable. One might well argue that the temporal continuum punctuated by great events is our own mythology” (Friedman 206). People need to think of history as another form of narrative rather than a concrete reality or as segments of time (Rønning 147). Histories are a potential site of social action. The structure of Māori narratives which involves cycles of generation and regeneration suggests a circular, rather than linear construction of time, and a world in which creation is constantly occurring. Māori narratives deserve to be recognized as sources of histories and exemplary literary and cultural productions in educational settings.

Māori lore is dynamic, diverse, and dense with layered motifs, aetiologies and allusions to rituals, as well as to other narratives. “All of these...have the common goal of reasserting shared paradigms and celebrating the known and common social structures that exist around us...Myths are our ways of looking at the cosmos to understand how it works and how we relate to all other things” (Sidwell 7). Friedman says, “The discourse of history as well as of myth is simultaneously a discourse of identity; it consists of attributing a meaningful past to a structured present” (194). This project has inquired about relations between humans and their environment. Biro says, “Ideas of nature are of course not only highly complex and contradictory, but also deeply embedded, both individually and culturally, and they affect virtually every aspect of our lives. They are in fact the very definition of ideological” (5).

This analysis has used the term *mana* as a lens to interrogate a regionally diverse range of Māori lore texts. It was seen that categories of human-nature, natural-supernatural are often permeable in Māori lore. This permeability is transcendental unity which destabilizes the notion that humans are fully distinct from their

environment. Transcendental unity is expressed in Māori lore through changes in states of being or planes of existence, biological-environmental metaphoric equivalences, and metaphysical spheres of reciprocal influence. I have argued that relations between humans and the non-human environment in Māori lore involve genealogical ties, are mediated by *mana*, and suggest a transcendental form of unity characterized by common essence and characteristics. As a Māori proverb says, “*Me Manaaki Tātou i tō Tātou Whāea e Takoto Iho Nei, a Papatuanuku*. The People and the Land are One” (McGarvey 134).

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Glossary

This listing provides definitions and elaborates on the meaning of cultural terms that are used in this analysis. All definitions come from *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index*.

ahurewa: sacred place; watchman's platform

ao: to dawn; bright; world, Earth, daytime, cloud

Aotearoa: North Island – now used as the Māori name for New Zealand

ariki: paramount chief, high chief, lord, leader, aristocrat, firstborn of an aristocratic family"

aroha: to love, pity, feel concern for; affection, sympathy, charity, compassion, love

atua: ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, ghost, object of superstitious regard, strange being, God

ea: be settled, satisfy (an account, score, etc), avenged, paid, paid in full; satisfaction

haka (-a, -hia, -ina, -tia): to dance, perform; *haka* – vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words. A general term for several types of such dances

hāngī: *hāngī*, earth oven – earth oven to cook food with steam and heat from heated stones

hāpu: be pregnant, conceived in the womb; clan, tribe, subtribe, section of a large tribe

Hawaiki: ancient homeland – the places from which Māori migrated to Aotearoa/New Zealand. According to some traditions it was Io, the supreme being, who created Hawaiki-nui, Hawaiki-roa, Hawaiki-pāmamao, and Hawaiki-*tapu*, places inhabited by *atua*. It is believed that the *wairua* returns to these places after death, and speeches at *tangihanga* refer to these as the final resting place of the *wairua*.

ihi: ray (of the sun), essential force, excitement, power, charm, personal magnetism – psychic force as opposed to spiritual power (*mana*).

iho: umbilical cord (middle portion), heart, essence, inside, kernel, pith (of a tree, etc.), essential quality, nature

iwi: tribe, nation, people, bone, race

karakia (-*hia*, -*tia*): to recite ritual chants, to say grace, pray, recite a prayer; incantation, prayer, service, church service, ritual chant – chants recited rapidly using traditional language, symbols and structures. The two most important symbols referred to in *karakia* are sticks and food, while the two key actions are loosing and binding. Individual *karakia* tend to follow a pattern: the first section invokes or designates the *atua*, the second expresses the loosening of a binding, and the final section is the action, the ordering of what is required, or a short statement expressing the completion of the action. The images used in *karakia* are from traditional narratives. There were *karakia* for all aspects of life, including for the major rituals, i.e. for the child, canoe, kūmara, war party and the dead. *Karakia* for minor rituals and single *karakia* include those for the weather, sickness, daily activities and for curses and overcoming curses. These enabled people to carry out their daily activities in union with the ancestors and the spiritual powers.

kaumātua (kaumaatua) (-tia): to grow old, grow up; adult, elderly man, elderly woman, elder

kāwai: flock of ducks; shoot (of a creeper or gourd plant), tentacle, line of descent, lineage, pedigree, loops or handle of a *kete*

Kingitanga: (loan) King Movement – a movement which developed in the 1850s, culminating in the anointing of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero as King. Established to stop the loss of land to the colonists, to maintain law and order, and to promote traditional values and culture

kōrero (-tia): to tell, say, speak, read, talk, address; speech, narrative, story, news, account, discussion, conversation, discourse

kotahitanga: unity

kūmara: sweet potato, *kūmara*, *Ipomoea batatas*

kura (-ina): to be educated; school; be red, scarlet, precious; red feathers, feathers used as decoration, treasure, valued possession

mana: prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma; be legal, effectual, binding, authoritative; to be effectual, take effect; jurisdiction, mandate – *mana* is a supernatural force in a person, place or object. *Mana* goes hand in hand with *tapu*, one affecting the other. The more prestigious the event, person or object, the more it is surrounded by *tapu* and *mana*. *Mana* is the enduring, indestructible power of the *atua* and is inherited at birth, the more senior the descent, the greater the *mana*. The authority of *mana* and *tapu* is inherited and delegated through the senior line from the *atua* as their human agent to act on their behalf and in

accordance with their revealed will. Since authority is a spiritual gift delegated by the *atua*, man remains the agent, never the source of *mana*. This divine choice is confirmed by the elders, initiated by the *tohunga* under traditional consecratory rites (*tohi*). *Mana* gives a person the authority to lead, organise and regulate communal expeditions and activities, to make decisions regarding social and political matters. A person's or tribe's *mana* can increase from successful ventures or decrease through the lack of success. The tribe gave *mana* to their chief and empowered him/her and in turn the *mana* of an *ariki* or *rangatira* spread to his/her people and their land. Almost every activity has a link with the maintenance and enhancement of *mana* and *tapu*. Animate and inanimate objects could also have *mana* as they derive from the *atua* and because of their association with people imbued with much *mana* or because they were used in significant events.

manaakitanga: hospitality, kindness

mana atua: sacred spiritual power from the *atua* – see *mana*

mana motuhake: separate identity, autonomy – *mana* through self determination and control over one's destiny – see *mana*

mana tangata: power and status accrued through one's leadership talents, human rights – see *mana* and *mana whakatipu*

mana tangata whenua: indigenous rights – see also *mana* and *mana whakatipu*

mana taurite: equal status, equity

mana tīpuna: see *mana tūpuna*

mana tūpuna: power through descent – see *mana whakaheke*

mana whakaheke: *mana* through descent – *mana* that originates from the *atua* and is handed down through the senior male line from the *atua*. Also called *mana tūpuna* or *mana tuku iho*

mana whakatipu: power and status accrued through one's leadership talents – *mana* resulting from strength of character and force of will, and the means a leader has to enforce those wishes. Also known as *mana tangata* – see *mana*

mana whenua: territorial rights, power from the land – power associated through possession and occupation of tribal land. The tribe's history and legends are based in the lands they have occupied over generations and the land provides sustenance for the people and to provide hospitality for guests – see *mana*

māori: be native, indigenous, normal, usual, common, fresh (of water), belonging to Aotearoa/New Zealand, freely, without restraint, without ceremony, clear, intelligible; aboriginal inhabitant

Māori: Māori, indigenous New Zealander, indigenous person of Aotearoa/New Zealand

māoritanga: explanation, meaning

Māoritanga: Māori culture, practices and beliefs

marae: be generous, hospitable; courtyard – the open area in front of the *whareniui*, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the *marae*.

marakihau: sea monster, carved figure of an ancestor or mythical sea monster with a fish tail and semi-human head and a tube-like tongue

matakite (-a): to see into the future, foresee; psychic; prophecy, prophet, seer

mātua: parents

matua: father, parent, uncle, division (of an army), company, the body of the *kappa haka*, main, chief, important, primary

mauri: life principle, special nature, a material symbol of a life principle, source of emotions

moko: Māori tattooing on the face or body, a general term for lizards, skinks and geckos; a term of address used by an older person for a grandchild or a young child. Short for *mokopuna*.

mokopuna: grandchild, descendant – child or grandchild of a son, daughter, nephew, niece, etc.

Mōriori: indigenous people of the Chatham Islands

motu (-kia): to be severed, cut, cut off, set free; escaped; island, country, land, clump of trees, ship – anything separated or isolated

noa: be free from the extensions of *tapu*, ordinary, unrestricted – see *tapu*

pā (-ia): to block up, obstruct, dam, close off an open space; fortified village, stockade, inhabitants of a fortified place, weir to trap eels, screen, blockade

Pākehā: New Zealander of European descent

pātaka: storehouse raised upon posts, pantry, larder

patupaiarehe: fairy folk – fair skinned mythical people who lived in the bush or on mountains

pito: end, extremity, navel, section of umbilical cord nearest the baby's body

pō (-ngia): to set (of the sun); darkness, night, place of departed spirits

pōhatu: stone

pōtiki: youngest child

pōwhiri (-tia): to welcome, invite, beckon, wave; invitation, rituals of encounter, welcome ceremony on a *marae*

pure (-a, -tia): to ritually remove *tapu*; rites to lift the *tapu* at the *Ringatū* harvest, religious purification rites – designed to neutralize *tapu*, using water and *karakia*, or to propitiate the *atua* using cooked food

rangatira: be rich, well off, noble, esteemed, revered; chief (male or female), master, mistress, boss, supervisor, employer, landlord, owner

rangi: day, sky, heavens, heavenly realm, weather, tenor, drift, tune, air, melody

rātā: *rātā*, *Metrosideros robusta* (Northern), *Metrosideros umbellata* (Southern), - a large forest tree with crimson flowers and hard red timber; *rātā* vine, *Metrosideros fulgens* – a native vine with orange-red flowers, mainly during winter

rata: be friendly, quiet, tame; doctor

taiwhenua: permanent home, land district

tāne: husband, male, man

taniwha: water spirits, monster, something or someone awesome – *taniwha* take many forms from logs to reptiles and whales and often live in lakes, rivers or the sea. They are often regarded as guardians by the people who live in their territory.

tāngata: people, men, persons, human beings

tangata: person, man, human being

tāngata whenua: local people, hosts, indigenous people of the land – people born of the *whenua*, i.e. of the placenta and of the land where the people's ancestors have lived and where their placenta are buried

tangi (-hia): to cry, mourn, weep, make a sound, weep over; sound, pitch, intonation, mourning, grief, sorrow, weeping, salute, wave

tangihanga: weeping, crying, funeral, rites for the dead

taonga: property, goods, possessions, effects, treasure, something prized

tapu: be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, under *atua* protection; restriction – *tapu* is a supernatural condition. A person, place or thing is dedicated to an *atua* and 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. *Tapu* was used as a way to control how people behaved towards each other and the environment, placing restrictions upon society to ensure that society flourished. Making an object *tapu* was achieved through *rangatira* or *tohunga* acting as channels for the *atua* in applying the *tapu*. Members of a community would not violate the *tapu* for fear of sickness or catastrophe as a result of the anger of the *atua*. Intrinsic, or primary, *tapu* are those things which are *tapu* in themselves. The extensions of *tapu* are the restrictions resulting from contact with something that is intrinsically *tapu*. This can be removed with water, or food and *karakia*. A person is imbued with *mana* and *tapu* by reason of his or her birth. High-ranking families whose genealogy could be traced through the senior line from the *atua* who were thought to be under their special care. It was a priority for those of *ariki* descent to maintain their *mana* and *tapu* and to keep the strength of the *mana* and *tapu* associated with the *atua* as pure as possible. People are *tapu* and it is each person's responsibility to preserve their own *tapu* and respect the *tapu* of others and of places. Under certain situations people become more *tapu*, including women giving birth, warriors travelling to battle, men carving (and their materials) and people when they die. Because resources from the environment originate from one of the *atua*, they need to be appeased with *karakia* before and after harvesting. When *tapu* is removed, things become *noa*, the process being called *whakanoa*.

taro: *taro*, *Colocasia esculenta* – a plant with edible, starchy corms and large, edible, fleshy leaves; bread

tau (-ria): to land, alight, come to rest, settle on, count, settle, perch, ride at anchor - neat, comely, smart, attractive, handsome, becoming, suitable.

tāuira: be gleaming

tikanga: correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, reason, plan, practice; correct, right

tīpuna: ancestors, grandparents – eastern dialect variation of *tūpuna*

tipuna: ancestor, grandparent, grandfather, grandmother – eastern dialect variation of *tupuna*

tohi (-a): to cut, divide, distribute, separate, endue, perform a ritual ceremony over a child in flowing water while petitioning the *atua* to endow the child with the desired mental and physical qualities. The child was dedicated to the particular *atua* through immersion in the water or by sprinkling it with water from a branch dipped in the stream.

tohunga: be expert, proficient, adept; skilled person, chosen expert, priest – a person chosen by the agent of an *atua* and the tribe as a leader in a particular field because of signs indicating talent for a particular vocation. Those who functioned as priests were known as *tohunga ahurewa*. They mediated between the *atua* and the tribe, gave advice about economic activities, were experts in propitiating the *atua* with *karakia* and were experts in sacred lore, traditions and genealogies of the tribe. *Tohunga mākutu*, or *tohunga whaiwhaiā*, specialized in the occult and casting evil spells. Those chosen to specialize in carving were *tohunga whakairo*, in tattooing were *tohunga tā moko*, etc. *Tohunga* were trained in a traditional *whare wānanga* or by another *tohunga*.

toko (-na): to support with a pole, prop up, propel with a pole, divorce, separate (husband and wife) by a rite involving *karakia*; rod, pole, stilt

tōtara: *tōtara*, *Podocarpus totara*, *Podocarpus cunninghamii* – large forest trees with prickly, olive-green leaves not in two rows. Found throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand. Trees are either male or female with the female producing bright red fruit. Popular timber for carving. The reddish-brown bark peels in long strips and is used for the outside covering of *pōhā*

uta: the shore, ashore, land (from sea or water perspective), inland (from coastal perspective), interior (of a country or island) – a location word, or locative, which follows immediately after particles such as *ki*, *i*, *hei* and *kei* or is preceded by an *a* when used as the subject of the sentence

utu (-a): to repay, pay, make a response, avenge, reply; revenge, cost, price, wage, fee, payment, salary, reciprocity – an important concept concerned with the maintenance of balance and harmony in relationships between individuals and groups and order within Māori society, whether through gift exchange or as a result of hostilities between groups. It is closely linked to *mana* and includes reciprocation of all kinds of deeds as well as revenge. While particular actions required a response, it was not necessary to apply *utu* immediately. The general principles that underlie *utu* are the obligations that exist between individuals and groups. If social relations are disturbed, *utu* is a means of restoring balance. Gift exchange, a major component of *utu*, created reciprocal obligations on the parties involved and established permanent and personal relationships. Traditionally *utu* between individuals and groups tended to escalate. Just as feats were likely to increase in grandeur as an exchange relationship developed over time, so could reciprocal acts of vengeance intensify. *Utu* was not necessarily applied to the author of the affront, but affected the whole group. Thus *utu* could be gained through victory over a group where only the most tenuous of links connected the source of the affront with the target of the *utu*. Any deleterious external influence could weaken the psychological state of the individual or group, but *utu* could reassert control over the influences and restore self-esteem and social standing. Suicide could even

reassert control by demonstrating that one had control over one's fate, and was a way of gaining *utu* against a spouse or relative where direct retaliation was not possible. Such indirect *utu* often featured in kin groups.

wairua: spirit, soul

waka: canoe, vehicle, conveyance, spirit medium, medium (of an atua), long narrow receptacle, box (for feathers); water trough; allied tribes descended from the crew of a canoe which migrated to New Zealand

wana: be exciting, thrilling, inspiring awe

wānanga (-tia): to meet and discuss; seminar, conference, learning, a tertiary institution that caters for Māori learning needs – established under the Education Act 1990

wehi (-ngia): to be awesome, afraid, fear; dread, fear, something awesome, a response of awe in reaction to *ihi*

whakapapa (-tia): to lie flat, lay flat, recite in proper order (e.g. genealogies, legends, months), recite genealogies, genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent

whānau (-a): to be born, give birth; extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people

whanaunga: relative, relation, kin, blood relation

whanaungatanga: relationship, kinship

whareniui: meeting house, large house

whare tipuna: ancestral house

whare wānanga: university, place of higher learning – traditionally, places where *tohunga* taught the sons of *rangatira* their people's knowledge of history, genealogy and religious practices

whenua: land, country, ground, placenta, afterbirth