



HE ARA URU ORA:

Traditional Māori understandings of trauma and well-being

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We would like to acknowledge the many whānau researchers and programme colleagues that contributed towards this work under the *He Kokonga Whare Research Programme*. Funding was provided by the Health Research Council of New Zealand (11/793).

ISBN NUMBER

978-0-473-46778-4

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PUBLISHER

Te Atawhai o Te Ao: Independent Māori Institute for Environment & Health
PO Box 7061
Whanganui
Aotearoa/New Zealand
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PRINTER

H & A Print, Whanganui

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HE TAKINGA KŌRERO:

FOREWORD

He ara uru ora: Traditional Māori understandings of trauma and well-being is part of the *He Kokonga Whare Research Programme*, funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand, which examined Māori intergenerational trauma and healing. This book is a result of the Well-being Project that looks at kaupapa (purpose, subject, foundation) Māori ways of approaching health and well-being. These terms are usually approached without thinking about the framework of knowledge that informs the definition of these terms.

All cultures have ways of understanding the world. Within colonial territories, the range of ways of understanding the world can become subsumed under a totalising discourse. For Māori, the intergenerational sharing of knowledge has occurred through storytelling.

He ara uru ora draws on Māori stories and understandings of trauma and struggle. For Māori, these ideas are no less sacred and no less honoured than other life journeys. Struggle

and trauma can give birth to strength, courage, aroha (compassion and sympathy), and can create new ways of being in the world. Our stories are embedded with many examples of the ways in which we can seek to understand struggle and trauma, and to not only heal, but also to cause change in the world.

As part of the *He Kokonga Whare Research Programme*, this book contains chapters that consider the same overarching research questions: What are Māori understandings of trauma, both historically and in contemporary times? What are Māori understandings of well-being?

During the research, a subset of questions emerged which required answering before the above key questions could be addressed:

- What is meant by intergenerational trauma and well-being in relation to Māori understandings of the world?
- What are the characteristics of trauma and



well-being and how are these defined and understood by Māori?

If trauma is an impact defined by memory and memories, then critical to this discussion is the nature of Māori ways of knowing, remembering, understanding and interpreting the world. Therefore, preceding these questions are others:

- What are Māori ways of interpreting and processing events, creating knowledge and understanding the world?
- How are these understandings and knowings passed on and transmitted intergenerationally?
- What is the nature of Māori well-being and what does Māori well-being look like in light of the above understandings?

The chapters in this book are written by drawing on current and past archival research, and include summaries of previous papers written by Dr Tākirangi Smith around the subject of intergenerational trauma and Māori knowledge. It also draws from research and reports carried out and documented by Te Atawhai o Te Ao. In discussing Māori knowledge and cognition, the author also draws from his knowledge as a tohunga

whakairo (an expert in interpreting in dealing with tohu (traditional signs and indicators) relating to whakairo-sculpted or scribed markings, signs, symbols and images, generally in wood), and work with various iwi (tribe, nation) on traditional carving projects.

He ara uru ora is limited in that it is not iwi specific, and at times generalises the discussion of whakapapa kōrero (traditional Māori knowledge). However, it is recognised that each whānau (extended families), hapū (extension of whānau) and iwi have their own whakapapa kōrero and testimonies relating to their own unique and specific experiences. Where specific iwi examples are described, the source, where possible, is stated. The book is also intended as a kōrero wāwāhi—an opening discussion that sets the kaupapa and hopes to provide a direction in which additional research may take place in order to provide further discussion related to this topic.

Rāwiri Tinirau & Cherryl Smith
Editors





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HE WHAKAMĀRAMA MŌ HE ARA URU ORA:

EXPLANATION OF TITLE AND IMAGES

He ara uru ora, he ara uru matua ki te ao tūroa

He ara uru ora, the title of this book, is taken from a birthing incantation dictated by Mohi Ruatapu of Tokomaru (cited in Best, 1929, p. 269), which describes the journey from the living darkness to the living light, as a sacred ancestral journey. It is a journey of struggle, but a struggle to birth new life, into the natural world, the world of light.

The imagery presented throughout this publication depicts various bodies and forms of water, which are used for all aspects of life – healing and prayer, drinking, food gathering, bathing, traveling and recreation. As will be discussed in this book, water is a living element that provides life for all living things, and is connected to the spiritual essence of traditional Māori well-being and spirituality, both in the physical and abstract sense. It is this way of perceiving the world that traditionally connected Māori to the environment and the world.





Whakapapa kōrero, trauma and well-being

Introduction

Traditional Māori knowledge, or whakapapa kōrero (Smith, 2000a, 2000b, 2007), stems from narratives that describe the origin of tūpuna (forebears) and the nature of all living things in existence. Classification within this knowledge system is centred upon whānau (extended families) and whanaungatanga—familial connections and relationships between and across whānau. These narratives also include accounts of past iwi and hapū (extension of whānau) relationships that connect whānau to tūranga (place or location) and tūrangawaewae (place of belonging).

Colonial frameworks of knowledge have historically marginalised and dislocated tribal knowledge from places of connectedness to land, from tūranga and tūrangawaewae. Traditionally defined living relationships became redefined through colonial racism, religious interventions, and colonial attempts to civilise. The current work of reconnection to these knowledges and decolonisation is being engaged with across many Māori communities.

The validity of Māori knowledge as living and relevant for Māori has also been diminished by the disciplinary sciences of the academy, and the belief that valid knowledge can be framed only through western ways of thinking, concepts and analyses. This has been done by classifying whakapapa kōrero within the dichotomy of history and myth, and using scientific argument to discredit not only Māori, but indigenous knowledge around the world. British colonisation was a process of imposing 'superior' knowledge systems onto Māori communities, which the colonists saw as inherently inferior and standing in the way of the dream of the empire and the acquisition of resources, land and other commodities.

In recent years the focus has shifted as discussion relating to indigenous well-being recognises how colonial and neo-colonial impacts have transformed traditional understandings. The following questions can be asked:

- What factors, concepts and notions defined and informed the idea of pre-colonial or traditional Māori well-being?
- What was the impact of colonisation and how has Māori well-being been shaped by

colonisation?

- What core values are important to Māori well-being?
- What is the relationship and relevance of contemporary understandings of Māori well-being and pre-colonial notions of well-being?
- What is a contemporary view of Māori well-being?

In its simplest form, whakapapa kōrero (traditional Māori knowledge) can be described as stories about ancestors. These narratives are also frameworks of knowledge where tūpuna are described together with events of significance. Central elements in the stories provided a framework for which much more complex and detailed narrative connected to and accounted for events in the existing living world. These detailed narratives were sacred texts transmitted in song, incantation, artwork and other cultural institutions.

Formal classes teaching whakapapa kōrero might also be delivered in wharekura (traditional schools) and whare wānanga (traditional higher house of learning). The curricula for pre-colonial Māori provided templates for social relationships, science and technology, medicine and health, and environmental, economic and intergenerational knowledge of significance to the tribe. These traditional accounts provided narratives, cultural metaphors and templates for surviving and living in the pre-colonial environment. Also included are strategies of resilience for surviving trauma and traumatic events, and responses that include pathways for improved lives and well-being.

Origins of trauma and well-being

Māori human knowledge is described as emanating from two sources. In the original creation story, Ranginui (Sky Parent) and Papatūānuku (Earth Parent) are locked together in a loving embrace. The children who live between them reside in a cramped world of total darkness. The darkness exists over aeons of time. The children become agitated and begin to argue, and eventually they separate Ranginui and Papatūānuku so as to be able to move freely. From this event, Te Ao Mārama (the world of light)—the world we see today—is created. This event also saw the creation of the oceans, the rivers, the mountains, the daylight, the sun and moon, the forests, and the life that humans depend on today.



The separation is a violent event and traumatic for both Ranginui and Papatūānuku. In some tribal accounts, for example Ngāti Kahungunu versions, the sinews of Ranginui are severed with two axes and blood seeps into the land, causing the earth to redden in places. As the parted parents look at each other, aroha is expressed and they both weep. The flow of the tears contributes to the origin of water on earth and the rain that falls from the sky. The extent of tears threatens to flood the earth. Fearful of the flooding, the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku decide to turn Papatūānuku over so that Ranginui and Papatūānuku are prevented from gazing at each other.

This event is significant. The separation has provided light and life for the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku and their offspring, who continue to transform the world into the world human beings live in today. Light and darkness and the movement to and from these states is emphasised in narratives such as this, which provide important metaphors that have traditionally informed the values and underpinnings of Māori health and well-being.

Of importance in the creation narrative are the actions and behaviours of the atua (divine, god/s) offspring of Ranginui and Papatūānuku who have become oppressed by the cramped conditions within Te Pō, the sacred, living world of darkness. Throughout their debate, Tāne, who is the closest of these tūpuna to human beings, takes a prominent role in deciding to separate their parents. One sibling, Tāwhirimātea, whose offspring are the winds and breezes, opposes the separation. Tāwhirimātea, who is close to the Sky Parent, Ranginui, becomes enraged. This riri (anger, warfare) becomes so intense that he attacks his siblings and their offspring, inflicting punishment on them. They flee and hide, with the exception of Tūmataunga. A furious battle takes place between Tūmataunga and Tāwhirimātea until eventually both tire and cease fighting. Tāwhirimātea and his descendants, the winds and breezes, choose to live with Ranginui, the Sky Parent.

During the attacks of Tāwhirimātea, Papatūānuku snatches Rongo, one of the younger siblings, and hides him at her breast where he dwells in silence, listening intently to the turmoil and violence of the world above. He is safely protected by the flaps and folds of his parent Papatūānuku. In this way, Rongo gets to know silence, and internal peace from external violence. When Rongo emerges, peace prevails in the external world. Rongo becomes an important tūpuna for human beings—

an ally in all their activities to do with knowledge and knowing, peace and peacemaking, healing, intent listening and silence.

In order to obtain wisdom and knowledge about how to live in the world, the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku hold counsel to decide who will carry out this task, and a dispute occurs between Whiro and Tāne. Both compete for the task and Tāne is selected. Whiro attacks Tāne while he is returning from fetching the kete wānanga (baskets, which contain external knowledge). Tāne inter the knowledge in the earth, and with various other atua, creates a woman from the earth, Hineahuone (earth-formed woman), with whom he mates and has a daughter Hinetītama. The birth of Hinetītama signals the creation in all subsequent ira tangata (human offspring or aspect) of an earthly connection to Papatūānuku, and an ira atua (celestial connection or element) to Ranginui. Tāne mates with Hinetītama, and in many tribal narratives all human beings are descended from this couple, who go on to have four daughters.

Whiro, after the defeat by Tāne, is engulfed in disappointment and hatred, states that include pūhaehae (jealousy, divisiveness) and riri, both of which will be more fully discussed further on. He determines to dwell in Te Pō, commits pūremu (an unsanctioned relationship), and kidnaps the wife of an elder sibling. From the darkness, Whiro and his allies and offspring attack human beings, through physical disease and illness. These attacks are said to be retribution for Whiro's defeat by Tāne and his failure to obtain knowledge from the external world. The method by which Whiro and his offspring attack human beings is internally, from within the human body. These attacks are manifest in negative dreams, disease, illness and bodily decay.

Aroha—a key value that underpins traditional social life for Māori (and other indigenous and Pacific peoples)—has its origins with Ranginui and Papatūānuku, the separation of the Sky Parent and the Earth Parent, and the creation of the world. Riri, pūhaehae and pūremu are human states identified as having an origin with the male children of Ranginui, Papatūānuku and te ira atua. Other human states are identified as having their origins with the ira tangata and Hinetītama, daughter of Hineahuone, the woman formed from the earth. An important event occurs when Hinetītama becomes curious about who her father is, and Tāne responds with the answer that she should ask the posts on the walls of their house. In some narratives this event is described as a patu ngākau (deep emotional

wound) which causes whakamā (shame) and whakamomori (desperation), conditions described later in this report. Significantly, Hinētītama decides to leave the living world of light, Te Ao Mārama, pursued by Tāne. On entering the world of darkness, she is instructed to go back into Te Ao Mārama, but makes the decision to remain at the entrance in order to protect her offspring. At this point she tells Tāne to remain in Te Ao Mārama to take care of their children's toiora (spiritual essence of well-being), as she will take care of their wairua (spirit) in the world of darkness.

Western theories of knowledge tend to view light and dark as binary opposites. In traditional Māori narratives, light and dark are different states of being, both with aspects of well-being and healing. In Māori knowledge systems, the atua all had a place and it was the balance between these atua that was important, as well as rebalancing when there was disruption through trauma.

Māui and mauri ora

Mauri ora (energy of life, good health) is linked to the creation of the first human being, an earth-formed woman, Hineahuone, who is created by atua. After the breath of life is given to Hineahuone, the first words uttered by her are 'tīhei mauri ora' (a sneeze with the generative energy of life).

Mauri ora is also linked to the story of Māui and the sun, Tama-nui-te-rā. Māui is a descendant of Hineahuone and Hinētītama. In the Māui narrative, the sun speeds up and travels faster and faster across the sky. As a result, there are not enough hours of daylight. Pōuritanga (darkness) enters the world and the people become depressed and traumatised. Crops fail, and the people suffer and eventually starve. The ancestor Māui decides to attack the sun and restore the natural balance of light and darkness. After snaring the sun he beats it and causes it to move slowly across the sky. After this act, light and life are restored back to the world. The crops grow again and the people and the mauri (energy) of all things are regenerated. The balance of light and darkness is an important aspect of this story and is aided by Māui tying the sun to the moon so that they are destined to live in opposite realms that continually follow each other. When there is not enough light, mauri mate (ill health and sickness) afflicts the people. When balance of light and darkness is restored, mauri ora is also restored. Natural sunlight is considered important as providing mā (energy, light, clarifier) for the internal growth and health of all living things. The lack of direct energy or light in the Māui and

Tama-nui-te-rā narrative causes all living things, including crops and human beings, to suffer.

The significance of this narrative is that the sun is the mauri that provides energy for growth in the realm of Te Ao Mārama, and the moon is the mauri which provides energy, warmth and nurturing for growth in darkness. The sun is associated with external growth, and the moon with internal growth. The importance of this relationship is often overlooked in the literature but is clearly assumed in early manuscript evidence, karakia (ritual chants, invocations) and waiata (song). This key assumption in whakapapa kōrero narratives and the traditional architecture of Māori meeting houses that the sun provides life and energy in daylight and the moon life and energy in darkness, is important for the health of all living things, including plant life and human beings. Mauri relates to energy and activity through light and māhana (warmth). There is a whakatauki (proverb) that states:

Mauri tū, mauri ora	An active mauri is a sign of life
Mauri noho, mauri mate.	An inactive mauri is a sign of ill health.

(Kaa & Kaa, 1997, p. 189)

The mauri of human beings, as in the Māui story, is affected by the quality and quantity of food available for consumption, and if the food is not of the appropriate quality or quantity, the mauri deteriorates to a state of mauri mate. In this affected state of undernourishment, the mental faculties of an individual are affected as well as the physical health of an individual. Were different kai (food/s) used for rebalancing the mauri? Were there kai that were more closely connected to the different atua? Did certain kai get eaten before war, for example? Was fasting or abstinence from kai for particular purposes practised?

Although both the sun and the moon were considered integral to the growth cycle, precedence was given to the moon and the stars during planting and incubation. This also applied to human beings and incubation within the womb. The relationship between the domains of the moon and the sun evident in whakapapa kōrero may not have been fully understood by early ethnographers as the ngākau (internal system, which includes the gut, stomach, central regions and organs of the human body), is associated with Te Pō. Once plant life, including kūmara (sweet potato) and other important crops, began sprouting shoots above



ground, they were subject to a more hostile and exposed environment, and in effect had partly left the protection and warmth of Papatūānuku, who is also referred to as te ūkaipō (the nurturing breast). The earth and the moon are also associated with nurturing, comfort, peace, and healing. Māori followed the cycles of the moon for planting, fishing and a range of activities in their lives.

Well-being

How do we know if a person has mauri ora? When the mauri of the sun travels across the sky, then more light needs to be added, as told in the story of Māui. That is a story of how healing happens. It shows how important light and internal darkness is to healing. If a person is in a state of pōuritanga all the time, their well-being is affected. By slowing the sun, more light is created, restoring the mauri. Literally spending time in the sun and the light is critical. The balance between light, darkness and internal health is important to maintain. Well-being is recognised by the wairua being settled internally during the day, during light. Hauora (health, vigour) is an external feature of vitality and good health. Hau (breath, wind, physical appearance) is not just breath but also external, physical appearance.





Memory and Māori ways of knowing

Introduction

In western knowledge systems, memory is usually associated with the brain and the individual. In Māori and other related indigenous systems, memory is much more complex. Memory can be located within the human body, within the environment, within objects, within the realm of ancestors, within a mountain, within a river. Mountains and rivers can be regarded as living beings with memory. As humans we have memory but this is connected to collective memories in the present, past and to our environments. For Māori, memory recall is triggered as a human response within the ngākau.

The roro (brain) is associated with the connection to external knowledge, te kauwae runga (celestial knowledge: the upper jaw), and atua knowledge. In relation to the human body, this knowledge is not fully incorporated as a fully internalised human memory but is knowledge or a knowing that remains connected to the external world with only the potential to become a complete human memory. These differences are understood and explained through whakapapa kōrero, and understandings about the human body in relation to this knowledge system.

For Māori, the individual is connected through whakapapa (genealogy) to all living things. The human body is not an isolated entity but the sum of an individual's biological ancestors, or historical ancestral antecedents living and connected within an individual. In social situations it is not unusual to greet an individual by the name of a parent or ancestor in order to emphasise the presence of a matua (parent) or tupuna (forebear) within an individual. Particular modes of individual behaviour or personality traits might also be referenced to a particular tupuna from within the gamut of ancestral connections within an individual's whakapapa. An individual carries their whakapapa with them, and is therefore always connected to the external environment, as whakapapa began with the Sky Parent, the Earth Parent and the creation of all things, human and non-human within the environment.

In traditional narratives, the creation of the human body from the earth provided an earthly element from Papatūānuku—ira tangata (human offspring or aspect, earthly connection or element)—which

is carried within all human beings. Whenua, which is often translated as land or earth, is carried by women within the ngākau. Whenua is also a term used for the afterbirth; the relationship of the human body to Papatūānuku is traditionally maintained and reproduced with the custom of returning the afterbirth to Papatūānuku. Papatūānuku is also the caretaker of nurturing waters, the waters of the earth. These waters have their origins in the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Particular atua such as Parawhenuamea and Hinemoana (both guardians of the waters of the earth) are guardians of these waters. Again, these waters are linked to women and birth, as evidenced in the following whakataukī:

Ko te wahine, no Papatuanuku, kei a ia te puni o te wai.	Sacred waters belong to Papatuanuku, and are carried and passed through birth.
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(Best, 1924, p. 403)

These earthly aspects are important for the understanding of traditional perceptions that relate to cognition and cognitive understandings, and the ways that the self and the human body are understood.

Pre-colonial ways of knowing

Traditional whare whakairo (carved meeting house/s) provide the clearest examples of a traditional Māori cognitive process and understandings of how memory was located and perceived within the human body. Meeting houses are often named after tūpuna, and are also termed whare tupuna (meeting house). A whare tupuna will have a Ranginui (Sky Parent; frame or underlying skeletal structure of a whare tupuna). The frame or underlying structure indicates the whakapapa and connection to the Sky Parent of the creation narrative. Traditional houses were supported by pou (support posts of a meeting house) buried into the earth. The structure in terms of whakapapa is a representation of Ranginui above and Papatūānuku below. In pre-colonial whare tupuna, traditional meeting houses were earthed up at the rear end and along the walls. The rear end of the whare (house) was always made lower than the front end. The roro or mahau (porch) faced the rising sun in the morning. Light and darkness,



as previously stated, are important metaphors for discussing Māori health and well-being. Shades of light and darkness emphasised in traditional architecture are important in whakapapa kōrero narratives, as evidenced by the names given to the various shades and intensity that exist between total darkness and total daylight. The interior of traditional houses saw little sunlight, having only two small apertures in the front wall, a doorway through which a person entering had to either bow down or crawl through, and an aperture for a window which allowed air to circulate within. During daylight the intensity of the darkness from the back wall gradually receded to the front wall, to the shaded daylight of the porch, to the full daylight of the open marae ātea (open space in front of a meeting house, reserved for traditional oratory). These grades and intensities of light and darkness in terms of Māori health and well-being will be discussed later; at this juncture the focus is upon traditional perceptions of the human body.

Ranginui and Papatūānuku are the tūpuna of all human beings, as are their various children, with Tāne the most closely related tupuna through descent lines. Tāne is also the progenitor and parent of trees. Human beings are reflected physically in the shape of Tāne and Hineahuone, who was shaped by various atua.

The relationship between the human body and the whare tupuna can be described as follows: the human body at its uppermost point has an upoko (head)—traditionally considered extremely sacred—as does the traditional meeting house. Behind the face of the upoko is the roro, often translated as the brain. The roro of a meeting house is the area behind the carved figurehead at the apex, the exposed porch area up to the front wall. The ridge beam at the top is called the tāhuhu, a term that also describes the backbone or spine of a human being. Other names for the backbone of human beings and meeting houses are also the same, such as the tuaiwi (ridge beam, backbone or spine of a human being) or the tuarā. Tāwhirimātea, the atua of hau who attacked his siblings, and continues to create havoc with storms and gales, visits and haunts the front of unprotected meeting houses. He is said to dwell occasionally in the upper regions of the mahau or roro of the whare tupuna.

The interior of a whare tupuna is termed the ngākau. Ngākau is a term that describes the interior. In human beings it refers to the internal system, but is more commonly used to refer to the stomach or gut-related organs of the central

part of the human body. The ngākau is also related to Papatūānuku, the Earth Parent; this is where Rongo was protected during the warfare and violence created by Tāwhirimātea. In traditional speechmaking on the marae ātea, the interior of the whare tupuna might also be referred to as Te Whare o Rongo, or the domain of Rongo. On other occasions it might be referred to as Te Whare o Hine, the domain of Hine. Te Whare o Rongo refers to the narrative about Rongo finding peace within the ngākau of Papatūānuku, emerging when peace and quietness prevailed in the outside world of light, Te Ao Mārama. Rongo is depicted on some traditional houses above the entrance. Rongo is also associated with the fireplace at the base of the central post of traditional houses. In pre-colonial houses, this is where kūmara were roasted for the purpose of conducting peacemaking rituals.

The ngākau of the traditional meeting house has always been a protected space, a refuge for the vulnerable during disputes. There are also traditional accounts of the meeting house being a refuge for the traumatised. The ngākau of the whare tupuna is also the domain of Hinenuitepō; like Rongo, she is often depicted on carved door lintels at the entrance to the ngākau of the whare. The whakapapa kōrero narrative pertaining to these lintels recalls the separation of Tāne and Hinētītama, and the cycles of night and day. When the two separated, Hinētītama told Tāne to remain in Te Ao Mārama, and take care of the toiora of their offspring, as she would care for their wairua in the world of darkness, Te Pō. Hinētītama sits above the doorway, but in the morning light, when the first rays of the sun strike the meeting house, she flees to the darkness at the back of the house. When the sun travels and descends in the west, Hinētītama returns to again take up her position above the doorway as Hinenuitepō, to take care of the wairua of her offspring, human beings.

When individuals sleep in the whare tupuna their wairua travels as they dream. The protection of the wairua in Te Pō also includes the protection of the ngākau or internal system within the human body, where the wairua is located during daylight. The sanctity relating to the protection of the interior of whare tupuna is carried out ritually in the kawanga whare (ceremony for the opening of new houses) ritual, when traditional meeting houses are opened.

Domains of knowledge and the human body

The spatial and temporal components of Māori knowledge are defined through whakapapa kōrero (Smith, 2000), which forms a key point of difference

with western or European knowledge systems. Like other indigenous knowledge systems, it is knowledge embedded into and connected with landscapes, seascapes and the environment. In the creation narratives, partly described in the previous chapter, the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku are located at various places and become guardians of their various systems or domains. This is important because of the relationship of these various atua domains and the pre-colonial view of the human body. The structure of the human body, like the whare tupuna, can be divided into components that are influenced by particular atua or poutiriao (guardians). These atua are spatially located within distinct areas of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Like pre-colonial houses, the human body was perceived as being intimately connected and physically related. The structure of whare tupuna is likened to Ranginui, the Sky Parent, dwelling over Papatūānuku. The external components of a house fall under the jurisdiction and are referenced to Ranginui, and atua associated with Ranginui. In contrast to this, and underpinned by the whakapapa kōrero about the separation of the sky and earth, is Papatūānuku. The spatial jurisdiction of Papatūānuku and associated atua in relation to a whare tupuna can be defined as being the earth on which the structure is located, and all of the internally enclosed and protected space. The external and upper parts of the human body that are referenced to and associated with Ranginui, include the head from the upper jaw up, the back and backbone, and the external space surrounding the human body generally. The parts of the human body that are referenced to Papatūānuku include the internal organs and flesh in front of the backbone, below the lower jaw. It also extends to the protected enclosed front of the human body formed in a defensive stance. As a general description, the upper and external parts are associated with Ranginui, and the lower and internal parts to Papatūānuku. This underlying principle forms the basis of other kōrero (discussion) relating to the human body, which is to be further defined within te kauwae runga and te kauwae raro (earthly knowledge: the lower jaw), and the separate knowledges that these two knowledge classifications represent.

Te kauwae runga and external knowledge

Te kauwae runga represents celestial knowledge, or the knowledge system associated with Ranginui that also provided the ira atua element in the creation of the first human being. Activity within the human body, including organ function, thinking, parts of the body located above the

lower jaw and physical activity, are all associated with the ira atua. The ira atua aspects associated with Ranginui include atua such as Tāwhirimātea, Tiwhaia, Punaweko, Ruatau (all atua associated with Ranginui and the creation of the first human being) and others, who contributed various parts to the creation of the first human being and were seen as guardians of the various body parts, organs and features they contributed. Visual knowledge and knowing through sight is considered ira atua knowledge and associated with te kauwae runga. At conception and the formation of the foetus, ira atua knowledge is represented by Te Whānau-a-Rua, and includes Rua-i-te-pūkenga, Rua-i-te-mahara and others. Te Whānau-a-Rua describes various stages and states of knowledge, and are also whetū (star/s). After conception, ira atua knowledge enters the foetus by the ruawhetū (a hollow in the skull of the foetus). When the eyes in the foetus form and come to life, ira atua knowledge connects and the foetus is considered a functional human being, with the ability to engage external knowledge.

Ka whakawhetū tama i a ia	Thus like the stars, O son, were you conceived
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(Ngata & Jones, 2006, pp. 4-5)

The above statement that comes from an oriori (instructional chant) by Tūhoto Ariki for Tūteremoana, suggests that a child has been enlightened by the stars, and is a reference to ira atua knowledge forming within the foetus. The restoration of sight is associated with Tāwhaki, who restored the sight of his grandmother Whaitiri. In karakia associated with this story, reference is made to Rehua (the star Sirius), and the blood of Rehua. In whakapapa kōrero narratives, Rehua is situated at the zenith of the various divisions, which become elevated within the sky.

Males who performed duties that involved tapu (sacred, requiring respect or reverence) relied upon tohu to assist with specialised tasks. Knowledge from te ira atua or te kauwae runga could be negated through ritual procedures, such as kaiatua (ritual to remove potentially harmful influences), where cooked food was passed over or came near to the head. The loss of this second sight or internal, instinctive vision for a male so affected was termed kahupō (cloaked darkness) or hinapō (moon darkness) (Best, 1924). Matapō (blindness) was associated with matakite (the power of second sight), in particular women with the ability to visualise future events.



Te kauwae raro and internal knowledge

The knowledge basket of te kauwae raro contained knowledge that was implanted in the earth and nurtured by Papatūānuku. This knowledge includes all things relating to Papatūānuku and whenua, and all internal knowledge associated with te ngākau o te whenua (the bowels of the earth), and the internal system of the human body. It also includes all knowledge about human beings and tribal knowledges that connect to Hawaiki or Te Hono ki Wairua – the place where te ira atua is united with te ira tangata that exists within all human beings. On the human body there are two areas where metaphorically ira atua and ira tangata knowledge unite. The upper jaw, known as te kauwae runga, and the lower jaw or te kauwae raro, unite at the juncture of the ear. This juncture was considered important and sacred.

‘Ka houhia te rongo’ and ‘hohou rongo’ are expressions of peace, and is a theme represented in Māori carvings in door lintels which have manaia (beaked figures) with a lower and upper jaw placed over the pūtaringa (ear) of a central figure associated with peace. Rongo or hearing was considered important because it provided kauwae raro (internal) and kauwae runga (external) knowledge:

Ko nga taringa me nga kanohi, te putake o nga uaua o te tangata me te upoko; ki te moe nga kanohi o te tangata e kore nga taringa e rongo; ki te rongo nga taringa i te reo ka ara nga kanohi; ko nga taringa te kai tiaki o te tinana, ara te kai whakarongo o nga mea katoa e pa ana ki te tinana, me nga mea e tangi ana i tawhiti o te tinana. (White, 1887, pp. 146-7)

The eyes and ears of man govern the muscles and head. If the eyes sleep, the ears are closed also; but if the ears hear a voice or sound, the eyes open. They are thus the guardians of the body, and see or hear things nigh or distant by which the body may be injured.

On some lintels, this figure is the atua Rongo, who protects the interior of the house. The porch area that Rongo looks out over is the roro, which is also the term for the internal organs of the human body that are located within the skull and above the upper jaw. The roro of the traditional whare tupuna is also a sheltered porch area exposed to the light and visibility of the marae ātea. The roro, or internal part of the head above the upper jaw, is perceived

in the human body as being similar. The roro of a whare tupuna is situated between the potentially hostile environment of the marae ātea, and the protected interior of the ngākau. As mentioned earlier, the interior of a whare tupuna is sometimes referred to as Te Whare o Rongo, the domain of peace, in contrast to the marae ātea, which is often referred to as the domain of Tūmataunga, an atua of courage and war. Evidence in language tells us that contemplative and reflective thought occurs within the ngākau, not the brain or roro, for example, te whakaaro o te ngākau (the attention or contemplation of the ngākau), te hinengaro o te ngākau (the conscience of the ngākau). Early language references do not say that this activity occurs in the roro, which suggests that responses centred within the roro were perceived of as fleeting or impulsive.

Therefore most evidence indicates that rational thought was centred within the ngākau and was a holistic process, involving both the ira atua and roro, and the ira tangata and ngākau. The depository of human knowing, unlike western knowledge, was not the brain but the ngākau of a person. The evidence for this is also in the language: te mātauranga o te ngākau (the knowledge within the ngākau), te maharatanga o te ngākau (the memory of the ngākau), te whakaaro o te ngākau (the attention or contemplation of the ngākau), and so on. Knowledge within the roro had to be grounded and stored in the ngākau as memory, otherwise it was considered transient and fleeting, and not fully human. Like the roro of a whare tupuna, it was considered exposed to the mercy of the elements including Tāwhirimātea, the wind who sometimes seeks out and attacks the offspring (human beings) of Tāne and Hinētītama.

Rongo and knowing

Hearing is sometimes emphasised with the term whakarongo (to listen, sense) or rongo-ā-taringa (knowing by the ear, to hear). The upper and lower jaw unites at the aperture of the ear. In Māori art, Rongo-taketake, Rongo-āio and Rongo-maraeroa—all forms of peace—are represented by the lower and upper jaw of a manaia figure representing a hand encircling the ear and placed on the lower and upper jaw. This tohu is a representation of a state of peace and balance, and saying ‘Ka houhia te rongo’ suggests that peace, knowing and connection are bound or fixed. Listening as an important part of internal peace and healing is metaphorically demonstrated in the creation narrative, when Tāwhirimātea sought revenge against his brothers for separating his parents, and

Rongo sought refuge from the fury and anger of the wind by burying himself in the ground. There he lay quiet and still, intently listening as the battle raged. It was in the darkness of this space that he was able to find peace and healing.

Rongo-ā-ihu is a term that describes knowing through the nose. Smell can be classified into two further sensations: these include kakara (pleasant, agreeable smells) and haunga (unpleasant, disagreeable smell). In the creation stories, haunga originates from the stench associated with the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, who dwelt within the darkness of the embrace of their parents. Haunga is one of the causes that led them to separate their parents. Another cause was the discovery that fresh air associated with open space existed beyond, as in the statement:

<p>... ka puta mai te hau- mihi, kakara ana mai ki te ihu o Ue-poto.</p>	<p>... in a gentle cool- ing breeze, which was sweet scented in the nostrils of Ue-poto.</p>
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(Te Matorohanga, cited in Whatahoro & Smith, 1913, p. 21 and p. 120)

External phenomena that provided information through the surface of the body are described as rongo-ā-kiri (knowing through the skin, to feel). Tākiri (twitches, sudden movements or convulsions) that occurred within the body were tohu that could have a positive or negative outcome, depending upon the region of the body that was affected or the direction of the movement. Knowing by taste included rongo-ā-arero (knowing by the tongue, to taste); food could never be passed over the upper jaw or the domain of te kauwae runga which included the roro and tāhuhu, but as it belonged to the earthly domain and te ira tangata, it could be passed freely over the lower jaw. Cooked food was considered kaitangata, and if passed over the head or the upper jaw, this was considered a deadly insult, as it negated te ira atua and created an imbalance toward the ira tangata. Raw food was considered kaiatua, and would not have been considered as destructive.

Foods when tasted were considered reka (sweet or flavoured) or kawa (sour or bitter), as stated below:

Ko te arero te kai whakarongo i te reka, i te kawa o te kai; koia te kai whaka ora o te waha koi (kei) wera. (White, 1887, pp. 147)

The tongue decides what should be taken into the body as food, and protects life through the stomach.

Te kauwae raro knowledge is associated with foods that are obtained and cooked within Papatūānuku. In whakapapa kōrero pertaining to Māui, the kauwae raro or lower jawbone of his grandmother Murirangawhenua is given to him as a weapon. This is the weapon that beats back the sun in order that the days be longer, so that the food crops can grow and people can eat in order to survive. In the whakapapa kōrero about Māui hauling Te Ikaroa-a-Māui, the fish hook he uses is the same jawbone, Te Kauwae-raro-a-Murirangawhenua. This narrative contains fishing knowledge and has extensive karakia relating to all aspects of fishing.

Tohu in the environment

The Māori word tohu is often translated to mean mark, sign or proof. Within the pre-colonial environment, tohu were critical for economic survival and were therefore an important part of the pre-colonial values system (Smith, 2007). Tohu Ranginui were signs observed in the sky, and provided meteorological and astronomical information. Tohu whenua were landmarks associated with whakapapa kōrero that validated a rohe (region) of a whānau, hapū or iwi, as well as tūrangawaewae. Tohu moana were signs associated with the sea, which were important for fishing and canoe travel. Tohu rangatira were symbols of leadership and chieftainship, and tohu aituā were signs of impending or potential death, ill health or misfortune.

Signs of seasonal change were referred to as tohu nō te tau. Manuscript evidence also indicates tohu ora and tohu mate as two important categories of tohu. Tohu ora are indicators that provide knowledge to sustain life and were signs of good health. Tohu mate or tohu aituā are indicators of death, illness or calamity, and poor or potentially poor health. Tohu provide information for future action in order to avert negative consequences and provide positive outcomes.

Tohu and the ngākau

Western knowledge systems are often premised upon the assumption that events occur and are conveyed by the senses to the brain, where they are rationalised in the mind and stored. For Māori knowledge systems and similar Pacific cultures with the same knowledge system origins, rational thought is perceived as occurring within the ngākau,



which is also the repository where memories and knowledge are protected (Smith, 2008a). As well as individual memories, there are memories shared by the collective, for example tribal memories which are retained within te ngākau o te iwi (the heart of the tribe) or te ngākau o te hapū (the heart of the sub-tribe) or te ngākau o te whānau (the heart of the family). The notion of Māori well-being, therefore, not only includes individual well-being but also a concern for the welfare of various collective relationships defined in traditional times through whanaungatanga (familial connections and relationships between and across whānau) and whakapapa.

The ngākau is often referred to as the heart or source of the emotions and feelings, as described in the following sayings:

Kua ea te ngākau		The heart is appeased or the appetite is satisfied
E hari ana te ngākau		The heart or emotions are happy
Kei te koa te ngākau		The heart or emotions are joyful

Definitions also include the mind or the organs centrally located in the human body. The ngākau of a whare tupuna refers also to the inside of the house. As has been discussed earlier, the open porch area of a whare tupuna is often referred to as the roro, which also translates to mean the region of the brain or internal organs of the head. Whakaaro, which is popularly translated as thought, is a process that occurs within the ngākau:

Ka whakaaro te ngākau		He felt sure (the ngākau considered thoughts)
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(Whakatara, 1911, pp. 79-83)

Māori language sources and other pre-colonial evidence indicate that tohu are perceived within the internal memory system of the ngākau. Unlike western and European knowledge, which might be described as brain or mind-centred, Māori knowledge can be defined as ngākau-centred. Tohu transmit a message to the ngākau which is recognised through the response of the ngākau. The ngākau is where thought is centralised and stored as memory. Evidence in karakia indicates that once knowledge is settled in the ngākau it may

be described as mātau (grounded or embodied knowledge, understanding). The disturbance of this latent state creates maharatanga (disturbed mā, a memory or recollection).

The source from which tohu might be initiated and conveyed is external to the human body and the ngākau of the receiver. There are various ways that tohu are perceived by the ngākau. The head and roro are particularly sacred and important for tohu perceived by smell, sight, hearing or other sense occurring around the head of an individual. The transfer of tohu to the ngākau of the human body is termed rongo or whakarongo. In contemporary Māori language these are terms that are often translated in relation to hearing alone. Early manuscript evidence indicates, however, a much greater use of these terms being qualified by the particular sense through which the knowing or tohu entered the human body, for example, rongo-ā-taringa and rongo-ā-ihu. As outlined previously, a metaphorical sense of the word might be provided in whakapapa kōrero. Rongo was a supernatural being who fled from the violence of the outer external world to comfort and safety by interring himself/herself into the darkness of the earth. Knowledge might also be perceived through the wairua of a person and internal visioning. The wairua of a person is said to travel during sleep and has the ability to gather knowledge during this activity.

Pre-colonial houses also provide a metaphorical sense of the same theme. The inside of a meeting house is sometimes referred to as the ngākau of the house and the sheltered porch area as the roro. The marae ātea is sometimes referred to as the domain of Tūmataunga, an exposed, open area of potential violence and struggle. In opposition to this, the inside of a house is sometimes metaphorically referred to as the domain of Rongo, a place of peace, warmth and goodwill. In formal debate on the marae ātea, the discussion is heard at the front of the house and this knowledge is transferred to the ngākau by way of the tāhuhu, or the backbone of the house (Smith, 2007). From the backbone, the mauri kōrero (the vital essence of discussion) is transferred by way of the heke (rafters) to the carved ancestral poupou (wall panels of a meeting house), which are inside the ngākau of the house and connect to the lower end of the rafters.

Tohu and kōrero

The word tohu is both a noun and a verb. Tohu are signs, and also an action or a state. For example,

an active tohu might be a physical gesture or behaviour by a person that indicates something more powerful and therefore more sacred, as in the following statement:

<p>Ka ui atu ki nga tama- riki, “Kei hea te whare o Kahu?” Ka tohungia mai.</p>	<p>The children were asked, “Where is the house of Kahu?” It was indicated.</p>
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(Williams, 1971, p. 431)

Another example of an active tohu might be a particular wind that indicates a change in weather conditions. A tohu might be a symbol or representation that might appear to remain dormant or non-reactive to the observer but, nevertheless, has the potential for the manifestation of power. An example might be a symbol in an artwork that represents a tupuna or an aspect of a tupuna. Yet another example might be an element within the environment: a mountain, stone, tree, river or natural feature of the landscape that serves as the representation of a particular tupuna or holds significance to the whakapapa kōrero within a tribal area.

Tohu communicated by people can be classified as verbal and non-verbal. In pre-colonial narratives tohu are not only signs, marks or indicators that are in the daily environment but are also verbalised as kupu tohutohu (words of importance, advice) within specific contexts. Tohu connect to whakapapa kōrero and are therefore sacred within themselves. Within formal learning contexts, kupu tohutohu are discourses imparted by tohunga (expert or specialist who can read tohu) within whare wānanga, the curriculum of the whare wānanga being whakapapa kōrero.

Tohu as a language of silence

Non-verbal tohu include actions or gestures that communicate shared understandings for survival. In pre-colonial communities of tangata whenua (people of the land, indigenous people) the use of these tohu is likely to have increased in times of stress or warfare, or during hunting and food gathering. Food gathering required silence in order to capture prey, and children were socialised into reading and understanding the tohu associated with practices such as bird spearing, snaring and fishing. In warfare, silence was also important so that an enemy might not be alerted. Tohu were therefore critical for survival and pre-colonial values reinforced and reflected the use of these tohu, as

evidenced in Māori art and personal adornment, and accounts within philosophical narratives of whakapapa kōrero.

Tohu and tohunga

Experts who could understand and knew how to read tohu were called tohunga. The word tohunga in pre-colonial evidence suggests that it was applied to a person who was an expert in interpreting and conveying knowledge about a particular type of tohu. In pre-colonial Māori society, specialist fields of knowledge determined what the tohunga was considered expert in. A tohunga whakairo, for example, was an expert in interpreting and dealing with tohu relating to whakairo. A tohunga tārai waka was a canoe building expert, tohunga tā moko—a tattooing expert, and a tohunga hanga whare was a house building expert. Ritual experts in the use of incantations of the tūāhu (sacred place for ritual practices) were called tohunga ahurewa. Seers who interpreted visual images were called tohunga matakite. A specialist in astronomy is referred to as a tohunga tātai arurangi. A tohunga pūkenga is referred to as an instructor, and an expert not yet fully qualified but still in training, is referred to as a tohunga taura. People who interpret tohu and convey this knowledge to others are called tohunga. Accordingly, tohu exist externally, and a tohunga has the ability to recognise and perceive a particular tohu with the senses of the human body and to engage this knowledge with the ngākau. The tohunga is able to interpret a potential outcome or outcomes based upon previous knowledge from prior experience or from the teachings of another tohunga.

In contemporary use, tohunga is often substituted for expert. The separation from the pre-colonial meaning of the base word tohu has also been enhanced by redefining the tohu to mean any sign, mark or indicator, whereas pre-colonial use suggests connection to sacred values of critical importance as opposed to everyday matters and the mundane. A critical distinction was therefore an underlying assumption of associated whakapapa kōrero. Colonial interpretations variously describe tohunga as priests, wizards, or as skilled persons. The redefining of tohunga with colonisation, which culminated in the enactment of the Tohunga Suppression Act, 1907, also had the effect of separating or underplaying pre-colonial understandings. The notion of an expert with an understanding or ability to read, interpret and convey knowledge about tohu—already marginalised through colonisation when the Act was introduced—became further subordinated by



a colonial discourse concerned with witch doctors, shamanistic practices and heathenism.

Tohunga whakairo deal with tohu relating to whakairo or the creation of signs, symbols, marks or signifiers in any given medium, although the term is generally associated with wood and woodcarving. Tohunga whakairo is also often described as master carver, a term that associates and correlates with colonial descriptions of the master painters and craftsmen associated with the Renaissance period of European history.

Tohu and colonisation

The impacts of colonisation on Māori communities and understandings of tohu included missionary influence, the loss of tūrangawaewae and social and economic marginalisation, accompanied by language and cultural loss. Missionaries demonised pre-colonial views towards land and the environment by campaigning against the views of tohunga and associating the pre-colonial Māori worldview with heathenism. The spirituality of land, associated with Papatūānuku, the Earth Parent or forebear of all natural things on earth, was negated through the promotion of a patriarchal view by declaring Ranginui the Sky Parent as heaven, and the missionary concept of a patriarchal God as the ruler of heaven and earth. Loss of tūrangawaewae and pre-colonial land and sea-based economies meant that the deep understanding of tohu, critical for survival and seasonal food gathering, was no longer of necessity. Dependence on colonial, western economics and incorporation into the colonial economic system accelerated the loss of the pre-colonial knowledge of reading and understanding tohu. This loss of knowledge corresponded with socially and economically marginalised Māori communities (Smith, 2000b). At the same time, Māori knowledge was already being redefined through the canon of European literature.

Tohu and well-being

Tohu are perceived by the human body and relayed by their various means to the ngākau, to be rongo, huna (hidden) or mau (captured) within the ngākau. The signal that a tohu produces might be termed mā—a clarifier. Upon arrival to the ngākau, these signals or groups of signals become tau (settled), and are termed mātau or mātauranga (knowledge, understanding). These knowings remain latent within the ngākau until recalled or disturbed through a whakaaro, or maharatanga.

Two traditional classifications of tohu are tohu ora and tohu mate or tohu aituā. Tohu aituā are characterised and accompanied by ngākau pōuri (distress) and pōuritanga, which will be discussed in a later chapter. The non-verbal transmission of tohu aituā might be carried out laterally across a single generation or be transmitted intergenerationally through new tohu aituā expressed by the ngākau pōuri and pōuritanga associated and related to the originalevent. The transmission of intergenerational trauma (for example, loss of tūrangawaewae), unless mediated through cultural interventions, will continue to be passed down in transformed ways through subsequent generations.

Well-being is ngākau ora, or feeling settled internally. It is knowledge of tohu and the ability to read those tohu that requires the use of all senses. Physical health also contributes to well-being, and it is important to live in a balanced way, connected with the environment. Pōuritanga is seasonal; natural cycles and rhythms such as day and night, winter and summer, the moon, the sun, the planets assist balance within the physical body (for example, sleeping at night to rest the wairua). Māori well-being systems follow these cycles.





Traditional Māori well-being

Introduction

The term ora (alive or life) is an indicator of well-being. The familiar greeting 'kia ora' is an expression often translated as hello or greetings. However, traditionally it signifies a command to keep well, or keep good health. Ora, which means life or health is the antithesis of mate (ill health or death). 'Kei te ora te ngākau' (I am content within) is an expression of wellness. Whereas mauri ora is a traditional term that describes a state or presence of well-being, this condition was and is contingent upon the assumption of various other traditional interrelated states that contribute to an overall state of well-being. Other key concepts that relate to well-being include hauora, manawa ora (breath of life), and toiora. These are aspects that contribute to a general state of well-being, reflected in the term ora, or ngākau ora. While these definitions are primarily related to health and vitality, other traditional social assumptions also contribute.

Mauri ora

The term mauri, mentioned previously when combined with ora, signifies well-being coming from within, which maintains the balance of the internal self with the external world. The word mauri is derived from two words: mā, a term used in incantations to signify light, energy, clarity; and uri, meaning progeny, regenerative or procreative power that brings forth transformation. Mauri ora encompasses physical, internal and emotional well-being, related to physical and psychological health, and the life cycle of things. All living things have an internal energy, which are affected by an external influence. The mauri refers to the internal energy of a person, a personified object or some other living thing. Popular translations for the word mauri include life essence or life force.

The origin of mauri and regenerative power is referenced in traditional narratives of whakapapa kōrero about the origin of the world. As outlined in *1. Whakapapa kōrero, trauma and well-being*, the sky and the earth were separated because the world required light and energy to provide the conditions for growth and reproduction. The sun, moon and stars are bound together and provide light and energy for life throughout the seasons of the year and the cycles of day and night. The moon and the stars provide light and energy at night, and the sun provides it during the day. The

importance of this relationship is narrated in stories about Māui and the sun throughout Polynesia. However, its relationship to mauri ora and well-being was never fully comprehended by early colonial ethnographers and translators who were more interested in the fable and mythical aspects of the narratives. The cycles of night and day, light and darkness, and the creation of these are critical themes and aspects of whakapapa kōrero narratives.

Protecting the mauri was paramount in traditional times. Failure to protect the mauri, and the natural cycle of internal light and energy resulted in a state of pōuritanga and ill health, and eventually death. Restoration of the mauri had to occur, through the metaphorical transition from darkness back into the world of light and the living. Where a mauri had been affected, the initial strategy employed was for the individual to retreat into a separate space or be placed into a separate space of tapu. The purpose, in part, was to protect the person or resource, but also to protect others from being affected.

The concept of mauri tau (cyclical, balanced and undisturbed rhythm of the mauri) was also important. Tau means settled, in tune or balanced. It is a term associated with physical beauty. When used to describe woodcarving it indicates balance referenced to traditional aesthetics and form. When the utterance 'kua tau te mauri' (the mauri is settled) is used with reference to human beings, an individual is being described as being in tune with the world and that the mauri of a person is travelling within its natural cycle.

In times of stress, oho is used to describe the action and movement of the mauri. Oho means to awaken, enliven or to be startled into action. Colonial ethnographers described mauri as a life force. The mauri of a person can be said to rere (travel, flow). If the mauri of a person travels too fast in Te Ao Mārama, the balance is upset and the person's mauri is spending too much time in Te Pō. Mauri tau refers to the cyclical, balanced and undisturbed rhythm of the mauri as it generates energy or mā, throughout the day, and the night. There are two spiritually connected energies or mauri outlined in Māui and other narratives that provide examples of mauri tau. Tama-nui-te-rā, the source of all energy in Te Ao Mārama, travelled too fast across the sky. The days were shortened



and people and all life dependent upon the sun became sick and lifeless. Māui captured the sun and attacked it so that it would slow down and restore life on the earth. In the final part of this narrative, the moon and the sun were tied together in order to maintain the balance and rhythms of the cycles that occur between these two astronomical bodies.

Wairua

Spirituality has been identified at the forefront of indigenous models (Grieves, 2009). Spirituality is also a word that is often used in connection with Māori health and well-being. For example, Durie (1982), in his *Te Whare Tapa Whā* model, explains taha wairua as the Māori spiritual dimension associated with wellness.

The severity and depth of impact of colonisation and Christianity in redefining pre-colonial understandings in whakapapa kōrero philosophies (Smith, 2007) is often not recognised. In order to locate a traditional or pre-colonial sense of spirituality, the differences and contradictions between Christian concepts and wairua, as differentiated in whakapapa kōrero philosophies, need to be examined. Biblical translations for spirit are wairua, and for the soul and Holy Spirit, Wairua Tapu. Pre-colonial understandings of wairua differ from the biblical concept of spirit, because of its connection to the earth and the sky through whakapapa. As evidenced in traditional speechmaking and whakapapa kōrero manuscripts, this connection is traditionally an important living and sacred relationship.

Wairua has wai (water, fluid, liquid-related essence) as its source and basis. Wai is also stated to be the conveyor of all things in the world, as stated by Nepia Pohuhu (cited in Whatahoro & Smith, 1913, p. 50 and p. 172):

Ko te wai te kai whakatipu o nga mea katoa.		Water is the cause of growth of all things.
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As waiora (life-giving waters), wai is a living element that also provides life for all living things. All things in the world have a wairua. It is this relationship and connectivity to everything in the world that separates wairua from the biblical concept of spirit and soul. It is a fluid component which is transferred through a male and female parent to create individual wairua at conception. All things are assumed to have a wairua, as stated by Nepia Pohuhu:

He wairua to nga mea katoa, i tona ahua, i tona ahua, o ia mea, o ia mea. Kotahi ia te matua o nga mea katoa. Kotahi te atua o nga mea katoa, kotahi te ariki o nga mea katoa. Kotahi te wairua o nga mea katoa. No konei ka kotahi nga mea katoa. He mea whanau mai i a lo-taketake, ka taketake nga mea katoa i konei. Kaore hoki he atua, he ariki hei whakarereke i tetahi mea.

There is a wairua that pertains to all things, each individual thing within its own unique circumstance, there is one pervading parent influence relative to all things, all things are united by one pure power, and all things have one wairua and this means all things are united. This was brought about by lo-taketake [causative sinew or thread], when all things were given a purpose, and there is no supernatural power, or pure entity that can alter any of this. (Pohuhu, n.d.c, p. 293)

The notion of Māori spirituality as a single, disconnected entity is contrasted with a traditional view that wairua has a physical basis and that this is connected to water. This traditional sense of connection to all things through wai and wairua also differs from the western concept of a spirit or soul as an isolated entity, disconnected from the living, existing world. Wai is stated as the element or essence that permeates the sky, the earth, and everything created from it. Wai is connected to wairua, both in the physical and abstract sense, and it is this way of perceiving the world that traditionally connected Māori to the environment and the world.

In Māori philosophies, the wairua dwells within the human body during waking hours and its presence can be identified in daylight by shadows cast by the human body. At night when the body rests, the wairua departs the human body and travels. Experiences during dreams are evidence of the wairua during its travels. In some tribal accounts, after death the wairua is said to travel by water to Hawaiki, the sacred origin place associated with the wairua. In some narratives, once it reaches Hawaiki, the place where the wairua is conceived, and where it returns upon death (Smith, 2012), the aspect of the wairua that belongs to Papatūānuku returns to the Earth Parent, and the aspect that belongs to Ranginui returns to the Sky Parent.

The origin of the wairua in human beings is associated with the creation of the first human being, Hineahuone, a woman created from the earth (Smith, 2012). At conception, the union

that takes place within the darkness of the womb is the union of tapu waters which contain te ira atua and te ira tangata. Te ira atua is derived from Ranginui and te ira tangata from Papatūānuku. The wairua is always related to darkness and night. The components of wairua are wai and rua. Rua means the number two, but the rua is also the place where the sun descends on the horizon. At death, wairua are sometimes said to travel by the pathway of the setting sun, to the rua. 'E tō e te rā, e tō ki te rua' is an expression said to farewell the dead, and is also a reference to wairua travelling by this path. Water is connected to the spiritual essence of traditional Māori well-being and spirituality, and recognised as a key component of the human body:

Ko te ira tangata he toto, he hinu, he wai.
Na ena mea e toru te tangata me nga mea o
ia ahua o te whenua nei. Ko etahi he wai he
hinu anake te kaiwhakatupu, ko etahi he wai,
he hinu, he toto te kaiwhakatipu. Mā era mea
e whakatinana ka tinana. (Te Matorohanga,
c1910, p. 73)

The human aspect is created from flesh, blood and water. By these three elements people exist and everything of the land. Some are created with water and flesh only, and some by water, flesh and blood. By these there is growth and then a body.

The wairua is associated with darkness and night and is active during these periods outside of the human body. During daylight the wairua is passively located within the ngākau, the internal system of the human body. According to Ropiha (n.d.), the wairua of a dying or sick person travels. If it travels to Te Rerenga Wairua (the flight of spirits), it will then continue on its path and will not return. If it travels to Te Waioara a Tāne (where the moon rises and dips on the horizon), it will return to the body it came from, restoring the health of the sick person.

The spiritual relationship of the wairua to water highlights the importance of ancestral waters to well-being and water quality. The pollution of traditional waters contributes to collective patu ngākau at a whānau or tribal level, as well as to individuals. Well-being is settled internally during the day and travels at night. Wairua is healed by the darkness, by Hinenuitēpō. The darkness is important for healing, but too much of it is dangerous. Te Ao Mārama restores the wairua back to the body.

Toiora

The toiora is another spiritual essence that dwells within the human body during conscious activity.

The origin of toiora, like hauora, is associated with the first breath of life taken by Hineahuone and the utterance 'tīhei mauri ora'. Toiora accompanies a person's conscious activity during waking hours and is a critical aspect for life and physical activity during daylight. In traditional narratives, the toiora of human beings was ceded by Hinētītama, to be protected by Tāne during the hours of daylight. The difference between wairua and toiora is that during daylight, when the human body and toiora are active, the wairua is passive. Unlike the wairua, it does not travel from the body at night and is inactive. At night during sleep, the toiora is taken for protection, nurturing and restoration by Hinenuitēpō, the atua of darkness and night, and returned when the body awakens. At death, both the toiora and wairua are metaphorically taken for protection by Hinenuitēpō.

Hau

Another aspect contributing to traditional well-being is the concept of hau. The hau is traditionally perceived as the sacred breath and air imparted to the first human being. The hau of a person is represented by a person's visible presence, aura and vitality, and is connected to atua by descent from the creation of the first human being.

In whakapapa kōrero narratives and the creation of the first human being, the lungs were provided by Tāwhirimātea, atua of the wind. The hau, or first breath of life, was transmitted by Tāne. The hau is associated with atua from the creation of the world and human beings, and this essence represents an individual's connection to atua. It is directly related to an individual's mana (power, status, prestige) and tapu. In the chant for the creation of the first human being:

Purangi to hiringa		Your persistence comes to life
Purangi o mahara		Your thoughts awaken
Purangi to hauora		Your breath breathes
Purangi to haumanawa		Your heart pulsates
Ki taiao nei		For the dawning day

(Te Matorohanga, c1910, p. 76)

Hauora is a term used to describe fresh air:

I nga whare kaore e puta nui mai ana te hauora o waho ki roto		In houses where there is insufficient fresh airflow
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("Taipō piwa (Enteric fever)", 1902, p. 1)



It is also associated with a fresh, invigorated appearance and the visible absence of pain:

Ka nui tona hauora, kaore hoki ia e rongono ana i te mamae	He was invigorated, and he could not feel the pain.
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(“Te puhanga i a Mekiniri – Tumuaki o Merika”,
1901, p. 7)

Whanaungatanga

In Māori philosophies and narratives of whakapapa kōrero that provided Māori understandings about life and the world, whānau and whanaungatanga are key concepts. Traditional Māori knowledge promotes human beings as unique but connected to the environment and the world through whakapapa. Ranginui cohabited with Papatūānuku, and produced children. This connection to the sky and the earth, and to every natural thing between, along with the notion of everything having a natural balance in tune with its environment, is an integral component of whakapapa kōrero knowledge systems.

Māori classifications of knowledge are through whakapapa, which identify whānau and whanaungatanga or familial connections and relationships. In the origin narratives of the world and everything within it, everything created is connected to whānau. The degree of relationship, its familial connection to its own and other whānau within the world, define its tūranga and its identity. This deep sense of whanaungatanga connection to whānau, hapū and iwi, although often translated to mean relationship in the contemporary world, also conveyed a deep sense of connectivity through whakapapa.

These connections could be established, not only with human beings, but also flora and fauna, the elements, and any thing or entity that could be sourced back to creation, through whakapapa. However, deep connection to the local environment, landscapes, seascapes, and all flora, fauna and resources is not only established through whakapapa. It is also enhanced by the belief that all whānau and individuals have wairua, and are connected through wairuatanga (spirituality).

Another concept in whakapapa kōrero narratives is the notion of noho tauriterite – balanced or harmonious communities and environments. Māori well-being traditionally is about being connected through whakapapa and ideally

existing in a balanced and harmonious state with one's whanaunga (relatives), and with the world. Whanaungatanga was a form of protection contributing to well-being. Whakapapa, whānau and individual connections provided a sense of peace and security. It provided the potential to address problems or threats to individual and collective well-being. Assistance from whānau, hapū or iwi could always potentially be obtained, depending upon the nature of any potential threat.

In early creation narratives, children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku are placed throughout the world as poutiriao. These guardians maintain the balance for health and well-being for the environments in which they are located. An imbalance promotes chaos and destruction:

... ki te kore nga Pou-tiri-ao hei tiaki i te turanga o ia mea, o ia mea, te haere a ia mea, a ia mea, te mahi a ia mea, a ia mea, na konei i toitu ai nga mea katoa. Mei kore nga Pou-tiri-ao kua taupatupatu nga mea katoa ki a ratou ano.

It is the Pou-tiri-ao that guards each thing in its position, in its conduct, its work, and hence all things remain [in each one's position]. If it were not for them each thing would constantly strive against each other. (Pohuhu & Whatahoro, 1923, p. 1 and p. 8)

Traditional well-being, therefore, was not isolated to the mauri of individuals, but was also influenced and affected by the mauri of other people, resources and elements to or upon whom an individual might be connected or emotionally or physically dependent. This included food and economic resources which had their own mauri, such as kūmara gardens or forests. In whakapapa kōrero, the nature of these connections and relationships are identified through whanaungatanga.

Colonial impact on whanaungatanga meant disconnection of wairua from lands and environments, places of spiritual significance, food, and other natural resources that maintained a wairua connection. This connection to lands and sites of importance also reinforced traditional tribal leadership systems, which were contingent upon whanaungatanga. With colonisation, and land and resource appropriation, these systems broke down (Smith, 2007).

Traditional modes of settling disputes through whanaungatanga and other practices diminished, as tūrangawaewae disappeared. Disputes between whānau and hapū competing for remaining lands

also destroyed many pre-colonial structures supported through whanaungatanga. Further exacerbating the problem was the introduction of a European judicial system. European laws enforced and reinforced the notion of land alienation and resulted in further disconnection and increasing disempowerment for traditional leadership systems based on whanaungatanga and whakapapa.

Rangatiratanga

Rangatiratanga is the ability to lead and provide ethical leadership in ways that make sense for the collective benefit of whānau, hapū or iwi. This concept also relies on the ability to negotiate and access external resources through the acknowledgement of whakapapa and kōrero for the well-being of individuals, whānau, hapū and iwi, if, when or as required. Although rangatiratanga can be defined as leadership or chieftainship, in a traditional sense it encompassed a set of pūmanawa (values and ethics) leaders and chiefs were expected to demonstrate for others to follow. Failure to demonstrate these values often led to public ridicule or rebuke. The most memorable instances have been recorded in whakataukī, handed down through the generations and quoted in formal speechmaking and debates to support arguments or remind people of traditional ethics and practices.

The codes of leadership that rangatira (leader, chieftain) were expected to enact for their communities provided protection as well as a sense of well-being. The ethics and values associated with rangatira and rangatiratanga were important to well-being, as traditional leadership mechanisms provided a sense of welfare and protection. Manawa ora, or pūmanawa ora (breath of life, values and ethics), were rangatira values premised upon ethics that supported the protection and welfare of the tribe. These upheld traditional values of leadership and community welfare, contributing to individual and collective well-being.

Leadership and ethical standards were reinforced by the concept of mana and mana rangatira (the authority of traditional leadership). Implicit to traditional ethical codes of mana rangatira are toa (bravery and courage), manaakitanga (generosity and goodwill, particularly to visitors), whaikōrero (speech making, the ability to communicate), whakawā (the ability to adjudicate and settle disputes), and tiaki (the ability to guard and protect ancestral treasures, whānau and future generations).

The introduction of colonial law and the English judicial system formed part of the deliberate strategy to undermine traditional leadership systems for the purpose of colonisation and alienation of land. It also undermined tikanga rangatira (traditional systems of ethical behaviour and practices, passed down intergenerationally). Rāpata Wahawaha noted:

He nui ano nga tu o nga rangatira Maori e nui ana i nga wa o mua, engari na te urunga pea o nga uri ki roto o te ture i iti ai ratou, ara na ratou ta ratou mana i whakahe, a kore uri ana aua rangatira kua ngaro atu ra. Na ta ratou kuaretanga ki te tiaki i nga tikanga a a ratou tipuna me a ratou matua ... ka ngaro haere te tupu me te ahua o raua o nga mana me nga tikanga.

There are many types of Māori rangatira, more than in times of old, but perhaps with their descendants' involvement with the law they have diminished, that is they themselves are dismissing their authority, and those rangatira without descendants are no more. Because of their neglect to care for the cultural practices of their ancestors and their parents ... the development of their authority and laws is fading. (Benton, Frame & Meredith, 2013, p. 327)

Traditional leadership systems were also undermined by the introduction of laws that removed power from rangatira to settle disputes. An important aspect here is the decline of tikanga (Māori practices and protocols) and mana rangatira, traditional ethics and codes of practice which maintained and supported well-being within communities.

Mana

Mana is an important concept relevant to well-being, both at an individual and collective level, as it measured and reinforced the self worth of an individual or group. Socially it is important to acknowledge mana as this contributes to well-being. This was traditionally formalised through mihi (acknowledgements), koha (traditional gifting) or other means. Mana could also be acknowledged through waiata, karakia, or other forms of ritual mediation. Failure to acknowledge mana could also impact negatively for an individual or group, reduce well-being, and lay the foundations for pūhaehae. Within their own contexts of relationships, all things and people have mana.



Three types of mana are popularly cited in current literature: mana atua, mana tangata and mana whenua (territorial power or status). The focus here will be mana atua and mana tangata. Mana atua (supernatural power or status) refers to supernatural entities from creation that have the potential to influence the present and the future, and the importance of acknowledging atua as they provide all the natural resources and phenomena, that are used by human beings in order to live. With the arrival of Christianity and the negation of traditional modes of acknowledging atua, Christian prayers began to replace older traditional forms. Pre-colonial spirituality became Christian influenced.

Mana tangata (individual power or status) often refers to the status an individual might have as a person. It is referenced to the humane side of the personality and has its origin with te ira tangata and descend from the earth-formed ancestress, Hineahuone, and her daughter, Hinetitama. Mana tangata is often interpreted in two ways: achievement through individual human effort, and recognition of this mana by other human beings. Every man, woman and child has inherent mana and tapu derived through whakapapa at birth. The recognition or non-recognition of personal mana and its associated tapu or sanctity contributes to individual well-being as it relates to self-esteem and self-worth. Mana tangata is connected to internal well-being and wairua tangata, which distinguishes it from mana atua.

Tapu

Tapu has often been translated as sacred. Early ethnographers mystified and misconstrued the term to conform with attitudes associated with colonial views. Tapu denotes a requirement for respect or reverence reinforced by the potential for harm or danger. The harm or danger could be a socially sanctioned punishment, a naturally occurring danger or environmental event, or an accident, bad luck or misfortune attributed to pokanoa (to do something without permission, a careless infringement of tapu). As a protection mechanism it safeguarded important community resources and identified dangers or risks requiring the guidance of tohunga.





Māori definitions of trauma

Introduction

Described in previous chapters are pathways of knowing and the location of memory and well-being in the ngākau. Cognitive activity, in Māori terms, is a process centred within the ngākau:

He kokonga whare e kitea;	A corner of a house may be seen;
He kokonga ngakau e kore e kitea.	Not so the corners of a heart.

(Cowan, 1930, p. 111)

Kei runga te mirimiri	Calm on the surface
Kei raro te rahurahu	Turbulence within.

(Mead & Grove, 1996, p. 204)

What is meant by trauma? Trauma is defined as a "powerful psychological shock that has damaging effects" (Colman, 2015, p. 780). A Māori definition is a much broader concept that includes physical, mental and emotional health. Patu ngākau describes a deep wound that is related to an event that causes shock. Pōuritanga and mamae (physical and/or emotional pain) might also describe trauma but refer more to a state of being that follows a traumatic event or shock.

The difference between pōuritanga and mamae is that mamae generally includes physical and emotional pain. When applied in reference to the internal system or organs of the human body, it assumes a meaning that includes both physical and psychological pain. Pōuritanga primarily refers to a sad mental state that can range in intensity from general anxiety to deep suicidal depression. The term also means darkness. Darkness is qualified in the language by the description of varying intensities including the intense darkness associated with the darkest of nights, and the various states of darkness, leading to dawn and to full daylight. Like mamaetanga, there is no assumption of any physical disconnection with pōuritanga and although primarily a mental state, a physical connection and effect is always assumed. Any definition of trauma in a Māori sense, therefore, includes a patu ngākau (related to the initial event) and its effects: mamaetanga, with an emphasis on the physical, and pōuritanga, with an emphasis on

the psychological. The origin of these key themes or concepts are discussed further in this chapter in order to provide a clearer understanding and context, and to explain and make explicit the cultural metaphors within Māori knowledge systems that inform and underpin the meanings of these terms:

Ko Roimata, ko Hupe nga kai utu i nga patu a Aitua.	Tears and Hupe are the avengers of the strokes of misfortune – i.e. of death.
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(Best, 1905, p. 168)

Patu ngākau

A trauma event can be classified as a patu ngākau, which might be translated as a strike or an assault to the heart or the source of the emotions. While the term indicates and describes a psychological event occurring within a victim, the event is generally attributed to some form of abuse toward the victim. The abuse, either physical, psychological or both, has an impact which is perceived as an assault to the ngākau, the emotional core of a person and the location for memories. Other forms of patu ngākau which might leave a victim with a feeling of internal powerlessness include natural disasters or calamities, such as earthquakes or floods. Patu ngākau was also a term often used by correspondents to the colonial government relating to land loss that accompanied colonisation.

Pōuritanga

Pōuri or pōuritanga as a psychological state could range in intensity from a general feeling of anxiety or disappointment, to deep suicidal depression. Pōuri or pōuritanga is always referenced to the ngākau or the internal system where memories and knowledge are stored. Pō means darkness or night, and as stated earlier, uri is referenced to generative energy or progeny.

Whakapapa kōrero narratives describe two separate realms of darkness. The first series of nights and darkness is identified with the creation of the world. The second series is associated with Hinētītama, the first human being born from the earth-formed woman, Hineahuone, who



unknowingly had an incestuous relationship with her male parent, the atua Tāne. The discovery of who her true father was is described in some texts as a patu ngākau and this caused the conditions whakamā (a condition explained later in this book), pōuritanga and whakamomori. The pōuritanga became so intense and overwhelming that she decided to live permanently in the world of darkness, Te Pō. On her journey to the underworld, she was refused entry by some of her elders and told to remain at the entrance of Te Pō to guard and protect the spirits of her offspring (human beings) as they follow her on the journey to the world of permanent darkness.

In Ngāti Kahungunu accounts, she fled to Poutererangi, a house that stands at the entrance of Te Pō. There are important events leading up to her eventual placement at the entrance of Te Pō. These can be summarised as the discovery or event causing pōuritanga. The early stages cause her to flee from Tāne, the atua who represents light. She embarks on the pathway to the world of permanent darkness. She is turned back and in some accounts is told to remain at the entrance of Te Pō, though in other accounts she requests that she be placed there. The place where she dwells is called Te Angi a Te Muriwaihou. Te Muriwaihou is the pathway from the living world to the entrance of Te Pō and Te Angi is the place where the wairua depart for Te Pō:

Ka haere a Hinetitama i te parae i Whitianaunau, ka whakamau atu ki Poutererangi. Ka tae a ia ki te whatitoka, i reira a Te Kuwatawata e noho ana. Ka ui mai, "E haere ana koe ki whea?" Ka ki atu a Hine, "Tukua atu au ki te angī!" Ka ki atu a Te Kuwatawata, "Hoki atu! Kei muri i a koe te aomarama me te toiora." Ka mea atu a Hine, "Tukua atu au ki te angī o te Muriwaihou, hei kapu mai i te toiora o aku tamariki i te Aoturoa nei."

Koia tenei te take i ora ai te wairua i hoki mai ai ki te ao nei haere ai. Ka whakaae a Te Kuwatawata ki te tuku a Hinetitama kia haere ki Rarohenga. Katahi a Hine ka tahuri ki muri i a ia, ka kite i a Tāne, e tangi haere mai ana. Ka karanga atu a Hine, "Tāne e! E hoki ki ta taua whanau, ka motuhia e au te aho o te ao ki a koe, ko te aho o te po ki au." Katahi ka hoia e Hine te pona whakahorokai ki te kaki o Tāne, "Waiho tenei hei tohu ki a koe ki au." Ka huri a Hinetitama i konei ki roto ki Poutererangi ka heke i te angī ki Rarohenga. (Te Whatahoro & Smith, 1913, p. 38)

Hinetitama fled over the plain of Whitianaunau towards the direction of Poutererangi [the guard-house to Hades]. When she reached the door she found there Te Kuwatawata [the guardian of the entrance], who asked her, "Where art thou going?" She replied, "Let me pass on to the descent" [into Hades]. Te Kuwatawata answered "Thou art leaving behind thee the world of light and life!" Hinetitama then said, "Let me proceed to the descent to Muriwaihou in order that I may ever catch the living spirits of my children now in the 'everlasting light' [a same for this word]."

Now, hence arises the fact that the spirits return to this world [as explained below]. So Te Kuwatawata allowed Hinetitama to pass on to Hades, and as she did so she turned round and beheld her husband, Tāne, approaching, shedding tears as he came along. Hine called out to him "Tāne e! Return to our family, for I have cut off the aho o te ao [the cord of the world] to you [and your descendants], whilst the cord of Hades remains with me [for ever]." And then [by enchantment] Hinetitama caused the Adam's apple to grow in Tāne's throat, and said, "Let that remain as a distinction between me [woman] and thee [man]." And then Hine turned away into Poutererangi and descended into Rarohenga [Hades]. (Te Whatahoro & Smith, 1913, pp. 144-145)

The various stages of Te Pō, pursued by Hinenuitepō when she departed from Te Ao Mārama, include:

Kia haere a Hinenuitepō i Te Angi ka riro ngā pō te whakamau ki Rarohenga, ka waiho te pō hei ara hekenga mō te whaiao nei ki Rarohenga, ko te pō tē kitea, ko te pō tē whaia, ko te pō ka wheau, ki te pō tangotango, ki te pō whāwhā ki Rarohenga. (Te Whatahoro & Smith, 1913, p. 56)

When Hinenuitepō went to Te Angi, the states of darkness were fixed to Rarohenga, the darkness became a descent path for the pursuing light to Rarohenga, and hence the darkness of unseeing, the darkness that cannot be pursued, the extended darkness to the intense darkness of Rarohenga. (Te Whatahoro & Smith, 1913, p. 161)

Whakamā

Whakamā means to ashen or become pale or white. It is associated with emotions and feelings of shame. The emotional response is associated

with a sense of powerlessness and the exposure to this lack of power and status by an individual or group with more power. The effect of this exposure creates emotions of shame and embarrassment, which results in the external physical change identified with whakamā. The mauri of the individual becomes affected as the mā departs the ngākau and disperses externally, resulting in the visible ashen or pale appearance of the victim, hence the term whakamā. The transfer and weakening of energy and light attached to the mauri within the ngākau of the individual creates an internal state of pōuritanga. The dispersal and dissipation of energy and light of the mauri from the internal system to the external world has a physical impact (such as listlessness or energy loss), and is to be associated with mauri mate.

Whakamā is also a response that upsets mauri tau, the balance of the mauri of a person. The upsetting of this balance can be caused accidentally by external circumstances, or by an individual themselves placing the person in a position of shame, embarrassment or guilt, or else it can be deliberately inflicted by an individual or group upon the victim, another individual or group. In either instance the action and the victim response is also referred to as a patu ngākau. Whakamā is sometimes qualified by the use of the terms mate and patu. 'Ka patu i te whakamā', where one is struck with shame, embarrassment or guilt, refers to an immediate reaction whereas 'ka mate i te whakamā', or to become sick or ill with whakamā, might refer to a reaction or response over time.

Oho rawa ake ia, koia e matakitakina ana e te tini koroheke o roto i te whare ra. Heoti ano ka maranga te wahine ki runga, ka mate i te whakama. Heoti ano ko te rangi i pai ra kua tamarutia e te pokeao; ko te uma kakapa ana, ano e ru ana te whenua. Ka tinia ia e te whakama. Katahi ka rarahu nga ringa ki nga pakikau, ki te uhi i a ia. Katahi ka rere ki te kokonga o te whare; ka tangi, tangi tonu a ao noa te ra. (Grey, 1971, p. 197)

She awoke startled to be gazed upon by those numerous old men within the house. However, she rose to her feet, sick with shame and embarrassment. Indeed the beautiful day was now clouded with darkness, the breast beating, and the earth quivering. She was overcome with shame. Then her hands groped for the cloak edges to cover herself. Then she fled to the corner of the house and wept, still weeping when the daylight came.

The origin of tā moko (tattooing) is attributed in some tribal traditions to Mataora. In these narratives Mataora follows his wife Niwareka to the underworld. Niwareka's father, Uetonga, is tattooing. Mataora boasts about his tā moko, which is a painted pattern. Uetonga then wipes off the painted pattern exposing his mā or clear skin. Mataora then tries to wipe Uetonga's tattoo off, but cannot do so because the pattern is chiselled into the skin. Mataora is then overcome with whakamā. In another whakapapa kōrero about Whaitiri, when Hema is born, Kaitangata (her father) expresses his disgust at the filth relating to the birth. Whaitiri becomes overwhelmed with whakamā. Because of the shame, Whaitiri names the child Hema (White, 1887).

In all of the examples examined, whakamā results in pōuritanga. The release of mā from the ngākau to the external surface and beyond of the human body creates an imbalance. The pōuritanga either intensifies to whakamomori, or else a transformative event occurs which provides an escape from the condition or state, including a rebalancing or restoration of the mauri.

Whakamomori

A popular translation for the term whakamomori is suicide, which is perhaps misleading from the intent conveyed in more traditional texts. It is a term that can cover a range of emotions including to be in extreme despair or fret desperately, or to be or become committed to a desperate course of action. In early manuscript text, whakamomori is sometimes qualified by the expression 'whakamomori ki te mate' (committed to dying), which indicates that whakamomori refers to the contemplation of, and commitment to, a desperate course of action, in this example, death.

Waiata whakamomori are songs that are referring to a deeply disturbed emotional state where the composer, like the ancestress, Hinētītama, has lost the will to abide in Te Ao Mārama. In some cases, a person in this state may actually take their own life, for example Rangiaho, who despaired, committed suicide (Ngata & Jones, 2004). However, in other cases, the person returns to the living world (T. Higgins, personal communication, 12 May, 2013). For example, Puhīwahine, in a state of whakamomori, pined away as a result of a love affair that did not eventuate in marriage (Jones, 1959). Although deemed to be close to death, she was eventually coaxed back to the living world through song and dance. Whakamomori is not only an individual state of mind. It can refer to a



whānau, hapū or iwi. For example, in traditional times, a tribe engaged in warfare, rather than face a negative outcome in surrender, might decide to fight to the death. The term whakamomori is used in these cases to describe the psychological state of the group and their acceptance of death with mana as a better option to life as a taurekareka (enslaved captive without mana).

The earliest reference to whakamomori occurs with Hinētītama. However, early examples do not describe the actual passing over into death and Te Pō as the whakamomori event, suggesting that whakamomori is being referenced as the journey from Te Ao Mārama to the entrance of Te Pō, where she asks (or is instructed by her elders) to take her place at Te Angi o Te Muriwaihou. One of the problems in the colonial literature is the portrayal of Hinētītama, who became Hinenuitēpō, as a death goddess. This is contradicted in traditional texts where Hinenuitēpō is portrayed as a grandmother or parent of human beings, and a protector, healer and guardian for her offspring.

In traditional accounts of whakamomori, the preparations prior to the final exit become important. In the Ngāti Kahungunu accounts, Ngāi Tūmapūhia-a-Rangi were besieged by a war party consisting of several thousand warriors. The decision to whakamomori and commit to the battle included preparations and rituals incorporating ceremonial dress, including hair dress, and the use of ceremonial paint. Similarly, in the story of Te Aohuruhuru (in an account given to Sir George Grey by the chief Te Pōtangaroa), the preparations prior to death are accorded the same importance:

Awatea kau ana, ka haere te koroheke ra ratou ko nga hoa, ka eke ki runga i te waka, ka hoe ki waho ki te moana ki te hi. A i muri o te koroheke ra ratou ko nga hoa kua riro, katahi te wahine nei ka whakaaro ki te he o tana tane ki a ia, katahi ka mahara kia haere ia ki te whakamomori. Na, tera tetahi toka teitei e tu ana i te tahatika, ko te ingoa o tenei toka inaiane ko Te Rerenga-o-Te-Aohuruhuru. Katahi te tamahine ka tahuri ki te tatai i a ia, na ka heru i a ia, na ka rakei i a ia ki ona kaitaka, ka tia hoki ia i tona mahunga ki te raukura, ko nga raukura he huia, he kotuku, he toroa, ka oti. (Grey, 1971, pp. 197-198)

When daylight had come the old man and his friends boarded a canoe and went out to sea to fish. However before the old man and his friends had gone the woman had considered the misdeed of her husband

toward her and had decided to embark on the pathway to death (whakamomori). Now there is a high rock that stands out with a cliff and the name of that rock now is called The Flight of Te Aohuruhuru. Then that young girl went and prepared herself, combing her hair, formally arranging her dress cloak, and pinning ceremonial feathers in her hair, the feathers being that of the huia, kotuku and toroa, the preparations being complete.

In all the traditional accounts examined whakamomori is referenced to a particular state and the preparations leading up to the actual death event. In the Te Aohuruhuru text no mention of whakamomori is made. Whakamoti is used to describe the point of expiration:

Na ka mutu tana waiata, katahi ia ka whakaangi i taua toka ki te whakamoti i a ia. Katahi ka kite mai taua koroheke ra i a ia ka rere i te pari. I kite mai e ia ki nga kakahu ka ma i tona rerenga ai. (Grey, 1971, p. 198)

Now when her song had finished, she floated from that rock in order to extinguish herself. Then she was made visible to that old man as she flew from that cliff face. He saw the cloaks flashing white as she flew down.

Whakamomori is not necessarily an inevitable situation resulting in death. It does, however, appear to represent the final stage of pōuritanga prior to death where the will to live is no longer present. It is possible to return from a state of whakamomori.

Ngākau riri

In whakapapa kōrero narratives, riri is primarily associated with te ira atua violence and the male atua children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku: Tūmatauenga, Tāwhirimātea, and others. Riri, a word that describes violence and anger, is also a term that means to put up fences, barriers or screens. 'Te riri o te ngākau' (to screen off, shut down or create barriers to the ngākau). The ngākau is associated with Rongo and is sometimes alluded to as Te Whare o Rongo. Rongo is an atua known for peace and goodwill, and is often placed as the antithesis of Tūmatauenga, an atua of violence, anger and warfare. 'He taha nō Tū, he taha nō Rongo' is a proverb that refers to a side exposed to violence and a side that is sheltered and protected. The house or domain of Rongo is also the ngākau or interior of a whare tūpuna. The domain of Tūmatauenga, also known as Tū-ka-riri (Tū who is

quick to anger), is the exposed area in front of the whare tūpuna, the marae ātea. 'He pūkai tō Tū, he pūkai tō Rongo' is another proverb that refers to the piles of dead gathered in warfare, and the piles of kūmara gathered in peacetime. Using the whare tūpuna as an analogy for the human body, ngākau riri translates to mean that the interior of the house, the ngākau, is closed off and isolated. That is, te ira tangata is isolated and suppressed allowing te ira atua of a human being to dominate the personality.

In warfare, warriors underwent specific rituals to divorce and suppress the ira tangata side of the personality and attempted to become endowed with the warrior qualities of Tūmatauenga. Integration and restoration back into the community required restoration of te ira tangata and a divorcing of the warrior persona required for battle. Some of the rituals required for reintegration included incantations, and passing the warriors beneath the legs of a ruahine (woman elder of chiefly status). This rite, known as kaiatua, absorbed and rendered harmless any atua influences by passing these into the vagina of the ruahine and restoring the ira tangata aspect to the personality. Some of the take (causes) of riri and ngākau riri include: kino (ill intentions or actions), tapatapa (affect or stigmatise by name), kangakanga (cursing), patu ngākau, whakahīhī (ridicule), and parau (falsehood). Ngākau riri, however, could offer protection from patu ngākau, insults and abuse.

Ngākau pūhaehae

In whakapapa kōrero, ngākau riri is one of the precursors of ngākau pūhaehae. Pūhaehae is attributed to Whiro, and is the cause of division within the whānau:

I konei ka wehewehe o ratou kainga. Ka noho a Whiro-te-tipua a Uru-te-ngangana me o raua hoa i roto i Tu-te-aniwaniwa. Ko to ratou whare tera, me to ratou wahi i noho ai ratou. Ko Tumatauenga, ko Tamakaka, ko Rongomarae-roa me etahi atu o taua whanau i noho ki Wharekura. Ko to ratau whare tera me te wahi i noho ai ratau me o ratau hoa. Ko Tāne, ko Paia me etahi atu a ratau i noho ki roto i Huaki-Pouri noho ai me o ratau hoa ano. (Te Whatahoro & Smith, 1913, p. 23)

At this point their dwelling places were divided. Whiro-te-tipua, Uru-te-ngangana and their friends dwelt within Tu-te-aniwaniwa. That was their house and the place where they stayed. Tumatauenga,

Tamakaka, Rongo-marae-roa and others of that family dwelt at Wharekura and that was their house and the place they stayed at with their friends. Tāne, Paia and others of them dwelt at Huaki-Pouri with their friends. (Te Whatahoro & Smith, 1913, p. 123)

The cause of these divisions is attributed to pūhaehae.

Na i konei ka noho wehewehe te whanau nei. He ngakau puhaehae te take. Koia tenei nga take puhaehae:

1. Mo te tohenga a Tane kia puta mai ratau ki waho i te awahi (a) o ratau matua.
2. Ko te ngaunga a Te Anu-rangi, a Te Anu-wai, a Te Anu-winiwini, a Te Anu-mātao.
3. Ko te tohetohe a Tāne o Tupai me o ratau hoa o taua whanau kia wehea o ratau matua i a Ranginui-e-tu-iho-nei.
4. Ko te ngakau kino o Tāne o Tupai o Tumatauenga o Tumatakaka me etahi o ratau ki te poroporo i nga peke o ngā matua ki nga toki nei kia Te Awhiorangi kia Te Whironui.
5. Ko te whakahihi o Tāne ma, ma ratau rawa e mahi enei tu mahi. Mehemea ma Uru-te-ngangana me Roiho me Roake me Haepuru me Tangaroa me Tumatauenga ka pai a Whiro-te-tipua.
6. Ko te whakahihi o Tāne ma ana e kake nga puhi tapu o nga Rangi-tuhaha, me te toi o nga rangi tuhaha.

Koia tenei nga take puhaehae o Whiro ma kia Tāne ma. (Te Whatahoro & Smith, 1913, p. 24)

Thus it was that the family dwelt separately; an envious heart was the reason, and the following were the causes of this ill feeling:

1. On account of the persistence of Tāne that they should go forth from the embrace of their parents.
2. The 'biting' of the anu-rangi [cold of space], anu-wai [cold of the waters], anu-winiwini [extreme cold] and anu-matao [excessive cold].
3. The persistence of Tāne, Tupai and their faction, that their parents Rangi and Papa, should be separated.
4. The 'evil heart' of Tāne, Tupai, Tumatauenga, Tumatakaka, and others, in deciding to cut off the arms of their parents with the axes Te Awhiorangi and Te Whironui.



5. The presumption of Tāne and his faction in undertaking these works. If it had been Uru-te-ngangana, Roiho, Haepuru, Tangaroa, and Tumatauenga [the seniors of the family], Whiro would have consented.
 6. The conceit of Tāne in declaring that he could ascend the 'sacred winds' of the conjoint Heavens that stand above. Rather should Whiro himself have accomplished the journey to the Toi-o-nga-rangi [the highest Heaven].
- The above were the causes why Whiro and his faction were so jealous of Tāne. (Te Whatahoro & Smith, 1913, p. 124)

Pūhaehae is often translated as envy and jealousy. These are also the same translations associated with the biblical texts. The translations in earlier texts tied to whakapapa kōrero narratives imply a swelling within, accompanied by physical separation and a severing of relationships. The swelling is caused by take or various perceived grievances that can only be resolved through separation.

The offspring of Tāne (human beings) are afflicted by disease because of the pūhaehae of Whiro, which led to the battle between the two after Tāne obtained the baskets of knowledge. Although the victor was Tāne, Tāne's offspring are continually attacked by Whiro's offspring and allies. Whiro, like Rūaumoko, dwells in Te Pō, the darkness and the underworld. He is associated with the origin of negative emotions and disease:

Na ka marama koutou ko Whiro te putake o nga kino katoa, hara tuatahi, ko te horenga i te kiri o te upoko o Rangahua. Ko nga kanga a Whiro te tipua kia waiho nga manawa hei whakahaere mona ki o ratou matua. Ko te kohuru i a Paerangi. Ko te puremutanga i te wahine a Urutengangana me te tangohanga i te wahine. Ko te mauhara ki a Tane ma, i nga wa katoa me te tatau kia whakamatea nga tuakana na me nga teina e ia. Me te pakanga i tipu ai ki te ao nei, na Whiro te tipua te manatu. Koia i kore ai e taea te whakamutu taua pakanga inaianei.

Now you are clear that Whiro is the origin of all the negative things, the first ritual error, stripping the skin off the head of Rangahua. It was Whiro te tipua who cursed that the ritual offerings to their parents should be carried out by him. The treacherous deed at Paerangi. The adultery with the wife of Urutengangana and the taking of that woman. The continual hate and ill intentions directed toward Tane and the others,

and the incantations where he attempted to kill his elder and junior siblings. And the wars that have come about in this world, that have been created by Whiro te tipua. This is why war is unable to be prevented today. (Te Matorohanga, cited in Smith, 2015, p. 270)

Kēhua / Atua whakahaehae

Kēhua or atua whakahaehae are supernatural forces (Goldie, 1904), which traditionally were attributed to be the cause of many types of sickness, especially internal or obscure cases. Kēhua are considered hostile to the living and have the capacity to invade the human body. If a person died and their wairua had not properly been sent to the afterworld, it could become a kēhua. In such cases the relatives of the deceased might become affected. A kēhua could also be identified as the offspring of Whiro within an affected person, through its identification as a ngārara (an illness that has the potential to destroy the human body from within), which consumed its victim from the inside if allowed to remain there. Once identified, a tohunga would undertake rituals and procedures to expel the ngārara and restore the affected person to health. An individual or party could become affected by a kēhua through the desecration of a sacred place. A kēhua or an atua that entered the human body could be felt by a sensation in the flesh and was termed a papakikokiko (sensation felt when an atua enters the body). Afflictions attributed to kēhua were termed mate kikokiko (Goldie, 1904).

Whati

Whati is often translated to mean a break or snap, for example as a branch on a tree. The term, however, also means a break or disconnection in terms of whakapapa linkages. In reciting genealogies, or singing songs, whati relates to memory loss and is considered an aituā (misfortune, accident, god of disaster, fate). However, an aituā can be prevented, by repetition until the correct words are remembered, or by support from relatives or others who could carry the recitation if the reciter had a memory lapse. In some tribal whare wānanga, three tohunga were always present in order to prevent whati, in case one tohunga failed to perfect a recitation. The term was also applied to relationships and whakapapa lineages, where no issue was produced.

Tāhae

Tāhae is a term often translated as theft. It relates to obtaining resources in a hidden or secretive way.

In the Māori Land Court, it was often used between disputing claimants in relation to untruthful evidence. Kōrero tāhae or tāhae kōrero occurs where somebody plagiarises or alters a discourse without acknowledging its true source or intent to gain an advantage over another.

Trauma and sexual violence

Like trauma, no specific terms were identified to describe sexual violence or abuse. The contemporary term for rape, pūremu, is described in colonial literature as pūremu reipa, pūremu being qualified by the transliteration reipa (rape). In whakapapa kōrero narratives, pūremu is a blanket term used to describe a hidden, socially unsanctioned relationship. The origin of pūremu is attributed to Whiro, who takes his elder brother's wife to the underworld. In the story of Manaia, his wife commits adultery and the male adulterer is killed by Manaia. The male adulterer is a person of mana, and Manaia is forced to migrate to Aotearoa. In the Tainui story of Mārama and Whakaotirangi, Mārama commits adultery with a servant. In all of the examples examined, pūremu is a hidden and secretive sexual relationship outside of a community sanctioned relationship. When the relationship is exposed, there are negative impacts for the wider community because of the event or relationship, and the concern related to the mana and tapu of the tribal group, and the implications and consequences for future generations.

The term used for a physical assault is huaki or patu, and older terms used for non-consensual sex with a female—pokanoa—convey the contemporary notion of rape, but do not describe the trauma-related aspects. Both male and female genitalia were considered sacred and perceived of as organs that could influence life and death. The ritual use of genitalia and references in incantations and chants highlight the degree of sanctity attached to sexual organs. Sexual violence, and other types of physical or psychological assaults that involved the violation of a powerful individual and/or humiliated a less powerful or powerless victim, was initially responded to with whakamā. The consequences of this type of violation are exemplified by the story of Te Aohuruhuru, described earlier.

Trauma and whenua

Through whakapapa and kōrero, land and resources reinforced traditional structures that supported values and a sense of well-being. With colonisation came land loss, loss of connection to landscapes, seascapes and resources. Dislocation from

traditional tūrangawaewae and competition for remaining resources increased pūhaehae, and the separation and division among whānau, hapū and iwi. The commodification of whenua and traditional resources, together with Christianity, redefined Māori spirituality. The importance of people to land, and their connectedness to it, is highlighted in traditional philosophies of whakapapa kōrero in a number of ways. In the creation narratives, human beings are descendants of Papatūānuku. The first human being, from whom all people are descended, was created and formed from the earth. This act is replicated during pregnancy and the term for the afterbirth is whenua. In traditional times, the whenua or afterbirth was returned to its rightful place, by burying it and reuniting it with the land of one's birth, thus returning whenua (afterbirth) to the whenua (land). The intimate relationship of tangata whenua to tūranga and tūrangawaewae has been indicated in various studies (for example, Smith 2007).

Colonial impact and land loss has been studied extensively as part of Waitangi Tribunal claims, however most research has been economically focussed. Social and health impact research has been reported in broad terms. Within the corpus of Waitangi Tribunal evidence, the literature on psychological impacts and the intergenerational nature of these effects are still yet to be acknowledged, assessed, quantified and reported. The intimate relationship and sense of connection to whenua through tūranga, tūrangawaewae, kāinga whakatipu (homeland where a person has been nurtured and grown), and whenua papatipu (land where a person has been raised) was a principle that underpinned and informed other values. This deep sense of connectedness was an integral part of whānau, hapū and iwi identities. Waitangi Tribunal claims that focus upon historical evidence fail to capture the psychological and intergenerational impacts of land loss. From a broad historical perspective, the traditional response of riri and whakamomori to the impact of colonisation characterised the period of the New Zealand Land Wars and subsequent years, which, along with introduced European diseases, decimated the Māori population to its lowest numbers around the turn of the century.

Kaioraora

Kaioraora have been labelled as songs of abuse. However, kai (food/s, ingest) and oraora (sustain, to give life) were songs that protected the mauri of an individual or group when an individual or group had been insulted or attacked with a patu ngākau and



the victim was at risk of becoming psychologically affected with pōuritanga. The event giving rise to the patu ngākau inevitably resulted in a loss of mana or perceived loss of mana within the victim. Kaioraora, with the verbal enunciation of the event and the verbal abusing of the instigator (which often included taunts of intending to consume the internal organs of the head of an enemy), protected and gave life to the mauri of the victim. At the same time, the memory of the grievance was also kept alive and sustained to be passed on for redress at a later date. The memory of the patu ngākau was kept alive through song until the balance could be restored, either through a similar retaliatory act carried out by the victim or victim's relatives against the perpetrator, or some other form of redress (for example, hohou rongo) to restore the mana of the victim. If this did not occur in one generation, it was passed on intergenerationally until such time as an appropriate response could occur, restoring the balance between the perpetrator and victim. What appeared to outside observers as random acts of violence (sometimes reported by colonial observers) may have been intergenerational responses to past grievances given life through kaioraora.





Traditional responses to trauma

Introduction

In the Ranginui and Papatūānuku narrative, the children separated their parents to alleviate pēhitanga (oppression) that had engulfed them and bring light, fresh air, and open space into the world, creating a sense of balance. When the sun moved over the earth too fast, creating darkness, Māui brought back balance into the world by slowing down the sun, creating the cycles of the moon and sun, so that health and well-being for humans could be restored. Trauma or pōuritanga, caused by patu ngākau has traditionally been treated as an unnatural imbalance with the potential to result in death. Traditional responses have been focused toward the restoration of balance. The process of restoration comes about through a transformation or series of transformations over time. A key consideration has always been mana and the protection of uri whakatipu (future generations), as it is believed that unresolved traumatic events in one generation affect the well-being of future generations. If the traumatic event was important enough it was recorded as whakapapa kōrero through cultural mechanisms (such as kōrero or waiata) and transmitted intergenerationally as kupu tohutohu. Patu ngākau were also a patu mauri (an assault on the mauri), as the mauri of an individual, whānau, hapū or iwi was located within the ngākau. Restoring the balance was considered a resetting of the mauri and a resolution to the imbalance of the traumatic event. The traumatic event had effectively interfered with the natural cycle of the mauri and had created pōuritanga or internal darkness. The traumatic event was considered tapu, firstly because it belonged to Te Pō or the sacred, living world of darkness, and secondly because it was connected to the mauri. As a tapu subject it was to be discussed within specific ritual contexts and not openly verbalised.

Trauma, crime and punishment

A popular theme in whakapapa kōrero narratives is where an individual commits hara (offence) by not carrying out the appropriate rituals before engaging in a particular task. In the story of Rua-te-pūpuke, a fishing lure is given to his son Manuruhi, who fails to carry out the appropriate rituals for it. The ritual is an acknowledgement to Tangaroa requesting that his offspring be taken for food. As a result of the offence, Tangaroa—the guardian of fish—kidnaps Manuruhi and uses him as a figurehead

for his house. Rua-te-pūpuke searches for his son, recovers him and other carvings from the house of Tangaroa, and in the process burns down the house and attacks and burns the offspring (fish) of Tangaroa. In another popular narrative, the story of Rata, Rata also commits a hara by failing to carry out the appropriate rituals before he fells a tree to make a canoe. As a result, after Rata laboured all day, the forest fairies gather all of the woodchips and restore the tree to its former position in the forest. Hara in whakapapa kōrero narratives are identified as mistakes, errors of omission or oversights, due to carelessness. They are mistakes where there is no deliberate or malicious intent to cause harm. Early translators of the Bible translated sin for the word hara, as in the Lord's Prayer:

Murua o matou hara ... | Forgive us our sins ...

(Luke 11:4, Māori Bible/New International Version)

Colonial translators used the term in defining colonial laws for the criminal justice system and hara became associated with crime. In the laws of England, hara kirimina is the translation for criminal offending.

Within local communities, systems of punishment were determined by the leadership within individual whānau, hapū and iwi. The concept of evil did not exist, although it is likely that extreme violent behaviour, like warfare, would have been linked to the characteristics of particular tūpuna. The manifestation of particular tūpuna within an individual did not necessarily render the offender guilty, unless the individual had deliberately, through the use of karakia, invoked particular tūpuna to become manifest for the purpose of carrying out the offence. Violent offending, like warfare, was identified with riri, where the human, caring and nurturing side of an individual was negated or closed down. As the offender was a relative of the community leadership, whose personal history and behaviour was known, strategies of healing were preferred, as opposed to physical or psychological punishment. These strategies for healing focused upon reconnecting the individual to the human, caring and nurturing side—te ira tangata of a human being's personality. This excludes, however, assault and violence inflicted upon those captured in warfare, who were likely to have been subject to abuse until integrated socially into the community as slaves.



Random, violent behaviour is associated with Tāwhirimātea, an atua who attacked and tried to kill all his brothers for separating Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Tāwhirimātea dwells in the atua realm in the upper parts of the sky. This atua is associated with knowledge associated with te kauwae runga, as it was the offspring of Tāwhirimātea who conveyed Tāne to the uppermost real to obtain the baskets of knowledge. The offspring of Tāwhirimātea are hau. Haurangi, used to describe loud, boisterous behaviour, is associated with drunkenness. In extreme cases which threatened the survival of the community, offenders were ostracised and isolated in order to reconnect to the human side of their personality. Colonial missionaries among Ngāti Kahungunu reported that violent offenders were sometimes sent into the mountains and not permitted to make contact with the community. In one particular case of assaulting a female, the offender was banished for a year. Had the offence been more serious, the exclusion time was likely to have been doubled.

Te Whare o Rongo / Te Whare o Hine

Healing spaces were protected domains and were often tribal houses, meeting houses, storehouses or kūmara pits. Traditionally, those returning from warfare had a series of ritual protocols to follow before they could be normalised back into communities and daily life. These involved karakia and kaiatua, rituals where atua and potentially harmful influences from the trauma of war were ritually removed and negated. Kaiatua rituals involved warriors passing beneath the legs of a ruahine or a woman with whakapapa to key ancestral linkages of the tribe.

In cases where the residual effects of warfare persisted with trauma-related problems, it was likely that victims might be confined to the darkness of a kūmara pit or storehouse for periods of time in order to heal and strengthen a victim's wairua. This is because kūmara pits and storehouses are the protected domain of Rongo, Hinerongo, Hinenuitepō, and other ancestral tūpuna. These were also refuges for those seeking solace and protection from negative events in the external world. The Ngāti Kahungunu ancestor Tūmapūhia-a-Rangi, when being chased by a party of Rangitāne relatives, fled to the protection of the whare tupuna, Te Kapa a Tahito. This action saved his life as the pursuers sought his death as revenge for an adulterous affair. When Puiwahine contemplated suicide because of abandonment by a potential spouse, she remained in the tribal meeting house until persuaded to return to the world of the living.

Te whare pōuri, te whare o Apakura, and te whare mate are some of the names (among others) which reference the house of mourning. Te whānau pani (the bereaved family) traditionally and symbolically remains in the whare mate until such time as the residual effects of the pōuritanga have left and te whānau pani has reintegrated back into daily life. Traditional rituals occur throughout this process. The transition from te whare pōuri to Te Ao Mārama is traditionally a gradual, incremental process carried out with caution and great care by tohunga at each stage of the process. Whakapapa kōrero narratives also highlight houses as the protected domain of the atua Tāne, as referenced in the name Tāne-whakapiripiri. The notion of sexual abuse occurring within these protected spaces violated socially sanctioned rules of te whare takapau (house of conception or where human life is created) and runs contrary to the kawa of meeting houses. Whiro-te-tipua, the origin atua of disease and illness, is also the origin of pūremu—the forced abduction of women, and adultery. Tribal accounts vary but Whiro-te-tipua in some accounts is associated with the whare maire (traditional house of instruction in sacred lore or mākutu) and conditioning for warfare. The kawa of a whare is defined by the event that led to the agreement that Tāne will protect humankind in Te Ao Mārama, and Hinenuitepō would protect humankind within the whare tupuna and Te Pō. In pre-colonial times a breach of the kawa of the whare might be punishable by death.

Transitioning trauma and stress: Mihi and poroporoaki

As exemplified by the movement of te whānau pani from te whare pōuri or te whare mate to Te Ao Mārama, the treatment or healing processes for other trauma victims from pōuritanga involve similar processes that were incremental and included mihi and poroporoaki (speeches of farewell). With the initial patu ngākau or trauma-inducing event, the immediate community response is the protection of the victim or victims. The immediate shielding, protection and relocation of the victim or victims to the healing darkness of a protected ancestral space had various names. Among Ngāti Kahungunu, 'he kura takai puni' was a defensive strategy, designed to remove women and children or chiefs with a protected lineage from the battlefield in order to protect the mana and whakapapa of the tribe for future generations.

The process of transitioning from te whare pōuri to Te Ao Mārama was entirely contingent upon the context and extent of the patu ngākau. The

whakamātautau (examination) by a tohunga, where various questions might be asked, would occur in cases that were not already public knowledge, or where a victim had accidentally been exposed to a ngārara, kēhua or atua whakahaehae. In such cases the affliction and its manifestations would be acknowledged and greeted. The process then shifted to removing the affliction or cause of the pōuritanga from the victim's body through karakia. A variety of karakia might be used, including karakia wehe to expel and send the ngārara back into Te Pō, and tokomauri, which were karakia to restore the internal balance. As the victim improved and the manifestations receded back into Te Pō, poroporoaki might be said to signal a more permanent shift toward Te Ao Mārama.





Contemporary issues and pathways to well-being

Re-evaluating mental health and Māori well-being

At the heart of Māori communities and framed within traditional understandings of whakapapa kōrero is an alternative discourse to that which influences mainstream attitudes, public and state policy, and health funding. This discourse is rarely acknowledged as valid knowledge because of colonial impact and historically constructed institutional barriers. Māori well-being within contemporary mainstream discourse is framed by the notion of mental health. The literature that informs Māori mental health is often attributed to colonial ethnographers and anthropologists concerned with the concept of the Māori mind. Māori mental health is either drawn from these accounts or is interpreted by mediators invested in western theoretical constructs.

Traditional evidence supports the view that Māori well-being is related and connected to meaningful engagement with the living world, through whakapapa that maintains the natural balance of all living things. This is different from the idea of whakapapa as genealogy, where the emphasis is tied to lineages from the past as opposed to families of living and connected things in the present. Meaningful engagement means ways that do not create pōuritanga internally, but maintain a sense of wellness and a feeling of ngākau ora—balance and equilibrium with the world

The whānau and hapū base of traditional Māori life ensured that traumatic events were not isolating events. Through whakapapa, no individual was a disconnected entity and the stresses associated with traumatic events were always shared experiences, through whanaungatanga. Coping strategies and healing pathways could always be activated through these familial linkages. Beyond the affected individual or group were relatives or allies who could provide resources and support. Distanced from the trauma, these relatives provided coping strategies and means of recovery through the shared values of rangatiratanga, manaakitanga, aroha and whanaungatanga. Tribal healing experts were a shared resource and not confined to individual families or tribes. These traditional systems of interdependence for health and well-being were marginalised by colonisation and the loss of homelands, but are being redefined in the contemporary world and remain critical to Māori well-being. Whanaungatanga,

when aligned with whakapapa and wairuatanga, has the potential to negate negative impacts in communities by providing connections where whati and mokemoketanga (isolation) has occurred. It also provides opportunities through hui and other activity for closer ngākau-centred connections and allows the self-worth of each community member to develop. Rangatiratanga, which includes the concepts mana and manaakitanga, also has the potential to transform communities. Traditional leadership addressed issues of whakamā and promoted self-esteem. Mana was of critical importance, which meant achieving value through manaakitanga—valuing other people. Rangatiratanga leadership recognised that all community members had mana and tapu.

Loss of traditional systems for healing and well-being

Colonisation resulted in a breakdown of traditional systems of healing and well-being. Recovery from trauma and stress-related events involved sacred healing places, many of which disappeared with colonial land loss and loss of environments connected to whakapapa and tūrangawaewae. Traditional healing experts were marginalised through European religions, colonial law and imperialist thinking, promoted through western health and education systems. The breakdown of traditional systems meant that traumas and stress events were less likely to be resolved in traditional ways.

Under the traditional system, pōuritanga was unlikely to be inherited from a previous generation as latent, or in an unresolved state within the ngākau with the potential to generate pūhaehae. To reiterate, a patu ngākau—literally a strike to the heart—is the initial trauma-causing event or action, or any memory or reflection of it that causes a mamae or a physical response within the ngākau. Pōuritanga refers to the state of the ngākau of the individual or collective, and the extent of the capacity of the individual or collective to re-engage with the living world and connect to Te Ao Mārama. Excessive pōuritanga is a dangerous negative state with the potential to generate pūhaehae; this condition is an internal attack on the individual or collective that may cause ill health, disease, destruction or death from within. Excessive and extreme pōuritanga also contributes to whakamomori. This is a state where the individual or group believes that it is



not possible to return to the living world, and as a result, commit to passing over permanently into Te Pō. The traditional sequence for healing from Māori trauma—patu ngākau, aituā, pōuritanga—is as follows:

Resolved Sequence	
Generation One	<u>Patu ngākau / aituā</u> : Initial trauma event
	<u>Ngākau mamae</u> : Physically connected response to initial event
	<u>Pōuritanga</u> : Reponse and effects of initial event
	<u>Te whare pōuri / mediation / rongoā (traditional Māori medicine) / mihi / poroporoaki / tangi (tangi) / oranga ngākau</u> : Whakapapa kōrero, relocating the pōuritanga to an identified location in the recent past and creating a mediated discourse for future generations. Examples: narratives, waiata, artwork, whānau narratives passed on intergenerationally

Table 1: Resolved sequence

The impact of colonisation marginalised or destroyed traditional healing systems. Trauma and stress events within kāinga that would otherwise have been resolved in traditional ways remained unresolved. Māori understandings of thinking, centred within the ngākau, meant that unresolved trauma and stress events were transmitted intergenerationally as unresolved pōuritanga. Poroporoaki are mentioned here as this cultural institution provides a traditional pathway of disconnecting and relegating trauma and negative experiences to the past. The custom of poroporoaki has become socially less important for Māori with the introduction of information technology and modern communications, but remains important for healing conditions associated with ngākau-centred pōuritanga. The unresolved intergenerational sequence, unmediated by traditional healing and coping strategies, is as follows:

Unresolved Sequence	
Generation One	<u>Patu ngākau / aituā</u> : Initial trauma event <u>Pōuritanga</u> : Response and effects of initial event <u>Tohu pōuritanga</u> : Signs, indicators, behaviours, or actions of internally generated pōuritanga, expressed externally as tohu
Generation Two	<u>Pōuritanga</u> : Ngākau-centred and inherited by observations, empathy or other means through tohu <u>Patu ngākau</u> : New unmediated patu ngākau <u>Tohu pōuritanga</u> : Generation of new and inherited tohu pōuritanga
Generation Three	<u>Pōuritanga</u> : Inherited and accumulated <u>Patu ngākau</u> : New patu ngākau <u>Tohu pōuritanga</u> : Inherited, accumulated and new tohu pōuritanga, generated if unresolved or unmediated over three generations

Table 2: Unresolved sequence

The above sequence should be interpreted as a broad view of a complex, organic process of how unresolved patu ngākau may accumulate and generate pōuritanga. Tohu trigger mamae within the body and identify the presence of pōuritanga as a reaction within the body. Several patu ngākau may occur in an individual's lifetime, some of these may be lateral (shared across whānau or hapū), or may be solitary to the individual. Some may also be mediated and resolved during a single generation and others may remain latent and unmediated. Another variable for consideration is the mana of the affected party and their ability to access resources and coping mechanisms to deal with patu ngākau and pōuritanga. All patu ngākau and pōuritanga, however, are unique to their context and the individuals affected. Traditionally appropriate karakia are performed in the presence of unidentified patu ngākau and pōuritanga.

Some examples of patu ngākau that occurred with colonisation, and others that present themselves in contemporary times, are presented in the following below:

Examples of patu ngākau that occurred with colonisation	Examples of contemporary patu ngākau
Land loss	Loss of income, job or
Loss of	ability to provide for the
tūrangawaewae	whānau
Loss of wāhi tapu	Isolation and alienation
(sacred places)	Whānau disputes causing
Loss of traditional	pōuritanga and pūhaehae,
food resources	attempting to destroy
Loss of traditional	an individual, whānau or
knowledge	collective from within
Loss of taonga	Insults, abuse,
(ancestral treasures)	harassment, accidents, etc.

Table 3: Examples of patu ngākau, with colonisation and in contemporary times

Recovery of traditional therapies, tikanga and kawa

Intergenerational trauma and well-being for Māori can be better understood by first understanding Māori ways of processing, interpreting and understanding the world and recognising that these ways have validity for Māori. These ways of knowing contribute to Māori values, which reinforce tikanga and kawa. Tikanga values support practices and protocols and make sense to a community. Values relating to kawa are more critical, being values that relate to views about life and death, and the welfare of future generations. Tikanga and kawa, and Māori analysis of wellness that focus on rebalancing or resetting mauri and restoring natural balance between māramatanga and pōuritanga, are important for traditional well-being. Identifying the cause of mauri mate and pōuritanga becomes an important issue.

A patu ngākau was always accompanied by a loss of mana, as a patu ngākau was an exercise of power over a less powerful party. The process of healing carried out by tohunga and tribal leaders was to commence the healing internally by firstly relocating to a protected ancestral space. In traditional times, this was often inside a whare tupuna, storehouse, or kūmara pit, areas considered tapu and protected.

A larger group during, for instance, tribal hostilities might retreat to pā punanga (refuge), or migrate altogether to the protection of related tribal groupings.

One of the outcomes of unresolved pōuritanga, where the original patu ngākau or cause of pōuritanga cannot be identified, is the potential for pūhaehae, which has been discussed previously. Divisions, disputes and separation within families and tribes caused by land loss through colonisation, and competition for remaining lands through the judicial process in the Māori Land Court, was a major cause of pūhaehae. Pūhaehae weaken the internal system and promote physical disease and illness from within. In pre-colonial discourse, pūhaehae weaken the ngākau and are a precursor for kēhua, atua whakahaehae or ngārara that have the potential to destroy the human body from within, unless extricated. The loss of control to an external entity resulting from unresolved pōuritanga and pūhaehae may be a contributor to Māori drug and alcohol statistics. Traditional therapies and healing practices carried out in safe, ancestrally protected spaces may offer culturally acceptable alternative treatment, particularly if incorporating tohunga with knowledge of kawa and tikanga, and ngākau-centred healing processes that address the wairua and restore the mauri.

Pathways to healing and well-being: Mihi and engagement with the living world

A mihi in its traditional context differs greatly from its contemporary use. Factors contributing to its disuse include language and cultural loss. The mihi plays an important part in traditional Māori well-being as a form of connecting to the living world by offering acknowledgements. It promotes internal well-being by forming positive relationships with the external world through whakapapa and whanaungatanga. In traditional times, mihi were given throughout the day, often through or accompanied by karakia. These greetings and acknowledgements were a form of giving thanks and expressing gratitude, which contributed to individual, whānau, hapū and iwi welfare. As an individual daily practice it has been largely discarded, except where it might conform to transliterated greetings or welcoming rituals. In the traditional world, an individual might greet the new day, the weather, resources, gifts, food or any advantage that might contribute to individual or collective well-being.

Mihi are important as a way of connecting to the world and engaging traditional ways of thinking that enhance resilience and shield the ngākau from stress, trauma and pōuritanga. Mihi reinforce



connectedness to the present and acknowledge whakapapa and whanaungatanga. Traditionally, formalised mihi to atua were part of daily living, sometimes accompanied by karakia. Some examples are: to the dawn, to anything visible in the environment, such as trees, mountains, rivers, to foods, visitors, relatives, gifts received, to any tūpuna or whānau that might be connected through whakapapa. Traditional mihi are acknowledgements that also engage the wairua and mauri, and therefore maintain and support the notion of a natural balance and connectedness to all things. Mihi, by addressing the ngākau, enhance and promote levels of comfort and well-being within an individual or collective—ngākau ora.

Equally as important are mihi to those who have departed or are departing, to remain in the past. This type of mihi or poroporoaki is important because it creates the space between Te Pō—the world of the dead—and the living, connected world. States of distress and trauma—pōuritanga—connected to the world of the dead become more recognisable as belonging to the world beyond. Equally, states of well-being are enhanced through mihi and poroporoaki by accentuated connections to the living, connected world.

Concluding comments

Key cultural underpinnings and metaphors that inform thematic traditional understandings of trauma and well-being have been outlined. Human origins, from darkness and the unknown into a world of light and knowledge, are described. The antecedents of human beings, Ranginui and Papatūānuku, and their various offspring, dwell within the darkness of an embrace which causes pēhitanga, which brings about the separation of the sky and the earth. The separation by their children causes mamae. Ranginui and Papatūānuku express their emotions for the transformed circumstances through aroha for each other and their offspring. Their lamenting creates rain, mists and water on the earth, which provides life for all things in the environment. External knowledge contained within the kete wānanga is later sought by the offspring of Ranginui and Papatūānuku for the creation of human beings. This event causes a dispute between Whiro and Tāne. Human beings are created from the earth and instilled with an element connected to external knowledge. Whiro and his offspring descend to the deep darkness and attack the offspring of Tāne through disease, illness and negative states, which destroy human beings from within.

The process of knowledge acquisition is based on the idea that all knowledge originates externally and becomes known through a process of internalisation, commencing in the womb. In the creation stories, knowledge is acquired from Rangiatea (a spiritual realm related to knowledge), the open space of Ranginui at a place called Tikitiki o Rangī, the topknot of Ranginui. In whakapapa kōrero, the knowledge is acquired and held within the three kete wānanga. The first contains knowledge associated with the Sky Parent, Ranginui, and is known as te kauwae runga. The second kete (basket/s) holds knowledge associated with the Earth Parent, Papatūānuku, called te kauwae raro. The third kete holds knowledge that pertains to the retention and protection of knowledge. The knowledge that is acquired by Tāne is used to create the first human being from whom all human beings are descended. As a result, human beings are descendants of the atua Tāne, and the earth-formed woman Hineahuone, which accounts for all humans having an abstract connection to potential external knowledge, and an instinctive, nurturing, humane and internal knowledge.

Well-being is regarded in the context of whakapapa kōrero, and it is this framework that informs well-being. Well-being occurs through connection to an interconnected world in a way that is meaningful to the wairua and order of a person. When all factors are operating in balance, so too is wairua in balance—this is evidenced when the hau is balanced between the internal and the external world, and between light and darkness—when the individual is living in a balanced way with the environment. In response to external influences, a person's balance will alter, at times deliberately, in order to meet the challenges of the external world. Once a challenge has been met, readjustment must occur in order to restore equilibrium.

The focus of this book has been a brief examination of Māori concepts of trauma and well-being. Traditional concepts of Māori well-being were based upon the balance between light and darkness and relate to the creation narratives of whakapapa kōrero philosophies. In these narratives, trauma is associated with Te Pō, and the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku; well-being is associated with the creation of māramatanga in the living world—Te Ao Mārama.

Traditional Māori views of health are holistic, and do not separate physical and mental health into discrete isolated entities. Although terms may emphasise particular aspects of physical or psychological

health, the concepts are always premised by the assumption that the two are intrinsically linked, which contributes to the notion of *mauri ora*—the balance that maintains an individual’s connection with the external environment. The humane or human side of an individual or group’s personality is linked to *whenua* and *te ira tangata*. *Te ira tangata* and *te kauwae raro* knowledge are, in turn, intrinsically linked with internal health. Traditional knowledge presents the view that human beings were created from *whenua*, and therefore all human beings carry this aspect throughout their lives. Women, who carry more of the *te ira tangata* element, have the ability to conceive because of it. The importance of *whenua*, and internal or *kauwae raro* health, although clear in traditional evidence, has never been made explicit in the literature concerning Māori health and well-being.

The impact of colonisation redefined Māori well-being through the loss of land, loss of traditional economic and socio-political systems, and the introduction of Christianity and the English judicial system. Concepts of well-being transformed with the subordination of *whakapapa kōrero* philosophies. Colonial interpretations of traditional Māori knowledge were influenced by European mythologies and Christian values, which emphasised patriarchal interpretations. Traditional narratives were rendered into English. The reconstruction of Māori values negated Māori health and healing. For example, the traditional role of *Hinenuitepō* and her offspring as benevolent *kaitiaki* (guardian/s) of internal health (including psychological health) was re-interpreted to one of malevolence, or as harbinger of death, who draws souls to the underworld. The understanding of concepts such as *riri*, *pūhaehae* and other psychological conditions or states of being has also been hindered by the assumption that Māori knowledge and knowing is informed or ought to be informed by the same modes of knowledge interpretation and understanding as western or European knowledge systems.

This book is intended as a *kōrero wāwāhi*—an opening discussion that sets the *kaupapa*—and hopes to provide a direction in which additional research may take place in order to provide further discussion related to this topic.





HE RĀRANGI KUPU:

GLOSSARY

aituā	misfortune, accident, god of disaster, fate
aroha	compassion and sympathy
atua	divine, god/s
atua whakahaehae	supernatural forces
e tō e te rā, e tō ki te rua	the sun is setting, sinking to the pit (a farewell to the dead)
hapū	extension of whānau
hara	offence
hara kirimina	criminal offending
hau	breath, wind, physical appearance
haunga	unpleasant, disagreeable smells
hauora	health, vigour
haurangi	loud, boisterous behaviour, drunkenness
Hawaiki	place where the ira atua is united with te ira tangata
heke	rafters
he kura takai puni	defensive strategy
he pūkai nō Tū, he pūkai nō Rongo	the piles of dead are gathered in warfare, and the piles of kūmara are gathered in peacetime (proverb)
he taha nō Tū, he taha nō Rongo	there is a side exposed to violence, and a side that is sheltered and protected (proverb)
hinapō	moon darkness, loss of second sight or instinctive vision
Hineahuone	earth-formed woman
Hinemoana	a guardian of the waters of the earth
Hinenuitepō	Hine-of-the-great night, guardian of Te Pō
Hinetītama	daughter of Hineahuone and Tāne, who transformed into Hinenuitepō
hohou rongo	expression of peace, form of redress
huaki	physical assault
hui	gathering
huna	hidden
ira tangata	human offspring or aspect, earthly connection or element
ira atua	celestial connection or element
iwi	tribe, nation
kai	food/s, ingest



kaiatua	ritual to remove potentially harmful influences, raw food
kaitiaki	guardian/s
ka houhia te rongo	expression of peace (utterance)
kahupō	cloaked darkness, loss of second sight or instinctive vision
kāinga whakatipu	homeland where a person has been nurtured and grown
kaioraora	song of abuse
kaitangata	cooked food
Kaitangata	father of Hema
kakara	pleasant, agreeable smells
ka mate i te whakamā	to become sick or ill with whakamā (utterance)
kangakanga	cursing
karakia	ritual chants, invocations
ka patu i te whakamā	where one is struck with shame, embarrassment or guilt (utterance)
karakia wehe	karakia to expel and send ngārara back into Te Pō
kaupapa	purpose, subject, foundation
kawa	sour or bitter, values associated with life or death
kawanga whare	ceremony for the opening of new houses
kēhua	supernatural forces
kei te ora te ngākau	I am content within (utterance)
kete	basket/s
kete wānanga	baskets, which contain external knowledge
kia ora	command to keep well, or keep good health (utterance)
kino	ill intentions or actions
koha	traditional gifting
kōrero	discussion
kōrero tāhae	plagiarism, altering a discourse without acknowledging its true source, intent to gain an advantage over another
kōrero wāwāhi	opening discussion that sets the kaupapa
kua tau te mauri	the mauri is settled (utterance)
kūmara	sweet potato
kupu tohutohu	words of importance, advice
mā	energy, light, clarifier
māhana	warmth
maharatanga	disturbed mā, a memory or recollection
mahau	porch
mamae	physical and/or emotional pain

mana	power, status, prestige, and the potential to provide or remove benefits
manaakitanga	generosity and good will, particularly to visitors
mana atua	supernatural power or status
mana rangatira	the authority of traditional leadership
mana tangata	individual power or status
mana whenua	territorial power or status
manaia	beaked figures
manawa ora	breath of life, values and ethics
marae ātea	open space in front of a meeting house reserved for traditional oratory
matakite	the power of second sight
matapō	blindness
mātau	grounded or embodied knowledge, understanding
mātauranga	knowledge, understanding
matua	parent
mate	ill health, death
mate kikokiko	afflictions attributed to kēhua
mau	captured
Māui	a descendant of Hineahuone and Hinetītama, who performed a number of feats
mauri	energy
mauri kōrero	the vital essence of discussion
mauri mate	ill health and sickness
mauri ora	energy of life, good health
mauri tau	cyclical, balanced and undisturbed rhythm of the mauri
mihi	acknowledgements
mokemoketanga	isolation
Murirangawhenua	grandmother of Māui, whose jawbone, Te Kauwae Raro, was used by Māui to perform his feats
ngākau	internal system which includes the gut, stomach, central regions and organs of the human body
ngākau ora	well-being, feeling settled internally
ngākau pōuri	distress
ngākau pūhaehae	internal swelling caused by take or various perceived grievances
ngākau riri	when the ngākau is closed off and isolated
ngārara	an illness that has the potential to destroy the human body from within



noho tauriterite	balanced or harmonious communities and environments
oho	to awaken, enliven or to be startled into action
ora	alive, life
oraora	sustain, to give life
oriori	instructional chant
papakikokiko	sensation felt when an atua enters the body
Papatūānuku	Earth Parent
pā punanga	refuge
parau	falsehood
Parawhenuamea	an atua, guardian of the waters of the earth
patu	physical assault
patu mauri	an assault on the mauri
patu ngākau	deep emotional wound (psychological abuse or assault) related to an event
pēhitanga	oppression
pō	darkness, night
pokanoa	to do something without permission, a careless infringement of a tapu
poroporoaki	speeches of farewell
pou	support posts of a meeting house
poupou	wall panels of a meeting house
pōuritanga	darkness
Poutererangi	a house that stands at the entrance of Te Pō
poutiriao	guardians
pūhaehae	jealousy, divisiveness
pūmanawa	values and ethics
pūmanawa ora	breath of life, values and ethics
Punaweko	an atua, associated with Ranginui and the creation of the first human being
pūremu	unsanctioned relationship
pūremu reipa	rape
pūtaringa	ear
rangatira	leader, chieftain
rangatiratanga	the ability to lead, ethical leadership
Rangiātea	a spiritual realm related to knowledge, the open space of Ranginui
Ranginui	Sky Parent; frame or underlying skeletal structure of a whare tupuna

Rehua	the star Sirius
reka	sweet or flavoured
rere	travel, flow
riri	anger, warfare
rohe	region
rongo	perceived internally
Rongo	an atua, concerned with peaceable activities, uri of Ranginui and Papatūānuku
rongo ā arero	knowing by the tongue, to taste
rongo ā ihu	knowing through the nose, to smell
rongo-āio	form of peace
rongo ā kiri	knowing through the skin, to feel
rongo ā taringa	knowing by the ear, to hear
rongo-marae-roa	form of peace
rongo-taketake	form of peace
rongoā	traditional Māori medicine
roro	brain, porch
rua	two; place where the sun descends on the horizon
ruahine	woman elder of chiefly status
Ruatau	an atua, associated with Ranginui and the creation of the first human being
Rūaumoko	an atua of earthquakes, uri of Ranginui and Papatūānuku
ruawhetū	a hollow in the skull of the foetus
tā moko	tattooing
tāhae	theft, obtaining resources in secretive way
tāhae korero	plagiarism, altering a discourse without acknowledging its true source, intent to gain an advantage over another
tāhuhu	ridge beam, backbone or spine of a human being
take	causes
tākiri	twitches, sudden movements or convulsions
Tama-nui-te-rā	the sun
taonga	ancestral treasures
Tāne	an atua of the forests, uri of Ranginui and Papatūānuku
Tangaroa	an atua of the ocean and fish, uri of Ranginui and Papatūānuku
tangata whenua	people of the land, indigenous people
tangi	mourn
tapatapa	affect or stigmatise by name



tapu	sacred, requiring respect or reverence
tau	settled
taurekareka	enslaved, captive without mana
Tāwhaki	an atua who restored the sight of his grandmother, Whaitiri
Tāwhirimātea	an atua of the winds, uri of Ranginui and Papatūānuku
Te Angi	the place where the wairua depart for Te Pō
Te Ao Mārama	the world of light
te hinengaro o te ngākau	the conscience of the ngākau (utterance)
Te Hono ki Wairua	the place where the ira atua is united with the ira tangata
Te Ikaroa a Māui	the great fish of Māui (the North Island)
te kauwae runga	celestial knowledge; the upper jaw
te kauwae raro	earthly knowledge; the lower jaw
te maharatanga o te ngākau	the memory of the ngākau (utterance)
te mātauranga o te ngākau	the knowledge within the ngākau (utterance)
Te Muriwaihou	the pathway from the living world to the entrance of Te Pō
te ngākau o te hapū	the heart of the sub-tribe (utterance)
te ngākau o te iwi	the heart of the tribe (utterance)
te ngākau o te whānau	the heart of the family (utterance)
te ngākau o te whenua	the bowels of the earth (utterance)
Te Pō	the sacred, living world of darkness
Te Rerenga Wairua	the flight of spirits
te riri o te ngākau	to screen off, shut down or create barriers to the ngākau
te ūkaipō	the nurturing breast
Te Waiora a Tāne	where the moon rises and dips on the horizon
te whakaaro o te ngākau	the attention or contemplation of the ngākau (utterance)
Te Whānau-a-Rua	stages and states of knowledge, and includes Rua-i-te-pūkenga, Rua-i-te-mahara and others
te whānau pani	the bereaved family
te whare o Apakura	house of mourning
te whare mate	house of mourning
te whare pōuri	house of mourning
Te Whare o Rongo	the domain of Rongo and peace, the interior of a whare tupuna
te whare takapau	house of conception or where human life is created
tiaki	the ability to guard and protect ancestral treasures, whānau and future generations
Thei mauri ora	a sneeze with the generative energy of life

tikanga	Māori practices and protocols
tikanga rangatira	traditional systems of ethical behaviour and practices, passed down intergenerationally
Tikitiki o Rangī	the topknot of Ranginui
Tiwhaia	an atua, associated with Ranginui and the creation of the first human being
toa	bravery and courage
tohu	traditional signs and indicators
tohu aituā	sign of impending death, ill health or misfortune
tohu mate	indicator of death, illness or calamity
tohu moana	sign associated with the sea
tohu nō te tau	sign of seasonal change
tohu pōuritanga	signs, indicators, behaviours or actions of internally generated pōuritanga, expressed externally as tohu
tohunga	expert or specialist who can read tohu
tohunga ahurewa	ritual experts in the use of incantations of the tūāhu
tohunga hanga whare	house building expert
tohunga matakite	seers who interpret visual images
tohunga pūkenga	instructor
tohunga tā moko	tattooing expert
tohunga tārai waka	canoe building expert
tohunga tātai arorangi	specialist in astronomy
tohunga tauira	expert not yet fully qualified but still in training
tohunga whakairo	an expert in interpreting in dealing with tohu relating to whakairo - sculpted or scribed markings, signs, symbols and images, generally in wood
tohu ora	sign of good health
tohu rangatira	symbol of leadership and chieftainship
tohu Ranginui	meteorological and astronomical sign
tohu whenua	landmark associated with whakapapa kōrero
toiora	spiritual essence of well-being
tokomauri	karakia to restore the internal balance
tūāhu	sacred place for ritual practices
tuaiwi	ridge beam, backbone or spine of a human being
tuarā	ridge beam, backbone or spine of a human being
Tū-ka-riri	Tū who is quick to anger
Tūmataunga	an atua of courage and war, uri of Ranginui and Papatūānuku



tūranga	place or location
tūrangawaewae	place of belonging
tupuna	forebear
tūpuna	forebears
ūkaipō	the nurturing breast
upoko	head
uri	progeny, regenerative or procreative power
uri whakatipu	future generations
wāhi tapu	sacred places
wai	water, fluid, liquid-related essence
waiata	song
waiata whakamomori	songs that refer to a deeply disturbed emotional state
waiora	life-giving water
wairua	spirit
Wairua Tapu	biblical translation for the soul and Holy Spirit
wairuatanga	spirituality
whaikōrero	speech-making, the ability to communicate
Whaitiri	grandmother of Tāwhaki; mother of Hema and wife of Kaitangata
whakaaro	thought, to bring forth, consider
whakahihī	ridicule
whakairo	sculpted or scribed markings, signs, symbols, images, generally in wood
whakamā	shame, to ashen or become pale or white
whakamātautau	examination
whakamomori	desperation
whakamomori ki te mate	commit to dying
whakamoti	expiration
whakapapa	genealogy
whakapapa kōrero	traditional Māori knowledge
whakarongo	listen, sense
whakataukī	proverb
whakawā	ability to adjudicate and settle disputes
whānau	extended families
whanaunga	relatives
whanaungatanga	familial connections and relationships between and across whānau

whare	house
wharekura	traditional schools
whare maire	traditional house of instruction in sacred lore or māku
whare mate	house of mourning
whare tupuna	meeting house
whare wānanga	traditional higher house of learning
whare whakairo	carved meeting house
whati	break or disconnect
whenua	land, afterbirth
whenua papatipu	land where a person has been raised
whetū	star/s
Whiro	an atua associated with ill-health, uri of Ranginui and Papatūānuku





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