Te Whare Runanga:
The House of Learning

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Abstract

The title of "whare runanga" has been chosen from the many names given to the Maori meeting house to emphasis the aspects of learning and the retaining of knowledge within and around the building. Most accounts of pre-European whare runanga have been written by early European who were greatly influences by the intellectual thinking of their time. Non-Maori writing about Maori will always fall short of an accurate interpretation of the concepts and traditions of Maori because the two cultures have developed from different value systems and paradigms. As a result, in the early accounts there is no linkage made between the whare and its cultural practices and the cosmological or spiritual beliefs practiced by Maori.

The whare runanga as we know it today is recent development combining elements of the pre-contact chiefs house and the guest-house. This building is the focal point of Maori tribal, ancestral, chiefly, and spiritual values. The whare's structure and ornamentation are very much influenced by the Maori cosmological philosophy and as such is a prominent link to Maori ancestry and atua. This explanation stems from the celestial origin of the whare with its kawa and symbolism.

This thesis explores the symbolism associated with the whare and the role it plays in the preservation of genealogy and cosmological lore. It analyses the protocols and processes carried out as part of the function from within a matauranga Maori context.

Nga Kupu Whakatau

Tihei Mauri ora. Te mea tuatahi maku e whakahonere ki a Io, Io-nui, Io-taketake, Io-matua, Io-wananga. Ki a koe te matapuna o te ora, te putake o te matauranga kei roto i te tikitiki-o-rangi, tena koe. Papatuanuku kei waho ra, te whaea me te nohonga o nga uri katoa, te puehu tapu, takoto mai. Ka huri atu oku whakaaro ki nga matua tupuna, ki a ratau ma i whiti atu i te paerau whakamutunga, ki tera taha o te wharangi-rau-angiangi, ki a ratau i wehe atu mai te ara-tiatia-a-Tane-nui-a-rangi, ahakoa ka oti ai ta ratau hikoi ki roto i tenei ao kikokiko ka inoi atu ra ki te Atua mo matau nei nga uri. Haere atu ra koutou, haere atu ra.

Ka huri aku mihi ki nga ahorangi o te Putahi-a-toi. Ki te tumuaki, te poutokomanawa o te kura wananga Meihana Durie, kaore he kupu hei whakaatu taku miharo mo o whakaaro rangatira. Heoi, ma te Atua koe e manaaki. Ki toku kaihautu, toku pouwhirinaki, ki a koe Monty Soutar. E whakawhetai ana au i a koe i to awhina, i to tohutohu, i to whakawhanui i taku kaupapa. Tena koe.

Ki a koutou, nga morehu, nga toto, nga pu korero i te mahi rangahau nei tena koutou. Ki a koe Herewini Jones, tetahi o nga morehu o te kura wananga. Ko te tumanako e whai atu i o kupu tika "Ratohia te taha wairua, kei reira te oranga mo te iwi Maori". No reira tena koe. Kei te pera hoki taku mihi ki te puna matauranga Tame Winitana, tena koutou ko tou whanau, tena koutou.

E kore e mutu nga mihi ki a koutou nga kaihapai: Te Kanawa Pitiroi, Pita Sharples, Hone Meha, Tekiato Fitzgerald, William K. Wallace, Nihipora Wallace, Phillip McArthur, Max Stanton, Grant Underwood, Nephi Prime, Kim me Rahira Makekau, John TeRangiita, Michele Lee, Karewa Shelford, Hori Kaka, Boyde me Fay Campbell, Hohepa Delemere, Te Waitere me Timoti Pahi. Tena koutou.

E toku hoa rangatira, me aku tamariki, kei runga nera atu koutou.

Ka piki atu aku korero ki nga whare e tu mai i runga i te whenua nei. Nga kawai tangata, nga kaitiaki o nga tohu tapu, nga kaitiaki o te poporingaringa o nga matua tupuna hoki. I te wao nui o Tane e tu ana engari inaianei ko Tane whakapiripiri koutou. No reira tu tonu tu tonu tu tonu.

Ka huri.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The well-known Maori anthropologist, Te Rangi Hiroa explained that the "*whare whakairo* formed the peak of Maori architectural development and, as every tribe had its expert builders, many differences occurred in technical details and in the terms applied to the various parts."[1] The Maori building referred to throughout Aotearoa as the whare whakairo (carved house), whare tipuna (ancestral house), whare nui (the great meeting house), or whare runanga (the sacred house of learning, the house of council)[2] is seen as complementary to every marae on which they stand. Both the building and marae are treated as highly tapu places of learning, as they are the "chiefly place where the heights of Maoridom and its values are expressed".[3] Both the marae and whare runanga originate from an institution that has its foundations in the pre-European society.[4]

The whare runanga has been the focal point of the ancestral, tribal, chiefly, and spiritual values for every village or community.[5] Writers like Alan Taylor (*The Maori Builds,* 1966) give descriptions of the whare runanga as "the most spectacular" of all the "wide variety of [Maori] buildings". Taylor adds that "these communal meeting houses are considered the most elaborate of buildings found in Pacific cultures."[6] But to Maori people the building is much more than a remarkable representation of architecture, much more than a showpiece of cultural artisans. The building is a direct link to their past. Tribal assemblies within these buildings are seen as "meeting within the bosom of [an] ancestor",[7] with rich symbolism contained in the building structure amid each of the works of art to sustain this frame of reference. It is therefore no surprise that a desire to understand these buildings and the representative artwork has been an ambition of many aspiring students and teachers of Maori culture.

With a falling Maori population from European contact through to 1900 all aspects of Maori development similarly declined. The corresponding decline in master carvers in Aotearoa prompted Sir Apirana Ngata, with Hiroa, to establish the Maori Arts and Crafts school in 1926 to assist "in perpetuating Maori architectural arts".[8] In the 1940s while

Maori population and cultural interest were growing, the foundations of a similarly defined establishment in Hawai'i had its simple beginnings. The Polynesian Cultural Centre would eventuate and within it would stand Te Aroha o Te Iwi Maori, a fully carved whare runanga. Although this Maori meeting house is historically relatively young and the marae on which the building stands is contemporary, the significance lies in the fact it was carved at a time of cultural resurgence[9] with the resolution to "preserve and portray the culture, arts and crafts"[10] of Aotearoa as a key objective behind its construction.

As a cultural artisan working within the marae on which Te Aroha o te Iwi Maori stood, I became greatly intrigued by the cultural significance of a whare runanga to Maori. So much so that I have returned to Aotearoa to study and be exposed to more first hand experiences. The whare runanga is an edifice that has a direct link to Maori ancestry and cosmology.[11] The practice of constructing these meeting houses today is "indicative of the renaissance going on in the Maori world, and the revival of many traditional cultural practices."[12] Yet very little information has been documented on the varieties of symbolic artwork within the whare and the cultural practises prescribed through them.

Throughout my lifetime I have attended numerous tangihanga (funerals), hui (gatherings), and wananga (learning seminars) held in whare runanga throughout the country. As a Maori student I have often contemplated what the building structure and artwork represented. What are the interpretations and the links to the Maori cosmology? What are the governing factors of protocols and customs witnessed in and around the whare runanga?

As a result of this growing interest, I have formed three questions around which I have shaped this research:

i. To what extent did Maori cosmological beliefs affect the architecture of the whare runanga and its ornamentation?

ii. What are the interpretations associated with the whare structure and the various structural artworks?

iii. What customary beliefs, practises and protocols do Maori engage in as a result of these interpretations?

1.2 Layout

In addressing these questions the thesis has the following layout:

Introduction: Chapter one will summarize the background and identify the projected outcomes of the study.

Chapter 2 -Literature Review: This section will examine key literary sources on the topic of the whare runanga. Critical assessment here will expose the strengths and weaknesses of both non-Maori and Maori writers. As in all topics explored and recorded by early settlers, historians and ethnographers the confinement to the western educations, anthropological and philosophical theories of their era will be identified.

Chapter 3 - Matauranga Maori: This overview of Matauranga Maori will be an introduction to the background into the Maori philosophies and cosmology. This will also identify the genealogy that Maori give to all living things and practices, including the whare runanga.

Chapter 4 - The Whare Runanga Cosmology: Chapter four will address the first research question and will identify the extent to which the cosmological beliefs of Maori influenced the architecture of the whare runanga and its ornamentation.

Chapter 5 - The Portrayal - Te Whakaahuatanga: Chapter five will deal with the second research question examining the whare structure, several of the various artworks and interpretations associated with them.

Chapter 6 - Kawa o te Marae: Chapter six addresses the third research question, namely the customary beliefs, practices and protocols that Maori engage in both within and around the whare runanga, as a result of these interpretations.

Chapter 7 - Conclusion: This will be the main conclusion in relation to the goals of the paper. The conclusion will also evaluate the effectiveness of the paper, identify the limitations, and recommend future studies.

1.3 Limitations

The thesis is limited to a study of the Maori philosophical aspects of the whare runanga and it's protocols. This will permit a greater concentration on the matauranga Maori and cosmology aspects of the whare runanga without having to explore the history, constructional methods, carving/artwork styles, and modern day resurgence in master carvers and whare building. These, as well as other, related topics are important components of the whare runanga that could qualify as independent topics of study on their own.

As in all Maori topics there is a limitation to giving a fully representative Maori view. The study will endeavour to portray and acknowledge the many tribal variations of interpretation, and take into consideration the multi-tribal connections of writers and informants. However the writer acknowledges that this practice may be misinterpreted as confusing or jumbling tribal traditions and recognises that this practice may attract unfavourable judgment. The writer acknowledges his living experiences in the Ngati Tuwharetoa region, his Ngati Kahungunu and Ngai Tuhoe tribal backgrounds and cultural experiences within the whare runanga Te Aroha o te Iwi Maori in Hawai'i and will identify traditions from these areas to exemplify important factors.

A third limitation stems from the fact that this is a written study. In respect of conducting research, Maori traditions today are still found within our tohunga, and kaumatua, who are

the keepers of the culture. Much has been recorded in books but in its purest form the culture is found in the mouths of the people, "[t]his is because oral testimony, in its broadest sense, is accepted as Maori reality, and has always been so. As a consequence, all important components of a tribal past . . . are readily acknowledged as valid history because such traditions are constantly maintained within vigorous oral forms like tauparapara, whaikorero and waiata."[13] This written report cannot portray the essence of human interaction and relationships between Maori and the whare runanga. It cannot communicate the feeling of walking onto a marae during powhiri or expose the reader to the sites, sounds and feelings of participating in ritual encounters within the whare runanga. The writer also acknowledges the limitation of writing this study in the English language instead of in Maori and knows that full meaning and unbroken completeness cannot be obtained through this medium.

> *No reira, e kui ma, e koro ma, kaore he kupu hei whakahua i taku whakama i roto i tenei ahuatanga. Aroha mai.*

1.4 History

Historically, Maori existed in a world in which their past was frequently recreated, by ritual encounters, through dialogue and artwork. The whare runanga is the personification of this reality. Prior to European contact it is uncertain how many whare runanga existed or just how much interior ornamentation the Maori houses possessed.[14] Certain writers "have gone so far as to suggest that decorated houses did not exist before the introduction of steel tools."[15] However, in 1769, Captain James Cook recorded houses on the East Coast of Aotearoa as being "ornimented with carv'd woork".[16] The whare runanga has always played an important part in tribal history and in the preservation of genealogy and lore. Confusion arises as seekers of Maori history are confined to historical analysis that has for the most part been interpreted by non-Maori writers.

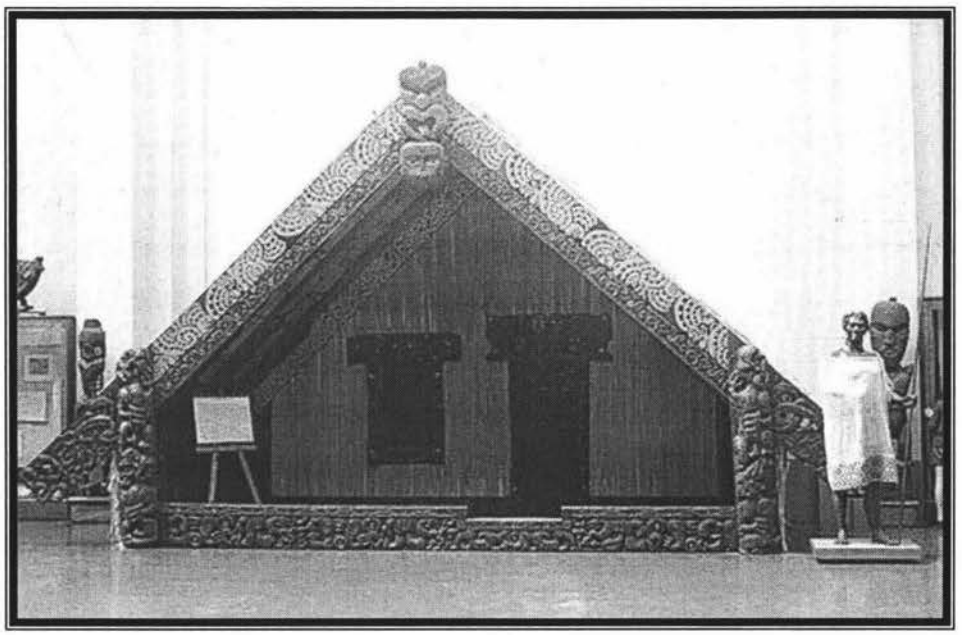


Fig 1. Te-Hau-ki-Turanga 'A Rare Masterpiece' National Museum, Wellington
(Source: http://www.humboldt.edu/~rwj1/MAORI/mauri025s.html)

For all non-Maori gazing into the Maori world there are few who are able to fully grasp the Maori cultural intellect. Europeans writing about Maori will always fall short of understanding Maori culture because the two cultures have developed from different value systems and paradigms. Whenever a writer from one culture records the culture of another problems first arise when they attempt to express the culture of either in the language of the other.[17] Salmond explains "the Maori world is anything but simple. And an outsider, however well trained, will in a lifetime still have difficulty in understanding its conceptions; . . ."[18] This is perhaps why the knowledge surrounding taonga like the whare runanga were so jealously guarded by those who held it. Many, even today, are still reluctant to give key information out. Once knowledge of a sacred nature comes into man's possession, from tohunga or ancestors, the task is to pass it down to subsequent generations in such a way that its mana and tapu remain intact. In days past this meant that such "knowledge was, and sometimes still is, taught in seclusion, often in the dark and well away from food, women, and other external influences. All the relationships with gods,

ancestors and man, had to be tika or properly ordered when such knowledge was passed on."[19] It is very unlikely that the non-Maori settlers, missionaries, and scholars would have received the matauranga surrounding the whare runanga, thus weakening records and confusing accounts in this area of study.

In former times the whare runanga was a colossal undertaking and would have resulted from years of organization and preparation to complete.[20] Makereti stated that "great care had to be taken not to pollute [the] tapu, as the house was under the care of the gods. Preparations for such a building would . . . [sometimes exceed eight years] . . . before the actual building was commenced"[21]. The main building in a village that was used for village gatherings, chiefly councils, and hosting guests was typically the chief's house. The marae where people would come to weep for the deceased and welcome guests, the place of rich oratory, poetry, and music "was the ground in front of the chief's house."[22] Today through sizable Maori communities with artisans, machinery, and resources these ceremonial centres are a familiar feature of the Aotearoa landscape. Salmond estimates the number of marae with whare to be around 1000 throughout the country.[23]

1.5 Intent

Contemporary Maori academics have expressed strong disapproval of the mono-cultural records, which lack understanding of Maori knowledge. As a result many have advocated the keeping of Maori or bicultural records that clearly recognise Maori thinking and social customs. In 1943 Sir Apirana Ngata wrote in a letter to Timutimu Tawhai, of the need to record the Maori interpretation of knowledge. In this plea Ngata alluded to the anxiety of loosing the oral traditions. Ngata wrote:

> The time has past, when the heirlooms and treasures of Maori culture can be hidden in the memories of a fond few or in laboriously compiled manuscripts dedicated to descendants, who may never prize them. They can be forgotten, my friend, and lost. And they should not be lost. So you and I and others should have them kept, as the Pakeha keeps his records and knowledge, in print on bookshelves, that those who care may read and learn.[24]

Very little work has been done on the whare runanga exploring the interpretations of the

Maori cosmology. I have not come across any work that shows in depth Maori knowledge of the cultural customs practised in or around the whare runanga. I therefore propose to take a bicultural approach using matauranga Maori from within Maori oral traditions and Maori written accounts alongside the written records of non-Maori to explore this topic of study.

[1] Hiroa, T. (1977). *The Coming of the Maori.* Wellington, N.Z.: Whitcoulls Limited. pp. 122.

[2] For the purpose of this paper the title "whare runanga" will be used to emphasis the aspects of learning and the retaining of knowledge within and around the building.

[3] Tauroa, H & P. (1986). *Te Marae: A guide to customs & Protocol.* Auckland, N.Z.:Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd. pp. 18

[4] Walker, R. (1992) 'Marae: A Place to Stand'. In M. King (Ed.). *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga* (pp. 15-27). Auckland: Reed books. pp. 21.

[5] Simmons, D. R. (1997) *Te Whare Runanga, The Maori meeting house.* Auckland, N. Z.: Reed Publishing Ltd. pp. 8.

[6] Taylor, A. (1966) *The Maori Builds.* Whitcombe and Tomb limited, New Zealand. 1966. pp. 10

[7] Walker, R. 1975. pp. 22.

[8] Brown, D. 'The Architecture of the School of Maori Arts and crafts', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS),* 108 No. 3 (Sept 1999), pp. 266.

[9] Makekau, Kim. Personal communications, March 2002.

[10] *The Polynesian Cultural Center: Mission Statement*, March 2002, [online], URL: http://polynesia.com/aloha/history/mission.shtml

[11] Barlow, C. (1991). *Tikanga Whakaaro, Key concepts in Maori culture.* Auckland: Oxford University Press, New Zealand, pp. 179.

[12] ibid,. pp. 181.

[13] Keenan, Danny. (1994) "By word of Mouth ...: the past from the paepae", in *Historical News,* no. 69, pp. 4.

[14] Barrow, T. (1984) *An Illustrated Guide to Maori Art.* Auckland: Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, pp. 67.

[15] Barrow, T. (1965) *A Guide to the Maori Meeting House - Te Hau-Ki-Turanga.* Wellington: Dominion Museum, New Zealand, pp. 13.

[16] Cook, J, 1769, cited in Barrow, T. (1965) *A Guide to the Maori Meeting House - Te Hau-Ki-Turanga.* Wellington: Dominion Museum, New Zealand, pp. 13

[17] Williams, D. (1997). *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on Matauranga Maori and Taonga - The Nature and Extent of Treaty Rights held by Iwi and Hapu in Indigenous Flora and Fauna Cultural Objects Valued Traditional Knowledge* (Wai 262). Wellington, New Zealand. pp. 12.

[18] Salmond, A. 'The Study of Traditional Maori Society: The State of the Art'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* 92 (3), (1983). pp. 311.

[19] ibid,. pp. 319.

[20] Barrow, T. (1965) pp. 15.

[21] Makereti. (1986). *The Old-time Maori.* Auckland, N.Z. : New Women's Press. pp. 290.

[22] Simmons, D. R. *Te Whare Runanga, The Maori meeting house.* Auckland, N. Z.: Reed Publishing Ltd, 1997. pp. 9

[23] Salmond, A. *Hui, A study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings.* Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Books Publishing (NZ) Ltd. 1976. pp. 31.

[24] Ngata, A. T. (1943) *The Price of Citizenship*. Wellington, pp. 5

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Aim

This chapter will examine key literary sources on the topic of the whare runanga. Critical assessment will highlight the strengths and weaknesses of both non-Maori and Maori writers. As in all early topics explored and recorded by early settlers, historians and ethnographers, the influence of western education, anthropological and philosophical theories of their era will be identified.

2.2 Early recordings

Prior to 1930, apart from a few annotations added to a text , there are an indefinite number of small recordings on the whare runanga. One of the first written accounts of whare runanga was on October 28, 1769 by Sir Joseph Banks, on the first voyage to the South Seas by Captain James Cook (1768-1771). In Tolaga Bay, Banks recorded a house "so much superior in size to any thing of the kind we have met with in any other part of the land. It was 30 feet in length . . . the sides of it were ornamented with many broad carvd planks of a workmanship superior to any we saw upon the land".[1] This building would not have been an ordinary dwelling house which "were seldom more than 18 to 20 feet long, 8 to 10 feet broad, and 5 to 6 feet high from the ground to the ridgepole. The framing was generally slender sticks and both walls and roof were covered with dried grass very tightly put together." [2] There were no carvings on these houses. The one seen by Banks was probably the house of one of the local chiefs, or a whare runanga where tribal discussions would take place, the kind of houses from which our modern day whare runanga have developed.

Successive non-Maori settlers from 1769 to the 1890's have recorded their own experiences and interpretations of Maori and their customs. In 1845 George Grey was required by the British Government to take on the role of Governor of Aotearoa. Through discontented experiences with translators Grey became proficient in the Maori language to

communicate personally with the chiefs. In doing so Grey became acquainted with fragments of ancient poems and proverbs which the chiefs often used to explain their views and intentions.[3] In the subsequent years as Governor Grey produced his publications *Ko nga moteatea, me nga hakirara o nga Maori : he mea kohikohi mai* (1853) *Nga mahi a nga tupuna* (1854) and *Polynesian mythology and ancient traditional history of the New Zealand race, as furnished by their priests and chiefs* (1855). Grey's works are a celebrated part of early recordings of Maori history and culture including fine insights into the Maori mythology surrounding the whare runanga. In particular, the legends of "Kae's theft of the whale" and "Whakatau and Hine-i-te-iwaiwa" which both give reference and insights into the great whare "Te Tihi-o-manono".[4] Notwithstanding this, the emergence of ethnocentrism is apparent from the outset as Grey explains "that the religious faith of the races who trust in them is absurd is a melancholy fact."[5]

After Grey John White, who was selected as the compiler of the official history of the Maori at that time, made a marked contribution to the literature on Maori history. He produced six volumes of *The Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythology and Religions.* White's characteristic input into the recorded history of the Maori has received mixed reviews. Non Maori scholars have been impressed with White's ability to translate classical Maori, whereas other reviews were not so supportive, particularly on the topic of Maori buildings.

Elsdon Best in his Dominion Museum monograph number 6, *The Maori School of Learning, Its Objects, Methods, and Ceremonial,* criticised White's conclusion that separate buildings were used by the ancient Maori for teaching different subjects.[6] White gives descriptions from Ngai Tahu of one or more buildings of considerable size, "from sixty to ninety feet long, and from eighteen to thirty feet broad" in each village where the arts associated with agriculture were taught.[7] Each village had additional large buildings for astronomy, mythology and history. Considering the enormous work involved in building large whare for the Maori this description of an ancient village resembling a European educational campus would have been highly unlikely. The comments seem to be White's interpretation of large sleeping huts or chiefs' houses and not school houses.

Unfortunately, the opinion of early Maori at the time has not been recorded but critical assessment aside, the six volumes written by White stand as a valuable record by the sheer volume of information, and his use of Maori song, chant and history.

Additional early recorders of Maori culture, including the Maori practices of the whare runanga include Judge Gudgeon, Edward Tregear and Percy Smith, the co-founders of the Polynesian Society in 1892, and the well-known ethnographer Elsdon Best.

Best produced the largest amounts of comprehensive work on the "old time Maori" of all the early writers. His work today is invaluable for the sheer volume and extensiveness of topics that were recorded. In the 1890's this New Zealand born ethnographer was living with the Ngai Tuhoe Maori in the Urewera on assignment by the Government under the Lands and Survey Department. After 1900 Best was seen by Pakeha as the Maori's best friend[8], able to communicate freely and mediate between the two cultures. Between 1904 and 1910 Best wrote his renowned text *Tuhoe, The Children of the Mist.* By 1930 Best had written several articles as a member of the Polynesian Society. Numerous bulletins were published in the 1920's recording his acquired knowledge from Tuhoe and other tribal tohunga. He was a keen researcher and arguably one of the best collectors of detail. Of him it has been stated that "there is not a member of the Maori race who is fit to wipe the boots of Mr Elsdon Best in the matter of knowledge of the lore of the race to which we belong."[9]

With respect to the whare runanga Best's *The Maori* (two volumes), published in 1924 along with *Tuhoe* have particular relevance to the topic. The *Pa Maori* also gives insights into Maori structures and building practices with detailed descriptions of old Pa sites. What makes his accounts so valuable, is his use of traditional names, such as ihonui, awarua, and kauwhanga - the names for the imperceptible middle passage in every whare runanga.[10] Best also used histories and narratives to support his statements, such as one of the East coast traditions that tells of Rua-i-te-Pukenga acquiring the knowledge on how to build whare runanga from the celestial realm of Rangi Tamaku.[11]

Notwithstanding these positive aspects of his work Best wrote with a European audience in mind. There is also the notion of the anthropologist's evolutionary hierarchy world view as the customs of the Maori are often portrayed as simple and primitive. What is absent in his writing is the Maori philosophy in relation to the activities, or the matauranga Maori which is an inseparable part of the old time Maori way of life, in all its facets. Best, although writing from within the cultural environment, was a non-Maori and while his contribution is valuable it is still nonetheless as an outsider with no ownership nor experience in this field.

Anthropologist George Graham gave at least two lectures with relevance to the topic of the whare runanga. The first in 1932, *Mythological Significance of Maori Art Forms,* emphasised that the "Maori art forms are closely connected with the mythology of that race. The representation of mythology ideals or conception was the main objective - ornamental embellishment was but a subsidiary factor."[12] This is very significant as Graham is one of the only non-Maori to acknowledge and explore in the realm of Maori understanding. Graham delivered another lecture before the Anthropological and Maori Race Section of the Auckland Institute and Museum, 8 June 1933, which explored the *Legendary origin of Maori arts and crafts.*[13]

Once again it is unfortunate that the opinion of Maori at the time of these early recordings is not known. The value of feedback from those who were the key informants to the writers would now be incomparable. What is also missing from almost all non-Maori recordings is who the informants were and whether the information was gained through key informant interviews or conclusions drawn from participant observation. Awareness of this knowledge would help in accessing the value of these and other early recordings by non-Maori writers.

2.3 Other Non-Maori Recordings

Early writings have become very authoritative like those of Grey, White, and Best.

Probably one of the most influential text was written by Augustus Hamilton, the former director of the Dominion Museum in Wellington (*Maori Art,* 1896). Hamilton compiled one of the best photographic files of Maori artwork available in a written record for his time. Notwithstanding this, criticism towards Hamilton exists as he promoted a very orthodox and conservative approach to Maori art. Hamilton strongly encouraged a move to paint all carvings in meeting houses a "monochrome red" and published a "limited sample of the total range of kowhaiwhai designs then in use."[14] By doing so Hamilton attempted to standardise Maori art to what he believed was traditional.

Other European writers have written descriptive documents like William J. Phillips (*Carved Maori houses of the eastern districts of the North Island, 1944. Carved houses of Te Arawa,* 1946. *Carved Maori Houses of the Western and Northern Area of New Zealand,* 1955.) Terence Barrow (*A guide to the Maori meeting house, Te Hau-ki-Turanga*, 1965), John M. Mepham (*The story of Te Hono Ki Rarotonga carved meeting house and Hine-Matikotai dining hall, Pakirikiri Marae, Tokomaru Bay, New Zealand,* 1969) and John C. M. Cresswell (*Maori meeting houses of the North Island*, 1977). Other writers like Alan Taylor (*The Maori Builds,* 1966) gave descriptions of the whare runanga as "the most spectacular" of all the "wide variety of [Maori] buildings". Taylor adds that "these communal meeting houses are considered the most elaborate of buildings found in Pacific cultures",[15] yet his views seem to be from an architectural framework with little understanding of the underlying philosophy.

Recently, publications by scholars of Maori culture like Anne Salmond (*Amiria : The Life Story Of A Maori Woman,* 1976, *Eruera, The Teachings Of A Maori Elder,* 1980 *Two Worlds : First Meetings Between Maori And Europeans, 1642-1772,* 1991) have shown more philosophical understanding. With reference to the whare runanga *Hui* (1975) has much relevance as Salmond tracks the history of the various occasions and types of Hui. Salmond outlined the rituals of encounter that have since changed in detail but are not so "different from the ceremonies practised on the modern marae."[16] The dominant feature of the Maori marae is identified as the whare runanga. Salmond, in a significant portion of the

text, explained the symbolism, functions, locations, and ceremonial importance of the structure to Maori.[17] Many of the generalised themes and interpretations are given to explain the building's structure and artwork. Salmond describes the tukutuku (plaited wall patterns) as having a symbolic value of life pursuits, and the kowhaiwhai (rafter paintings) generally symbolic of things in nature.[18] She provided perspectives of tapu and noa in relation to the whare. Salmond pointed out that although these are complementary principles they are kept very separate in the whare runanga.[19] She also explained that breaches in protocol in the whare are often the result of ignorance of the strong philosophies associated with the building.[20]

Graham Harris, a senior lecturer in ethnobotany at the open polytechnic of New Zealand, has written many publications about native plants of Aotearoa like the riwai, puha, rengarenga and pohutukawa. In 1998 he produced an intriguing botanic perspective into the plants that are symbolised in the kowhaiwhai patterns of a whare.[21] One would not be criticised for regarding this publication as something of little value on the subject of Maori philosophy. Especially because of his non-Maori heritage however, Harris acknowledges Awhina Tamarapa Parata from Te Papa Tongarewa, who gave verification on the accuracy of his text.[22] Harris identifies the philosophies and symbolic interpretations behind the plant motifs as well as the visual significance. One example, the manawa design is the representation of the hue or gourd plant. This kowhaiwhai panel is associated with genealogy and described as a visual descent from the tekoteko to the poupou. Harris supports this by identifying the proverb "He kawai hue, he kawai tangata - Human pedigrees are like the runners of the gourd plant".[23] Harris's manawa is illustrated below.

Modern day ethnologist David Roy Simmons, the former Assistant Director at the Auckland Museum, has produced many pamphlets and manuscripts on Maori topics including *Te whare Runanga* (1997), *an introduction to the Maori meeting house*. Unlike other written overviews by non-Maori, which simply outline the sequence of events or describe the outward appearances of the whare, Simmons gives some analysis into this "focal point" of the Maori universe.[24] A well illustrated text that provides historical and contemporary photographs to enhance his descriptions of carvings and structural dimensions. The form and shape of the house are considered from various tribal views and the "reading" into the philosophy of the house as a geological tablet is handled.[25] Because of this, the text has many positive aspects that relate to the sacredness of the whare runanga.

2.4 Common Misconception of Non-Maori recordings

As stated above, most of the topics that deal with Maori history and culture were recorded by the written accounts of early Europeans. The non-Maori intellectual thinking of their time and period heavily influences these writers as does their own cultural backgrounds and philosophical view. Some of these writers even had the ability to translate what their informants told them but have also included their own interpretation of that translation, which was formed from within their own preconceived notion. This bias leaves a daunting breach in the accuracy of their accounts in relation to the Maori philosophies of the building. Most common is the generalized, often hypothetical linkage made to ancestry and the cosmology philosophies of the whare runanga. For example, Maori share a collective viewpoint to the "traditional" authenticity of the whare runanga. However, non-Maori authors like Jeffrey Sissons outline a very different conclusion.

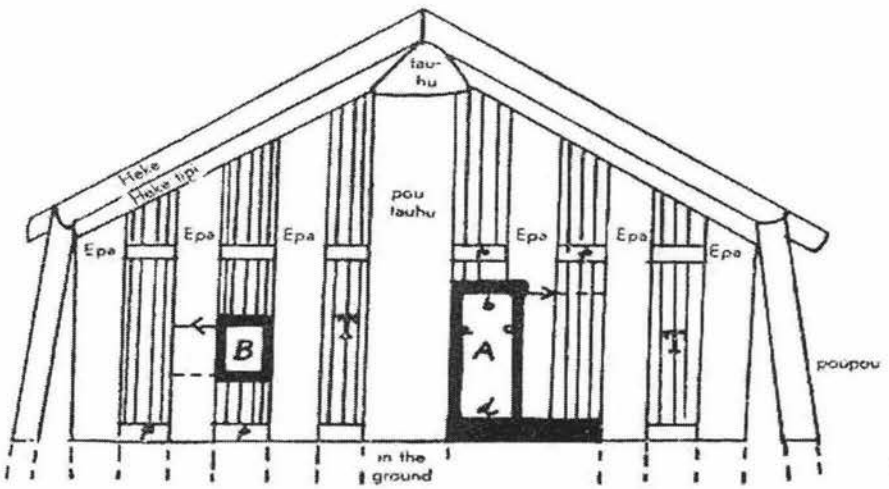
Sissons has written a timeline history of the Maori meeting house which he refers to as the "Traditionalisation" of the whare runanga.[26] Sissons gave a history of the development of the meeting house and then focused on what he calls the "exhibition and aestheticisation"[27]

phases in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By doing so Sissons tried to illustrate how these periods of time, along with his standardisation and tribalisation[28] theories of the 1930s and 1940s, lead to the traditionalisation of the Maori meeting house. He endeavours to promote the whare as a non-traditional building. Notwithstanding this, Sissions obvious definition of "traditional" stems from a non-Maori idea that traditional Maori culture is fixed in time at pre-European contact. This viewpoint is problematic as it presents the philosophy, tikanga and matauranga Maori of the whare as static. According to the Maori scholar Mason Durie, Maori culture was never static.[29] Thus we see a misconception coming from an outsider that can never fully enter into his subject of analysis. Only Maori can truly give a Maori view into the Maori world.

2.5 Publications by Maori Scholars

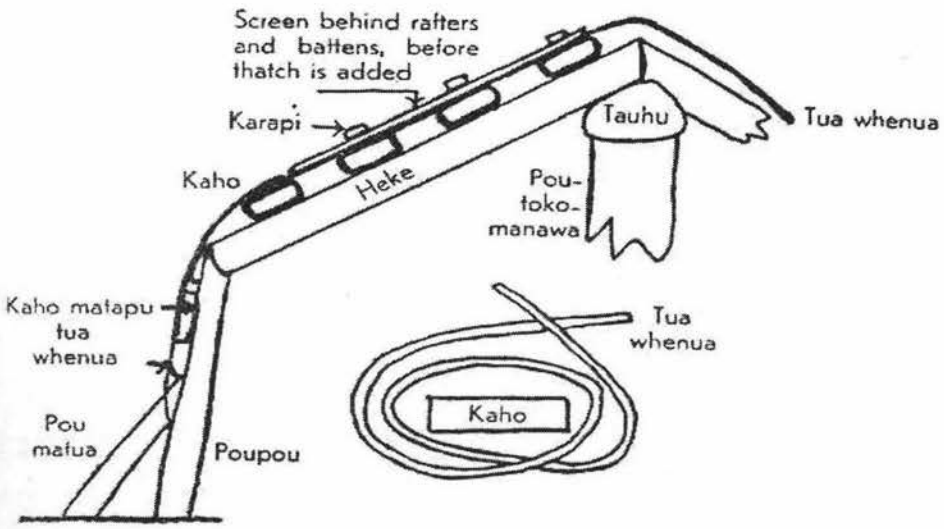
The first inclusive account of Maori life by a Maori scholar came in the form of a thesis by Maggie Makereti Papakura in 1930. *The Old-Time Maori* is a tribal history taken from oral traditions passed down to Makereti from her Te Arawa elders. The text gives an ethnography of rare proportions for her time and according to Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, "unprecedented, . . . even to this very day".[30] One chapter in the publication is devoted to houses of the Maori in the Te Arawa region.

Various descriptions and general plans for houses are given as are the materials they were made from. Important techniques are depicted with sharpness and detail with a few hand-drawn illustrations to demonstrate technique. The illustration below assists the description of the lashing of the structure and the layout of the front wall of a typical whare runanga.[31]



13. Interior front.

T—Tukutuku; pp., etc.—papaka.
A—sliding door (b—korupe, c—whaka-wai, d—pacpac). Arrow and dotted line shew direction and length of slide.
B—sliding window. Arrow and dotted line shew direction and length of slide.
The window and door slid behind the epa into a recess in the double wall, lined with battens. The epa must be cut for the door and window frames.



14. Partial section at pou-toko-manawa before thatch is put on.

Although Makereti's work serves as a valuable record of old-time Maori culture she often restricts her account to only an observational viewpoint. Descriptions and possible purposes for cultural practices like whai kawa (opening ceremony) are given[32] but with no origin or connection to Maori philosophy. The surrounding carved horizontal panels called

papaka are detailed,[33] but with no connections to mythology or history that explains their depiction.

In *The Coming of the Maori*[34] Te Rangi Hiroa, Sir Peter Buck, shares a similar position to Makereti from which the whare runanga is observed. A well-known Maori anthropologist, Te Rangi Hiroa has made a lasting contribution to the recording of Maori buildings in an independent chapter of his celebrated work. First published in 1949, the specific details of construction methods, building components, and rituals are unmatched amongst the early writings. The "disparaging remarks made by early writers concerning the small size of the Maori houses" are challenged as Buck compares the traditional houses with European and other pacific island buildings.[35]

Buck's depictions of sleeping, superior, and carved houses are vivid. Nonetheless, with the exception of the pou tokomanawa[36] (middle ridge post), representing an ancestor, Hiroa offers no relationship to the Maori philosophy associated with each part of the building. Hiroa identifies kopaiti as the place where the host people would sleep[37] and the place of honour reserved for the highest ranking guest on the opposite side of the building[38] but does not develop the connections as he did with other descriptions.

Other publications like those of Apirana Ngata (*Notes on the Rev H. W. Williams paper on "The Maori Whare"* in *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* 1897, *The Origin of Maori Carving* in *Te Ao Hou*, 1958) and Sidney Moko Mead (*The Origin of Maori Art* in *Oceania*, 1975) are important sources of Maori information which share valuable insights into the Maori world, traditions, and customs surrounding the whare runanga. In more recent years Maori or those closely related to the people involved, have produced pamphlets and brochures on construction and restoration, or as reference books providing specific information about a particular whare. Tiwai Amoamo and Tuhi Tupene with Roger Niech (*The Complementarity of History and Art in Tutamure Meeting house, Omarumutu, Opotiki,* 1984) Arapata Hakiwai with Piripi Aspinall (*Ruatepupuke*, 1994) are examples of these excellent resources which give names and interpretations of the carvings and structure. However, none of these link the artwork to the cosmological philosophy.

Maori scholars in the later end of last century have made significant contributions to the philosophical aspects of the whare runanga. Dr Cleve Barlow wrote *Tikanga Whakaaro* (1991), a reference book containing an alphabetical list of tikanga related words with interpretations for them, which certainly enhances cross-cultural understanding of Maoritanga. Dr Barlow deals with many of the key concepts in the Maori world and shows the unique values which underlie the contemporary world of the Maori. The relevance of the cosmological tradition is associated with the Maori way of interpreting the world in which he or she exists. This approach is very relevant as in one chapter Dr Barlow interprets the whare as being constructed after the bodily form of Ranginui and Papatuanuku.[39] Ceremonies involving the whare, such as tangihanga (funerals), are explained within the context of how the protocols and practices are carried out. Barlow also expresses his understanding that when Maori assemble in the whare "they are, in essence, returning to their roots and to the source of their being."[40] This cannot be seen as a mere hindsight, and with explanations of the representative parts of the structure is clearly validated. This chapter is an excellent example of a Maori perspective into the sacred function and symbolism of the whare runanga.

Deidre Brown of Canterbury University made a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the whare runanga in her detailed history of the School of Maori arts and craft. Brown carefully illustrates the "difference between vernacular building and [indigenous] architecture",[41] then validates the several whare built by Sir Apirana Ngata and the School of Arts and Crafts as prime examples of "traditional" Maori architecture. With the decline in master carvers in Aotearoa Ngata, with Sir Peter Buck, established the Maori arts and Crafts school in 1926 to succeed "in perpetuating Maori architectural arts".[42] Written correspondences from Ngata are used to show his active involvement in the renaissance of whare building, with precedence on retaining Maori identity through preserving the philosophy of the whare. This is demonstrated as Ngata first commissioned non-Maori sign writers to paint kowhaiwhai patterns, then reappointed Ringatu Poi in the non-Maori's position because they didn't fully understand the theory of kowhaiwhai.[43]

Brown also explains "Ngata knew that Western thought equated traditionalism with static, ordered and loyal societies"[44] Notwithstanding this, adherence to "traditional" Maori architectural models was emphasised within the school. "Traditional" in the sense that there is a pre-colonial source, which to Ngata qualified the architecture as traditional.

2.6 Government Documents

With over 1000 whare runanga existing throughout the country one does not have to look far to find the status the whare possess in New Zealand Government. According to parliament a marae has been defined as; "Maori freehold land on which a Maori meetinghouse is erected".[45] A marae includes a "Wharenui" along with other associated buildings "for the purposes for which the land is so set apart".[46] This definition is significant because in the Biosecurity Act, the marae is recognised as a sacred site even out of Maori ceremonial practices and involvement. Police authorities in New Zealand "must have regard to the kawa" by which the marae is governed, if they desire to enter the structure in regards to apprehending a criminal.[47] All police would then be best served by having some understanding of the philosophies that underlie the kawa of the marae and whare runanga .

After the third reading of *Ture Whenua Maori Bill* on 3 March 1993 the various Maori representatives in parliament shared their views toward the long awaited bill. The Honourable Doug Kidd as minister of Maori affairs, noted that the bill was "the first major legislation framed according to what Maori have said they need."[48] Mr Ian Peters added that the bill did not come from Parliament to Maori but the Maori people were consulted regarding the bill and it represented their requests.[49] This bill has a direct effect on the whare runanga because it outlines the priority given by government to land designation for such a structure.

Any Maori freehold land or general land can be set apart as a Maori reservation for, among other things, a place of cultural or historical interest, a burial ground, or sports ground.[50] Notwithstanding this section of the act, a "Maori reservation for the purpose of a marae or

meeting place may . . . include any crown land or other land leased on a perpetually renewable basis to any person, group of persons, body corporate, or organization for the purpose of a marae or meeting place."[51] Thus the significance is recognised in government of a cultural gathering place. Obviously a result of many statements and testimonies from Maori leaders like Sir Apirana Ngata and others who understand the significance within a whare runanga. The Act states that any land that has or has had "historical significance or spiritual or emotional association with the Maori people or any group or section thereof, be set aside as a Maori reservation".[52] The *Ture Whenua Maori Bill* took effect on July 1 1993.

Various whare throughout the country have benefited from the Maori heritage aspect of the New Zealand *Historic Places Trust*. One instance is related in 1993 where the evaluation was done on the Rangiatea church in Otaki to discover a suitable treatment for the kowhaiwhai and tukutuku panels.[53] The tukutuku panels had been exposed to water damage and the kowhaiwhai paint had begun to flake. The value of these art works, which perpetuates Maori philosophy, was recognised and restoration treatments were developed and completed in 1994.

The whare runanga is a traditional Maori building and is the most important feature of Maori architecture. It is an element that is vital to the preservation of the collective Maori identity. Within the structure and artworks lay the philosophies that link Maori to their origins and cosmology beliefs. This is recognised in government with the Maori Heritage unit being established as a separate section within the historic places trust in 1994. The advisors and officers explicit purpose is to advise "whanau, hapu and iwi on the conservation and protection of Maori heritage buildings and sites."[54] If this is successful the whare runanga and entailing philosophies will be preserved for many more generations of Maori.

2.7 Analytical Assessment

Both non-Maori and Maori writers have contributed to the recordings concerning the

whare runanga. The early recordings by non-Maori described outward appearances and capturing vivid details of building methods and size. Best's work in "*The Maori*" and "*Tuhoe*" are examples and record in detail Maori customs and practices. A search for a comprehensive written source on the whare runanga and its customs has not been successful and the likelihood of such a resource existing is scarce.

Non-Maori publications are deficient because there are insufficient explanations about the building structure, component names, symbolism, and underlying Maori philosophy. The accounts of protocols and practices are lacking in detail and description with emphasis seeming to be on events from an observers viewpoint. With the exceptions of Graham and Smith in "*The Lore of the Whare Wananga*" (1915), the early non-Maori writers expressed the prevailing attitude of the time seeing the Maori as barbaric islanders barely surviving in their subsistence economy. Maori spirituality that may have been manifest in their customs and building practices are not given acknowledgment as legitimate principles of thinking for the non-Christian natives. This spiritual knowledge gained from generations of experience would have been a fundamental part of Maori life and this would have determined practices surrounding the building. However, the spiritual aspects of the culture that demonstrated the cosmos knowledge and comprehension of mankind and the natural world were treated as trifling tales of a primitive mindset.

The whare runanga as a literary subject has not fully been explored, which is what the author hopes to do in this research. Many aspects such as the artwork and historical reviews have been completed. However these have been written almost entirely by non-Maori writers from Cook's journals through to Salmond, Simmons and others in the 1990's. There is a need for literature to be written by Maori on the whare runanga that expresses the universal understanding of Maori and it's relationship to the whare. There also needs to be writings that challenge the portrayal of the whare runanga as simple and often primitive. This will result from an analysis of the whare runanga that is based within matauranga Maori. Just as contributions by Maori on the topic of the whare runanga and its protocols is evident today, the need was recognised in 1897 by Sir Apirana Ngata. Ngata, responding to a written report by Rev. H. W. Williams, expressed in the Journal of

the Polynesian Society that he had "not read any detailed account of etiquette in the Maori whare, [which] may or may not be an important matter to the [Polynesian] society; but it is of some interest to the Maori".[55]

This research will detail the matauranga Maori relationship with the whare. The old traditions which have been gathered from various primary sources and early recordings will be identified. Many of the written sources will support these traditions indirectly and bring understanding and awareness to the philosophical nature of the whare. This research into the philosophy of the whare will be a Maori view written by a Maori.

[1] Banks, J. (1963) The Endeavor Journal of Joseph Banks 1768 - 1771. Ed. J. C. Beaglehole. Sydney, Australia. Halstead Press. pp. 18.

[2] Hiroa, T. (1977). *The Coming of the Maori.* Wellington, N.Z.: Whitcoulls Limited. pp. 119.

[3] Grey, G. (1885). *Polynesian mythology and ancient traditional history of the New Zealand race, as furnished by their priests and chiefs.* Auckland, N.Z.: Printed by H. Brett, preface.

[4] ibid. pp. 93.

[5] ibid. preface.

[6] Best, E. (1959). *The Maori School of Learning, Its Objects, Methods, and Ceremonial.* Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printer. pp. 10.

[7] White, J. (1887). *The Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythology and Traditions.* Vol 1. Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printer. pp. 13.

[8] Jahnke, H. Personal Communications, March 19, 2001.

[9] Ngata, A, 1931, cited in Best, E (1972) *Tuhoe, the children of the mist; a sketch of the origin, history, myths and beliefs of the Tuhoe tribe of the Maori of New Zealand, with some account of other early tribes of the Bay of Plenty district.* Wellington, N.Z.: Published for the Polynesian Society by A. H. & A. W. Reed. Jacket

[10] Best, E. (1924) *The Maori.* Wellington, N.Z.: Board of Maori Ethnological Research for the Author and on behalf of the Polynesian Society, pp. 570.

[11] ibid, pp. 559.

[12] Graham, G. *Mythological Significance of Maori Art Forms*, Ms 120, no. 61, 1932, Auckland Institute and Museum Library.

[13] ---, *Legendary origin of Maori arts and crafts*, qMS-0868, 1933, Alexander Turnbull Library.

[14] Niech, R (1993) *Painted Histories, Early Maori Figurative Paintings.* Auckland, N.Z.: Auckalnd University Press. pp. 28-29.

[15] Taylor, A. (1966). *The Maori Builds.* Whitcombe and Tomb limited, New Zealand. pp. 10.

[16] Salmond, A. (1976) *Hui, A study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings.* Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Books Publishing (NZ) Ltd. pp. 17.

[17] ibid, pp. 31-90.

[18] ibid, pp. 41-42.

[19] ibid.

[20] ibid. pp. 42.

[21] Harris, G. 'Plants Symbolised in Traditional Kowhaiwhai Patterns', *New Zealand Gardner,* 54 Issue 7 (July 1998), pp. 50.

[22] ibid, pp. 51.

[23] ibid, pp. 50.

[24] Simmons, D. R. (1997) *Te Whare Runanga, The Maori meeting house.* Auckland, N. Z.: Reed Publishing Ltd. pp. 8.

[25] ibid, pp. 31.

[26] Sissons, J. 'The Traditionalisation of the Maori Meeting House', *Oceania,* 69 No. 1(Sept 1998), pp. 36-46.

[27] ibid, pp. 39.

[28] ibid, pp. 42.

[29] Mason Durie, Personal Communications, 26 April 2001.

[30] Te Awekotuku, N. cited in Makereti. (1986). *Old Time Maori.* Auckland, N.Z.: New Women's Press Ltd. Intro.

[31] Makereti. (1986). *Old Time Maori.* Auckland, N.Z.: New Women's Press Ltd. pp. 299.

[32] ibid, pp. 294.

[33] ibid, pp. 328-329.

[34] Hiroa, T. (1977). *The Coming of the Maori.* Wellington, N.Z.: Whitcoulls Limited.
[35] ibid, pp. 113.
[36] ibid, pp. 123.
[37] ibid, pp. 129.
[38] ibid,.
[39] Barlow, C. (1996). *Tikanga Whakaaro, Key concepts in Maori culture.* Auckland: Oxford University Press, New Zealand. pp. 179.
[40] ibid.
[41] Brown, D. 'The Architecture of the School of Maori Arts and crafts', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS),* 108 No. 3 (Sept 1999), pp. 241.
[42] ibid, pp. 266.
[43] ibid, pp. 249.
[44] ibid, pp. 254.
[45] *Statutes of New Zealand (Statutes),* 1999, No. 142, Animal Welfare Act, Section 2. pp. 2037.
[46] *Statutes*, 1999, No. 142, pp. 2037.
[47] *Statutes of New Zealand (Statutes),* 1997, No. 89, Biosecurity Amendment Act, Section 76. pp. 700
[48] *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (NZPD),* Vol. 533, 3 March 1993, (Te Ture Whenua Maori Bill) pp. 13656.
[49] *NZPD*, Vol 533, pp. 13662.
[50] *Statutes of New Zealand (Statutes),* 1993, No. 4, Te Ture Whenua Maori Land Act, Sections 338-342. pp. 251
[51] Statutes, 1993, No. 4, pp. 254
[52] Statutes, 1993, No. 4, pp. 253
[53] Report of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust/Pouhere Taonga for the year ended 30 June 1994, *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR),* 1994, c-18, pp. 10-13, Maori Heritage. pp. 10.
[54] Report of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust/Pouhere Taonga for the year ended 30 June 1993, *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR),* 1993, c-18, pp. 14-18, Maori Heritage. pp. 14.
[55] Ngata, A. T. "Notes on the Rev Williams paper on The Maori Whare." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS),* Vol 6 (1897), pp. 86-87.

CHAPTER 3 - MATAURANGA MAORI

3.1 Aim

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of Matauranga Maori and introduce some of the background that underpins Maori philosophies and cosmology. This chapter will also identify what Maori Marsden explained as the genealogy "out of which all things derived."[1] All things in the Maori world, living things and practices, including the whare runanga can connect to the same genealogy and are therefore interrelated.

This chapter is important because the theoretical structure of this research is established on matauranga Maori and the Maori concepts of cosmology. The author bases the hypothesis for this research on the understanding that Maori culture is holistic, emphasizing the natural and functional relationship between parts of the culture to the whole.[2] A theoretical structure that is based on matauranga Maori assumes that all aspects of Maori culture are linked to this worldview. For the reason that, the philosophical interpretations of any aspect of Maori life, including the whare runanga, exists and lives in the understanding of matauranga Maori. By using the lens of matauranga Maori the cultural practices are understood more clearly. The 'why' to each customary practice to made clear rather then just the 'how'. Therefore to understand more fully the Maori symbolism of whare runanga and the cultural practices surrounding it, one must look at it through matauranga Maori.

3.2 A World View for Maori

Matauranga Maori is often used to denote education. In Ryan's dictionary of Maori language, matauranga is defined as "knowledge".[3] This is a contemporary interpretation that has become common place in modern day thinking . For instance, the Department of Education in Aotearoa uses the word matauranga to depict "education" as an English term. Notwithstanding that, matauranga is not seen by Maori as something that is static or isolated solely with the New Zealand department of education. The committee on scholarship at Te Papa Tongarewa have attempted to give an explicit definition showing

that matauranga Maori is much more than just knowledge of the national education system. The committee defined matauranga Maori as a "world view" that Maori acquired through generations of experimental observation and celestial awareness. This world view is explained below.

> Matauranga Maori in it's pure form, represents an entire world view; a total reality, as seen through the eyes of Maori . . . [it] encapsulates the acquisition of knowledge through *nga kete; te kete tuauri, te kete tuatea, te kete aronui.* The focus of Matauranga Maori therefore, is holistic with an emphasis on the relationships and linkages that tie phenomena.[4]

Therefore, matauranga Maori is much more than just common knowledge, as David Williams explained "it also forms the basis of the Maori cultural paradigm".[5] A paradigm that is the generally accepted perspective of interpretation into a particular Maori discipline, practice, or custom. The definition of a paradigm by highly acclaimed Dr. Steven Covey, who wrote *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People*, articulates an appropriate laymans definition of what matauranga Maori could be. Covey explained that a paradigm "is more commonly used today to mean a model, theory, perception, assumption, or frame of reference. In the more general sense, it's the way we "see" the world - not in terms of our visual sense of sight, but in terms of perceiving, understanding, interpreting."[6] Therefore, matauranga Maori could be understood as the viewpoint through which the interpretations of whare runanga and the rest of the Maori world are revealed.

Matauranga Maori is a worldview that is unique and independent of any other peoples. It is the by-product of Maori explanations of "human behaviour that is based on traditional concepts handed down through the generations"[7] and is the result of their own experiences. Sidney Moko Mead explains…

> ...matauranga Maori, [is] a term to include a body of knowledge which contrasts with Pakeha or western knowledge. . . Matauranga Maori can be seen as constituting the knowledge base which Maori people must have . . . It represents the heritage of the Maori, the knowledge which the elders are said to pass on to their mokopuna...[8]

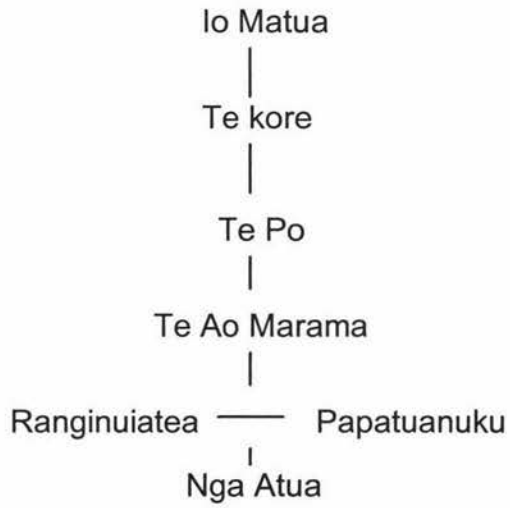
Matauranga Maori is based on whakapapa that links all natural phenomena. All living substance have a whakapapa: people, trees, birds, fish, animals, soils, rocks, and mountains also have a whakapapa.[9] This whakapapa links things to an atua then ultimately back to Io.

Io is acknowledged in the karakia below as the supreme source of all knowledge.

E IO NUI	*Io the immensity of thought*
E IO ROA	*Io the length of duration*
E IO TAKETAKE	*Io the traditions past as lore*
E IO WANANGA	*Io the universal knowledge*
ANEI RA MATOU HE URI NAU ANO	*Here we are descendants belonging to you*
E AHU ATU ANA I TENEI TAKUTAKU	*Entering into this incantation*
KI TO ARO TAPU	*In your holy presence*
KIA ARAHINA MATAU E KOE	*That you will lead us*
E WHAI ANA I TE AKAAKA TAPU	*Searching the many sacred vines of knowledge*
KI NGA HUA	*the many fruits of knowledge*
O IOIO ATUA	*Of Godly knowledge*
O IOIO RANGI	*Of celestial knowledge*
O IOIO NUKU	*Of terrestrial knowledge*
NO NEHERA	*From Ancient times*
KIA U ATU KI TE MATAPUNA O TE ORA	*Hold steadfast to the pool of life*
NAU E IO E	*Belonging to Io*
HE ARO MATUA	*The first thought*
HE ARO TIPUA	*The Godly thought*
HE ARO TAWHITO	*The Human thought*
KIA WHAI MATAURANGA	*Follow the knowledge*
HE ARO TAPU	*In the holy presence*
KI A KOE E IO E I	*of you Io*[10]

The above karakia shows an important factor of matauranga Maori in that Io was who Maori descend from and to whom one can return. Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal explained that Maori ancestors always maintained that they were descendants of Io-matua-kore. This would not have been in all tribes but vigorous genealogies, maintained by certain tribes and families, proved their divine origins. Io dwelt within them.[11] Therefore, understanding attributes of Io and their ancestors allowed Maori to understand the divine within them, the descendants of Io.

Also referred to as Io Matua the great parent god, Io is the creator of the first thought and all things. Io is the source of te kore; Io was before the gradual evolutions of te po into te ao marama, in anticipation of the creation of Rangi-nui-atea and Papatuanuku. Within matauranga Maori the offspring of Rangi and Papa were nga atua, who are the ancestors of all life that exist upon the face of the earth.



This whakapapa is used to illustrate matauranga Maori in generating explanations and relationships for all things in the world. Matauranga Maori is also the rationale behind Maori descriptions of their convergence with the natural world.[12] Williams complemented this genealogical view within matauranga Maori by adding that "matauranga Maori is a system which codifies knowledge according to its relatedness to the environment and life issues, rather than to what things are in themselves".[13]

One can gain a greater understanding of matauranga Maori by looking at an institution or practice within Maori culture. An illustration is clearly seen in Maori warfare practices in relation to one of the offspring of Rangi and Papa, namely Tane-mahuta. Tane is the atua of among other things, forests, birds and the creation. Tane has many titles that identify his many characteristics. In relation to the Maori philosophy pertaining to warfare the following have relevance.

Tane-te-wananga	Tane the keeper of all knowledge
Tane-te-waiora	Tane the giver of life to mankind
Tane-mahuta	Tane the creator of trees
Tane-matahi	Tane the father of birds[14]

Best records 41 titles for Tane and his attributes, which associates Tane with all creations on earth. The sea is not excluded, as Tane is the generator of Tiki-kapakapa who produced fish.[15] This philosophy in itself teaches a student of Maori weaponry that Tumatauenga

who is the god of man and the "supreme war god",[16] is not the only atua involved in warfare. As Tane-te-wananga, Tane governs knowledge and understanding of how to create weapons and then use them in warfare. The majority of weapons are made from wood of which Tane-mahuta is the originator. The movements of the birds of Tane-matahi like the kiwi, weka, pukeko, and kotuku are incorporated in footwork drills[17] for warriors to become agile on their feet. The quivering and quick movements of weapons are symbolic of the movements of fish, of which Tane is an ancestor. The ability to live and therefore fight are direct benefits from the life giving force of Tane-te-waiora.

As Maori warriors stand with rakau in hand, stalking an opponent with quick movements of foot and weapon the bringing together of the Whanau o Tane or the family of Tane is exemplified.[18] Through Tane the components of quick feet, agile weaponry, strong physical presence, knowledge and skill are all connected.

Fighting with a rakau weapon is sometimes likened to fighting with an older brother, or sibling of Tane, who was created before human beings. This brings understanding and interpretations into practices such as not stepping over a lain rakau. Just as it is culturally inappropriate to step over another person,[19] stepping over a rakau is ostracized in Maori schools of warfare like Te Whare Tu Taua o Aotearoa.[20]

By interpreting practices within this view it adds validity and mana to the knowledge and customs. Atua and the Maori cosmology can consequently be connected to the traditions of the people, and bring understanding to an interpretation and reason into a practice. Therefore, matauranga Maori is the Maori world view, the paradigm through which Maori organise phenomena and provide explanations for features and philosophies.[21] As the main subject of this thesis will focuses on the whare runanga as a special building that has a direct link to Maori ancestry and cosmology, the above definition of matauranga Maori as the basis of the theoretical structure is critical. The philosophies surrounding the whare runanga are but another reflective microcosm of matauranga Maori.

3.3 Preservation of Matauranga Maori

Matauranga Maori was passed on to selected individuals to ensure the preservation of connecting genealogies between people, deities, and the natural environment. It is through matauranga Maori and its whakapapa that relationships, kinships and economic ties are secured and "mana or power" is inherited.[22] Consequently, many of the chiefs in days past would "take their children from their mother's breast to all their public assemblies," ascertaining that the child hears the whakapapa, and things pertaining to matauranga Maori from the tohunga.[23] These "[tohunga were] chosen from early childhood [also, and] were educated via various forms of teaching institutions (Wananga), to accurately remember the knowledge".[24]

Therefore, in respect to this research paper, the matauranga Maori in relation to the whare runanga is still found within our tohunga, and selected kaumatua. The particular elders could be seen as the preservers or keepers of their culture, a viewpoint that has been recognised by recently formed indigenous peoples groups. In 1993, Maori aspirations for protection of knowledge was expressed in the *Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.* The document communicates an effective protection and preservation policy for the heritage development of all countries with indigenous peoples by declaring.

> Indigenous peoples are entitled to the recognition of the full ownership, control and protection of their cultural and intellectual property. They have the right to special measures of control, development and protect their sciences, technologies and cultural manifestations, including human and other genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literature, designs and visual and performing arts.[25]

According to Karetu, much of the knowledge base of matauranga Maori has been recorded in books but in its original form this understanding is not written but is still found in oral traditions.[26] For Maori, much of the existing knowledge has survived circumstances of wars and disease due to written records of nineteenth-century non-Maori writers and the literate Maori who kept journals or wrote for Maori newspapers.[27] However, along with those records, oral testimony and traditions, in its most comprehensive sense, is still

accepted as Maori reality. As a consequence, the important aspects of a tribal past and cultural traditions are constantly maintained through vigorous oral forms like waiata, tauparapara, and whaikorero. The knowledge that is within these oral traditions, although not the only source of matauranga Maori, is readily acknowledged as valid histories and key sources of matauranga Maori.[28]

From this perspective Salmond says that matauranga Maori truly is a "blessing to those who approach it in the right spirit. It is tribal and ancestral knowledge, discovered by the gods and passed down the descent lines forever".[29] When approaching matauranga Maori or dealing with knowledge from the past one must take it seriously.[30] In the right spirit would also mean to be patient with the learning process and not try to start from the top, but come through the appropriate channels.[31] It is easily perceived that not only do Maori necessitate some degree of matauranga Maori to truly be comfortable with their Maoritanga but to also feel sufficiently capable of interacting with other Maori people.[32] To correctly understand an aspect of Maoritanga like the whare runanga, one must see it as Maori see it through the medium of matauranga Maori. Maori Marsden articulated that much like matauranga Maori; "[Maoritanga]...is the corporate view that Maori hold about ultimate reality and meaning".[33] Marsden here is specifically referring to Maori philosophical and metaphysical attitudes and not suggesting collective uniformity of tribal practices and histories. The author is acutely aware that the lives of Maori were far from consistent and static before contact, and are certainly not now. To support the convenient approach of non-Maori to "collectivise 'the Maori' and restrict an understanding"[34] of the uniqueness of tribal areas is not the intention here. That approach hardly reflects the realities of Maori interactions and existence.[35]

3.4 Matauranga Maori in Maori Life

From the early recordings of Best[36] select Maori have been recognised as a people who have an incredible understanding and retention of cultural knowledge and large amounts of human genealogy.[37] This human genealogy, though seeming to have precedence in Maori life is only a depiction of the practice. To Maori all living things have a whakapapa back to

this same source including birds, fish, mountains, rocks, and trees, all have a genealogical descent to the cosmology. Barlow has said, the cosmological "whakapapa is a basis for the organization of knowledge in respect of the creation and the development of all things."[38]

That same process that links all things back to Io Matua links the whare runanga also to the beginning of the Maori cosmology. Each time Maori return to whare runanga the retelling of their origins are made present again through this paradigm. The history of the people is unfolded through the reflection of this matauranga, linking the present day ultimately back to Io Matua.

By understanding matauranga Maori, the meaning of the whare runanga and its role in the life of Maori is more easily understood. To some Maori descendants, the whare runanga qualify as much more than merely functional objects, or resources. The whare, like other Maori taonga, have "hidden histories; they record significant relationships; they contain unspoken narratives, all of them"[39] Ultimately, they link the present to the ancient past and are the evidence that vindicates the Maori worldview, a worldview that has the Maori as direct descendants from deity.

Matauranga Maori and oral history were once seen by early settlers as little more than heathenish superstition or as a rudimentary system of thought that would inevitably be conquered or expelled by more sophisticated European ideas of the early missionaries and settlers.[40] For instance, John White wrote the following about Maori spiritual knowledge and practices.

> Much that we shall relate of their ceremonies is unavoidably absurd, and especially the incantations, the language of which to a cultivated mind is extremely nonsensical. Yet even these absurdities will no doubt cause a Christian heart to feel regret that a people endowed with such minds as the New Zealanders should have been held for so many generations in a labyrinth of superstitions so servile in practice and so degrading in their tendency.[41]

Value and relevance of oral history has been a long time coming. Matauranga Maori classify systems of plants, rocks, animals and soils. It assisted Maori to lay claim to land

use rights and tribal resources, and helped maintain the status of the culture in relation to the rest of the world. Durie explains that "matauranga Maori is different to science and should not be confused with it,"[42] although Munn concluded that the "process of collecting or compiling traditional Maori knowledge is the same as that used to compile so-called scientific knowledge".[43] In relation to the value of using matauranga Maori as the theoretical structure professor of folklore Dr. Phillip McArthur explained "while some may think the story of Papa and Rangi . . . merely reflect the cosmological grouping of the Maori . . . I find that Friedreich Hegel's dialectic or Immanuel Kant's theory of antinomies are simply alternatives to the same problematic, Johnnies come lately if you will."[44] From McArthur's comment an opinion that the sophisticated ideas of cosmological groupings that stem from European sources are merely continuations of the Maori philosophies of the cosmology is made evident. The matauranga Maori cosmology is not seen here as the a rudimentary system of thought to be conquered or expelled but an equivalent.

3.5 Matauranga Maori Methodology

Oral history as a process and basis of gathering history continues to receive differing opinions. Although the education system incorporates Maori topics very little "has been done to adapt academic structures so that Maori expert knowledge, . . . styles of teaching, . . . methods of evaluation and Maori settings might play their proper role in the search to understand Maori philosophy."[45] Some scholars may see oral history to be flawed as a source of history. Ben Finney explained that the scholarly world debunked the use of oral traditions and legends to find historical information and philosophies. This attitude of the scholarly community was a key factor in the demise of researchers like Thor Heyerdahl who used oral traditions to support his theories.[46]

However, Danny Keenan has identified how oral record provides not only a source of narrative but also a framework of interpretation for Maori.

> For Maori people, the past substantially converges into the present. Time, context and cognition easily connect within the active memory of kaumatua who recall and mediate the past into important tribal and hapu histories. Within such processes of historical

> construction, the value of oral history is not an issue of consequence. Nor does it feature in wider Maori considerations of appropriate methodology when Maori are seeking to tap into their past.[47]

Oral history is a vital source of information for Maori and non-Maori to explore the philosophies of the whare runanga. The Maori practices of whaikorero, haka, moteatea, karakia, pepeha, whakatauki, waiata, the naming of places, elements, practices, and people hold insights into the Maori philosophy.

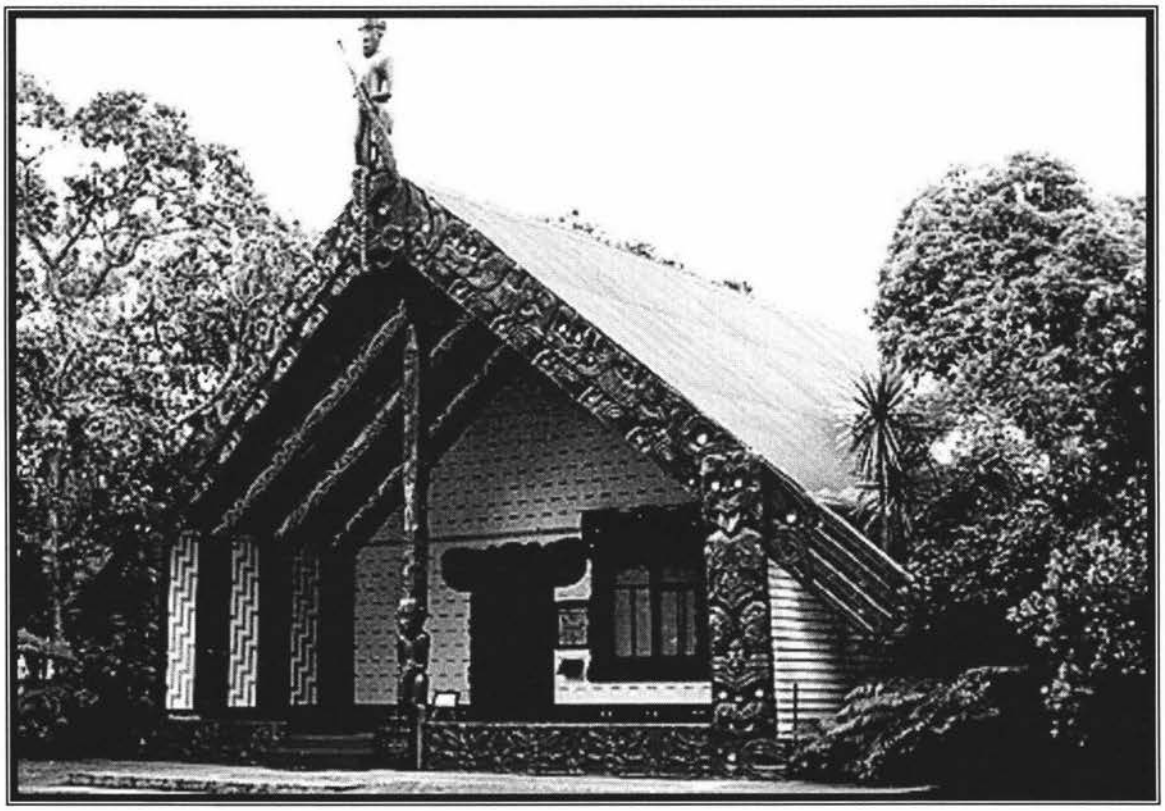


Fig 2. Waitangi Meeting house. Carvings from tribes from all over New Zealand were done specifically for this Whare Runanga under the supervision of master carver Pine Taiapa of Ngati Porou. (Source: http://www.taitokerau.com/east/waitangi/runanga.htm)

In this research the use of oral histories will be used to illustrate key points. Many of the written sources support the oral traditions indirectly and will be used to enhance understanding and awareness to the philosophical nature of the whare.

The primary sources of oral history about the whare runanga will be taken from communications with knowledgeable Maori informants still living today[48] and oral histories within the Nga moteatea series compiled by the late Sir Apirana Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui Jones. In many instances there are numerous versions of the same story. Where possible, without drawing any conclusions, the detail of many versions will be given. All of which are right, none being more correct than another. However, for the purposes of this research, the versions that best illustrate the matauranga Maori that links to Maori cosmology will be given. This approach to the study may lead to unfavourable judgment from readers, and bring about accusations of individual bias. To which the author agrees because while others can observe and record from a physical and objective viewpoint based on observable phenomena, my approach into te ao Maori is largely emotional, spiritual, and subjective. A position that is strongly supported by Maori Marsden who wrote;

> The route to Maoritanga through abstract interpretation is a dead end. The way can only lie through a passionate, subjective approach. That is more likely to lead to a goal. . . my approach to Maori things is largely subjective. The charge of lacking objectivity does not concern me: the so-called objectivity some insist on is simply a form of arid abstraction, a model or a map. . . I like to use a description method to explore the features of consciousness found in Maori cultural experiences. So I shall describe the religious, philosophical and metaphysical attitudes upon which Maoritanga is based.[49]

3.6 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Theoretical Structure

The main strength of the theoretical structure that is based on matauranga Maori is the notion that it will come from Maori concepts of the cosmology. The author acknowledges that matauranga Maori is not just a sacred history recorded in "korero purakau"[50] that provides a critical blueprint for the conduct of everyday Maori life. This worldview although different from science, does contain scientific truths based on generations of experimental observation and environmental awareness. Research through matauranga Maori will complement the ethnological and anthropological research that has been written and the documented accounts on the whare runanga acknowledged in the literature review. Furthermore, it will give a Maori perspective into the descriptions of customary Maori protocols and practices surrounding the whare runanga.

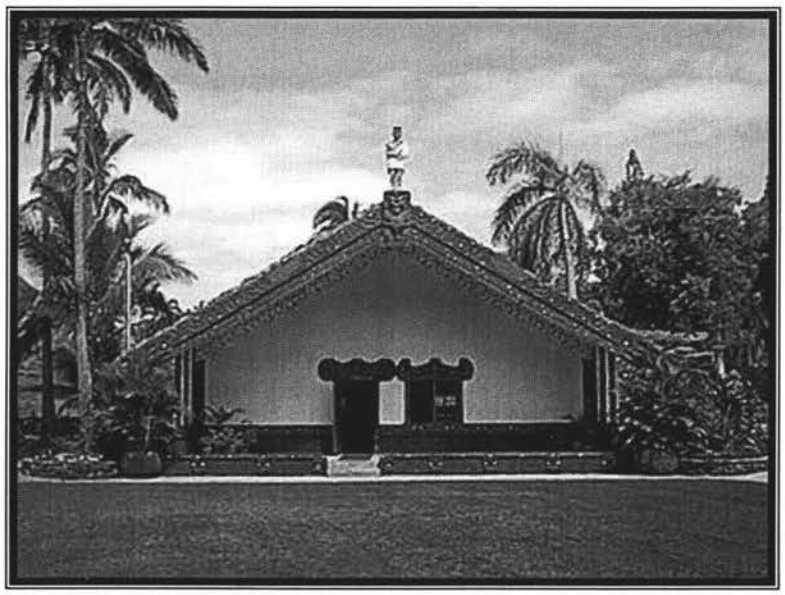


Fig 3. The Whare Runanga - Te Aroha o te Iwi Maori 2001
Laie, Hawai'i (Source: Tama Holverson)

By basing the hypothesis for this research on the understanding that Maori culture is holistic[51], the theoretical structure could also be used to further research in other parts of Maori culture or Maori customary life. All aspects of Maori life having whakapapa and a connection to the Maori cosmology and matauranga Maori. All phenomena having its own symbolism and interpretations from this Maori viewpoint.

Deficiencies and weaknesses exist in this research design. A notable stumbling block is writing down a subject that is both oral and spiritual in its nature. This written report cannot portray relationships between Maori with the land and the whare runanga. The spiritual aspect of these connections cannot be understood through logical thinking and critical assessment. John Grace explained, "the Maori was a mystic. He was at home in the realms of abstract thought, of symbol and interpretation, of imaginative insight and of spiritual significance. He was acutely aware of a spiritual process underlying the material world".[52] To understand the whare runanga and its place in the Maori world one cannot rely on the written word only. The records will only enhance the intellectual understanding

of the building. One must return to the space where the knowledge was first communicated to comprehend it fully.

Ka piki aku whakaaro ki te whare e tu mai nei.
Tane whakapiripiri. Te kawai tangata.
Te kaitiaki o te poporingaringa o nga matua tupuna.
Tu tonu tu tonu tu tonu.

(I lift my thoughts to the whare that stands here.
The home of Tane who brings people and binds them together. The holder of our ancestry.
The guardian of the sacred genealogy of our ancestors.
Stand, stand, stand forever.[53])

[1] Marsden, M (1992). "God, Man and Universe: A Maori View." In M. King (Ed.). *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga* (pp. 117-137). Auckland: Reed books. pp. 131.

[2] Nevertheless, one should be mindful here that the term 'Maori' is used only for convenience. Prior to the arrival of non-Maori there was only tribal history not Maori history.

[3] Ryan, P. M. (1995) *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Maori.* Auckland, N.Z.: GP Print Ltd, New Zealand. pp. 135.

[4] Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (1996) *Speaking with Authority: Scholarship and Matauranga at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa - a Strategy.* pp. 30.

[5] Williams, David V. (1997). *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on Matauranga Maori and Taonga - The Nature and Extent of Treaty Rights held by Iwi and Hapu in Indigenous Flora and Fauna Cultural Objects Valued Traditional Knowledge* (Wai 262). Wellington, New Zealand. pp. 17.

[6] Covey, S. R. (1989). The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People. New York: Simon & Schuster Inc. pp. 23.

[7] Royal, Charles Te Ahukaramu. (1998). "Te Ao Marama: a research paradigm", *Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau: Maori Research & Development Conference,* Massey University, pp. 80.

[8] Mead, S. M. (1997). *Landmarks, bridges and visions: aspects of Maori culture: essays by Sydney Moko Mead.* Wellington, N.Z. : Victoria University Press. pp. 26.

[9] Barlow, 1991, pp. 173.

[10] Taite R. Whare Rehia Karakia.

[11] Royal, Charles Te Ahurakaramu. (1992) *Te Haurapa: An Introduction to Researching Tribal Histories and Traditions.* Auckland, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books Ltd. pp. 10.

[12] Royal, 1998, pp. 80-81.

[13] Williams, 1997, pp. 15.

[14] Best, E. (1924). p. 118.

[15] ibid,. p. 120.

[16] Best, E. (2001). *Notes on the Art of War.* Auckland, Reed Publishing (N.Z) Ltd. pp. 55.

[17] Reedy, H. G. (1996). p. 59.

[18] Winitana, T. Personal communications, 2001.

[19] Harawira, W. (1997). *Te Kawa o te Marae: A guide for all marae visitors.* Auckland, Reed Publishing Ltd. p. 25.

[20] Paora Sharples, Whakamatautau Tongariro High School, 1996.

[21] Royal, 1998, pp. 81.

[22] Barlow, 1991, pp. 174.

[23] Salmond, A. (1980). *Eruera: the teachings of a Maori elder.* Palmerston North: Ta Te Iwi Rangahau Korero - Tribal Research Methodologies, Massey University. pp. 41.

[24] Williams, 1997, pp. 15.

[25] Te Puni Kokiri. (1994). M*ana Tangata Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People 1993,* Ministry of Maori Development, Wellington. pp. 24.

[26] Karetu, T (1992) *Language and Protocol of the Marae.* In M. King (Ed.). *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga* (pp. 28-41). Auckland: Reed books. pp. 28.

[27] O'Regan, T. (1987) "Who Owns the Past? Change in Maori Perceptions of the Past." In J. Wilson (Ed.). *From the Beginning, The Archaeology of the Maori.* Wellington, N.Z.: Penguin Books, pp. 143.

[28] Keenan, D. (1994) "By word of Mouth ...: the past from the paepae", in *Historical News,* no. 69, pp.4.

[29] Salmond, 1980, pp. 39.

[30] Manihera, T. (1992) 'Learning and Tapu'. In M. King (Ed.). *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga.* Auckland: Reed books. pp. 9.

[31] Rangihau, J. (1992) 'Learning and Tapu'. In M. King (Ed.). *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga.* Auckland: Reed books. pp. 13.

[32] Mead, 1997, pp.26.

[33] Marsden, 1992, pp. 117.

[34] Pere, R. R. (1982) *Ako, Concepts and Learning in the Maori Tradition,* Monograph, (Waikato University). pp. 6.

[35] John Rangihau expressed, "there is no such thing as Maoritanga . . . Each Tribe has it own way of doing things. Each tribe has its own history. and it is not history that can be shared among others . . . I can't go around saying because I'm Maori that Maoritanga means this and all Maori have to follow me. That's a lot of hooey. You can only talk about your Maoritanga, your Arawatanga, your Waikatotanga. Not your Maoritanga. I have faint suspicion that this term coined by pakeha to bring the tribes together. Because if you cannot divide and rule, then for tribal people all you can do is bring them together and rule . . . because then they lose everything by losing their own Tribal identity and histories and traditions." (See. Rangihau, J. (1992). "Being Maori." In M. King (Ed.). *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga* (pp. 183-190). Auckland: Reed books. pp. 190.

[36] Best, E. (1959). *The Maori School of Learning, Its Objects, Methods, and Ceremonial.* Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printer. pp. 5.

[37] O'Regan, 1987, pp. 141-143.

[38] Barlow, 1991, pp. 173.

[39] Te Awekotuku, N. (1996). Who called this club? issues of power, naming and provenance in Maori collections held overseas. Keynote paper at Museums Australia Inc. Conference.

[40] Salmond, 1980, pp. 252.

[41] White, J. (1856) *Maori superstitions : a lecture.* Auckland, N.Z. : Williamson and Wilson. pp. 132.

[42] Durie, M. (1998) *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga: the politics of Maori self-determination.* Auckland: Oxford University Press. pp. 78.

[43] Munn, S. (!995) "Exploring Relationships Between Knowledge, Science and Technology", *Proceedings of the Inaugural NAMMSAT conference,* Te Puni Kokiri, Ministy of Maori Development, Wellington, pp. 68.

[44] McArthur, P. (2000, January 13) Convocation Address presented at Brigham Young University Hawaii Campus, Laie, Hawai'i.

[45] Salmond, 1980, pp. 43.

[46] Finney, B. (1979) Voyaging. In J. D. Jennings (Ed). *The Prehistory of Polynesia.* Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press. pp. 325.

[47] Keenan, 1994, pp. 4.

[48] Oral informants include Herewini Jones (Tainui, Kahungunu), Program Director, Mahi Tahi Trust, the successful prison rehabilitation programme providing rehabilitative support by involving whanau and emphasising cultural heritage. Tame Winitana (Ngai Tuhoe), Kaumatua, Puna Matauranga for cultural groups such as Ahorangi, Nga Tama a Rangi, Toka Tu Moana and Te wananga o Tuwharetoa. Te Kanawa Pitiroi (Tuwharetoa), Kaumatua, HOD for Maori at the Waka-pumatahi immersion programme at Tongariro High School.

[49] Marsden, 1992, pp. 117.

[50] A different distinction of stories may be made between 'korero purakau' and 'korero pakiwaitara' where purakau denotes serious stories which are seen as truth, while pakiwaitara refers to amusing gossip and fairytales. see Metge, J., (1976) *Myths.* Unpublished typescript. Department of Anthropology and Maori, Victoria University of Wellington. pp. 2. also see. Walker, R. (1992) 'The Relevance of Maori Myth and Tradition'. In M. King (Ed.). *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga* (pp. 170-182). Auckland: Reed books. pp. 170.

[51] Te Papa Tongarewa, 1996, pp. 30.

[52] Grace, J. T. (1959) *Tuwharetoa.* Auckland. N.Z.: Reed Books. pp. 388.

[53] Authors translation of an excerpt from Herwini Jones whaikorero. Given at Tuwharetoa-i-te-Aupouri whare, March 2002.

CHAPTER 4 - The Whare Runanga Cosmology

4.1 Aim

The purpose of chapter four is to address the first research question being; To what extent did Maori cosmological beliefs affect the architecture of the whare runanga and its ornamentation? To accomplish this and understand the relationship of matauranga Maori with the whare runanga, it is necessary to look at Maori cosmological beliefs and the origins of whare runanga in the Maori world.

This chapter will not discuss the origin of styles of carving or the theories of development or diffusion from other pacific influences, but will focus on the origin of the whare runanga as a practice and tradition.[1] In order to understand Maori practices it is important to have a comprehensive idea of Maori mythology because this will provide an underlying base for the systems which guide the actions of Maori daily life.[2] As Ranginui Walker explained that Maori mythology is a "mirror-image" of the culture. The mythology reflects "the philosophy, ideals and norms of the people who adhere to them as legitimating charters."[3]

4.2 Kauwae-runga and Kauwae-raro

As in most topics of Maori scholarship one must be aware that there are often two levels of dialogue. The first is the esoteric, higher or more sacred lore that is very distinct from the vernacular, ordinary or more common dialogue.[4] According to Williams kauwae-runga is the name given to the lore of things celestial while kauwae-raro is the lore of things terrestrial.[5] There are two differing versions for the origin of the whare runanga. In the first case the whare, like the whole universe, resulted from the direct influence of Io Matua. Io was regarded as the great parent god, the creator of the first thought, all living things, and the essence of dialogue of kauwae-runga. In the second level of dialogue, the whare has links back to the later cosmology of the primal parents Rangi-nui-atea and Papatuanuku as well as nga atua, who are regarded as the ancestors of all things that exist upon the face of the earth and things within the kauwae-raro.

The kauwae-runga version primarily comes from the Ngati Kahungunu versions recorded by H. T. Whatahoro from Te Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu and later translated by S. Percy Smith with the Ngai Tuhoe version given by Tutakangahau to Elsdon Best. The kauwae-raro version is taken from the Ngati Porou traditions recorded in various sources.

4.3 Kauwae-runga - Io Matua to Tane-nui-a-rangi

The knowledge of Io as the creator of all things and supreme of all the atua Maori was confined to the highest order of tohunga and their students. The name was very sacred and spoken of only amongst the initiated. The ancient Maori concept of Io has been the subject of considerable study and debate since the disclosure of the knowledge by Smith and Best. The influence and possible adulteration of outside influences, namely Christianity, on the concepts of Io has caused differing opinions about pre-contact authenticity. Hiroa says in summary:

> The Maori concept of Io was . . . a local development in New Zealand and apparently originated with the Ngati Kahungunu tribe, from which rumours of the cult spread to a few other tribes. I believe that the elaborations on the popular version [of cosmic evolution] over the period after the birth of the family of Rangi and Papa were composed in the Ngati Kahungunu houses of learning . . . On the other hand, the cosmogony of separating light and darkness, the waters from the dry land, and the suspension of the firmament appear to have been post-European additions made after knowledge was acquired of the biblical story of the creation. The separation of spirits at Hawaikinui so that the righteous went through the east door to the underworld, is contrary to the Maori and Polynesian concepts of the future world: It is too closely allied to the Christian teachings of heaven and hell to have originated in an ancient house of learning before European contact.[6]

Later studies by Dorothy Barrere noted:

> "in late pre-European times a god called Io was elevated to be a supreme god of an esoteric Maori cult, and a myth based on the older cosmogony was modified and expanded into a cult with rituals [after European contact, but nonetheless was] based on Maori cultural concepts . . . the myth of Io is actually based more on Maori ideas than on Genesis. The similarity to Genesis is unmistakable, and that an inspiration from there has taken place shall not be disputed."[7]

To the writer the Io teaching are pre-European and as Barrere states, the majority of the

knowledge is based on Maori concepts. There are parts of the Io cult that Hiroa mentioned which appear to have a Christian influence. Notwithstanding this, Ngata explained that the Io cult could be found "amongst seven different tribes" and those initiated into it swore secrecy. The concepts, teachings and its secrecy did not collapse when the Pakeha came.[8]

Marsden explained that Io existed in the beginning before all things.[9] Buck added that the name Io indicates the supreme god who is the heart or "core" of all things. He also clarified that Io was given 27 different names that denote his various attributes.[10] This multi-named Io prompted Winitana to describe Io as the "one source with infinite faces."[11] From various references the names of Io follow.

Io	Io-the-core
Io-nui	Io-the-great-god-over-all
Io-roa	Io-the-everlasting
Io-matua	Io-the-all-parent
Io-te-wananga	Io-of-all-knowledge
Io-tamaua-take	Io-the-unalterable
Io-toi-o-nga-rangi	Io-the-summit-of-heaven
Io-tikitiki-o-rangi	Io-the-exulted-of-heaven
Io-mata-pu-tahi	Io-of-one-command
Io-mata-ngaro	Io-the-hidden-face
Io-mata-wai	Io-god-of-love
Io-mata-aho	Io-only-seen-in-a-flash-of-light (glorious)
Io-te-hau-e-rangi	Io-presiding-in-all-heavens (omnipresent)
Io-te-waiora	Io-the-life-giving-water [12]
Io-mata-ane	Io-the passive-countenance (calm, tranquil)
Io-uru	Io-the-omnipresent [13]
Io-te-whiwhia	Io-giver-of-all-to-man
Io-taketake	Io-firm-stable-never-changing
Io-matua-kore	Io-parents-not-known
Io-mata-moe	Io-slumbering-in-ihowai
Io-mata-nui	Io-who-sees-all
Io-mata-kaka	Io-the-flashing-countenance
Io-mata-kana	Io-not-easily-approached (blinding countenance)
Io-mua	Io-before-all-things
Io-muri	Io-existing-after-all-things
Io-te-pukenga	Io-the-source-of-light-power
Io-uru-tapu	Io-the-most-sacred [14]

From Io came the first conception, the first thought, the first consciousness.[15] From Io came various phases of te kore; Io was before the gradual evolutions of te po into te ao marama.[16] Io held all knowledge and was desirous that one of his offspring should ascend

to the uppermost heaven to retrieve it through nga kete o te wananga.[17] Tane was one of the sons of Rangi and Papa and probably the most important atua as the "lord and master of the forests".[18] For his many characteristics and achievements Tane received many names. Best records 41 names for Tane[19] which associate him with all creations on the earth. These are a few of the manifestations attributed to Tane:

Tane-nui-a-rangi	Tane-the -great-son-of-sky-father
Tane-te-wananga	Tane-the-giver-of-knowledge
Tane-matua	Tane-the-parent
Tane-te-waiora	Tane-the-giver-of-light-and-life
Tane-mahuta	Tane-as-the-origin-of-trees
Tane-te-waotu	Tane-of-the-forest
Tane-matahi	Tane-the-origin-of-birds
Tane-tokorangi	Tane-the-sky-proper
Tane-ruanuku	Tane-the-wise[20]

As the greatest son of the sky father, Tane-nui-a-rangi is accredited with obtaining the baskets of knowledge form Io.[21] Tane ascended the heavens by way of the whirlwind path to the heavens or the "ara-tiatia-o-Tane".[22] The path took Tane through the twelve heavens until he reached the presence of Io in the pinnacle of the heavens. The names of the heavens are identified below.

Twelve - Tikitiki-o-nga-rangi or Toi-o-nga-rangi
Eleven - Tiritiri-o-matangi
Ten - Rangi-naonao-ariki
Nine - Rangi-te-wanawana
Eight - Rangi-nui-ka-tika
Seven - Rangi-mata-ura
Six - Taura-rangi
Five - Rangi-mata-wai
Four - Rangi-marie-kura
Three - Rangi-parauri
Two - Rangi-tamaku
One - Rangi-nui-a-tamaku-rangi[23]

In the twelfth heaven Tane found the original of all whare wananga called Matangi-reia. This was the abode of Io-matua and the "pattern from which subsequent [whare wananga] were built, and from whence came all knowledge". Matangi-reia is "said to be situated in the sun's path in the heavens, the name itself having that meaning."[24] In the tiki-tiki-o-rangi was the marae Rau-roha and another whare called Rangi-atea. From here

Tane retrieved the baskets of knowledge and the two whatu, called huka-tai and rehu-tai,[25] which are the sacred seeing stones connected with teaching the wananga. The chant which follows describes the accent of Tane to obtain the kete o te wananga:

Tenei au, Tenei au	Here I am, It is I
Tenei au, ko te hokai nei taku tapuwae	This is I, the movement of my striding feet
Ko te hokainuku	Moving from the temporal sphere of this World
Ko te hokairangi	To the spiritual sphere of the Heavens
Ko te hokai a to tupuna a Tane-nui-a-rangi	Like that of the Greatest Son of Sky-Father
I pikitia ake ai ki te rangi Tuhaha	He who ascended to the Heavens
Ki te tihi o Manono	To the pinnacle of the Heavens
I rokohanga atu ra Ko Io Matua-te-Kore	He who communed with Io of the unseen parents
I riro iho ra ko nga kete o te wananga	From whence cometh the baskets of knowledge
Ko te kete tuauri	The knowledge basket of whakapapa (geneology)
Ko te kete tuatea	The knowledge basket of wairuatanga (spirituality)
Ko te kete aronui	The knowledge basket of tikanga (true protocols)
Ka tiritiria, ka poupoua ki a Papatuanuku	It is magnificent and bright, firmly implanted within the heart and upon the earth
Ka puta te Ira Tangata ki te Wheiao	For man hath come forth into existence
Ki te Ao-marama	Into the World of Light and Understanding
Tihei Mauri Ora!	I breath, It is life![26]

During the descent of Tane through the heavens he saw other whare that were patterned after Matangi-reia. Two of them were named by Matorohanga as Tawhiri-rangi and Whakamoe-ariki.[27] In the second heaven, Rangi tamaku, Tane-nui-a-rangi saw the house called Whare-kura; he copied it, and brought the knowledge into te ao marama and built a "second Whare-kura . . . which was the first known in the world."[28] This first school of learning was situated at Te-hono-i-wairua, at Hawaiki, in the far distant land of Irihia, the original Maori homeland.[29] There the kete o te wananga from Io-matua was first put on the earth. Thus was born the pattern of the whare wananga, Tane naming it Whare kura "a name that has been given to similar houses of instruction since that day."[30]

On the arrival of the major waka to Aotearoa around 1350, "whare kura" were built in which the wananga was conducted by tohunga, "whose special function it was to preserve this lore and ensure it was handed down correctly to succeeding generations."[31] Here the Maori cosmology has had a major effect on the architecture of the whare runanga as the meeting houses of today derive from the first building on the earth which was Whare-kura, a whare wananga. This is illustrated and validated through the descriptions by Matorohanga to Whatahoro of the old whare wananga,[32] which differ little from the

characteristics of the regular whare-nui construction described by Williams.[33] The esoteric version concludes that the whare runanga originates from the pinnacle of the heavens and Io matua. Within the whare runanga are twelve levels of knowledge[34] and twelve sections that symbolise the heavens Tane passed through.[35]

Fig 4. Tekanawa Pitiroi 1999 with Tongariro High School Kapa Haka, Entertain Guests in Front of *Te Whare Kura* Meeting house, Turangi. (Source: Vanessa Lumley)

4.4 Nga Atua - The Maori Gods

There are many vernacular versions of the origin of the whare which could ultimately link back to Io-matua but are more familiar to the "uninitiated" and spoken of more frequently. The source of this origin is the later cosmology of Rangi-nui-atea and Papa-tua-nuku and their children nga atua.[36]

The general cosmogonic narrative in regards to the offspring of Rangi and Papa states that the first born was "Tane and other gods after him: Tangaroa, Rongo[matane],

Tumatauenga, Haumia-tike-tike, Ru-au-moko, and Tawhiri-ma-tea."[37] These six are seen as the atua of the Maori people, but Barlow would assert them along with "Whiro" as the atua that are "widely" known, or as the principle atua.[38] According to the tribal traditions of Ngai Tuhoe recorded by Best, the offspring of Rangi and Papa numbered seventy.[39]

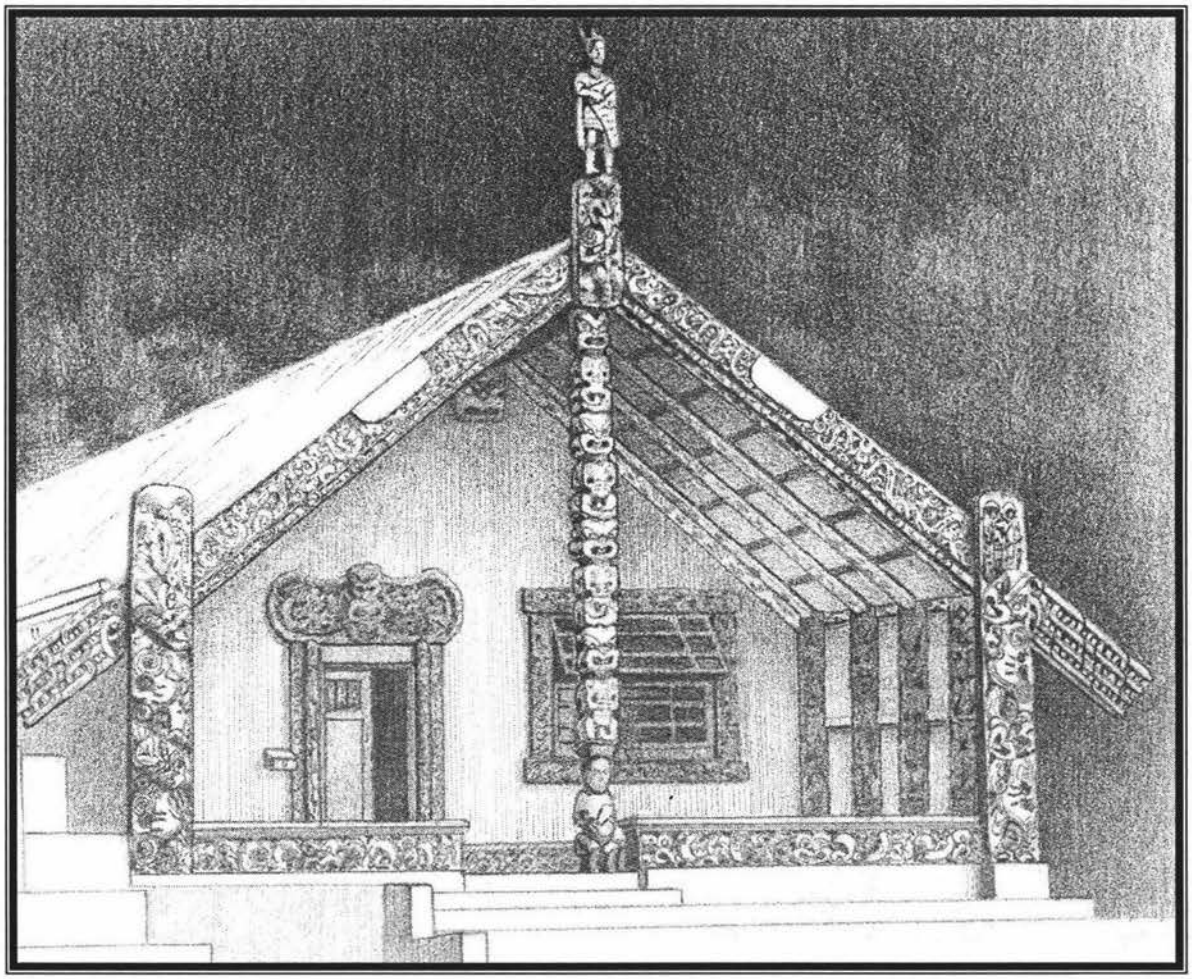


Fig. 5 Tapeka, at Waihi, whare of Ngati Turumakina, Tuwharetoa. (Source: Raymond, V. (1992) Nga Marae o Ngati Tuwharetoa. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd. pp. 9)

The cosmological concept of the principal atua "was that these Maori gods had dominion over the natural world . . . [and] also governed human behaviour."[40] Each is seen to have office over departments of nature. Tane (god of the forests), Tawhiri-ma-tea (god of winds

and elements), Rongo-matane (god of peace, kumara and cultivated crops), Tangaroa (god of the sea), Haumia-tike-tike (god of the fern-root and wild fruits and herbs), Whiro (god of evil, disease, and pestilence), and Tumatauenga (god of man and war).[41]

The 70 atua were all atua-tane (males). Urutengangana was the oldest and was anxious that the earth should be provided with the female element. He encouraged his siblings to search for the female element to enable the creation of woman.[42] Thus humans came into existence through Hine-ahu-one (Earth-formed-maid).[43] Hiroa records that 36 gods are named as contributing to the physical make up of the first human body.[44] Each of the atua gave of themselves and their elements to the human beings.

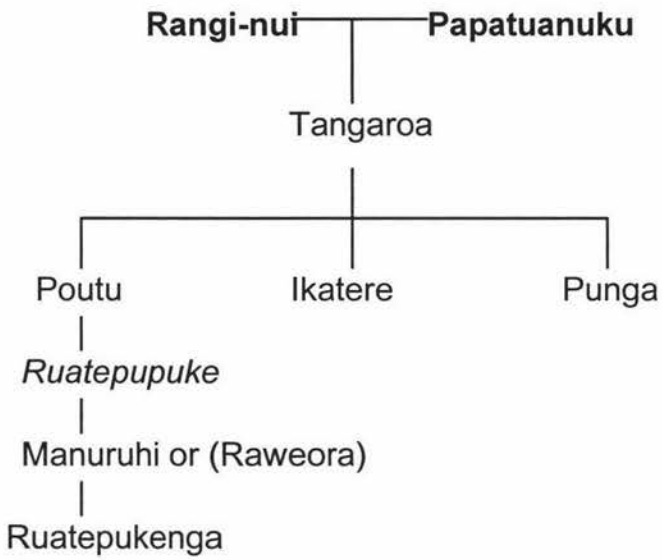
In the creation narrative there are many variations but it is believed that Tane sought out his mother, Papatuanuku, for her advice and knowledge concerning the female elements. Papatuanuku consoled Tane for his own and his sibling's plight. Taking pity on him, she advised that he search for Kurawaka, which is at her puke,[45] for in that place the female was in a state of potentiality. The atua journeyed to Kurawaka and there they found the red clay that Papatuanuku had spoken of. Tane formed the shape of a human in the clay then his siblings shared in the creation of woman, each contributing to her form.

Urutengangana "fetched the eyes from Wharekura, . . . while a small portion of Ao-kapua (representing clouds) was placed as a setting for these eye-pupils (the white of the eye was a fragment of a white cloud)."[46] Rongo gave the stomach with the lungs being "obtained by Tawhirimatea".[47] Haumia-tike-tike organised the intestines and digestive system[48] and Ruamoko the veins.[49] Whiro contributed the mouth and teeth[50], Tangaroa provided the water in the red clay of Kurawaka which held the human form intact.[51] Tupaia who is the guardian of the ahi komau[52] gave part of the ahi komau to Hine-ahu-one to heat the body,[53] and as mentioned above Tuu gave the sinews and muscles. Other contributions are detailed by Best but it is sufficient for our purpose to identify in particular the seven principle atua's offerings. After this was completed, Tane put the breath of life into her nostrils. The eyelids opened, the eyes lit up, breath came from the nostrils, hot breath from the mouth, and the living body sneezed. Tihei Mauri Ora!

Therefore, there is no area in Maori activity, no phenomena of nature or life that is not under the influence of a presiding atua. The whare is no exception to this as even the smallest detail in Maori life was carried out according to ritual or adherence attributed to that particular atua. One would not be criticised for assuming that Tane, who is referred to here as the god of the forest and origin of trees, would obviously have an important role in the origin of the whare and it's ornamentation. However, Tangaroa the god of the ocean is ascribed as the originator of carving and the whare runanga.

4.5 Tangaroa to Rua-te-pupuke

Rua-te-pupuke was the son of Poutu who was the eldest son of Tangaroa. Rua had a son named Manuruhi (in other areas the son of Rua is referred to as Raweora or Te Manu-hau-turuki) who loved both the ocean and the opportunity of fishing for his son Rua-te-pukenga.



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After taking a large catch one day, Manuruhi had failed to offer incantations and sacrifice to Tangaroa.[55] Consequently he was carried off "down into the realms of Tangaroa" by the Marakihau and Ponaturi.[56] On realisation that his son was lost Rua swam out to sea to where he believed his son had been fishing and dived down into the deep. Invoking the

gods Rua was lead by "Popoia an owl sacred to the deep glooms of the spiritual world,"[57] to the ocean floor. There he found Hineteananui,[58] a large, carved meeting house that belonged to Tangaroa. Rua was "astonished at it's marvellous beauty of ornamentation. In his own home, houses were built merely of plain framework and reed thatching."[59] Hine-matiko-tai was the guardian to the entrance to the abode of Tangaroa. All who previously had visited there had never returned as they would become entangled in her long hair, the long fronds of sea kelp.[60] Rua gave Hine gifts that were unknown in her oceanic home and she informed him that Tangaroa and his children would return at night fall.

In the whare Rua could hear chatter, and discovered that it was the poupou conversing across the whare with one another. On investigation Rua found his son, lashed to the house gable as a tekoteko. He hid until Tangaroa and his children returned and then put them into a deep slumber and imprisoned them in the house. Popoia then " flew upon the gable and released the captive [Manuruhi]" as Rua dismantled the front of the whare and set the remains on fire."[61] As the children of Tangaroa rushed from the house Rua stood at the doorway with his patu, the following is the description given by Mead.

> First came Maroro the flying fish but Ruatepupuke missed him. Then Whaitere the stingray came dashing out. Ruatepupuke swung with his patu and hit Whaitere on the nose, hence the squashed nose of the stingray. Patiki the flounder was next. Ruatepupuke hit him in the eye. That is why the eyes of the flounder cling to one side. Wheketoro the octopus followed and Ruatepupuke struck him hard. That is why his tentacles hang loosely. Next came Kokiri the leatherjacket and last was Tamure the snapper. The fire burnt the top of his head and that is why the snapper is red.[62]

Many of the other children of Tangaroa died. Rua then took Manuruhi and the front poupou, maihi, and other carvings and returned home where he used them "to teach Maori the art of wood carving"[63] and the building of whare runanga. Herein is the conclusion that whare runanga today descend from Hineteananui, the carved house of Tangaroa. Tangaroa himself being the atua of the ocean and a son of Rangi-nui-atea and Papa-tua-nuku.

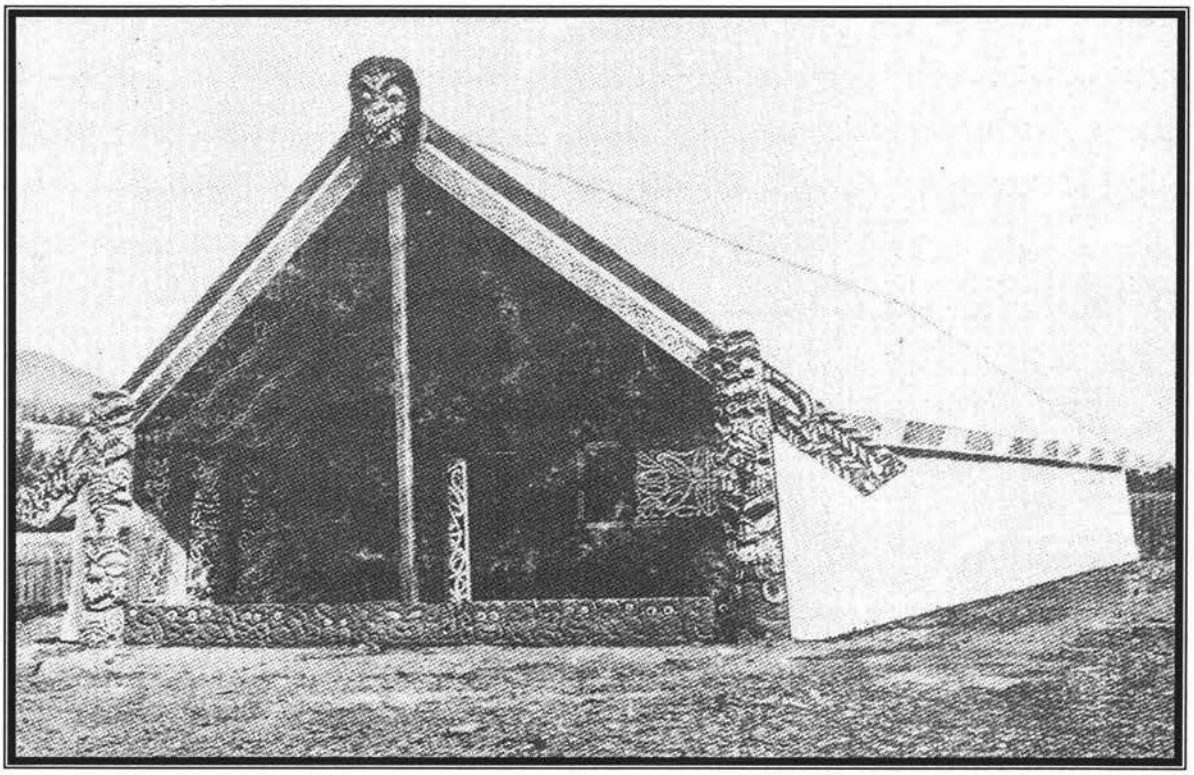

Fig. 6 Earliest photo of Hotunui at Parawai, (Source: Barton, G. and Reynolds, D. (1985) *Hotunui : The Restoration of a Meeting House*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland Museum. cover.)

4.6 Whare Within Maori Mythology

Although it is uncertain that a whare runanga existed in every village in pre-European Aotearoa, the stories within Maori mythology support the notion that whare runanga existed in the homeland Hawaiki. The extent to which the cosmological beliefs of Maori influenced the architecture of the whare runanga and its ornamentation is made more evident in Maori mythology. Descriptions and expressions from the above are retold by kaumatua through korero purakau to the young. One example is found in the legend of Kae and Tinirau which is abbreviated below.

> The chief Tinirau wanted his child Tuhuruhuru blessed and sought the old tohunga Kae to carry out the deed. Once this was complete Tinirau summoned his pet whale Tutunui to give an offering of his flesh to the tohunga and to take him back to his village. Kae arrived home on Tutunui and desiring more of his flesh caused him to beach himself so he could cut him into pieces and put him into his hangi pit to cook. Kae and his people covered the oven with leaves from the koromiko shrub. Tinirau was desperately searching for his pet

> when he smelt the scent of the whale meat and realised what had happened. In revenge Tinirau sent a party of women to capture Kae whom they overcame with karakia and returned to Tinirau's village in a deep sleep where awoke and was killed.[64]

On closer examination of the above one can see the significance that this story holds towards the cosmological influence on whare in Maori mythology. The account by Geroge Grey specifies that the whare in which Kae lived was called Te Tihi-o-manono.[65] What made the house different from other whare was the position of the window. Grey recorded that Tinirau asked Kae "where was the window placed in [his] house?"[66] so that Kae realised he was not in his own house. Aware he had been captured he pondered his fate.

John White explained that the window of Te Tihi-o-manono was placed in the roof rather than the front wall.[67] This is significant because Te Tihi-o-manono is the name of the whare in the tenth heaven, Rangi-naonao-ariki.[68] The spirits of mankind who are deemed worthy to enter the Tikitiki-o-rangi and into the presence of Io-matua are first purified in the whare Tawhirirangi, which is situated in the eleventh heaven Tiritiri-o-matangi.[69] The entrance into Tawhirirangi is called Te Pu-motomoto-o-tikitiki-o-rangi and is located underneath Tawhirirangi; that is, it is the entrance that the spirits of mankind ascend up through into Tawhirirangi.[70] Therefore, the entrance into Tawhirirangi is in the roof of the whare in the tenth heaven beneath it, in the roof of Te Tihi-o-manono.

In the Maori mythology of Kae, Tinirau and the whare Tihi-o-manono, the Maori cosmology provides a reflection that has an instructional as well as a validating function for the architecture of whare. Consequently contained within the Maori cosmology is not only the source of the whare runanga but, as will be identified, the cultural imperatives that are embedded in the ornamentation and protocols that surround them.

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[13] Marsden, 1992, pp. 131.
[14] Herewini Jones, personal communications, 2000.
[15] Taylor, Richard. (1855) *Te Ika a Maui.* London: Wertheim and Macintosh. pp. 36.
[16] Barlow, C. (1991). *Tikanga Whakaaro, Key concepts in Maori culture.* Auckland: Oxford University Press, New Zealand. pp. 173.
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[18] Barlow, C. (1991) p. 10.
[19] Best, E. (1924). *Maori Religion and Mythology - Part I.* Wellington, N.Z.: A.R. Shearer, Government Printer. pp. 72.
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[34] Herewini Jones, Personal Communications, 2001.
[35] Tom Winitana, Personal Communications, 2002.

[36] Best, 1959, pp. 5
[37] Marsden, 1992, pp. 132.
[38] Barlow, 1991, pp. 11.
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[41] Barlow, 1991, pp. 11
[42] ibid, p. 40.
[43] Hiroa, T. (1977) p. 451.
[44] ibid, p. 450.
[45] Best, E. (1924). p. 121.
[46] ibid, p. 122.
[47] ibid,.
[48] Te Tawhero Haitana, Personal Communications, 2001.
[49] Te Waitere Pahi, Personal Communications, 1999.
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[51] Tom Winitana, Personal Communications, June 2001.
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[53] Pahi, Te Waitere, 1999.
[54] Mead, S. M. (1986) *Te Toi Whakairo, The Art of Maori Carving.* Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Methuen Publishers Ltd. pp. 8.
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[56] Graham, George, *Mythological Significance of Maori Art Forms.* Ms 120, M 49, 1932, Auckland War Memorial Museum Library and Information Services. pp. 15.
[57] Graham, George, *Legendary Origins of Maori Arts and Crafts, being substance of a lecture delivered before The Anthropological and Maori Race section of the Auckland Institute and Museum,* 8 June 1933, Ms 0868, Manuscript, The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. pp. 1.
[58] Mead, 1986, pp. 10. This name differs from the name Graham gave the whare, being Te Hono-o-Taiuriuri (The deep chasm of the ocean's dark breast)
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[69] Smith, 1913, pp. 81
[70] ibid,. pp. 116.

CHAPTER 5 - The Portrayal - Te Whakaahuatanga

5.1 Aim

The purpose of chapter five is to address the second research question being: What are the interpretations associated with the whare structure and the various structural artworks? This chapter explores the connection between Maori mythology and cosmology and the symbolism of whare. Much of the meaning that would have been clear to the eye of the ancient Maori artisan is today vaguely known. Terrance Barrow has recently indicated.

> Closely related to Maori religious ideas are the art motifs. . . The thing to remember about the symbols of Maori art is that very little is known of their deeper meanings or origins. Ancestral images, such as those seen in ceremonial meeting houses, are simply that; their identity is sometimes known, but the symbolic meaning of the detail is little understood. Sometimes, the names of the carvers are recorded, but with eighteenth-century carvings such information is virtually non-existent.[1]

This is not just a recent day concern. Concerning the recording of philosophies and interpretations of Maori art, George Graham in 1932 recorded:

> Literature is sparse and not sufficiently detailed. This is no doubt due to the fact that the pioneer enquirers into these matters experienced difficulty in getting information, due to the Maori conservative attitude, and disinclination to talk of or impart to the Pakeha knowledge of mythological import. This attitude still unfortunately persists and meantime the knowledge is becoming vaguer and less definite as the years roll on.[2]

Graham indicates that the knowledge does exist, but has not been given to those who had recorded the information. Moreover, in the *Mythological Significance of Maori Art Forms* Graham wrote down that "Maori art forms are closely connected with the mythology of the race. The representation of mythology ideals or conception was the main objective, ornamental embellishment was but a subsidiary factor."[3] Contemporary viewpoints will be looked at with their interpretations. Maori interpretations as well as the bodies of knowledge within the kauwae-runga and kauwae-raro versions of the whare origin will also be analysed.

5.2 The Contemporary Symbolism of The Whare Runanga

The whare runanga can take many forms and regardless of its appearance the whare runanga is described as "the key to the Maori universe".[4] It may be adorned with

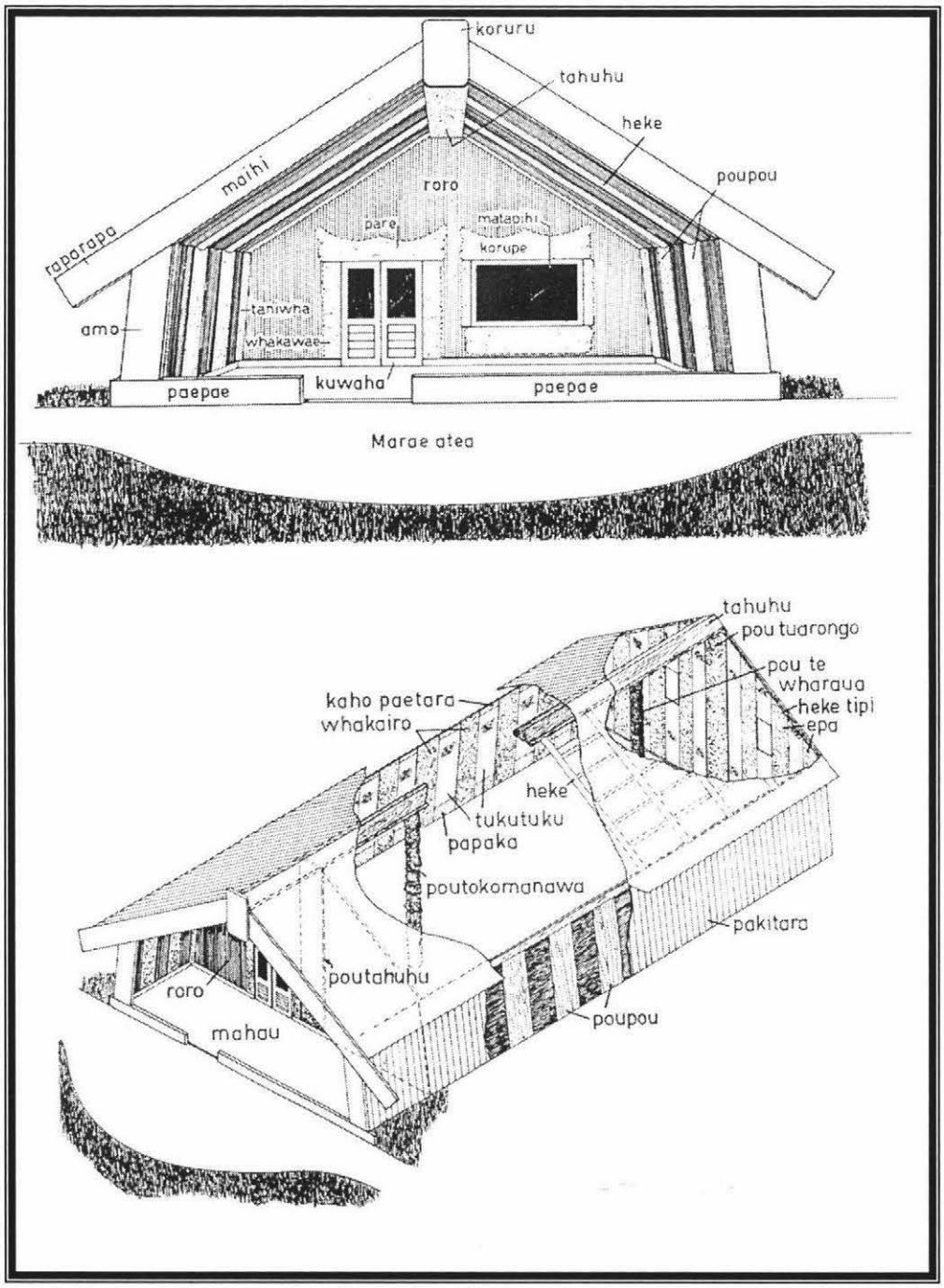

Fig 7. A diagram of Tanenuiarangi, Auckland University. Auckland.
(Source: Paki Harrison, *Tanenuiarangi*, 1988, pp. 2)

carvings, painted rafters and woven panels and in other cases it may not. It may be large and spacious or just like a small house or shed, yet the mana of the building is in its connections to the unseen world of ancestry and spirits.

Although the practice of adorning houses with designs would appear to be celestial in origin, being brought to earth from Rangi-tamaku,[5] it has become more acceptable in contemporary thinking to observe the whare as representing an important tribal ancestor. The whare personifies the body; the koruru (at the apex of the roof gable) represents the head of the ancestor whose name the house carries. The maihi (front bargeboards) become "the outstretched arms offered as a gesture of hospitality to welcome guests."[6] Extending the length of the whare from the koruru is the tahuhu (ridgepole), which is the backbone of the ancestor and from which flow the heke (rafters), or ribs. These heke connect to the poupou (carved post) who are his descendants. The roro (porch area) is the brain, kuwaha (door) is the mouth, and matapihi (window) the eye.[7] (see Fig 7)

5.3 Traditionalism

This Maori philosophical viewpoint of the whare as the body of an ancestor is in many cases referred to as a traditional viewpoint.[8] Sir Apirana Ngata knew that Western thought equated traditionalism with static, ordered and loyal societies that are unchanging.[9] In Ngata's view traditional Maori practices and knowledge are not necessarily the precise ones that existed pre-contact. So long as the tradition has a pre-contact origin or source of knowledge it is traditional.[10] All aspects of Maori life changed with the arrival of the Pakeha. The size and amount of carving and artwork have been effected by the introduction of steel and other tools. Other writers like Sissons have asserted that traditional Maori culture is fixed in time at pre-European contact.[11] This viewpoint is problematic as it takes the philosophy, tikanga and matauranga Maori of Maori practices and characterises it as static. When in fact Maori tradition was never static.[12]

What then is a traditional whare runanga or traditional interpretation of its construction? Perhaps having a strict adherence to traditional building methods or teachings would

suffice. Or adherence to traditional doctrine that all knowledge was originally derived by divine revelation and that it is transmitted in wananga form. In my view traditional Maori interpretation will link to a matauranga Maori source. As stated above, whare runanga practices everything changed with the arrival of the Pakeha, but so long as the knowledge source is within matauranga Maori the interpretation or practise will be referred to as traditional.

The whare runanga as we see it today is a recent development combining the elements of the chief's house, whare wananga, and the guest-house. The house of the chief was larger than the ordinary and often was decorated with carving.[13] The chief of the people was "the living embodiment of the tribal ancestor."[14] Maori gatherings in whare runanga are metaphorically seen as meeting within the bosom of an ancestor, in essence, as returning to one's roots and the source of one's being.[15] This contemporary Maori symbolism into the whare will still ultimately connect Maori to a matauranga Maori source as ancestors are the links to the atua.[16]

5.4 Waka Taua

The symbolism of the whare as an ancestor is very common through out Aotearoa although certain areas of the Whanganui river view the whare as an upturned waka taua.[17] Master carver, Pakariki Harrison links the symbolism between a waka taua and to the whare.

> The waka taua may be visualised as the body of Tane or as the body of a renowned ancestor. It is a vehicle for death and revenge. In modern times its symbolism has been changed somewhat to accommodate modern ideas and aspirations. It portrays the journey through this world from birth to death, the mythical origins of war and stories about the building of waka for this purpose. It is imbued with the genealogies of heaven and earth and the creation as well as the descent lines of illustrious warriors. . . The thwarts or cross beams (taumanu) upon which paddlers sat, were crossbeams carved with symbols of entitlement. These acted as links from the keel to the paddler, in the same way as the tahuhu of the meeting house links the ancestral pillars to the heke (rafters).[18]

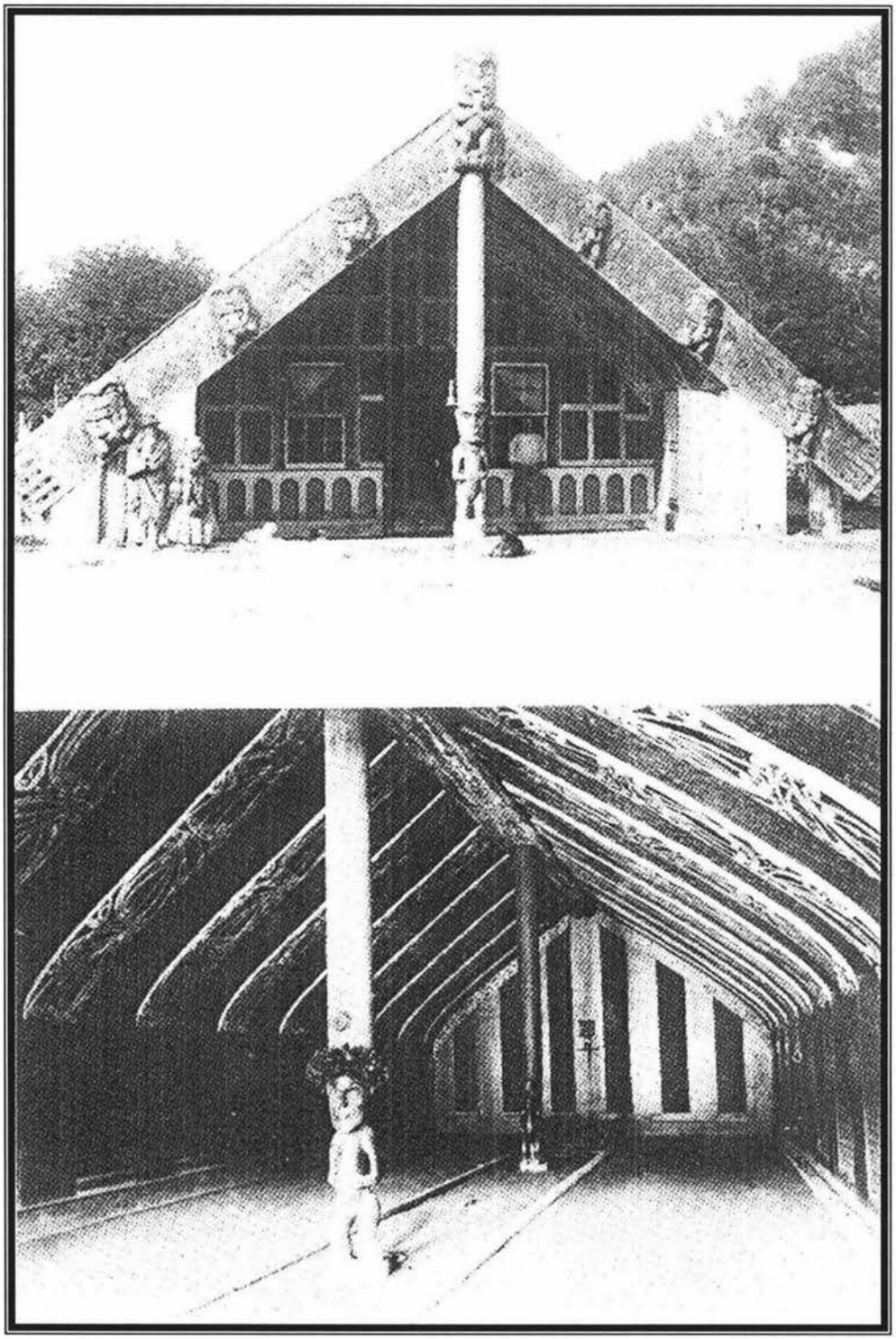

Fig 8. Waiherehere, Koroniti, Whanganui River. The curved heke give a waka shape to the whare. (Simmons, D.(1985) *Whakairo, Maori Tribal Art.* Auckland N.Z.: Oxford University Press. pp. 97)

The waka taua also represents the collective histories, stories, whakapapa, and mythology of the local people. Although some of the Whanganui River whare are given ancestral

names, they are more often named after ancestral incidents or events. While the poupou are still representative of tupuna from the various areas.[19]

Furthermore in Taranaki the naming of whare after events is also practised. Matangirei is the name of the first whare built in Patea. The whare was named by Turi of the Aotea waka and is interpreted to mean the cherished wind.[20]

5.5 Te Ahuatanga

In addition to the symbolism of the whare as a tupuna there are interpretations of the building structure that relate to the origin philosophies and matauranga Maori. The first of these is te wehenga.

5.5.1 Te Wehenga - Separation of Rangi-nui and Papa-tua-nuku

From te po, te po-nui, te po-roa, te po-uriuri, te po-kerekere, te po-tiwha came the primeval parents, Rangi-nui and Papa-tua-nuku, who lay entrenched in their nuptial embrace.[21] All the while "between them close cramped lay their children gigantic".[22] The gigantic offspring of Rangi and Papa have supernatural powers over the elements and are known as atua. With the conception of the atua the periods of darkness did not end. The atua moved around between their parents seeking the narrow passage to the world of light. This time spent in between their parents are also phases of te po.

Te Po-te-kitea
Te Po-tangotango
Te Po-whawha
Te Po-namunamu-ki-taiao
Te Po-tahuri-atu
Te Po-tahuri-mai-ki-taiao [23]

Throughout these phases of po each of the atua could only find their way around or recognise one another by feeling and using their senses.[24] Buck described this time as "the night of feeling [with the hands]".[25]

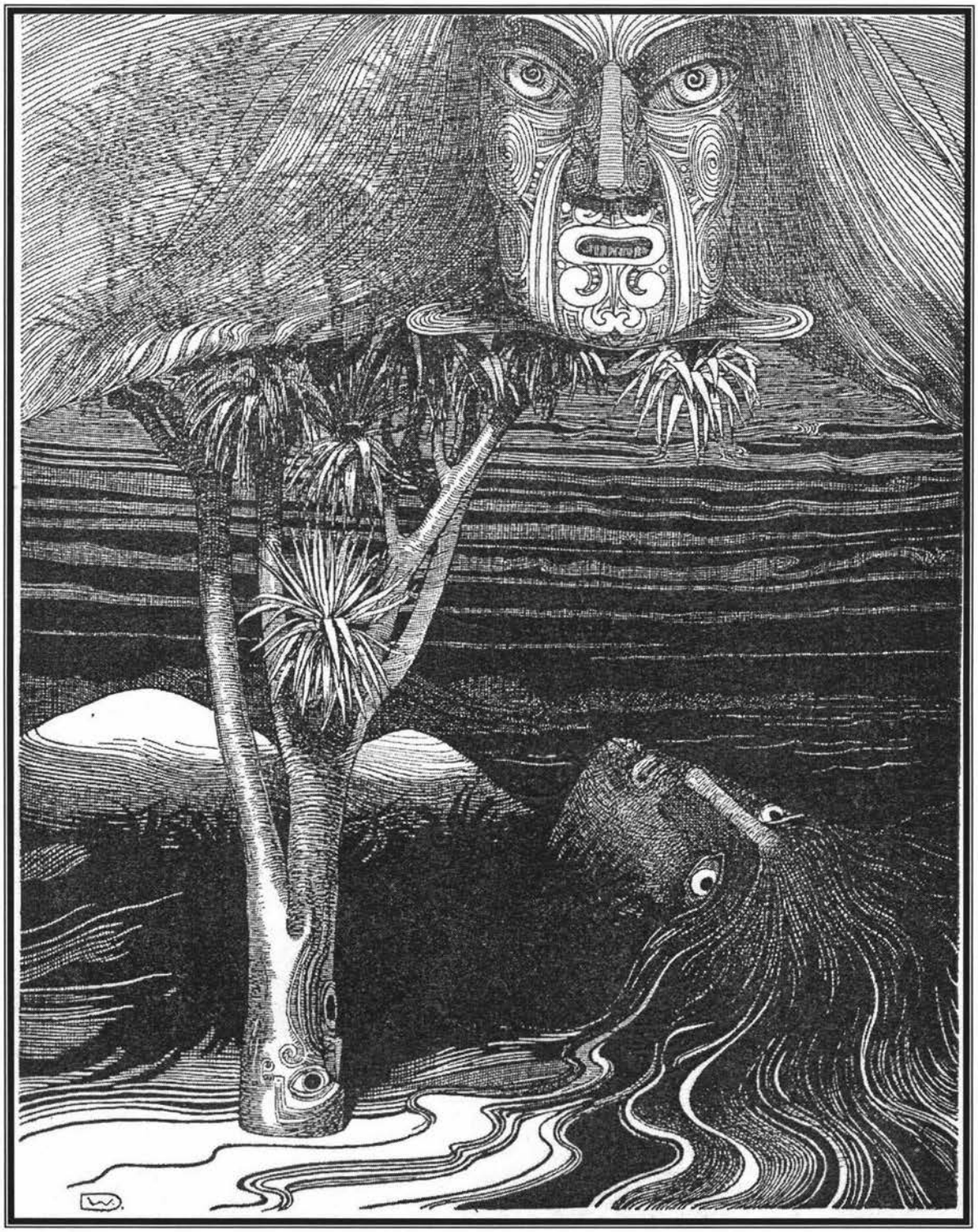

Fig 9: The Separation of Rangi and Papa. As depicted by W. Dittmer.
(Source: A. W. Reed. (1963). *An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Maori Life.* Wellington, A. H. & A. W. Reed. p. 48)

During this time a discussion took place between the atua regarding the possibility of

attaining the light they could see through their mothers armpit. In that discussion-making process "Tumatauenga, . . . was the most savage of the brothers, [and] proposed that the parents be slain."[26] However his proposal was amended as Tane suggested pushing Rangi into the heavens away from earth mother. Tawhirimatea did not support the separation of his parents as he thought of the setting as his own kingdom.[27] As the atua over the winds and storms the cramped situation between his parents, unlike his siblings, was bearable for Tawhirimatea because of his meteorological apparition. Nevertheless, with the help of the other atua, Tane "lay on his back and, using his legs, forced his parents apart."[28]

According to Aspinall, Hakiwai, and Terrell the whare runanga metaphorically can be seen as the retelling of te wehenga. The floor of the meeting house in former times was earthen which is Papatuanuku, the covering roof is Ranginui. The surrounding poupou are the atua in the act of separating their parents to bring light into the world.[29] The pou tahuhu (alternatively referred to as pou marama) is set at the front of the house, on the right side of the door as one enters. It "represents the initial upward thrust as Tane pushed apart Rangi and Papa".[30] The pou tokomanawa also stands as a "link between Rangi, the sky father and Papatuanuku, the earth mother."[31]

5.5.2 Rua-te-pupuke

A traditional saying or whakatauki reveals that the art of ornamenting whare runanga and wood carvings is attributed to Rua.

> "*Nga mahi whakairo, nga mahi a Rua*
>
> - The art of carving is the art of Rua."[32]

The symbolism in the story of Rua-te-pupuke is also perpetuated in the whare runanga. As recorded in chapter 4 Rua dived down into the deep being lead by "Popoia an owl sacred to the deep glooms of the spiritual world,"[33] to the ocean floor. On discovery of the "marvellous . . . ornamentation" on Hineteananui, the carved house of Tangaroa, Rua made his plans to rescue his son, dismantled the front of the whare and set the remains on fire. The whare structure today originates from the same building structure from the house of

Tangaroa. Graham recorded that "the figurate ornament on house gables still perpetuate the memory of this legend - the tekoteko is the image of [Manuruhi]. He usually stands above the Koruru, or owl-faced figure of Popoia."[34]

The owl satisfies another demand in the whare runanga as a whatu of talisman to retain the mana of the sacred building. When the ancient house whare kura was erected in the old homeland, the "koruru was the sacrifice buried at the rear wall thereof".[35] Therefore "the eyes of the poupou pukana or glare wide eyed - just like the owl - as a [reminder] of that [practice]"[36] and remind those who enter of the important role the koruru played in the origin and construction of the whare.

Fig 10: Ngati Tarawhai style Tekoteko showing ruru-type Koruru
Source: Museum of New Zealand ME. I476. B.25294

5.5.3 Tane-nui-a-rangi

The influence of the esoteric Tane-nui-a-rangi version and the imagery that is portrayed in the symbolism of the whare is a sacred Maori philosophical viewpoint. Essentially this is the primary source for the revered nature of the whare runanga. The whare runanga is built after the pattern of the first known whare in the world, which was erected in Hawaiki, Tane's whare kura.[37] As a sacred place of learning each part of the whare runanga will here be examined and the interpretations associated with them revealed.

5.6 Tahuhu. The tahuhu, which runs the length of the building, is referred to as the backbone of the ancestor. From it symbolically runs the toto, or blood, and genealogy to the carved ancestral poupou around the walls connecting them all to one another. Generally today the tahuhu run from west to east.[38] Although when the Mataatua whare was first erected it "conformed to the ancient rule that the tahuhu must run north and south

so that the spirits of the dead on their way to Te Reinga would not have to cross it."[39] This is considered an ill omen to the well-being of the whare runanga just as food houses were built north and south for the same reason. If spirits should cross the tahuhu of food storage houses this would cause the food within to decay.[40]

The tahuhu in Ruatepupuke whare represents the "journey through life [and] speaks of a passage from Te Kore (the void) through Te Po (the realm of night) and into Te Ao Marama (the world of light)."[41] The journey on the tahuhu is known as the "ara whaiti a Tane-nui-a-rangi - The narrow path of Tane".[42] The narrow path that is sometimes described as being sacred - I roto i te ara tauwhaiti, I te ara totohe tapu o Tane.[43] This "ara goes from the front of the building to the back and then on to the horizon and the ara-tiatia-o-Tane".[44] The tahuhu symbolises the journey that people take in life, which is much like the journey of Tane to the baskets of knowledge and back to Io Matua.

The journey of life can be seen as a discovery of knowledge and learning. This is why the tahuhu can also be interpreted to "represent the baskets of knowledge brought back to Papatuanuku by Tanenuiarangi."[45] However, fundamentally Tane built Wharekura on the earth for the specific purpose to have a place "to deposit the tahuhu of the wananga of the Heavens." The tahuhu is described by Matorohanga to Smith as the symbol of the "origin, summit, very commencement of all knowledge", hence the tahuhu, is at the summit of the building above all in the house, thus, being above all other korero, teachings, doctrine and law.[46] Therefore, one might say ultimately the tahuhu is the symbol of the source of all knowledge, who is Io-te-wananga, Io-of-all-knowledge.

5.7 Kaho. The kaho are the horizontal battens or purlins that are laid on the heke or rafters of the whare.[47] The purpose of the kaho before European construction techniques were introduced was to strengthen the roof of the whare to carry several layers of thatching. In general there was an even number on each side of the tahuhu,[48] generally four was sufficient in pre-contact Aotearoa.[49] In recent times the number of kaho is not an issue of debate but with larger house have come increased numbers of kaho.

The lowest kaho is known as the kaho-paetara and connects the upper ends of the poupou and lashed then into position.[50] (see fig 11) Nevertheless, the kaho hold a special significance in the philosophy of the whare as spiritual dividers of the knowledge within the house. The kaho-paetara is the "barrier beam that separates".[51] It is the symbol that separates two levels of knowledge. The knowledge pertaining to the kauwae-runga is above the kaho-paetara with the kauwae-raro below.[52] The kauwae raro here pertains to the earthly things, genealogy, history, even down to daily activities, whereas the kauwae-runga is heavenly, wairua knowledge advancing towards Io-te-wananga. This barrier completely encircled the interior of the whare and "it [is] considered highly improper to break [the kaho-paetara] by door or window".[53]

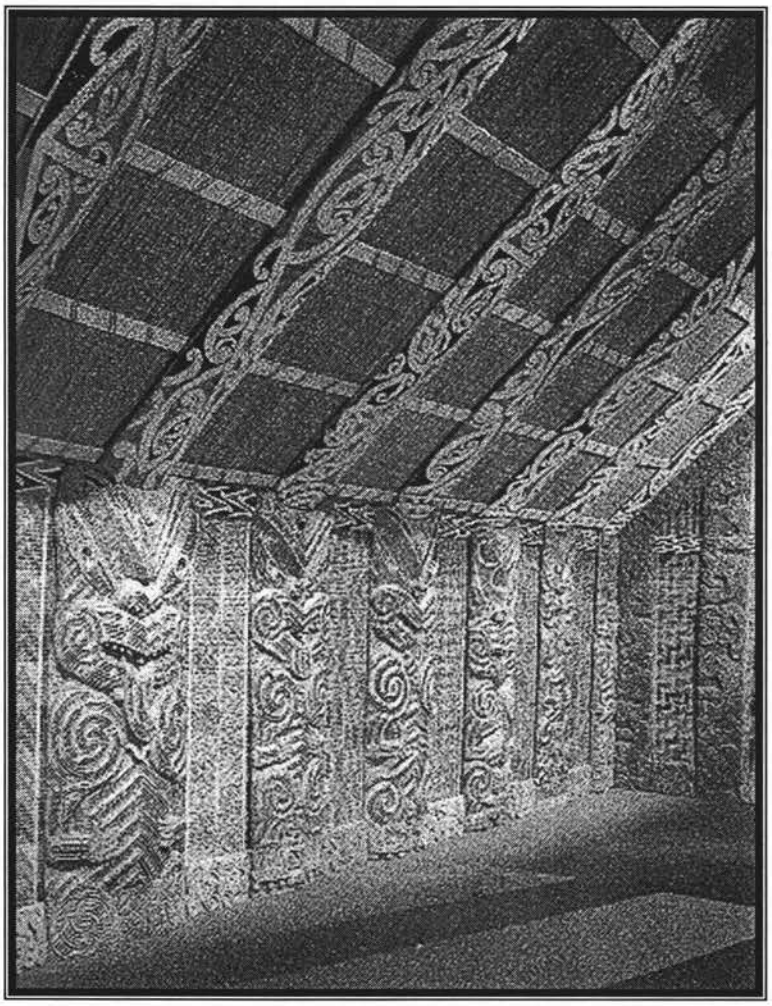

Fig 11. Interior of Hotunui whare. Illustrating encircling Kaho-Paetara and Kaho in ceiling. (Source: Thomas, N. (1995) *Oceanic Art.* London. Thames and Hudson Ltd. pp. 65.)

With the tahuhu symbolising Io, the pinnacle of Maori knowledge and philosophy, the kaho symbolically separated other levels of knowledge. Ascending to the tahuhu from the kaho-paetara the other three kaho are referred to as the kaho-tuwatawata and the kaho-matapupuni,[54] with the uppermost kaho being the most sacred and distinguished by being classified as the "kaho-tapu".[55] The kaho-paetara and kaho are indicators of spiritual plains and symbolise a number of the kauwhanga in the whare.

5.8 Kauwhanga. Best documented that an imperceptible passage exists down the centre of the whare and divided the whare in half. This middle passage is commonly called the kauwhanga.[56] The Maori mythology concerning the ascent of Tane to Io-te-wananga shows clearly that kauwhanga is not just a title for the middle passage of a tapu building. The middle passage is called the kauwhanga for a specific reason and performs a particular function.

The comprehensive term used for the twelve heavens that Tane ascended is rangi tuhaha. Therein exists spiritual plains that divide "the heavens one from another" keeping knowledge and the heavenly beings of each heaven separate from the others. These original spiritual plains are called "kauwhanga".[57] The kauwhanga divided the Tikitiki-o-nga-rangi from Tiritiri-o-matangi, Rangi-noanoa-ariki, and Rangi-te-wanawana. Likewise, kauwhanga down the centre of the whare is a space, a spiritual divider that separates two different spheres of knowledge in the whare runanga. This kauwhanga divides spheres of existence within the world. Life from death, male from female, tapu from noa.

Although the middle passage is actually known as the kauwhanga it is not the only "kauwhanga" in the whare. As stated previously the kaho-paetara and other kaho also are kauwhanga as is the front paepae and doorway. Which all function as spiritual dividers and thresholds in the whare. In total there are twelve sections in a whare runanga with kauwhanga dividing each sector.[58]

5.9 Poutokomanawa. Also known as the pou-matua and pou-tane,[59] the pou-tokomanawa

is the centre pole of the whare runanga. In Te Arawa the poutokomanawa often has a carved figure of the ancestor after who the house is named.[60] In much of the rest of the country the poutokomanawa are main descendants or close relatives. In the whare Tuwharetoa-i-te-aupouri the back poutokomanawa or poutewharaua is Rongomai-te-ngangana the son of Tuwharetoa.[61] The front poutokomanawa is Turangi-tukua, his great grand son.[62] The famous East Coast whare Porou-rangi also has two carved poutokomanawa. The front figure represents Hamo-te-rangi, with the other representing Rongomai-aniwaniwa, "the wife and daughter respectively of Porou-rangi."[63]

The poutokomanawa has two common interpretations. The first is the view of the pou as the heart or manawa of the ancestor. Secondly, when the lower end is carved in a human figure, the pou is said to "represent an ancestor supporting the roof on his head."[64]

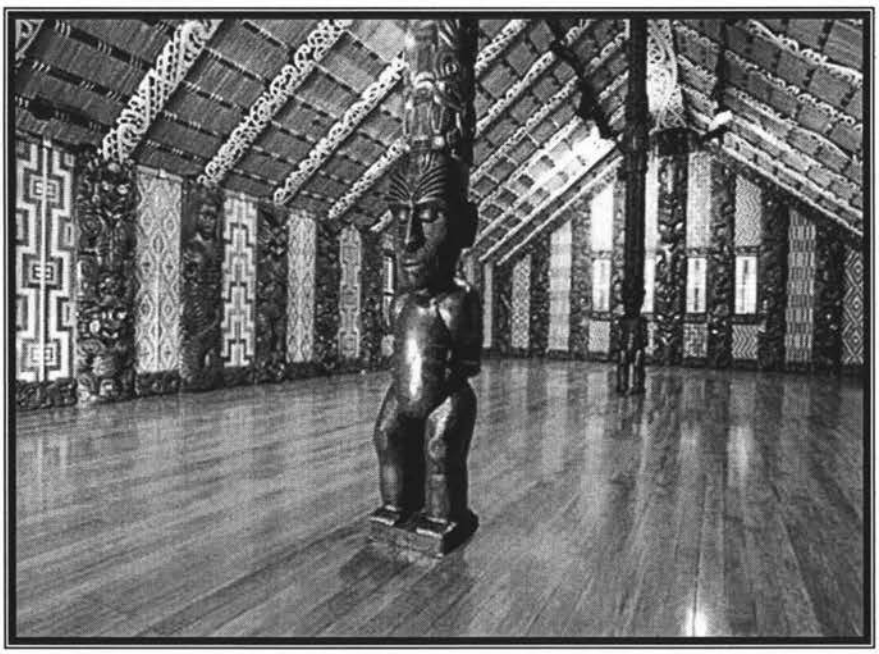

Fig 12. Interior of Waitangi Whare Runanga, detailing carved Poutokomanawa. (Source: http://www.taitokerau.com/east/waitangi/runanga.htm)

Nevertheless, in the cosmological context the poutokomanawa shows the connection that still exists between Rangi and Papa. Although the two are physically separated their hearts are still intertwined. Thus the poutokomanawa is the post that holds up the heart.

This pou is also explained in the context of the knowledge brought to earth by Tane-nui-a-rangi. Herein the poutokomanawa is the ure, the male sexual organ of the ancestor and is seen as the symbol of birth. Going two and a half feet into the whenua, which is a symbol of woman, the whenua is the placenta through which a foetus is nourished during pregnancy.[65] The poutokomanawa then can be a symbol of the procreative power of the ancestor and a symbol of birth. The poutokomanawa is the direct connection from the tahuhu and the heavens with the whenua. It reminds Maori of their origin and the source of their being.[66] The spiritual substances that make for life and "superlative welfare all originated with Io . . .the wairua, the manawa ora (breath of life), the toira, and the wananga [knowledge] all emanated from that source."[67] The blood and physical body of human beings derives from the first parent created by Tane-nui-a-rangi at Kurawaka. Being formed out of the dust of Papatuanuku.[68]

5.10 Poutahuhu. The front post to the right of the door as you enter is the poutahuhu or poumarama and is said to symbolise life. In the regions of the Bay of Plenty and East Coast the poutahuhu is named after "Tane Te Waiora, Tane the giver of life."[69] Furthermore Barlow explained that the poutahuhu shows the ascent of Rangi into the heavens and therefore "symbolizes the light or the pathway to the gods."[70] In general there are three or four carved figures on the poutahuhu with the oldest at the top and youngest at the bottom. This occurs in the whare Tane-nui-a-rangi where the top ancestor is Tane Mahuta, below him is Hine Ahu One, and below her is Hine Titama. The poutahuhu reminds people that knowledge is passed down and that the journey in life is upward.

5.11 Poutuarongo. The poutuarongo along with the poutahuhu were the first parts of the whare to be set in place then laboriously the tahuhu was set on top of them both. At the end of life's journey is the "threshold between life and death", which is what the poutuarongo represents at the end of the tahuhu.[71] The poutuarongo is the symbol of death and regarded as the representation of Hine-nui-te-po, the guardian of Rarohenga. Before electric lights were installed in whare the front matapihi was the only aperture for light to enter through. Consequently as people move farther into the house it grows darker "exemplifying the power of night and the movement of all life from creation to death."[72]

Buried in the earth under the poutuarongo was the mauri or whatu, which enshrined the mana of the tribe.[73] This marked the serious nature of the symbolism within the whare and in particular the symbolism of the poutuarongo. Often the mauri under this pou ensured the prestige and sanctity of the whare. The ceremony required the sacrifice of a human. Often a slave was made to squat in the hole as the post was lowered in and buried.[74] Occasionally, a slave was not used as in the case of Taraia who erected his house at Herepu, near Karamu, Hawke Bay. The following is part of an oriori, an old song, from Ngati Kahungunu alluding to this custom.

Ka whaihanga Taraia i tona whare	Then Taraia built his house
Ka Makaia tana potiki	Placing his youngest child
Hei whatu mo te poutuarongo	As a whatu for the rearmost pillar
O tana whare, o Te Raro-akiaki.	Of his house, of Te Raro-akiaki [75]

While the poutuarongo is a symbol of death the back wall of the whare is the arai, or veil of death that all will ultimately pass through.

5.12 Paepae. As the beam that extends across the front on a whare runanga, paepae may be called by different names depending on tribal variants. The following are frequently used throughout the country, paepae-kainga-awha,[76] paepae-kai-awha, paepae-roa,[77] paepae-awha[78] or paepae-tapu. Sometimes the paepae is perceived as having two parts (left side and right side of the whatitoka or doorway), with each side having it's own distinguishable name. The left side is referred to as the paepae-poto or the paepae-tapu, and the right side as the paepae-kai-awha[79] or paepae-kainga-awha right.[80]

Hamilton and Best state that the intention for having the paepae put in place was to keep away dogs and pigs.[81] In the old whare wananga, which the whare runanga is modelled after, "the paepae-awha is the squared and carved log which extends from side to side of the house inside the front gable; it is about two feet high, and over which people step into the open porch of the house. Outside this is the marae or court, or plaza, where in ordinary villages, meetings, ceremonies, etc. are held."[82] The paepae was a part of the whare wananga that was set away from the village, food-cultivations, and everyday activities including animals.[83] This would point to another reason or symbolic function behind the

inclusion of the paepae on a whare.

The paepae is symbolically likened to the threshold that one crosses over from one world in to another and is "a visible statement of how Maori perceive and understand the world."[84] This Maori world view, as stated in chapter 3, encapsulates the acquisition of knowledge through te wehenga, nga kete o te wananga, and the Maori cosmology. Through the holistic view and the emphasis on the relationships and linkages that tie phenomena,[85] the paepae of the whare runanga is regarded as a kauwhanga, a spiritual barrier, between two realms or states of existence.

According to Simmons, there are three states of existence in Maori cosmology. The first is te kore, the nothing, the void, the time when all elements were in a state of potential. The second is te po, the darkness and then te ao marama the world of light. The three states can be seen "as three spheres, one within the other." The outermost is te kore and then in towards te po and te ao marama in the centre.[86] The whare complex is symbolic of this also with the outer sphere being the marae moving over the paepae into the mahau and then into the centre realm of the whare runanga. Te kore over the paepae into te po and into te ao marama, progressing in spheres of development and knowledge. In between each state is a wheiao, a transitional period or threshold, which is marked by the paepae at the front of the mahau and at the door.

Jones explained the representation of the journey of Tane in the same illustration. The marae is a sacred area and is likened to Rangi-nui, the first of the twelve heavens that Tane ascended. Crossing over the outer paepae and through a kauwhanga into the sacred realm of Rangi-tuhaha and then finally into the Tikitiki-o-rangi, the abode of Io-te-wananga, and the spring of sacred lore.[87] The paepae is the wheiao between te kore and te po, the kauwhanga between Rangi-nui and Rangi-tuhaha. As well as, a sacred barrier from the outside world and the koopu or womb of the ancestor.

5.13 Maihi. The maihi are above the paepae on the front of the meeting house. They were the crowning emblems of the whare runanga. A whare with maihi is one of the indicators

or signs of a chiefly house hence the korero.

> He whare maihi e tu i te wao, he kai na te ahi, he whare maihi e tu ki roto ki te pa tuwatawata koina te tohu rangatira.
>
> An ornamented house built in the wilderness is food for the fire; but an ornamented house sheltered behind the stockade of a pa is the emblem of nobility.[88]

The maihi symbolically represent the arms of the ancestor with the raparapa carved at the ends as stylised hands. Maihi also symbolise a link between Io and man. The maihi come to a junction at the apex of the building which is covered by the koruru,[89] at which junction they are connected to the sacred tahuhu. For that reason they connect all who walk beneath their embrace to Io-matua.

Fig 13. Whare at Te Wairoa, Tarawera. Illustrating indented panel on maihi with takarangi. (Source: Barrow, T. (1984), An Illustrated Guide to Maori Art. Auckland, Reed Publishers. pp. 68)

It is understood that on very old houses the maihi were either uncarved (see Fig. 14) or painted with kowhaiwhai designs. Perhaps only in the last 80 years, with the development of Maori arts and Crafts school in 1926, have fully carved maihi become customary. With the carving of the maihi, a common feature is found on houses from the 1880's up until today. Below the band of carvings or even blank area of the maihi is the thin indented band "consisting of takarangi spirals alternating with manaia heads."[90] (see Fig 13) Takarangi spirals illustrate two themes - the turbulence of the spirits during the separation of Rangi and Papa, but more significantly, "the coming of light and knowledge into the world"[91] The double spirals are symbolic of the two levels of light and knowledge in the kauwae runga and kauwae raro.[92] Therefore symbolically as Maori meet and converse across the marae the maihi are reminders of the knowledge from the tiki-tiki-o-rangi that descended to the earth with Tane in nga kete o te wananga.[93]

5.14 Amo. On the sides of the paepae at the front of the porch are two upright slabs called amo or ama. In the record of the whare Ruatepupuke, the amo are "the legs of the ancestor, after whom the house has been named,"[94] For other areas of the East Coast, Wairarapa, Bay of Plenty, and Urewera the amo are main descendants of the ancestor after whom the whare is named. The amo are positioned at the front sides of the whare, being placed there as guardians.[95] Watching the activities of the marae and those who cross the paepae into the Rangi-tuhaha and Tikitiki-o-rangi.[96]

The purpose of the amo was to support the lower ends of the maihi,[97] making the title of 'amo' an appropriate name. "Amo" means to "carry on the shoulder".[98] The amo shoulder a burden that is not just in the physical appearance of holding the maihi or the outstretched arms of the ancestor above the ground. The maihi are connected to the tahuhu, a symbol of Io, making their affliction also a wairua burden. Coming down on the maihi is the knowledge of nga kete o te wananga from Io to man.[99] Therefore, the amo are symbolic guards that remind those who enter the whare runanga of the spiritual nature of the place. A similar responsibility is carried by "amo-rangi" who are "spiritual leaders, priests" and carriers of the emblems of the atua.[100]

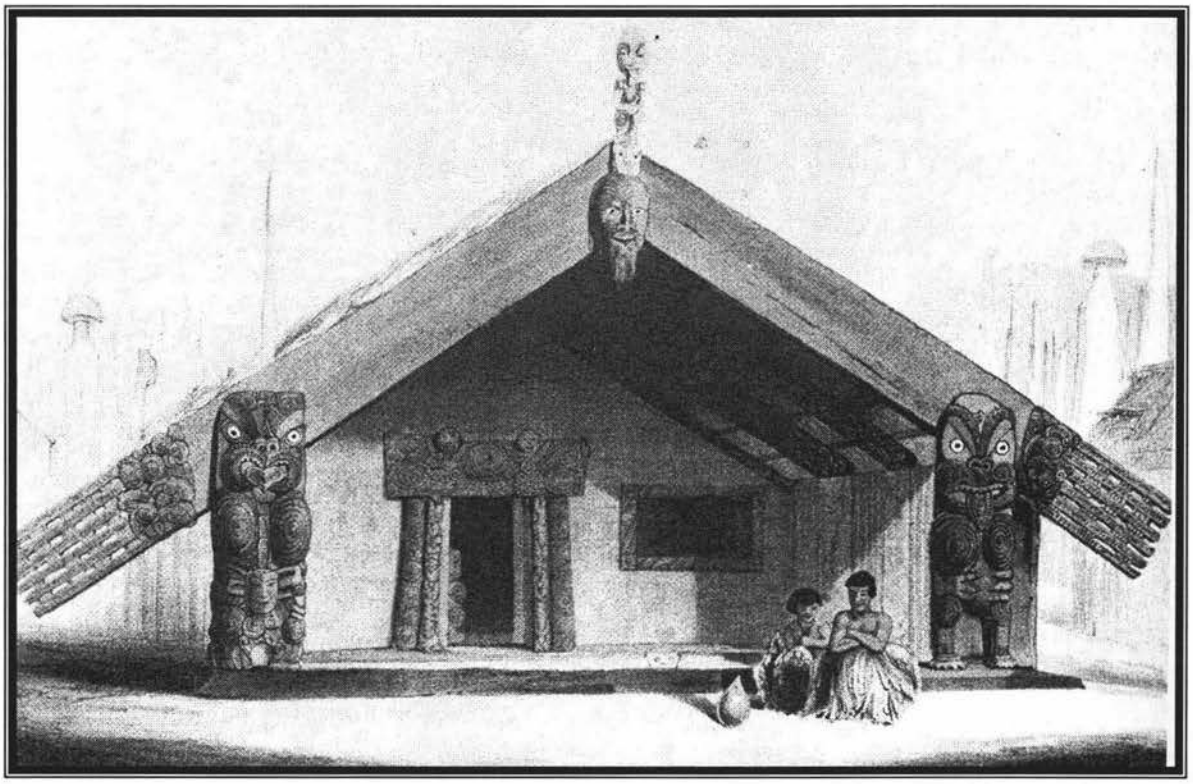

Fig 14. Te Rangihaeata's Whare, Kaitangata. Drawn by Angus in 1844. A prime example of an early whare runanga. (Source: Mead, S. M. (1986) *Te Toi Whakairo*, Reed Publishers Ltd. pp. 51.)

5.15 Kuwaha. The kuwaha or whatitoka is the door of the whare. There are many interpretations of the symbolism of the kuwaha that originate from within matauranga Maori and the various Maori cosmological origins.

As a kuwaha the door symbolises the mouth of the ancestor whereby people enter into the body, the poho[101] or koopu. The door threshold is called the pae-taku[102]; Buck also uses the name paepae-poto,[103] alluding to the sacred barrier and kauwhanga symbol that the door represents. The kuwaha is "the symbolic passage for the living members of the tribe between the world of myth and the world of history . . . traditionally recognised in all meeting houses as a dangerous tapu threshold and boundary between two cosmological orders."[104] It is where the spiritual and physical realms come together.[105] As mentioned earlier the door is also interpreted as the threshold between rangi tuhaha and the tikitiki-o-rangi; it is the important boundary between the outside world of ordinary living

and the inner world of Maori lore.

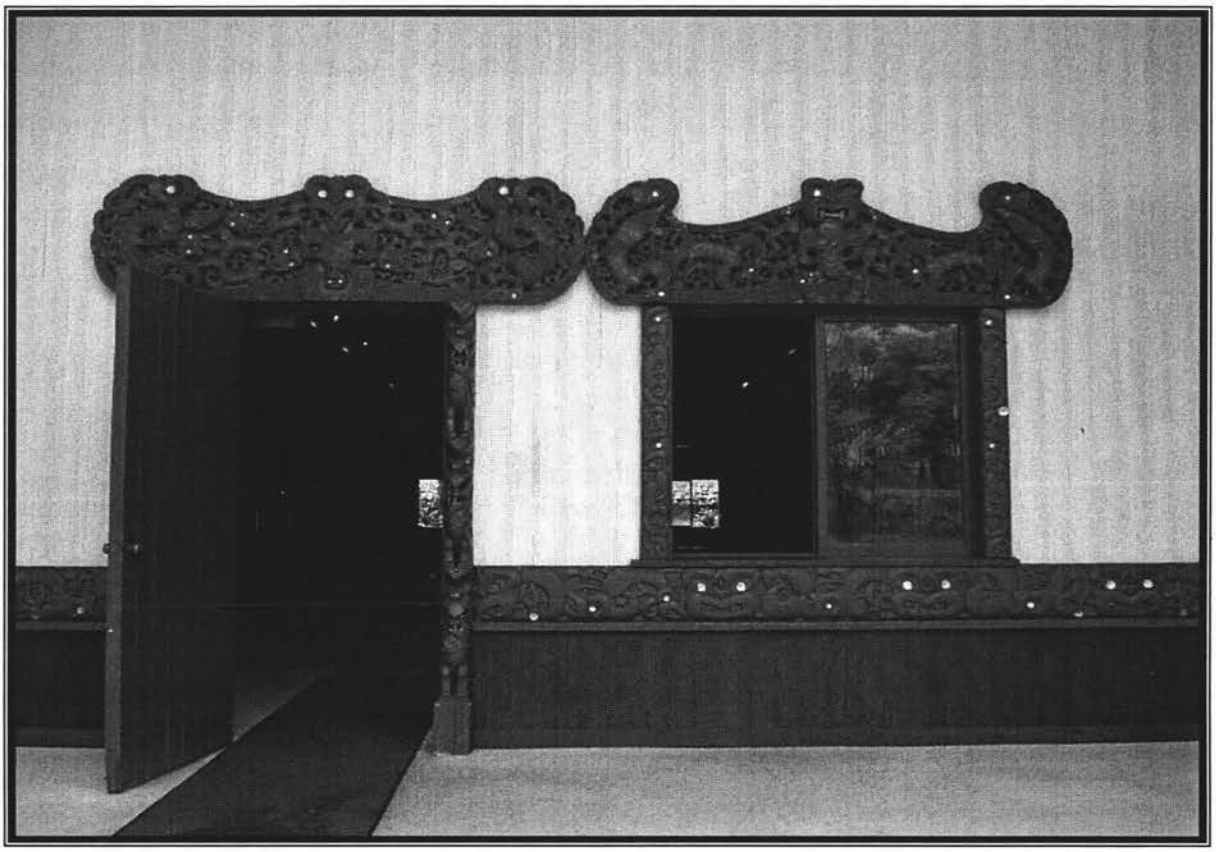

Fig 15. Kuwaha and Matapihi - Te Aroha o te Iwi Maori 2001
Laie, Hawai'i (Source: Tama Holverson)

Barlow below explains the symbolism of the kuwaha in relation to te wehenga:

> The doorway of the house is a significant feature of the building. It represents the threshold between two states: the world of gloom within the house, and the ao marama outside . . . . . .[it] symbolises a change of state as one emerges from the main body of the house and enters the world outside. It is the threshold separating the sacred and the profane.[106]

The two side jambs on the door are symbolically the legs of a wahine that is represented in the lintel above the door. The door is therefore referred to as the birth canal of the wahine and consequently a symbol of death as one enters and life as one exits. The carved figures on the whakawae represent ancestral guardians for this sacred part of the meeting house.

5.16 Pare. Whenever a person enters a whare runanga they must pass under the lintel of the door. The lintel above the door is the korupe or pare. The pare has more than one purpose. The pare marks the tapu threshold in through the birth canal to the koopu of the ancestor. Therefore, "to enter the house is to go into the body and symbolically to change ones state."[107] This is a change from tapu to noa.[108] This is metaphorically accomplished with the pare often carved in motifs representing a wahine with her legs outstretched. Hence, the pare is "acknowledged to be the most tapu carving of the meeting-house."[109]

Through rich Maori symbolism, female genitalia on the pare is associated with death and the removal of tapu. Maui's pursuit of immortality by entering the genital area of Hine-nui-te-po was diminished as the goddess of death crushed him between her legs. Thus was death and mortality unequivocally established in the world.[110]

Whakakake or crawling through the legs of a female was a practice carried out by warriors before battle. This destroyed all "baneful influences of hauhau-aitu or fatal weaknesses".[111] Because blood spilt in battle is tapu, a similar custom of crawling between the legs of a wahine was practised to lift the tapu or whakanoa the warriors after battle also.[112]

The pare serves as a symbol "to remove the dangerous tapu of people, especially strangers, as they cross the threshold and entered into the body of the tribal ancestor", and the source of sacred tribal knowledge.[113] While inside the whare they are revitalized and return "to the outside world with a new zest for life." Moreover, symbolically returning through the birth cannel emphasizes the passage from the world of confinement into the world of light.[114]

5.17 Matapihi. The matapihi is the eye of the house or the window.[115] It is also called the mataaho. Best explained that Maori may refer to the matapihi as the puta-auahi because of its function as a smoke escape.[116]

Another name commonly used for the window and it's use as a smoke ventilator is "pihanga,"[117] which Pitiroi explained as the same rationale behind the naming of the volcano Pihanga in the Tuwharetoa area.[118]

In relation to te wehenga the window holds substantial significance.

> The window of the house represents a primitive archetype. The window opening or fissure symbolizes the opening [in the armpit of Papa] through which the children of Rangi and Papa perceived the light of the outside world and wanted to possess it. The house is sited so that it faces north-east, towards the rising sun. This too is symbolic of moving from the world of confinement and suspended animation into a world of light. As the sun rises in the morning its light enters the small aperture of window, just as the children of Rangi and Papa perceived the first light from within the bosom of their parents.[119]

With the kuwaha as a symbol of life, the matapihi on the opposite side of the central kauwhanga is also a symbol of death.[120]

5.18 Heke. The heke are the rafters that extend from the tahuhu down to the poupou. The heke fit into semicircular grooves at the head of the poupou called ruawhetu.[121] Given the metaphor of the whare runanga as the body of an ancestor with the tahuhu as its backbone, the heke are seen as its ribs. These are the branching descent lines leading down to its descendants, its bones, and its iwi.[122] Graham gave one version that the ribbed structure was symbolic of the skeleton of Tutunui being suspended inside the roof of Kae's whare Te Tihi-o-manono. Interior ornamentation of the heke today is the perpetuation of this story.[123]

The esoteric view, sees in the heke an ihomatua or umbilical cord from Io-matua down in whakapapa to the poupou and on to the people in the whare. The heke represent the manawa line and are another connector that remind Maori of where they come from. The Whanau-a-Apanui elder Eruera Stirling explained an old custom is to "sleep at the feet of your carved ancestor" when ever in a whare runanga.[124] Doing this thus completes the whakapapa from Io to the carved ancestor then to his descendant laying at his feet.

The heke are often covered with kowhaiwhai patterns which represent forms from the natural world.[125] The designs are often symbolic of levels of whakapapa. For example

Harris says the manawa design is the representation of the hue or gourd plant. This kowhaiwhai pattern has a strong association with genealogy and is described as a visual decent from the tahuhu to the poupou. This is supported by the Maori proverb that effectively describes the association.

> "He kawai hue, he kawai tangata - Human pedigrees are like the runners of the gourd plant".[126]

Fig 16. Manawa Kowhaiwhai design. (Source: Harris, G. 'Plants Symbolised in Traditional Kowhaiwhai Patterns', *New Zealand Gardner,* 54 Issue 7, (July 1998), pp. 50.)

5.19 Poupou. The wooden posts surrounding the interior of the whare are poupou. As a common practice these slabs are painted or carved with images representing famous ancestors of the tribe. However, the poupou "did not merely represent ancestors; in some sense, they were them."[127] The poupou "serve as vehicles for ancestral spirits who remained with the tribe as silent witnesses, but by no means inactive agents, in the affairs of their descendants."[128] In this understanding the poupou within the whare runanga are the very people from whom the Maori of the area took their identity, ancestors who are still concerned with their welfare.

An appreciation for the active role of the poupou in Maori life is gained through a waiata recorded by Ngata. Uenuku was a high chief in Hawaiki who disowned his son Ruatapu because his mother was a slave. In his shame, Ruatapu stole a tapu whalebone comb that his father wore as a sign of his rank. Uenuku entered his whare and noticed the comb was missing.

Kau he te iringa o te heru	The combs hanging place was disturbed.
A, e ui ra ki te poupou o te whare,	So he asked the wall-posts of the house,
Kaore te ki mai te waha.	But their mouths did not speak.
A, e ui ra ki te tuarongo o te whare,	So he asked the back of the house,
Kaore te ki mai te waha.	But its mouth did not speak.
A, e ui ra ki te whatitoka o te whare,	So he asked the doorway of the house,
Kaore te ki mai te waha.	But its mouth did not speak.
A, e ui ra ki te maihi o te whare,	So he asked the gable-board of the house,
Kaore te ki mai te waha.	But their mouths did not speak.[129]

Another waiata recorded by White tells how Hine-titama in order to learn her father's name sought the information from the poupou of whare.

Ka uia i reira, ko wai te matua nana nei au?
I uia ki te poupou o te whare, kahore te ki te waha;
I uia ra ki te patu o te whare, kahore te ki te waha.

Then she asked, who is the parent whose child I am?
She asked the posts of the house, but their mouths did not speak;
She asked the side of the house, but its mouth did not speak.[130]

Another composer, who having lost her love, felt there was no one else to protect her but the poupou of Tuwhare. This waiata exemplifies the protective presence of the poupou for their descendants.

Whirinaki kau au nga pou whare kura	All I have to lean on are the fine house posts
O Tuwhare ra, kia tangi atu au.	Of Tuwhare over there - it makes me cry.[131]

As prominent ancestors the poupou are all connected by the papaka. The carvings around the base of the walls of the whare are identified as the papaka, or the crab. This inconspicuous carving is at ground level in between every one of the poupou and in most instances goes up and over the door completely encircling the inner walls. Jones described the joining of the poupou by the papaka as the symbol our ancestors had to remind them of whanaungatanga.[132] It also reflects the importance of the tribal alliances, kotahitanga and unity within.

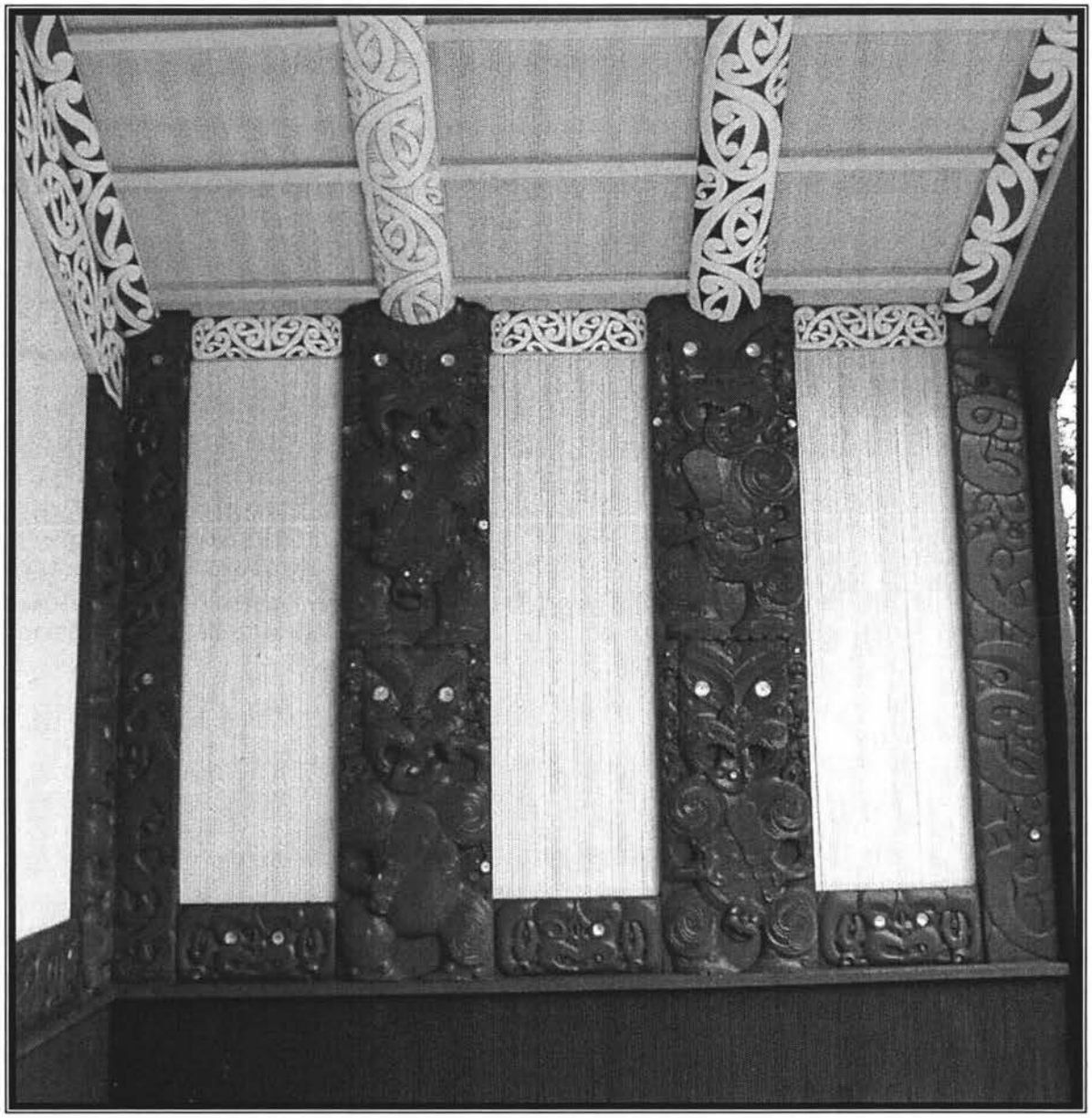

Fig 17. Poupou on Mahau, Te Aroha o te Iwi Maori 2001 Laie, Hawai'i. (Source: Tama Holverson)

5.20 Te Marae.

In earlier times the marae was the ceremonial area in front of the house of the chief.[133] The marae, sacred open meeting area, generally situated in front of the "whare runanga", is an area of great mana, the place of greatest spirituality; the place that heightens people's

dignity, and the place in which Maori customs are given ultimate expression. The marae is the domain of Tumatauenga hence the full name of the marae is Te marae-atea-o-Tumatauenga.[134] Inside the whare is the domain of Tane-nui-a-rangi, Tane-whakapiripiri, Tane the uniter,[135] and Rongo.

5.20.1 Tumatauenga - Governor of the Marae

Tumatauenga was a fierce warrior among the other atua but not the only warrior atua. The philosophy surrounding the first accounts of Tu shows the attributes that earned him his position over warfare. At the beginning of time a discussion took place between the atua regarding the separation of their parents Rangi and Papa. In that discussion-making process of the atua Tumatauenga saw the solution in killing their parents. Tu's killer instinct was evident. Tu's aggression was exposed again during the creation of Te Awhiorangi and Whironui,[136] the two toki (stone adzes) used by the second youngest of the atua, Tupaia.[137] These toki were created by means of Kaupeka's murder. His legs were used as handles, skull split in half to protect the lashings and his intestines used for lashing material.[138] This first killing or first murder was carried out by Tu who is also known as "the slayer of Kaupeka."[139]

The appearance of Tu's aggressive behaviour is also exposed when he takes revenge on his brothers for their cowardly retreat from the attacks of Tawhiri-matea. Tu reduced his brother's mana by eating their children or using them as tools.[140] Tu's contribution to the first created human, Hine-ahu-one, were the "sinews and muscles",[141] which make possible all the physical activities of warfare. These attributes gave Tu the achieved status as the atua of warfare amongst the Maori. The attributes of Tu and his attained position in the Maori world are brought out in the many names given to Tuu because of these philosophies:

Tuu-mata-uenga	Tuu the ugly faced war god.
Tuu-matau-enga.	Tuu the knowledgeable one of war.
Tuu- mata-kakaa	Tuu of the flashing eyes
Tuu-mata-huki	Tuu of the twitching face
Tuu-mata-taawera	Tuu of the burning face

Tuu-ka-nguha	Tuu of the flared nostrils
Tuu-ka-riri	Tuu the furious one
Tuu-ka-korikori	Tuu the energetic one
Tuu-ka-mahuta	Tuu the agile one
Tuu-ka-maranga	Tuu the rising one
Tuu-maro	Tuu of the war apron
Tuu-mata-rau-wiri	Tuu of the quivering blade
Tuu-hapainga	Tuu the uplifting one
Tuu-hikitia	Tuu the inspiring one
Tuu-te-ihi	Tuu the impassioned one
Tuu-te-wehi	Tuu the fearsome one
Tuu-te-wana	Tuu the awesome one
Tuu-whakamana-ariki	Tuu the maker of heroes
Tuu-kai-otaota	Tuu the eater of unripe fruits
Tuu-kai-taua	Tuu the devourer of warriors[142]
Tuu-mata-whaiti	Tuu the constricted face
Tuu-whakaheke-tangata-ki-te po	Tuu who causes man to descend to the underworld[143]

Some children were taken by tohunga to a stream or pond five or six days after birth and dedicated to the service of Tu. Several invocations were repeated over them to endow them with strength and to aspire them to develop the attributes of a warrior for the people.

Kia hapai patu koe	To uplift thy weapons
Kia mau patu koe	To carry thy arms
Kia karo patu koe	To parry fierce blows
Kia mau toa koe	To catch the bravest
Kia tangaengae koe	Be thou strong and able
Kia whete koe	To grimace in the war dance
Kia ngawari koe	To be lithe and quick
Kia whiwhia ki te pehu o Tu	And acquire the power of Tu
Whiwhia, rawea	Possess it! hold it!
Ka puta koe ki te whai ao	Come forth to the world of being
Ki te ao marama	To the world of light[144]

The marae is the place where discussions can take place and where bad feelings and arguments can be aired.[145] It is the domain of Tu, a place where heated debate may occur, and where all complaints and discrepancies can be expressed.[146] Tu is symbolically cut off from the whare runanga by the paepae. It is the barrier that keeps the profane away from the sacred and Tuu separated from Rongo. The only way Tu can enter the whare is in the minds of people who may enter with hidden agendas.[147]

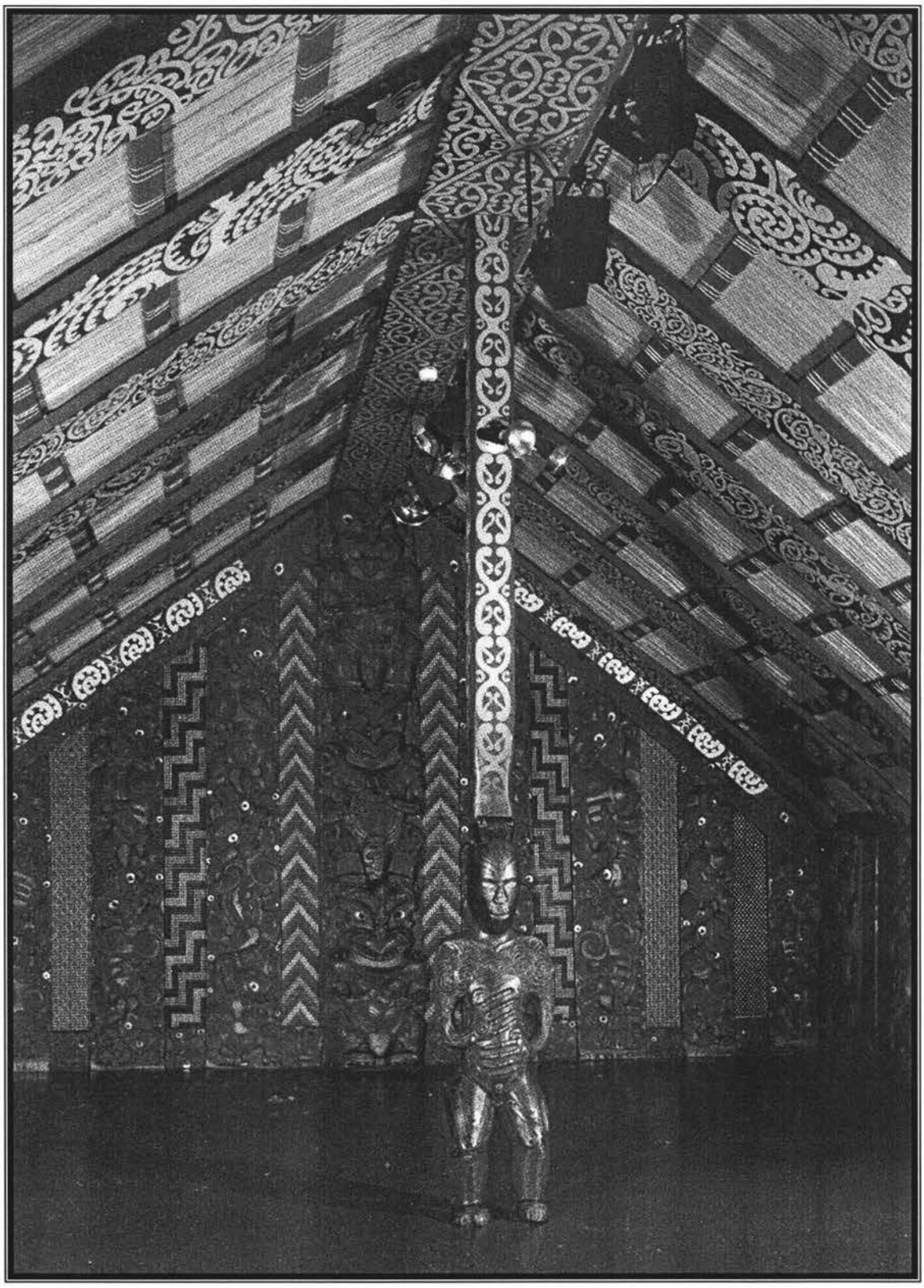

Fig 18. Interior of Hau-ki-Turanga, carved by Raharuhi Rukupo of Rongowhakaata 1840-42 (Source: Kernot, B., Mead, S. M., Salmond, A., Sciascia, P., Simmons, D. & Sullivan, A. (1984) *Te Maori, Maori Art from New Zealand Collections*. S. M. Mead (Ed.) Auckland, N.Z.: Heinemann Publishers Ltd. pp. 44)

5.21 Te Whare

Knowledge of the history of the whare structure has been helped by archaeological recoveries like those from the Kohika, a late pre-European site in the Bay of Plenty area. At Kohika in 1974 agricultural drainage operations uncovered village artifacts that had been preserved by water logging. In the houses uncovered were poupou with surface ornamentation, heke, tahuhu, kaho, with poutuarongo in the back and poutahuhu in the front of the whare.[148] On the outside were amo, maihi, and a paepae in addition to pare over the only entrance into each whare.[149]

The whare runanga stands within the marae complex. Many people walk onto a marae today and into a whare runanga without any awareness of the deeper significance of these institutions.[150] Yet there is much symbolism within the whare that pertains to the way in which Maori see the world and the interpretations of life. Each part of the whare is clearly marked and moving within it is symbolic of moving through phases of life and knowledge. The tahuhu stands as a constant reminder of where life begins and the central pou illustrate the phases of birth, life and death that all people ultimately pass through. The poupou connect the living to the source of all life and the marae and whare are seen as the centre of the Maori universe.[151]

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[3] ibid., pp. 1.
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[6] Dashper, M. (1993) *Te Whare o Rangi : The Meeting House of Te Aute College, Opened May 8th, 1993.* Pukehou, N.Z.: Te Aute College Waipukurau: CHB Print. pp. 3.
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[8] *The Opening of Te Tumu Herenga Waka : 6 December 1986, Victoria University of Wellington.* Wellington.: N.Z. Dept. of Maori Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, 1986, pp. 12.
[9] Brown, D. 'The Architecture of the School of Maori Arts and crafts', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS),* 108 No. 3 (Sept 1999), pp. 254.
[10] Brown, D. 'Te Hau ki Turanga', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS),* 105 (Sept 1996), pp. 19.
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[15] Barlow, 1991, pp. 179.
[16] Simmons, 1997, pp. 15.
[17] ibid,. pp. 27.
[18] Harrison, P. (1999) *Nga Kete Wananga.* Manukau City N.Z.: Te Tari Matauranga Maori, Te Whare Takiura o Manukau. pp. 21-22.
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[57] Smith, 1919, pp. 108.
[58] Winitana, 2002.
[59] Williams, 1957, pp. 297-298.
[60] Makereti, 1986, pp. 304.
[61] When two poutokomanawa exist in a whare the back one is called the poutewharaua. see *Tane-nui-a-Rangi.* pp. 5.
[62] John Te Rangiita, Personal Communications, Whare Wananga o Aotearoa noho marae, 18 Oct 2002.
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[65] Whenua is a term used for the land and the placenta which both give nourishment to Maori. The proverb "he wahine, he whenua, ka ngaro te tangata" is often translated " For women, for land, man dies" however it can also be interpreted to mean "that women and land both carry the same role in terms of providing nourishment and without then humanity is lost." (See Pere, R. R. (1982) *Ako, Concepts and Learning in the Maori Tradition,* Monograph, (Waikato University).)
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[72] Hakiwai, Terrell, & Aspinall, 1994, pp. 26.
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[74] Smith, 1913, pp. 87.
[75] Williams, 1896, pp. 153.
[76] Barrow, T. (1965) *A Guide to the Maori Meeting House Te Hau ki Turanga.* Wellington, N.Z.: Dominion Museum. pp. 32.

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[79] *Tikanga o te Marae.* given at Whare Wananga o Raukawa, Te Reo Wananga, Turangi 2002
[80] Winitana, T, 2002
[81] Best, E. (1925) *Tuhoe, The Children of the Mist.* Vol VI. Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Board of Maori Ethnological Research. pp. 963. (also in Hamilton, 1896, pp. 107)
[82] Smith, 1919, pp. 86.
[83] ibid,. pp. 85.
[84] Hakiwai, Terrell, & Aspinall, 1994, pp. 24.
[85] Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (1996) *Speaking with Authority: Scholarship and Matauranga at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa - a Strategy.* pp. 30.
[86] Simmons, 1997, pp. 41-45.
[87] Herewini Jones, Personal Communications, June 2000.
[88] Brougham, 1999, pp. 59.
[89] Koruru is also known as the Patara or Kaiaia depending of tribal variations.
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[92] Kim Makekau, Personal Communications, Whare Takiura Wananga, Te Whare Kura Marae, October 2002.
[93] Jones, H. 2000
[94] Hakiwai, Terrell, & Aspinall, 1994, pp. 25.
[95] Simmons, 1997, pp. 25.
[96] Jones, H. 2000
[97] Williams, 1896, pp. 149.
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[99] Herewini Jones, Personal communications April 2001.
[100] Ryan, P. M. (1995) *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Maori.* Auckland, N.Z.: GP Print Ltd. pp. 29.
[101] With the inside of the house symbolic of the poho of the ancestor. Many houses on the East Coast are called Te poho o _____ (the belly of _____).
[102] Best, 1924, pp. 570.
[103] Hiroa, 1977, pp. 129.
[104] Amoamo, T, Tupene, T & Neidh, R. 'The Complementary of History and Art in Tutamure Meeting House, Omarumutu Marae, Opotiki.' *The Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS),* Vol 93 (1984), pp. 34.
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[106] Barlow, 1991, pp. 179.
[107] Simmons, 2001, pp. 9.
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[113] Amoamo, 1984, pp. 34.
[114] Barlow, 1991, pp. 179.
[115] *Tane-nui-a-Rangi,* 1988, pp. 1
[116] Best, 1924, pp. 570.
[117] ibid., pp. 576. Window specifically for smoke ventilation was called Pihanga and was located at the front end of the whare under the tahuhu. See Barrow, 1964, pp. 13.
[118] Pitiroi, 2002.

[119] Barlow, 1991, pp. 179-180.
[120] Jones, H. 2000.
[121] Hiroa, 1977, pp. 123.
[122] Amoamo, 1984, pp. 34.
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Chapter 6 - Kawa o te Marae

6.1 Aim

Chapter six will addresses the third research question, namely the customary beliefs, practices and protocols that Maori engage in, both within and around the whare runanga as a result of the interpretations given to the whare.

6.2 Te Kawa

Each whare and marae has its own kawa, protocol or procedure. John Rangihau explained "each tribe has its own way of doing things. Each tribe has its own history and it is not history that can be shared among others"[1] The author does not wish to portray that all marae kawa is the same or that all Maori must follow procedures outlined here. Each area have there own identity, marae interpretations and protocol. Therefore Arawatanga is different from Ngapuhitanga and Waikatotanga,[2] although similarities may exist. One informant gave explained by using the quotation "when in Rome, do as the Romans do" implying that one should follow the kawa of the marae they are visitin and not assume their own kawa.[3] There is much tribal diversity in marae kawa and the philosophical theory surrounding it. Niech explains that,

> aesthetic concepts and ideals depend on the perception of the viewer and, since perception is governed by cognition, a people's aesthetic will depend on their categorisation of the world and events. As this categorisation changes, for whatever reason, so will their aesthetic concepts change. Changes in aesthetic concepts will produce changes in styles and mode of . . . representation.[4]

Marae in tribal areas generally will follow a similar kawa. However, there are exceptions particularly in the urban areas where the kawa of the marae will follow that of the people who maintain it, who may not necessarily originate from the area.

To be able to respond accordingly to the kawa of a marae, manuhiri must be aware of the local rules of conduct, marae kawa, protocol, and "the particular customs, tikanga observed

on the marae they are visiting."[5] Awareness of marae kawa is also recognised as critical even in New Zealand law. The Biosecurity Act, for example, recognises the marae as a sacred site even outside of Maori ceremonial practices and involvement. Police authorities in New Zealand "must have regard to the kawa" by which the marae is governed, if they desire to enter the structure in the interest of apprehending a criminal.[6] The kawa of marae and whare runanga are closely linked to matauranga Maori even to the extent that the protocols themselves are seen as being celestial in origin.[7] The whare and marae with its kawa originating from Rangi Tamaku.[8]

6.3 Divisions of the Whare Runanga and Marae

Perhaps the first construct to have a significant influence on the kawa of the whare and marae is the central kauwhanga. The perception of the meeting house being divided in half by the kauwhanga, the imperceptible passage existing down the centre of the whare, effects its uses in many ways. This kauwhanga is a space or spiritual divider that separates opposite spheres of knowledge in the whare runanga. The kauwhanga divides spheres of existence within the world as it separates life from death, male from female, tapu from noa. The central kauwhanga of the whare extends out onto the marae and also divides it in half. This concept of spatial divisions in the whare and on the marae is important to understanding many of the aspects of usage, practices, layout and kawa. In viewing this partition it is necessary to distinguish which side of the whare is in fact the true right and left sides. Once this has been determined by the tangata whenua the interpretation of kawa can be made.

Within most accounts the left and right are determined as though standing inside the whare looking out onto the marae. The right side will then literally be the right side of the ancestor whom the whare represents.

6.3.1 Taha Tapu - Taha Noa

Tapu can be interpreted as forbidden or restricted.[9] Paul Tapsell expressed that tapu also means sacred or set apart. A tapu that is "transgressed can inflict ill fortune. The balancing state to tapu is noa or profane, common, everyday, free from ancestral influence."[10] Salmond stated that the principles of tapu and noa are "clearly of ancient origin, and was well-entrenched in pre-contact Maori society."[11] Walker added that "the spatial arrangements and disposition of buildings on a marae are also symbolic and determined by the basic dichotomy in Maori life between the tapu (sacred) and noa (profane)."[12] In regards to distinguishing the tapu and noa divisions of the whare, Arthur Grace of Tuwharetoa stated that the right side is the tapu side and the left side noa.[13] This is stated categorically for the whare and marae as it is within other Maori ritual. Best, for example, in describing the 'tohi taua' which Maori warriors underwent before going into battle, explained that the blessing involved the striking of the warrior with a branch on the right shoulder and never on the left. The reason for this Best explained was:

> that the right shoulder of man is tama-tane, wherein is represented his mana (prestige etc.). It is the strength of the right should that drives the weapon home. The left side of the body is known as the taha-ruahine or tama-wahine. In many rites the act connected with witchcraft, sickness, marriage, etc., the left hand is invariably used. The left side is noa, void of tapu.[14]

Each Tribe has its own understanding of why the right side is the tapu side. For instance Winitana concluded that the association and links to the local people, the tangata whenua is what makes the right side tapu.[15] The local people are tapu. They receive their tapu from their links to spiritual origins and atua. In the traditions of Kahungunu, Ngapuhi and Kai Tahu it is recorded that the first human was created and descended from Tane-nui-a-rangi.[16] The tangata whenua are the links to "the spiritual powers, and ultimately with Io",[17] who belong to the whare and marae. Therefore the right side of the whare is linked with, and so receives its tapu from the tapu of the local people. The right side is where both the local people sleep and the families of the highest rank.[18]

Another element that adds to the tapu of the right side is recorded in the East Coast writings of Williams. As mentioned in chapter five a whatu or mauri is buried under the

poutuarongo ensuring the mana and sanctity of the whare and the poutuarongo as a symbol of death. This mauri was often a human sacrifice. Williams records that "accompanied by karakias" the "heart of the victim" was cooked and buried at the base of the poupou in the right hand corner.[19] Winitana said that the practise of burying a mauri of the right side of the whare is another reason the right side of the paepae can be viewed as the paepae tapu and the left side the paepae-kainga-awha.[20]

6.3.2 Kopaiti and Ihonui (Tara iti and Tara nui)

Another aspect of the spatial divisions in the whare are the places of honour for the leaders of the tangata whenua and the manuhiri. Master carver, Pine Taiapa explained:

> as one enters a Maori meeting house, the left side is occupied by the Tangata Whenua and is known as KOPAITI while the right hand side is reserved for visitors and is known as the IHONUI."[21]

Therefore, kopaiti is on the true right side of the whare and is such to take the narrower of the two sides to give more room and convenience to the manuhiri.[22] The proper place for the leader of the manuhiri to sleep is in ihonui under the "window on the left side of the house. Nobody else can put his bedding there, only the chief, and when the tangata whenua see him lying down they know, 'Hello! Here is the rangatira!'."[23]

According to Williams the name kopaiti denotes a small place of disability, and in family whare is a place for slaves to reside.[24] The position, however, has importance in gatherings for Maori. As Maori meet to discuss matters relevant to their circumstances, the issues will be put forward by the person in kopaiti. This will generally be the chief of the tangata whenua and he will have the first say. Then the discussion will ensue with all participating one at a time. The order will go from kopaiti with each person speaking down the tangata whenua side to the back corner, across and up the manuhiri wall to the front of the building.[25] The two groups aim to arrive at decisions by consensus[26] with the chief in the position of ihonui giving the final word, thus emphasising the importance of his area as a place of high honour.[27]

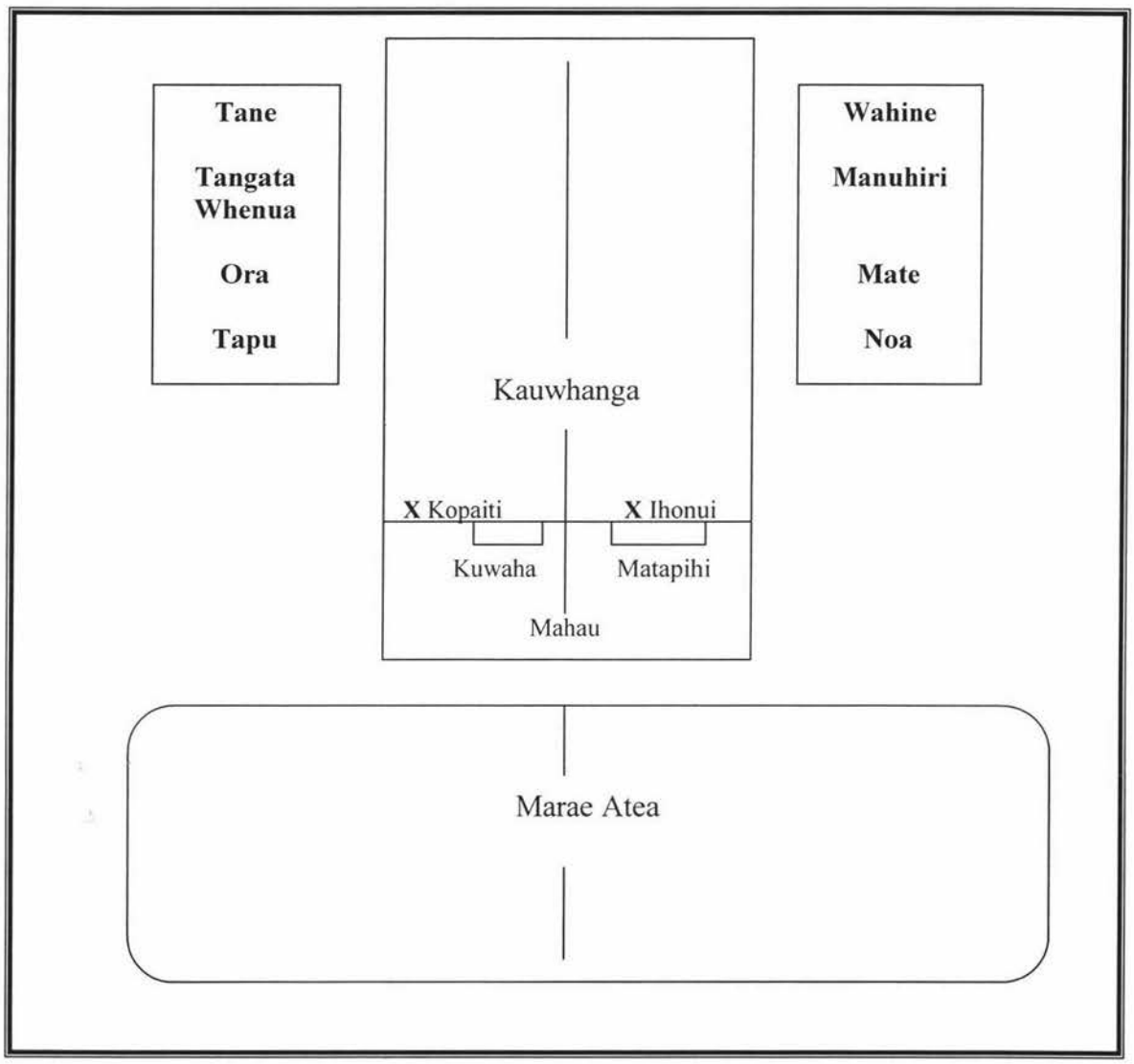

Fig. 19. Whare Runanga and Marae with distinctive right and left sides, and positions.

In the Te Arawa and Tuhoe areas it is also customary to meet with whanau inside the whare runanga on the evening before a burial of a deceased loved one to boost morale and cheer up the bereaving family. This night is known as te po mihimihi or te po whakamutuanga,

and would consist of light speeches, waiata, haka, and waiata-a-ringa. Karetu outlines his personal experience with the speech format for such an evening below.

> The mihimihi starts from the 'tara iti' of the house, that area where the tangata whenua sit, and then proceeds in logical sequence around the house with the most important visitor speaking last from the 'tara iti' of the house. It is considered a breach of etiquette to stand and speak if someone to your left has already spoken . . . I have been in one of our houses where the tangata whenua rose to open the proceedings, as etiquette demands, and as soon as they had finished the person in 'tara nui' position stood to speak, thereby denying the rest of the house the opportunity to do so. There were looks of disbelief and irritation from those who wanted to say something. The person in the 'tara nui' position had, because of his action, concluded the proceedings.[28]

An understanding of this kawa before going to a marae would have helped the visitor in this situation. The kawa demanded that once the person in ihonui or tara nui spoke, all was over. Hence the position being a place of great honour given to the visitors to the whare.

In the corners of the whare the pouriko are put in place, also known as poukopu.[29] Nowadays the corners are more often referred to as kokonga[30] as in the following whakatauki.

> He kokonga whare e kitea, he kokonga ngakau e kore e kitea.
> The corners of a house can be seen, but not the corners of the heart.[31]

Nevertheless the areas of the corners and the four pou in them were tapu.[32] These are places reserved for main speakers of the both sides. The carving have also been identified as "taniwha",[33] indicating another place of honour, even a place for chiefs.[34]

6.3.3 Taha Ora - Taha Mate

From the direction in which the whare runanga faces the right side is correlated with the easterly direction and the left with the west. This is one reason the right side of the whare is associated with life and left side with death. The east is where the sun rises and in the west is where the sun sets.[35] In the traditions of Kahungunu it is said that the whare wananga were conducted in correlation with this same philosophy in mind. The whare wananga would commence at sunrise and continue until noon. The ascending sun signified welfare,

growth and life. These superior schools of learning would take place in the morning as the sun rose and would not continue past noon day or the summit of the suns journey "inasmuch as the sinking sun represents decay, dissolution, death."[36]

With life comes knowledge and as one East Coast Maori informed Elsdon Best that "no sun rises in the west. Knowledge came from the east, as does the sun . . . Knowledge pertains to the sun, not to the moon. The moon dies and comes to life again, but the sun never dies."[37] The right side is seen as the side for the living and the left for the dead; according to Pitiroi this is one reason the dead lie in state under the window on the left side of the mahau during tangihanga.[38]

6.3.4 Taha Tane - Taha Wahine

Writers like Salmond correlate the right side with the female element of marae kawa. This view stems from the belief that women are associated with life because they bring children in to the world of life through birth. Another supporting factor is that the door is on the right side and surmounting it is the carved pare usually representing a female ancestress.[39] As people exit the whare runanga they are symbolically reborn, with the door representing the birth canal of a woman.[40]

While the view is valid, the author believes the connection of the right side to tane rather than wahine is more probable.[41] Tane is the giver of life, he is the one who "plants the seed within the wahine and starts life".[42] Best identified women as the "destroyer of man",[43] it is she who gives birth to the child and sends it on its journey that will ultimately end in death.[44] Women are also associated with the taha mate because physical death was brought into the world by Hinenuitepo. Maui sought immortality by re-entering Hinenuitepo. As he did she awoke and crushed Maui to death. For these reason women are associated with death and therefore the left side of the whare. As mentioned in chapter five the female genitalia is also associated with death of a spiritual nature. This is illustrated in the abbreviated history of Hongi Hika and Te Aokapurangi:

> In 1823, the Ngapuhi warriors, under the command of Hongi Hika, attacked Mokoia Island in lake Rotorua. Accompanying the war party from Ngapuhi was a woman named Te Aokapurangi who was related to a number of Te Arawa tribes in the Rotorua area. As she plead for the lives of her tribesmen Hongi relented and gave her permission to save her people as long as they ". . .were able to pass between her thighs". Te Aokapurangi then climbed onto the roof of the whare Tamatekapua and sat astride the entrance of the meeting house calling her people to enter. The Te Arawa people entered and the Ngapuhi pursuit halted beneath her knowing they would need to walk between her legs and under her genital organ. This would dispossess them of their mana. It was for this reason Hongi Hika stipulated he would spare those who passed between her legs. The chiefs of the area would have to be willing to give up their mana in order to save themselves.[45]

Accordingly, at tangihanga on the East Coast it is customary that the local wahine "sat on the left side of the meeting house and the men sat down at the right".[46] Entering the whare beneath the pare can be symbolic of entering death again.[47] Nevertheless, exiting through the door is symbolic of rebirth and is a symbol of life, and is therefore connected to men. The ora and tapu threshold is therefore on the right side of the building with the mate and noa threshold on the left. The door is the entrance for the living and the window for the dead.

6.4 Kawanga - Opening Ceremony

Even today many women are very careful not to go near a whare runanga until the opening ceremony. Woman contributed a vital part in the opening ceremony which is known as the 'whai kawa', 'ta te kawa'[48] or 'kawanga'.[49] This ceremony involved the removal of the tapu of the building with a ceremonial crossing of the threshold by a woman.[50] A similar ceremony is recorded in korero purakau with Rata requesting the wife of Ngatoroirangi to board his waka to remove the tapu therein.[51]

During the kawanga of the Te Arawa whare Wahiao in 1908, Cowan detailed three karakia used by the tohunga during the ritual.[52] From the right side of the house[53] the first karakia gave reference to Tane and Rata, the second referred to lifting the tapu of the whare and the tools used in construction, which are placed in places in the barge board on the mahau, with the third referred to blessing and establishing the house.

Rukutia	Bind
Rukutia nga pou tahuhu	Bind fast the ridgepole post

o te whare nei	Of this house
Rukutia nga poupou	Bind the carved posts
o te whare nei	Of this house
Rukutia nga tukutuku	Bind the reed panels
Kia u, Kia mau	Make them firm and steadfast
Kai tae mai	Lest
A te Anu Matao	The cold and stormy elements
Ki roto i a koe -e	Come inside you
Kai ninihi atu ai	Keep out the stealthy hailstones
A ua-whatu, a ua-nganga	And the sleeting wind
Kai whakamau hoki	Stand up to
A hau-nui, a hau-roa	The great wind and the long wind
A Tawhirimatea	Of Tawhirimatea
Taku hiki i pai ai	This is my charm of blessing
Ma roto i a Tane	Within you, Tane
E tu nei	Standing here
Ko Mahana, ko pumahana	May all be warm and safe within your walls
Ko werawera, ko kohakoha	May warmth, heaped up warmth, glowing warmth
Nga tangata mo roto	Be the people of this house
I a Tane e tu nei	Standing here[54]

The tapu destroying power of a female is here personified as a ruwahine or ruahine, a young puhi of high rank, is the first person to enter a new whare. [55] This part of the ceremony is known as the takahi paepae.[56] The whare represents the whare tangata, the koopu and prior to the kawanga is seen as being pure, as such is highly tapu. The first person to enter the whare must also be pure. This is the significance of a young puhi, who is a virgin who crosses the threshold as a representation of tapu in the form of the purity of woman.[57] In recent times the young woman will enter the whare through the door, but Makereti explained that the proper threshold to cross is actually the window.[58] This former practice makes sense when it is remembered that the window on the left side of the whare, the taha mate, taha noa, and taha wahine.

The representation of the koopu within the building and the paepae as a sacred threshold or barrier into the womb has diect relationship to a puhi. women have the birth canal or pathway that new born babies journey through into the world of light. However blocking that pathway to a puhi is a paepae which makes the woman a virgin. Because of the paepae within women they are kaitiaki for the paepae on the whare.[59] Therefore, they only can break the tapu of the paepae by crossing the threshold first.

In the oriori segment below, which was recorded and explained by Te Whatahoro of Ngati Kahungunu, are some of the factors which make the puhi and female tapu. The relationship to the whare symbolism is also identified.

Nau mai, e tama, kia mihi atu au
Welcome o son, let me greet you

I haramai ra koe i te kunenga mai o te tangata
You have in deed come from the origin of mankind.

I roto i te ahuru mowai, ka taka te pae o Huaki-Pouri
From the cosy haven emerged, out of the barrier of Darkness ajar

Ko te whare hangahanga tena a Tane-nui-a-rangi
Out of the abode fashioned by the renowned Tane-of-the-heavens

I te one i Kura-waka, i tataia ai te puhi-ariki
On the sands of the crimson Bowl, wherein the exulted on rejoiced.[60]

Above the koopu or womb of a women is the area known as the 'ahuru mowai', the safe cosy haven from which a child is nurtured. As the child is born it crosses the threshold of the 'pae o huaki pouri' the barrier that opens the darkness. The pae o huaki pouri is the paepae tapu that gives reference to a woman's virginity.[61] Also mentioned is the 'whare hangahanga' which according to Best is again the koopu and the power conferred only to women by Tane-nui-a-rangi to reproduce.[62] The reference to 'Kura-waka' places women in strict tapu because of her relationship to the atua.[63] In korero purakau Kura-waka is the place where the first human was created. However, Kura-waka in this oriori refers to the koopu again as the place of creation within woman. Kura waka is also a name for the "clots deposited with the membrane that represents the foetus".[64] To the author Kura waka is an appropriate title for the koopu as the waka is the womb that carries the baby, with kura being defined as "anything highly prized" or tapu.[65]

According to Cowan, the whare runanga is tapu "because the trees which have been felled to build the house are the sacred children of Tane-mahuta, God of the forest, and because they have been carved into semblance of revered ancestors, and into representations of natural and tribal deities. The tapu must be laid, its dangerous powers averted, before the house can be occupied safely."[66] All the above reaffirms the mana of wahine which

protects her and puts her in a realm of tapu that can break the tapu surrounding the whare runanga.

6.5 Powhiri

The ritual encounter of powhiri is the formal welcoming protocol of the marae when guests arrive. The Tapu of the manuhiri is removed through this ceremony. Ranginui Walker explained the significance of the procedure as follows.

> When visitors who are strangers to a marae arrive, they are deemed to be waewae tapu (sacred feet), people who bring with them their own sanctity and ancestral spirits that might be inimical to the spirits or mauri (life force) of the tangata whenua. For that reason, visitors have to go through a highly formalised ritual welcome designed to decontaminate them of their alien tapu and negate any evil spiritual influences that might accompany them.[67]

In regards to the kawa associated with the powhiri Karetu said, "Many tribes are now settling for convenience rather than what is considered to be correct, and it is this aspect that worries people like myself."[68] Influences such as the position of ablution blocks, whare kai, and pou-haki on the marae effect the situating of tangata whenua and manuhiri for the ceremony. Nowadays even spatial area for size of groups can determine which side hosts and guests will take up,[69] without any thought of correctness or meaning.[70]

6.5.1 Timatanga

Normally the manuhiri wait at the tomokanga or gate entrance of the marae with women and children flanked or followed closely by the men. This indicates to tangata whenua that they are ready to enter the marae, or as suggested by Simmons and Jones, into te kore or Ranginui respectively. The tangata whenua group will assemble in front or at the side of the whare runanga. The kawa of the marae will determine the side the tangata whenua will occupy. In most cases the true right side, which is the tangata whenua side, is where the local people will be.

6.5.2 Karanga

It is by no coincidence the first call heard on the marae is the voice of a woman. She alone "has the power of mana wahine to neutralise the tapu of the strangers."[71] Also in most tribal areas the women in the manuhiri party "are asked to take the lead as the visitors move onto the marae." By doing so neutralising any clash of tapu between the tapu of the visiting group and that of the local people.[72] These women, usually kuia past childbearing age, have the mana and power to negate any evil influences, any makutu or curses, coming with the visitors or harboured by the tangata whenua.[73] A young girl who has not given birth will not normally do the karanga from the paepae because of inexperience and her pae o huaki pouri is still in place.[74] There are exceptions when a young woman will perform karanga. If this happens the kuia of the marae will normally stand with her or be close by to whakamaru her.[75]

The kaikaranga from the host side calls first to indicate to the manuhiri to move forward onto the marae. This is normally answered by a woman's response from the manuhiri. It is a shrill, high pitched call of welcome and acknowledgment. It can also be an identifying call from the manuhiri indicating where the group has come from and why they are there. At tangihanga where groups often follow one another the identifying karanga becomes more crucial for the hosts to understand who the people are and what their relationship to the deceased is.

6.5.3 Manuhiri Movement

While the host will stand during the karanga, the manuhiri normally will move forward from the gate to the centre, or puku of the marae directly in front of the meeting house. Here the group will pause under the watchful eyes of the koruru and give acknowledgment to the whare and to those who have passed on. Often this pause is accompanied with heavy weeping. The pause in front of a whare runanga can stir up thoughts of those who have passed on, ancestors and their accomplishments, the whare itself representing a great

ancestor of the area and genealogical continuity from ancestors in the past to the present.

Standing in front of the whare can also be a time of self evaluation. Recently, the paepae of the larger whare runanga will often have seven human figures with a manaia flanking each figure.[76] (See Fig. 20)

Fig. 20. Whare Te Poho-o-Rawiri, Gisborne. The Principal carvers were Pine and John Taiapa of Tikitiki and Wihau of Rotorua. (Source: Kernot, B., Mead, S. M., Salmond, A., Sciascia, P., Simmons, D. & Sullivan, A. (1984) *Te Maori, Maori Art from New Zealand Collections*. S. M. Mead (Ed.) Auckland, N.Z.: Heinemann Publishers Ltd. pp. 47)

On 27 July 1824, a description of carvings of this kind was sent by Thomas Kendall in a letter written to the Church Missionary Society. Here Kendall described the seven figures

as symbols of seven principles of existence. The first is te wananga or wisdom; the second is te oranga or life; the third is te ihi or power; the fourth is te mana or sovereignty; the fifth is wehi or greatness; the sixth is te ihowai or equity; the seventh is te makurangi or perfection.[77] Simmons describes the significance of the symbolism as levels of attainment to strive towards.[78] On this topic Jones explained that as people walk onto the marae and approach the building, the whare runanga is a reminder of the origins of mans spirit and body and their relationship with Io matua.[79] The whare inquires of the approaching people as to which principle they are at or what stage they may have attained in their journey to return to their ancestors and Io matua.[80]

After the pause on the marae, the tangata whenua will signal the manuhiri, through either a physical gesture and/or karanga, to move to their seats provided on the opposite side of the marae. Once the manuhiri are ready with the speakers seated in the front row, the tangata whenua will also be seated.

6.5.4 Whaikorero procedure

The marae is the forum, the arena for open debate but in practice only the senior men will speak` for each whanau or group. This however is "subject to reconfiguration as Maori women contest the imposition of patriarchy perpetuated through colonial discourse."[81] As people meet on the marae atea there are two methods by which the kaikorero interact.

> **Tau utuutu (Tu atu Tu mai)** - Is the method by which the speakers of both tangata whenua and manuhiri alternate. The tangata whenua beginning and finally ending after the speakers have alternated. This method is normally used in the Waikato tribes including Ngati Raukawa.
>
> **Paeke** - Herein all the tangata whenua speak and then all the manuhiri speak. The very last speaker is always the tangata whenua. This is normally the method used in the Ngapuhi, Tuhoe, Te Arawa and East Coast tribal areas.[82] In both methods the tangata whenua will have the final say outlining the next movement and inviting the manuhiri to come forward and join with them through hariru and hongi.

As the elders are engaged in the speech making ceremony they are conscious not to cross over the kauwhanga of the marae. At the end of the last speech the manuhiri will normally

leave a koha which will be placed in the space in the middle of the marae. Today this koha is normally monetary. Pitiroi recalled the times when the koha was amounts of food which were always placed in the middle of the marae. This is a commonly known custom that was still practiced until recent times. The manuhiri and tangata whenua would only cross the centre of the marae at the end to hongi.[83]

6.6 Removal of Shoes

Once the speech making is completed, the manuhiri are able to enter onto the mahau and into the whare. One custom that is still highly practiced throughout the country is the removal of shoes before entering a whare runanga. Notwithstanding the account made by Salmond that "the destructive effect of European shoes on the flax mats inside"[84] the whare. The removal of shoes is said to reflect the tapu qualities of the house.[85] Eruera Stirling related, "When you go inside a meeting house you should leave your shoes outside the door, because shoes were never worn in the days of our ancestors. They are a modern invention and they trample upon the mauri of the house."[86]

6.7 Tangihanga

To Maori there exists a thin frail barrier, a thin veil between the world of the living and the dead. This is alluded to by Maori as the 'wharangi rau angiangi'.[87] This veil between life and death could not be seen through, although easily penetrated like a frail leaf of the wharangi shrub.

During tangihanga in the Tuhoe area the tradition of passing the coffin through the window of the whare rather than the door is practiced. Barlow explains the symbolism of this practice:

> The children of Rangi and Papa first saw the light of the outside world through their mother's armpit. Later on they chose to enter the outside world through the doorway or pathway which was made by the separation of their parents. Therefore, the idea of entering or exiting through the doorway is symbolic of entering death again, rather than entering a new state of life. The wairua of the deceased lives on, and returns to the spirit world. The

> practice of passing the corpse through the window signifies the freedom of the spirit to travel without encumbrance in that sacred realm as did the gods in their original spiritual creation.

At the end of the tahuhu is the poutuarongo, the "threshold between life and death." This is one of the reasons Ngapuhi place the coffins containing their deceased in the house at the base of the pou tuarongo."[88] Ngati Toa also place the coffin there[89] as do Ngati Kahungunu ki Wairarapa in their whare Tuhirangi. This is not a generic practice throughout the country as in some parts of the Taranaki region the "tupapaku lies at the far end of the wharenui on the [true left] hand side"[90] Laying the coffin at the third poupou on the left side is widespread practice throughout other tribal areas. All still follow the spatial symbolism within the whare with the left side being the taha mate.

With the practice of laying the coffin beneath the poutuarongo Williams added that the tukutuku pattern poutama[91], which along with kaokao were the two most common patterns of the early whare,[92] is often on the back wall supporting this symbolism. Simmons explained that poutama "is a stairway for the spirits of the dead to climb up to the roof of the house, where they greet and farewell their land, its mountains, streams and sacred places before departing on their journey to the other world."[93]

In the speech making at tangihanga the spirit of the deceased is farewelled and often told to return and go to their ancestors and the source of their origin. Walker said,

> In reply to speeches of welcome to the tangi, it was not unusual for speakers on behalf of the visitors to address their remarks directly to the deceased person as if he were still alive. The orators elaborate figures of speech, likening the dead person to the broken horn of the crescent moon, or of the shelter-giving totara tree in the great forest of Tane. As each orator finished eulogising the dead person they bade him farewell and exhorted him to traverse the broad pathway of Tane to . . . the gathering place of the spirits.[94]

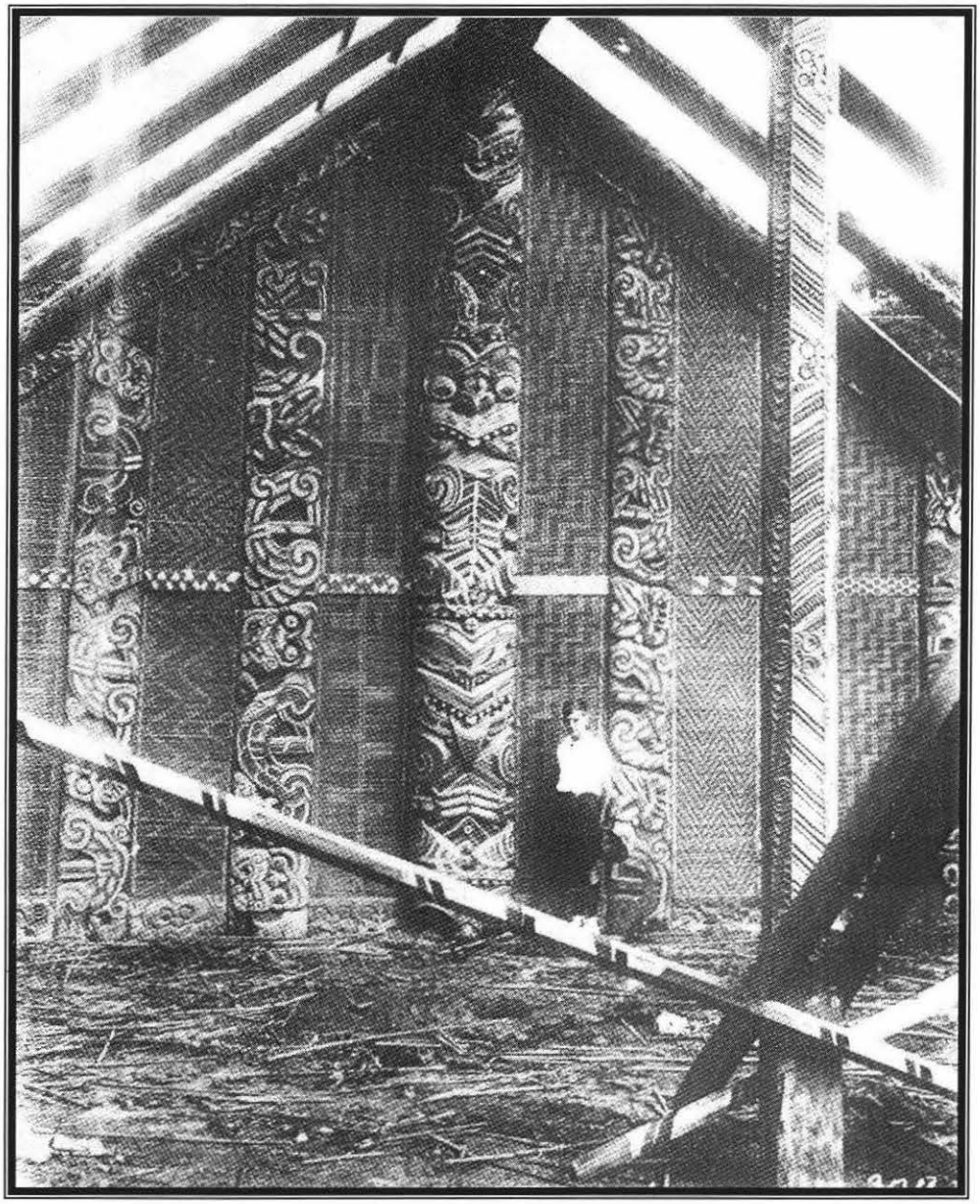

Fig 21. Hotunui during disassembly in 1925. The Poutuarongo which is a symbol of death, has just the eyebrows showing on the figure at the base. Under such pou the 'whatu' were buried. (Source: Barton, G. and Reynolds, D. (1985) *Hotunui : The Restoration of a Meeting House*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland Museum. pp. 13)

Generally there are three epa on each side of the poutuarongo.[95] (see fig. 21) Also called apa[96] these carving generally will not represent ancestors like the poupou around the walls. On the contrary the apa are spirits of dead "visiting or inspiring a medium."[97] These carvings on the back wall can be symbolic of apa-whatu-kura and apa-marei-kura which the male and female guardians over the earth and heavens. Apa is the name given to Smith

for the beings that are "subservient to Io" along with the poutiriao.[98] Appropriate to the position of the carving in the whare runanga, poutiriao are appointed guardians and controllers of aspects of the world. Best also explained that the poutiriao are the "guardians prepared to conduct affairs pertaining to spirits of the dead."[99]

This reemphasises the whare runanga and marae protocol and practices relationship to the interpretations of the structure. The matauranga Maori involved in the ceremonies reinforces the relatedness of these aspects of Maori culture to the Maori cosmology and interpretations therein.

[1] Rangihau, J. (1992). "Being Maori." In M. King (Ed.). *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga* (pp. 183-190). Auckland: Reed books. pp. 190.

[2] ibid,.

[3] Arthur Grace, Personal Communications, 9 November 2002.

[4] Niech, R. (2001) *Carved histories : Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving.* Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press. pp. 123.

[5] Hakiwai, A., Terrell, J. & Aspinall, P. (1994) *Ruatepupuke : a Maori Meeting House.* Chicago, Ill.: Field Museum. pp. 32.

[6] *Statutes of New Zealand (Statutes),* 1997, No. 89, Biosecurity Amendment Act, Section 76. pp. 700

[7] Best, E. (1982). *Maori Religion and Mythology - Part II.* Wellington, N.Z.: A.R. Shearer, Government Printer. pp. 288.

[8] Best, E. (1924) The Maori. Wellingtion, N.Z.: Harry H. Tombs Ltd. pp 559.

[9] Shirres, M. P. (1997). *Te Tangata the Human Person.* Auckland, N.Z.: Accent Publications. pp. 33

[10] Tapsell, P. "The Flight of Pareraututu: An Investigation of Taonga from a Tribal Perspective." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS),* Vol 106(4), (1896), pp. 328.

[11] Salmond, A. (1976) *Hui, A study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings.* Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Books Publishing (NZ) Ltd. pp. 49.

[12] Walker, R. (1992) 'Marae: A Place to Stand'. In M. King (Ed.). *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga* (pp. 15-27). Auckland: Reed books. pp. 21.

[13] Grace, A. 2002.

[14] Best, E. (2001). *Notes on the Art of War.* Auckland, Reed Publishing (N.Z) Ltd. pp. 17.

[15] Winitana, T, Personal Communications, July 2002.

[16] Shirres, 1997, pp. 36

[17] ibid,. pp. 33

[18] Reed, A. W (1963) *An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Maori Life.* Wellington, N.Z.: A. H. & A. W. Reed. pp. 93.

[19] Williams, H. W. "The Maori Whare: Notes on the Construction of a Maori House." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS),* Vol 5 (1896), pp. 153.

[20] Winitana, 2002. See also page 67 of chapter 5.

[21] Taiapa, P. Quoted in Dashper, M. (1993) *Te Whare o Rangi : The Meeting House of Te Aute College, Opened May 8th, 1993.* Pukehou, N.Z.: Te Aute College Waipukurau: CHB Print. pp. 29.

[22] Winitana, T, July 2002.

[23] Salmond, A. (1980) *Eruera - The Teachings of a Maori Elder.* Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press. pp. 240.

[24] Williams, 1896, pp. 151.

[25] Te Rangiita, J, Personal Communications, 2002

[26] Walker, 1992, pp. 22.

[27] Winitana, T. July 2002.

[28] Karetu, T. (1978) " Kawa in Crisis" In M. King (Ed.) *Tihe Mauri Ora, Aspects of Maoritanga.* N.Z.: Methuen Publications Ltd. pp. 74.

[29] Williams, 1957, pp. 298.

[30] Hamilton, A. (1901) *Maori Art.* New Zealand Institute, pp 104.

[31] Brougham, A. (1999) *The Reed book of Maori Proverbs, Te Kohikohinga Whakatauki Reed / A.E. Brougham & A.W. Reed; revised by Timoti Karetu.* Auckland N.Z.: Reed Books. pp. 69

[32] Williams H. W. "The Maori Whare: Notes on the Construction of a Maori House." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS),* Vol 5 (1896), pp. 147.

[33] *Tane-nui-a-Rangi,* Auckland, N.Z.: University of Auckland, 1988, pp. 5.

[34] Winitana, T. 2002. As in "Waikato taniwha rau, he piko he taniwha, he piko he taniwha." - Waikato of a hundred taniwha, at every bend a taniwha. (There are many tales of taniwha being in the Waikato River, but here 'taniwha' refers to the numerous independent chiefs.) see. Ryan, P. M. (1995) *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Maori.* Auckland, N.Z.: GP Print Ltd, New Zealand. pp. 21.

[35] Pitiroi, T, Personal Communications, 2002.

[36] Best, E. (1959). *The Maori School of Learning, Its Objects, Methods, and Ceremonial.* Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printer. pp. 13.

[37] Best, E. (1972) *Tuhoe, The Children of the Mist.* Second Edition. Wellington N.Z.: A. H. & A. W. Reed Ltd. pp. 801.

[38] Pitiroi, T, 2002.

[39] Salmond, 1976, pp. 46-47.

[40] Barlow, 1991, pp. 179-180

[41] This is also supported in divisional practices of the face tattoo or Ta moko. Simmons explains: "The face is divided down the median ridge into equal halves. The right side of the living person . . . conveys information on the fathers rank, tribal affiliations and position in life [tane] . . . The left-hand side of a living person conveys information on the mothers rank, tribal affiliations and position in life [wahine]." In Simmons, D. R. (1986) *Ta Moko : The Art of Maori Tattoo.* Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Methuen. pp. 131.

[42] Jones, H, Personal Communications, March 2002.

[43] Best, 1972, pp. 1135.

[44] Jones, H, Personal Communications, October 2002.

[45] Stafford, D. M. (1967) *Te Arawa.* Wellington, N.Z.: Reed Books. pp. 175-80.

[46] Salmond, 1980, pp. 230.

[47] Barlow, 1991, pp. 180

[48] Makereti (1986). *Old Time Maori.* Auckland, N.Z.: New Women's Press Ltd. pp. 294, 311.

[49] Best, E. (1924) *The Maori.* Wellington, N.Z.: Harry H. Tombs Ltd. pp. 587.

[50] ibid,.

[51] Legendary History of the Maoris, *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR),* 1880, G-8, pp. 1, Extract 1. pp. 10

[52] Cowan, J & Pomare, M. (1987) *Legends of the Maori, Vol 1.* Papakura, N.Z.: Southern Reprints. pp. 262-264.

[53] Simmons, D. R. (1985) *Whakairo, Maori Tribal Art.* Auckland N.Z.: Oxford University Press. pp. 121.

[54] Salmond, 1980, pp. 244-245.

[55] Barrow, T. (1965) *A Guide to the Maori Meeting House Te Hau ki Turanga.* Wellington, N.Z.: Dominion Museum. pp. 15.

[56] Salmond, 1976, pp. 76

[57] Winitana, T. Personal Communications, November 2002. also Pitiroi, T, 2002.

[58] Makereti (1986). *Old Time Maori.* Auckland, N.Z.: New Women's Press Ltd. pp. 294.

[59] Jones, H, 2002.

[60] Ngata, A. T. (1970) *Nga Moteatea : He Maramara Rere no Nga Waka Maha, The Songs: Scattered Pieces from Many Areas.* (Part 2) Wellington, N.Z.: Polynesian Society. pp. 4-5.

[61] ibid. pp. 9.

[62] Best, E. (1975) *The Whare Kohanga (The Nest House) and it Lore.* Wellington, N.Z.: A. R. Shearer, Government Printer. pp. 23.

[63] Jones, H, March 2002.

[64] Best, 1959, pp. 7.

[65] ibid,.

[66] Cowan, J. (1930) *The Maori Yesterday and Today.* Christchurch, N.Z.: Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd. pp. 129.

[67] Walker, 1992, pp. 22.
[68] Karetu, 1978, pp. 69.
[69] Pitiroi, T. 2002.
[70] Karetu, 1978, pp. 69.
[71] Walker, 1992, pp. 22.
[72] Shirres, 1997, pp. 46.
[73] Walker, R. Quoted by Penelope Carrol In, "Will the keepers of marae culture remain silent? Biculturalism and Gender in Aotearoa." *NZ Herald 11th Feb 1997*, 12 Oct 2002, [online] http://www.dhushara.com/book/tane/marae.htm
[74] Wallace, Nihipora Kereama, Ngai Tuhoe, Personal Communications, 1999. An aunt of the author said the following of the karanga, "Ko te Karanga a te wahine rite tonu ki tana tangi i te whanautanga mai o tana tamaiti mai te rerewhangawhanga ki te ao marama. Ko te reo o te wahine te reo tuatahi ka rongo te pepi." The karanga of women is the same as at birth of her child into the world of light. The voice of the woman is the first heard by her baby." (Authors Translation)
[75] Jones, H. March 2001.
[76] Note: Compare photos of Hotunui on page 50, Waitangi on page 36. Waiherehere maihi on page 58.
[77] Kendall, T. *Letters to the Church Missionary Society ms.* (no. 66). 1824. Hocken Library, Dunedin.
[78] Simmons, 1985, pp. 30.
[79] Jones, H. 2001.
[80] Simmons, 1985, pp. 30.
[81] Jahnke, R. (1996). "Voices beyond the Pae." *Te Pukenga Korero*, 2(1), pp. 12.
[82] *Marae Procedure (Kawa)*, 4 June 2002, [online] http://www.cs.waikato.ac.nz/GradConf/kawa.html
[83] Pitiroi, T. 2002.
[84] Salmond, 1976, pp. 46.
[85] Winitana, T. 2002.
[86] Salmond, 1980, pp. 240.
[87] Best, 1982, pp. 61.
[88] Barlow, 1991, pp. 180.
[89] Edison Wineera, Personal Communications, 2002.
[90] Nephi Prime, Personal Communications, 2002
[91] Also known as poutama-ki-te-rangi and poutama-ahurewa (the double stairway towards the middle)
[92] Williams, H. W. "The Maori Whare: Notes on the Construction of a Maori House." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS)*, Vol 5 (1896), pp. 151.
[93] Simmons, D. R. (1997) *Te Whare Runanga, The Maori Meeting House.* Auckland, N. Z.: Reed Publishing Ltd. pp. 40.
[94] Walker, R. (1990) *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou, Struggle Without End.* Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books. pp. 74
[95] Williams, 1896, pp. 148.
[96] Harrison, P. (1999) *Nga Kete Wananga.* Manukau City N.Z.: Te Tari Matauranga Maori, Te Whare Takiura o Manukau. pp. 61.
[97] Williams, H. W. (1957) *A Dictionary of the Maori Language.* Wellington, N.Z.: Govt. Printer. pp. 12.
[98] Smith, S. P. (1913) *The Lore of the Whare-wánanga, or, Teachings of the Maori college on religion, cosmogony and history / written down by H.T. Whatahoro from the teachings of Te Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu, priests of the Whare-wánanga of the East Coast, New Zealand ; translated by S. Percy Smith. Part I - Te Kauwae-Runga* New Plymouth, N.Z.: Printed for the Society by Thomas Avery. pp. 110.
[99] Best, E. (1924). *Maori Religion and Mythology - Part I.* Wellington, N.Z.: A.R. Shearer, Government Printer. pp. 107.

Chapter 7 - Conclusion

7.1 Review

The undertaking of this paper was to bring to light what influence matauranga Maori and the cosmologicaly beliefs of the Maori have on the interpretations of the whare runanga.

The following three questions shaped the basis for this research:

i. To what extent did Maori cosmological beliefs affect the architecture of the whare runanga and its ornamentation?

ii. What are the interpretations associated with the whare structure and the various structural artworks?

iii. What customary beliefs, practises and protocols do Maori engage in as a result of these interpretations?

7.2 Conclusions of Research Questions

Chapter 4: In this chapter the two bodies of knowledge within te ao Maori were identified and lore pertaining to them explored. The first body of knowledge discussed was the esoteric, higher or more sacred lore of the kauwae-runga, the name given to the lore of things celestial. Within these first series of dialogue the connection of the whare, like the whole universe, to the direct influence of Io Matua was shown. Io was regarded as the great parent god, the creator of the first thought, all living things, and the essence of dialogue of kauwae-runga. The kauwae runga korero was shown to be very distinct from the second vernacular, the ordinary or more common dialogue of the kauwae-raro, the lore of things terrestrial. In the kauwae-raro, the links of the whare to the later cosmology of the primal parents Rangi-nui-atea and Papatuanuku as well as nga atua was revealed. These atua are regarded as the ancestors of all things that exist upon the face of the earth and things within the kauwae-raro. From these knowledge bases the Maori cosmological

beliefs were identified in the context of the whare runanga and their affect on the architecture of the whare and its ornamentation.

This showed that the cosmological beliefs of the Maori are reflected in the interpretations and contents of knowledge surrounding the whare runanga. These bodies of knowledge exist in varying degrees among the different tribal areas throughout Aotearoa and have been passed on through various forms of wananga both pre-contact and with our modern day Maori scholars.

In the Maori mythology of Kae, Tinirau and the whare Tihi-o-manono, the Maori cosmology provided a reflection that has an instructional as well as a validating function for the architecture of whare. The Tihi-o-manono korero revealed the direct relationship that the whare runanga has to the Maori cosmology. Consequently contained within the Maori cosmology is not only the source of the whare runanga but, as was identified, the cultural imperatives that are embedded in the ornamentation and protocols that surround them.

Chapter 5: From the understanding developed in chapter four, chapter five explored the connection between Maori mythology and cosmology and the symbolism of whare. In this chapter the author endeavoured to bring to light the deeper meaning and origins of the symbols within the structure of the whare. Literature was sparse and not sufficiently detailed but through the oral histories and informants a good base was establish for each part of the whare. As a result, much of the meaning and the closely related Maori religious ideas to the art motifs in and around the whare was revealed. By doing this the symbolic significance of the whare and close connection with the mythology of the race is better understood. From the understanding of the symbolism the author concludes that the representation of matauranga Maori ideals or conception is the main objective of the whares appearance. The ornamental embellishment that may seem to be a chief objective is only a subsidiary factor.

Chapter 6: In this chapter the author did not wish to portray that all marae kawa is the same or that all Maori should be following the procedures outlined there. The acute understanding that each area have their own identity, marae interpretations and protocol was recognised. Although similarities do exist with marae protocol this chapter identified particular kawa in relation to the interpretations of the structure. The matauranga Maori involved in the ceremonies showed again the relatedness of these aspects of Maori culture to the Maori cosmology and interpretations therein.

7.3 Conclusion

Within the institution of the marae and whare runanga is knowledge and interpretations, marae kawa and protocols that have been developed in order to portray and preserve the cultural identity and cosmological understanding. In the whare runanga is an institution that contains the history of the tribe and the area in which they live. In the whare runanga is also the outline and understanding of existence for the Maori and their connectedness to the ancestors. These ancestors are immortalised on the walls of the whare runanga and are the links for Maori to the atua and Io matua.

Without this korero there is no whare runanga, you have nothing to carve. Without this korero you have nothing to learn. Without it you have nothing to understand.[1] Jahnke says that, "the walls of these houses continue to be lined with ancestral images whose existence as descendants of the land is expressed through cosmological sequence which unites ancestors with deities in a genealogical continuum. The life blood of those ancestors, whose deeds include the discovery of new lands, and the naming of mountains, rivers, lakes, and oceans, pulses through Aotearoa."[2] This is the essence of the revered nature of the whare runanga within Aotearoa especially with Maori.

This understanding gives a reemphasis to the importance of the whare runanga as a place of learning. Dr. Pita Sharples also suggests that the whare and marae provide;

> the only single point in this country where the Maori can properly educate the Pakeha about Maoritanga and Maori values, and share with them the positive aspects of

Maoridom. Perhaps the most important aspect of the marae however is that is offers to the Maori in a fast changing society a strong sense of security and identity. On the marae everything is Maori, the rules are Maori, the land is regarded as being Maori.[3]

Fig 22. Maori Village - Te Aroha o te Iwi Maori and Aotearoa Whare, 2001 Laie, Hawai'i
(Source: Tama Holverson)

7.3 Conclusions in regard to Methodology

I have taken a bicultural methodological approach using matauranga Maori from within Maori oral traditions and Maori written accounts alongside the written records of non-Maori to explore this topic of study. This has been achieved. Both non-Maori and Maori records have been used to investigate the history and interpretations of the whare. These records have equally been used to support the conclusions for the research questions.

The method of examining the whare runanga through a matauranga Maori viewpoint has highlighted the connections of the building and protocols with the cosmological beliefs.

Such an approach has also demonstrated the holistic interrelatedness of aspects of Maori culture to each other and their cosmology.

7.4 Recommendations for Further Study

A further study into the whare runanga using this methodology could be made in specific areas. Studies into a single tribal area would be invaluable to the tribe as a whole as well as to other Maori investigating tribal variance. It would also be of value to track the evolution of the whare runanga and its ornamentation from pre-contact through colonisation and into the renaissance and recent development of the Maori Arts and Crafts centre. The roles and significance of human characters in protocol and procedures could be developed more fully in relation to the Maori cosmology.

Other interrelated subjects of study could include the specific roles of atua like Ruaumoko, Tawhirimatea, Tangaroa, Whiro, in relation to the whare runanga. These atua and other each have their own schools of learning and relationships to the whare could be identified. The role of women and the kawa of marae can be developed more fully with reference to the influence of non-Maori.

Another recommended study would be to compare the Marae based study programs currently working throughout the country with the non-marae based Maori programs. Many tertiary education suppliers are using the whare as a medium and environment for Maori studies. John Rangihau believed positive outcomes would result from such programs when he stated.

> The only place we can teach things properly is the marae. You get a whole feeling that descends on you there. Maori people have a saying that you walk into a meeting house and you feel the warmth of it because you know that meeting house is named after an ancestor. And you are amidst people who have passed on. All the things they have said over the years are echoing through the meeting house and you immediately feel a warmth.[4]

The result of such a study would show both the evolution and relationship of pre-contact whare wananga to Western schooling systems and technology, and then to the whare

runanga as a modern context for learning things Maori.

[1] Pakariki Harrison, cited in Winitana, 1994, pp. 14.

[2] Jahnke, R. (1998). "Contemporary Maori Art: Fact or Fiction." In D. Starzecka (Ed.). *Maori Art and Culture.* London, British Museum. pp. 161.

[3] Sharples, P. "Bringing Young People Together." In *People Like Us.* (1972). pp. 13

[4] Rangihau, J. (1992). "Being Maori." In M. King (Ed.). *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga* (pp. 183-190). Auckland: Reed books. pp. 186.

Glossary of Maori Terminology

For the purpose of this research paper the following definitions are used within their Maori context. Main written sources include: Augustus Hamilton's 'Maori Art', Williams Maori Dictionary, and Paul Tapsell's 'Flight of Pareraututu'. This is by no means intended to be a comprehensive list of terms relating to the whare runanga.

Ahi Komau	Core of the Earth
Amo / Ama	Carved side posts on front of whare
Amorangi	Spiritual leader, priest, carrier of emblems of the atua
Apa / Epa	Angled carvings at the ends of Whare
Apa Marei kura	Heavenly female guardians of heavens/servants of Io
Apa Whatu kura	Heavenly male guardians of heavens/servants of Io
Ara-tiatia-o-Tane	Whirlwind path of Tane. Used to ascend the heavens
Ara whaiti a Tane	The narrow path of Tane
Aroha	Love, affection
Atua	Gods if the Maori, offspring of Rangi and Papa
Hapu	Subtribe
Hangi	Cooking method in earth oven
Hariru	Clasping Hands, hand shake
Heke	Rafters generally ornamented with kowhaiwhai designs
Heketipi	Board on each end of end rafters in whare
Hongi	Ritual greeting by pressing nose and forehead together
Hui	Meeting, gathering of people
Ihomatua	Umbilical cord

Ihonui	Place of honour for guest chief under window
Io te Matua	Io the parent God of the Maori
Iwi	Tribal group
Kaeaea/Koruru/Parata	Carved head, image over veranda
Kaho	Batten in the roof
Kaho paetara	Batten connecting upper ends of poupou
Kaikaranga	Female elder who performs ritual call on Marae
Kaikorero	Male orators who speak on behalf of the people on marae
Karakia	Ceremonial prayer, incantation.
Karanga	Ritual calls exchanged by female on Marae
Kaumatua	Male elder who often are the orators on Marae
Kauae-raro	Terrestrial knowledge, tribal history, migrations
Kauae -runga	Celestial knowledge linking back to Io
Kauwhanga	A dividing plane within the whare runanga
Kawa	Ceremonial Procedure, Protocol of Marae and Whare
Kawanga	Whai Kawa, Ta te Kawa, Opening ceremony of whare
Kokonga	Corner
Koopu	Womb inside a woman, also to describe inside the whare
Kopaiti	Corner on true right side for tangata whenua chief
Korero	Speak, knowledge, ancestral oral history
Korero purakau	Serious stories which are seen as truth
Korero pakiwaitara	Amusing stories, gossip and fairytales.
Koro/Koroua	Male elder

Kowhaiwhai	Patterned designs on heke
Kuia	Female elder
Kuwaha	Door of house
Mahau	Veranda of house
Maihi	Barge boards on front of whare
Mana	Ancestral Power, authority, control, status, source of energy from the atua through ancestors
Manuhiri	Visitors, guests to a Marae
Maoritanga	Corporate view that Maori hold about ultimate reality and meaning
Marae	Ceremonial courtyard in front of Whare Runanga
Mataaho / Matapihi	Window
Matangi-reia	Whare in Tiki-tiki-o-rangi, abode of Io-matua
Matauranga Maori	The basis of the Maori cultural paradigm, knowledge, world view
Mauri	Life force, essence, power of creation from atua
Mate	Dead, Death, Sickness
Mihi	Speech of welcome
Nga kete o te wananga	Three baskets of Knowledge brought to earth by Tane from Io. Kete Tuauri, Kete Tuatea, Kete Aronui.
Noa	Normal, Free from Tapu restrictions, common, profane.
Ora	*Life, Living, Health*
Pa	Fortified village compound, often on hilltop
Paeke	Whaikorero Kawa where all the tangata whenua speak and then all the manuhiri speak
Paepae	Threshold of Whare, bench where orators sit

Paepoto	Threshold of door.
Pakitara	Walls of whare
Pane	Carved part of tahuhu above verandah
Papaka	Crab, Ground level carving connecting poupou
Papatuanuku	Earth mother
Pare	Carved board above door
Pihanga	Window of whare, to let smoke out
Poku	Stomach, poku of the marae is at the centre
Poroporoaki	Speech of farewell
Pou-haki	Flag pole
Poukopu / pouriko	Poupou in corners of whare
Poupou	Wall posts carved or painted as an ancestral figure
Poutahu	Front wall ridgepole to the left inside the door of whare runanga
Poutiriao	Servants of Io
Poutokomanawa	Centre ridgepole within whare runanga
Poutuarongo	Back wall ridgepole
Powhiri	Maori welcome ceremony
Puhi	Virgin, young woman of rank in the iwi, hapu, or whanau
Pumotomoto-o-tikitiki-o-rangi	Door to uppermost heaven
Puta Auahi	Window of whare, to let smoke out
Raparapa	Lower ends of Maihi
Rakau	Stick, wood, tree
Rangi-atea	Whare in Tiki-tiki-o-rangi where knowledge is kept

Rangi-nui-atea	Sky Father
Rangi-tuhaha	Collective name for 12 heavens
Rau-roha	Name of Marae in Tiki-tiki-o-rangi
Roro	Brains, front wall of mahau
Ruahine	Women of high rank - first to cross threshold in kawanga
Tahuhu	Ridgepole of whare runanga
Tangata Whenua	Local people of the area, land
Tangihanga	Death, morning ritual on the marae.
Tapu	Sacred, spiritual power, restricted
Tatau	Door
Tauparapara	Ritual Incantation
Taumanu	Thwarts or cross beams on waka taua
Te Ao Marama	The world of light in which we live
Tihei Mauri Ora	Sneeze, breath of life.
Te Hono-o-Taiuriuri	The deep chasm of the ocean's dark breast, Tangaroa dwellings
Te Kore	The void, State of Potential
Tekoteko	Figure on top of gable above the koruru
Te Po	The realm of night
Te Reinga	Leaping place of spirits at tale end of te Ika a Maui
Tikanga	Maori custom, rule, method, concept, protocol
Tohunga	Spiritual leader, teacher, controller of tapu and knowledge
Tu atu tu mai	Whaikorero Kawa by which the speakers of both tangata whenua and manuhiri alternate

Tukutuku	Woven lattice panel between poupou
Tupapaku	Deceased person lying in state at Tangihanga
Tupuna	Ancestor
Waiata	Song
Wairua	Spirit, essence of being, soul of ancestor
Waka	Double hauled ocean going canoe - waka tete
Waka taua	War canoe
Wananga	Learning seminar, lore of the tohunga, knowledge
Whaikorero	Ritual Public speech by orators on Marae
Whakamaru	To shadow, shelter, company, and give power and authority
Whakapapa	Genealogical charter, descent, to layer
Whakatauki	Proverb, maxim
Whanau	Kin group
Whanau pani	Grieving kin of tupapaku
Whare Runanga	Maori meeting house
Whatitoka	Door
Whatu	Buried talisman to retain the mana of the sacred building, stones brought to earth with kete by Tane, Huka-tai and Rehu-tai

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