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**TE WHARE-OOHIA:
TRADITIONAL MAAORI EDUCATION FOR A
CONTEMPORARY WORLD**

**A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Masters of Education at Massey University, Palmerston North,
Aotearoa New Zealand**

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He Mihi

Rata ware Rata ware

Noho noa koe ka tuatua i a Tane

Koia i whekii, koia i whekaa

Rere mai ko te konga koia i piri, koia i mau

Rere mai ko te maramara koia i piri, koia i mau

E tu Tane kia torotika to tu

Tihei Mauriora!

Ka tikina atu te ara waananga i haria mai i Hawaiiiki hei mihi ki te hunga na ratou nga koorero i whakatakotoria, nga waha kii, nga puukoorero no nga hau e wha, tena koutou. Ko ratou kua mene ki te po e kore e warewaretia ina kua whakairohia nga koorero ki te taahu roa.

Ko nga koorero kua whakaemihia hei whaariki mo te tangata kei te ao marama, he mea na koutou i whatu. Ko nga koorero i koorerohia no te rauaroha, no nga whare a kui a koro ma i takea mai i te oko-nui, no reira ra te ringa maioha kua oti te takai ki te awe, e tomo i te whare kia koorero pangaa. Me iriiri i nga wai amio o Okataina i Te wai tapu o Tane, ko Wetini Mitai kei tona tuahu. Ka whakawhiti ki Te Tairawhiti ki Turanginui-a-Kiwa ko Mahaki a Tauhei, kei Taihamuti o Whirikoka ko Rutene Weherua. Ka piki ake ki roto o Uawa ki Te waha o te parata kei te pae o Rawheoro e noho mai na ko Wayne Ngata. Kei tata tonu ra a Pakaurangi kei tona maru a Te Rahauhau ko te mokopuna a te uhi, a te whao ko Mark Kopua. Ka haere tonu ra ki raro i te maru o Te Tipi O Taikehu, ki Whakapau Karakia, ki te mokopuna o Te Aowera ko Anaru Kupenga. Ka piki ki roto o Rangitukia ko Nunu Tangaere kei Te pohu o Hinepare. Ka whai atu i tau o te wai ki roto o Wharekahika kei Puangiangi ko Robert Ruha. Ka hono haere ki roto o Apanui kia tau iho ki Whitianga, ko te kura tena o te whatumanawa a Hohepa Delamere. Ki tona pekanga no Ngati Hine, o Nga Puhi whanui tonu kei Tamaki Makaurau e tiaki ana i te marea, ara ko Rawiri Tai Tin. Kakapo huri taku haere ki te kuititanga o te Nehenehenui o te kawau o maro Maniapoto e ko te whanau a Miringa te kakara. Ka kauria i nga wai o Ruamano ki Waikaremoana ki Kahuponia, kia tae atu ki Hanamahihi ko Maire-rangi, kei tua o Hine Mataroa ko Te Kawa a Maui, ko Te Toki a Tangaroa e pupurititia ana e Hori Uatuku. Ka oti atu i te po o Hinenui kei te matemate-a-one, takoto mai ra e Te Hue.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Ko Io te kaaupapa
 Ko Io ngaa take roa
 Ko Io te maurongo whai aahua
 Ko Io te mata-ao
 Ko Io te puutahi a te rongō
 Ko Io te awhenga ki te ao
 Ko Io te whare taitapu
 Ko Io te maurea papatahi
 Ko Io te riponga taurere
 Ko Io te manawaroa e manawa taea nei
 Ko Io te hahau a te tiitoki ki te ao nei
 Poupoua ki te Whare-oohia....

Traditional Maaori¹ maintained an extremely well-ordered *hapuu* (sub-tribal state), not without its complexities, but one that had evolved to interweave all strands of societal fabric. The matter of education was at the heart of all *hapuu* as it was central to intellectual, spiritual, emotional, and physical development. Abstract representations of systemised knowledge embodied in primordial deities supported with ensuing genealogies, incantations, verse, histories, and practice were disseminated within ancient Maaori educational environments known as Whare and Kura and have endured to the present day, albeit substantially depleted in comparison to pre-european contact. Consequently large components of this education have for many generations remained under-ground, closely guarded by modern day *tohunga* (learned experts)² still cautious of Western supposition and dogma. There are nonetheless well-known contemporaries who are in fact recipients of knowledge from within these ancient establishments. Diggeress Te Kanawa, internationally admired for her traditional cloak-making, received inherent knowledge of generations of the art from her mother that would have stemmed from the teachings within the Whare-pora, a traditional educational environment explicitly for women. Peta Awatere, Colonel of the 28th Maori Battalion of World War II was schooled in the Whare-aitu at the traditional training grounds of Kirikiritatangi, a fighting academy where the arts of Maaori weaponry and war strategy were taught. Mark Kopua, an

¹ Maaori can alternately be written with a macron over the *a* (eg. Māori). I have chosen to use double letters to stress these vowels in words. Only with book titles, people's names, or quotes have I not used this format.

² *Tohunga* is only one name used to describe ancient scholars. Other names are numerous some of which include *amorangi*, *ruahine*, *taupuhi*, *amokura*, *ruakura*, *ahurewa*, *ihorei*, *nihorei* or *ruanuku*.

international *toohunga-taa-moko* (traditional Maaori tattoo expert), portrays many histories in his art inherited from *toohunga* of the Tairawhiti (East Coast region) from the Te Rawheoro Whare-waananga, another educational environment where genealogies, history, *karakia* (incantations), and esoteric philosophy were also discussed and debated. And the late Hohepa Delamere, who did not attend state schooling until he was a teenager, was one of the last known contemporaries to be educated entirely within the ancient Kura, an environment that had an all-encompassing education particularly of the practice of metaphysics.³ Hohepa was known internationally as a healer, and was to those who knew him well like the *amokura*⁴ of yesteryear, interweaving the supernatural with reality; and there are many learned individuals throughout the country well known and not so well known, who remain inherent recipients of knowledge from within these ancient institutions.⁵

1.1 THE RESEARCH QUESTION

The purpose of this research is to investigate traditional Maaori educational constructs, discuss the pedagogy (philosophies of teaching practice) and epistemology (philosophies of knowledge) employed in these institutions, and show via a hypothesis that they can still make a valuable contribution to contemporary education and modern society.

Traditionally, Maaori ideology and philosophy were integrated into all facets of society, and debated within the confines of educational institutions. One of the most important and acknowledged institutions where this occurred was the Whare-waananga. Whare-waananga were sacred institutions in which knowledge was imparted under the most strictest of rules and regulations of an ancient order, and incumbents charged with maintaining the intellectual preservation of knowledge. To begin, the histories of these structures, their content and their purpose, including that of many other traditional educational structures in which Maaori were educated will be examined. Who taught in these structures? How were they arranged? What was the curriculum? Who was accepted into this education? Where did the education occur?

³ The practice of metaphysics does not necessarily imply an understanding of metaphysics in this instance. Understanding metaphysics is probably too presumptuous a statement but I cannot discount that the philosophy or science of metaphysics was or was not part of the curriculum of *kura*. Certainly the practice was and will be expanded on further. Metaphysics is defined in the 'Concise Oxford Dictionary' as 'Theoretical philosophy of being and knowing' (1964), p.763. Metaphysics as discussed amongst my peers is the science of the non-physical otherwise commonly referred to as the super-natural.

⁴ This is a term of reference for an anointed scholar of ancient knowledge.

⁵ I have known Mark and Hohepa for many years and witnessed their works in person during that time. While it is generally known that Diggeress was tutored by her mother Rangimarie Hetet, and Peta Awatere also had links to Te Araroa, what I know of their talents I have learnt over the years in passing conversation with friends and *whanau*.

These are all questions that will be indirectly addressed in the exploration of the multifarious structures of the Whare-wananga and the many other traditional educational institutions of the Maaori. The pedagogies, epistemologies and the curriculum of these ancient institutions will also be discussed. The final part of this research involves summarising these findings regarding traditional Whare and Kura into a modern hypothesis for educational reform and analysing its validity and relevance in a contemporary society.

1.2 THE THESIS STRUCTURE

With the exception of Kura, specifically the Kura-i-awaawa⁶ where Hohepa Delamere was educated, the most revered of the Whare was the Whare-waananga⁷ for the fact that the most sacred part of *hapuu* education was esoteric and taught within this Whare. However, Whare-waananga were prevalent in all tribal regions, and any attempt to address every tribal Whare in the context of this research would be futile. I have therefore decided to cross-reference a triangulation of tribal groups from whom I descend, and with tribes of individuals who I have developed intimate ties with over the years.

Before discussing these institutions, chapter two will first discuss the history of the traditional Maaori creation pantheon, with specific reference to Kura and Whare, and the engagement of traditional education. This is to ensure that the links to the origins of Kura, Whare-waananga and other Whare discussed in following chapters are duly recognised. Besides the links, the information will begin to reveal the ancient histories that have been retained within Whare and Kura, and their influence in shaping Maaori society.

Chapter three will review literature recorded by early westerners and Maaori scholars whose works have already featured in the discourse relating to educational origins of the Maaori. The review shows similarities and disparities of information, as it was recorded by both Maaori and Paakeha between the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, who investigate the education of an array of different tribal groups. Further examples of the origins of Maaori knowledge that influenced the various educational institutions will also be discussed and debated.

Chapter four will discuss further dichotomies of Maaori and western views, but pertaining to research. These will be discussed within the contexts of cultural safety, ethics and methodology

⁶ This is the name of the ancient school of education that Hohepa attended.

⁷ There were many other names this institute was known by that will be duly be discussed.

and describe how I applied best practices in the act of interviewing respective informants from different tribes. Research models that I feel enhance my research capacity are also highlighted, and the research process that I engaged will also be summarised and discussed here.

In Chapter five the ancient Kura-i-awaawa will be revealed. This is the first institution that forms the first part of the aforementioned triangulation. This Kura is situated in Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Specifically it is the Kura of Hohepa Delamere at Whitianga Bay near Te Kaha. The ancient link to a sub-conscious referred to as *whatumanawa* will be discussed here, and the symbiosis with Io, the most sacred of all divinities from many tribal histories, will be revealed. This chapter will conclude with a brief description of pedagogy and epistemology as it pertained to Kura-i-awaawa and Hohepa.

Chapter six includes the next two tribal groups of the triangulation. Here the Whare-maire⁸ of my own tribes the Nga Potiki and Tuhoe of Te Urewera, particularly of Ruatoki will be explored.⁹ My father was born and raised in Ruatoki, and I spent many holidays there as a child, before eventually living with my grandparents in Ruatoki while completing secondary school in Whakatane. Exploration will continue to the Whare-waananga of Te Tairāwhiti, that is the eastern seaboard of the North Island from Manutuke near Gisborne, to Wharekahika, better known as Hicks Bay. My mother is from Ngati Porou, and my father has strong genealogical ties with Rongowhakaata and Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki. Further, my wife was born and raised in the Waipū Valley, mainly Tikitiki, and she also has strong genealogical links to the tribes from the Rongowhakaata through to the Te Whanau-a-Apanui regions.

Chapter seven and eight will engage in the history of other traditional educational institutions designed for infants and their mothers, children, women and all members of *hapuu* and *iwi* (tribal) groups. Again the curriculums of these institutions will be discussed so that by the completion of this study, a wide enough net will have been cast in order to gain with some sense of confidence, the nature of traditional Māori educational institutions.

Finally in Chapter nine, a hypothesis for a modern day version of these traditional components in today's educational institutes will be proposed and analysed. Besides the education that

⁸ Whare-maire is a term used by Tuhoe for what are generally known as a Whare-waananga.

⁹ The original inhabitants of the Urewera Ranges inland from Whakatane were the Nga Potiki. The later influence of Tuhoe-potiki the ancestor meant that many other tribal groups soon referred to the Urewera people as Tuhoe. Ruatoki sits at the northern end of the ranges.

occurred within these institutions, it is also the concept of these institutions that I hope to reveal as credible components of a traditional society that still has relevance in a modern society, for Maaori and non-Maaori educational aspirations alike.

Revelations aside, traditional Maaori history is something I have an immense passion for, with a firm belief that the ancient principles by which traditional Maaori society flourished holds potential to enriching ones worldview and challenging existing monolithic paradigms that I have often confronted not so much in educational institutions, but certainly within local and national political constructs. The prospect of re-introducing this knowledge in a formal context is contentious and at the same time exciting. This renaissance has already been discussed by author Samuel Robinson in the preface of his book *Tohunga*.¹⁰ Robinson' dream to see "...everyone arise to their own tohunga status"¹¹ if not fulfilled, is probably a realistic prelude to any broader innovation.

¹⁰ Robinson, S. (2005). *Tohunga. The Revival. Ancient Knowledge for the Modern Era*. Reed Publishing, Auckland.

¹¹ Ibid, p.11.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORY OF TRADITIONAL MAAORI EDUCATION

This chapter deals with the histories of the Whare-waananga, the origins of Maaori knowledge and where education was taught or undertaken. The intention is to highlight the importance of these origins as the history of Maaori knowledge also contributes to the history of what Maaori society was like prior to the arrival of the Paakeha. This history will show that education was a purposeful engagement, designed with specific intent.

2.1 THE ORIGINS OF TRADITIONAL MAAORI EDUCATION

Oral histories were the cornerstone of Maaori education and traditional Maaori institutions of learning are referenced from the beginning of Maaori cosmogony. Among many *iwi* this beginning is personified by Io, an embodiment of consciousness known.¹² Io resided in his house known as Te Whare-o-te-rauroha in Rangiatea. From Io emerges the union of the primary parents of creation, Ranginui who is represented by the sky, and Papatuanuku represented by the earth.¹³ They are bound in symbolic marriage and bear a progeny generally referred to as *atua*,¹⁴ who populate the cosmos.

The length of genealogies of this period varies from tribe to tribe, as does the multitude of entities. The knowledge pantheon begins with the Rua identities, particularly Rua-i-te-pupuke (or Rua-i-te-pukenga) and Rua-i-te-horahora - metaphoric references to *waananga*¹⁵ or learning as inherited from Io, the Apa and Poutiriao.¹⁶ This knowledge then descends to Rangi, Papa and the *atua*. It is the *atua* who create mortality by way of one of the children called Tane, who created a woman from the earth whom he called Hine-i-ahu-mai-i-te-one (popularly referred to as Hine-ahu-one that translates as 'The-maiden-formed-from-earth'). Tane then

¹² This account is prevalent among sources both oral and written. Best in 'Children of the Mist' (1925) refers to Io and mentions many associates (White, Hammond, Davis and others) who make reference to Io. Smith writes about Io as told by Te Matorohanga in 'Te Kauwaerunga' (1913). Maaori scholar Pei Te Hurinui Jones discusses Io in his monographs (folders 86-94), and more recently Robinson in 'Tohunga' (2005). The larger portion of information regarding Io that contributes to this research was that told by Hohepa Delamere from a *waananga* I was a part of in Whitianga Bay near Te Kaha in 2004.

¹³ Best refers to Rangi and Papa as '...personifications of sky and earth.' Best, E. (1925), *Children of the Mist*. p.746.

¹⁴ *Atua* here refers to the children of Ranginui and Papatuanuku.

¹⁵ Ngata, A.T. and Jones, P.T.H. (1970). *Nga Moteatea: The Songs, Part II*. Auckland University Press. Auckland. This word has many connotations, generally in relation to knowledge or education., pp.257-265.

¹⁶ Jones also refers to the Apa and Poutiriao in Jones, P.T.H.(1898-1976). *Mareikura-Io*. Microfilm of MS-Papers-5220, folders 86-94. The Apa and Poutiriao in short are non-physical forms, representations of cosmic balance.

copulates with this earth formed maiden, and from this union people are born.¹⁷ The *waananga*¹⁸ is in due course imparted to people.

One of the earliest accounts of formal education regards the grandfather of the renowned ancestor, navigator, and scholar Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga (generally known as Maui), Tama-nui-ki-te-rangi.¹⁹ Maui was raised by his grandfather and is responsible for the knowledge maintained by the Ngati Maui of today. It could be argued that Maui and his brothers were the earliest class of *tohunga* to which their descendants of the Ngati Maui claim his Whare-waananga, Te Aho-o-Matariki, as being the very first Whare-waananga in Hawaiiki-nui (the Pacific) established on Mount Hikurangi on the East Coast of the North Island.²⁰ By all accounts Maui was an extremely learned man with vast knowledge of the scientific, natural, and supernatural realms that over the centuries, has been intrinsically interwoven into the fabric of Maaori society. Maui is said to have also attained esoteric knowledge from his grandmothers Mahuika and Murirangawhenua, strongly indicating that the *waananga* was not exclusive to men. From Maui, tribal oral histories have been inherited and consequently imparted for the most part, within formal institutions of learning designed on the original Whare and Kura of Io.

2.2 THE WHARE AS AN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Traditional Maaori education was not excluded to the confines of a building. The word '*maatauranga*' used in reference to education can mean to be 'versed' in any 'context', and was never an undertaking seclusive to the likes of formal constructs of education as we know them today. Traditional education is nearer to what is known as life-long education, where every engagement in day-to-day living was designed to educate. There were however variations of this education that comprised of educational arenas and structures intentionally designed for the purpose of teaching and learning.

As already mentioned, the matter of education was at the heart of all *hapuu*. Many aspects of teaching and conveyance of ancient Maaori knowledge occurred as a natural process of day-to-

¹⁷ According to Robinson's version Tiki was the first male fashioned by the *atua* for Hine Mauri, granddaughter of the maiden-fashioned by clay, Hineahuone, and daughter to Tane and Hine-titama who became Hine-nui-te-po (p.40). Among all tribes there are variations of this history.

¹⁸ That is the knowledge from within the Whare-waananga.

¹⁹ The Ngai Tahu version differs in that Maui was raised by one Hinehauone. *Tohunga*:2005, p.42.

²⁰ *Waananga* with Anaru Kupenga of Ngati Maui, and Ngati Te Aowera, September 2007, Ruatorea. Anaru refers to Whare-waananga as Whare-waananga-maatauranga.

day living. But even with the nature of daily social engagements were formal structures embodied therein, and these were generally referred to as Whare. These Whare were not just physical edifices but encapsulated a wider arena of formal instruction such as that within the Whare-taikorera where play was the curriculum. As a Whare that maintained a general curriculum and pedagogy of play, it would not be until the child was identified for more specific engagements in life that educational structures would start to become incredibly detailed, with definitive guidelines pertaining to access, pedagogy, and eventually assessments (or milestones) for graduation to other Whare. Within the Whare-waananga, but not exclusively, rituals attached to learning ensured a student focused of mind, body, soul, and spirit. These rituals originated from Tane, who underwent lengthy ceremonies of purification upon receiving infinite knowledge from Io's abode in Rangiatea.²¹ These ceremonies among other learning and teaching observances insisted that the student be mentally apt to receive, internalise and then reproduce the screeds of genealogy, incantations, cosmogony and related histories with infallible precision. Te Rangihira Buck mentions this regarding the transmission of knowledge within the Whare-waananga:

Polynesian historical narratives were not idle stories that were bandied about...without supervision or restraint....their (Maori) oral history was transmitted from generation to generation in proper courses of study by priests and teachers who had themselves graduated in the *Whare Wananga* or sacred Houses of Learning.²²

Further statements are made by Buck highlighting the oratory elegance, and incredible memory of learned *tohunga* of their tribal histories and genealogies that contributed to the honour, prestige or pride of the people. One such example he offers is of Tuhoe elder and *tohunga* Tamarau Waiari who, "...in the nineties of the last century (1800's), took three days ...to recite the genealogy of the Ngati Koura sub-tribe of Tuhoe....It necessitated the recital, in correct order, of over 1400 names."²³ And it must be highlighted here that Ngati Koura was only one of about 30 *hapuu* among the Tuhoe people at that time.

The word *whare* as it is commonly referred today means 'house'. As mentioned above however this word did not imply a physical structure only, and could perhaps be a modern

²¹ This version is stated in Ngata, A.T. and Jones, P.T.H, (1970). *Nga Moteatea: The Songs, Part II*. An Oriori for Tuteremoana by Tuhotoariki. pp.257-265.

²² *Journal of the Polynesian Society: The Value of Tradition in Polynesian Research*. p.183.

²³ *Ibid*.

misinterpretation. Certainly Te Whare-koohangā referred to a physical edifice that was erected for birthing, and many Whare-waananga were edifices where learned sages and *ariki* (hereditary chiefs) congregated to discuss and impart sacred and ancient knowledge. Whare-puni, Whare-nui, and Whare-moe or Whare-tipuna are terms used to refer to meeting houses commonly seen on today's *marae*. As an example of contrasting examples were the Whare-matanui, a term of reference for a platoon of warriors of Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu (war party) and as already mentioned the Whare-taikorera. In fact, the teaching of this education was in the form of games that took place in the Pa and surrounding environment.

Student of Hohepa Delamere and educator, Paraone Tai Tin from Ngāti Hine in the Taitokerau (northland), offers an ancient translation of the term *whare* as 'longevity of vision' (*wha* translates as 'distance' of time, while *re* means to 'watch' or 'observe').²⁴ Hence when the term Whare precedes the word *waananga* as in Whare-waananga, those chosen for this education must be prepared to commit 'time' and 'focus' to the realm of *waananga* and the curriculum therein. Paraone further expresses that when one is enveloped in the learning of a Whare, their world-view is guided by the philosophy therein. A carver schooled within the Whare-whakairo (where the art of carving was taught) for example would view signs of nature differently to a student of other Whare, but all acknowledging inter-connectedness through the education as it was received from Io. Subsequently when one's focus is not maintained then their application becomes confused, and consequently so does their learning.²⁵ *Toohunga taamoko* Mark Kopua reinforces this concept of Whare by relating instances of the Hauiti *toohunga* Peta Komaru and the many visitors who would frequent his home for days to engage in *waananga*, thereby emphasising the person as the Whare, that is someone who 'houses' the knowledge, and not so much a physical structure.²⁶ Best mentions that "...in most cases the expression 'house' (*whare*) was merely a figurative one" and "...denoted a course of teaching practised at a certain place, a curriculum."²⁷

The term Whare was not exclusive when identifying structures of teaching and learning. Kura was another word employed to express an environment where learning occurred such as the

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ *Waananga* with Mark Kopua, Managtuna, March 2007.

²⁷ Best, E (1923). *The Maori School of Learning*. V.R.Ward, Government Printer, Wellington. Reprinted 1986. p.10.

Kura-i-awaawa that was the educational environment of the late Hohepa Delamere.²⁸ This was a sacred learning institute where amongst broad education, metaphysics was engaged.

Whatever the case, the name and its purpose have endured, as have those of many other institutions of teaching, including their pedagogies and epistemologies, sacred rituals and observances, and curriculum of arts, warfare, esoteric knowledge, medicine, astronomy, food-gathering, cosmogony, navigation, building, architecture, white and black sorcery, and so much more of a culture rich and full of centuries of a naturalistic evolution.

2.3 EDUCATION AS A PURPOSEFUL ENGAGEMENT

The teaching and conveyance of ancient Maaori knowledge itself occurred as a natural process within the evolution of tribal society. As the need for further understanding of the environment for the benefit of survival became necessary, theories were developed, acted on, and the outcomes retained in part, in the form of legends. These legends have since become favourite fables that parents and grandparents tell their children and grandchildren, with the added caution, message or moral therein that reinforces societal values and principles. These are the stories by which many Maaori and New Zealanders have come to understand Maaori histories as they are retold in children's books, or perhaps in other publications. Often, if not always, these stories conceal a much deeper knowledge than the surface feature of the fables from which further understanding can be gained. The well known 'myth' of Maui and the Sun for example where Maui was said to have snared the sun and slowed its ecliptic arc so people would have more time to complete daily tasks, can be interpreted in many ways, two of which follow.

The first is that Maui theorised the centrifugal relationship between the natural forces of the earth and sun and the relativity of gravity as the earth revolves around the sun. Another simpler interpretation highlights Maui as being responsible for ordering or systemising day-time and night-time activities so that maximum benefit was obtained of the time peoples of that time found themselves in increasing limited supply of. Whatever interpretation one prescribes to, for most it remains a fantastical bed-time story, with a hint of a moral that could best be described as to not take what time we have during the day for granted. Nonetheless *pakiwaitara* (fables) and *puurakau* (legends) have played a part in the continuation of knowledge known today. Fables, legends, or myths of the Maaori were created in order to retain knowledge, but

²⁸ *Waananga* with Hohepa Delamere, Whitianga Bay, January 2004.

traditionally were only a minute portion of stories that carried histories of the Maaori. The greatest part of this knowledge was otherwise formalised within structures and systems of learning. For the large part most of these structures were known as Whare.

These educational institutions had their own special character and function, integrated into the day-to-day living within *hapuu* affairs. Education, religion, socialism, spirituality, and politics were so inextricably interwoven that it was impossible for individuals to seclude themselves from daily life without having a role within these Whare, particularly those in significant roles of leadership. It was expected of *rangatira* and *ariki* moreso to have knowledge and understanding of all aspects of societal development, therefore their participation within these Whare was an inevitable disposition of their inheritance.

2.4 WHAKAPAPA (GENEALOGY) IN EDUCATION

The first part to education within the Whare-waananga began with a selection process, where entry prerequisites were rigorous, and sometimes nigh impossible to achieve. To begin, the student's own *whakapapa* was a strong determinant for acceptance. These children would more often than not be descendants of *tohunga*, *rangatira* (conferred chiefs), or *ariki* and show exceptional ability to retain and recite information. Lineage meant they not only had a biological innateness, but the exposure to the environment of their elders would almost have ensured their capability to ascend the entry tasks and continual graduate examinations of the Whare-waananga. Occasionally children not of *ariki* lineage found their way into the ranks by proving themselves and continuing to prove themselves from a very young age. The type of testing that occurred was no more than a practical means of ensuring that beyond being an apt student, commitment would be unwavering.

Education was a right for all, as much as it was a necessity for *hapuu* survival. While not all children were inducted into the Whare-waananga or Whare-pora, all children did receive some form of education regardless of heritage or class.

While Whare and Kura became the institutions for imparting knowledge, genealogy became an integral part of the curriculum taught within. *Whakapapa* served a highly practical function more than knowing ones relationship to ones kin. It was a means employed to maintain many aspects of learning and teaching and therein formed a number of reference points, one of which was a timeline of events as they pertained to their ancestors. As an example, one of the first

genealogies is of an abstract interpretation of ‘the Big Bang’. It could be seen as a theoretical view of cosmogony embodied in genealogies that start with Te Pūu.

Te Pūu, in some tribal histories, represents the beginning of the creation theorem according to Māori, followed by increasingly complex genealogies that require extensive interpretation to gain understanding. However Te Pūu for this example is often the first name of many celestial genealogies that can be translated as the ‘origin’, and we find the term ‘*pu*’ used frequently as a prefix of primary concepts: *puutahi* as the ‘original design’; *puutake* as the ‘basis’ or ‘base’ of physical and metaphorical terms; *puumotomoto* is a sacred reference to the ‘doorway’ of celestial knowledge; *puurewa* as ‘ultimate balance’; *puutau* as ‘cell’ (of the body); and so on. The *puu* genealogy then descends to different phases of evolution that further define the conception of the abstract thought and the physical conception of the cosmos. *Whakapapa* then becomes a means of referencing historical timelines, and used as a cross-reference with other tribal genealogies as they have retained them. Further comparative measures utilised by Māori included cross-referencing similar stories from various informants from tribal *whare*, or relying totally on certain individuals whose knowledge could scarcely be equalled - a monotheistic practice but as in the case of Te Matorohanga, was democratic and suited conventions of the time.²⁹

The next chapter will review literature from both Māori and non-Māori on Whare-waananga. The reviews will critique the literature second, but first seek to examine the inner-workings of Whare-waananga from different tribal perspectives, and thus contribute to the greater body of understanding traditional Māori education.

²⁹ Te Matorohanga was a nineteenth century *tohunga* from the Wairarapa region who regularly attended other tribal Whare-waananga and was considered by his peers as the chief informant of knowledge during his time.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

While there are some pains in siphoning screeds of your own cultural knowledge written by foreigners, their attempts contain valueable information and ultimately contribute to the knowledge of the Maaori world as it was. This chapter begins with reviewing texts written by three non-Maaori authors, with attention to Maaori knowledge in relation to the Whare-waananga and other Whare before introducing two Maaori authors who write and discuss their own tribal histories of tribal knowledge pertaining to the Whare-waananga. The review spans a range of tribes or tribal groups as they are explored from authors and academics spanning a period of two centuries.

While this review will largely summarise documented Whare-waananga knowledge, the review will also critique the authors writing mannerisms in order to highlight their attitudes toward the said knowledge. In the context of this research, this analysis allows the hereditary descendants and owners of tribal knowledge to maintain the essence of the information as it was intended, and therefore interpreted as it was originally intended by those who were entrusted with that knowledge over the centuries.

3.1 WESTERN AUTHORS

Percy Smith

For decades, the majority of Maaori esoteric knowledge was believed (even by many Maaori) to be detailed only in publications by Western ethnographers. Percy Smith, co-founder of the Polynesian Society, transcribes the most detailed publication of the Whare-waananga and related practices in a dual volume, the first titled *Te Kauwaerunga* and the second *Te Kauwaeraro*.³⁰

In the late 1850's a large number of Maaori congregated in the Wairarapa to discuss 'politics' and the waning of traditional practices.³¹ Three of the most noted *tohunga* to Europeans of that time, Paratene Te Okawhare, Nepia Pohuhu, and Te Matorohanga were present. At some point after much discussion it was decided by those gathered that the histories of the Maaori be

³⁰ *The Lore of the Whare Wananga or The Teachings of the Maori College on Religion, Cosmogony, and History, Volume I: Te Kauwaerunga, and Volume II: Te Kauwaeraro*. Written by H.T. Whatahoro, from the teachings of Te Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu. Translated by Percy Smith. (1913). New Plymouth. Te Kauwaerunga can be translated as 'celestial knowledge' and Te Kauwaeraro as 'terrestrial knowledge'. Literally they mean the 'upper jaw' and 'lower jaw' respectively.

³¹ Ibid, Introduction; p.i.

explained, and that Te Matorohanga be the principal informant. It was also agreed that the information be written by two young Maaori men, H.T.Whatahoro and Aporo Te Kumeroa, both educated in the traditional Maaori community and the Missionary.³² Although it was agreed they write the information and not be required to commit the information to memory as it was performed traditionally, both were still subjected to “...all the ancient forms and rituals accompanying the teachings.”³³

These scribes spent periods over many years engaged in this learning and task of recording the ancient histories of those learned sages, with many of their writings published in the aforementioned volumes that were re-written and translated by Percy Smith with the assistance of TeWhatahoro. It must be noted here that a large part of information published by early writers such as Best, Smith, Downes, and White, have stemmed from the writings of Te Whatahoro and Kumeroa. The writings shared by Te Whatohoro and cohorts, who spent a large part of their live’s recording the knowledge of some of the last remaining *tohunga* of their generation, had hitherto, never been acknowledged.³⁴

The history contained within these two publications is invaluable to the student of ancient Maaori lore and practices, particularly regarding the function of the Maaori colleges of higher learning, the Whare-waananga. Many of the nuances pertaining to the daily customs and curriculum of teaching and learning are shared here according to the histories of Te Matorohanga. There is no reference to the institution where Te Matorohanga was originally schooled, although it is noted that Te Matorohanga resided in the vicinity of the Okura-a-renga Taranui Whare-waananga in the Wairarapa.³⁵ The pan-tribal nature of Whare-waananga also saw Te Matorohanga as a participant in the revered East Coast Whare-waananga of Rawheoro near Tolaga Bay.³⁶

In the introduction of *Te Kauwaerunga* Smith poses origins of Maori cosmogony based on histories gathered by Te Whatahoro and other ethnographers. Reference to a far off land called Irihia has already been inferred by colleagues as India, while further clues lead to cultural

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid, p.ii.

³⁴ *The People of Many Peaks: 1769-1869*, Allen & Unwin NZ, Reprinted 1996. Auckland, University Press with Bridget Williams Books, Auckland. p.20.

³⁵ Chapman-Taylor, Mary (1901). *Some observations on the whare-wananga and other branches of the House of Learning.*, qMS-0433.

³⁶ Waananga with Wayne Ngata, Tolaga Bay, October 2007.

similarities with the Babylonian and Aryan races.³⁷ A link of the cultural strain is indicated to be that which has descended from the migration of the Maaori from these two lands and comparisons raised to local tribes who still inhabit these lands.³⁸ In this account, famed ancestor Maui does not feature in Smith's account of the migration of Maaori to Aotearoa or any of the Pacific Islands. Exploration of the Pacific is first raised with Kupe, who landed much later than Maui (by my calculations some 300 years later), suggesting the trail from Irihia by Maaori ventured first to the Pacific then eventually to Aotearoa.³⁹ I suppose Smith applies a degree of anthropological anecdotes although I find it surprising that there is no reference to Maui who is well known among many Maaori and Polynesian tribal groups and their histories employed in this supposition. While various accounts of Maui are discussed by Te Matorohanga (that Smith compounds into Chapter VI of *Te Kauwaerunga*), there he remains. Smith uses the 'discovery of Kupe' history not considering the well known version of Maui at all, who features at least 15-20 generations (in some tribal genealogies) earlier than his descendant Kupe.

These histories make provocative reading for two reasons. The first is that it highlights the position of the tribe in which Te Matorohanga was schooled, with varying traditions and reference of ancestors according to their (Wairarapa) histories. The second is that Smith's suppositions are based on an anthropological and ethnographical view that the Pacific was inhabited before Aotearoa. This is contrary to the Maui history of whom Maui is said to have 'fished up' the North Island, that is discovered Aotearoa, his descendants later embarking on expeditions into the Pacific.⁴⁰

While many of the ethnographical viewpoints expressed by Smith are interesting, it is difficult to absorb some of his personal perspectives that reflect the monotheist era of Western literary vernacular:

Assuredly these ancient beliefs...will offer to the student of Comparative Mythology, and additional light on the working of the mind of the primitive man, in his efforts to account for the

³⁷ Smith, pp.x-xi. There are also oral accounts that refer to a father-land known as Te Ao Marama, said to be where the sun shone a lot that preceded the migration to Irihia. The term *te ao marama* is used frequently in *karakia* in reference to knowledge as in emerging into a 'world of light'.

³⁸ Further oral stories of Maui and accounts of the Whare-waananga of his older brothers also concur with this account and will be raised later.

³⁹ This would have also been due to early assumptions that Maaori first migrated from South America.

⁴⁰ *Waananga* with Anaru Kupenga, September 2007, Ruatorea.

phenomena of nature.... Isolated for, probably over 2000 years and having no contact with other races of a higher culture.⁴¹

Inferences of a 'primitive man', 'mythology', and 'higher (western) culture' trivialise this history and the culture of Maaori, compounded by no empirical evidence and only presumptions typical of ethnographic rhetoric of that era.

Beyond Smith's views however is the information divulged by Te Matorhanga and Pohuhu to Te Whatahoro. The rigorous structure of education undertaken within these sacred schools of learning is described in depth, as are insights into the curriculum. Matters of history, philosophy, cosmogony, epistemology, geography, psychology, cosmology, genealogy, biology, linguistics, arts, horticulture, or oceanography are some elements of an extensive list discussed by Te Matorohanga. The relationships to Babylonian, Aryan, and Greek cultures and mythology posed by Smith are easily realised upon absorbing the detail by which Te Matorohanga discusses his knowledge imparted within the Whare-waananga. The nature of such information within the Whare-waananga has carefully transcended centuries within a structure and format that treated such information with a reverence comparative to the engagement of many religious sects to their holy scriptures. Maintaining the original composition of knowledge was not only an academic requirement of this educational institution but was reinforced with spiritual nuances. This pedagogy therefore placed the student of the Whare-waananga under incredible pressure to learn, retain, and recite all information imparted.

Details of times of learning, names of places within the edifice of the Whare-waananga, rituals, practices, *karakia*, where the education took place, the nature of those selected to engage in the education of the Whare-waananga, the ceremony on exiting from sessions, are all detailed by Te Matorohanga according to the customs of the Wairarapa. An example described by Te Matorohanga of spiritual purification of students included stripping off their clothing before entering into the house where teaching occurred, where they would then be robed in garments that were worn for the purposes known only to the Whare-waananga alumni.⁴²

Another interesting aspect raised by Smith is the cross-educational practice that occurred between Whare-waananga. One such example is given by Te Matorohanga regarding a debate

⁴¹ Smith, P. (1913). *The Lore of the Whare Wananga, Vol. 1: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Introduction:iv

⁴² Smith, P. (1924). *Lore of the Whare-wananga. Te Kauwaerunga*. p.4 & p.90.

about the names of a well-known star that indicates that while there was ongoing (although not constant) inter-sub-tribal and inter-tribal warring, the aspect of higher education on occasion was not considered in local level politics.⁴³

The information regarding the first Volume of *Te Kauwaerunga*, that include the inter-related genealogies in defining the universe are intricate to say the least. The mention of Io as the creator of all things as told by Te Matorohanga and discussed by Smith, deserves contemplation, particularly regarding Maaori cosmogony (see *Appendix 1*). It also highlights that this divinity is known to the Wairarapa *toohunga* class, and one can assume that metaphysics may have also been engaged here. A matter of final interest is that Te Whatahoro, who scribed the teachings of Te Matorohanga was "...said to have completed six of the seven grades of the whare wananga."⁴⁴

Volume II, that is *Te Kauwaeraro*, leaves the celestial history and nuances of daily engagement within the Whare-waananga, and focuses on more terrestrial histories. This discussion again returns to India as the Fatherland, and references to old names of tribal groupings used by Maaori. Some vocabulary similarities are investigated, one example being the word *arai* that means 'rice', with a full account of this food source given by Te Matorohanga as *arai-toto-kore* (*Toto-kore* means 'bloodless').⁴⁵ The interesting aspect of rice being part of the Maaori vocabulary opens new insights to a people and their origins, if indeed the main strain of this history is what has survived. Many inferences to similar histories of the Sumatran nation are then posed with the Maaori voyager and explorer Tama-rere-iti entering the foray.⁴⁶ Histories of great wars that have consistencies with Hawaiian and Rarotongan histories are compared and navigational points are also scrutinized.

It is not until the introduction of voyager and explorer Irapanga that the Pacific trail is raised, despite Irapanga being from an era clearly after Maui. Irapanga seems to have slipped into obscurity in many tribal histories although is evident in Rarotongan genealogical tables. In discussing Irapanga however Maui is raised as being a predecessor who may have blazed the trail that Irapanga followed. The name Hawaiiiki-rangi was given by another early explorer

⁴³ Ibid, p.101. This example refers to a debate at the Te Rawheoro Whare-waananga regarding the varying names of the star Kopu or Venus.

⁴⁴ *The People of Many Peaks: 1769-1869*, Allen & Unwin NZ, Reprinted 1996. p.21.

⁴⁵ Smith, P. (1913). *The Lore of the Whare-wananga. Te Kauwaeraro*. p.11.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p.17.

Uenuku-rangi to the island that was traditionally known as Maui-nui.⁴⁷ Otherwise the feature of Maui as the original discoverer of many islands that he ‘fished up’, is commented on by Smith referring back to the “...sojourn of the people in Indonesia” (Hawaiiki-roa).⁴⁸ The fact also that there were no other islands that referred to Maui’s exploits is incorrect, as the islands of Aotearoa are the main islands in the South Pacific referring to the histories of Maui’s feats and travels that stretch from Te-hiku-a-Maui (The tail of Maui) in the north, to Te-punga-a-Maui (The anchor of Maui) in the south, that is Stewart Island, not to mention the histories of the Ngati Maui peoples of the East Coast who have a thorough account of his many escapades and fuller histories than any published accounts I have encountered.

Eventually Kupe is introduced. Here a statement by Smith that Kupe ‘discovered’ New Zealand⁴⁹ leaves me feeling perplexed. Not at any stage of his account does Te Matorohanga infer that Kupe discovers any land. The only suggestion of discovery is the fact that Kupe is said by Te Matorohanga to have not seen any people during his expedition. His travels are evident in the names of places from Wellington to the South Island, and from the western seaboard to the northern reaches of the North Island. There is however no history of Kupe having visited the East Coast of the North or the inland reaches of the Urewera Ranges or lake areas of Taupo and Rotorua. Perhaps this retelling has been once again misinterpreted by ethnographers as a discovery, when it is quite clear that Maui is the first arrival.

The continuation of the origins of the many peoples and the canoes that eventually landed in Aotearoa is discussed by Te Matorohanga; from the arrival of the Takitimu to the migration of the ancestors of the Mouriuri (popularly known as the Moriori) and their eventual settlement of Wharekauri (The Chatham Islands). The depth of the history and knowledge displayed by Te Matorohanga unravels a web of intertwining relationships that starts in Irihia then disperses to the peoples of the Pacific, to the tribes as they were known prior to European colonisation in Aotearoa. The same depth by which he recounts events and genealogy is again testimony to the profound methodology of the Whare-waananga, such that after hundreds or thousands of years of history a large part is still divulged with precision, that is perhaps to say that it is difficult to repute by sheer nature of the detail of accounts supported with related genealogies, that are also largely supported by other tribal histories.

⁴⁷ Ibid.p.30.

⁴⁸ Ibid.p.35.

⁴⁹ Smith, P. (1913). *The Lore of the Whare-wananga. Te Kauwaeraro.* p.53.

The information within *Te Kauwaerunga* and *Te Kauwaeraro* is intense to say the least. So much of it poses so many theories of the cosmogonical and more terrestrial origins of the Maaori culture and how it has been maintained despite being so widely dispersed geographically and over such a wide span of time (some 2000 years). The fact that Te Matorohanga has such an incredible account of this history is probably the most pertinent feature of these volumes. In terms of the Whare-waananga trail small references are raised here and there, with no emphatic evidence divulged. What is strongly highlighted however is the pedagogy he (Te Matorohanga) constantly reminds his scribe (Te Whatahoro) of, that is his word as was taught him is final and cannot be debated, as its origins are from the teachings of the sacred Whare-waananga.

Elsdon Best

Broader tribal examples are offered by ethnographer Elsdon Best who lived for many years among the Tuhoe people in the rugged Urewera ranges, recording many of their customs and traditions. Best's writings are different to Smith's in that Best offers his own suppositions, views, and comparative world histories, while Smith's texts, save his appendix, is more a straight translation of Te Whatahoro's scripts of Te Matorohanga. This approach introduces supposition not typical of an ethnographer's profile and in my opinion exposes Best to broader criticism.

Of his many publications there is one account entitled *The Maori School of Learning* that is a brief but succinct accumulation of histories pertaining specifically to the old Whare-waananga teachings. Although I occasionally have grievances against Best's personal perspectives, at times he uses a measure of ethnographic sense to highlight some practices of the old Maaori that portray the true essence of societal and educational classification. One such observance Best raises is the ability of abstraction of the old Maaori that he says "...they (Maaori)...possess...to a very remarkable extent."⁵⁰ His inference here is to the *atua* cosmogony and personification of natural phenomena to the point where "...no people known to us have excelled the Polynesians in evolving such [] concepts."⁵¹ But then in unbound irony proceeds to belittle his observations by suggesting these personifications as 'quaint' or

⁵⁰ Best, E. (1923). *The Maori School of Learning*. V.R.Ward, Government Printer, Wellington. Reprinted 1986, p.4.

⁵¹ Ibid.

‘charming’ and as ‘myth’, where in actuality many personifications were representations of ordering knowledge of the natural world according to Maaori.

The second observation Best makes is in relation to the imparting of this knowledge, or versions of knowledge. The “superior version...was taught by the higher School of Learning”, that is the Whare-waananga; where “...inferior versions...were acquired by the ordinary people” and “superior versions were retained by the few.”⁵² This is true. The lore of Io, the progenitor of everything according to almost all Maaori tribal cosmogony is such an example where only a few of the highest order of *tohunga* were privy to this sacred knowledge.

A brief history of the Whare-waananga trail is offered, however Best rarely acknowledges the source of his writings, an atypical practice that leaves one feeling perplexed (yet again). Descriptions are given of different types of educational institutions such as the Whare-kau-po where “lectures...of racial lore, tribal traditions...” and the like were imparted.⁵³ The Whare-maire is another institution of learning but of the black arts known as *maakutu*, an education that will be discussed in isolation to the sacred Whare-waananga. Whare-maire of the black arts must not be confused with the Whare-maire of Tuhoe (although this art was taught here), as Whare-maire is a term used by Tuhoe to refer to their institutions of higher learning. Whare-takiura is another Tuhoe term for a learning institution of the most sacred teachings, such as the Kahuponia *whare* in Ruatahuna.

Best then discusses the nuances pertaining to the sacred customs of entering into the Whare-waananga, the rituals and the *karakia* alluding to the baskets of knowledge attained by Tane that represent the curriculum for all teaching. These bare the same names as mentioned by Te Matorohanga and Pei Te Hurinui although I cannot assume where Best has drawn this knowledge; whether it is from Te Matorohanga, as there is an instance where Te Matorohanga is acknowledged,⁵⁴ or from Tutakangahau from Tuhoe of the Kahuponia Whare-takiura in Ruatahuna.⁵⁵ Nevertheless there is a reasonable amount of information contained herein to gain a very good insight into the nature of Whare-waananga, once you get past his personal paternalistic comments.

⁵² Ibid, p.5.

⁵³ Ibid, p.13.

⁵⁴ Best mentions how Te Matorohanga opened a School of Learning in the Wairarapa in 1865, p.17.

⁵⁵ Tuhoe *tohunga* Tutakangahau was Best’ main informant of matters regarding Tuhoe lore, p.9.

Bronwyn Elsmore

This publication by Elsmore called *Mana from Heaven*,⁵⁶ discusses traditional Maaori education formed out of resistance by Maaori against European culture, and captures a compilation of spiritual movements of the Maaori over the past two centuries. One such movement was led by a group of *tohunga ahurewa* (a term of reference for a higher class of *tohunga*) from the Tainui people. Like the gathering of Te Matarohanga and cohorts, fears their knowledge would suffer the same fate as their land - coupled with the increasing rise of Maaori communities movement toward Christianity and hence move from traditional knowledges - they determined to establish a place to continue ancient learning.

It was the second Maori King, Tawhiao, who requested of Ngati Rereahu chieftaness Ngaharakeke that a new *whare* be built for such a purpose.⁵⁷ Under the instruction of head *tohunga* Te Ra Karepe, who in fact prophesized the erection of this Whare-waananga, the Ngati Rereahu set about the building of this structure with ancient inherent astronomical dimensions as the blueprint, that once completed would be dedicated to the divinity Io.⁵⁸ This *whare* was called Miringa-te-kakara and the movement was named Pao Miere. Within Pao Miere *tohunga* would teach ancient knowledge to those who were "...disillusioned with the new culture (of the Europeans)."⁵⁹ Despite the untimely death of the principal *tohunga* shortly after, the movement continued in a diminished state through to the mid-1920s, but appears to have completely disappeared not long after, certainly Miringa-te-kakara was no longer employed as a meeting place where learning in the old ways occurred.

This account is brief but is important in that it portrays probably one of the first sites of educational resistance to Western education and religion, and appears to be the only publication regarding this most sacred Whare-waananga.

⁵⁶ Elsmore, B. (1989). *Mana from Heaven: A Century of Maori Prophets in New Zealand*. Moana Press. Re-published by Reed Publishing 1999, Auckland.

⁵⁷ Ibid, p.185. King Taawhiao, the second Maaori King, was a seer, a *tohunga matakite*, and made many *tongi* (phophetic statements) pertaining to the Waikato people and the people of Aotearoa.

⁵⁸ Ibid, pp.185-186. Io is believed by some Maaori to be a divinity and by others as a personification of the very source of Maaori cosmogony.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p.186.

3.2 MAAORI AUTHORS

Pei Te Hurinui Jones

Decades before Elsmore, Jones, noted author best known for co-editing the Nga Moteatea series of traditional Maaori *waiata*, describes in greater detail the Miringa-te-kakara house and Pao Miere movement based there. The design of this house undoubtedly originates from the metaphorical house Hawaiiikinui.

The name is a Hawaiki one. In some dialects it is rendered as Miria Te Kakara....Miringa Te Kakara was one of four Io cult centres....(its occupants given) the name Pao miere.⁶⁰

The name Pao Miere as mentioned earlier, seems to have unfortunately been a name “...given to the cult by other members of the Ngati Maniapoto tribe” in reference to their “aloof (ness)”. In further correspondence Pei writes:

The Miringa Te Kakara house was built under the supervision of Te Ra Karepe. Te Ra Karepe and Rangawhenua were tohunga of the Io cult. Both had attended the Ahurei (Whare-waananga) at Maketu, Kawhia. The sacred stones (Hani and Puna) were brought to Miringa Te Kakara from Ahurei.... At the opening...Te Hitaua (son of Topia Turoa) came from Tawata (Whanganui River) to attend sessions.... The builders...were Haiminia, Tirirangi Te Akau, Te Haeata Ngatokowha and Eruera Te Akau...commenced in 1886.⁶¹

The unique aspect of this house was that it was in the design of a cross known as a *tiroa*.⁶² There were descriptions of symbols inside also. A newspaper article mentions:

On the walls, doors and uprights of the cruciform building there is a good deal of inscribed lettering, and translations of this carved work indicate the places in the meeting-house which has

⁶⁰ Jones, P.T.H. (1898-1976). *Waiata, Whakapapa and Religion*. Folders 72-85.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² www.celticnz.co.nz/Crosshouse/Crosshouse1.html: The Crosshouse of Miringa Te Kakara. The fascinating feature of this house is that point-to-point measurements correlate directly to astrological navigational points. The Winter solstice sunrise and Summer solstice sunset at 60-degrees and 240-degrees respectively for example, can be viewed through the windows of the north-east to south-east axis from a standpoint at the centre of the *whare*. The variation of degrees from the centre-pole, to the outside markers of the inside corner poles, measures 6.48 indicating that the ‘precession of the Equinoxes’ were being measured. There are also ample samples of phi - reducing measures employed to determine placement and lengths of the main structure, supporting posts, the doors and windows. All these measures are evidence that star and planetary movements were being monitored, and according to all accounts, this site holds the most accurate measure of all the ancient sites. There are further measures of equidistant gridlines that correlate to the earth’s energy grids Maaori were acutely aware of. This area remains largely unheard of and ignored by most for various reasons, but was undoubtedly a study of the Miringa-te-kakara *wananga*.

been allotted to the different classes of the occupants, one section to the men, one to the wives, one to the sons, and a fourth to the daughters. The cruciform building was built in 1887.⁶³

A final part of Pei's correspondence refers to Te Ra Karepe's *Kawenata* or scripture, a written record of some of the teachings of Miringa Te Kakara. "Te Haeata took the kawenata to Te Whare Ture who in turn gave it to Hakuone..."⁶⁴ and "...later given to Araiure." According to Hotutaua Pakukohatu "...Te Ra Karepe's book was placed in a box which was buried underneath one of the pillars of the Tokanga-nui-a-noho house at Te Kuiti." There is further mention that King Tawhiao had been in possession of the book before he had sent it through for burial.⁶⁵

There is another less well-known piece of architecture at Miringa Te Kakara that is described in the same newspaper as follows: "One of the most interesting structures in the village is a hexagon-shaped cookhouse and dining-room built of punga uprights and with a galvanised iron-roof." This design would have had some ancient significance given that those of the Pao Miere were resistant to European ways. What the hexagon design represents however remains unknown except perhaps to the descendants of the *whanau* from Rereahu. The buildings by the late 1950's had fallen into a dilapidated state and in the eighties were eventually destroyed by fire of unknown cause.

History of other Whare-waananga and Whare-waananga knowledge from the Tainui people that are elegantly scribed by Jones in his journals starts with Io at the beginning of the genealogical creation.⁶⁶ Ensuing genealogy references metaphorical periods of time immeasurable until, like all other tribal lore, the parental union of Rangi and Papa (see *Appendix 2*). Other abstract identities of this earliest genealogy mentioned by Pei include the *whatukura* and *mareikura*. These were entities of the dimension where Io existed who had the specific task of balancing energies that were mis-wrought. Pei refers to them thus:

⁶³ Private collection. Source unknown.

⁶⁴ Ibid. The print of this name is difficult to read and could possibly be another name.

⁶⁵ Jones, P.T.H. (1898-1976). *Waiata, Whakapapa and Religion*. Folders 72-85.

⁶⁶ Jones, P.T.H. (1898-1976). *Mareikura-Io*. Microfilm of MS-Papers-5220, folders 86-94. MS-Copy-Micro-0698-15. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

I tua mai o te Wai-o-rongo, ko te whare i noho ai nga ariki o nga Apa. Ko te ingoa o taua whare, ko Whaka-moe-ariki. Ko nga ariki o nga Apa nga atua noho o tenei whare, ara ko Ruatau, ko Aitupawa, ko Rehua, ko Puhaorangi.⁶⁷

translation - Beyond Wai-o-rongo (Tranquil waters of peace) was the abode of the lords of the Apa. The name of that house is Whaka-moe-ariki (of slumbering lords). The lords of the Apa that dwelled in this house are Ruatau, Aitupawa, Rehua, and Puhaorangi.

Pei continues to state that another abode in Tiritiri-o-matangi was erected for the *whatukura* and *mareikura* named Tawhirirangi therein to remain as *kai-tiaki* (caretakers) of Te Pumotomoto, the entrance into Te Toi-o-nga-rangi.⁶⁸ He then introduces a history unique to the Tainui Whare-waananga where Io bestowed the *whatukura* with the Angi-tama-tane (the male role) to guide Hani, and the *mareikura* the Angi-tama-wahine (the female role) to guide Puna.⁶⁹ Here then Io established three Whare-wananga called Matangi-nui, Matangi-naonao, and Matangi-puhi and anointed the Apa as the Apa-Puhirangi (the male) and the Apa-Kahurangi (the female). Hani and Puna continue to feature as representations of the male and female concubines throughout the Tainui history according to Pei. In Aotearoa the names Hani and Puna are the sacred stones placed at the bow and stern of the resting place of the Tainui canoe at Kawhia. The Tainui people like Pei have a fuller account of this *koorero*, but as to the purpose of these identities Pei offers no explanation. Clues to the role of the Apa suggest that they maintained balance, that is balance of the universal fabric.⁷⁰ The term Apa can mean ‘slave’, ‘servant’, or ‘spirit’ while *mareikura* and *whatukura* are references to ‘supernatural beings’. The interpretation of servant as a prefix to *mareikura* or *whatukura* appears paradoxical (slave [like] supernatural beings), whereas ‘spirit’ (spirit [ual] supernatural beings) is more congruent, and from my understanding of this era far more attuned to the function and purpose of these beings and their role.

Pei discusses the Whare-waananga edifice, divulging names of parts of the house where learning and teaching occurred.⁷¹ The explanation is very specific and once again, like the

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid. Pei also mentions Uru-rangi as another name of this entrance-way.

⁶⁹ Ibid. This is unique in that thus far I have not encountered another tribal version that employs the terms Angi as a pre-fix to tama-tane/wahine or has a history of Hani and Puna.

⁷⁰ This is the unseen energy, the balance and imbalance maintained in the philosophies of universal principles.

⁷¹ Jones, P.T.H., folders 86-94.

intricate customs of the Whare-waananga according to Te Matorohanga, highlights a highly structured and organised educational engagement.

There are further unique aspect of Pei's account of the Tainui Whare-waananga, one of which is reference to the names of the levels of different class of *tohunga*, and the staff of office that each held.⁷² In brief these are the:

- **Te Tohunga-o-te-Tahuaroa** (High Priest of the altars) is also an *ariki* and is the highest position held. The Staff of office for Te Tahuaroa is a *tewhatewha* that when used in this fashion is called a *tenoteno*.
- **Te Tohunga-o-te-Kauhanganui** (High Priest of the Centreway of the Temple) who acts as master or all sacred ceremonies at the high sessions of the sacred assembly when the Tuahu-roa is presiding. The Staff of office for Te Kauhanganui is the *hoeroa* (an elongated curved staff).
- **Te Tohunga-o-te-Ahurewa** (High Priest of the Temple altar) also known as Te Tohunga Hapai Kura (High Priest of the sacred emblems). The Ahurewa carries out the tasks of the Kauhanganui when required. His Staff of office is a *pou-whenua* (a long-staff the height of its user, pointed at on end with a double-edged blade extending the legth above the grip area).
- **Te Tohunga-o-te-Tuahu-tapatai** (High Priest of the questioning altar) has no physical altar, but the palm of his hand acts as his altar.⁷³ His temple is the environment, officiating on the summit of a hill, or cliff overlooking the sea, or a stream of running water. His Staff of office was a *mere pounamu* (greenstone club).
- **Te Tohunga-o-te-Rangataua** (High Priest of War) is the inner guardian of the entrance to the temple who determines who enters into sacred ceremonies and who does not. In war he is the spiritual adviser. His Staff of office is the *mere paraoa* (whalebone club).
- **Te Tohunga-o-te-Waitohinga-a-Tumatauenga** (High Priest of the purifying waters of Tumatauenga) prepares candidates for initiation possibly into higher staffs of office known as the *whakarewa* (raising-up ceremony). His Staff of office is the *taiaha* (a long staff the length of its user, with a blunt point at one end and a double edged striking blade above the grip area).
- **Nga Tohunga-Manukura** (the Artisan Priests) are the *tohunga* of the many arts and daily undertakings of the *hapu* that could include the Tohunga whakairo (carving experts), Tohunga taa-moko (tattooing experts), Tohunga tarai-waka (master canoe builders), and Tohunga patu-

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ I am guessing that the outstretched hand with an open palm, is utilised instead of an altar for officiating sacred ceremonies.

kai (expert cultivators) and so on. Their Staff of office is the *koikoi* (a long staff pointed at both ends).

- **Nga Tauira** (The Adepts) are apprentices to the Manukura.
- **Nga Akonga** (the Scholars) are candidates for admission to the priesthood.
- **Nga Kai-tiaki** (the Outer-Guardians of the Temple) are guards outside the temple numbering three and from the ranks of the scholars. When on duty they are armed with a *tao-roa* (a long double-pointed spear).

In reference to staffs, the use of *pou-waananga* (priestly staffs) were also prevalent and said to be staked outside the *whare* to let people know that a *waananga* was in session.⁷⁴ There is another class known as Te Ahurei that is specific to the Tainui *waananga* as these are graduates from the acclaimed Ahurei Whare-waananga of Hoturoa, captain of the Tainui canoe, in Kawhia.

Accounts of ceremonies regarding learning within the sacred temple are detailed by Pei. The use of stones or *papa-tatau* are introduced at the ‘high sessions’ of learning, while the more commonly known stones received by Tane that are the *whatukura* Te Huka-a-tai and Te Rehu-a-tai, are employed at other sessions. Te Matorohanga mentions the use of these stones as being “...considered to give authority to those who taught, and permanency in matters taught, on the part of the pupils. They were talismanic in nature.”⁷⁵ In some regards they could be interpreted as ancient hard-drives, with knowledge of how to gain access known only by the *toohunga* class. They are otherwise described by Jones as:

He kohatu tohu i nga whakaaro me nga hiahia o te pai me te kino. He kohatu tapu hei whaka-u i te hinengaro kia mau tonu ai te pupuri i nga akoranga o te whare-wananga.⁷⁶

Translation - Stones that revealed the thoughts and desires good or bad. [These are] Sacred stones that helped the mind focus so as to retain the teachings of the whare-wananga.

Their use is described in the ceremony of students entering the house of learning accompanied with *karakia* and observations as each *toohunga* takes their post of teaching in the presence of

⁷⁴ Such *pou* and a description of their use can be viewed at the Auckland Museum.

⁷⁵ Smith, P. (1913). *The Lore of the Whare-wananga. Te Kauwaerunga, Volume I*. Thomas Avery. New Plymouth. Reprinted by Waikato Print, Hamilton, 1997. p.xiii.

⁷⁶ Jones, Pei Te Hurinui (1898-1976), Papers (MS-Group-0358), Microfilm of MS-Papers-5229, folders 72-85. MS-Copy-Micro-0698-14), p.6.

the stones being unfurled before the *taura* closes the door and learning commences. The wearing of robes (*korowai*) is another unique element documented by Pei of the Tainui Whare-waananga. These robes are described as "...the finest flax fibre, finely and closely woven with ornamental borders of varied designs" for *toohunga*, and there are less finely woven robes for students.⁷⁷ While Jones offers no clues to their significance I would suggest that they represent the distinction of knowledge attained by *toohunga*, and knowledge yet to be attained by *taura*.

Several Whare-waananga from the *atua* cosmogony, to the landing of the Tainui *waka* in Kawhia on the West Coast of the Waikato region conclude the manuscripts of Jones according to the histories of the Tainui people and largely the Ahurei Whare-waananga.

The main part to note of Jones' manuscripts is that in no part of his writings does he offer his own suppositions, or seek to pass comment of his own thoughts regarding this knowledge. He in my eyes seeks to share the knowledge in as pure a form as he received it from his elders, as was the customary practice of those who were selected into the Whare-waananga.

Samuel Robinson

A 21st century publication *Tohunga* - an account of oral traditions from the Ngai Tahu Whare-waananga as told by *toohunga* Teone Taare Tikao - by author S. Robinson, offers a more recent take on Whare-waananga lore, and yet again another unique perspective, that being from the Kai Tahu people of the South Island. Robinson highlights his genealogical links to the people of Ngati Porou on the East Coast of the North Island, and also of the Irakehu and Waitaha peoples among others, who trace their origins to the Moriori,⁷⁸ Whare-waananga (or Whare-waanaka in the Kai Tahu dialect) lore being an intermingling of these two strains.

Robinson's account begins with the Kore period of nothingness and Io, a consciousness responsible for all creation, such was the teachings from his *poua* or *toohunga* who imparted knowledge of the South Island peoples to him as youngster. While some of the names and concepts of Io differ from other tribal versions, the fact that Io is placed at the beginning of the creation history is consistent with other tribal histories.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Robinson, S.T. (2005). *Tohunga: The Revival of Ancient Knowledge for the Modern Era*. Reed Publishing, Auckland, pp.79-80.

The descent to Rangi, Papa and the *atua* are exposed, and continues to the *waananga* that was received by Tane. The three baskets that contained all knowledge here refers to the curriculum of all teaching that would be imparted by mankind, known in Kai Tahu traditions as Te Kete Uruuru-Matua, Uruuru-Rangi and Uruuru-Tau,⁷⁹ to be imparted forthwith within their houses of learning. Terrestrial histories of Maui ensue, that is not surprising given that Tahu (the eponymous ancestor of the Kai Tahu people) and his older brother Porourangi, were descendants of the Paikea and Maui lineage.

Hereafter, Robinson explains in depth the different levels of *tohunga* from the Kai Tahu Whare-waanaka, from the Poutahi, a *tohunga* who is versed in genealogy, to the Pouwhitu, that is the *tohunga-ahurewa*, or the highest level of priest-hood. Some interesting aspects for discussion start with the Pourua, the second level of *tohunga*, who becomes a partisan of the sacred *tokotauwaka* that I understand from Robinson's explanation as a special stick of special design used in sacred rituals. Beyond being employed for learning *karakia*, Robinson describes it (the *tokotauwaka*) as, "...a tool above all else (that) represents light presiding over the world of humankind."⁸⁰ This is the Kai Tahu version of a metaphysical application that was prominent among all Whare-waananga, in fact as already discussed was an anomaly difficult to separate from the day-to-day lives of traditional Maaori.

Further descriptions of *atua*, *tohu* (signs), and the *whakatoro* and *whakapakoko* rituals for evoking *atua* are all explained as stages of engagement by the Poutoru. The next level of progression is the Pouwha, the *tohunga-matakite*, or the seer, that is the *tohunga* who prophecizes the future based on natural or super-natural signs. The Pourima is the *tohunga-rongoa* or medicinal healer, and the Pouono, the *tohunga-runuku*, who is the expert of warcraft. War-craft however as Robinson explains is in reference to *maakutu*, the art of black magic. Some detailed descriptions are explained of this art that once again expose the metaphysical nature of the old Kai-Tahu Maaori. The last of these levels of attainment is the Pouwhitu, that is, the *tohunga-ahurewa*. It is at this stage education concerning Io begins, playing a role as "...serviceman of the Io religion for others." The *tohunga-ahurewa* would graduate as the "...minister of the innermost and highest secrets of all knowledge preserved by Maori."⁸¹

⁷⁹ Ibid, p.69.

⁸⁰ Ibid, p.114.

⁸¹ Ibid, p.272.

Robinson's history of Kai-Tahu education is not only unique but refreshing. The author shares histories as they have been inherited over hundreds of years as they have been imparted within the sacred houses of learning of the South Island without the idiosyncrasies typical of western conjecture. But in accord to the traditions of his elders, Robinson unselfishly discloses the teachings of his people to share for the benefit of those who perceive them as relevant.

Although there are further publications regarding Whare-waananga lore, for the most part, those publications share the histories of their respective *hapuu* and not so much the constructs of daily engagement of the Whare-waananga itself.⁸²

The unique differences between the tribes of Whare-waananga reviewed in these texts provides a cross-section enough to show that knowledge, even at the earliest stages of settlement in Aotearoa, was already prevalent. This could perhaps be attributed to the fact that the knowledge had already started to geographically disperse over the centuries from the time when Maui first established the earliest known Whare-waananga of the Maaori people.⁸³ The disparities in writing styles between Maaori and Paakeha authors to me also portrays the attitudes that must be considered when dealing with knowledge of the Whare-waananga. While Elsmore is the exception, she is an author from the later part of the twentieth century, and therefore reflects the change in attitude of Western authors who have sought to write stories about Maaori. Therefore earlier texts must always be considered with greater caution until the attitude of the author can be determined. Traditional knowledge of the Maaori was not just about words to be used however the holder felt, even if they were written for the public domain.

Chapter four will analyse the research methods and process that I adopted in the engagement of this research project. Dichotomies of Maaori and western views will be discussed pertaining to research, as will research models that eventually influence my overall process.

⁸² Such publications include *Nga Korero A Pita Kapiti* (1997), A. Reedy (Ed), *Mohi Turei: Ana tuhinga i roto i te reo Maori* (1996). W & O Kaa (Eds), and *Horouta: The History of the Horouta Canoe, Gisborne and East Coast*. Haronga, H., Gordon, P., and Halbert whanau (Eds).

⁸³ Again, this is according to the history of the Ngati Maui as told by Anaru Kupenga from Te Whanau o Te Aowera, Ruatorea.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCHING TRADITIONAL MAAORI EDUCATION

This chapter begins by discussing cultural safety in relation to the Maaori culture, as it is Maaori history that is the primary basis of this research. Maaori and non-Maaori research models are then explored to determine whether they are applicable as models for the purposes of this research. Finally the process itself, from initiating contact to recording information of informants, to ensuring ethical and research requirements are met is outlined.

4.1 CULTURAL SAFETY

The history of researchers among indigenous peoples is full with mis-interpretation that has led to consequent pains for indigenous peoples as this research has influenced the Colonisers eventual overall structures of domination. The residue of early research ethics (or lack thereof) lingers, and a 'breaking the cycle' syndrome exists now, even among those who were colonized. Breaking the cycle of research 'norms' is as much the challenge as is the research topic, and only understanding research more fully will ensure the same mistakes are not repeated. I hope however that what is not understood by researchers of research, can at least be tempered by understanding people, respecting people and their views or their culture, indigenous or other.

The historical lack of cultural sensitivity by western researchers caused deep-seated mistrust beyond culture with Maaori that ultimately drove Maaori knowledge structures underground, into secrecy. While there are a few Paakeha who can be acknowledged for recording tribal histories, the results of Western notions in research is prolific in hypotheses and interpretation. A. Durie mentions that, "...social scientists...explored Maori well-being using non-Maori values and ambitions..." assuming "...that Maori could be understood by using the methodologies of western research."⁸⁴ The issue of monocultural parameters to analyse another culture is in itself a paradox.

Tribal difference goes beyond dress or unique peculiarities, but extends to behaviours, customs, dialectal and vocabulary differences and so on. In former times sub-tribes who formed the greater tribe even guarded their knowledge with all the sacred and physical restrictions known to them, and that was among those genealogically close, let alone

⁸⁴ Durie, A.E. (2000) *Maori Research Parameters*, from Work in Progress, Palmerston North Massey University, p.1.

encountering someone from an entirely different region. This and similar customs still linger, especially among those versed in the traditional ways, and is a consideration, as mentioned, that requires as much care as if I were a foreigner from a distant land. In addressing this part of what I believe can be an impedence to openness, is also for me a gateway to openness, and that is simply a firm knowledge of self, my Tuhoetanga, and within that my own Mahurehuretanga,⁸⁵ and within that my *whanautanga* (family roots) that have provided the basis of my being, tweaked by my own *tangatanga* (individuality).

The dichotomy when engaged with my own *hapuu* was that I was viewed as an insider (as opposed to an outsider, that is someone from another tribe or race of people), where trust was already present in their knowledge of me or my parents or grandparents, or the recently shared histories of our *hapuu*. Whether this trust extended as far from other informants from other tribes I do not know. This familiarity however raises the issue of whether I could remain objective and without bias. Safety now has a different spin on it in that I am now in danger of mis-representing information through a bias lens. The fact is I have no gauge to measure whether I have remained unbiased or not. That I am discussing this however, should at least indicate that I have considered it. I question whether early western researchers applied the same level of self analysis when they were pursuing mine or any other tribal histories.

The method of oral transferrance by Maaori from generation to generation included theories and scientific exploration of their ancestors with their outcomes preserved within the sacred parameters of the Whare-waananga and Kura. Today, within Maaori culture exist customs and observances generally observed at *whaanau* or *hapuu* functions or occasionally taught through various *waananga* or *hui*. Nonetheless, in some instances the sharing of oral histories today is no less shrouded in customary observances than it use to be. It is these observances that have served as the safety net for the purposes of this research.

Cultural safety, that is in one regard piece-of-mind of the informant about imparting centuries of oral history, is about reassuring the informant that their knowledge will continue to be respected and not mis-used (For self-promotion or monetary gain for example), nor the spirit of the *maauri-koorero*⁸⁶ aggrieved. Respect in approaching *toohunga* or *kaumaatua* I have found is shown by being pragmatic yet humble, while showing a clear knowledge of your subject

⁸⁵ Te Mahurehure is the name of my sub-tribe.

⁸⁶ That is the 'life-force of words (inherited)'.

question. These sometimes subtle observations I have in part addressed by what I say, and as much by what I do or do not do when initiating contact, and then eventually in the act of interviewing.

Admittedly, being conversant in Te Reo Maaori has allowed me to broach many customary nuances, although I have never assumed cultural safety because I am a speaker of Maaori or because of the confidence I have in my own knowledge of many traditional customs. In fact in many of my experiences being of the same ethnicity often draws a higher degree of criticism and expectation from *kaumaatua*. Nevertheless being able to discuss genealogical ties, tribal issues and even discussing the weather or fishing in the native tongue of the informant does allow the informant an insight to your cultural knowledge base and in doing so lends to addressing some reservations of your customary knowledge otherwise left to probable interrogation. While being the same ethnicity does not guarantee safety, conversing in *te reo* assists in bridging unknown quantities, further it allows for a greater depth and width of information to be divulged that would probably not occur in the informant's second language or in the context of the paradigm of another culture.

4.2 MAAORI RESEARCH FRAMEWORKS

The increased involvement of Maaori in wider arenas of research fields has seen the introduction of research models and concepts such as M.Durie's Te Hoe Nukuroa framework, or R.Pere's monograph of Maaori concepts embodied in *Ako*, that have contributed to inviting non-Maaori into the Maaori world.

A.Durie's Ngakau Maori Research concept best defines the approach by which I have embarked on for this research, that is the, "...ability to respond to 'nga mea Maori' all that is Maori, including what might be called the collective 'Maori good'"⁸⁷ While there is no formal expectation from the informant, there is an understanding that the information being shared will advertently or inadvertently find its way back to that community from where that information originated. Traditional acknowledgement of reciprocity stems back to the earliest of Maaori histories, and concepts of *koha*, *taakoha*, and *tikanga paremata* are still very strong in some tribal areas, my own included. These are all age-old traditions of customs pertaining to the gifting of *taonga* or money that depending on the manner of how it is offered, determines

⁸⁷ Ibid.

whether a gift of like value will be returned when the occasion arises, or whether it is received without any attachments. Durie states that:

Research that is ethically appropriate draws upon Maori cultural values for guidance, upon Maori systems of ethicality and cultural imperatives. Good research takes account of difference in relation to perceptions of appropriate behaviour and rituals of encounter...Ethical research accepts that there is no deception, that anonymity and confidentiality can be protected....⁸⁸

Concepts such as *koha* or *taakoha* apply equally to the *koorero* shared by the informant that in some interpretations, is considered *taonga*. Another element of Ngakau Maori research is that it "...accepts that the attributes of the researcher have as much to do with the research as do the methodologies adopted."⁸⁹ This emphasises the inextricable link between researcher and the manner by which the research is conducted. As already discussed, conversing with informants in their native tongue helped broach many if not all reservations or customary observances. Having a genuine passion for the subject was necessary and I doubt that if anything disingenuous was present that conversations would have taken the pathways they often did. Those who knew me well were already aware of my long pursuit of Maaori histories, but I can only assume those who I met for the first time trusted their own instincts as to my intentions.

The ethical requirements of Ngakau Maori research again embody very traditional Maaori values that are otherwise approaches lined with respect and care for cultural conventions. The term *mana* as a pre-empt to *whenua* (land), *tangata* (person), *whakahaere* (authority) and *a-iwi* (tribe) are traditional concepts and are employed in the Ngakau Maori approach focusing on mutual respect and benefits, while acknowledging ownership issues and traditional customs. These ethical observations when applied to research appear simplistic, yet outside of research paradigms and within different cultural parameters they are values people and indigenous cultures the world-over struggle with. K.Lomawaima proposes a simple conclusion in speaking to Western researchers engaging with the American Indians, and that is simply, "...they must first ask then listen.... If the researcher does more talking than listening in the ensuing dialogue, something is wrong".⁹⁰ Concepts of reciprocation, intellectual property, acknowledging the 'great spirit' are indigenous values that are shared by the Indian nations as

⁸⁸ Ibid, p.15

⁸⁹ Ibid, p.7.

⁹⁰ Lomawaima, K.T. (2000) *Tribal Sovereigns: Reframing Research in American Indian Education*, Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 70 No.1 spring. p.38.

well as Maaori and no doubt other indigenous peoples. Native Alaskan Kawagley discusses the universal inter-relatedness with humans in exploring the ‘Profound silence of Self...’, with many meta-physical views expressing a way of being, and the fabric of the universe all intertwined.⁹¹ Respecting this fabric is about acknowledging that the universe and self is one and the same, and is found within.

Ngakau Maori research works for me because it entails not only a part of my culture but also a part of how I would like to be, and be for the people who have entrusted their stories to me. Like Io and the knowledge of Io that until recently perhaps has become lost in translation, this research sets out to rediscover the histories of Maaori through Maaori eyes, within a Maaori context shrouded in the spirit of a Tuhoe worldview that has been the basis of my research methodology.

Matauranga Maori, Kaupapa Maori, Ngakau Maori and Maaori centered research frameworks and concepts are all contributions of indigenous worldviews in an attempt to ‘right the wrongs’ and ensure the same mistakes are not repeated even by those who are ethnic Maaori. Maori Development Research discussed by A. Durie raises the worth of ‘new knowledge...validated through its contribution to Maori progress and development...the outcomes...revolutionary in effecting change.’⁹² This statement is highlighted by my own people’s expectation that the information I write be returned in a formal manner to our *marae*. Whether or not change is effected by the new information will remain to be seen. Certainly there is affect in terms of disseminating new knowledge to individuals, however whether or not more structural or institutional change occurs will require greater levels of engagement. The intention is that through the period of internalisation the development of this information will occur as a natural process of progress. Initially education is the focus, and the Tuhoe Education Authority are already well underway in implementing a very Tuhoe approach to education in Tuhoe schools that includes a traditional educational concept based around metaphorical *kete*, each representing a different curriculum and pedagogical approach. This research however may be considered in the development of a tertiary approach to Te Maatauranga o Tuhoe as Tuhoe continues to define its *tino rangatiratanga*.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Durie, A.E. (2000). p.7.

Of a similar vein is the Ethnography of Empowerment framework where again change is not only being affected on the researched, but also on the Researcher.⁹³ Here Delago-Gaitan discusses critical theory as a "...discussion regarding the interaction between researcher and researched....", and ultimately "...the construction of knowledge through the social interaction between researcher and researched."⁹⁴ With change occurring as a consequence of this research framework, Paolo Friere's 'critical theory' can be defined beyond just a discussion, but as a real application for 'disenfranchised communities'.⁹⁵ The two-tiered framework of the Ethnography of Empowerment starts with the premise that "...learning among humans occurs across cultures, primarily in the home..." then "...directed to the enhancement of cultural values."⁹⁶ This is a principle of change that influences the one or the few and consequently the environment of the many.

4.3 THE RESEARCH PROCESS

With my own cultural values in mind I proceeded to determine an appropriate process from first contact. Fortunately for me I knew most of my informants, so contact to initiate a *waananga* with them was very informal. In the instance of one informant who I did not know, an elder from my wife's tribe, I asked my wife to arrange a *hui* with him. I felt in this instance that the informant would feel more comfortable talking with someone whom they had close genealogical affiliations, as well as with someone whom they knew and trusted. This trust stemmed from having known my wife's father and mother, and similarly for me when I spoke with my own *pakeke*.⁹⁷ Upon making contact, my wife or I would briefly explain that I was researching histories of Whare-waananga, and would like to talk with them regarding their knowledge on the subject. If they were agreeable then a date, time and venue to meet of the informant's preference would be requested, to which I would always accommodate. This accommodation was important to me for several reasons, the main one being that it was imperative for me to show that I considered their knowledge and time to share their knowledge of the upmost importance (which as far as I was concerned was).

The research question was always about inviting those considered experts in traditional histories of the Maaori Whare-waananga to openly share their knowledge in depth, beyond

⁹³ Delago-Gaitan, C. (1993) *Researching Change and Changing the Researcher*, Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 63 No. 4 Winter 1993. p.392.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid. p.392.

⁹⁷ Relatives older than me who are held in high regard within the community.

what might perhaps be already published. Exploring this knowledge began with a general mention of the topic I was pursuing, that being the knowledge of sub-tribal or tribal Whare-waananga, before re-iterating this question when I met them in person. Often I would make a mental note of questions pertaining to their topic of conversation, and ask the question when they finished speaking. As I have already mentioned this approach is based on cultural etiquette, that is one of respect for the speaker, who is often also an elder, but also so their train of thought is not interrupted; thoughts that could be irretrievable. I had also developed questions that addressed what I deemed vital information relevant to my research question that I intended to ask at the end of their conversation however, in all instances, these questions were always addressed. Therefore any further questions were devised on-the-spot; questions that would seek to have them extend on their previously divulged information aimed to purge the greater depths of their knowledge base.

To the first meeting with informants I took a *koha*, that is a gift of some Maaori flavour, and to most *hui* I always took *kai*, more often than not Maaori *kai*.⁹⁸ The gift I decided upon was a CD of traditional Maaori puoro. The *kai* I would present when I arrived, and in almost every circumstance greater amounts of *kai* would be consumed at the completion of our *koorero*, while the gift I would present on my departure accompanied by a small *mihi*, that is a speech of gratitude for their sharing of knowledge. In one instance I was also presented with a gift, and almost always with an invitation to return whenever I might be in the area. The aspect of giving and receiving *koha* is as already mentioned a cultural practice that I was not going to ignore. In some instances, particularly with my wife's people, my wife always came with me. However in the instance of speaking with my own people, I knew it would be more appropriate for my wife not to come simply because our tribal etiquette is different. When I met with my own *pakeke* I was taken into a separate room of the house where no food was allowed, and information was imparted behind closed doors.

With the permission of the informant I recorded all conversations on a digital Dictaphone. The use of a Dictaphone in regard to *tikanga* was inconsequential in this instance, but was pertinent in allowing me to capture then accurately decipher the information shared. In regard to storing this information, all audio and digital files I placed under the secrecy of password on my

⁹⁸ The likes of *paraoa rewena*, *kaimoana* and the like.

computer, with a digital folder backed up on an external hard-drive.⁹⁹ The advent of cultural safety and intellectual property rights cannot unfortunately be left to the safety of cultural traditions, although these traditions still have their place, and as far as I am concerned, are paramount considerations when regarding the continued safety of aeons of oral history. In two instances two of my informants had in part covered my subject in their own master's or doctoral thesis', and I was fortunate to be given digital copies of these to read or share at my discretion.

To ensure that information in my thesis was accurate I gave copies in draft form to informants of their respective contributions that I had extracted, and requested feedback. This feedback also included comments on information that I translated into English. In following up on my drafts either by phone, e-mail, but usually in person, no one offered any corrections or further suggestions, other than to reflect on certain information or offer more. The general nature of people who have their knowledge wrongly or incorrectly disseminated is to pounce fairly quickly on the issue. I interpreted their responses of general endorsement as a fair sign that I was on the right track. The information, that is this thesis, will in time be delivered in person to them as the final part of this process.

I received signed statements of understanding of my purpose and intent from some informants, to reaffirm ownership of their knowledge would remain thus, a requirement that was necessary for everybody's legal safety. However for others this was not the case. It seemed inappropriate in some instances for me to ask some individuals who had shared centuries of their tribal histories with me to now sign a paper, despite the intentions. To me it seemed to contradict my own cultural values, as I had already become an acknowledged recipient by the mere fact that they had agreed to sit and talk with me.

The first part of the process, that is establishing a relationship with the informant, I determined was one that required me to observe my own knowledge of cultural *tikanga*, that entailed creating a safe environment through utilising genealogical or friendship links in initiating contact, taking *koha* not only of a gift but of *kai* as well, and completing sessions with a *mihi*. One further aspect that I have not yet touched on was utilising Lomawaima's conclusion regarding colonial research that is 'to ask first then listen'. This concept as far as I am

⁹⁹ Ten years ago this technological language would have been incomprehensible, but is very much the norm now.

concerned has applications not only for coloniser's on indigenous peoples but for individuals of the same heritage as well. Only upon reaching the very end of their *koorero* did I seek to probe with questions. I have learnt that people like to be heard, and while this was not necessarily the case with the people I spoke with, I do know that some aspects of the old ways are still relevant today.

The second part of the process involved safety of gathering information. Seeking consent from informants was in part regarded as *hapuu* consent, given that most individuals were already considered the storehouses of knowledge and leaders amongst their own people and therefore able to share histories at their discretion. Not unlike the *toohunga* of Tuhoe who shared their knowledge with Elsdon Best for reasons only they could qualify, these individuals had chosen to share their knowledge with me, secure in their own knowledge of self and their place amongst their own people.

My knowledge of my histories that is vast in comparison to some, but minute in comparison to others, has shaped my nature that is exposed in the presence of the Informant, and in my belief is acknowledged. Within this also is an understanding that we (the Informant and I) have a common bond as we descend like every other entity in the universe from a common denominator. This is an understanding that is prevalent in my own tribal histories and as I have discovered through this research, of many others. It is this interconnectedness that has found itself throughout time again and again and has once again been reacquainted, and will undoubtedly happen again for myself and for others on their own journey.

The following chapter explores the ancient Kura, known as Kura-i-awaawa in which Hohepa Delamere from Whitianga Bay was educated. The Kura was an ancient form of education that divulged in history pertaining to Io, and in that regard offers an exclusive insight into Maaori philosophy. This chapter also reveals the curriculum, pedagogy and epistemology, albeit only briefly, of Te Kura-i-awaawa. Here ancient history regarding enlightenment and a universal link to our past, present and future are discussed from a Maaori worldview. New light is also shed on The Atua pantheon as it pertains to the unique character of this Kura.

CHAPTER 5: KURA - AN ANCIENT SCHOOL OF MAAORI EDUCATION

The information that I have accumulated over these past years regarding Kura has been a as a consequence of *waananga* with Hohepa (Joe) Delamere, and Paraone Tai Tin, a student and associate of Hohepa's. It is the majority of this information that has shaped this research and my ideas. Hohepa was a well known *tohunga* in many arenas, and just an ordinary Joe in others. He was raised in Whitianga Bay near Te Kaha, by his many *koroua* (male elders) and *kuia* (female elders) of Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Hohepa also spent a part of his teenage years in Ruatahuna, and speaks fondly of his time with the late entertainer Tui Teka.¹⁰⁰ Hohepa left Whitianga when he was a young adult to pursue various career paths, before eventually settling into his gift of healing, dying suddenly in 2007. Hohepa was probably better well known overseas than in New Zealand. It seems that everywhere he went though, he made a profound impact, applying and utilisng the skills and knowledge he attained through the ancient school of Te Kura-i-awaawa.

The Kura was (and still is) an institution that encompassed the curriculum of the Whare-waananga, and the curriculum it would appear of all other *whare*. As I have only the knowledge of one Kura it is impossible to make comparisons. The Taranaki people however maintain a history regarding the *kura* that contained vast knowledge, a curriculum known as '*te mana o te rangi, te mana o te whenua, ko te mana o nga mea katoa*'¹⁰¹ (I interpret as 'command of the heavens, command of the earth, command of everything'). This knowledge is said to have been contested for and attained by Te Maungaroa (or Maungarongo), captain of the Kurahaupo canoe. The 'Kura' in Kurahaupo is in reference to this sacred knowledge attained by Te Maungaroa that was also referred to as Te Kura-mai-i-Hawaiiiki or 'the sacred-lore from Hawaiiiki'.¹⁰² Among the Tuhoe people from Waikaremoana there is reference to a secluded education known as Te Kura Huna¹⁰³ (the concealed sacred-lore), that is consistent with the conventions of the Kura education. There is also a well known *oriori* (an ancient lullaby) from Rongowhakaata that refers to, 'te kura nui' and 'te kura roa', terms of infinite

¹⁰⁰ *Waananga* with Hohepa Delamere, Whitianga Bay, Te Whanau-a-Apanui. January 2004.

¹⁰¹ pers. com. with Hemi Sundgren, historian and curator of the New Plymouth Museum, Tolaga Bay, 2007.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ pers. com with Rose Pere, Gisborne, 2007.

knowledge.¹⁰⁴ There is however the Kura-i-awaawa of Te Whanau-a-Apanui in Whitianga Harbour of whom Hohepa Delamere was the *taupuhi* (chosen scholar).¹⁰⁵

5.1 THE EDUCATION OF TE KURA-I-AWAAWA

As already stated this was the name of the Kura in which the late Hohepa Delamere was immersed. Io was fundamental to the sacred knowledge of Kura-i-Awaawa (I refer to as Te Kura for short). Io was a part of Maaori history that few of the early ethnographers discovered or were offered any information, no more perhaps than the mention of his place in the Maaori cosmos, and some names by which most of the general population knew him. Io was a well guarded divinity for many reasons in that knowledge of Io, among other things, held cues to metaphysics. While Io may have been well known to many *tohunga* and perhaps the general Maaori population, the main curriculum of Te Kura seems to have been singularly occupied with Io. As already discussed almost all Whare-waananga acknowledge Io as the progenitor in Maaori cosmogony. Te Kura seems however to be the only institution that has a history not only of Io but epistemology preceding Io, of a supreme subconscious known as *whatumanawa*¹⁰⁶ of whom Io is the guardian.¹⁰⁷

The depth and breadth of information regarding this concept of Te Kura is remarkable, and exceeds the intricacies of the intrinsic celestial genealogies or ancient incantations the likes of Best or Smith attempted to record, certainly within their published writings. Reference to Io's role as the guardian to knowledge of the *whatumanawa* includes, in part, some of the names mentioned in the opening verse. However Io had many names that are a further reference to the knowledge of metaphysics, whereby comprehension had to be attained before progression to higher learning. Io's names in relation to the foundation of practising metaphysics from Te Kura are:

Io-te-hauranga	– of essence (as in quintessence)
Io-te-waiwheta	– unity (as in being part of the universal)
Io-te-rautahi	– infusion (as to instil)

¹⁰⁴ This is the waiata “Po, po” composed by Rongowhakaata *tohunga* Enoke te Pakaru in the 19th Century. Ngata, A.T. and Jones, P.T.H. (1970). *Nga Moteatea: The Songs, Part II*. Auckland University Press. Auckland. Song 145: 152-161.

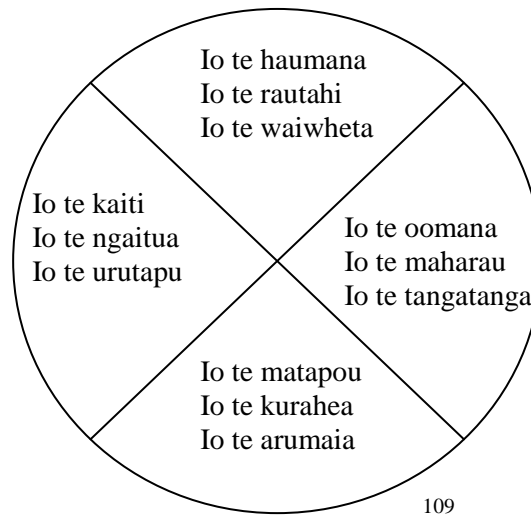
¹⁰⁵ *Taupuhi* is a term of reference described by Paraone Tai Tin and is translated accordingly. The concept is one that can be best described as pre-ordained.

¹⁰⁶ This must not be confused with the use of the word *whatumanawa* in referring to emotions.

¹⁰⁷ *Waananga* with Hohepa Delamere, Whitianga Bay, Te Whanau-a-Apanui. January 2004.

Io-te-arumaia	– intervention (as something extraneous)
Io-te-kurahea	– intention (of resolute purpose)
Io-te-matapou	– serenity (as in unperturbed)
Io-te-kaiti	– humility
Io-te-ngaitua	– unison (as in concurrence)
Io-te-urutapu	– sacredness (of divine dedication)
Io-te-oomana	– consolidation (to strengthen)
Io-te-maharau	– multiplicity (of great numbers)
Io-te-tangatanga	– foundation (as in establishing a base) ¹⁰⁸

The grouping of these names leads to understanding the *waananga* and purpose therein entailed:



Whatumanawa is of a divine nature. Conversely the physicality of humanity is what inhibits understanding the *whatumanawa* and potential therein, and this matrix is only the beginning to identifying and initiating the source which generates access to the *whatumanawa*.

The above names contain the essence of the schooling within Te Kura regarding *whatumanawa*. The names of Io arrange the pathway to acquisition of divine knowledge that traditionally was greater than a theoretical base. The understanding contained in the verse above implies methodologies toward seeking enlightenment and poses an ancient relationship to the philosophy of Buddhism, perhaps related but not to be equated to Hinduism or Taoism,

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

nor later practices of Jainism,¹¹⁰ although a conglomeration of parts from all exists. Traditionally enlightenment was not a topic of discussion to be taken lightly (excuse the pun) and those chosen for this education were subject to the most strenuous of conditions that included spiritual purification and an expectation of unequivocal commitment, as was the case of all sacred institutions of learning of the Maaori. This is undoubtedly another reason why early visitors to New Zealand were not privy to information from within this school of education. There are many other names of Io from Te Kura that contribute to understanding *whatumanawa* (see Appendix 3).¹¹¹

Many of the names are cryptic and require a reasonable command of the Maaori language in order to interpret thoroughly. Through the interpretations understanding is sought. Through the attainment of that understanding, then access to the *whatumanawa* becomes a matter of practicing ones understanding until clarity of mind is attained. Once the mind is clear, the *whatumanawa* becomes prominent and instinct and intuition prevail but remains under constant pressure from the *hinengaro* (mind) that strives to dominate - to be heard. Io is knowledge that exposes the pathway to the *whatumanawa*, and that is the curriculum of the Kura-i-awaawa.

Io is the pathway to divine knowledge and the embodiment of knowledge endowed. For almost all tribes there is an acknowledgement of Io pertaining to the history of how knowledge and understanding was endowed to Tane and hence to humankind. From within Te Kura the abstract account of Tane ascending to receive this knowledge contained in three baskets is consistent, in parts, with all other tribal traditions. A noted *tohunga* of the Ngai Tara people from the Wellington region, Tuhotoariki, composed an *oriori* around the sixteenth century for his grandnephew Tuteremoana¹¹² that entails part of this history. In the second stanza he makes reference to the metaphorical ascent of Tane aided by his older brother Taawhirimatea¹¹³ to receive three baskets commonly known as *nga kete waananga*, from the caretaker of all knowledge, Io.

¹¹⁰ Willis, R.(ed).(1993). *World Mythology: The Illustrated Guide*. Duncan Baird Publishers, London.p.69.

¹¹¹ These names of Io in Appendix 3 are extracted from what I refer to as the *whatumanawa takutaku*. This is an ancient *takutaku* of some 140 verses from Te Kura-i-awaawa as dictated by Hohepa Delamere. The *takutaku* itself is for the purpose of sourcing the *whatumanawa*.

¹¹² Ngata, A.T. and Jones, P.T.H, (1970). *Nga Moteatea: The Songs, Part III*. Auckland University Press. Auckland.

¹¹³ Ibid. Tane and Tawhirimatea were brothers of an abstract genealogy of Maaori cosmogony.

From within Te Kura these *kete* are replaced by *oko*, bowls for carrying food or water, or used occasionally for ceremonial purposes. Whatever they may have been they were but symbols for the endowed conscious and sub-conscious of human by Io. The conscious is represented by two *atua* Rongomaitahanui and Rongamaitaharangi, and are names for the right and left brain respectively, while the sub-conscious is represented by the *mootoi* that is the cerebellum that forms part of the *whatumanawa* symbiosis. While the right and left brains are represented by two *atua* of the *atua* cosmogony, the *mootoi* remains independent as its function is of a divine purpose that is directly related to the *whatumanawa* and precedes the *atua* genealogy, or ordering of physical evolution according to the Maaori.¹¹⁴

According to Te Kura there is an array of components pertaining to the *oko* starting with the entire name being Te Oko-nui-atea, or ‘the great bowl of space’, that as we already know contained potential for infinite celestial and terrestrial knowledge within the brain, and divine potential via the cerebellum. Nga Ireire-a-here, hatching etched into the sides of the *oko*, is a metaphorical representation of the fabric that binds the universe and maintains cosmic balance. The term *ireire* refers to the essence of the spirit as a separate entity whose endowed role is to provide balance and are found existing among the Apa mentioned previously, who in this version are known as *irekura* and *ireirekura*. Completing the *oko* is Te Taupoki-nui-a-Rua-i-te-pukenga, an interesting component that symbolises a removeable lid of the *oko* (*taupoki* means lid) personifying the ideology that knowledge has bounds yet can be boundless, contained yet not restrained, finite yet infinite. Rua-i-te-pukenga as already discussed is part of the genealogy of the Rua who are representations of all knowledge. Completing this example is Tane-te-maurangi, the name for the skull that contains the *mootoi* and the *matarua*, the *matarua* being the third-eye¹¹⁵ that is, in this version, the *whatumanawa*.¹¹⁶

Whatumanawa - Of Enlightenment

According to Te Kura, enlightenment was the means to sourcing the *whatumanawa*. As already mentioned the *whatumanawa* is the supreme subconscious. It is neutral. Within the *whatumanawa* truly exists all potential. It is the unophysical matrix to the metaphysical,

¹¹⁴ *Waananga* with Paraone Tai Tin, Auckland, September 2007.

¹¹⁵ This definition is similar to the eastern definition of the third-eye, that is an unseen part of the temple (of the forehead) that allows one to see All.

¹¹⁶ *Waananga* with Paraone Tai Tin, Auckland, September 2007.

hetophysical, and megaphysical¹¹⁷ realms of fulfilment of intent or purpose. At the very least one could expect a good night's sleep after indulging in finer aspects of the *whatumanawa waananga*. *Whatumanawa* is a divinity that bears no abstract or personified name so often found in Maaori genealogy. Sourcing the *whatumanawa* as I have mentioned comprised in part the philosophical studies undertaken within Te Kura, part of which included committing large amounts of ancient verse called *takutaku* (melodic incantation) to memory. Paraone Tai Tin states that it is actually through understanding the *whatumanawa* and unbound potential that knowledge of Te Kura is attained. Te Kura was if anything, of the philosophy that taught one not to think, but was dedicated to the art of omnipresence, of being ever in the here and now, in summary, to sense rather than think by being in touch with the *whatumanawa* through Io.¹¹⁸

Understanding Io allows tremendous insight into the Maaori worldview and belief systems that share parallels to Eastern philosophies of the life-force (*maauri*), spirit (*wairua*), and soul (*taakuiira*), and that illuminates the pathway to the *whatumanawa*. This celestial trio was also an entity of the Maaori divine belief within Te Kura. The spirit, or *wairua* (as it is generally translated), can be likened to its English description, that is of a 'non-physical element' of the human, but not as a *keehua* or 'ghost'. *Wairua* should not be likened to the 'spirit' in this translation, as in the popular biblical version of the *wairua tapu*, the holy-spirit (*tapu* translated as holy). *Maauri*, commonly translated as 'life-force', exists within all living entities and again the English translation carries some relativity but requires a more accurate description, that being 'of an energy that abides within the individual'.

The last component of the divine trio from Te Kura is the *taakuiira* or the 'soul'. Many races and religions have beliefs regarding the existence of the soul and coincidentally the version from within Te Kura has its similarities. To begin, the *taakuiira* is not by any means part of the human anatomy. *Taakuiira* resides metaphorically speaking in the sacred house of the realm of Io, Te Whare-o-te-rauroha.¹¹⁹ Therefore understanding Io and his many names pertaining to his functions and purposes, leads to the understanding of the *taakuiira* and its role toward enlightenment.

¹¹⁷ The terms hetophysical and megaphysical are translations of Maaori terms regarding spheres of the *whatumanawa*.

¹¹⁸ *Waananga* with Paraone Tai Tin, Auckland, September 2007.

¹¹⁹ This is the name known by Te Kura. Many other people refer to this as Rauroha or Te Whare-rauroha, and is sometimes referred to as a *marae*, a 'court-yard' of sorts.

From within Te Kura the *taakura* is a conduit to the *whatumanawa*, and the *wairua* a messenger, while the *maauri* plays the advocate for the *whatumanawa*. This is a complex symbiosis, nonetheless one to which Te Kura subscribes and has done so since time immemorial, and certainly can be afforded more time than I am unduly offering. There are other factors of the Maaori belief system that contribute to a total understanding that I have not discussed that include *nga Rangituhaha me nga Rangitauheke, nga tiirangi me nga irirangi, nga whatukura me nga mareikura, nga amokura me nga apakura, and nga uekura me nga reikura*, that all form part of the prolific matrix.¹²⁰ Memorising and annunciating verses of *takutaku* pertaining to the *whatumanawa* (that contain examples of the ancient Maaori language and hence understanding from within Kura-i-awaawa) was also a means of sourcing the *whatumanawa*, but in this instance understanding of the verse was far more vital to attaining enlightenment than being able to recite them. Such was the teaching maintained within this sacred institution known as Kura-i-awaawa.

5.2 RANGI, PAPA AND THEIR CHILDREN THE ATUA

The union of the primal parents of Ranginui and Papatuanuku is part of the abstract genealogy that has become intertwined with Maaori history created to make scientific sense of their environment. This was a genealogy continually misunderstood and misinterpreted by early European authors and hence Maaori were given many labels such as ‘idol worshippers’, ‘pagans’, ‘heathens’, ‘neolithic’ and the like. These primal parents and their metaphoric offspring were also part of the Te Kura curriculum.

Both Rangi and Papa are references to the sky and earth both in its physical and metaphorical form. The many other names that these two primordial beings bear are extensive and lend to understanding the world from a Maaori view point. Papa and her many names are again a means to understanding the earth’s sciences and energies, unfortunately the list are only limited to those names I have extracted from the *whatumanawa takutaku*.¹²¹

Papa-ahuahu-reia	Papa-rongorongo-nuia	Papa-aroaro-ki-a-nuku
Papa-aurea-mata	Papa-tu-kaha-iraira	Papa-noa-ki-nga-uri
Papa-i-oi-tahi	Papa-tua-moemoe	Papa-tua-aro

¹²⁰ *Te pumau me te pupuri i te maumaharatanga kia kore ai e rereke*. These are all personifications pertaining to *tikanga* and *kawa* or the ‘infallible methodology’ of retaining ancient knowledge.

¹²¹ This is an extensive incantation of Te Kura of around 140 verses.

Papatua-te-rongorongo-nui	Papa-ahuahu	Papa-nuia
Papa-rauenga	Papa-matamata	Papa-tu-kaha
Papa-mea	Papa-i-oi-Rea	

The science of the Maaori is holistic, intertwining and rationalising generations of naturalistic histories, personal theories, and metaphysical practices. These extended to Ranginui who also has numerous names. Again, this is only a limited list of names. Note that some names are not preceded by the name Rangi or sometimes end with Rangi, while some do not even include the name Rangi:

Rangi-nui (tamaku-a-rangi)	Rangi-tamaku	Rangi-parauri
Rangi-mareikura	Rangi-matawai	Rangi-tauru(nui)
Rangi-mataura	Rangi-te-wiwini (ka tika)	Rangi-te-wawana
Rangi-naonaoariki	Tiritiri-o-matangi	Tikitiki-o-rangi
Rangi-tau-a-hika	Kopu-parapara	Takoto-wai-mua
Puku-haohao	Rangi-kau-take	Puna-rua
Pua-te-rangi	Maru-rangaranga	Te Mamaku-rangi
Te Taute-a-ranginui	Aorere-hu-rangi	Te Kahu-o-te-rangi

Ranginui pertains to cosmic cycles of the universe.¹²² Therefore Rangi and Papa are the basis from which all science can be asserted and understanding this assertion is part and parcel of the physical composition toward attaining the metaphysical.

Nga Atua Taane - The Male Atua

The largest body from which Maaori science stems is contained within the names of the children of Rangi and Papa. Their children are numerous and form a scientific table of classification of sorts, according to Maaori. From Te Kura this table consists of 140 children, 70 male and 70 female. The seventy male *atua* are well known among all tribes, and their names documented in various publications are consistent to those of Te Kura. The 70 female *atua* however have remained something of a non-entity in all tribal annals, but are prominent within Te Kura, and while reference to a small number can be found in the aforementioned publications, often they appear in tribal genealogies as departmental *atua* only. This is a

¹²² *Waananga* with Paraone Tai Tin, Auckland, September 2007.

difference of tribal lore pertaining to their (tribal) interpretation of the ordering of their world according to their understanding. While the ordering may not be an issue, certainly the main elements reside in understanding their abstract representation of the world.

As already mentioned the word *atua* was poorly translated by early missionaries as ‘God’ or ‘gods’. Maaori incantations would have undoubtedly been observed by missionaries and interpreted as prayer, and from within their paradigm prayer can only be offered to a divinity such as a god. This attempted translation is far removed from the principles of what *atua* represent as I have already discussed, and nothing further from the pantheon described by many historians.¹²³ A literal translation can mean ‘of beyond’; *a* as in reference to anything ‘of’ or ‘belonging to’, and *tua* which means ‘beyond’. Beyond in this instance could imply ‘beyond’ this realm, ‘beyond’ this paradigm, ‘beyond’ the physical and so on. *Atua* I believe are best described as non-physical entities, not of a divine nature but of an abstract representation of understanding our natural world. The divinity of Maaori and knowledge of that belief I have already mentioned as the *whatumana*, and Io is the guardian.

Of all the *atua*, Tane remains the most prominent in Maaori tribal histories. Tane and related histories are well recorded by all tribes of Aotearoa, but to a lesser degree to Island tribes of Hawaiiiki-nui (The South Pacific). The role of Tane has always been significant in Maaori cosmogony as he is the procreator of human-kind and most of earth’s species. As already discussed another of his most well known tasks was that where he was imparted all knowledge by Io. This history among many tribes is symbolised by Tane receiving three kits or baskets of knowledge that contained all celestial, terrestrial, and abstract knowledge. The aforementioned *oriori* by Ngai Tara *toohunga* Tuhotoariki names the three baskets also known by many other tribes as Te Kete-tuauri, Te Kete-tuaatea, and Te Kete-aronui which symbolise the curriculum of knowledge inherited by the likes of Tuhotoariki.¹²⁴

It is appropriate to discuss Tane further here beyond genealogy. Above all other *atua* He was the personification of attainment not only of knowledge but of many levels of achievement. Attempting however to rationalise some of the histories as they have been retold over the centuries requires a large degree of contemplation. In summary however I would propose that his many names are abstract representations of the mutual genome of all life. At a physical

¹²³ Willis, R.(ed).(1993). *World Mythology*. p.290.

¹²⁴ Ngata, A.T. and Jones, P.T.H, (1970). *Nga Moteatea: The Songs, Part II*. pp.257-265.

level the *puumaumaharatanga* of Te Kura is personified by Tane (*ta* translates as origin, and *ne* as genome),¹²⁵ as previously mentioned that is the ‘cellular memory’ as posed by Kura-i-awaawa. Cellular memory is a recent Western science, while within the ancient teachings of Te Kura cellular memory is carried within our Deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA), biologically transmitted from generation to generation. Activating these memories is intertwined with the knowledge and practice of the *whatumanawa*.¹²⁶ With regard to the representation of all other biological life Tane is the progenitor - the physical link.

Other *atua* from within Te Kura include: the aforementioned Rongomaitahanui and Rongomaitaharangi as abstract representations of the brain; Haemata who held knowledge of pressure points; Rongomaraeroa who maintained the philosophy of hand-to-hand combat; Tukapua who is responsible for deciphering prophecies and intuition and instinct; and Uenuku and Tama-i-reia who represent knowledge of the sacred *waananga* of metaphysics. Greater understanding regarding metaphysics from Te Kura however seems to have been maintained in the histories of the female *atua*.

Nga Atua Waahine - The Female Atua

Within Kura-i-Awaawa the Hine are the female *atua*.¹²⁷ Not all Hine of tribal genealogies however are part of this family. Well known *atua* and *tipuna* (ancestor) Hineteiwaiwa for example is a descendant of Tane and Hinetitama and therefore not one of the primary 70. The Hine I refer to in this section are the Hine of Rangi and Papa, sisters to the acclaimed Tuumatauenga, Tangaroa, Tane, Ruaumoko and many others. Paraone Tai Tin mentions Papa as being the first Hine.¹²⁸

Within Te Kura, female *atua* appear representative of a metaphysical composition not shared by their male siblings. Here is another unique element of epistemology from Te Kura in comparison to other recorded histories. While limited discussions can be found, within Te Kura the Hine are as prominent (if not more so) as their brothers.

¹²⁵ ‘*ne*’ is reference to the inherent genome of human.

¹²⁶ *Waananga* with Hohepa Delamere, Whitianga Bay, January 2004.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Waananga* with Paraone Tai Tin, Auckland, September 2007.

Hine have a biochemistry as suggested within the name, that according to Te Kura, descends from female to female only.¹²⁹ One of the *Hine atua* well-known to most tribes is Hinemoana, who represents the ocean in its scientific entirety. The misconception over the years is that her brother Tangaroa is the *atua* of the sea and all things of the sea, which in this version is an exaggeration. There is no doubting that Tangaroa is the progenitor of denizens of the sea, while his name is given to certain tides and peculiarities of the sea; Tangaroa-whakamau-tai is a common term that suggests Tangaroa controls the tide, and Te-parata-a-Tangaroa refers to a whirlpool. Nonetheless Hinemoana is truly the maiden *atua* of the ocean. Moana is in reference to the ‘continual motion’ of the water. Hinemarama, who is an abstract personification of the moon, is also discussed concurrently in the *waananga* of Hinemoana. Rona-whakamau-tai is also a part of this relationship and is the daughter of Tangaroa. The relationship between the moon and sea was an observation of ancient study, hence the close relationship of these *Hine* in this particular *waananga*. Hine-marama was also integral to the *waananga* of the *whatuamanwa*.¹³⁰ All these entities regardless of how they are classified are but personifications of knowledge pertaining to the understanding of our environment.

Further *Hine* entities from Te Kura include: Hinetuaoro, who could be considered Tane’s abstract equivalent that is, the *waananga* of the metaphysical potential that exists within human. Hinetuaoro proposes the divine element of our humanness, and Tane the physical. In short perhaps, she is the essence of enlightenment; Tumatauenga is generally known as the *atua* of war and the art of war. His equivalent female counterpart from Te Kura is Hinekeira. This poses a contrariwise to modern thought as now there is reference to a female *atua* of war and therefore female art and psychology of war. Certainly the female race of the ancient Amazons would look favourably on this notion. The vein of thought from Hinekeira, similar to Hinetuaoro, is about understanding the knowledge of metaphysics. Included within this institution are arts of war that are unique to the schooling of women in war and a fighting art known as *maumaia*, that is hand-to-hand combat.

For this section the last *Hine* to be discussed is Hine-te-waiuruuru, the female *atua* of understanding epistemology, while her brother Tama-i-reia is the *atua* representative of the potential attained through this understanding. This may appear as a complex composition and

¹²⁹ This is the inherited intellect of human known as the mitochondrial genome.

¹³⁰ Unfortunately I cannot explain this relationship further, only to say that Hohepa Delamere referred to the moons bio-rhythms as ancient beyond that of the earth.

in some regards it is. There are often common strands of fabric overlapping and interweaving between *atua*, however there is a distinct classification of *atua* represented once complexities are exposed in their simplest form. In this example Tama-i-reia appears as the rainbow and Hine-te-waiuruuru is the rain that causes the rainbow to appear. In its more complex state arises the understanding of light and how light travels, particularly with the colour violet as in ultra-violet light. Purple is also considered a sacred colour to Maaori, and harnessing the properties of this light according to Te Kura means understanding the frequencies and vibrations associated with this colour and their function in the aid of spiritual purification and the like. Sometimes I just prefer to think of her as the drizzle that causes the rainbow. Uenuku and Hine-tapa-i-reia were also *atua* of the *waananga*. A list of the Hine *atua* that I have again extracted from the *whatumanawa takutaku* can be viewed in *Appendix 4*. The depth and breadth of Te Kura-i-Awaawa is immense, and this information really is only the beginning of exploration into this arena.

5.3 PEDAGOGY OF TE KURA-I-AWAAWA

Hohepa Delamere was also an exponent of many other Whare, but they all seemed to come under the auspices of Te Kura. As to philosophies and methods of learning and teaching within Te Kura, I can relate only a few stories of his upbringing, that unfortunately, I doubt will suffice to describe his educational experience.

Hohepa's education began when he was conceived, as his parents and *whanau* anticipated his role that he would play for his time. The most amazing consideration when contemplating epistemology is the fact that the entirety of Hohepa's education within Te Kura was completed by the age of 14, after which he attended state secondary school. Hohepa humbly confessed even at that early age he knew as much as and often more than many. He spoke of journeys (of the metaphorical kind), but never really inferred the surroundings where these may have occurred. There was certainly no mention of a physical edifice to which he was taken for instruction.

During times when a lot of learning was taking place, food was prohibited for days or weeks, and in one instance he spoke of up to a month.¹³¹ While the practice of this sort of methodology might seem out of the question today, the principle of the practice must be noted,

¹³¹ *Waananga* with Hohepa Delamere, Whitianga Bay, January 2004.

even if the concept is beyond current comprehension. Needless to say there exists a composition of which food has no part to play. Weherua Rutene of the Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki tribe in the Poverty Bay region mentions some students from the Gisborne schools dying during their mental examinations of the Whare-waananga¹³², I assume as a result of malnourishment, although other reasons could not be dismissed.

The teaching and learning of his education seemed to occur in various environments depending on the topic. Cosmology would be taught at night, fishing and the art of fishing would be taught while fishing, *mamau* would occasionally be taught in the bush and on other occasions in the surf, while histories, ideologies, theories and genealogies would be taught at no fixed abode.

The next chapter moves into the histories of the most popular of tribal Whare of higher learning that being the Whare-waananga. Aside Kura it is the Whare-waananga that carries the esoteric lore of Maaori. These Whare were therefore prevelant and held in high esteem in traditional Maaori society.

¹³² *Waananga* with Weherua Rutene, Gisborne, October 2007.

CHAPTER 6: THE WHARE-WAANANGA - OF PHILOSOPHICAL EDUCATION

This Whare is by far the most noted and prominent of *whare* among all tribes. In some areas the Whare-waananga is only engaged in topics of Te Kauwaerunga (celestial knowledge), that is knowledge of genealogies, histories, forms of *karakia*, and cosmology. Some however, like the acclaimed Te Rawheoro of Uawa, also taught Te Kauwaeraro (terrestrial knowledge)¹³³ such as the arts of *taa moko* and *whakairo* (carving).¹³⁴ Knowledge of Te Kauwaerunga also intertwined on occasion with Te Kauwaeraro. The art of *taa moko* for example required knowledge of *karakia* and genealogies of the *tohunga* for this practice, the same would also have applied to *raranga* (weaving), and *whakairo* (carving). Knowledge of star and planetary movements, and lunar and solar phases would have been pertinent to those involved with planting of crops, although the *tohunga* would have undoubtedly been consulted.

Not all tribes referred to their schools of higher learning as Whare-waananga. Whare-takiura is referred to by Tuhoe as a superior school of learning where the lore pertaining to Io was imparted, such as Kahuponia near Ruatahuna. The terms Whare-maire, Whare-puri, and Whare-kaha stated by Te Hue Rangi of Tuhoe were also employed in reference to higher schools of learning. The term Whare-kura is mentioned by Best as akin to Whare-waananga but with less *tapu* attached to it,¹³⁵ while Whare-porukuruku seems to have been applied to a solitary teaching environment such as that of a father to son in imparting tribal lore and so forth. Te Matorohanga however states that the Whare-porukuruku was where ‘the cult of the evil gods’ was taught.¹³⁶ The term Whare-kau-po is stated by Best as being a Whare where ‘lectures of racial lore, tribal traditions, the wars of old and other matters took place.’¹³⁷ It seems that these lectures occurred in the same vicinity of the Whare-waananga but from ‘noon to sunset.’¹³⁸ This could have been acceptable in some areas. Noon to sunset is referred to by Papa Anaru Kupenga of Ngati Porou as Taheke-roa, the ‘pathway of the declining sun’ and hence a less receptive time for optimum learning of students of the Whare-waananga.¹³⁹ In summary, less *tapu* seemed to be applied to this time of the day, probably because it was

¹³³ Further definitions of these terms can be found in Best, *The Maori School of Learning*, (1923), and Smith, *Te Kauwaerunga and Te Kauwaeraro* (1913).

¹³⁴ *Waananga* with Mark Kopua, Mangatuna, September 2007.

¹³⁵ Best, E. (1923). *The Maori School of Learning*. p.11.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* p.103.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* p.13.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Waananga* with Anaru Kupenga, Ruatorea, September 2007.

dedicated to the labours of food gathering or growing, or play. Taheke-roa is also referred to as the eternal descent of Whiro-te-tipua to Rarohenga.¹⁴⁰ Ngai Tahu refers to their houses of learning as Whare-mauri, and Whare-purakau where the arts or fighting were taught. The final term Whare-pukenga seems to have been employed by the Te Arawa people.¹⁴¹

Information of each Whare-waananga exposes invaluable histories of this institution in its entirety, in pertaining to the Hawaiiiki traditions and eventual tribal traditions of Aotearoa. Each version contains genealogies, place names, some names of presiding *atua* and their purposes, and the various *tohunga* and functions of these Whare as retained by individuals or recorded in publications, journals and manuscripts. It is partly these ideologies and pedagogies of old Maaori education that will contribute to a modern re-construction of a modern hypothesis.

The following are descriptions of Whare-waananga in Aotearoa only. The largest cross-section of Whare-waananga histories is taken from the Tairāwhiti region that is largely from Turangā-nui-a-Kiwa (Gisborne) to Wharekahika (Hicks Bay). This history highlights links to the most ancient Whare-waananga trails and some of the most acclaimed teachings of the nineteenth century from the Te Rawheoro Whare-waananga. The other major body of research on Whare-waananga has come from my own tribe that is the Tuhoe Whare-maire and the Tupapakurau of the Mataatua people.

6.1 WHARE-MAIRE OF TUHOE, AND TUPAPAKURAU

Tupapaku-rau

This whare was situated near the Wairaka Heads in Whakatane, at Opihiwhanaungakore, and Toroa was the *tohunga*. The late Te Hue Rangi of Tuhoe says this name was given in commemoration of the corpses (*tuupaapaku*)¹⁴² that were carried aboard the Mataatua to their landing place at Kakahoroa in Whakatane. Opihiwhanaungakore was where these corpses were buried and this sacred site continued to be used a cemetery as late as last century by the Ngati Hokopu of Ngati-Awa. This land is considered extremely *tapu*. Te Hue suggests that Irakewa and his son Taneatua to his first wife Kiwa from Hawaiiiki were returning to Aotearoa, while Toroa whose father was also Irakewa but to his second wife Weka-nui, was from Aotearoa. Te

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, p.134.

¹⁴¹ *Waananga* with Wetini Mitai, Rotorua. June 2007.

¹⁴² Te Hue mentions that perhaps the *koiwi* (bones) of the deceased were carried aboard the Mataatua. Mataatua was considered an extremely *tapu waka*.

Hue says many land-marks prior to the arrival of Mataatua, were named or as a consequence of the exploits of Irakewa and Taneatua within Tuhoe. Taneatua therefore, was returning as the *tohunga* of the Mataatua,¹⁴³ employing the *atua* Rongo-mai-te-ihu as a guide, then establishing his *tuahu* (sacred altar) at Matata,¹⁴⁴ at Te Marae-ki-Whakatane, Oniao. Te Hue states there were three *kawa*¹⁴⁵ of Tupapaku-rau brought by Irakewa; Hangaroa-i-te-kaunauna, Hangaroa-i-te-turiroa, and Tiki. The essence of each *kawa* was ancient *karakia* and will be discussed further under Mairerangi.

Te Kawa-a-Maui

Hori Uatuku from Ruatoki says that this *whare* was situated at Ruatoki¹⁴⁶, while Best mentions that this *whare* was at Hanamahihi, near Marumaru.¹⁴⁷ Te Hue affirms Hori's statement as the correct one noting Te Pukenui Kereru of Ngati Rongo, who was a graduate of Mairerangi, returned to Ruatoki establishing Te Kawa-a-Maui possibly at Te Purenga in Ruatoki.

Te Toki-a-Tangaroa

Hori Uatuku says that Te Toki-a-Tangaroa was at Whaitiripapaa in Ruatoki. Te Toki-a-Tangaroa was the name of the adze that carved the Mataatua canoe, and brought aboard Mataatua to Aotearoa. Te Hue suggests that chief Te Whanake and others were of this Whare-waananga. The late Te Kani Te Ua, noted historian, orator and leader of the Aitanga-a-Mahaki was possibly a student of or Te Kawa-a-Maui or of this *whare*:

From 1912 to 1915 he (Te Kani) studied at the ancient whare wananga at Ruatoki, where he was taught Maori religion, genealogies and customs. He also developed a formidable skill in *whaikorero*, the art of oratory.¹⁴⁸

Mairerangi

This Whare was situated at Te Hono between Ruatoki and Ruatahuna in the Urewera ranges of the Tuhoe people. Te Hue states that Whare-ki-waananga was the *tohunga* of this Whare. Similarly Best notes Wharei (or Whaare) whose full name was Whaare-ki-waananga was the

¹⁴³ Tama-ki-Hikurangi was also a *tohunga* of the Mataatua canoe.

¹⁴⁴ A small settlement some 20 kms west of Whakatane where the Te Arawa canoe became beached on sand-bar. Toroa subsequently freed the Te Arawa, hence the name *matata*, that is 'the freeing' of the Te Arawa canoe.

¹⁴⁵ A reference to the curriculum

¹⁴⁶ *Waananga* with Te Hue Ranga and Hori Uatuku, Ruatoki, January 2007.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ (1990). *Nga Tangata Taumata Rau, 1900-1930*. Allen & Unwin NZ Ltd.

tohunga of this Whare, but should not be confused with Whaarei of whom the boundary of the Mataatua peoples is referred ‘mai i Nga kuri a Whaarei ki Tihirau.’ This *whare* was situated just above Te Karaka on the Mana-o-Taane ridge, bordering Hana-mahihi and Marumaru.¹⁴⁹ Whaare was one of the original occupants of the Mataatua canoe and is a descendant of Taneatua, *tohunga* of the Mataatua canoe and half-brother to Toroa.¹⁵⁰

While Taneatua’s exploits are numerous, Sissons, author of *Te Waimana*, notes that he came aboard the Mataatua,¹⁵¹ where Te Hue mentions that Taneatua returned on the Mataatua, having arrived in an earlier expedition aboard the Nukutere. Te Hue states that some *kawa* and *tikanga* from Tupaapakurau were continued at Mairerangi, particularly the *kawa* of Tiki, the use of weaponry or *para whakawai*, but also the Hangaroa *kawa* that contained the many *karakia* of Mataatua. Te Whatupe, Taokaki, and Tauaiti were the last *tohunga* schooled in Mairerangi.¹⁵² Tumanawapohatu was also a *tohunga* from this era. Other prominent *rangatira* of Mairerangi included Te Ngahuru, Tamatengahae, Pahikohiko, Kau, Te Kaunga, and Kokouri. Interestingly Kokouri was versed in the art of *whakairo* (carving).¹⁵³

Kahuponia

This *whare* was situated in Ruatahuna and Hinemaunga was the *kaitiaki* (caretaker, spiritual guide) of this Whare.¹⁵⁴ Te Hue states this was a Whare of the Tamakaimoana *hapuu*. Best refers to this Whare as a Whare-takiura of whom his main informant Tutakangahau was a graduate.¹⁵⁵ Piripi Te Heuheu was the last known *tohunga* schooled in Kahuponia.¹⁵⁶ It was Piripi Te Heuheu who raised the Tuhoe war-party that assisted Rewi Maniapoto in the Waikato Land Wars at Orakau where Piripi subsequently died. Te Hue states Maungaharuru and Te Aukihingarae as other graduates. The late John Rangihau, scholar and Tuhoe leader was acknowledged as a student of this Whare. As mentioned earlier, the Whare-takiura was where the lore of Io was imparted within Tuhoe.

¹⁴⁹ Best, E. (1925), *Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist*. p.711.

¹⁵⁰ Best, E. (1925), *Tuhoe, Volume II*. Na Taneatua ko Tane-moko-pekenga-rau, nana ko Tairini, nana ko Whaare-ki-waananga (genealogical table no.11).

¹⁵¹ Sissons, J. (1991). *Te Waimana: The Spring of Mana*. University of Otago Press. Dunedin. p.35.

¹⁵² This was mentioned by Te Hue and also discussed by Hirini Melbourne in his abstract of Te Ngahuru, a chief of the Ngati Koura and student of Mairerangi.

¹⁵³ *Waananga* with Te Hue Ranga and Hori Uatuku, Ruatoki, January 2007.

¹⁵⁴ Best, E. (1925), *Tuhoe: Children of the Mist*, p.1096.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p.933.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p.1066.

6.2 WHARE-WAANANGA OF TE TAIRAWHITI: NGATI POROU

Puangiangi

According to composer and local historian Robert Ruha, of Te Whanau-a-Tuwhakairiora and Te Whanau-a-Apanui, this was situated in Onepoto (Horse-shoe Bay), Wharekahika (Hicks Bay) where the current educational center Te Puna Manaaki-a Ruataupare now stands.¹⁵⁷ The last *tohunga* of this Whare included Te Matorohanga, Te Pohuhu and Te Whatahoro.

According to Robert of Wharekahika, these *tohunga* last called in here to discuss strategies before departing to the last Apanui-Porourangi battle, Toka-a-kuku in the mid 1800's.¹⁵⁸ They also called in on their return. Robert knows of no other contemporary *tohunga* of this Whare-waananga

Tapere-nui-a-Whatonga

A well known Whare-waananga situated in Rangitukia, 10km nor-west of Ruatoria. Papa Anaru Kupenga notes that this *whare* belonged to Te Whironui, father of Huturangi who married Paikea.¹⁵⁹ Te Whironui was one of many who arrived in Aotearoa aboard the Nukutere canoe. Irakewa, father of Taneatua and Toroa of the Mataatua canoe was another. Part of Papa Anaru's history states that shortly after Paikea came upon Te Whironui and Huturangi at Mangawhero, he was led to the *kuumara* gardens where *tohunga* were performing their incantations. Upon Paikea's arrival they relinquished their roles and Paikea completed the ceremony.¹⁶⁰ Mark Kopua states a similar story pertaining to Paikea and this acknowledgement. Whatonga was a grandson of Toi. Tapere translates as 'district' so the name could pertain to the 'great district of Whatonga'. The late Pita Kapiti and Mohi Turei were the last contemporaries of this Whare.

Te Aho-o-Matariki

I am indebted to Papa Anaru Kupenga for the history of this Whare-waananga-maatauranga¹⁶¹ and information regarding some of the following Whare of Te Tairawhiti (East Coast).

The full name of this *whare* was Te Whare-waananga-maatauranga-o-Te Aho-o-Matariki of whom Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga (Maui) was the *amorangi*, and according to Papa Anaru was

¹⁵⁷ *Waananga* with Robert Ruha, Hicks Bay, October 2006.

¹⁵⁸ Whether Te Whatahoro was present is not known.

¹⁵⁹ *Waananga* with Papa Anaru Kupenga, Ruatorea, September 2007.

¹⁶⁰ Ngata, W. (1992). Unpublished M.A. Thesis, p.213. Raroa Korero.

¹⁶¹ Papa Anaru mentions this name was applied to all Whare-waananga, September 2007.

the very first Whare-waananga of Aotearoa and the Pacific. It was situated at Raparapaririki on the eastern face of the sacred mountain Hikurangi that stands just south of Ruatoria. This area was first inhabited by Maui and his people. The history of Maui is maintained by his many descendants of the region but particularly of Te Ewe-o-Te-Aowera of whom Papa Anaru is a descendant.

The name Raparapaririki (exploration by children) - where Te Aho-o-Matariki was situated - implied that younger children were taught here before progressing to more specific and higher learning of the Whare-waananga. Papa Anaru further suggests that this was the first curriculum created for teaching of esoteric studies for children.¹⁶²

Te Aho-o-Matariki was named thus by Maui in reference to the star cluster known as Pleiades. *Te aho* is a reference to a direct 'link' from sky to earth, while Matariki is the youngest star of the cluster Pleiades.¹⁶³ From this site on Hikurangi a clear view can be seen of Matariki in its heliacal rise that occurs around June, and signals the start of the Maaori new-year.¹⁶⁴ There are many signs projected by Matariki according to the Maui people. One such sign includes the appearance of the stars in determining the outcome of crops and other food supplies. Papa Anaru says that if the stars Tupuanuku and Tupuarangi are particularly bright then crops will be abundant that year. Adversely, if Waiti and Waita are dull then all foods for the year will be poor.¹⁶⁵

Matariki is also the 'doorway' through which the spirits of the departed enter into the beyond.¹⁶⁶ Papa Anaru speaks of another plateau of Hikurangi called Aaria, that is where the spirits of the deceased congregate before boarding the canoe of Maui, Te Aaio-o-Nukutaimemeha. This canoe is moored at the lake of Hine-i-takawhiti-ki-te-Uru near Aaria, and is the starting point of departing spirits from Te Aoturoa before travelling to Te Rerenga Wairua in the North, then eventually on to Matariki, hence the spiritual significance and sacredness of Hikurangi to its people.¹⁶⁷ Hikurangi was the first mountain of Te Aoturoa that

¹⁶² *Waananga* with Anaru Kupenga, Ruatorea, September 2007.

¹⁶³ The Pleiades cluster contains seven stars in total. To the Maui people they are called Tupuanuku, Tupuarangi, Waiti, Waita, Waipunarangi, Ururangi and finally Matariki.

¹⁶⁴ This is the popular version observed by many tribes. Other tribes do however recognise the rise of Puanga (Regal) as the start of the Maaori new-year.

¹⁶⁵ Best (1925) also discusses similar observations of Matariki according to Tuhoë traditions. Tuhoë also knew Matariki as Hoko-kumara., p.812.

¹⁶⁶ *Waananga* with Weherua Rutene, Gisborne, October 2007.

¹⁶⁷ *Waananga* with Anaru Kupenga, Ruatorea, September 2007.

pierced the surface of Wainuiaatea or Hinemoana, as it was the mountain projected by Maui (*te hikutanga o tana ika ki te rangi*), and is also where Maui is buried.¹⁶⁸

Hemo-o-Tawake

This is another Whare-waananga-maatauranga established by Maui on the mountain of Aorangi that stands aside the Northern face of mount Hikurangi. Papa Anaru states that Hemo-o-Tawake was where graduands from Te Aho-o-Matariki entered. Hemo-o-Tawake is a reference to higher learning. When Te Aho-o-Matariki and Hemo-o-Tawake were deemed by the people of Te Aowera to be too sacred for continued use, *tohunga* of the time removed the *tapu*. They chanted countless *karakia* for an unknown time to *whakanoa* (sanctify) the sites, such was their sacredness and reverence by which they were held. It was then decided that Te Aowera would be the site to continue the teachings imparted since the time of Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga. Papa Anaru is a contemporary of this Whare-waananga-maatauranga.

Te Aho Matariki (II)

Wayne Ngata notes that when Paikea had established himself in Whangaraa he sent word back to Rarotonga of his whereabouts. His son Rongomaituaho arrived soon after aboard Tereanini and established the Te Aho Matariki Whare-waananga.¹⁶⁹ Anaru Kupenga states that Te Aho Matariki Whare-waananga was situated in Anaura Bay and was named after the first Te Aho-o-Matariki of Maui on mount Hikurangi.¹⁷⁰

Te Uhi-a-Mataora

This is the Whare-waananga of Rongomaituaho, son of Paikea, established also at Raparapaririki on Hikurangi.¹⁷¹ It was later that he renamed this *whare* Te Aho Matariki, which I am assuming is the same one at Anaura Bay, and connects to the version of Mark Kopua and Wayne Ngata of Te Aho Matariki belonging to Paikea and Rongomaituaho. Te Uhi-a-Mataora is in reference to *taa moko* and *nga ngiira a Uetonga* (the ‘needles of Uetonga’). Uetonga was the teacher of Mataora regarding this art.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ *Waananga* with Wayne Ngata, Tolaga Bay, October 2007.

¹⁷⁰ *Waananga* with Anaru Kupenga, Ruatorea, September 2007.

¹⁷¹ Kupenga, A (2004). *Te Hao kai a te Iwi Maui*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis.

Kaiawha

This was situated in Tokomaru Bay and stated by Papa Anaru as a Wharekura. Papa Anaru stumbled upon this information while fencing for Bill Te Wehi of Tokomaru Bay, who willingly parted with this information when challenged by a much younger Papa Anaru who sought to question his *mana whenua* or ‘inherent authority of the land’ and vested knowledge therein. Papa Anaru was grateful for the response he received and duly acknowledged the *mana* held by Mr. Te Wehi.

6.3 WHARE-WAANANGA OF TE TAIRAWHITI: TE AITANGA-A-HAUTI

Ruakaakaa

Wayne Ngata says this Whare-waananga is not as well-known as the acclaimed Te Rawheoro or Matatuahu, but is a branch of the Te Rawheoro Whare-waananga. It was established at Wairoro on the northern bank of the Uawa River in Tolaga Bay. This was the Whare of Kahukuranui, son of eponymous ancestor Hauti, the teachings of which were consequently inherited by Karauria Pahura, the younger brother of the great Ngati Porou chief Te Kani-a-Takirau.

Te Rahauhau

Mark Kopua mentions that at the time of the wars between the sons of the 15th century high chief and *tohunga* Hingangaroa, he was moved away from the prospect of ensuing battles north of Uawa to Mangatuna. Here he established Te Rahauhau and continued the teaching of Te Rawheoro and the Paikea *waananga*. It was also here that the arts of carving of the Tairawhiti region were imparted to Apanui, Iwirakau, and Tukaki, and possibly that of the Ponga School now predominant in the Gisborne area.¹⁷²

Te Rawheoro

Te Rawheoro is descended from the Paikea Whare-waananga. Wayne Ngata provides the following history part of which I have translated here. [The original Te Rawheoro stood at Mangakuku, Mangaheia, inland from the present day Tolaga Bay. Mangakuku is on a mountain, and Kuratau is at its base where the families of Mangaheia resided. It was here the majority of people lived prior to the arrival of Pakeha. As the people migrated, the *waananga* consequently followed to Takuahiroa (further east). After flooding (there) it (the *waananga*)

¹⁷² *Waananga* with Mark Kopua, Mangatuna, March 2007.

moved to Waimaunu, and then to Ruapekapeka on the northern side of the Uawa River close to where the school is now, and finally to its current site. At the time the *waananga* was at Ruapekapeka, people of Ngati-Ira also took part. Tokipuanga was one of the *tohunga* involved, and eventually it became difficult to discern between the two teachings. Regardless, it is the Rawheoro *waananga* that is remembered].¹⁷³

Rangiuiua was the last *tohunga* fully schooled in the traditional ways of this *whare*. Wayne Ngata provides the following note made by statesman and tribal leader Apirana Ngata:

Ko te whare wananga whaimana tenei o te pito whakararo o Te Tairawhiti, a, ki te titiro iho ki nga korero a nga tohunga o Wairarapa, kua tuhia nei a ratau korero e Te Whatahoro, ko te whare whaimana tera o Te Tairawhiti katoa.¹⁷⁴

translation - This was a revered whare wananga in the upper region of the east coast, and if one were to consider the scriptures of the sage Te Whatahoro from Wairarapa, it could be said that it was revered throughout the whole eastern seaboard.

Apirana continues to state that the curriculum of Te Rawheoro was brought to Uawa by Hingangaroa.¹⁷⁵ Hingangaroa maintained all knowledge of the art of wood-carving inherited from Paikea, being also a descendant of Tangaroa and his son Ruaitepupuke who introduced the art of carving to the Paikea people. Apirana mentions that Hingangaroa, by request of his wife, migrated to the region of her brother's people Kahungunu to teach the art of *haumi*, a method of lashing individually fashioned parts of a hull to create one hull. It was in this vicinity at Kaimaitai in Te Wairoa that their son Mahaki-ewe-karoro was born.¹⁷⁶

One version of the name of Te Rawheoro is offered by Wayne Ngata that I have again translated here. [When the great birds of Ruakapanga (a chief from Hawaiiiki), Tiungarangi and Harongarangi were returning to Aotearoa, the sun's rays caused a resonating vibration (*wheoro*) on Mount Hikurangi. These were the signs the birds used to navigate to land. The ancestor Ruakapanga has a direct link to Uawa, hence the name of the meeting house at Hauti marae (Ruakapanga) in commemoration of this. According to the descendants of Rangiuiua, the

¹⁷³ Ngata, W. (1993). *Te Waiata Tangi a Rangiuiua*. Unpublished Master's thesis. Ngata, 1930, p.26.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, p.25.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

mana of Te Rawheoro Whare-waananga was in fact inherited by Ruakapanga.¹⁷⁷ The current Te Rawheoro now in Uawa is of a different strain].

There are many more individuals and many more stories noted by Wayne Ngata pertaining to Te Rawheoro that portrays its stature and respect from within and outside of the Tairāwhiti district. Weherua Rutene of Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki says relationships between Taihamuti at Puhānuī (east of Gisborne) and Te Rawheoro existed, and that Taihamuti and other Whare of the lower Tairāwhiti were in fact part of the Te Rawheoro *waananga*. It is well known that Tuhoe *tohunga* Tauaiti, Te Whatupe, Taokaki and others attended the Te Rawheoro Whare-waananga during the course of their education.¹⁷⁸ Present day students include Wayne Ngata, Victor Walker, Mark Kopua and others.

6.4 WHARE-WAANANGA OF TE TAIRĀWHITI: NGATI KONOHI, AITANGA-A-MAHAKI AND RONGOWHAKAATA

Te Ao Marama and Whitireia

Mark Kopua notes that these Whare-waananga belonged to the revered ancestor, *ariki* and *tohunga* of the East Coast tribes, Paikea.¹⁷⁹ Whitireia is a prominent *marae* and is known world-wide from the Whale Rider feature movie. Derek Lardelli, an international *taa moko* artist and composer of the modern All-Black *haka* ‘Te Kapa-oo-pango’, is descended from this *marae*. Wayne Ngata, tribal historian from Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Ngāti Porou, and teacher, notes the following history of Whitireia of that I have loosely translated. [The original site (of Whitireia) was on a small island off Whangāraa called Tokarangi. Whangāraa was a traditional meeting place of sea-voyaging travellers and maintains the *mauri* of the *rengarenga* and Te Puna-a-Tinirau. The *rengarenga* is a flower from Hawaiiki that grows on Pukehapopo mountain, and Te Puna-a-Tinirau is ‘the pool of Tinirau’, reference to the *mauri tohoro*, the ‘whale essence’. Whitireia was Paikea’s final home].

The history of Paikea outside of the bigscreen is far more dramatic and colourful and is well known by all the eastern board tribes. Paikea, according to both Wayne Ngata and Mark Kopua, was the individual who brought a large amount of Whare-waananga knowledge to the

¹⁷⁷ Ngata, W. (1993). Unpublished M.A. Thesis. Makere Nikora 1989 korero, p.34.

¹⁷⁸ *Waananga* with Wayna Ngata, Tolaga Bay, October 2007.

¹⁷⁹ *Waananga* with Mark Kopua, Mangatuna, March 2007.

Tairawhiti region.¹⁸⁰ While there are conflicting versions concerning his apparent arrival upon the back of a whale, and the circumstances surrounding his arrival, variations are firmly solidified within respective tribal areas as the correct one, even including the people of the Mauke Island of Rarotonga who claim that Paikea was born and raised there. While their version of his departure has far less fanfare and mystery than those of Aotearoa, there is some consistency with the Aotearoa version. One thing that is agreed upon across the divisions is that Paikea was indeed a learned *tohunga*.

Wharekorero (Te Tuahu)

This *whare* established by Uenuku-whakarongo overlooked Wainui Beach near Gisborne. Uenuku-whakarongo, who was in fact a passenger of the Mataatua *waka*, died here and his remains with other sacred artefacts are in the Kohurau cave also in Wainui.¹⁸¹ Chapman-Taylor locates Wharekorero “...at the estuary of the Waimata-Taraheru rivers and at the Southern end of Wainui beach on a site now covered by sandhills....They may have been seasonal sites.”¹⁸² Wayne Ngata mentions that Uenuku-whakarongo landed at Parinuitera in Whangaraa where he came ashore with Matuatonga, Matuaiti and others. He then established his Whare-waananga at Wainui-a-Huata where the current day cemetery is. Wayne mentions that Te Rakau-a-Uenuku-whakarongo was also the name of this area.¹⁸³

Puhi-kaiti

Papa Anaru mentions that this was the Whare-waananga of Maia-Poroaki situated on the water-front near the Kaiti suburb of Gisborne city. The name is taken from the name of one of the *kura* (ceremonial feathers) that projected from the bow of his canoe Te Ikaroa-a-Rauru. Maia was said to have been an occupant of the Mataatua canoe along with his sister Hinehakitai.¹⁸⁴ The chief Uenuku-whakarongo, father of Ruatapu and Paikea came aboard the Horouta canoe that first landed at Ohiwa and married Hinehakitai. Another account offered by Papa Anaru states Te Rangatoro was Maia’s sister and also the wife of Uenuku pertaining to this incident. Maia at this stage had completed the construction of his own canoe named Te Ikaroa-a-Rauru, and hastily fled on it to escape Uenuku who intended to use him as a sacrifice for his newly built house. Maia was a somewhat selfish individual and Uenuku thought his loss

¹⁸⁰ *Waananga* with Mark Kopua and Wayne Ngata respectively, 2007.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, p.32.

¹⁸² Chapman-Taylor, (1995), p.3.

¹⁸³ Ngata, W (1993). Unpublished Master’s thesis. Lardelli korero, 1992, p.31.

¹⁸⁴ Horouta (1999), p.30.

would not be overly noticed. Maia landed in Onepoto (Schnapper Bay) at the Eastern end of Kaiti Beach. Here he built his house where the Captain Cook statue stands today. While there is no mention of this house as a Whare-waananga in the book *Horouta: manuscripts of Rongowhakaata Halbert*, Puhi-kaiti is noted as the Pa of Maia. Wayne Ngata affirms that Maia came aboard Te Ika-roa-a-Rauru on which he brought the *hue* seed (tubular convulvus) from Hawaiiiki, while his senior siblings arrived aboard the Takitimu. He then constructed his house Puhikaiti and his *paepae* (latrine) Parahamuti. The land was named Titirangi and the waters were known as Murimuri-mai-Hawaiiiki.¹⁸⁵

Tokitokiwhakaonge

This was at Repongaere, Patutahi, a small township south-west of Gisborne. The following account of this Whare-waananga is again from Wayne Ngata. [Tokitoki was established in the Gisborne district by *tohunga* of the Takitimu *waka* Ruawharo and Tupai-whakarongowananga. Their education, by revered sage Timuwhakairihia in Hawaiiiki, was taught in a somewhat peculiar manner, possibly because they were accepted at a late stage of their lives as opposed to the traditional early entry. This peculiarity in short was that Tupai was not permitted to enter the *whare*, while Ruawharo was. At some length Ruawharo was then asked to repeat the *karakia* being taught by Timuwhakairihia. When Ruawharo could not do this Timuwhakairihia addressed Tupai to do so from outside the *whare*. Tupai was able to successfully recite the said *karakia* and thence was permitted entry].¹⁸⁶ In due course the Takitimu *waka*, comanded by Ruawharo and Tupai, landed at Nukutaurua, Te Mahia, where their people settled and the *mauri tohora* was instilled.¹⁸⁷ Mitchell mentions the erection of *tuahu* (shrines) by Ruawharo, and the following regarding the Whare-waanaga:

In due course the party arrived at Nukutaurua at a place called Te Papa near the present Oraka... Here Ruawharo, the priest decided to settle...Cruising round the penninsula, Waikawa...was visited. Here a shrine was made. Later a whare wananga was built on the spot named Ngaherumai-tawhiti. This institution was the origin of the mauri...which controlled the whole of the East Coast.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Private collection. Ruru, H. and Halbert, R. (1930). Manuscript, p.3

¹⁸⁶ Ngata, W. (1992). Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Tamawaikai. 1877. pp161-163.

¹⁸⁷ This is a well known history among the Ngai Tahu-Matawhaiti and Rongomaiwahine people of Mahia. *Mauri tohora* refers to the 'whale spirit'.

¹⁸⁸ Ngata, W. (1992). Unpublished M.A. Thesis. Mitchell, 1944, p.60.

Wayne Ngata comments that while reference is made to where the Whare-waananga was, Mitchell does not offer the name of the Whare-waananga and refers to a similar statement made by the late Te Kani Te Ua, that is it was not until after Ruawharo, that Whare-waananga were established at the sites of the original shrines. Te Kani does however mention Tokitoki, to which he applies the following saying, 'Tokitoki whakaonge tangata, whakaonge atua'.¹⁸⁹ Wayne Ngata says that this is in reference to the speed by which to 'fell' *atua*, and 'fell' people (in reference to black magic). Consequently people steered well clear of this *whare*. With the encroaching influence of Christianity one of the last *tohunga* of Tokitoki, Tupai-whakarongotara-a-whare lifted the shrine and replanted it in the Maraehinahina Whare-waananga at Waerenga-a-Hika (irirangi) near Gisborne. Other *tohunga* schooled here were Hotoma, Henare TeKotiti, and Tiwhanga.¹⁹⁰

Maraehina(hina)

This was the Whare-waananga of the *ariki* Hinehikirangi, sister to Paoa, captain of the Horouta canoe. Hinehikirangi was the *kaitiaki* and *ruahine* of the *kumara* and knowledge pertaining to planting, growing and harvesting, not to mention related genealogy, *mootatea* and *karakia*. The *oriori* 'Po, po' composed by her descendant Enoka Te Pakaru tells the history pertaining to planting, growing, and cultivating the *kumara*. Enoka Te Pakaru was the last *tohunga* of this *whare*.¹⁹¹ This area is situated near the Waerenga-a-hikairangi cemetery, just west of Gisborne, off the Makaraka-Opotiki highway.

Taihamuti

Weherua Rutene states that this Whare-waananga was situated at the end of the road where the Tapuihikitia *marae* is now, south of Puhani, about 20kms east of Gisborne. Taihamuti is of the Turanga district from the Ruapani *waananga*,¹⁹² but also has links to Te Rawheoro. One of the earliest *amorangi* of this area was Whirikoka whose histories are well known among the Ruapani, Nga Ariki, and Aitanga-a-Mahaki people. Two contemporaries of this Whare included the late Te Kani Tuhoe Te Ua, a well known and respected orator of his era, and a graduate of teaching from this Whare. The late Irirangi Tiakiawa was a *whangai* (adopted son) of his. Weteni Mitai Ngatai who currently resides in Rotorua was a student of Irirangi. Another

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, p.42.

¹⁹⁰ Ruru, H. and Halbert, R. (1930). Manuscript (from the personal collection of Peter Gordon), Gisborne. p.18.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ruapani was the eponymous ancestor of Ngati Ruapani whose descendants still occupy the Turanga and Waikaremoana districts. He was a great chief with huge influence over people, lands and sea who lived around 15-25 generations ago in Turanga.

graduate of this Whare is well known healer and author Hohepa Kereopa who resides in Waimana. There are also *whaanau* residing within this area who are descendants of *toohunga* from this Whare. Taurikura was another name for *this* Whare.

Hamokorau (terangi)

This Whare-waananga was built by Ranginui, son of Tamateapokaiwhenua and Tamateamoā of the Toi, Te Whironui and Nga Ariki progeny¹⁹³, around 300 years ago. It was situated at Tuupaapakuorau (sic) (part of the Hangaroa and Tahora blocks) at Manutuke and was still in use when Reverend William Williams arrived in Poverty Bay.¹⁹⁴ Toohunga of this Whare when Williams arrived included Rongowhakaata chief Te Waaka Perohuka as the principal *toohunga* and the acclaimed carver Raharuhi Rukupo.¹⁹⁵

Perohuka's most noted work is the finely ornamented *rauawa*, *taiihu* and *taurapa* of the Te Toki-a-Tapiri war canoe now proudly displayed in the Auckland Museum, while his carved *poutokomanawa* figure carved can be viewed in the Napier Museum. It was carved after his death by Rongowhakaata carver and student Timoti Tohe, intended for the house of Kahungunu chief Te Hapuku, but was kept back by Te Otene Pitau¹⁹⁶, also of Rongowhakaata and related to Te Waaka. Rukupo is renowned particularly for designing and carving the ornate carved meeting house Te Hau-ki-Turanga, a center-piece of the Wellington Museum. Head researcher of the Tairāwhiti Museum Jody Wyllie maintains that Te Waaka Perohuka tutored Rukupo and many others of that era and probably influenced which ancestors would be carved as *poupou* (interior wall carvings) for the Te Hau-ki-Turanga *whare*. The markings on Perohuka's and Rukupo's *taa moko* on their carved statues suggest that all the arts of Te Kauwaerunga and Te Kauwaeraro, like Rawheoro, were taught here. Hamokorau was later offered as a church sometime after the death of Perohuka of whom it was said 'resisted the Pakeha ways'.¹⁹⁷ This *whare* is generally known as Hamokorau, the full name Hamokorauterangi was offered by Wayne Ngata.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ Halbert, R. (1999). *Horouta: The History of the Horouta Canoe, Gisborne and East Coast*. Eds: Haronga, H., Gordon, P., and Halbert whanau., p.61.

¹⁹⁴ *Nga Tangata Taumata Rau 1769-1869*, (1990), Allen & Unwin NZ Ltd. Reprinted 1996, Auckland University Press with Bridget Williams Books, Auckland. Perohuka, pp.111-112.

¹⁹⁵ pers. com. with Jody Wyllie, of Rongowhakaata and Ngai Tamanuhiri, curator of the Tairāwhiti Museum, 2007.

¹⁹⁶ *Nga Tangata Taumata Rau 1769-1869*, (1990), pp.111-112.

¹⁹⁷ Personal collection.

¹⁹⁸ Ngata, W. (1992). Unpublished M.A. Thesis.

This completes the chapter on the investigation of Whare-waananga. Chapter seven looks at education designed for children. From the conception of a child through to adolescence, educational structures were a purposeful and deliberate engagement, and an integral part of the educational approach of traditional Maaori society. In realising and understanding these structures, the advent of a traditional seamless education starts to provide starting points for any adaptation in a modern society.

CHAPTER 7: TRADITIONAL MAAORI EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN

These traditional educational institutions for children will reveal a seamless and purposeful progression of traditional Maaori education that was far from incidental. A large portion of the information regarding these Whare, such as the Whare-taikorera, is from oral histories shared by Paraone Tai Tin.

7.1 TE WHARE-TANGATA AND WHARE-PAKU - Of Pre-natal Education:

The Whare-tangata is the womb of the pregnant mother. Here is another example of how the term Whare is not specific to a physical edifice. The obvious difference of this Whare compared to previous Whare is the metaphoric reference of a human anatomy as a Whare. As mentioned within Te Kura it is here that the *taakuiira* is fused with the embryo at conception.¹⁹⁹ Best records conception as "...the implanting of the soul and dawn of intelligence",²⁰⁰ no doubt a concept he would have acquired from the learned sage Tutakangahau of the Kahuponia Whare-takiura in Ruatahuna.

In regard to pedagogy this Whare must be noted as the most important. Other than the obvious task performed by women in child birth and the importance of the womb in this respect, the Whare-tangata was the *waananga* that was the pre-natal receptor of *reo* (such as *haka*, *ngeri*, *pao*, *moteatea*, *waiata*, *karakia*, or *takutaku*), particularly *oriori*, or rhythmic lullaby. The ebb and flow of chanting contains many vibrations and energies designed to stimulate the child's inner sensors, encouraging their multiple receptors of listening, sensing, and feeling in preparation for their life in Te Aoturoa.²⁰¹ Without being exposed to the pre-natal bio-rhythms that exist within *oriori* and other forms of *reo* the child will never be able to achieve their ultimate destiny (or destination). This science is referred to by Paraone Tai Tin as the '*pumaumaharatanga*' or 'cellular memory'.²⁰² Paraone has been mentioned previously as a student of Hohepa Delamere's. Paraone is a healer and educator, and has shared the knowledge pertaining to these educational Whare pertaining to children. The *taakuiira* (soul) is the eternal link to the past and future, and within Te Kura this link is maintained by the fusion of the soul

¹⁹⁹ *Waananga* with Hohepa Delamere, Whitianga Bay, January 2004.

²⁰⁰ Best, E. (1929) *The Whare Kohanga and its Lore*, p.12.

²⁰¹ Reference to the many pathways in the physical world.

²⁰² This is a relatively new science currently being researched by leading scientists in this field. In short *puumaumaharatanga* is in reference to your DNA as carriers of past memories.

with the heart, and the heart becomes the Whare of the *taakuiira*. This is the source of the memories maintained within the ‘*ne*’ (of *tane* or *hine*) or DNA cells of human.

A large part of the curriculum of the Whare-koohanganga is *oriori*. These *waiata* (chants) are numerous among many tribes. From the constant vibrations of *oriori* and other languages directed at the womb, learning after birth then became a matter of not receiving new knowledge but re-visiting knowledge already imparted. Modern examples include Hohepa Delamere who was shrouded entirely in *takutaku* throughout his mother’s pregnancy. According to Te Kura the implanting of this knowledge provided the foundation to retain proceeding knowledge, the entirety which Hohepa had acquired before he had even started secondary school. Other names given to the womb were Whare-takakau, inferred of a woman who had not yet conceived, and Whare-noa, a woman whose menstrual cycle had ended.²⁰³

I have decided to briefly discuss the Whare-paku here which is in reference to the genitalia of the male. Paraone Tai Tin states that *paku* refers to the ‘lack’ of presence of mitochondrial DNA within the male genome, and the ‘small’ part played by man in terms of the biological pre-natal nurture of the child, that is instead housed within the Whare-tangata and has so since Hine-i-ahu-mai-i-te-one. This term is now generally used as a name for the toilet (small house). The traditional name for toilet was *pae hamuti* or *turuma*.

7.2 TE WHARE-KOOHANGA - Of Infant Education

The Whare-koohanganga was the maternity dwelling, a temporary edifice always erected away from the main dwellings where food was eaten or people slept, on account of the act of birth being considered *tapu* (sacred). Not all women in traditional Maaori communities received the same degree of treatment when in labour or preceding labour. The level of treatment was determined by your standing within the community, where in brief, if you were of a senior *whaanau* or *whaanau* of significance in terms of the *hapuu*, then preferential treatment was afforded.

This treatment included a well-constructed hut that was the Whare-koohanganga, an entourage of *taapuhi* (ladies-in-waiting), a *rauhi* (nurse) at hand and most importantly a *toohunga* to recite the sacred *karakia* of the *maioha* (welcome), the *pure* (cleansing), and the *tohi* (dedication).

²⁰³ *Waananga* with Paraone Tai Tin, Auckland, September 2007.

Other names for this house recorded by Best include Whare-puhi used by the Takitimu people, Whare-kahu by the Tuhoe, and Whare-ooehanga by tribes of the North.²⁰⁴ There is no instance of any Whare-kooehanga to my knowledge that was ever given a name such as Whare-waananga received. Despite the *tapu* nature of birth, the fact that the structure was temporary may have contributed to this anomaly.²⁰⁵ In all instances following the birth and separation period used by the mother to settle her child, the hut was then burned. The practical aspect of this act insured no possible infections would spread or be carried beyond the area used. Some of the Hine and other female *atua* employed during this period were: Hinteiwaiwa, Hine-kotea, Hine-korito, Hine-makehu, Hine-rauwharangi, and Hine-titama.²⁰⁶

Again the level of importance regarding the pedagogy of this Whare was extremely important to the intellectual development of the child and the progression of fulfilling ones destiny. Of the more senior *whaanau* the birth of the mother attended by the *toohunga* ensured the continuation of the bio-rhythms of pregnancy during birth as the child emerged into Te Aoturoa. This Whare, as the first physical abode of the child, was steeped with ceremony mentioned as the *maioha*, the *pure* and the *tohi*. The *maioha* was the strain of *karakia* or *takutaku* of metaphorical verse welcoming the child into the realm of the living world, coupled with historical references to the ancestors and the attainment of knowledge. The *pure* was a cleansing or purifying ceremony that called on the aid of cosmic energies to dispel any undesirable energy (unfortunately this is the best description I can offer regarding this incredible ceremony). And finally the *tohi* that can be best translated as a ‘baptism’. It was indeed the ceremony that dedicated the child to the undertakings of their life required to fulfil their destiny not to a divinity, but in some respects to prepare the child for a divine purpose.

7.3 TE WHARE-MAUOKOROA: Identifying Children’s Talents

I do not know whether this or other Whare were Whare similarly coined by all tribes or whether they were specific to Te Whaanau-a-Apanui. However, it was from within this Whare that childrens talents and skills were identified and decisions made to determine into which other Whare of specific instruction they would progress. *Mauokoroa* is an interesting analogy that refers to the *Oko-nui-atea*, the vessel that contained infinite knowledge received by Taane

²⁰⁴ (1929). *The Whare Kohanga and its Lore*, A.R.Shearer, Government Printer, Wellington. Reprinted 1975.

²⁰⁵ There are many instances however pertaining to the falling of the *iho* or *pito* (umbilical cord) that were then placed in rocks or hollows of trees and named accordingly. This practice was often used to define boundaries between *whaanau* and *hapuu*.

²⁰⁶ Best, E. (1923). *The Maori School of Learning*, pp.15-16.

from Io. *Mau* can be interpreted as ‘to grasp’ or ‘take hold of’, while *roa* in this context can mean ‘enduring’, or ‘infinite’. The overall term implies taking grasp of the general curriculum of all Whare that is, the vast knowledge of the *oko* that includes the *mootoi*.

Paraone states the Whare-tipuna or Whare-whakairo as the edifice where the process of education and selection occurred. The student would physically enter the Whare and instruction of tribal lore would begin, initially conducted on the left hand-side, this area referred to as the *tara-whaiti*. Here I guess the child’s level of attention, inquisitiveness, or understanding would be gauged in order to help determine their natural tendencies. I have no doubt that those intended for more physical than intellectual vocations would be guided to such Whare as the Whare-taikorera, and eventually Whare-ahuru (school of hand-to-hand combat), or Whare-aitu (school of weaponry), while others may well have continued to remain in the Whare-mauokoroa, before being progressively ushered toward the Whare-waananga, Whare-pora and such.

Judging by Paraone’s explanation, a unique feature of the Whare-mauokoroa was that it was an institution engaged concurrently with all other Whare. An individual’s progress would be marked by the position taken up within the Whare, starting from the left where you enter as a *manuhiri* (a guest), then eventually completing your education by exiting from the right side of the Whare, that is the *tara-whanui*, as a *tangata-whenua* (of the land). Another unique feature was that this Whare was attended by all members of the *hapuu*. Paraone states that there was no strict timeframe as to what age you graduated from here²⁰⁷, if you graduated at all, knowledgeable in the histories of your people.

I am assuming that teaching here would have occurred at night, or on winter-like days when planting, harvesting or food-gathering was not possible, attended by all members of the *hapuu*; young and old alike. Pregnant mothers may well have attended as part of the education of their unborn child, exposing their child to the linguistic bio-rhythms of the *tohunga* imparting knowledge of the deeds of their ancestors, their songs, and their genealogies. New mother’s would be in attendance with their child or children, along with teenagers and fathers, even grandparents, listening to the intricate web of histories about their peoples customs and origins in an informal environment.

²⁰⁷ *Waananga* with Paraone Tai Tin, Auckland, September 2007.

7.4 TE WHARE-TAIKORERA, WHARE-ANOANO AND WHARE-NOA: Of Education for Children and Adolescents

Te Whare-taikorera was an institution with a general curriculum designed for children with a combined pedagogy of play, exploration, and discovery. The myriad of games that were such a favourite pastime of traditional Maaori societies all served a purpose of challenging the intellectual, physical, emotional, and metaphysical attributes of children. The well known hand games such as *hei tama tu tama*, *whakaropiropi*, *hei pare*, and *hipitoui* required a focus of mental perception and multiplicity as a child attempted to mirror their opponents hand actions in the same instance as their own and win by shouting 'ra'. This was the beginning of developing eye-hand co-ordination (*arotahe*), strategising, anticipation, extra-perception, and intellectual multiplicity, skills that would be required for so many other pathways refined in other Whare that would contribute to the function of the *hapuu*. Therefore the games that were engaged in this Whare were numerous.

Best provides a whole host of games he has published in *Games and Pastimes of the Maaori*²⁰⁸ (in fact most were games of the Tuhoe people) and there were many more that are remembered and played still by various tribal groups throughout Aotearoa. From individual engagements such as *whai* (string-games), *whakarere-manu-aute* (kite-flying), *whakahekeheke ngaru* (surfing), *taakaro koohatu* (games using stones) or *pootaka* (spinning tops) to group activities such as *whakatere waka* (canoe racing), *kii-oo-Rahi* (full-contact ball game), *wii* (tag), or *taakaro raakau* (stick throwing games), these games were used as part of the educational curriculum of the Whare-taikorera. The *atua* of this Whare from Te Kura are Hineraumata and Rehia. Among the Tuhoe tribe these *atua* are Takataka-putea and Marere-o-tonga,²⁰⁹ and mentioned by Best as "...contemporaries of Rongomaraeroa." Best also mentions "...the Ngati Porou... allude to all amusements as 'Nga mahi a Ruhanui'."²¹⁰ Women famous in Maaori history for these arts were Hine-te-iwaiwa, Raukatauri, Raukatamea, Hine-awhi-rangi, and Ruhiruhi.²¹¹

These games also developed emotional discipline as winning and losing was expected to be accepted graciously. Progression into the next Whare would not be permitted were children adequately skilled, yet emotionally inept. From the histories of Kura-i-awaawa, children

²⁰⁸ (1925), *Games and Pastimes of the Maori*, A.R.Shearer, Government Printer, Wellington. Reprinted 1976.

²⁰⁹ Best, E. (1925). *Games and Pastimes of the Maori*. p.11.

²¹⁰ Ibid. Best also mentions that '...the arts of Ruhanui were practised after the crops were gathered'

²¹¹ Ibid.

advanced through various stages. Within the playful beginnings of the Whare-taikorera, excessive physical contact for the purpose of developing a warrior was not permitted, although children being children, this was sometimes not adhered to. Those children showing the necessary agility and ability, as well as mental and emotional composure were advanced to Te Whare-anoano. The name here suggests that this training was extremely repetitive as '*ano*' means 'again', while '*anoano*' would suggest a structure of 'repeating' everything a lot of times. Again once all the required physical, mental and emotional abilities had been proven within Te Whare-anoano, there was yet another progression to Te Whare-noa.

Training starts to become more re-fined here. The term *noa* is easiest explained by describing it as the opposite of *tapu*. Where *tapu* applies restriction, *noa* releases one from restriction. Te Whare-noa in this instance pertains to exploring and understanding the original customs, traditions and practices, with lesser restriction. Again these *whare* were not physical structures, but metaphors for housing philosophies and identifying stages of educational progression for children and adolescents.

I cannot help but draw a connection of the ethos of this curriculum to the Kete Puututu of the Tuhoe education model.²¹² It is here focus on *reo whakatuupato* is imparted, that is language regarding customs, protocols and deeper understanding of *tapu* pertaining to the individual, community, environment and cosmos. Within Tuhoe the Whare-maire is an education for all ages with a philosophy of life-long-learning that begins in the Whare-koohanga. The language taught here and in primary schools is categorised as *reo kaauta* ('language of the kitchen') that is an every-day language incorporating slangs, and does not include the language you would hear spoken in formal environments, but nonetheless contains a large part of ancient grammar and can still in its own right be quite eloquent. Basic language structures herein are taught and consolidated. Upon reaching education at intermediate school further *kete* are introduced that represent the philosophies of the curriculum. The *kete* introduced at this stage is referred to as Te Kete Whaowhaorangi-a-Hinepukohurangi, a metaphorical term regarding the development from *te reo kaauta* to more formal constructs of grammar and language. *Whaowhao* is the act of carving, and the comparison to language is regarding carving language of a *tapu* nature. Such language is spoken in *whaikoorero* on *marae*. Here children are taught to differentiate

²¹² *Waananga* with Te Hue Rangi and Hori Uatuku, Ruatoki, January 2007. The Kete Puututu is one of three metaphorical *kete* regarding education from a Tuhoe worldview.

from *te reo kaauta* and formal language, and is the beginning of learning abstract constructs of *te reo*.²¹³

When reaching secondary school further *kete* are introduced. The first *kete* is Te Kete Puukirikiri that was traditionally the *kete* used to carry the *kumara* from harvest to the *rua* (storehouse). This *kete* had many handles therefore in this representation many teachers are expected to contribute to teaching *te reo tapu*. The second *kete* is referred to as Te Kete Nehinehi. *Nehinehi* pertains to the action of chewing solids before being fed to infants. This *kete* was known as a *kopa*, a function that involved extracting juices from berries and in this instance, berries of the *titoki* tree, that when twisted within the *kete* excreted juices, a traditional delicacy of the *rangatira*. Therefore the type of language herein pertains to the language in contexts where a child will find themselves representing their peoples interests such as on the *marae*, or in political arenas. The third and final *kete* of this curriculum is called Te Kete Puututu. Here the flowers of the *kaakaho* and the poisonous berries from the *tutu* are inserted. When twisted the flowers absorb the poison of the *tutu* to leave a palatable juice. Therefore the teachings from within this *kete* pertain to *te reo whakatuupato*, that is of cautionary *tikanga* (custom), and *reo manaaki*. As an example, the language of the kitchen where food is prepared should not be the same language of the *marae tapu* when welcoming visitors, nor should the customs. This is to ensure that the language and many contexts in which it is used are correct and appropriate in honouring the people whom you are addressing for example.

Within this Whare there is no room for error pertaining to the use and purpose of language. Upon graduating to the Whare-maire the language taught therein is referred to as *te reo tohunga*, that is the language that allows you to communicate beyond verbal communication with elements of the universe. An example is the language and use of *karakia* inherited from the original curriculum of Hangaroa and Tiki of the sacred teachings of Te Tapu-o-te-rangi brought from Hawaiiiki on board the Mataatua canoe.²¹⁴

The ethos of the Whare-noa is no different to this as described in relation to Te Whare-taikorera. The term *noa* is used to denote a state of neutrality, of being free to partake and participate in all aspects of life without restriction. The term *tapu* is one that is widely

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

discussed and debated in many circles, but is often suggested as being in a state of restricted participation based on circumstance.²¹⁵ The tradition of *tapu* is maintained in the myriad of stories, fables, and legends enough to provide guidance to the community at large. Such examples are maintained in the traditions that we strictly adhere to on the *marae*; *tapu* pertaining to the *marae-atea* or courtyard, *tapu* pertaining to *te marae-a-Tu*, *a-Rongo* or the space where the speakers talk; *tapu* pertaining to Te Whare-mate where the deceased and *whaanau-pani* are housed during mourning; *tapu* pertaining to Te Whare-puni where people meet in-doors to chat in a less formal context than on the courtyard, and so much more.

Tapu as I understand it is a safeguard for maintaining the original design (*ta* is the design and *pu* is the origin), where traditionally there was also a spiritual energy attached. *Toohunga* in these instances were employed to provide a spiritual veil employing cosmic energies to offer protection, to help maintain the blueprint as it was imparted by the original caretaker, Io. So there were a combination of spiritually evoked measures and other physical impositions in order to protect the original nature of that tradition. With the loss of so much traditional and ancient knowledge and practices with the onslaught of imperialism, the nature of *tapu* has changed dramatically in almost all daily engagements. At a community level it is extremely difficult to enforce traditional customs let alone on the *marae*. *Tapu* is only one of many measures developed by traditional Maaori to maintain social order. In the context of Te Whare-noa though, the ability to explore *tapu* requires a state of *noa*, of unrestricted or uninhibited exploration, that allows investigation without incurring sacred energies associated with *tapu*. With this knowledge secured, children are now ready to start specialising in arts suited to their abilities.

I have decided to mention a curriculum that has implications for a modern construct, that was created by Paraone Tai Tin, called Mauri Toa, or the ‘essence of the warrior’. While the curriculum is modern, some of the games have a traditional influence and are consistent with philosophies of this Whare. The main game here is called *tauparepare-tautaataa* (to evade and strike).

There are numerous stances by which the individual starts with an opposing partner. *Are-o-Tu* is a stance where the palms of the hands face the body, with one in front of the waist and the

²¹⁵ These circumstances range from heirarchical status to any amount of multifarious restrictions.

other in front of the chest. From this position the command '*hau*' (begin) is shouted. The object now is to try to quickly, but gently, tap the back of the hand of your opponent, while the opponent attempts to evade your strike by moving the hands up or down. Some other starting stances include *aro-o-Rongo*, *te Kaupeka-o-Whanui*, and *takurua*, each one different and each having a different purpose in terms of developing ones skills. The idea is that as the student becomes competent with each stance they progress to the next, until parts of the body such as the shoulders, hips and ankles then become targets. At this stage individuals are using a full range of evasive movements including ducking, retreating, advancing, jumping, shuffling, while all the time looking to tap the pre-determined targets, while maintaining total control. The game then extends from using the hands to include the legs and feet. This is a fun curriculum that covers basic mental agility, eye and hand co-ordination, a sense of self control and awareness, a broad exposure to societal endeavours, creativity, problem solving strategies, and a sense of *whatumanawa*.

Chapter eight investigates other Whare of higher learning. These were generally the Whare for those who had determined a vocation for themselves outside of the Whare-waananga, although students of the Whare-waananga were also educated here. These Whare include the Whare-pora, where the arts and esoteric knowledge pertaining to the arts was taught by women, to the Whare-whakairo or the school of carving, taught by men, although there were exceptions

CHAPTER 8: FURTHER TRADITIONAL MAAORI INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The following examples include: the Whare-porahau, that is an educational environmental for women; the Whare-ahuru where hand-to-hand combat was taught; the Whare-aitu where the art of weapons use was taught; the Whare-whakairo where the art of carving was taught; and finally a brief gloss of several other Whare.

These Whare start to show just how diverse education was in traditional Maaori society. It shows how highly education was considered amongst Maaori, but more importantly it shows that education was multifarious. Education was not left to the whims of chance, but rather, was afforded great care and attention. This not only ensured the survival of *hapuu*, but also ensured that their artistic expression and spirituality were being catered for.

8.1 TE WHARE PORA (HAU) - Of Education pertaining to Women:

This Whare was also known as Te Whareporahau, Whare-parapara or Whare-takutaku.²¹⁶ This seems to have been the equivalent of the Whare-waananga but for women only. It appears that the old Maaori saw celestial and terrestrial education as engagements that needed to remain separate between the sexes, the logic of which I can only guess. In saying that however, there are instances where women have been students and *ruahine* within Whare-waananga, and a number of other Whare where the perception is of a male oriented only institution. One of Hohepa Delamere's *kuia* was his mentor for *mamau*, the art of hand-to-hand combat, and one of Irirangi Tiakiawa's *kuia* was also his first mentor of *whakapapa* and other celestial knowledges. Unfortunately, while I am sure each *hapuu* or *iwi* had their own type of Whare-pora, I have only been offered the name of one Whare that was known to Weherua Rutene of Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki called Kaitaratahi (or Kaiteratahi). This Whare was but a hollow in the ground and is still visible from the Kaiteratahi Bridge on the Gisborne-Opotiki highway. The third verse of the *kaioraora* of early nineteenth century composer Te Moatutahuna from Tuhoe, mentions the Whare-porahau of Hine-te-iwaiwa:

Kai mai koutou i te kai a Tiki
He mea i na toku, kua pukawatia
Naku rawa i maro iho, ki te rau kawakawa

²¹⁶ Mead, H.M. (2003). *Tikanga Maori: Living by Maori Values*. Huia Publishers. Wellington, p.266.

Moe iho ai au i te moe korohiko
Kei te Whare-porahau o Hineteiwaiwa²¹⁷

Te Whare-porahau is another name for the Whare-pora referred to by Tuhoe, while Hine-te-iwaiwa is the *ruahine* or ‘female expert’ of the arts of women. Rua-i-te-hihiri is mentioned in an *oriori* as a deity of the art of *raranga*, with reference to Tangaroa and other Hine:

Ka hopu ra to ringaringa ki te turuturu
Ka mau, whakaarahia i te putahi
Tuaumutia ra, ka kai Rua-i-te-hihiri
Ka kai Tangaroa me tana whanau wahine
Hine-karekare me Hine-ahu-one.²¹⁸

Of this Whare, *whatu* (tapestry), *raranga* (weaving), and such related arts were taught. This would have been the Whare in which the late Rangimarie Hetet, mother of Diggeress Te Kanawa, was tutored. There is such a lot to be discussed of these arts. I can only share a few aspects of the arts despite my mother being an exponent of *whatu taniko*, *whatu kakahu*, and *whatu korowai*.

Of what little I observed, and the few lessons I had, all I can say is that *whatu* is a very meticulous undertaking that involves intricate ties and methods to complete varying types of patterns, requiring great patience to complete. Similarly, *raranga* is just as intricate an art, but utilises larger fibres from the flax bush. The end products of many articles ranging from fishing nets to footwear all had their own means of weave and varying patterns designed for individual purposes. This art was not exclusive to women. The late Len Tihore of Wharekahika (Hicks Bay) was one of the last known exponents of fish-net making and other food traps such as *taruke* and *pouraka* for catching crayfish.²¹⁹

I believe esoteric education was also part of the Whare-pora. In my view (like Te Rawheoro, Hamokorau, and Mairerangi Whare-waananga where *whakairo* and *taa moko* were taught) it would be impossible to separate the practice of *raranga* of the Whare-pora from the *karakia*, *whakapapa*, and histories that were intertwined within the practices of this *whare*. Whether the

²¹⁷ This is a well known *waiata* among the Tuhoe people. Te Moatutahuna married Tamahore of Tamakaimona.

²¹⁸ Ngata, A.T. and Jones, P.T.H. (1970). *Nga Moteatea: The Songs, Part II.*, p.204.

²¹⁹ pers. com. with Nanny Rose Nikau, *kuiā* of Te Whanau-a-Tiwhakairiora, Hicks Bay, 2009.

examples I have mentioned of Hohepa's or Irirangi's *kuia*²²⁰ were as a consequence of modern times, or a continuation of traditional education I can neither confirm nor negate. The fact is, as I have already alluded to, women were *ruahine* (female *tohunga*) of the Whare-tangata and the Whare-koohangā, and therefore *kaitiaki* (caretakers) of such related knowledge. The anomaly of a whole *atua whakapapa* (*atua* genealogy) of the *atua wahine* (female *atua*) disappearing from all recorded histories of Whare-waananga suggests a possibility that women were the *ruahine* of this knowledge.

Strengthening this possibility is the lack of history recorded by early historians known to Māori women. I have not yet come across any publications where a Māori woman was the main informant. There are examples however of women in certain communities having such knowledge. A *kuia* from Te Whanau a Hinerupe and Te Whanau a Kahuwakatuakina in Te Araroa, Keeti Takapane Ngatai, was the main informant for land issues in the courts, frequently referred to especially when certain blocks were being contested,²²¹ an indication that education beyond weaving and food-gathering was prevalent, at least at that time.

8.2 TE WHARE AHURU - Of Hand-to-hand Combat

This is a vivacious environment designed for the physical, mental, and emotional development of young adults via learning techniques of hand-to-hand combat. For young men this was called *mamau*, and for young ladies it was called *maumaia*,²²² loosely translated as 'grappling', and similar to the art of wrestling. The name '*ahuru*' implies a connection to the mother's womb sometimes referred to as *te ahuru-mowai*, a somewhat contrary term as *mowai* also means 'abandoned'. As a fighting art however this name reinforced the philosophy of this Whare. The *atua* of this Whare is Uru-te-ngangana who is the oldest of the children of Rangi and Papa, and Rongomaraeroa who personifies peace.²²³ The initial purpose of this art is for defence only. While this philosophy was stringently adhered to, the inevitability of battle for the old-time Māori meant that this art would eventually be used for battle.

Investigating the body from a scientific or medical perspective was part of the function of this Whare and hence an extension of the concept of Te Whare-ahuru. Here the art of combat now

²²⁰ There are several other examples of stories I have been told regarding the celestial knowledge of many elderly Māori women, particularly from the era when Māori men were heading off to the World Wars.

²²¹ pers. com. with Kararaina Ngatai, Hicks Bay, 2009.

²²² *Maumaia* was in fact taught within another *whare* that I cannot offer information on.

²²³ *Waananga* with Paraone Tai Tin, Auckland, September 2007.

becomes an art of understanding the efficiency of subjecting pain with as little effort as possible. And by understanding how the body responds to pain, one understands how the body can be healed, a philosophy consistent with the *atua* Rongomaraeroa who personified peace. The art of applying pain to maintain peace seems contradictory (perhaps why the term *ahurumowai* was relevant to this Whare), nonetheless the healing abilities of the old Maaori were advanced for their time, and parts of that understanding stemmed from within this Whare. Many healing practices bear great relevance to some medical practices today, albeit in small pockets not recognised by Western medical organisations, but this is a greater body of knowledge not solely taught here. An example of healing and understanding the anatomy is found in the therapy of *romiromi*, the art of deep-massage, and the art of *mamau* and *maumaia* provided an insight into this practice.

At this stage I have nothing further to offer of Te Whare-ahuru, although the interconnectedness students of Te Whare-ahuru have with other Whare intertwines theories, philosophies, histories, and practices as a continuation and progression of this study. There are many, many movements that resemble the likes of judo, aikido, wrestling, karate, and street-fighting of Te Whare-ahuru, some of which was taught by Paraone.²²⁴ However each movement has a history and connection to the *atua* and cannot be treated as a fighting concept only, but must be regarded as a broader curriculum perhaps not too dis-similar to the art within the Chinese Shaolin Temple or the fighting art of Wushu where mind, body, and soul are an integral part of development.

8.3 TE WHARE-AITU - Of the Art of Warfare

This Whare is more commonly referred to today as Whare-tutaua. Whare-aitu is a term known by Paraone Tai Tin that perhaps was the traditional name of this Whare. It was the course of every child's destiny to learn the art of weaponry and some excelled to heights of immortality with their heroic acts being retold over the centuries by their descendants. This learning of weaponry was most revered by the old Maaori for obvious reasons. Warriors were held in high regard as protectors of the people, land and subsequent food stores. They uplifted and maintained the *mana* of the people in times of turmoil, and that was often. Of this Whare many a story can be told of the individuals of many different *hapuu*, and the many battles of those *hapuu* that determined the boundaries of the tribes as they are known today.

²²⁴ *Waananga* with Hohepa Delamere, Whitianga Bay, January 2004. Paraone was also present at this *waananga*.

The art of war as already mentioned stems from the *atua* Tumataueanga and Hine-Keira. The *taiaha* (poorly translated as long-staff) was procured by Tumataueanga from Taane-mahuta in the war of the *atua* which was generally referred to as Te Paerangi.²²⁵ There are many weapons of the Maaori each having a specific function and purpose, the names of some which follow:

- Two-handed weapons: *taiaha, tewhatewha, pou whenua, koikoi, hoeroa, tokotoko, tao.*
- Single-handed weapons: *kotiate, wahaika, patu, patu roa, patu paraoa, patu onewa, mere pounamu, toki-pou-tangata, tokotoko*

Women were not exempt from learning this art and like all other children would have been identified by their *whaanau* as good prospects at an early age. Ruaputahanga was a famous female warrior of Taranaki who lived around 300 years ago, and the women of Taranaki still practice her art today.²²⁶ Kurawha, a Tuhoe woman who was the wife of *tohunga* Tutakangahau from Ruatahuna, accompanied Tuhoe war-parties in various fighting excursions.²²⁷

Fortunately of this art there are many contemporaries some who are well known *taiaha* exponents, all recipients from *tohunga* of the Whare-aitu. Papa Anaru Kupenga was a student of the late Master Carver Pine Taiapa, and ex-colonel of the Maaori Battalion Peta Awatere. He mentions that jumping, evading strikes from branches to his legs and the like was the first part of his education for many months before learning anything else of the *taiaha*.²²⁸ Mita Mohi has a well organised programme operating from Mokoia Island in Rotorua that is well attended and recognised. Pita Sharples, co-tutor of the Roopu Manutaki and now Maori Party co-leader has another well structured Whare-tutaua based in Auckland where levels of progression can be attained. Wetini Mitai Ngatai of Rotorua is another who continues the teachings of Irirangi Tiakiawa, tutoring the international *kapa haka* (cultural group) Te Matarae-i-o-Rehu, with displays of *taiaha* and *patu* as part of his self-owned and operated tourist show in Rotorua. Wetini mentions that Irirangi was one of the last known exponents of the *hoeroa* (long-paddle) that is shaped like a whale-bone rib.²²⁹

²²⁵ Smith, P. (1913). *The Lore of the Whare-wananga. Te Kauwaerunga*, p.134.

²²⁶ While attending the lare Ruka Broughton's unveiling albeit in the 1980's, women were wielding *taiaha* during the ceremony.

²²⁷ Best (1925), p.367.

²²⁸ *Waananga* with Anaru Kupenga, Ruatorea, September 2007.

²²⁹ *Waananga* with Weetini Mitai Ngatai, Rotorua, June 2007.

Some of a few traditional training grounds known to me are Te Kekepohatu and Whanakaimanuka in Te Araroa. Rob Ruha states that Whanakaimanuka (kicking *manuka* trees)²³⁰ involved warriors running through a gauntlet of *manuka* trees at speed, developing their ability to dodge and weave. Kirikiritatangi (crying gravel) was a training ground near Waipiro that like Te Kekepohatu (clicking stones) involved warriors being able to run or jump across these stony areas without making any noise.²³¹ The successful completion of this task now meant you were ready to join the Whare-matanui.

Toreata was a part of the Tuhoe Whare-takiura of Kahuponia where the arts of warfare were taught to children. Whakauauataiaha was another training ground of the Nga Puhi in the far North according to Paraone Tai Tin, while Tuteamaitawhiti of the Te Arawa was also known as a fighting training ground.²³² There remain many training methods of this Whare including physical tests for the purpose of graduating through the ranks. The traditional ranks as I know them were *pi*, *aati-aa-toa*, *tore-kaihuruhuru*, *arero-whereo*, and *tau-aa-whiro* respectively. The *pi* was the freshman, while the *Tau-a-Whiro* was the equivalent rank of a modern-day Field-Marshal.²³³

Like any art, proper time and care to instruct on the history, purpose, and use of these movements is required. The Whare-aitu must be given the most serious consideration of either teaching or learning. The energies of this Whare are different than the others and in some respects 'darker' because of the bloodied history carried therein. It must be noted here that the art of weaponry is of the Whare of Tumatauenga, the *atua* of war, therefore is designed to teach people to take life; to kill. This Whare must not be taken lightly (nor should any Whare in that matter). The combined history and physical requirements of this Whare was why so much emphasis was placed on the development and stages of progression from the Whare-taikorera and ensuing Whare before being taught the deadly arts of the Whare-aitu.

8.4 TE WHARE-WHAKAIRO - Of the Art of Carving

This is the fully carved meeting house that stems from the first Whare-whakairo of the *atua* cosmogony known as Huiteananui, of whom Tane and Tangaroa were the *atua*. This house was entirely adorned with *whakairo* (traditional wood-carvings). Tangaroa however is the *atua* who

²³⁰ The name Whanakaimanuka was also applied to a platoon of fighting warriors from the Te Araroa region.

²³¹ *Waananga* with Robert Ruha, Hicks Bay, October 2006.

²³² *Waananga* with Wetini Mitai, June 2007.

²³³ pers. com with Mark Kopua, 1990's.

is regarded as the progenitor of this wood carving art and history. Direct descendant and inheritor of this knowledge was the learned Hingangaroa of the Rawheoro Whare-waananga in Uawa, Tolaga Bay. Ponga was another southern branch of *whakairo* from Te Rawheoro.²³⁴

Hamokorau Whare-waananga of Turanga (Gisborne) was also renowned for the art of *whakairo* with *tohunga* Raharuhi Rukupo and Te Waaka Perohuka as contemporaries. Taporapora Whare-waananga of Ngati Whatua²³⁵ was also renowned for the arts, the northern tribes having yet another distinct style. While there are no records of a Taranaki Whare-whakairo, Mark Kopua suggests that examples that he has seen regarding the Taranaki style is incredibly intricate making their style yet again very distinct.²³⁶ Another famous carving school is that of Taraawhai of the Rotoiti district of the Te Arawa people. The famous Whakarewarewa School of Carving in Rotorua includes remnants of this style of carving. The Bay of Plenty tribes including the Ngati Awa of Whakatane and Tuhoe of the Urewera have a similar style to Taraawhai, not as refined perhaps, but similarities are prevalent. Carved artefacts have been found across the country indicating that at one stage in tribal evolution carving was a widely practiced art-form.²³⁷ The art of carving should not be compared to Western arts, but can be compared to hieroglyphs of other indigenous tribes around the world. The reason being that each decoration carries a meaning of the ancestor it is carved on, telling their story of their deeds and history.

Returning to the Whare-whakairo as an educational institution, certainly carving is an ancient practice and traditionally these houses would have been entirely adorned in this fashion. The Whare-waananga Miringa-te-kakara however had no carvings of any sort but did have etchings engraved into the posts. The Te Rawheoro and Hamokorau Whare-waananga were steeped in the tradition of carving knowledge and were adorned entirely with *whakairo*.²³⁸ The area where carving was taught was generally in a clearing away from the main *pa*, and was extremely *tapu*. For anyone to enter into this area would draw dire consequences for the individual concerned, not to mention the wrath of the *tohunga whakairo*.

²³⁴ *Waananga* with Mark Kopua, Mangatuna, March 2007.

²³⁵ pers. com. with Jo Pihema of Ngati whatua, Auckland, 2007.

²³⁶ *Waananga* with Mark Kopua, Mangatuna, March 2007.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ pers.com. with Jody Wyllie and *waananga* with Wayne Ngata respectively, 2007.

Histories maintained in *whakairo* are known by the carver, and with this knowledge he is able to interpret the meaning of carvings by fellow carvers. The Whare itself however, was as I understand it, utilised for the purpose of Te Whare-mauokoroa, where tribal histories were taught, or as a Whare-waananga, but not for general sleeping quarters. This concept makes sense to me as the sacred nature of carving and the depth of history and meaning carried in this art would only have been reserved for the most auspicious of environments for teaching and learning, and not be exposed to the toil of day-to-day living. Whare-whakairo were used as part of the *waananga* for this purpose, the carvings providing the visual cues and displays to assist in retaining tribal stories of who the people descended from, where they came from, what deeds were achieved and what purpose they held in the greater global spectrum.

The *tohunga whakairo*, as facilitator of this education, required a vast range of knowledge: knowledge of wood density for specific purposes either for *waka*, *whare*, weapons or other utensils; an understanding of working with grain, milling and adzing; skill of shaping and sharpening adzes and chisels for carving; not to mention the countless observations of *tapu* and related incantations required for each occasion. There are many *tohunga whakairo* today who have a great understanding of the art, although Mark Kopua confesses the theoretical knowledge of one of his mentors far exceeded what knowledge he maintains of this wonderful art. There are several publications that one can access to discover more of *whakairo*, however as a teaching institution (aside the art itself) the purpose of Whare-whakairo seemed to function as the *waananga* for maintaining tribal histories.

8.5 OTHER WHARE

This concludes the review of the various Whare that were an integral part of the educational continuum of traditional Maaori. Some Whare I have not mentioned here include the Whare-maire. This is not the Whare-maire as referred to by the Tuhoe for the teaching of their sacred knowledge but the Whare-maire commonly known by most tribes where the black arts were taught. This was a Whare dedicated to the art of *maakutu*, for want of a better term ‘black sorcery’, and descended from the Whare of the *atua* Whiro, Taiwhetuki. Infusions and knowledge were taught here to render the life-force of living things lifeless, and other such infusions to manipulate the natural course of living entities. Oral histories of many tribes tell of stories where *maakutu* was employed. While a vey integral part of traditional Maaori society this Whare will, for this part, not be discussed further.

Whare-tapere where youth congregated to learn social etiquette, Whare-tipuna (ancestral houses), Whare-paataka (food store-houses), Whare-apakura where the deceased were mourned, Whare-tuahi where according to Te Matorohanga *taa moko* was taught and various other Whare all which have invaluable histories and education contained therein, have also not been reviewed, but in many ways their esoteric aspects have been covered within the Whare-waananga. As for the teaching of some practices such as fishing, hunting, building, and other such manual labours, I am convinced that there would have been traditional institutions where they were maintained that have been forgotten, or if not forgotten, are retained by people who continue to impart this knowledge in a traditional manner safe in the knowledge of their own customs.

Other Whare mentioned in *The Maori as He Was*²³⁹ that I can offer no further information on are: *whare-hui* - an assembly house; *whare-manuhiri* - a guest-house; *whare-manuka* - a simple eath dwelling; *whare-ngakau* - a house built for discussion of some wrong offence committed by another tribe; *whare-rangi* - a storehouse erected on one post; *whare-rahui* - a house built for a sick person; *whare-umu* - a cooking shed; *whare-wahakanoho* - a superior house with carefully adzed timbers.

Further Whare that I have extracted from an ancient *takutaku* from Hohepa Delamere of the Te Kura, that I have little knowledge of and have not discussed are the:

Whare-pukairoa	Whare-uia-i-a-Rehua	Whare-takiao
Whare-tapurongo	Whare-angaanga	Whare-aronui
Whare-kapokapo	Whare-rongoata	Whare-mataohiohi
Whare-toitoi	Whare-kahikahika	Whare-aurongo
Whare-nekenekeao	Whare-umutahi	Whare-hinahia
Whare-ohuohu	Whare-pikiora	Whare-tautaea
Whare-kawaetangata	Whare-reaukaha	Whare-takureia

Most of these Whare as I have interpreted are metaphorical representations of types of knowledge taught separately for purposes typical of the philosophy of Whare-waananga and typical to Te Kura. Whare-aurongo for instance refers to the the various *au* or ‘sounds

²³⁹ Best, E. (1924). *The Maori As He Was*.

(vibrations or frequencies)' to source the *matarua*, that is the anatomy of the *whatumanawa*. Therefore *takutaku* will play a part in this education, and the study of understanding this phenomenon would be the major component of the curriculum of this Whare. As for the rest, they remain elusive for now, perhaps with countless other Whare and their purposes yet to be re-discovered. I believe there is enough evidence to show that traditional education was a purposeful engagement, and part of a rigorous infrastructure designed to maintain knowledge yet promote discovery within the realm of the Maaori belief system, Maaori cultural principles and customs of a people who traditionally were insync with their environment.

The final chapter, chapter 9, attempts to correlate the diverse nature of traditional Maaori education from the previous chapters, its pedagogy and epistemology included, to pose a modern hypothesis that could be seen as a credible tool for consideration in contemporary educational institutions and curriculum therein. A brief summary is first offered to recap the first eight chapters. Implications will be made on how this hypothesis could benefit the whole education of a child, their school and wider community, for Maaori and non-Maaori alike. This hypothesis is embodied under the title of Te Whare-oohia suggested in the opening stanza of the *whatumanawa takutaku* in chapter one, as the repository for the education of Io.

CHAPTER 9: TE WHARE-OOHIA - A HYPOTHESIS FOR A CONTEMPORARY EDUCATION

This final chapter will first briefly summarise the findings regarding traditional Maaori education, and its pedagogy and epistemology, before setting out to discuss its relevance in a modern society. These findings will then be bundled into a hypothesis to show how traditional knowledge and practices could be engaged by those who would see it as beneficial today. The re-introduction of Maaori concepts first started with the Koohanga Reo Movement of the late 1970's, and then later with the advent of Kura Kaupapa Maaori, Wharekura and then Whare Waananga. These sites were about the rejuvenation of Te Reo Maaori and not necessarily that of upholding ancient ideologies and practices. Now, with these establishments having firmly planted themselves in our educational system, perhaps it is time to start reclaiming our hereditary knowledge and implanting it within our educational institutes so the benefits can be enjoyed by all as they were traditionally.

9.1 SUMMARY

A conglomeration of tribal epistemologies and pedagogies from varying traditional Maaori institutions of learning have been discovered and retold as a means to offer clues and cues to traditional Maaori education. Traditional systems of education can be said to have been complex, while the knowledge that was taught within these was considered sacred, as it contributed to maintaining education as it was originally determined.

The initial histories reveal Maaori education to be a highly systemised structure that was an intrinsic part of the social infrastructure. The institutions had a theoretical basis embodied in cosmological histories and genealogies, with complex physical and meta-physical curricula. This is not entirely a new revelation as there are texts that already allude to the fact of well organised educational institutions, namely Whare-waananga. The continuity of education from pre-natal education to higher education has however, been revealed, showing that even playing and games in traditional Maaori society, all served educational purposes.

As a starting point to all education was that of the Whare-tangata, the womb. It is within the womb that initial vibrations and frequencies of *reo* and *rongo* are implanted, necessary for helping the child's cognitive and sensory development. Further reinforcement would extend to the Whare-koohanga and the environment of the child among their extended *whaanau*. As the

child grows talents are identified and skills refined in order to assist with the child's development into a vocation that fitted their personality or character and intellectual, physical or spiritual quotient. This identification process would occur within the Whare-mauokoroa, with a general education offered within the Whare-taikorera, then to the Whare-anoano that consisted of repetitive methodologies, then to the Whare-noa that expanded on the origins of histories, customs and traditions pertaining to those practices. Eventually progression into a seclusive institution of learning only for those engaged in that arena would eventuate; Whare-waananga and variations thereof, Whare-maire, Whare-aitu, Whare-ahuru, Whare-porahau, Whare-tapere, Whare-whakairo and Kura were some of the main examples that were a prevalent part of ancient 'houses'. There was however so much more to those educational arenas, as is the instance with Kura-i-awaawa, as well as other Whare that I only briefly alluded to.

9.2 IMPLICATIONS OF TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE FOR MODERN EDUCATION

Kura Kaupapa Maori was forged from a deep desire by a generation of Maaori to revive their language and culture. This generation was largely those who had lived life within a culturally rich Maaori environment, then through the decline of this culture, and consequent loss of cultural identity of their children and grand-children. The renaissance of Maaori language hoped to rekindle answers to present challenges and provide future directions by also reviving lost identity through the *kaupapa* of this new education. The philosophy was sound, however the practice continues to be designed and refined within Kura as charters are created by *whaanau* with varying degrees of knowledge and perspectives, while further anomalies arise as the pedagogy is implemented by teachers who are largely second language Maaori speakers trained in mainstream teacher education institutions. Within the last decade Maaori immersion, bilingual, and Kura Kaupapa teacher education institutions have emerged in an attempt to bridge the chasm of ideology and outcomes. The following proposed concept of *maatauranga* is no different to the progression of the movement to revive cultural identity and if anything, is an extension of the Kura Kaupapa Maaori concept.

This hypothesis is intended to embody the consequent findings of this research of the traditions of ancient Whare, as a modern day composition of Maaori education. To propose this as a concept for an alternate education in Te Reo Maaori is probably more accurate than presenting it as a model. A model would suggest that perhaps the current model is flawed, yet it is not, and imply rigidity that is not intended. Therefore the hypothesis of a concept allows for a

greater degree of interpretation if desired. It should be viewed as a Maaori centered approach in its entirety, based on traditional pedagogies and epistemologies. M. Durie has commented on developments that have ‘accelerated the move towards a Maori centered approach’ in relation to Maaori Departments seeking greater autonomy within universities that have relevance to this hypothesis. One in particular is that:

Maori world views and Maori understandings of knowledges were themselves distinctive. The holistic approach, while not exclusive to Maori, was certainly favoured by Maori.... Its (Maori studies) distinctive strength lies in the richness and uniqueness of Maori modes of expression: styles of thinking, speaking, relating, recalling, researching, recording, and within a developing intellectual framework that rests on Maori philosophies.²⁴⁰

Whare already provide an established philosophy, pedagogy, and epistemology that maintains the *maauri koorero*, *maauri whakapapa*, *maauri taatai*, and *maauri hiringa*²⁴¹ of *maatauranga*, nonetheless the interpretation would remain contemporary yet evolutionary; evolutionary in that unlike the decline of Maaori language, dialects, and depth of language grammar, particularly of *te reo kaaata* (everyday language), the pedagogy of *tuku koorero* (inherited history) remains largely unspoiled, as it has descended generation to generation, from parent to child, grandparent to grandchild, or *toohunga* to *tauirā* since Io. Te Whare-oohia is an ancient metaphor of this pedagogy. *Ohi* is the act of receiving and imparting knowledge, aspirations, and desires. The *oohinga* is all that is shared, discussed, or imparted whether it was from yesterday or a thousand years ago. The Whare-oohia is therefore the Whare that guides pedagogy that is, *ngaa korero tuku iho (ohi)*. Te Whare-oohia is mentioned in the opening verse of the *takutaku* to emphasise its purpose and relevance within the design of imparting knowledge, and while I have employed its meaning to house a contemporary concept, its history is ancient.

Before discussing curriculum or philosophy, tribal histories and *kawa* must be considered. Too often have tribal practices and histories been recorded as being Maaori. To imply the practices of the Tuhoe Whare-maire or the teachings of Te Matorohanga from the Wairarapa as those of all Maaori is incorrect. Tuhoe are Tuhoe, as Taranaki are Taranaki, and while the structure of language conventions allows each to comprehend the other, dialects are different, words for the

²⁴⁰ *He Pukenga Korero*, (1996). Ngahuru (Autumn), Volume 1, Number 2, pp.23-24.

²⁴¹ This refers to the original essence in which the spirit of the history is imparted.

same things are different, and many customs are different as they have evolved since the close genealogical ties from the wave of Pacific peoples returning to their ancestors homeland some 750-2000 years ago.²⁴²

The purpose of discussing tribalism here is to highlight the differences that exist from Whare to Whare, and the translation of those to a modern hypothesis for education. While Maaori could probably consider the cosmological histories as common to Maaori, tribal variations still exist. These disparities widen as there is a definitive progress to terrestrial histories. Therefore, whatever the hypothesis holds, like the unique make-up of school boards and the communities they represent, tribes will undoubtedly develop their own versions based on their uniqueness. The hypothesis therefore is to offer a basis for contemplation, consideration, and consultation among those tribes, sub-tribes and communities who see benefits of such a concept. The Tuhoe Education Authority have already started down this pathway within schools, to the point where their model is now being proposed for traditional Whare-maire education as a means of maintaining and rejuvenating Tuhoe histories according to Tuhoe *kawa* (customs).

In traditional contexts there was no question of the roles played by *whaanau* and *hapuu* as *kaitiaki* of *koorero tuku iho* (inherited knowledge). Traditionally the *tohunga* or *ruahine* was the *kaumaatua* or *matua* of the student, in as far as Maaori kin relationships went. Examples of inter-tribal education to my limited knowledge did occur, moreso regarding Whare-waananga and occasionally with Whare-aitu. Today's educational environment is obviously different, particularly as the focus of the Kura Kaupapa Maaori movement was about rejuvenating Maaori language and not Maaori education. Therefore defining the concept of what *tuku iho* is will fall to the *whaanau*.

Schools like the Ruatoki Bilingual School have, since 1978, been immersed in the Maaori language in school, while traditional Maaori education is continued within the community. This is changing gradually as there are fewer native speakers, including the lack of teachers as speakers of Tuhoe dialect or even native speakers at the school, and greater outside pressures. The knowledge base therefore, were it to be entirely from *koorero tuku iho*, would determine the curriculum of each institution.

²⁴² Examples of these close genealogical ties can be found between the Tuhoe of the Bay of Plenty and Nga Puhi of the far North, or the Ngati Porou of the Eastern Board of the North Island and the Ngai Tahu of the South Island. All the eponymic ancestors of these tribes were brothers.

An issue of this curriculum for many *whaanau* will be that not all (communities) will have an understanding and confidence in the depth and breadth of their knowledge base. Therefore the pedagogy of Te Whare-oohia would be highly inadequate. Alternately a developmental approach to Maaori education could be integrated while education in Maaori language continued within the modern curriculum that today's teachers and *whaanau* are familiar with. The traditional knowledge base would then become a focus for development, until such a stage that Maaori education superceded education in Maaori language. The first exciting prospect of this approach would be the rediscovery of traditional knowledge. The second exciting aspect would include all the benefits to individuals and society from a cultural, spiritual, emotional, and intellectual renaissance. A return to the *marae* as a central communal point, including a return to traditional environments and practices of medicine and healing, food hunting and gathering, arts and crafts, health and physical education, science and metaphysics, and revisiting the many Whare that contained the ancient curriculum of Maaori, holds exciting prospects. Here I allude to Samuel Robinson's vision of everybody reaching their own 'tohunga status' that I again would suggest as a consequence of fulfilling this concept.

The degree to which *whaanau* perceive this renaissance as beneficial in a modern society will vary. But the benefits as I can best describe them are a return to centralising cultural principles, values, and morals of an ancient design. With increasing capitalistic New Right ideology affecting so many facets of global economic, environmental, humanistic, and spiritual regression, ancient philosophies borne of a naturalistic peoples could serve amends. It must be noted that some traditional Maaori practices are far removed from the serene state I am posing. When aggression, ego, greed or other self-serving purposes of a traditional society were not being enacted however it would appear that peace, wisdom, knowledge, and enlightenment were the central pursuits of the commune. As discussed in the *koorero* of the Te Rawheoro Whare-waananga, the instance of Hingangaroa being removed from the war path of his feuding sons, in order that education within Te Rawheoro remained unperturbed, is such a dichotomy.

The relevance of traditional epistemology in a modern society will be another consideration for *whaanau*. Unfortunately *whaanau* who have not had a great deal of exposure or experience in traditional Maaori education or are removed from Maaori *tikanga* will struggle to see a contemporary relevance or benefit. Benefits regarding central principles are intangibles and often the period for fruition is far from immediate. To attempt to justify traditional practices would be, for starters, a lengthy exercise, as there are so many facets of traditional cultural

philosophy and ideology embodied in those practices. But more to the point the position of justifying a contemporary relevance is a counter-productive exercise as self-realisation is the only means to conscientisation. Aroha Mead discusses the 'pro-creative narrative' of Maaori, that is, the Rangi and Papa story that 'promotes concepts of integrity and inter-dependency of living things with the natural environment'. She further states:

To my mind, the Maori explanation of creation and evolution teaches me all I need to know to understand my role in life and attitude towards nature.... It provides me with a proven framework from which I can analyse and identify risks and benefits to the well-being of all those areas that form my cultural heritage.... The purpose of any people's evolutionary framework is and always will be the social, cultural, and ethical values that are promoted amongst one's members.²⁴³

Educational philosophies and methodologies are already being enacted in many Koohanga Reo, Puna Reo, Kura Kaupapa and Whare Waananga, and graduants are participating and contributing members of a modern society. Councils pursuing resource consent are engaging with local *hapuu* and Maaori advisors regarding lands and waterways being considered for development, where traditional *tikanga* is the guiding ethos, similarly with District Health Boards and Health education providers. Maaori businesses with Maaori styled produce are also making a niche for themselves within a local and global market. Educational movements such as Te Koohanga Reo and more recently Whare Waananga and Puna Reo are further arenas where Maaori are participating in shaping education and engaging individuals, *whaanau*, *hapuu*, *iwi*, and wider communities at an intellectual level. The launch of Maaori Television is another arena and the wider network of broadcasting means Maaori language and images are being projected into hundreds of thousands of households at an unprecedented rate. Within New Zealand corridors of power Maaori issues from a cultural basis are being championed by The Maori Party, a movement borne from a prime-ministerial snide against inherent Maaori rights and culture, then consequent land-grabbing legislation.²⁴⁴ Even within non-Maaori environments there are Maaori engaged at many levels of a society that technology is drawing closer together. Nonetheless, one cannot ignore that there are far more facets of society that are void of Maaori culture, or where Maaori cultural values are not accepted, and possibly never will be. The encouraging signs are that Maaori are increasingly participating at all levels of society, and trends only suggest that Maaori and Maaori culture are commodities that will

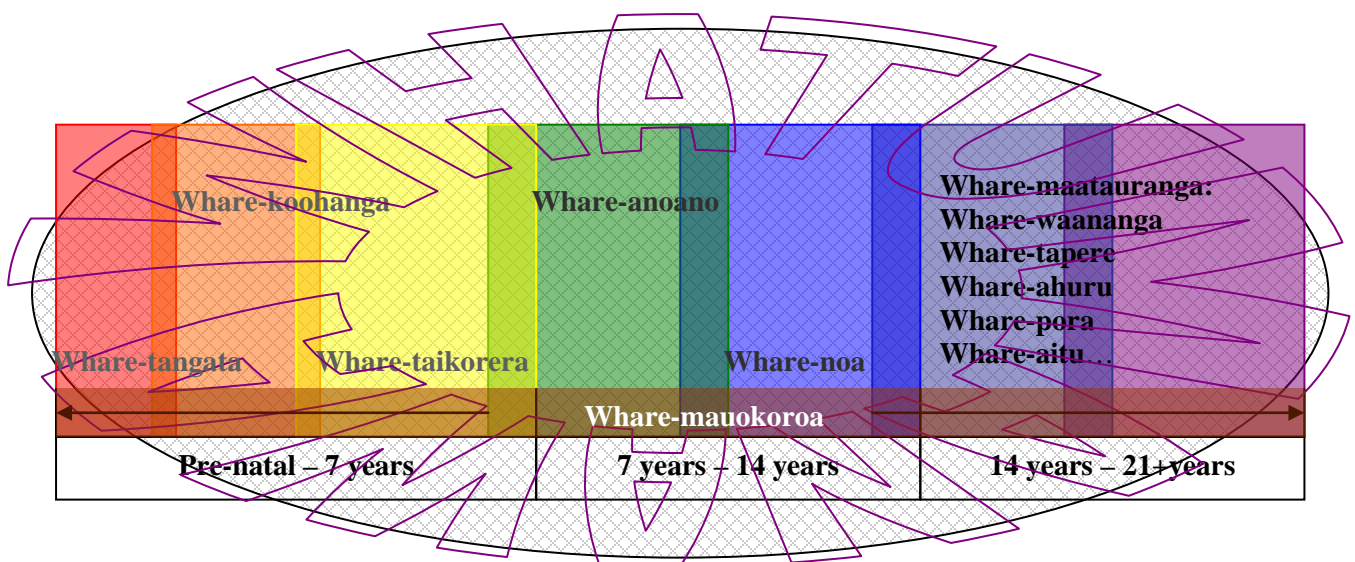
²⁴³ Mead, A. (1998). Sacred Balance. *He Pukenga Korero*, Ngahuru (Autumn), Volume 3, Number 2, (p.24)., pp.22-27.

²⁴⁴ That is The Foreshore and Seabed legislation.

continue to contribute to a national and global economic, intellectual, artistic, and spiritual (r)evolution.

The curriculum of Te Whare-oohia could be guided by an interpretation of the structures and ethos therein of the various Whare, with consideration given to modern influences. Suffice to say the entirety of a traditional society evolved over centuries, if not millennia to an intrinsic state probably far beyond the findings I have made. Trying to replicate the progressional stages of traditional education taking in all *tapu* observations can only function if the community subscribes to it in its entirety, a prospect even I would conclude is nigh impossible. But lesser versions of this structure would offer a replica suited to today's society.

9.3 DIAGRAM OF CURRICULUM BASED ON MAAORI PEDAGOGY - TE WHARE OOHIA



This diagram captures the progressive levels of education known to Te Kura-i-awaawa, notwithstanding the Whare-tangata, Whare-koohanga and other Whare at the final level of education in this model. The Whare-mauokoroa can be seen spanning the whole cycle of progression as a lifelong infrastructure to operate concurrently with the main structure. This ensures that *hapuu* or tribal education remains a consistent part of every child's education but does not exclude adult involvement. Finally, enshrining the whole model is the metaphorical *korowai* (cloak) of the *whatumanawa*. The *whatumanawa* is suggested to be the overriding ethos that is engaged by educator, students, *whaanau*, *hapuu*, *iwi* and community alike. The obvious reasons are to attempt to emulate the nature of *whatumanawa* as it was known and practised by the late Hohepa Delamere; an ethos that is based on selfless love that resided in Te

Whare-o-te-rau-aroha, with Io as the *kaitiaki* (caretaker) and ultimately educator and gateway to the *whatumanawa*. The following are descriptions of the hypothesis.

Te Whare-mauokoroa

The Whare-mauokoroa is the part of the hypothesis that represents life-long engagement. In some respects this interpretation has not changed from the original function and purpose of the traditional Whare-mauokoroa. I propose that this institution be the Whare-tipuna, or the Whare-whakairo on *marae*. The *marae* still remains integral in many regions to the imparting of tribal and *hapuu* lore, although in a very informal context. Formalising this concept as a part of childhood education will mean the *marae* will once again become an integral part of daily community activity. Within the Whare-nui there already exists the symbols for education that is the *whakairo* (carvings), *tukutuku* and *kowhaiwhai* panels. The educator of Te Whare-oohia in this instance can also be the facilitator for those who desire to attend, or those who are naturally inclined to learn and understand the histories of their people. This should not exclude modern histories, or world histories in relation to the *hapuu*.

In learning this history, old-time philosophies, morals, laws, customs, protocol, principles and values are revealed and reinforced. Those who choose not to be a part of Te Whare-mauokoroa would obviously be engaged in the education offered by other Whare. As already mentioned, the pregnant mother, the new parent, children, adolescents, adults and the elderly could be present as students. The elderly themselves could even be contributors as lecturers, encouraging community reticulation of education. The practice of seamless participation within education is something that reminds me of the interaction I recall with my grandparents, and with many elders of my own tribe. The segregated-type Western structures have always felt foreign to me.

Te Whare-tangata

The first stage in the diagram is regarding pre-natal education and could only be successful with the co-operation of parents intending to dedicate their child to this curriculum. If a child is to achieve their highest potential according to Maaori ideology, then pre-natal education is a necessity. The Whare-tangata is the *waananga* that is the pre-natal receptor of *reo*. Modern research, although not yet mainstream, has highlighted links between advanced learning occurring with infants exposed to pre-natal courses of education. Offering children a head-start in reaching their destination is highlighted in no greater example than Hohepa Delamere,

whose accomplishments were extensive. The content of *oriori* coupled with Te Whare-mauokoroa is the curriculum here. If there is a common theme to *oriori* it is undoubtedly the genealogies and related histories for whom they are composed. *Nau mai e tama* by Tuhotoariki: *Po Po* by Enoke Te Pakaru, *Kia tapu hoki koe* by Hinekitawhiti, *Te Ua-o-te-rangi* by Ripeka Paiatehau, *E tama e* by Te Maperetahi, and so many others that all have these references. *Nau mai e tama* contains references to the *atua* genealogy and therefore starts to introduce the science of the natural world, an order of systemising evolution, and the many theories of origin of practices continued by Maaori over the millennia. Pei Te Hurinui mentions this regarding *oriori*:

The old-time Maori was prone to use compositions of this nature as a means of awakening the interest of the young in the mythology and traditions of his people. From hearing the songs sung repeatedly at an impressionable age and later joining in the singing, the young people would in time begin questioning their elders for the meaning and story behind the words.²⁴⁵

As already noted it is at conception that the *taakuirā* (soul) from Te Whare-o-te-rauroha is implanted, and therefore an eternal connectedness established.

The only formal tuition during this stage is by those who chose to participate within the construct of Te Whare-mauokoroa. If *hui* arise at *marae* or *waananga* of different sorts, then attendance should be encouraged. Further exposure to Maaori language and the environments that those languages are spoken will also be encouraged. *Reo-kaauta* (everyday language) in an everyday context and *reo-toohunga* (esoteric language) spoken at various *hui* on *marae* are equally as important in terms of receptive development. An excellent initiative established outside of the *marae* in Gisborne called Te Whare-taakaro (the ‘house-of-play’), receives funding to operate from a premise where parents opt to bring their pre-school children to play and converse in Maaori language, and was where my wife and youngest child attended in 2000-2001.

Media such as tape, compact discs (cd’s), and television can also be utilised if there is no human resource. These however are no replacement for the human voice. There are frequencies and vibrations of the voice that contribute to receptive learning and cannot be substituted by

²⁴⁵ (1961). *Nga Moteatea, Part II*, Songs collected by A.T.Ngata and translated by P.T.Jones. A.W. & A.H.Reed, Wellington. Introduction. (p.xiv).

simply pressing the button on a mechanical device. The general curriculum of this stage of pre-natal education is, in short, to expose your un-born child to the environments you choose to have them raised in, as if they were already intelligent entities capable of receiving infinite information.

Te Whare-koohanga

The curriculum of post-natal to pre-school care is next. This traditionally would have been the Whare-koohanga. Again Te Whare-mauokoroa is prevalent here, supported by an all important practice of physically introducing the infant to the natural elements. The act of baptising infants in water served many spiritual purposes but also promoted the physical connection of the child with their environment. When individuals find themselves off-centre, out of kilter or off-balance, many *toohunga* that I know have administered a trip to the river, the sea, or traversed the odd mountain range with their patients in order to ‘heal’ the inner-being before dealing with other physical trauma. There is much to be said and learnt of the human relationship to the environment. Today’s concrete jungles are probably a reflection of how far removed humanity is from mother-nature, particularly in a technologically dominated society.

Traditionally this practice (of physical contact) was continued with the back-pack style method used by mothers to carry their infant. Breast-feeding was another obvious yet vital act of promoting mother-child bonds. *Romiromi* is also encouraged here although it is a practice that requires an intense understanding before being administered. The benefits of *romiromi* at an early age are many and include: a greater chance of recovery from ailments at a later age; stronger development of limbs; improved internal energy flows; and promotes bonding between mother and child. With the emergence of the child into Te Ao-tu-roa and Te Tai-a-ao²⁴⁶, an intimate physical prescription with continuing aural exposure is the curriculum necessary to promote the physical, spiritual, mental, and intellectual development of the child at this stage. The word *Koohanga* (*ko-o-hanga*) highlights the reference to the ‘physicalness’ (*hanga* refers to ‘appearance’, ‘shape’, or ‘build’), while ‘o’ emphasises the various ‘elements’ or ‘components’ that contribute to the being that is ‘implanted’ and ‘instilled’ (*ko* means to ‘embed’). *Koohanga* is also reference to a bird’s nest where the same concept is applicable to mother-bird nurturing her young.

²⁴⁶ These terms are metaphors for attaining knowledge.

Te Whare-taikorera

The term Koohanga Reo is a contemporary name applied to pre-school education of Maaori. This traditionally was the Whare-taikorera according to the education of Kura-i-awaawa. The Whare-taikorera and the many games therein were designed to promote the intellectual, emotional, and physical abilities of children. Many of the old Maaori games had a history and some had a genealogy that meant games were encouraged in specific contexts for a designed purpose. One contemporary example has a history from Io and the *atua* Maaori. *Kuirau*, that is 'puzzles' or 'brain teasers' were posed by Rehia²⁴⁷ in order to distract his brothers from constant quarrelling and occasional warfare, hence the curriculum for the Whare-taikorera, that had developed to its current state, albeit theoretical. It is here that the mother and father, brother and sister, and *tohunga* or friends are equally engaged in the holistic educational experiences of the child's learning. Te Kete Pukirikiri from the education model of Tuhoehoe springs to mind here, a *kete* with many handles representing the many teachers expected to contribute to this stage of education. In this instance that is the whole community.

This stage of development is where the child begins to respond intelligently and acquires speech. Therefore a curriculum for challenging and developing language conventions and motor-skills must be implemented here. The current day educational curriculum in schools has a very strong focus on literacy and numeracy. The focus traditionally, however, was on oral development, and I recommend a shift for education in *kaupapa* Maaori to a stronger oral programme, with greater exposure to oral contexts. Reading and writing ought to be continued but the focus for young children to transfer *reo torohuu* (internalised language) to written text form requires a great deal of refined motor-skill. Most children at the ages of five and six can barely catch and throw a ball, so requiring them to perform this skill according to current guidelines while not impossible, is perhaps not vital in developing a rich language base. Recent Western research regarding sensory motor integration and cognition has revealed that:

Through sensory movement activities, connections are made that provide the framework for cognition and more advanced brain development. Brain research also indicates that when a child's motor skills are highly developed, the level of self-esteem increases dramatically. Children become more confident movers and learners.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ A reminder that Rehia is the *atua* of *taakaro*.

²⁴⁸ Excerpt from overview on Sensory Motor Integration and Cognition hosted by Nicki Geigert received 29 April, 2007. Nicki Geigert (M.S.Ed.) is an Education Consultant, and was the Conference Director for the Association for Childhood Education International (ACEI), 2002.

There are also so many other genre that can contribute to language development aside from reading and writing; static images, moving images, language experiences outside the classroom, electronic devices that encourage language interaction, are all waiting to be explored. Language experiences, especially in the shape of traditional *waananga*-based learning, have been a particular approach employed by some Kura Kaupapa Maaori, and an engagement that is being explored to develop and enhance oral language programmes. Of traditional concepts such as weaving with flax (*raaranga harakeke*), making eel-traps (*hiinaki*) and craypots (*taruke*) with supplejack (*pirita*), carving with bone and wood (*whakairo kooiwi* and *raakau*), fishing (*hii ika*), *waka ama*, Maaori medicine (*rongoa*), tapestry (*whatu taaniko*), Nga Mahi-a-Reehia (traditional games) and cloak making (*whatu kaakahu*) all have a rich language vocabulary. At the same time children are engaged in learning the skills, histories and customs pertaining to each genre. Accompanying Maaori incantations (*karakia* and *takutaku*), poetry (*rotarota*), and range of traditional and contemporary songs (*mootetea* and *waiata*) contribute again to the extension of language structures and genre. Each *kura* will have environments unique to their community where language can be experienced. Unfortunately my experiences of current models have seen too many children entering school with poor oral skills, as Koohanganga Reo struggle to employ experienced or qualified early-childhood staff to develop robust language programmes.

Another approach to language experience is multiplicity, a strategy that is such an integral part of so many traditional games. The simple game of spinning tops (*potakataka*) in their various forms required an explorative approach, as best designs were experimented with in order to improve speed or balance while being whipped with strands of flayed flax. Balance and center of gravity was discovered by trial and error and an understanding of physics was developed. Density of different woods and sizes meant different responses, as did different surfaces and so science came into the equation. As tops were then employed in the various racing, jumping, whirling, and bumping games, strategising entered the fray, while the nature of competition meant children learnt the humility of losing or the emotional restraint of winning. The geometry and basic number equations of mathematics were found in many games such as *whai* (string games of which Maaori had developed into an incredibly intricate art), *taatai whetu* (astronomy), and more advanced examples with construction of *paa* (fortified villages), *waka* (single and double-hulled canoes), *raakau riri* (weapons), cooking and hunting implements, various *whare* (edifices for living and storage purposes), *whakairo* and *raranga* (carving and weaving), *whatu kaakahu* (tapestry for traditional clothing) and so much more. Attitudes and

values as part of a modern curriculum are addressed via *tikanga* and *kawa* that act as measures for respect required for these tasks, that is accorded to the task at hand, and the environment from where resources are acquired. The need to work collectively in games or as a party in construction addresses elements of team-work, co-operation, leadership and community. All the while oral language is being reinforced in a vast range of contexts. Multiplicity itself is a vital mathematical concept, and that is exactly what these activities promote. The physical nature of the activities in all games also meant that dexterity was promoted via the constant engagement of motor-skills.

These are but a few examples of how traditional activities can be employed and implemented in order to provide at the least, a rich language environment for this facet of education as a start to rejuvenating the vibrant nature that once was, and thus allow Maaori to contribute beyond current conventions to a modern society. Further consideration outside of Kaupapa Maaori within Mainstream or bilingual schools or units while remote, is certainly a possibility, especially when considering an indigenous theory of child development. Again, this education is concurrent with Te Whare-mauokoroa.

- Te Whare-anoano

By the age of 7 a child's motor-skills and intellectual capacity have matured in the supportive multifarious environment of Te Whare-taikorera and Te Whare-mauokoroa. Now comes a time where the talent or natural tendency of the child identified in Te Whare-mauokoroa is catered to, under the tutelage of a more skill-specific group of educators. As mentioned *anoano* implies a curriculum of high repetition of whatever the identified skill is. Children with a talent for recall will be fed a greater body of oral histories, language genre such as *moteatea*, *haka*, *takutaku*, *karakia* and so on; those with a talent for problem solving will enter into a world of engineering, construction and design; others with exceptional physical skills will be ushered into a training schedule of physical education or engagements relevant to this stage of development. The principle here is whatever the latent talent or skill of the child, broader and deeper development is undertaken and repeated until the acquisition of that skill is undeniably intrinsic or instinctive.

- Te Whare-noa

Te Whare-noa as already stated pertains to exploring and understanding the original customs, traditions and practices of yesteryear beyond rhetoric, by allowing one to do so free from

constraint or restriction of *tapu*. It delves into the depths of linguistic nuances beyond the syntax of language genre and conventions; into the intricacies of anatomy beyond grappling holds; into the philosophies of *taiaha* beyond the physical elements of being able to parry or strike; into the science of metaphysics beyond just being able to recite incantations or philosophise cosmogony; into the lore of universal paradigms beyond maintaining knowledge of your own tribal histories; or into the hieroglyphics of *whakairo* beyond being able to carve their design. Te Whare-noa is in essence, investigating the source of knowledge according to Maaori tradition in preparation for the individual's destined vocation within the Whare-waananga or Whare-aitu, or any one of the many Whare where they would eventually graduate as a *tohunga*. Beyond the repetitive engagement of Te Whare-anoano and skill-acquisition is the understanding of the histories, comprising philosophies and epistemologies that is the curriculum of Te Whare-noa.

Nga Whare-maatauranga

I have opted to employ this name as a modern reference to encompass all traditional Whare of higher learning. *Maatauranga* translates as 'of clear understanding' (*maatau*) in ones field or vocation, a term widely used today as a translation for 'education' or in reference to someone learned (*he tangata maatauranga*). Whare-maatauranga therefore is the institution that offers education that is exclusive to graduants of Te Whare-noa. Individuals who have acquired basic skills and general knowledge of martial arts for example now enter into a realm of knowledge that is strictly exclusive, taught only to those who have been educated within that environment since time known. I assume that this was how Maaori maintained the most *tapu* of lore pertaining to their respective art and could possibly lend to understanding the void of aspects of knowledge between the general populous and *tohunga* or *ruahine*. As mentioned earlier however Te Kura seems to have been the only institution with an all encompassing curriculum. The tutors of this Whare would be considered the most learned of whatever field of education that is being offered. An equivalent comparison could be made with university lecturers who would have been exposed to an array of experiences that would have helped shape their knowledge and delivery of knowledge. In a traditional context these would be *tohunga*, not necessarily *kaumaatua*, but certainly conferred by the *hapuu* or *iwi*, and some would have been *kaumaatua*. There are as already explained modern day *tohunga* or *ruahine* that communities, *hapuu* and *iwi* have access to and would undoubtedly be considered for inclusion in this educational context by *whaanau*. A relevant element of this process is the obvious reticulation of knowledge of the *hapuu* and *iwi*. The modern brain-drain phenomenon highlights a no-

obligation construct where students can choose not to return to the institutions or communities that contributed to their knowledge base. Reticulation among Maaori communities however is still a relatively strong practice, and I envisage that the employment of noted experts will consequently maintain or lead to further growth of this practice.

This degree of expertise of full time providers or teachers would be determined by *whaanau* (that is the Board of Trustees) according to the availability and access of human resources available. The format or structure of tuition and progression to a graduate level would also be determined, as would the curriculum. The guideline of 21 years as a traditional guideline is just that, and in a modern context may well work within existing structures of Whare-waananga or tertiary educational institutions with their own tribal based philosophies. The structure I believe of equivalent traditional-based milestones or assessments would easily be placed among modern degree structures. Being accepted by the wider academic fraternity would ultimately be validated by society as graduates start to assert themselves as valuable contributors to all aspects of society, assuming all components of the educational continuum of this structure were successful. There are many contemporaries of traditional Maaori knowledge who have created their respective careers based on their home-grown knowledge. Regardless of levels of progression in whatever vocation, traditional purposes of Whare (that is as institutions with specific curriculum and stages of progression to identify levels of attainment and knowledge), and recognition of knowledge attained can be reconstructed in a modern context based on traditional applications such as those highlighted in the above examples. Under Whare-maatauranga is all higher education and related philosophies that prepare the student to tackle challenges to develop or maintain economical, spiritual, emotional, cultural, political or metaphysical paradigms of society.

9.4 ASSESSING LEARNING OF TE WHARE-OOHIA

Two major challenges exist here for *whanau* in implementing this curriculum. The first is defining the curriculum and planning its multifarious nature. My recommendation would be to look at *waananga*-based approaches that will start to expose best practices, that is, praxis, where practice lends to developing theories for creating better practices. The second challenge is that of monitoring learning for assessment and purposes of reporting. This will be a whole new field in this context. Aligning approaches with the current National Maori Assessment initiative for Maaori assessment could be a pathway to development. The Tuhoe Education Authority has already developed cultural-friendly approaches that could just as easily be

described as children and teacher friendly; easy to use, easy to administer, and easy to identify learning points for progressive planning.²⁴⁹ Traditional assessment methods have been discussed within some Whare, the underlying principle obviously being milestones as measures of learning and subsequent progression. There are some stories of current day assessments that have been undertaken by people I know of aligned to traditional methods of assessment. Some are of a metaphysical nature, while others are far more practical tasks of completed arts, physical tests, reciting of incantation, genealogy, or *moteatea*, oral tests of *whaikoorero*, *karanga* and so on. While possibly not as stringent as it may have been traditionally, the *maauri* and *tapu* is maintained. I see no reason why these should not be a continued part of Te Whare-oohia, while intergrating more modern constructs of assessment tools. Te Wananga-o-Raukawa employs a marae-based approach to assessment for oral language papers and I believe in essence, is an excellent model. The continued application by graduates of this methodology will undoubtedly see them represented in wider arenas of society.

CONCLUSION

Tribal Whare-waananga and curriculum therein have offered vignettes of traditional knowledge providing a multi-view for *whaanau* to contemplate, probably not so much by *iwi* with models already in motion, but moreso for others with consideration to enhancing a philosophical base for Maaori education such as that of Te Aho Matua for Kura Kauupapa Maaori. Of all educational environments, *kura* was an institution with an all-encompassing curriculum known by the Taranaki people as Te Kura-mai-i-Hawaiiiki, referred to by Tuhoe as Te Kura Huna, and conveyed in full within Te Kura-i-awaawa by Hohepa Delamere from Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Te Kura engaged in meta-physics with a comprehensive understanding of the *whatumanawa*, and Io as the gateway to understanding *whatumanawa*.

The understanding of *whatumanawa* by Maaori is nigh forgotten, although the practice is occassionally glimpsed in individuals in varying arenas. The state of *whatumanawa* is attained when one is able to neutralise their state of mind, shut-down, so to speak, and listen to their subconscious without question or expectation. It is a state attained when one is void of self-interest, ego, anger, self-consciousness or absolution, but is instead abound with infinite possibility and love. In short one is in the pre-emptive moment of enlightenment. The

²⁴⁹ Seminar with Teina Boasa-Dean, Te Rewarewa Marae, Ruatoki, 18 January 2007.

whatumanawa from within Kura-i-awaawa is practiced by those who were part of the education imparted by Hohepa Delamere before his untimely departure, continued within the realms of their respective vocations. For my comparatively small part it is here within education, where *whatumanawa* will be the guiding ethos of all education within Te Whare-oohia.

The philosophy of Te Whare-oohia is about unselfishly imparting knowledge. An understanding and subsequent practice of *whatumanawa* allows individuals to express themselves and more importantly be understood. When however, emotions that cloud the spiritual connection to the *whatumanawa* are dominant, the mind overrides the honourable intentions or chooses to ignore the wonder that is present. With most children it is almost a natural part of their being to frequently engage the *whatumanawa*. Adult conventions and paradigms however, that are comprised of too many suppressive boundaries rarely allow this phenomenon an opportunity to flourish. *Whatumanawa* must not be interpreted as allowing the child to conveniently do as they like. While Io-te-haumana initiates the pathway toward enlightenment, Io-te-puuranga is the primary state of organisation; Io-te-puuranga is the ‘infinite organiser’ for establishing the basis of attainment, and demands structure and focus. With *whatumanawa* as an ethos of Te Whare-oohia the intention is to provide guidance to allow *whatumanawa* to remain predominant, allowing children to attain their full potential and consequently reach their ultimate destination. *Whatumanawa* is a phenomenon that has remained discreet, but perhaps with the advent of a Green and Maaori political renaissance, *whatumanawa* will feel safe to once again become a natural occurrence in modern society. A natural environment for *whatumanawa* to flourish is where it is most readily accepted, that I suggest, is with children.

The wonder of Kura and Whare has long been maintained underground to the disadvantage of those excluded, children in particular. The renaissance of tempered yet unrestrained traditional Maaori education would at the least be exciting, but at the most, contribute to realising unbound potential.

Ko Io te kaaupapa
 Ko Io ngaa take roa
 Ko Io te maurongo whai aahua
 Ko Io te mata-ao
 Ko Io te puutahi a te rongo
 Ko Io te awhenga ki te ao
 Ko Io te whare taitapu
 Ko Io te maurea papatahi
 Ko Io te riponga taurere
 Ko Io te manawaroa e manawa taea nei
 Ko Io te hahau a te tiitoki ki te ao nei
 Poupoua ki te Whare-oohia
 Ngaa keakea ki te whenua tauaarongo nei
 Titiaa ki ngaa ao tuamarau e tau nei
 Maakerekere ko ngaa ohiohinga tuakere
 He tauroa te nukunuku he taurere te matarau
 Oohia ngaa kaponga kia kua e maturuturu kei konei te pure hau
 Ka haramai taku noa ki te whare e kore te tauriki e rongo ki toona korekore
 He wairau te pounamu ki ngaa aparua kei hea te maaramatanga a te taepo tukutuku
 Hoki mai ki uta, noho mai kia tata kei te whei ao te heke ruarua
 Maa wai raa e tau rima eenei nukunuku
 Kei te whai ao ngaa maaramatanga ki te tuaro
 Mauria ko te wai taahea ki te whare tuputupu aa Rangi
 Ka taea ki te hopu i ngaa rere puu iho
 Tau mai ki teenei taha ko te mariu
 Tau mai ki teenei taha ko ngaa taketake uruao
 Huri mai huri atu ka kore te ao e tuohu
 Haramai taku rea ki te ohuohu nei
 Naau e Io Matarangi ee....²⁵⁰

²⁵⁰ This completes the opening stanza in the introduction, which is the first verse of the *takutaku whatumanawa*.

Appendix 1 (from p.17)

Names of Io from Te Matorohanga:

Io-nui	Io-the-great-god-over-all
Io-roa	Io-the-enduring (or everlasting)
Io-matua	Io-the-all-parent (omniparent)
Io-te-wananga	Io-of-all-knowledge (omnierudite)
Io-te-taketake	Io-the-origin-of-all-things (the one true god)
Io-tamaua-take	Io-the-immutable
Io-te-Toi-o-nga-rangi	Io-the-summit-of-heavens
Io-mata-putahi	Io-the-god-of-one-command
Io-mata-ngaro	Io-the-hidden-face
Io-mata-wai	Io-god-of-love
Io-mata-aho	Io-only-in-a-flash-of-light
Io-te-hau-e-rangi	Io-presiding-in-all-heavens
Io-tikitiki-o-rangi	Io-the-exalted-of-heaven
Io-matua-kore	Io-the-parentless (self created)

These two names are from Pohuhu's teaching: -

Io-te-waiora	Io-the-life-giving
Io-te-whiwhia	Io-who-renders-not-to-man-that-which-he-witholds ²⁵¹

²⁵¹ *The Lore of the Whare-wananga, Te Kauwaerunga.*, pp.110-111.

Appendix 2 (from p.23)

Whakapapa of creation pantheon according to Pei Te Hurinui Jones.

	Io	
	Te Whetu	
Te Ra	┌───────────┐	Tau-ana-te-marama
Ao-nui		Te Po-nui
Ao-roa		Te Po-roa
Ao-papa-kina		Te-po-papa-kina
Ao-ki-tua		Te-po-ki-tua
Ao-ki-roto		Te-po-ki-roto
Ao-ki-tawhiti		Te-po-ki-tawhiti
Ao-ruru		Te-po-ruru
Ao-aio		Te-po-aio
Ao-whero		Te-po-whero
Ao-ma		Te-po-ma
Ao-pango		Te-po-pango
Ao-whaka-rito		Te-po-whaka-rito
Ao-kumea		Te-po-kumea
Ao-i-runga		Te-po-i-runga
Ao-ki-raro		Te-po-i-raro
Ao-ki-katau		Te-po-ki-katau
Ao-ki-maui		Te-po-ki-maui
Rangi-nui-e-tu-iho-nei		Papa-tu-a-nuku ²⁵²

²⁵² Jones, P.T.H.(1898-1976). *Mareikura-Io*. Microfilm of MS-Papers-5220, folders 86-94. MS-Copy-Micro-0698-15. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Appendix 3 (from p.42)

Names of Io extracted from the *whatumanawa takutaku*, and other *takutaku*:

Io te korekore	Io Purehurehu	Io te puuranga
Io Haupaea-uruuru	Io nga matuhake	Io a Tutekoherehere
Io a Utematauhipaerangi	Io Uaa	Io Tau
Io Tauherenui	Io Matatauroa	Io Puretake
Io Ohuohurei	Io Hapaitake	Io Ngaatahi
Io Mauroa-ahuahu	Io Waaurunga	Io Panukunuku
Io Mamao-te-tawhito	Io Kawetahi	Io Matataiao
Io Uetakeaa	Io Matua kore	Io te rongorongo
Io te Utake	Io Matarongorongo	Io Matakohokohe
Io Rauroha Matarau	Io Purongo-te-mautahi	Io te pukenga
Io Matarangi	Io Rangi	Io Nui
Io Roa	Io te rumaha	Io te puuhua
Io te kaauupapa	Io ngaa take roa	Io te maurongo
Io te mata-ao	Io te puutahi a te rongo	Io te awhenga ki te ao
Io te whare taitapu	Io te maurea papatahi	Io te riponga taurere
Io te manawaroa	Io te hahau a te tiitoki	Io te wairanga
Io te ahuranga	Io te nukunuku	Io te ahurei
Io te puutahi	Io te puunahi	Io te puurewa
Io te puukaha	Io Whakarea-onetanga ²⁵³	

²⁵³ *Waananga* with Hohepa Delamere, Whitianga Bay, Te Whanau-a-Apanui. January 2004.

Appendix 4

Names of *atua* Hine extracted from the *whatumanwa takutaku*:

Hine-turama	Hine-moana	Hine-kirikiri
Hine-oho-mai-rangi	Hine-te-wai-ora	Hine-ko-wairangi
Hinerau-a-moa	Hine-rau-mata	Hine-raumaha
Hine-rautahi	Hine-kua-raurau	Hine-wai-rongorongono
Hine-raumea	Hine-puroa	Hine-raukiri
Hine-mauri	Hine-tapa-i-reia	Hine-te-ponu
Hine-te-maumata	Hine-keira	Hine-tua-oro
Hine-te-waiuruuru	Hine-aro	Hine-tua-whiti
Hine-marama	Hine-tairoa	Hine-waikeri
Hine-oneone	Hine-pukohu(rangi)	Hine-makohu(rangi)

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