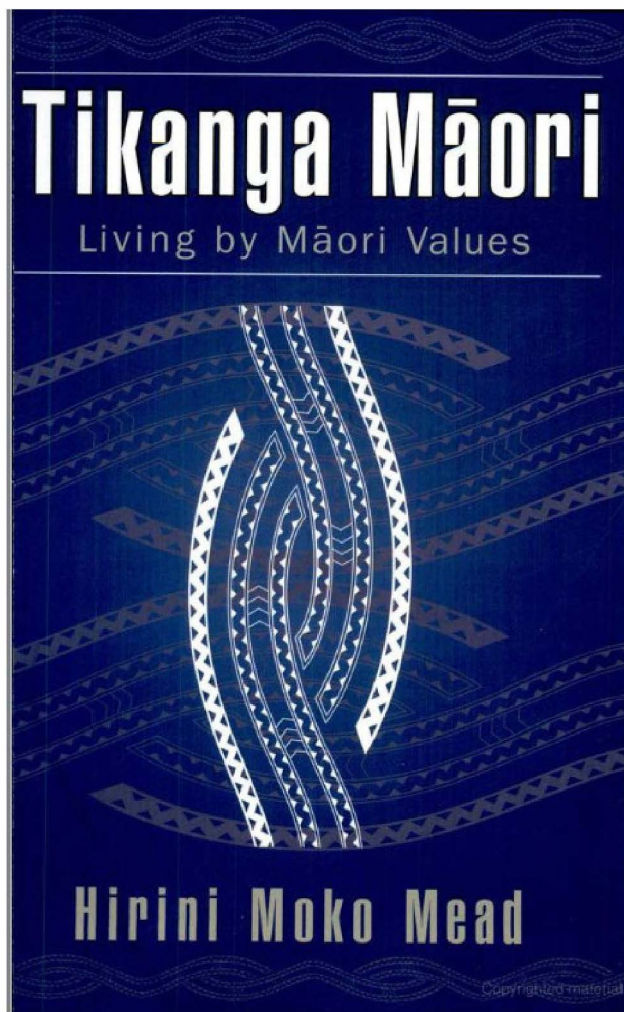


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Tikanga Māori

Living by Māori Values

Hirini Moko Mead



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Peace agreements (discussed in chapter 10) are the most spectacular manifestations of a state of ea, but traditionally they were difficult to negotiate. That resolutions should reach a state of ea is an ideal that is in the minds of the people. It is important to be able to say 'Kua ea,' that is, the matter is settled and is no longer an issue. Settling an issue is guided by both precedents and by judgements against modern factors. The end result is to reach the state of ea.

Value, values and principles

It could be confusing to use the word 'values' to mean principles and the word 'value' which means 'the regard something is held to deserve; importance or worth' (*Oxford Compact Dictionary 2000:1277–78*). Obviously one is not the plural of the other. Instead we are dealing with two separate words with very different meanings. Manaakitanga is one of the values that underpin tikanga Māori. It refers to an expected standard of behaviour, an ideal that one should aspire to reach. When we say that manaakitanga is 'highly valued' or that there is 'high value' placed upon manaakitanga we are using the base singular word 'value' which means holding something to be important. What values are important, and have been important, to Māori?

Whanaungatanga

One component of the values associated with tikanga is whanaungatanga. Whanaungatanga embraces whakapapa and focuses upon relationships. Individuals expect to be supported by their relatives near and distant, but the collective group also expects the support and help of its individuals. This is a fundamental principle.

There are obligations in terms of whanaungatanga. At a tangihanga relatives are expected to support the whole ceremony. Many tikanga prescribe ways of restoring a balance in relationships because it is recognised that relationships are fragile and need to be nurtured. An associated principle is that of *kanohi kitea*, a face seen, indicating that kin members need to be seen and the bonds of whanaungatanga kept strong.

The whanaungatanga principle reached beyond actual whakapapa relationships and included relationships to non-kin persons who became like kin through shared experiences and to the ancestral house at the marae, because it is usually named after an ancestor. Although a high

value is placed upon whanaungatanga and its obligations the ideal is difficult to achieve.

Manaakitanga and whanaungatanga

All tikanga are underpinned by the high value placed upon manaakitanga – nurturing relationships, looking after people, and being very careful about how others are treated. Thus in the tikanga of *muru* (the ritual redistribution of property discussed in chapter 9), for the groups of people who come to take away the heirlooms, goods, products of the land, sea and forest, the animals and, in fact, anything moveable, the value of manaakitanga still holds: that is, the principle or standard of behaviour must remain in place. These people are given a meal and are allowed to leave in peace. The practice of *muru* is carefully managed because the values placed on whanaungatanga and manaakitanga must be maintained.

The Law Commission (2001) preferred to call upon the general term *aroha* to cover this value. *Aroha* is an essential part of manaakitanga and is an expected dimension of whanaungatanga. It cannot be stressed enough that manaakitanga is always important no matter what the circumstances might be. Some might be motivated by anger or by greed to act against the expected principles of behaviour. In the end, however, a judgement is made about their failure to observe the expected requirements of tikanga. These principles are important in human relationships.

Mana

Personal and group relationships are always mediated and guided by the high value placed upon mana. Mana has to do with the place of the individual in the social group. Some individuals are regarded as having a high level of mana and others have varying levels. The word as defined by Williams (1957:172) has a range of meanings: 'authority, control', 'influence, prestige, power', 'psychic force', 'effectual, binding, authoritative'.

People with mana tend to be persons in leadership roles in the community. They are well placed in terms of whakapapa and come from chiefly lines or from important families. People of mana draw their prestige and power from their ancestors (*mana tipuna*). This power is socially founded upon the kinship group, the parents, the *whānau*, *hapū*

and iwi. There is also a personal increment based on the proven works, skills and/or contributions to the group made over time by an individual that provide human authority (*mana tangata*). The element of psychic power relates also to *whakapapa* and connections with the Gods of the Māori world (*mana Atua*). Few leaders today claim a divine right to be a speaker on the *paepae* or *taumata* (the speakers' bench). Yet the most effective speakers are those that have *mana* and the confidence associated with it.

Mana is in turn mediated by the value placed on the *tuakana/taina* standing of a person. *Tuakana* – older siblings, male or female – have a higher position socially than *taina*, younger siblings. In effect interpersonal relationships are not on a level playing field. They are much more complicated to manage because of other variables. Having skill and experience are advantages in maintaining balance in interpersonal and inter-group relationships. As a general rule *mana* must be respected and public events should enhance the *mana* of participants. Actions that diminish *mana* result in trouble.

Tapu

The concept of *tapu* is an important element in all *tikanga*. The source of *tapu* goes to the heart of Māori religious thought and even though a majority of Māori are members of some Christian church or sect the notion of *tapu* holds. It is not really a matter of choosing one religion over another. Rather it has to do with integrating different philosophies and making an attempt at reconciling apparent contradictions. *Tapu* is everywhere in our world. It is present in people, in places, in buildings, in things, words, and in all *tikanga*. *Tapu* is inseparable from *mana*, from our identity as Māori and from our cultural practices.

As Māori we respect the *tapu* of places and buildings such as the ancestral meeting house. We also respect the *tapu* of persons including our own. These are ideals and values we believe in. But it has to be admitted that many of us no longer know about these values and often do not know what to do. Notwithstanding this trend, *tapu* remains an important part of our actions and of our beliefs. When told that we should not step over a sleeping person the reason has to do with the *tapu* of the person. One should not pass anything over the head of another, the head being the most *tapu* part of a person. A building is opened at

down because it is *tapu* until the moment the builders, carvers and decorators are released from the *tapu* of creative work and the building is cleared ready for public use. The whole of the *tangihanga* ceremony cannot be explained unless the notion of *tapu* is clearly understood.

Utu

While the notion of *utu* is linked to the analytical framework of the *take-utu-ea* model already mentioned, there is also a value placed upon *utu* as compensation, or revenge, or reciprocity. Many commentators have noted the concept of *utu*, for example in warfare (Vayda 1960:45) and in economic transactions (Firth 1959:412–13). It is sometimes referred to as the principle of reciprocity (Firth) or as the principle of equivalence, and Mege (2001) regards its main purpose as maintaining relationships. As pointed out in this chapter *utu* is a response to a *take* and that once the *take* is admitted the aim is to reach a state of *ea*, which might be translated as restoring balance and thereby maintaining *whanaungatanga*.

There are many pathways and responses by which *utu* is put into practice. Many of the pathways are culturally validated and are regarded as appropriate to the event that triggered a response. Choosing the wrong pathway could be found to be inappropriate.

Noa and ea

The notion of *ea* to indicate the successful closing of a sequence and the restoration of relationships or the securing of peaceful interrelationships is a value that underpins most *tikanga*. In war, the notion of *ea* refers specifically to either achieving revenge, which is a limited and one-sided aim, or towards securing peace between both parties, which is more difficult to achieve. In the case of *muru*, relationships have been upset and a new set of relationships is validated at great cost to one party. The new element in the relationship enters the group at great expense to the receiving *hapū* and probably needs to foster good future relationships. In the context of infringements upon *tapu*, the response selected reduces the level of *tapu* to a state of *noa*, thereby restoring the balance and so reaching the deserved state of *ea*.

Noa is often paired with *tapu* indicating that often *noa* refers to restoring a balance. A high level of *tapu* is regarded as dangerous. Here

the role of tikanga and of tohunga is to reduce the level of dangerous tapu until it is noa or safe. It is not useful to think of noa as being the opposite of tapu or as the absence of tapu. This is plainly not the case. For example a person can be very tapu if one is very ill or there is bleeding and shedding of blood. Once these tapu-increasing symptoms have passed the person returns to a safe state, but still has personal tapu. The state of noa indicates that a balance has been reached, a crisis is over, health is restored and life is normal again. This means relationships are restored. This state coincides with a state of ea and noa. This state might last for several weeks until upset by some unexpected event.

The cycle begins again from a cause, 'take', to a response, 'utu' and finally reaching a state of balance again, 'ea' and 'noa'.

Underlying principles and values are pervasive in any study of tikanga Māori. It follows therefore that these principles and values will arise time and again in the descriptions of the range of tikanga Māori covered in this book.

Perspectives

To look on tapu only as 'being with potentiality for power' is to leave out the most important element of tapu, the faith element, the link with the spiritual powers. In the understanding of tapu presented here, every part of creation has its tapu, because every part of creation has its link with one or others of the spiritual powers, and alternately with *Io*, *Io Matua Kore*, 'the parentless one', *Io Taketake*, 'the source of all'.

It is important to note that this is one view of tapu, a view based on some of the Maori writings of the 1840's and 1850's. Each tribe has its own understandings of tapu as is evidenced in the Maori manuscripts, what one Maori writer referred to as tapu, another referred to as mana. Today too, where some tribes speak of tapu, others speak of mana. Different words are used for the same reality and the use of the different words itself gives us a better understanding of that reality.

– Shirres 1997:33

Again a major factor in having mana as a people is the ability to express mana through the exercise of hospitality.

So, in the 1850's when Tamihana Te Wāhanga approached different chiefs around the country asking them to accept the title of King of Aotearoa, they refused, one after the other. In refusing they referred to the land over which they had no control and to its food resources. The reason they gave for refusing the title was that they did not have the resources to *manatiki*, to look after the people in a way fitting for a King. They felt that their tribal resources would not be equal to the strain of keeping up the position of King.

– Shirres 1997:55

I therefore make a distinction between intrinsic tapu and extensions of tapu. The intrinsic tapu are those things which are tapu in themselves. These are the primary tapu. The extensions of tapu are the restrictions. These are referred to as tapu not because of their own intrinsic tapu but because of their relationship to some primary tapu as a restriction imposed to protect it in some way. They are thus an extension of the primary tapu.

– Shirres 1997:34

Ruka says partly the programming of the missionaries and partly Maori misunderstanding resulted in Maori faith-healers and prophets being too ready to brand some tikanga Maori as *kehua* or evil spirits.

'Our people became frightened of themselves, frightened of their culture, frightened of their tikanga, frightened of their spirituality and they pushed them aside, even their *reo*.

'I think an example is my kids talking to their grandmother. My belief is to talk Maori to my kids. But their *kuia* talks Pakeha to them, and tells them to forget their past, 'your future is in the Pakeha world', and that's sad, that was the thinking that permeated that generation.'

Ruka believes this thinking must be undone, not with the older generation but with the coming generation, to win back something.

He says this is what a lot of Maori people are doing, by their search through other religions for their *taha* Maori. He says Ohakune is a good example, where there is a strong nucleus of Maori young people staunch in their Katorika roots and their *taha* Maori.

– Broughton 1985:7



4

Te Tapu o te Tangata The Tapu of the Person

In the world of today it has become important to know who we are, where we come from and what we are born with. There is a felt need to know our roots and to belong to some place that we call home. But as well as being concerned about identity and our place in society there is also the question of birthright. Do we have a birthright or has it been denied, suspended, removed, or is it in doubt that we ever had such a thing? The title of this chapter indicates we are assuming that a person is far more than a mere biological self. There are other aspects of the self and one of these has to do with the spiritual self, the tapu of the person, the sanctity, the special attributes that we are born with and that contribute to defining our place in time, locality and society. The discussion is limited in scope to looking at the notion of birthright, named here as *kāhau-waiū*, that is, the attributes gained through the mother's milk. It is a working assumption here that a person is born into the world with a birthright that might be very limited or quite extensive. In the Māori case the birthright includes a spiritual aspect and this will be described as we explore the various dimensions of being a Māori person. Others may have similar ideas and give them different names.

In exploring the concept of birthright a number of interesting questions can be asked. The following are examples:

1. What is the birthright of a Māori child?
2. Are there benefits to being Māori?
3. What is the heritage of a Māori child?
4. What are the obligations of the parents?

5. Does tapu apply to both men and women?
6. Is it possible to improve one's social position or is an individual forever locked into a position defined by one's whakapapa?
7. Is mana concerned with being creative and imaginative?

These are interesting questions that have become important today because of the obvious benefits of belonging to an iwi which has just received some compensation money from the nation or has high hopes for the future. Part of the settlement process involves identifying and registering members on hapū lists. Thus iwi are concerned about the rules of eligibility and are setting in place criteria for determining membership, such as whakapapa links, interests in land blocks and association with marae. On the other hand there are individuals who are dusting their whakapapa books and searching for ways of linking in to tribal resources. There are others who are looking for evidence of some Māori blood in their descent lines. A link to a Māori princess or to a chief is a cherished desire.

The abuse of the sanctity of a person

These questions are also very important from an entirely different point of view. In the 1980s and 1990s a disturbing amount of evidence was brought to light concerned with the abuse of the sanctity of the individual: neglect of children, family violence, sexual abuse of children, assault of women, and murder of women. There were appalling cases of violence towards children by adults who exhibited no awareness or acknowledgment of or respect for the individual and their place in Māori society. Nor is it any better in the treatment of women. Was it always like this? Or has there been further erosion of Māori values and cultural norms? Or are there other reasons? How does concern for the well-being of the individual member of the hapū compare with the warlike nature of society at large? While acknowledging the tenuous nature of life in traditional society it is quite plain that within the hapū and the whānau there were rules of behaviour to adhere to, and if these rules were trampled upon there were dire consequences. However, acts of bad behaviour are today no longer controlled by tikanga Māori alone. These are now almost totally matters for the law of the land.

Can one be an individual in Māori society?

Another question is whether it is possible to be an individual in a whānau or hapū when the interests of the group are seen to be supreme. This question can be asked in a different way: if you rejoin your hapū do you lose some or all of your individuality? Firth (1959:135-41) addressed this issue in 1927 when he wrote *Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (first published in 1929). He argued that though the individual person appeared to exist only as a part of a group, the facts did not support this position. He cited writers such as Wilson, Best, and Cowan (Firth 1959:138), and many others over-emphasising the influence of Māori communism. Firth (1959:135) challenges statements such as the following from Best: 'In Maori society the individual could scarcely be termed a social unit, he was lost in the *whānau* or family group.' In fact, there is overwhelming evidence to the contrary, for example in 'rivalry between persons in work, the insistence on *utu* or an equivalence for gifts and services, quarrels over land and property rights of a personal kind, theft of valuables, gluttonous consumption of food, idleness and the like indicate a definite sphere of action determined primarily by individual interests' (Firth 1959:138). There is no need to push the point any further. It was possible in 1927 to be a Māori individual. If anything, Māori have been increasingly affected by the western ethic of the individual so that we are possibly more individualistic now than in 1927.

Rangatiratanga

The concept of rangatiratanga has been discussed extensively in relation to the Treaty of Waitangi. See for example contributions by Orange 1987, Walker 1996 and Mead 1997. The word appears in article 2 of the Māori text. In these discussions rangatiratanga is associated with political issues such as sovereignty, chieftainship, leadership, self-determination, self-management and the like. When the term was applied to an individual, as in the writings of Te Rangikaheke (Grove 1985:11-12), the issue is about qualities of leadership and chieftainship over a social group, a hapū or iwi. According to Te Rangikaheke the legacy left to a child born of *te moenga rangatira* (the chiefly marriage bed) would include the essential abilities to lead and conduct meetings of the tribe, know all about agriculture, be brave in battle, be very familiar with

military strategies, know the arts, build up the resources of the tribe and be hospitable to visitors.

Te moenga rangatira: the chiefly marriage bed

This is not a discussion about individuals in general or about what any individual Māori might be born with. Te Rangikaheke (Grove 1985: 11–12), however, did discuss a fundamental concept that underpins certain beliefs about the nature of individual talents and characteristics. He was very clear that the source of these characteristics was te moenga rangatira, the chiefly marriage bed. He quoted the following proverb to emphasize the point: 'E kore e hekeheke, he kākano rangatira' (It will never be lost, the seed of chiefly persons) (Grove 1985:12).

Te Rangikaheke meant that a person derived all of their personal characteristics, or pūmanawa as he called them, from the womb of the mother. He called it the belly. From this statement one can postulate that he saw the kākano (seed) as coming from both parents. While the chief might contribute his genes, it was the mother who nurtured the seed and eventually gave birth to a new life that Te Rangikaheke credited to te moenga rangatira. A child born of noble parentage would be referred to as a descendant of a well-known ancestor and as the child of parents of some social standing in the tribal group. Such a child would receive a generous entitlement of assets such as garments and ornaments, and later, interests in land; would be well brought up and well educated, and would by right of birth receive a richer portion of attributes than other children.

The principle of te moenga rangatira is easy to understand. Children born of te moenga rangatira or te takapau wharanui (the great sleeping mat) receive more of everything according to their position of birth in the chiefly lineages. Those unfortunate enough to be far removed from the main chiefly whakapapa lines receive less. While every Māori person is born with a whakapapa which is part of the birthright, there is no common starting point and no level playing field. Every person is different and every one has a unique position in the social system. Te moenga rangatira is an important ranking device which still has relevance and validity in today's society.

Te tapu o te tangata: the sanctity of the person

Once issues of chieftainship and leadership are set aside it is not really appropriate to speak of the rangatiraanga of the individual except in a metaphorical sense. Respect for the individual is better stated as te tapu o te tangata, the sanctity of the person. The reasons for emphasising the tapu aspect of the person will become clear when various attributes are described and discussed. Tapu is a powerful concept when applied to the individual person.

It needs to be said that Te Rangikaheke did not believe that pūmanawa could be passed on to people of low class, such as tūtūā (slaves). In his time tūtūā did not qualify to be treated as human beings. By becoming slaves these people lost their birthright and thus their right to be treated the same as other members of the hapū. But the class divisions of traditional times, namely the chiefly class and the commoners, the ware (low born) or tūtūā (Buck 1987:337), no longer exist and are not recognised. No Māori today will admit to being a commoner or tūtūā. The social divisions of the past have flattened out and there is one class called Māori. Thus Te Rangikaheke's notion of te moenga rangatira applies to everyone regardless of social position. However, the differences are accommodated by varying the levels of tapu and mana that individuals receive. This means that fine distinctions are now made within the context of the single class. In other words judgments are still made about rangatira status and proximity to the chiefly line. Also there are discriminating factors, such as order of birth, which separate individuals.

What I shall attempt to do is to present a coherent model of the attributes and characteristics of an individual born of Māori parents, or having one Māori parent. The individual is subject to various social factors, among which is the issue of enculturation so the children know who they are, understand the culture they are born into and know how to behave as adults. The nurturing and sheltering role of the parents is crucial in this process so that the children grow into their culture rather than become alienated from it as happens today in far too many cases.

The concept of kaihau-waiū: birthright

At this point it is useful to think in terms of a birthright which includes everything that a child can expect by being born a Māori. Components

of the birthright can be described as attributes that refer to 'any property, quality or characteristic that can be ascribed to a person' (*The Living Webster* 1973:65). The component identified as an attribute will be passed on to the individual as part of the birthright. There is no word in Williams' *Dictionary* for birthright and so I have coined the word *kaihau-waiū*, meaning property or attribute gained through the mother's milk, that is, through birth.

Te Rangikāheke applied the term *pūmanawa* in the sense of natural talents to some of the attributes of a person. A more inclusive term for attributes, characteristics and talents is the word *āhua*, so one can talk about *te āhua o te tangata*. *Āhua* refers to form, character and make-up. Thus *te āhua o te tangata* addresses the notion of the form, character and make-up of the person.

The dynamic aspects of the kaihau-waiū

One's birthright is affected in a number of ways and may be limited or increased according to certain principles and variables. Once having received the *kaihau-waiū* there are responsibilities upon the parents, the close relatives and the individual person to maintain it and cherish it. Much of the birthright can be lost, or diminished, or damaged by others. At the moment of birth, however, there are discriminating principles which alter the starting point of people. These are listed below:

1. The principle of *te moenga rangatira* means that those born from a chiefly line inherit more than others.
2. The *mātānua* (first born) principle, or the principle of primogeniture, that is of the priority given to being born first. Order of birth is important in terms of the *whakapapa* line and privileges which are associated with this principle.
3. The *tuakana/taina* principle which grants more status to the elder sibling (*tuakana*) than to the younger (*taina*). There are extensions of the *tuakana* principle to other relationships.
4. The principle of *utu-ea* (compensation—state of balance), which determines whether the birthright remains in a steady state, is increased or substantially reduced.

5. The principle of *toa*, or personal achievement and service, which enables an individual to make up for lost ground or increase the birthright.
6. The *whakatika* principle, which enables one to appeal to the Gods through *karakia* to correct a wrong. This may be effected through a *tohunga* or minister of a church who will take steps to correct a ritual error. The *whakatika* principle acknowledges that an individual can make an unwise decision or otherwise do something that damages one's personal *mana*.
7. The principle of *ahi-kā* (burning fire), of keeping one's claims warm by being seen (the principle of *kanohi kitea*, a face seen) and by maintaining contact with the extended family and the *hapū*.
8. The principle of spiritual nurturing, which comes from observance of proper ceremonies, use of *karakia* and appeals for divine support.

In addition to maintaining a balance of all these factors there is the added danger of a *nanakia*, an untrustworthy, hail-fellow-well-met wheeler-dealer in the family who through various means will attempt to disinherit their relatives or harm them. Thus the birthright needs to be protected, discussed, monitored, and maintained in balance so that once the child becomes adult there is something of value to hand over. More importantly the individual is prepared, willing and able to make decisions for one's self because the birthright is a share in the heritage of the Māori nation. When this moment arrives the individual should be keen to receive their share in the inheritance and not reject it, as often happened in the past.

The attributes

Attributes may be grouped into two categories. First is a set of attributes which identify the person and anchor the individual within a social unit that is identified with a known locality. The second group includes attributes that are fundamental to the very nature of human life and are linked to beliefs about the cosmos and the place of human beings within the belief system.

Attributes of identity

Ira tangata, ira atua

Ira tangata refers in general to what results from the moenga tangata, the marriage bed of humans. A new life is created and the new life is human. The word *ira* means 'life principle' or more specifically 'gene' (Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori 1996:164), while *tangata* means human. *Ira tangata* thus refers specifically to a human life that has inherited a collection of genes from the parents. The genes are more than biological elements, however. There is a godlike and spiritual quality to all of them because as human beings, *ira tangata* descend from *ira Atua*, the Gods. The first woman was created by the Gods and the seed of human life was planted by Tāne, son of Rangi and Papa, the primeval parents of the Māori cosmos.

Much of a person's prospects in life depend upon the parents and the legacy they pass on: genes, social standing, economic position, education and the like. When adulthood arrives individuals play an important role in shaping their lives and their future. The individual has to act in a social, political, economic and spiritual environment. Education and training prepare the individual for life in this complex cultural environment. But the individual is also a person with a personality known to other persons.

Whakapapa

Whakapapa is a fundamental attribute and gift of birth. It is the social component of the *ira*, the genes. A child is born into a kinship system which is already in place and has been for many generations. Every individual is a beneficiary of two whakapapa lines, the mother's and the father's. Sometimes a child can claim the whakapapa of only one parent. This single whakapapa line is sufficient to define a place within the hapū of that one parent. Whakapapa provides our identity within a tribal structure and later in life gives an individual the right to say, 'I am Māori.'

One's whakapapa is affected by a number of the principles outlined earlier. The order of birth is important: the *mātāmua* is accorded more mana than others. It is also affected by the *tuakana/taina* principle which is also the order of birth. The older sibling has priority over the younger and this principle works its way down to the last born, known as the *pōriki*. This person is often treated the same as a *mātāmua*. Whakapapa is

also affected by the *ahi-kā* principle: one has to be located in the right place and be seen often in order to enjoy the full benefits of whakapapa.

Correct whakapapa is the key to eligibility to interests in tribal lands, to education grants, to attend certain tribal ceremonies, and to be accepted as *tangata whenua* at the local marae. With it come some responsibilities to play a part in the life of the hapū and iwi. Whakapapa is also the key to membership in the hapū of the parents, to one hapū or to several. Whakapapa legitimises participation in hapū affairs and opens doors to the assets of the iwi. It provides a right to be buried in the local *urupā* (cemetery), a right to succeed to land interests of the parents and a right to claim membership in the hapū. One can say with certainty 'I am Ngāi Awa' or 'I am Te Tāwera' or 'I am Tūhoe, Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Whakatōhea, Parihūhehu, Ngāi Manawa or Ngāi Te Rangi.' In short, whakapapa is belonging. Without it an individual is outside looking in.

Tūrangawaewae

Whakapapa is also the key to the next component of one's birthright: the right to be associated with a locality. A bundle of attributes come with the fact of being born of Māori parents or even of one Māori parent. One of these attributes is the right to a place for the feet to stand, that is, *tūrangawaewae*. It is a place where one belongs by right of birth. *Tūrangawaewae* represents one spot, one locality on planet earth where an individual can say, 'I belong here. I can stand here without challenge. My ancestors stood here before me. My children will stand tall here.' The place includes interests in the land, with the territory of the hapū and of the iwi. It is a place associated with the ancestors and is full of history.

The *tūanga* is the primary locality, the place intimately associated with the identity of the hapū and therefore with the identity of the person. Today the marae is the centre of identity. Next to it is the cemetery and the *wāhi tapu* (sacred spots) of the hapū. The place then extends outwards to include the territory of the iwi – the rivers, lakes, mountains, islands, coastline, forests, swamps, harbours and specific land blocks.

These significant places are remembered in proverbs such as 'Ko Pūtauaki te maunga, ko Rangitāiki te awa, ko Rangitūkehu te tangata' (Pūtauaki is the mountain, Rangitāiki is the river and Te Rangitūkehu

is the chief). Another is: 'Ko Taupo te moana, ko Te Heuheu te tangata, ko Tūwharetoa te iwi' (Taupo is the lake, Te Heuheu is the chief and Tūwharetoa is the tribe).

Pūmanawa

Te Rangikaheke refers to inborn talents that are passed on through the genes and come from the seed of rangatira persons. Williams (1957:309) defines pūmanawa as 'natural talents, intuitive, cleverness'. Talents come with the whakapapa and it is assumed that parents pass on talents to their children through te moenga rangatira. A talent for art, for example, may manifest itself in several generations of a descent line. An example, recorded by Neich (1977:109–110) lists a succession of gifted Ngāi Tarāwhai wood carvers.

A bundle of pūmanawa and characteristics is brought together in the genes that comprise the kākano rangatira mentioned earlier by Te Rangikaheke. A propensity for bad temper and violence is believed to characterise a particular family line. A talent for music, or an ability to recite from memory hundreds of names in a whakapapa table, or a talent for weaving, oratory, singing waiata, or art, passes from one generation to the next. This is why orators sometimes refer to the living descendants of an iwi as the hands and feet of previous generations. Sometimes they detect mannerisms or voice qualities that were the same as those of their relatives who have passed on.

The metaphor of the flax bush (te pā harakeke) may be invoked to represent the ongoing passage of attributes. In a flax bush new life comes out from inside the heart. The sheltering leaves in time fall and die away leaving space for the new leaves. But it is the same flax bush and all leaves maintain more or less the characteristics of the whole pā harakeke. So it is with pūmanawa: the new forms maintain some of the same characteristics that were seen before in their ancestors.

Spiritual attributes

The next group of attributes are those in which the spiritual element is dominant. Every Māori is born with these spiritual attributes, but not every Māori is aware of them.

As mentioned earlier, Te Rangikaheke denied these attributes to

persons not born of chiefly stock. In order to benefit from the intervention of the Gods an individual needed to come from te moenga rangatira. However, the whole nature of Māori society has changed and the social distinctions of the past no longer exist. An important consequence is that all Māori now belong to the rangatira class. All are related to the chiefs and have nobility of birth. Thus it follows that every child receives a full basket of attributes; although, as stated earlier, the fruit in the basket will not be of the same quantity. It also follows that every Māori child is born with spiritual attributes and every child has personal tapu.

Tapu

The most important spiritual attribute is one's personal tapu. This attribute is inherited from the Māori parent (or parents) and comes with the genes. Te Rangikaheke's notion of te moenga rangatira provides an ideal model of a person born of the appropriate whakapapa, brought up in ideal conditions, supported through life by parents who themselves possess a high level of tapu and who began life with a maximum increment of personal tapu.

All going well these individuals should be able to protect their interests and build their personal tapu through their own good works which are noticed and approved by the people. Others have a more difficult task of improving their lot, but in today's society there are ways for individuals to do so.

The protection of the self is closely linked to tapu and the attribute of mana, which is allied to tapu. I shall describe mana separately. Here however, it needs to be said that as the mana of an individual grows, the tapu rises at the same time. If the level of one's tapu is at a steady state, the individual is well in both a physical and psychological state. Well-being means that the self is in a state of balance. Personal tapu, which pervades all of the other attributes of the self, is safe, not under threat, or likely to be threatened. All hara (transgressions) have been neutralised and dealt with and there are none imminent. Persons of ill will who may harm an individual in some way are not doing so. In other words the attributes of the self are all in a steady state and the forces of good and evil are in balance. Overall the person can say 'Kei te ora ahau' (I am well).

The source of tapu

The source of tapu is traceable to the primeval parents, Rangi and Papa, and their divine children, the departmental Gods such as Tāne, Tangaroa, Tūmatauenga (God of war) and Tāwhirimātea (God of the elements). Descent lines which trace back to the Gods are believed to have a large increment of tapu. Inevitably that means that tapu is greatest among families closest to the main chiefly descent line. Everyone else has to accept a lesser degree of tapu.

The idea of tapu works best when this personal attribute is recognised, known and accepted by the community at large. To be somebody is to know one's identity, be aware of one's personal tapu and be known to many others in the community. A person who is well known in the community is by and large less likely to be abused, ill-treated or assaulted. Individuals possessing a low level of personal tapu tend to be vulnerable to being picked on, bullied, or abused, and often do not enjoy good health. Quite often the bullying begins at school where the children go to learn.

Tapu is pervasive and touches all other attributes. It is like a personal force field which can be felt and sensed by others. It is the sacred life force which supports the mauri (spark of life), another very important spiritual attribute of the person. It reflects the state of the whole person. In fact life can be viewed as protecting one's personal tapu and in doing so one is looking after one's physical, social, psychological and spiritual well-being.

Damage to tapu

Personal tapu was subject to damage and attack. Direct physical assault could damage one's personal tapu, if the assailant was successful. Events of this sort would help build up one's tapu if the attacker was beaten off. Sorcery, gossip, being publicly humiliated, and personal abuse of any form can all damage one's personal tapu. Poor performance in significant tribal affairs that brought shame to the iwi could have a similar effect. Losing a legal battle on behalf of the iwi is treated the same as losing a war against another iwi. One can do harm by breaking the law and bringing the iwi into disrepute, by making a wrong decision, or by breaking a convention of Māori protocol.

Remedies included appealing to divine intervention through a

rohunga or a minister of a church, who would then perform karakia or recite various prayers aimed at neutralising the damage done, putting right any errors of a ritual nature, and generally restoring as much as is possible the personal tapu not only of the person seeking help but also the personal tapu of any others who might have been affected. This is the spiritual part. It will also be necessary to restore balance within the hapū or whānau.

Best (1941, 1:38) noted that the vitality of the race was bound up with the condition of tapu. This condition was supported by the power of the Gods which gave hope to the people. Once the institution of tapu was broken down through the intervention of Pākehā governments and missionaries, the people lost their sense of security and of purpose. Many elders told Best (1941, 1:39) 'that the vitality of their race departed with the loss of tapu, leaving the people in a defenseless and helpless condition'. This is a powerful statement.

Observing the rules of tapu

Efforts to recapture some of the traditional values and revive knowledge about tapu are not easy. Barlow (1991:128–29) observed that 'it is difficult for most people of this generation to become tapu'. It might also be difficult for some to practise the customs of personal tapu. However, there are people who have always been aware of personal tapu and others who observe practices which recognise this attribute in some way. It is possible too that some people observe certain practices without realising that these rules are linked to the notion of personal tapu. Many Māori individuals already observe some or most of the following practices by:

1. separating personal clothing items from cloths used for cooking or for washing dishes
2. not washing the baby or the nappies in the kitchen sink
3. collecting the afterbirth from the hospital and burying the whenua of the child at the appropriate place
4. observing practices related to the birth of new life, such as a special welcome and karakia, bringing the social unit together, considering who names the child and what name from the families' whakapapa to give the child

5. looking after the new person, ensuring that the child is seen by whānau members and is known to them, educating the child and generally preparing them for adulthood
6. not burning the hair, and making sure hair is properly collected from the hairdresser or barber and disposed of properly
7. protecting the child from harm or accident, and knowing that in traditional times neglect was punishable by muru, a form of ritual plunder or compensation
8. menstruating women protecting themselves while in a state of extra tapu and not going into the sea to collect seafood, or to the garden to work, or engage in activities such as horse riding
9. observing the tapu of all the phases of the tangihanga ceremony for example by washing one's hands or sprinkling water over oneself after shaking hands with everyone or after leaving the cemetery
10. not passing food over one's head, and not stepping over the feet and bodies of persons who are lying down
11. observing the tapu of various ceremonies, such as pōhiri and tangihanga, and participating in them
12. not putting one's hat or combs or hairbrushes on the kitchen table, and not sitting on any table or bench where food is prepared or eaten.

The tapu of personal space

There is a sense when the whole person is tapu and should be treated with respect. In traditional society persons of great mana and tapu were avoided because contact with them was dangerous. Their high level of tapu threatened a person of a lower level. In a less dramatic setting every person is surrounded by tapu space, and violation of this space can cause discomfort, affront and damage to one's personal tapu and mana. There are, of course, socially approved occasions when it is permissible to approach a person closely and personal space is not seen to be violated. One such occasion is when visitors are greeted with the hongī and shaking of hands. Friends may embrace each other and others may kiss on the cheeks rather than hongī. Within the family unit there are different rules in regard to personal space.

The tapu of the body

Some parts of the body are more tapu than others. It is not permissible to pass anything over another's head. Patting a stranger on the head is not a friendly act, and passing food over this part of the body is a violation because cooked food negates tapu. For example, a roasted kūmara is often used in reducing the level of tapu of a new meeting house, and many elders keep their whakapapa books away from food and away from the kitchen. The sex organs are also tapu, but not the breasts. In traditional times a man's penis was not particularly tapu, except for the prepuce. This part was as tapu as the sex organs of a woman, which after menstruation began were always tapu. Nowadays the sex organs of both men and women are regarded as tapu. In special ceremonies these parts were used – the men's to ward off evil influences and the women's to remove dangerous tapu from warriors.

The tapu of blood

Blood is also very tapu and must be treated with care. When menstruating, a woman is especially tapu because of the flow of blood. There are restrictions placed on her at this time and dangers to be observed. I have already noted that going to sea puts the women in danger of being attacked by sharks that can smell blood, and trying to catch a horse is not recommended because horses can smell blood. During childbirth a woman is also very tapu. Once the flow of blood is over, the level of tapu drops to a normal state in both cases. Childbirth is more complex and there is more anxiety associated with it. Also more people are involved. The mother, the child and the whenua (placenta) are very tapu and all have to be properly attended to. In attendance might be the midwife, members of the family, the father, and a tohunga to perform karakia.

The tapu of death

A person becomes increasingly tapu as death approaches. Death escalates the level of tapu to maximum levels, affecting everything belonging to that person during their lifetime. Because of the extreme tapu on personal effects such as clothes the family might bundle up all their personal effects and bury them at the time of burial. Or they might burn them, or give them away to Pākehā in the belief that Pākehā are not

affected by tapu. Sometimes very private belongings such as whakapapa books are destroyed by the family because they are afraid of them. Yet at the same time heirlooms are kept and given to members of the family for safekeeping. Special karakia are requested to protect living members of the family from harm. Tohunga are often very busy during and after a tangihanga.

Even the house where the deceased lived is affected by the personal tapu of that person. A tohunga or minister of a church is required for a whakawātea ceremony, that is, for clearing away and negating the lingering after-effects of the personal tapu of the deceased. This is followed by the takahi whare (trauping the house) ceremony which has been described by some as 'chasing the ghosts away'. While on the one hand one aspect is to clear away, another important aspect is to reintroduce the family into the world of light and help them get over the trauma of death.

The extensions of tapu

An individual is born with tapu which becomes an essential part of their make-up. The level of personal tapu may fluctuate according to the fortunes of the person. A lifetime of successful living combined with services to the tribe consolidates the tapu and may increase it. At critical times the level of tapu increases, at childbirth, for example, or when a person is very ill. Once a person is over the event, the level of tapu reduces to normal. An increase usually results in prohibitions and restrictions on the normal activities of the person. Very high levels of tapu are dangerous to others. This is especially true when the person dies. Many people are affected by the personal tapu of a dead member of the tribe: the immediate family and the extended family, called te kiri mate (the skin of death), are the most affected. But everyone who attends the tangi is affected to lesser degrees. What this emphasises is that while the person is an individual, at death their importance as a member of the tribe is highlighted and their tūrangawaewae is confirmed in the final act of burial in the local cemetery. Here the person takes their place with the ancestors.

Many of the observances and customs arising from the notion of personal tapu are still practised today. In fact, a surprising number of these customs remain and, as mentioned earlier, many people remain

committed to being Māori. However, respect for personal tapu is not as generally accepted as one would wish: there are far too many instances where Māori are damaging the personal tapu of other Māori. Yet respect for others is an ideal we must try to achieve in practice.

Mana

Every individual Māori is born with an increment of mana which, as noted already, is closely related to personal tapu. The child's inheritance of mana depends upon the achievements of the parents, their social position, how they are regarded by others, and what they have done to assist the tribal group. Parents with a high level of mana and tapu will pass onto their children a correspondingly enhanced increment of mana. The opposite is also true: other children can be handicapped in this respect.

While an increment of mana is inherited at birth it is possible to build onto it through one's personal achievements, through good works and an ability to lift the mana of the whole group. For example, being chosen as an All Black could be viewed as lifting the mana of the tribe because everyone will know the selected person is a member. Besides the whole nation supports the All Blacks and so it is good publicity for the iwi. Mana is much more open to extension than any other attribute. It can be described as the creative and dynamic force that motivates the individual to do better than others. The rewards are an increase in mana, and an acknowledgement by others of one's special abilities. Praise, in other words, instead of shame. Success leads to further success, and so the inheritance for the children is substantially improved. It was and is possible to rise above the limitations of whakapapa.

Mana is affected by the principles listed earlier. For example, the mātamua principle, the tuakana/taina principle and the tūrangawaewae principle all influence how an individual was regarded in relation to others. Mana is always a social quality that requires other people to recognise one's achievements and accord respect.

The mana of a child

Today, adults generally tend not to notice the mana of a child, preferring that children are seen and not heard. It was not like this in traditional society. Neglect of the mana of a child could result in the parents being punished. Allowing the child to be burnt or otherwise damaged were

serious offences. Children of great mana were made a fuss of, and special oriori, or lullabies, were composed in their honour and sung by the hapū and the iwi. Children were generally well treated in traditional Māori society and there was great affection accorded to them. Aroha tamariki, as noted by Firth (1959:121), was attested to by numerous early writers, for example, by Graham, Earle, Polack and Hauke. Firth quoted a proverb as evidence: 'He aroha whaereere, he pouki piri poho' (A mother's love, a breast-clinging child). Among the children themselves, differences in mana would be obvious. First-borns, for example, would have more mana than others and elder siblings would have more than younger ones and this would be manifested in greater confidence and in more opportunities to assume leadership roles. First-born males would have more mana than first-born females, although not always. Persons of older generations would be accorded more respect because of their mana as elders. As already mentioned, mana depends for its effectiveness on community recognition. It requires some negotiation skills in order to maximise opportunities.

The dynamics of mana

Mana is underpinned by the rules of precedence that are embedded in the kinship system, and a person has to accept these constraints and strive to rise above them as far as this is permitted by the tribe. Brilliant actions and exceptional talent in sport or music will be noticed and will increase one's mana. On the other hand, thoughtless, crooked and evil actions will also be noticed and will have a negative effect upon the culprit's mana. It will diminish.

In the end it is up to individuals to decide the shape of their lives and what they want to do. They have the choice of following the path of evil or of good. They can develop their own talents and make a name for themselves and their iwi. They can coast along under the shadow of their parents and be a clinging vine. Or they can choose to opt out for a number of years and go to the cities, or go abroad, and return to the iwi later. As others have done, they can opt out for good and return to the iwi in a coffin, if they are lucky. Life is a challenge and will always be. Mana is a challenge too.

Mauri

Mauri is defined in Williams (1957:197) as the 'life principle' or 'thymos of man'. The Greek word 'thymos' adds to the mystery of mauri and does not help us understand. Mauri is the spark of life, the active component that indicates the person is alive. Best (1941, 1:304) stated that 'the Māori viewed the mauri as an activity', and that it was 'an activity inside us'. Thei mauri ora is the sneeze of life which signals the new independence of the child, breathing independent of the womb and its supporting life lines. The sneeze also is a manifestation of the mauri existing as an essential and inseparable part of that particular person.

There is a mystical and magical quality to life. The heart beats, the many systems of the human body carry out their specific tasks, the blood flows, and the body is warm and alive. However, once the life principle is extinguished, which is signalled by one last breath, all body systems stop and the body becomes cold. The Māori view is that the mauri has left the body and the person dies. When the body dies the mauri ceases to exist. It vanishes completely.

Mauri at peace

The mauri symbolises a marvellous active sign of life and one can talk about the mauri as something separate from the body. The mauri becomes an attribute of the self, something to nurture, to protect, to think about. The self and the mauri are one. If there is something wrong with the mauri, the person is not well. When the person is physically and socially well, the mauri is in a state of balance, described as mauri tau (the mauri is at peace). When a person receives shocking news, or is surprised, or jolted by an electric current, the mauri is startled, and is described as mauri oho. Traditionally it was thought not good for the mauri to be startled this way as it might leave the body and this is dangerous. When the mauri is startled to this degree it is described as mauri rere, literally flying mauri.

The symbols of mauri

According to Williams (1957:197) the mauri of an individual could be represented by a material symbol which was reinforced spiritually and then hidden away. Best (1982, 2:48) reported that Tuta Nihoniho of Ngāri Porou said that a stone or piece of wood was used to represent